Research project

Domestic debates and foreign policy-making in the Caspian region.

The case of export pipelines from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan

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Analysis of mass media reports on export pipelines (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan)

Part I. Documentation of the creation of the text corpus
Part II. Full codebook

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Head of Project:

Dr. Heiko Pleines
Head of the Department of Politics and Economics
Research Centre for East European Studies
[Forschungsstelle Osteuropa]
University of Bremen
Klagenfurter Str. 3
28359 Bremen
Germany

Tel.: + 49 421 218 69602
Fax: +49 421 218 69607
Email: pleines@uni-bremen.de
www.forschungsstelle.uni-bremen.de

Part 1: Creation of the text corpus

Compiled by Andreas Heinrich and Heiko Pleines with additional data from Nozima Akhrarkhodjaeva

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1.1 Mass media included in the analysis

Selection criteria

The media database covers the reporting by national newspapers, journals, TV stations, and professional (journalistic) internet sites[1] in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan. Only mass media with nation-wide (or capital-based) coverage that addresses a national audience in the respective country (including the foreign community residing in the country and, in case of opposition media, the politically relevant diaspora communities) were included. Media that contained, on average, less than one report on our topic per year was not included.[2] News agencies were not included because they do not directly participate in national debates.

For Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, the database includes a large part of the most popular (print, TV, and internet) media and the most important media for the major political camps as well as national specialised business and energy sector journals for 1998 to 2011, if these exist. For Turkmenistan, which has strong state control over all media, only the state TV channels have been included in the analysis.

Reliable data on print circulation, readers, or viewers are not always available.[3] Therefore, the selection of TV stations and print media was also based on expert assessments of the most important media in the respective countries. Expert assessments of important media were taken from BBC country profiles, country reports of the German ministry of foreign affairs, East View Information Services, the European Neighbourhood Journalism Network, and academic literature.[4]

For internet sites in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, lists of the most frequented news websites were used.[5] A further criterion for the choice of websites in all three countries was their respective popularity in terms of followers on the major interactive social networks in these countries.[6] For internet sites in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, the selection was also based on the top 100 hits for "pipeline" (English, Russian, and local language) in the most popular search engines in these countries.[7] All data related to the popularity of

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[1] Only professional (journalistic) internet sites aimed at the respective national audience were included. Internet sites that demand payment for every article read were excluded because they are aimed at specialised businesses and not public debates. Internet sites that only reproduce articles freely available online at other popular national internet sites were also excluded.

[2] The only exception is Gundelik Azerbaijan, which was included to cover oppositional print media more comprehensively. (The newspaper was closed by the government in 2007.)

[3] Available data for the selected mass media are included in table 2 in the column "target audience/popularity".

[4] The respective publications are indicated in the list of sources for table 2.

[5] For Kazakhstan, they were compiled by zero.kz on the basis of actual internet traffic. For Azerbaijan, data on the most popular news websites were taken from a representative opinion poll conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Center. (Sources and results are incorporated into table 2.) In Turkmenistan, only 2% of the population had access to the internet at the end of the period under study, and only one website was active in any social media (See http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3). The political leadership does not allow the operation of independent websites within the country. Therefore, an official website and two oppositional websites, based on servers located abroad, were included for Turkmenistan.

[6] Followers on social media such as Facebook or Twitter receive an immediate update directly to their account whenever the administrator of a given page decides to post a status update, such as a news story. Becoming a follower can thus be considered an active expression of interest in a certain news provider. The most popular social media (with an average share of at least 5% in the period from 2009 to 2012) are Facebook (82%) and Youtube (10%) in Azerbaijan, Facebook (46%), Vkontakte (25%), Youtube (16%) and Twitter (6%) in Kazakhstan, and Facebook (63%), Vkontakte (7%), reddit (7), and Twitter (5%) in Turkmenistan. (Data taken from http://gs.statcounter.com. Data for the three countries studied are only available since 2009.)

[7] In Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, Google is by far the most popular search engine, with a share of more than 90% in Azerbaijan and at least 75% in Kazakhstan for all years since 2008. In Kazakhstan, the second most popular search engine is Yandex, with a share of up to 20%. (Data taken from http://gs.statcounter.com. Data for the two countries are only available since 2008. For both countries, statistics are based on several million page views per month. For Turkmenistan, for comparison, only a quarter of a million page views were recorded. See http://gs.statcounter.com/sample-size/StatCounterGlobalStatsAug12_SampleSizeCountryBreakdown.csv.) Prior to the keyword search for pipelines, the computer's search history was deleted, and the search was conducted from the West and from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Search profiles were used to individualize the search results. They were created either with the help of cookies installed at the computer used for the search or saved externally based on

internet sites, including our own count of followers on social networks and recording of search engine hits, refer to June 2012 (if not indicated otherwise) because data for earlier periods are not available.

In the case of multilingual print and online media, the relationship between the versions in different languages was analysed.[8] If one version was a direct translation (including selective translations covering only part of the reporting), it was ignored.[9] If the content differed between the languages, the reporting in the different languages was treated as separate media. As the focus of our research is on national debates within the countries under study and not on their public diplomacy towards the outside world, additional English language versions were ignored.

Table 1 presents an overview of all media included in the analysis. The media name is given in the transliteration used by the respective mass media in its own English-language texts (e.g., in copyright notices or on websites). If the respective media do not offer their own English language version of their name, the academic transliteration (US) is used.

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searches conducted from a specific computer (identified throught its IP number). To conduct an internet search that is not influenced by individual factors (and therefore reflects only general popularity in a given language context), cookies and the browser's search histories must be deleted, and a completely new IP address must be used.

[8] In the case of TV stations, multilingual reporting does not include parallel versions but only means that part of the programme is in one language and other parts are in another language. Accordingly, for TV stations, reporting is included independently of the language used.

[9] In Azerbaijan, the only media with parallel versions in two languages is the newspaper Zerkalo/Anya. Here, the Russian version tends to be more extensive than the Azeri version. In Kazakhstan, there are two newspapers (Kazakhstanskaja Pravda/Egemen Kazakstan and Liter/Aikyn) with issues in two languages. In the case of the first newspaper, the two versions are identical. The Russian version has been included in the text corpus because it has a higher print run. In the case of the second, there are differences between the two versions that do not seem to follow a clear pattern. Concerning reports on export pipelines, the Russian version included all articles.

Table 1: List of mass media – download information

Country	language of reporting	Media name	Media type	Existence	Source (period covered)	Period covered in text corpus
AZ	az	525-gi gazet	Newspaper (print main)	Since 1992	partner (1998-2008) www.525.az (2009-11)	1999, 2003-2011
AZ	az	ANS TV	TV	Since 1992	BBC Monitoring online (1997-2013)	1998-2013
AZ	az	Azad Azerbaijan (ATV)	TV	Since 2000	BBC Monitoring online (1998-2013)	1998-2013
AZ	eng	Azerireport.com	Website	Since 2008	www.azerireport.com (2008-11)	2008-2011
AZ	az	AzTV (Channel 1)	TV	Since 1956	BBC Monitoring online (1998-2013)	1998-2006
AZ	rus	Day.Az	Website	Since 2003	Integrum (2004-2011) [Factiva (2007-11)] [www.day.az]	2003-2011
AZ	rus	Echo	Newspaper (print main)	Since 2001	Integrum (2001-11) [EastView (2001-11)]	2001-2011
AZ	rus	Economy.AZ	Website	Since 2009	www.economy.az (2009-11)	2009-2011
AZ	az	Gundelik Azerbaijan	Newspaper (print main)	2005-07	print version (2005-2007)	2005-2007
AZ	az	Lider TV	TV	Since 2000	BBC Monitoring online (2000-13)	2002-2010
AZ	eng	News.Az	Website	Since 2009	www.news.az (2009-11)	2009-2011
AZ	az	Public TV (ITV)	TV	Since 2005	BBC Monitoring online (2005-13)	2005-2010
AZ	rus	Realny Azerbaijan	Weekly newspaper (print main)	2005-07	print version (2005-07)	2005-2007
AZ	rus	Region Plus	Monthly journal (print main)	Since 2006	www.regionplus.az (2006-11)	2009-2011
AZ	az	Space TV	TV	Since 1997	BBC Monitoring online (1999-2013)	1998-2006
AZ	az	Yeni Azerbaycan	Newspaper (print main)	Since 1993	print version (1998-2007) www.yeniazerbaycan.com/ (2008-11)	1998-2011
AZ	az	Yeni Musavat	Newspaper (print main)	Since 1989	print version (1998-2007) www.musavat.com/new/ (2008-11)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus	APN	website	2005-2007	www.apn.kz	2005-2006
KAZ	rus	Biznes & Vlast	Weekly newspaper (print business)	Since 2006	KPC (2006-07) Factiva (2008-11)	2006-2011
KAZ	us + kaz	BNews.kz	Website	Since 2009	www.bnews.kz (2009-11)	2009-2011
KAZ	rus	Delovaya nedelya	Weekly newspaper (print business)	Since 1994	Integrum (1998-2003) KPC (2004-11)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus	Ekspert-Kazakhstan	Weekly journal (print business)	Since 2003	Integrum (2003-11)	2003-2011

Country	language of reporting	Media name	Media type	Existence	Source (period covered)	Period covered in text corpus
KAZ	rus	Ekspress-K	Newspaper (print main)	Since 1994	print version (1998-2001) Integrum (2002-11) [Factiva (2006-11)]	1998-2011
KAZ	rus + kaz + eng	Gazeta.kz	Website	Since 2001	gazeta.kz (2001-11) [Integrum (2001-11)]	2001-2011
KAZ	rus	Izvestiya Kazakhstan	Newspaper (print main)	Since 2001	KPC (2002-03) Integrum (2004-11)	2002-2011
KAZ	rus + kaz	Kazakhstanskaja Pravda / Egemen Kazakstan	Newspaper (print main)	Since 1932	Integrum (1996-2011) Factiva (2001-11)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus + kaz	KazTV (Channel 1)	TV	Since 1958	BBC Monitoring online (1998-2011)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus + kaz	Khabar TV	TV	Since 1995	BBC Monitoring online (1998-2011)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus	KTK	TV	Since 1991	BBC Monitoring online (1998-2011)	1998-2011
KAZ	rus (kaz+eng)	kzinform.com	Website		www.kzinform.com (2011)	2011
KAZ	rus	Megapolis	Journal (print main)	Since 2000	print version (2000-04) Integrum (2005-11)	2000-2011
KAZ	rus	Panorama	Weekly newspaper (print main)	Since 1996	Integrum (1996-2011) [Factiva (2006-11)]	1998-2011
KAZ	rus	Respublika	Weekly newspaper (print main)	Since 2004	EastView (2004-11) integrum (2008-11)	2004-2011
KAZ	rus	Strana i mir	Weekly newspaper (print main)	Since 2003	print version (2003-04) integrum (2005-11)	2003-2011
KAZ	rus	Svoboda slova	Weekly newspaper (print main)	Since 2005	print version (2005-09) KPC (2010-11)	2005-2011
KAZ	rus	Vremya	Weekly newspaper (print main)	Since 1999	print version (1999) KPC (2000-11) [Integrum (2000-11), Factiva (2006-11)]	1999-2011
KAZ	rus	Zonakz.net	Website	Since 2000	www.zonakz.net (2000-11)	2000-2011
TKM	tkm + rus (- 2002) / tkm	State TV (1998-2006 channel 1, 2007-11 Altyn Asyr Channel)	TV	Since 1992	BBC Monitoring (1998-2011)	1998-2011

Table 2: List of mass media – basic characteristics 1998 - 2011

Media name	Media type	Owner	Political orientation	Target audience/popularity	Website	Further sources
Azerbaijan						
525-gi gazet	Newspaper	private	rather independent, but in general pro-government	among the established newspapers	www.525.az	3, 10
ANS TV	TV	Private (ANS company group)	rather independent, but not too critical, esp. since 2006	most popular private channel; in opinion poll by far "most trustworthy"	www.anspress.com	3, 4, 5, 8
Azad Azerbaijan (ATV)	TV	private	apolitical, pro-government	viewing rate of 10% (more popular for news)	www.atv.az	3, 4, 5
Azerireport.com	Website	US based website	critical of government	not among most popular websites	www.azerireport.com	
AzTV (Channel 1)	TV	state	government organ	only source of political information for large parts of the population	www.aztv.az	1, 3, 4, 5
Day.Az	Website	private	pro-government	by far the most popular website for news, 40000 Facebook followers (2nd highest no. among news sites)	www.day.az	5
Echo	Newspaper	private publishing house "Ayna"	independent	print run of 6000 - 9000	echo-az.com	1, 2, 3, 10
Economy.Az	Website	n.a.	critical of government	national intellectual elite	www.economy.az	
Gundelik Azerbaijan	Newspaper	private	critical of government (closed by state in 2007)	broader public	n.a.	8
Lider TV	TV	private (related to president)	close to president	viewing rate of 10%	www.lidertv.com	3, 5, 8
News.az	Website	Presidential administration	close to president	4th most popular website for news	www.news.az	5
Public TV (ITV)	TV	Public	pro-government	viewing rate of just 5% (more popular for news)	www.itv.az	3, 4, 5
Realny Azerbaijan	Weekly newspaper	Private	critical of government (closed by state in 2007)	broader public	n.a.	4, 8
Region Plus	Monthly journal	n.a.	semi-official (distributed by state airline)	decision makers in all spheres of society	www.regionplus.az	
Space TV	TV	private (related to president)	rather independent, but in general pro-government	viewing rate of just 5% (more popular for news)	www.spacetv.az	3, 4, 5
Yeni Azerbaycan	Newspaper	Political party "Yeni Azerbaycan"	ruling party	print run of 4000 - 6000	www.yeniazerbaycan.com	1,3, 8
Yeni Musavat	Newspaper	Political party "Musavat"	opposition	print run of 10000 – 15000 (highest circulation in country)	www.musavat.com	1, 2, 3, 4, 10

Media name	Media type	Owner	Political orientation	Target audience / popularity	website	further sources
Kazakhstan						
APN	website	Institute National Strategy	unclear	unclear (inactive 2007-12)	www.apn.kz	
Biznes & Vlast	Weekly newspaper	n.a.	unclear	print run of 15000 - 32000, business focus	www.and.kz	11
BNews.kz	Website	state executive	semi-official	Among top 3 most frequented stand-alone news website; 4000 followers on Twitter (2nd highest for stand-alone news sites)	www.bnews.kz	18
Delovaya nedelya	Weekly newspaper	private	rather independent, mildly critical	print run of 15000 - 20000, business focus	www.dn.kz	7, 11
Ekspert-Kazakhstan	Weekly journal	private (Russian media company)	mildly critical	business focus	http://expertonline.kz	
Ekspress-K	Newspaper	private (friends of president)	uncritical	print run of 20000, read by 2% of the population	www.express-k.kz/	11, 14, 17
Gazeta.kz	Website	n.a.	semi-official	Among top 3 most frequented stand-alone news website, 2000 followers on Twitter (3rd highest for stand-alone news sites)		18
Izvestiya Kazakhstan	Newspaper	private (relative of president)	uncritical	print run of 7 000	www.izvestia.kz	11
Kazakhstanskaja Pravda / Egemen Kazakstan	Newspaper	state	official government publication	print run of 260000 (highest circulation for non-tabloid), read by 5-8% of the population	www.kazpravda.kz / www.egemen.kz	7, 11, 14
KazTV (Channel 1)	TV	State	government organ	viewing rate below 10%		6, 14
Khabar TV	TV	Khabar Agency (relatives of president, state)	government organ	viewing rate below 10%	www.khabar.kz	6, 14
KTK	TV	private (relatives of president)	pro-government, but temporarily closed in 2007 ("Rakhatgate")	most popular Kazakh TV channel	www.ktk.kz	6, 14, 17
kzinform.com	Website	private (relative of president – R. Aliev until 2007), now unclear	unclear	top hit in Google search	kzinform.com	
Megapolis	Journal	private (friends of president)	rather independent, but not too critical	print run of 17000	www.megapolis.kz	11, 17
Panorama	Weekly newspaper	private	rather independent, but not too critical	print run of 17000 - 25000	www.panorama.kz	7, 11
Respublika	Weekly newspaper	editorial team	critical of government, libel suit in 2009, not printed inside country	print run of up to 19000 since 2009 marginal (oppositional circles)	www.respublika-kaz.biz	6, 7, 13
Strana i mir	Weekly newspaper	ruling party Nur Otan	semi-official	n.a.	http://sim.kz	
Svoboda slova	Weekly newspaper	opposition ("For a just Kazakhstan")	opposition	print run of 90000 (rather high circulation), read by 3% of the population		7

Media name	Media type	Owner	Political orientation	Target audience / popularity	website	further sources
Kazakhstan (contd.)						
Vremya	Weekly newspaper	private (allegedly friends of president)	critical of government	print run of 170000 (among highest circulation for non-tabloid), read by 4-10% of the population	www.time.kz	6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17
Zonakz.net	Website	n.a.	rather independent, but not too critical (esp. since mid 2000s)	Among top 5 most frequented stand-alone news website, top hit in Google search	zonakz.net	18

Media name	Media type	Owner	Political orientation	Target audience / popularity	website	further sources
Turkmenistan						
State TV (1998-2006 channel 1, 2007-11 Altyn Asyr Channel)	TV	state	Government organ	monopoly position	n.a.	12, 16

Sources:

(1) Kayabası, Songül (2006): Struktur- und Grundmerkmale der aserbaidschanischen Presselandschaft: Die Rolle der Presse im Transformationsprozess Aserbaidschans: Fallstudien einzelner Tageszeitungen. Inaugural-Dissertation. Bochum: Ruhr-Universität Bochum, chapter 3, available online at http://www-brs.ub.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/netahtml/HSS/Diss/KayabasiSonguel/

(2) Khudiyev, Ilgar (2005): Coverage of the 2003 post-election protests in Azerbaijan: impact of media ownership on objectivity. Thesis, Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge, available online at http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-11152005-113447/

(3) Azerbaijan Media Catalogue, SAMF: Baku 2010

(4)Kazimova, Arifa (2011): Media in Azerbaijan. The ruling family dominates TV, the opposition has some papers, in: Caucasus Analytical Digest No. 25, pp.4-7, 12-17

(5) CRRC (2012): Social Capital, Media and Gender Survey in Azerbaijan (representative opinion poll), available online at http://www.crrccenters.org/activities/research/?id=70

(6) Nozima Akhrarkhodjaeva (2012): Die Medienlandschaft Kasachstans. Verschwinden die letzten Biotope der Pressefreiheit, in: Zentralasien-Analysen No. 59, pp. 10-16

(7) Birgit Brauer (2010): Nicht frei, aber lebendig. Massenmedien und Journalismus in Kasachstan, in Zentralasien-Analysen No.30, pp. 2-9

(8) European Neighbourhood Journalism Network: Country profile Azerbaijan – Media landscape

(9) BBC Country Profile Kazakhstan as of 05 April 2011

(10) German Foreign Office Country Report Azerbaijan as of March 2011

(11) German Foreign Office Country Report Kazakhstan as of December 2010

(12) German Foreign Office Country Report Turkmenistan as of March 2011

(13) Wikipedia article on the newspaper Respublika (Kazakhstan), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Respublika_%28Kazakh_newspaper%29 (accessed 25 April 2013)

(14) TNS Media Asia (ongoing): Rankings of most popular mass media in Kazakhstan, http://www.tns-global.kz/ru/research/research_smi.php

(15) Wikipedia article on the Khabar media holding (Kazakhstan), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khabar (accessed 25 April 2013)

(16) Anceschi, Luca (2011): Reinforcing authoritarianism through media control. The case of post-Soviet Turkmenistan, in: Eric Freedman, Richard Shafer (eds): After the Czars and Commissars. Journalism in authoritarian post-Soviet Central Asia, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, pp. 59-77

(17) Junisbai, Barbara (2011): Oligarchs and ownership. The role of financial-industrial groups in controlling Kazakhstan's "independent" media, in: Eric Freedman, Richard Shafer (eds): After the Czars and Commissars. Journalism in authoritarian post-Soviet Central Asia, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, pp. 37-57

(18) Statistics of daily numbers of visitors of news websites from Kazakhstan, http://zero.kz/rating/?category_id=11 (monthly data)

1.2 Compilation of the text corpus (mass media reporting)

The general text corpus (concrete corpus) of mass media reporting for the analysis was taken from all media listed in the tables above. All articles with any meaningful reference to export pipelines from the respective country were included. The reference to export pipelines did not necessarily need to be in the headline; it may be only one paragraph of the article. If the reference was very marginal and did not relate to the debate on export pipelines, the respective article was not included. An example of a marginal reference is a long newspaper article on the state budget that includes only a factual half sentence on income earned from an export pipeline or a long article on the international position of Iran that only takes a half sentence to mention that the energy minister of Turkey has invited his Iranian colleague to the opening ceremony of an oil pipeline.

The original languages of the media reports are Azeri, English, Kazakh, Russian, and Turkmen. Texts in Azeri, Kazakh, and Turkmen have been translated into English or Russian by the research team. TV reports could only be obtained in an English translation provided by the BBC Summaries of World Broadcasts Database. As a result, the database contains Russian- and English-language documents.

Most print media articles were retrieved using online databases (Integrum, Factiva, EastView, and Kazakhstan Press Club). Missing publications or years were checked manually in libraries. TV reports were obtained from the BBC Summaries of World Broadcasts Database. Most internet sites were checked using their own archives. Some internet sites were available for longer periods via Integrum or Factiva. The respective sources are indicated for all media in table 1 above.

In the case of electronic databases or internet archives, texts were selected with the help of a search function for the specific publications. The relevant search terms were "oil pipeline" and "gas pipeline" in the respective languages (only "pipeline" in the case of English-language sources). All relevant texts were saved as Word for Windows files. In the case of paper archives (libraries), relevant articles were scanned (or photocopied/photographed and scanned). The full text was processed with word recognition software or (in the case of insufficient paper quality) typed into a computer file in Word for Windows format. As a result, the full corpus for analysis is available in Word for Windows format. All documents were then imported into a MAXQDA database for coding (see the following section).

To check the reliability of the document search, media were downloaded from various sources for an overlapping period of six months (either different databases or online archives and databases covered the relevant publication or internet site for the same period). The EastView database seems to have a more comprehensive search function than the others, producing hits that did not fully match the search term. However, these results (covering only print media) added only two texts to the corpus. Therefore, our search seems to be highly reliable for print media. A more problematic issue is the functioning of the online archives of internet sites. A repeat of the same search query sometimes produced differing results, and the number of meaningful hits was higher in the electronic databases Integrum and Factiva, which covered websites. For TV reports, the compilation is based entirely on the BBC Summaries of World Broadcasts Database because alternative sources are not available. As BBC does not offer full coverage of reporting, the corpus does not contain all reports by the TV stations listed in the table above. However, with close to 2000 individual TV reports, the corpus should provide a good impression of the overall reporting patterns.

1.3 Thesaurus: Variables and codes for text analysis in MAXQDA (mass media)

The full text corpus was imported into a MAXQDA database for coding. The coding was conducted by the research team in Bremen. Inter-coder reliability was checked through parallel coding of controversial text samples by all coders. These test codings were repeated until coherence was achieved. Disputable cases were discussed by the team, and the decision was included in the codebook. All fully coded texts were checked by one of the two senior project researchers in Bremen. Sub-codes and descriptions of the codes are available in a separate codebook.

During the coding process, variables and codes were entered for each text. The 12 variables used in the project indicate the basic information about the texts. The code structure was developed deductively based on the operationalisation of the relevant variables of the working hypotheses. As a result, seven code groups were created. The possible specifications of the codes were entered as sub-codes in a hierarchical structure. Further sub-codes were added inductively during the coding process. Altogether, the code structure comprises up to three levels of sub-codes and approximately 120 codes (excluding the names of individuals quoted in the texts).

A detailed description of all variables and codes is given in the codebook.

VARIABLES

a. coder
b. source
c. type of media
d. date
e. country (of the source's origin)
f. language of the original source and the MAXQDA document
g. type of text
h. length of text
i. placement in source (visibility)
j. author/s name, category, nationality

CODES [with the exception of codes #1 and #2, all codes apply to the relevant paragraph(s) only]

1. main topic covered
2. prominence of pipeline issue
3. pipeline-related topic(s)
4. pipelines mentioned (project + attitude)
5. quotes/ references
6. frames (+ ascribed explanatory power)
7. MetaDebate (i.e., assessment of the pipelines debate)

Part 2: Codebook

Compiled by Polina Baigarova, Viktoria Benzel, Andreas Heinrich, and Heiko Pleines

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(The headings in this table of contents contain a direct link to the respective section in the text.)

General Information

VARIABLES

CODES

General Information

Selection criteria

All mass media included in the analysis are indicated in the media list. The selection criteria for specific texts are also described there in detail.

Document names

All documents should be named as follows: source, underscore, date (year, month, day, separated by a dot), underscore, type of text.

> Example: Kazakh TV_2001.03.05_News overview, Panorama_2004.11.09_Report

If there are several documents of the same source from the same date, regardless of the type of text, they are distinguished by a lower-case letter after the date.

> Example: Panorama_2004.11.09a_Report, Panorama_2004.11.09b_News

Double entries

Under no circumstances should the same text be imported twice into the database because the total number of texts will subsequently be counted.

In the case of BBC Monitoring, several versions of the same contribution may exist (e.g., different summaries or excerpts). These should be merged into one document. Versions that contain no additional information in comparison to a version that is already included (e.g., an excerpt of which the full text is available separately) should be deleted. If several versions of a text are included as one document, only the passages providing additional information should be coded in each text. The same passage should not be coded twice so that the total number of codes is not inflated.

Coding units

The variables and codes 1 and 2 always refer to the **entire text**. They should be assigned to every text included in the database (in the case of variables, only if the respective information is available).

In contrast, codes 3 to 7 refer to **individual text passages**. As appropriate, the same code is assigned several times within the same text (although to different text passages). In cases in which respective text passages cover an entire text, the entire document can be coded with the respective code. Thus, an interview with Person A constituting an entire text should be coded in its entirety as a quote of Person A.

Only text passages addressing oil or gas export pipelines are to be coded. Passages addressing domestic pipelines or other forms of oil and gas exports (e.g., by ship or train) should not be coded (except that the transport of oil/gas via ship and/or train is supposed to feed into an export pipeline or to connect two existing pipelines). If the form of transport is not specified in the text and cannot be deduced from the context or from background information, the passage should be coded and a memo should be attached to the document for later clarification.

There is a **minimum number of codes** that must be present in each document. In general, these are codes 1-4 (*main topic covered*, *prominence of pipeline issue*, *pipeline-related topics,* and *pipeline mentioned*). Thus, including the subcategory *pipelines mentioned/attitude,* there are five codes that should be assigned to all documents. The only exceptions are news overviews; because *main topic covered* does not apply (see below), these have a minimum of four codes.

Variables

Variables indicate the basic information about a journalistic text, such as source, author, date, and type of text. Under MAXQDA, they are entered using the 'list of variables'. Unlike codes, variables cannot be entered with the help of the drag and drop function.

Overview: Variables and their specification

Variable groups	Variable name (in the list)	Specification	Variable type
Coder	Coder 1	Initials of the coder	String
	Coder 2	Initials of the coder	String
	Coder 3	Initials of the coder	String
	Coder 4	Initials of the coder	String
Source	Source	Name of the source	String
	Source: Link for website	Web address	String
Type of media	Type of media	TV	String
		Print media	String
		Internet	String
Date	Date	dd.mm.yyyy	Date/time (Datum/Uhrzeit)
Country	Country	Azerbaijan	String
		Kazakhstan	String
		Turkmenistan	String
Language of the original	Language original	Azeri	String
		English	String
		Kazakh	String
		Russian	String
		Turkmen	String
		If bilingual, in alphabetic order	String
Language of the document	Language document	English	String
		Russian	String
Type of text	Type of text	News	String
		News excerpt	String
		News overview	String
		News summary	String
		Report	String
		Report excerpt	String
		Report summary	String
		Interview	String
		Press conference	String
		Speech	String
		Comment	String
		Documentation	String
Length (Prominence 1)	Words	Number of words	Integer (Ganzzahl)
	TV: Duration	h:mm:ss	String
Placement (Prominence 2)	TV: Time	hh:mm	String
	Print: Page no.	Page no., -	Integer (Ganzzahl)
	Print: Picture	yes, -, unclear	String
	Print: Section	Translation of the original name of the respective section	String
	Internet: Picture	yes, -, unclear	String
	Internet: Section	Translation of the original name of the respective section	String

Variable groups	Variable name (in the list)	Specification	Variable type
Author(s)	A1: Name	Author's name	String
	A1: Nationality	Domestic	String
		Foreign	String
		International	String
	A1: Category	Journalist	String
		Presenter	String
		Politician	String
		Expert	String
		Businessperson	String
		Other	String
	A2: Name	Author's name	String
	A2: Nationality	Domestic	String
		Foreign	String
		International	String
	A2: Category	Journalist	String
		Presenter	String
		Politician	String
		Expert	String
		Businessperson	String
		Other	String
	A3: Name	Author's name	String
	A3: Nationality	Domestic	String
		Foreign	String
		International	String
	A3: Category	Journalist	String
		Presenter	String
		Politician	String
		Expert	String
		Businessperson	String
		Other	String

A. Coder

Everyone who has coded a specific text is listed with his/her initials. There are four columns in which an initial should be entered: coder 1, who was responsible for the import of the documents and the entering of the variables; coder 2, who was responsible for the code *pipelines mentioned*; coder 3, who was responsible for the code *Quotes/references*, and coder 4, who was responsible for topics and frames (i.e., codes 1-3, 6-7). The four groups were formed to allow for an efficient division of labour within the coding team. Each of the four groups of tasks refers to a specific thematic aspect of the texts. Together, the four groups cover all coding tasks. Thus, a document has been fully coded only when all four columns carry a coder's initials.

B. Source

This variable indicates the source, spelled in line with the agreed transcription rules (see the media list for the correct spelling).

- **Link**

In the case of websites (and only websites), the full link of the respective article is given.

C. Type of media

- **TV**

- **Print media**

- **Internet**

(Radio reports are not included in the analysis due to the lack of a comprehensive archive.)

D. Date

The dates given in the list of variables are in German notation (i.e., dd.mm.yyyy plus time, if applicable). For example, the period covered by the analysis is 01.01.1998 to 31.12.2011.

In the list of variables, choose the variable type 'date/time'/ 'Datum/Uhrzeit' to record the publication date. Otherwise, it will be impossible to sort texts chronologically during the analysis.

In case of a quarterly publication with no specific publication date available, the date for the issues is set in the following way: winter = 01.01.yyyy, spring = 01.04.yyyy, summer = 01.07.yyyy, autumn/fall = 01.10.yyyy. In our media corpus this is only relevant for Azerbaijan International.

E. Country

Texts that do not originate from one of the three countries covered in the project are not included in the database. Accordingly, the variable 'country' has only three specifications: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, or Turkmenistan (with the name of the country always written in English).

F. Language

- **Original**

In line with the media list, there are five possible specifications for the variable 'language [of the] original [text]': Azeri, English, Kazakh, Russian, and Turkmen. In the case of bilingual texts, a double entry is possible; the languages are listed in alphabetical order.

- **Document**

Texts in Azeri, Kazakh, and Turkmen were translated into English or Russian. Therefore, the database includes only documents in English and Russian. Accordingly, the variable 'language [of the] document [in the database]' has only two specifications.

G. Type of text

- **News**

In the case of news items, a fact is reported that was made generally available to journalists (e.g., through a press conference or through news agencies). The difference between a *news* item and a *report* lies in the scope of journalistic research included in the text.

Example: 'Following a meeting by the government, the President announced that export pipeline X will be built.'

A text of this type contains merely a public statement by the president and perhaps some details regarding the related press conference. The scope of journalistic engagement is very limited. Longer texts that, for example, merely report on the agenda of a cabinet meeting are also considered *news* items because the scope of journalistic engagement is very limited.

In contrast, a *report* provides additional information based on research by a journalist, such as comments obtained from other actors, relevant background information, or unknown facts obtained through investigative journalism.

- **News Excerpt**

Excerpts from a news item are cited word for word, in most cases marked by the word '*excerpt*' or an indication of any '*passage omitted*'. If the news item is summarised but not quoted, the suitable category is news summary (see below). If only the headlines of all news items in a news programme are listed, the suitable category is news overview (see below). This category concerns only transcripts of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring, where full texts are not always available.

- **News Overview**

These are overviews of all news items presented in a news programme. This category concerns only transcripts of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring, where full texts are not always available. In most cases, such a *news overview* consists of 1-2 sentences only.

Example: 'Construction work on the pipeline to China is progressing well. The president speaks with workers.'

If a *news overview* contains several news items of relevance, each news item is coded in a separate document. To this end, the *news overview* is imported into the MAXQDA database several times for one news item to be coded at a time.

- **News Summary**

In contrast to a *news excerpt*, a *news summary* does not provide excerpts cited directly from a text but provides a summary of the original news items. This category concerns only transcripts of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring, where full texts are not always available.

In the case of summaries, in most cases, it cannot be established whether quotations are of a direct or indirect nature in the original source. Therefore, *quotes/references* are not coded as direct or indirect but are coded as secondary (i.e., coming from a secondary source and not from the original).

- **Report**

A *report* is a longer text written by a journalist. A report (in contrast to a *news* item) provides additional information based on research by a journalist, such as comments obtained from different people, relevant background information, or unknown facts obtained through investigative journalism (see also *news item* above).

- **Report Excerpt**

A report excerpt is an excerpt from a report cited word for word, in most cases marked by the word '*excerpt*' or an indication of any '*passage omitted*'. If the report is not quoted but is summarised, the suitable category is report summary (see below). This category concerns only transcripts of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring, where full texts are not always available.

- **Report Summary**

In contrast to a *report excerpt*, a *report summary* does not provide excerpts cited directly from a text but provides a summary of the original report. This category concerns only transcripts of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring, where full texts are not always available.

In the case of summaries, in most cases, it cannot be established whether quotations were of a direct or indirect nature in the original source. Therefore, *quotes/references* are not coded as direct or indirect but are coded as secondary (i.e., coming from a secondary source and not from the original).

- **Interview**

In an interview, a journalist interviews one (or several) person(s).

- **Press Conference**

When there are several journalists from different media asking questions in parallel, the text is considered a *press conference*, even when the occasion is less formal than that of a standard press conference. Although no author names are recorded for variable J in the case of press conferences, variable *K author category* (journalist) and *L author nationality* (international) are indicated.

- **Speech**

This category covers speeches, such as the ones given at opening ceremonies.

- **Comment**

This category includes commentaries given by experts, politicians, businesspeople, journalists, or a guest contribution made by an external author. In addition, open letters published in print media or online are coded as *comment*.

- **Documentation**

A *documentation* is the reproduction of original documents without journalistic preparation (except shortening of text or a short introduction). In cases where an original document accompanies a journalistic contribution (e.g., in a separate box or as photograph), it is not included in the database as a separate text. Journalistic contributions reprinted from other sources (e.g., a news agency) are not treated as *documentation*. They are classified as journalistic texts with the categories given above.

H. Length (Prominence 1)

- **Words**

The number of words in a text is determined before it is imported into the MAXQDA database, using the word count available in Word for Windows. Not included in the word count are the short summaries of long TV programmes prepared by the BBC (set in italics under the title) and the references given at the end of respective texts.

In the list of variables, choose the variable type 'integer'/ 'Ganzzahl' to record the word count. Otherwise, it will be impossible to sort texts by word length during the analysis.

The word count provided by MAXQDA does not include words with no more than three letters and generally seems unreliable; therefore, it is not be used.

- **Duration**

In the case of TV reports, the duration in minutes refers to the original transmission time (variable *TV: Duration*). If the duration is not indicated, it is calculated on the basis of its start and end time.

The duration of a news item is to be recorded in the following format: h:mm:ss (e.g., 1:10:00 for a contribution of one hour and ten minutes; 0:02:33 for a contribution of two minutes and 33 seconds).

I. Placement (Prominence 2)

- **TV**

In the case of TV contributions obtained from BBC Monitoring, the broadcasting time is given in Greenwich Mean Time (GMT). The broadcasting time therefore must be converted into the local time of the country of origin (Azerbaijan: GMT +4 hours, Kazakhstan: GMT +6 hours, Turkmenistan: GMT +5 hours).

The variable *TV: Time* is to be recorded in the following format: hh:mm (e.g., 21:00 for a TV contribution shown from 21:00 local time onwards).

- **Print media**

  - *Page number*

  - *Picture* (yes / – / unclear)

  - *Section* (translation of the original name of the respective section)

- **Internet**

Number of clicks from homepage (unfortunately, this indicator is unavailable as the downloads are not from the original homepage but are from online archives)

- *Picture* (yes / – / unclear)

- *Section* (translation of the original name of the respective section)

J. Author(s)

- **Author's name**

Each author's name should be recorded separately (i.e., in a separate row). In the case of interviews, the journalist conducting the interview is recorded as the author. (The interviewee is recorded under *Quotes/references/direct quotes*.) In the case of transcripts or transmissions of press conferences, no author names are given. In cases in which the name of the author is not given and is not identifiable, a '-' (minus sign) should be entered under *author's name* in the list of variables. If a journalistic text does not provide information about the author, the entry under *author category* should be journalist. Likewise, in the case of interviews or summaries of speeches without indications of an author name, the *author category* is also a journalist.

- **Author category**

There can only be one entry per author. This entry should reflect the main activity of the author at the time of the authorship of a given text and should capture his/her interest in a given topic. A person appointed to the supervisory board of a company because of his/her political activities is treated as a politician in our project. A manager who has entered politics to represent business interests is a businessperson. However, as much as available, the details about the author in a given text are decisive for the *author category*. In cases of doubt, a brief memo should be attached for subsequent clarification.

- *Journalist*

If a journalistic text does not provide information about the author, the entry under *author category* is journalist. Likewise, in the case of interviews or summaries of speeches without indication of an author name, the *author category* is also journalist.

- *Presenter*

- *Expert*

- *Politician*

- *Businessperson*

- *Other*

- **Author nationality**

The nationality – not ethnicity – of the author(s) should be recorded. The aim is to identify authors who represent authentic foreign perspectives in national debates. In the case of named authors for whom no further details are available, it can be assumed that they belong to the editorial team of the given media outlet and have the nationality of the country of origin of the text.

- *Domestic*

- *Foreign*

- *International* (Events such as press conferences attended by national and international journalists are recorded here as well as mixed editorial teams bringing together foreign and domestic journalists. In our sample the latter applies only to Azerbaijan International.).

Codes

Under MAXQDA, codes are marked using the drag and drop function to move relevant text passages from the text window to the code structure window.

1. Main topic covered

⇨   International relations

      Domestic affairs

      Security / Conflict / War

      Pipelines

      Broader energy issues

Only the main topic of the full text is recorded, resulting in any one text being assigned only one code. This code is assigned to the full text. The code is assigned based on the whole text and not the title, sub-title, or specific (pipeline-related) passages.

The main topic does not have to relate to export pipelines. Indeed, three codes – *international relations, domestic affairs,* and *security/conflict/war* –deliberately do not relate to energy issues or export pipelines specifically. This means that all texts that primarily address energy issues are coded as *broader energy issues,* and all texts that primarily address **export pipelines** are coded as *pipelines.* Texts in the latter two categories may also relate to one of the three first categories (i.e., *international relations, domestic affairs,* or *security/conflict/war*), but *broader energy issues* as the main topic trumps the first three categories, and export *pipelines* as the main topic trumps all other categories.

In the case of news overviews, no main topic is identified and coded because any code would have to relate to the text as a whole. In the case of news overviews, which present a multitude of unrelated topics, it would be impossible to identify a main topic.

2. Prominence of pipeline issue

⇨   Dominant

      One of several

      Minor

Prominence of pipeline issue indicates how much importance is placed on **export pipelines** in any given text. Thus, it is not the details of any export pipelines but the export pipeline per se that matters. In the case of texts in which export pipelines feature prominently throughout the text, the *prominence of pipeline issue* is coded as *dominant.* If other topics have no less importance, the *prominence of pipeline issue* is coded as *one of several.* By contrast, in a text in which other topics feature more prominently, the *prominence of pipeline issue* is coded as *minor.*

In the case of news overviews, the *prominence* of the relevant news item is coded as *dominant.*

To verify: Because only one topic is coded for each text, the number of codings for *main topic* and *prominence* in the full database must be the same or (in the case of TV reporting taken from BBC Monitoring) diverge by the number of news overviews; *main topic* is not coded in the case of news overviews, and *prominence* is immediately set to 'dominant'.

3 Pipeline-related topics

Pipeline-related topics records all issues discussed in the context of **export pipelines.** Only the relevant text passages are assigned one or several codes. *Pipeline-related topics* should be coded at

least once in any text because if there are no pipeline-related issues in the text, the text does not meet the selection criteria and is not relevant to the project.

In general, only longer passages of text (at least one paragraph in length) are assigned a code. When no longer passages of text are available or when an excerpt or a shorter part of text carries important information, shorter passages of text can also be assigned a code for *pipeline-related topics*.

The three sub-categories 3.1-3.3 below follow a chronological order. The category *relations* refers to the time prior to the construction of an export pipeline; the category *construction* refers to the construction process; and the category *organisation/management* refers to the operation of an existing export pipeline.

The only exceptions to this rule are sub-codes *3.1.1 Cooperation/Negotiations* and *3.1.2 Controversy/Debate.* This is because there may be renegotiations of and controversies about a pipeline project during the construction phase and after the pipeline has been completed.

3.1 Relations

The code group *relations* relates to reports about cooperation on, disputes over, factual debates about, and possible failures of a planned export pipeline project. In general, only the preparation/planning processes of an export pipeline project (before the start of construction work) are to be recorded here. However, sub-codes *3.1.1 Cooperation/Negotiations* and *3.1.2 Controversy/Debate* cover all negotiations and conflicts about a pipeline whenever they occur.

3.1.1 Cooperation/Negotiations

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing cooperation on the preparation and the planning of a given export pipeline project. This includes general statements about cooperation ('our countries will continue to cooperate in the energy sector') or the pipeline project ('this project is of paramount importance for our country') as well as the actual negotiations (meetings, agreements, deadlines, etc.). This sub-code is also assigned to negotiations occurring during or after construction of the export pipeline, such as discussions about the management, reconstruction, and/or extension of an existing export pipeline.

3.1.2 Controversy/ Debate

- Domestic
- International

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing conflicts of interest as well as factual debates about the advantages/disadvantages of a specific export pipeline project. Controversies do not necessarily involve the feasibility of a pipeline project; they may also address specific issues of a common pipeline project, such as exact routes and transit tariffs. This sub-code is also assigned to debates and controversies occurring during or after construction of the export pipeline, such as conflicts over sources of supplies for the pipeline, transit tariffs, or changes in the ownership structure of operating companies.

This sub-code distinguishes between *domestic* controversies/debates (including international consortia registered in the respective country) and controversies/debates with other countries or international institutions involved in the planning, financing, and/or (subsequent) construction of the pipeline ('*international*').

3.1.3 Rejection

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing the failure of negotiations and non-cooperation on export pipeline projects. This includes cases such as Armenia's not joining the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline project because of the unresolved conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh or the West's inability to negotiate with Iran due to US sanctions.

3.2 Construction

The code group *construction* relates to the construction, repair, financing, or inauguration of export pipelines. Only texts providing factual information are included here. If a text refers exclusively to negotiations and/or controversies, it is coded under *3.1. Relations*

3.2.1 Progress

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing the construction and/or development of export pipelines. Factual statements on construction, operation, and financing provisions are coded here as well as assessments and self-praise (the latter may be quite general and does not need to relate directly to the construction work, such as, 'We are presently building a very important pipeline, which will allow exports of …'). Likewise, all details relating to the direct planning of the construction are recorded here. Negotiations about the pipeline project (e.g., financing of construction) are coded as *3.3.1 cooperation/negotiations*.

If it is unclear whether a pipeline is being newly built or restored, the more likely category – *progress* or *reconstruction* – should be selected, and a brief memo should be attached to the code for subsequent clarification.

3.2.2 Reconstruction

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing any aspects relating to the reconstruction, modernisation, financing, and extension of existing export pipelines, including the actual planning phases. The negotiations on reconstruction measures are coded as *3.1.1 cooperation/negotiations*.

If it is unclear whether a pipeline is being newly built or restored, the more likely category – *progress* or *reconstruction* – should be selected, and a brief memo should be attached to the code.

3.2.3 Launch/opening pipeline

This code is assigned to all text passages explicitly referring to the (planned) start-up or opening of export pipelines. The respective pipelines must be fully operational; not be recorded should parts of a pipeline which cannot yet be used for transport. All anniversaries marking the start-up or opening of export pipelines should be recorded here. However, a simple indication of the opening date (in the context of general information about the pipeline) is not to be coded.

3.3 Organisation/management

The code group relates to all references to the transport of oil/gas by export pipeline: *transit, tariffs, deliveries/interruptions, debts, security,* and *natural disaster*. Likewise, texts referring to the preparation of the aforementioned aspects or the expectations harboured in planned pipelines are recorded here. Only texts providing factual information are included here. If a text refers exclusively to negotiations and/or controversies, it is coded under *3.1. Relations*.

3.3.1 Transit

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing the transit countries.

3.3.2 Tariffs

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing tariffs, such as their negotiation, tariff agreements, and customs duties payable upon the transport of oil/gas.

3.3.3 Deliveries and interruptions

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing the delivery of oil/gas, including the interruption and/or resumption of deliveries due to reduced production, accidents, or strikes. Also included are text passages that address technical details of oil/gas transportation, such as delivery volumes and delivery agreements and their fulfilment.

3.3.4 Personnel/Ownership structure

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing (1) the senior management responsible for pipelines in private and state companies. Likewise, (2) all aspects (e.g., qualifications, dismissals) relating to personnel directly involved with pipelines are recorded. In addition, (3) all details relating to the ownership structure of respective export pipelines, including changes in the share structure of the operating company or consortium and the transfer of shares to consortia, are recorded here.

3.3.5 Debts

This code is assigned to all text passages dealing with debts/liabilities on oil/gas deliveries as long as they are linked to specific export pipelines.

3.3.6 Security

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing security issues, particularly conflicts that are likely to have a negative impact on the construction and/or operation of export pipelines, such as the possible resurgence of the Nagorno-Karabakh war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the ongoing tensions in Chechnya, terrorist attacks, and counter-terrorist measures. Likewise, the illegal tapping of pipelines (i.e., oil/gas theft) is recorded here.

3.3.7 Natural disaster

This code is assigned to all text passages addressing environmental damage caused by the production or transport of oil/gas and natural disasters hindering the operation of export pipelines.

4. Pipelines mentioned

This group of codes covers all export pipelines originating in one of the three Caspian countries included in the project (i.e., Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan). Pipelines not serving the export of crude oil or natural gas from these countries are not included. For example, the report of an Azerbaijani source about an export pipeline from Kazakhstan to China is not coded; however, the report of a Kazakh source about the same pipeline is coded. Oil and gas pipelines are coded separately, each grouped by country. A pipeline that serves several countries as an export pipeline is listed for each country so that the respective debates can later be assigned to the respective countries.

As long as the exact routing of a pipeline is not final, it is recorded under the respective country abbreviations. That is, before the exact route is clear, the code is, for example, Az-Geo-Turk; after the specific route has been determined, the pipeline is referred to, for example, as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan. If several specific routes are under discussion, all specific routes are listed.

It is important that all coding is performed at the level of the sub-code, not the level of the country code. The oil pipeline Az-Geo therefore is not recorded with the code '4.1.1 Az-Geo' (which comprises all pipelines from Azerbaijan to Georgia) but with the sub-code 'Az-Geo oil', which refers to pipeline projects from Azerbaijan to Georgia with no specific route determined.

Whenever a pipeline is coded, the sub-code *attitude* also must be coded. **Thus, for each pipeline mentioned in a text, at least two codes must be assigned: first, a code for the *pipeline mentioned,* and, second, a code for the *attitude* expressed towards the pipeline.** *Pipelines mentioned* and *attitude* should cover identical text passages. If different parts of the text present different attitudes towards the same pipeline, the different parts of the text are coded separately for *pipelines mentioned* and *attitude*.

Attitude

Attitude records how a specific export pipeline is evaluated in the given text – positive, neutral, or negative. A positive evaluation of a pipeline is coded '+'. A neutral evaluation of a pipeline, such as when only facts are reproduced, is coded '='. In the case of a negative evaluation, the pipeline is coded '-'.

If the text presents different attitudes for the same pipeline, the respective text passages are coded separately (i.e., if one passage of the text describes the arguments in favour of the pipeline and the other part quotes those against the pipeline, the first part is coded as attitude '+' and the latter as attitude '-'). The evaluation of the attitude towards an export pipeline is always from the perspective of the export country (which is always the country where the text was published, as explained above). If, for example, the text refers to a large power as being against an export pipeline because it would allow the Caspian country (where the text was published) to diversify its exports, this would be assessed as positive from the perspective of the Caspian country. In most cases, however, the attitude voiced in the text is identical with the attitude to be coded.

4.1 Oil pipelines

4.1.1 Az-Afg

Comprises all oil export pipeline projects running from Azerbaijan to or via Afghanistan.

Az-Afg oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.2 Az-Geo

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Georgia and ending in a Georgian port (Supsa; in the past, also Batumi). Pipelines that continue to Turkey are recorded under Az-Geo-Turk.

Pipelines that begin in ports along the western or northern Black Sea Coast are recorded only if crude oil is being delivered from Azerbaijan to Georgia for transit from Batumi or Supsa across the Black Sea to be fed into the respective pipeline. The Odessa-Brody pipeline and the pipelines running from the Western Black Sea coast via the Balkan peninsula to the Mediterranean (the Burgas-Alexandroupolis, Burgas-Vlore, and Constanta-Triest pipelines) can thus be seen as extensions of the Az-Geo pipeline.

Az-Geo oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Batumi, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Supsa, Attitude: +/=/-

Black Sea-Med Az-Geo, Attitude: +/=/-

Odessa-Brody Az-Geo, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.3 Az-Geo-Turk

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan via Georgia to Turkey.

Az-Geo-Turk oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.4 Az-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Iran and ending there. Pipelines that continue to Turkey are recorded under Az-Iran-Turk.

Az-Iran oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.5 Az-Iran-Turk

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan via Iran to Turkey.

Az-Iran-Turk oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Iran-Ceyhan, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.6 Az-Rus

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Russia.

Az-Rus oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Groznyy-Novorossiysk, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.7 Az-Turk-Israel

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan via Turkey to Israel.

Az-Turk-Israel oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.8 Kaz-Afg-Pak

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Afghanistan to Pakistan (and possibly farther, to India).

Kaz-Afg-Pak oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.9 Kaz-Az

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan and ending there.

Kaz-Az, Attitude: +/=/-

Trans-Caspian Oil Pipeline, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.10 Kaz-Az-Geo

All transport options for oil over or below the Caspian Sea (such as crude oil transported from Aktau to the Georgian Black Sea port Poti) are coded as Kaz-Az-Geo. The exception is transports continuing to Turkey (which should be recorded under Kaz-Az-Geo-Turk). The code is always assigned when an export pipeline is running through the Caspian Sea, irrespective of whether this fact is explicitly mentioned in the respective text.

Pipelines beginning in ports along the western or northern Black Sea Coast are included only if crude oil is being delivered from Kazakhstan (via Azerbaijan) to Georgia for transit from Batumi or Supsa across the Black Sea to be fed into the respective pipeline. The Odessa-Brody pipeline and the pipelines running from the western Black Sea coast via the Balkan peninsula to the Mediterranean (the Burgas-Alexandroupolis, Burgas-Vlore, and Constanta-Triest pipelines) can thus be seen as extensions of the Kaz-Az-Geo pipeline.

Kaz-Az-Geo oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Black Sea-Med Kaz-Az-Geo, Attitude: +/=/-

Odessa-Brody Kaz-Az-Geo, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.11 Kaz-Az-Geo-Turk

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Azerbaijan and Georgia to Turkey.

Kaz-Az-Geo-Turk oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Aktau-Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Eskene-Kuryk-BTC, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.12 Kaz-Chin

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to China.

Kaz-Chin oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Atyrau-Kenkiyak-Alashankou: Attitude: +/=/-

The Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline is linked to a system of feeder pipelines from the Uzen, Kenkiyak, Kumkol, and North Buzachi oil fields. Thus, the export pipeline can be divided (from West to East) into three sections:

1. Section: Atyrau-Kenkiyak Pipeline
2. Section: Atasu-Alashankou Pipeline
3. Section: Kenkiyak-Kumkol Pipeline

Each of these pipeline sections should be recorded as part of the Atyrau-Kenkiyak-Alashankou pipeline, even when the text only refers to one section of the entire pipeline system. Likewise, the Aktobe-Atyrau feeder pipeline should be recorded under this code.

4.1.13 Kaz-Chin-Ind

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via China to India.

Kaz-Chin-Ind oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.14 Kaz-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Iran.

Kaz-Iran oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.15 Kaz-Rus

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Russia (including the Baltic Pipeline System, BPS).

Kaz-Rus oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Atyrau-Samara, Attitude: +/=/-

Atyrau-Samara includes the Karachaganak-Bolshoi Chagan-Atyrau feeder pipeline, provided it is clearly identified as a feeder pipeline in the text. If this is not the case, the Karachaganak-Bolshoi Chagan-Atyrau feeder pipeline is recorded under the code *Kaz-Rus-EU oil*.

Odessa-Brody Kaz-Rus oil, Attitude: +/=/-

This code is only assigned if crude oil is being delivered from Kazakhstan to Russia for transit from Novorossiysk across the Black Sea to then be fed into the Odessa-Brody pipeline. This pipeline can thus be seen as an extension of the Kaz-Rus pipeline.

4.1.16 Kaz-Rus-Chin

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Russia to China; this includes pipelines through Eastern Siberia to the Pacific Ocean and China.

Kaz-Rus-Chin oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.17 Kaz-Rus-EU

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Russia to the EU/Western Europe.

Kaz-Rus-EU oil, Attitude: +/=/-

The Karachaganak-Bolshoi Chagan-Atyrau oil pipeline is a feeder pipeline to either the CPC or the Atyrau-Samara pipeline. If the connecting pipeline is not specified, it is recorded under the code *Kaz-Rus-EU oil*; otherwise, it is recorded under the code *Atyrau-Samara* (Kaz-Rus) or *Caspian Pipeline Consortium.*

Caspian Pipeline Consortium, Attitude: +/=/-

Includes the Karachaganak-Bolshoi Chagan-Atyrau feeder pipeline, provided it is clearly identified as a feeder pipeline. If this is not the case, the Karachaganak-Bolshoi Chagan-Atyrau feeder pipeline is recorded under the code *Kaz-Rus-EU oil*.

Odessa-Brody Kaz-Rus-EU oil, Attitude: +/=/-

This code is only assigned if crude oil is being delivered from Kazakhstan to Russia for transit from Novorossiysk across the Black Sea to be fed into the Odessa-Brody pipeline. This pipeline can thus be seen as an extension of the Kaz-Rus-EU pipeline.

4.1.18 Kaz-Tkm-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Turkmenistan to Iran.

Kaz-Tkm-Iran oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.1.19 Tkm-Az-Geo-Turk

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan via Azerbaijan and Georgia to Turkey.

Tkm-Az-Geo-Turk oil, Attitude: +/=/-

Tkm-BakuTbilisiCeyhan oil, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2 Gas pipelines

4.2.1 Az-Chin

Includes all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to China.

Az-Chin gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.2 Az-Geo

Includes all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Georgia and ending there. Pipelines that continue over the Black Sea are recorded under Az-Geo-EU or Az-Geo-Ukr, those which continue to Turkey are recorded under Az-Geo-Turk or Az-Turk-EU.

Az-Geo gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.3 Az-Geo-EU

Includes all export routes running from Azerbaijan to Georgia and from there over the Black Sea by tanker (LNG) to Bulgaria, Romania and to further European markets, such as the Azerbaijan – Georgia – Romania Interconnector (AGRI). All projects involving a transit pipeline from Georgia through Turkey to the Balkans are recorded as Az-Turk-EU. Transports to Ukraine are coded as Az-Geo-Ukr.

AGRI, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.4 Az-Geo-Turk

Includes all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan through Georgia to Turkey and ending there. Pipelines that continue to the EU are recorded under Az-Turk-EU.

Az-Geo-Turk gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.5 Az-Geo-Ukr

Includes all export routes running from Azerbaijan to Georgia and from there over the Black Sea to Ukraine. This includes LNG transports and the White Stream pipeline. All projects running on to EU member countries are coded as Az-Geo-EU.

Az-Geo-Ukr gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.6 Az-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Iran and ending there.

Az-Iran gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Baku-Astara gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Built as an import pipeline for Iranian gas in 1970, it is used as an export pipeline for Azerbaijani gas since 2006. This pipeline is only coded for references related to its use as an export pipeline.

Sangachali-Azadkend-Astara gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.7 Az-Rus

Includes all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to Russia.

Az-Rus gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Qazimammad-Mosdok, Attitude: +/=/-

Until 2007 this pipeline was used as import pipeline for deliveries of Russian gas to Azerbaijan. In 2007 it was put out of service. In 2011 it was put into use again with a reversed flow as an export pipeline for Azerbaijan. This pipeline is only coded for references related to its use as an export pipeline.

4.2.8 Az-Tkm-Afg-Pak

Refers to a link from Azerbaijan to the the TAPI pipeline (Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India).

Az-Tkm-Afg-Pak-India gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.9 Az-Turk-EU

It is important here that the respective pipeline is explicitly discussed as an export opportunity for Azerbaijan (i.e., the text does not only refer to Turkish interests).

Az-Turk-EU gas, Attitude: +/=/-

ITGI (InterconnectorTurkey Greece Italy), Attitude: +/=/-

Nabucco project (Az), Attitude: +/=/-

Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP), Attitude: +/=/-

Trans-Anadolu Gas Pipeline, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.10 Az-Turk-Near East

Comprises all export pipelines running from Azerbaijan to the Near or Middle East (including among others Israel, Jordan and Syria). It is important here that the respective pipeline is explicitly discussed as an export opportunity for Azerbaijan (i.e., the text does not only refer to Turkish interests).

Az-Turk-Near East gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.11 Kaz-Afg-Pak gas

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Afghanistan to Pakistan (and farther, to India).

Kaz-Afg-Pak gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.12 Kaz-Az

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan.

Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (Kaz), Attitude: +/=/-

All transport options for gas from Kazakhstan through the Caspian Sea (namely, a pipeline and LNG shipments) are coded as *Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline*.

4.2.13 Kaz-Az-Geo

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Azerbaijan and Georgia and then through the Black Sea.

Black Sea-Med Kaz-Az-Geo, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.14 Kaz-Az-Geo-Turk

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Azerbaijan and Georgia to Turkey.

Kaz-Az-Geo-Turk gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Kaz-Baku-Tbilisi-Erzerum, Attitude: +/=/-

Nabucco project (Kaz), Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.15 Kaz-Chin

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to China.

Kaz-Chin gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Beyneu-Shymkent gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline runs as a feeder pipeline for Kazakhstan's exports to China, from Beyneu via Bozoy and Akbulak to Shymkent.

4.2.16 Kaz-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Iran and further.

Kaz-Iran gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.17 Kaz-Rus

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Russia (and eventually farther, to the EU, the Western CIS or the Southern Caucasus).

Kaz-Rus gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This code comprises all natural gas export pipelines from Kazakhstan to Russia, excluding the Central Asia-Center gas pipeline running from Turkmenistan via Kazakhstan to Russia.

Blue Stream-CACGP, Attitude: +/=/-

The Blue Stream export pipeline (from Russia to Turkey) is recorded here only if the natural gas originates from Kazakhstan and if it is to be fed into the Blue Stream pipeline. The Blue Stream pipeline can thus be seen as an extension of the Central Asia-Center gas pipeline.

Central Asia-Center Gas Pipeline (Kaz), Attitude: +/=/-

This code includes all natural gas export pipelines through the Central Asia-Center gas pipeline, built during the Soviet Union, running from Turkmenistan via Kazakhstan to Russia.

Pre-Caspian gas (Kaz), Attitude: +/=/-

This code comprises all routes along the coast of the Caspian Sea from Turkmenistan through Kazakhstan to Russia. It is only coded if it is discussed as an export option for Kazakhstan and is discussed in Kazakhstan's media. References from media in Turkmenistan about Turkmenistan's exports through the pipeline are coded under Tkm-Afg-Pak.

4.2.18 Kaz-Tkm-Afg-Pak

Comprises all export pipelines running from Kazakhstan via Turkmenistan and Afghanistan to Pakistan (and potentially farther, to India).

Kaz-Tkm-Afg-Pak gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This code covers de facto Kazakh supplies to the TAPI pipeline (see Tkm-Afg-Pak). In this case, it is coded as an export option for Kazakhstan (as long as it is discussed in Kazakhstan's media). References from media in Turkmenistan about the pipeline are coded under 4.2.14.

4.2.19 Tkm-Afg-Pak

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan via Afghanistan to Pakistan (and potentially farther, to India).

TAPI, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.20 Tkm-Az

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan to Azerbaijan.

Nabucco project (Tkm), Attitude: +/=/-

Includes the East-West pipeline within Turkmenistan, but only if it is clearly identified as a possible feeder pipeline in the text.

Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (Tkm), Attitude: +/=/-

All transport options for gas from Turkmenistan through the Caspian Sea (namely, a pipeline and LNG shipments) are coded as *Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline* (if not coded as Nabucco project).

4.2.21 Tkm-Chin

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan to China.

Tkm-Chin gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline runs from Saman-Depe in the east of Turkmenistan via Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to Xinjiang-Uighur in China.

4.2.22 Tkm-Iran

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan to Iran.

Tkm-Iran gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Artyk-Lotfabad gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline, operating since 2000, is a short feeder pipeline running across the Turkmenistan-Iran border southeast of Ashgabat.

Dauletabad–Sarakhs-Khangiran gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline, operating since 2010, runs from the southeast of Turkmenistan to the north of Iran.

Korpeje-Kurt Kui gas, Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline, constructed in 1997, runs from the southwest of Turkmenistan to the north of Iran.

4.2.23 Tkm-Iran-Arm

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan via Iran to Armenia.

Tkm-Iran-Arm, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.24 Tkm-Iran-Turk-EU

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan via Iran and Turkey to the EU/Western Europe.

Tkm-Iran-Turk-EU gas, Attitude: +/=/-

4.2.25 Tkm-Kaz-Rus

Comprises all export pipelines running from Turkmenistan via Kazakhstan to Russia.

Tkm-Kaz-Rus gas, Attitude: +/=/-

Central Asia-Center Gas Pipeline (Tkm), Attitude: +/=/-

This pipeline, built during the Soviet Union, runs from the eastern gas fields of Turkmenistan through Kazakhstan to Russia.

Pre-Caspian gas (Tkm), Attitude: +/=/-

Comprises all routes along the coast of the Caspian Sea, including the East-West Gas Pipeline within Turkmenistan, provided it can clearly be identified as a possible feeder pipeline.

4.2.26 Soviet-Pipeline-System

Soviet-Pipeline-System, Attitude: +/=/-

This network of natural gas pipelines dates back to the Soviet Union, when it linked the Central Asian Soviet Republics to each other. It continues to operate today (as, for example, the Tashkent-Bishkek-Almaty pipeline). When Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan supplies gas to another country in the region, this is recorded under the code *Soviet-Pipeline-System*. This categorization avoids listing every possible route within this pipeline system in the codebook, a level of detail that is not justified considering how little importance these export pipelines have today for the countries under study. Sometimes the pipelines are also used for imports. In such cases, they are not coded at all.

If natural gas is pumped through the Soviet pipeline system to or beyond Russia, then the Central Asia-Center pipeline is used. This is recorded separately as 4.2.11 or 4.2.19.

5 Quotes/references

This code group comprises all quotes related to export pipelines. Three types of quotes are distinguished: *5.1 direct, 5.2 indirect*, and *5.3 secondary*.

Secondary without exception refers to indirect quotes drawn from BBC Monitoring, where it cannot be established whether the quote was an indirect quote in the original text or whether it was transformed to an indirect quote in the BBC summary. (See also the information for *Variable G. Type of text*).

Only quotes that can be linked to a specific person or institution (even if anonymous) are coded. The focus is on actual statements, not the overall position of certain persons or groups.

In the case of interviews, (direct and indirect) quotes and explanatory or pursuant statements are included in the code for the answer.

The sub-codes are identical for all three types of quotes:

Politician – A holder of political office, whether in the executive or legislative branch of government, also at the regional or local level.

Official/bureaucrat – A person who serves the state but does not hold political office. In other words, someone who works as a public servant, as an employee in a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or of an Embassy, or who is anonymously referred to in a text as 'an official'.

Businessperson – A representative of business and industry, including state-owned companies and interest groups.

Expert – In the sense of an epistemic community, all persons who professionally engage with, but have no material interests in, the topics in question, especially economic and policy advisors.

Journalist – A person who works professionally for the mass media or news agencies.

General public – Any citizen, whether named or unnamed.

Other – Includes the representatives of international organisations, such as the UN Secretary General or an EU Special Representative.

There can only be one sub-code per quote. This code should reflect the main activity of the person quoted at the time the quote was made. A person appointed to the supervisory board of a company because of his/her political activities is treated as a politician in our project. A manager who has entered politics to represent business interests is a businessperson. However, as much as available, the details given about the person quoted in a given text are decisive. In cases of doubt, a brief memo should be attached for further clarification.

Under each sub-code, quotes are grouped by country (referring to the country of origin of the person quoted, not the country where the quote was reported). Under each country, the names of persons quoted are listed. For each name, a memo with short biographical information is attached (taken from the text and from the project collection of biographical profiles).

6 Frames

Frames capture the arguments in favour of or against a specific export pipeline. **They relate to export pipelines only** and not to other topics discussed in a given text. The focus is strictly on the arguments provided regarding why a certain export pipeline should be constructed or not constructed. The arguments must refer to the country of origin (this is always the country where the text was published).

For example, if a report published in Kazakhstan states that an export pipeline to be built through Russia will promote the socio-economic development of Russian regions then this is not (!) relevant for Kazakhstan and will not be coded. If a short remark is added in the text referring to Kazakhstan (i.e. the pipeline will promote the socio-economic development of regions in Russia as well as in Kazakhstan) then the frame will be coded. The same would be the case if the statement would be that neither the socio-economic development in Russia nor in Kazakhstan will be promoted.

Frames should also be coded in the case of short news items if the *frame* is clearly recognisable. A statement can be coded under several different frames. Mere declarations of intent that provide no reasons, such as 'We wish to construct that pipeline', are not coded.

The *explanatory power* (+/=/-) should be coded for each frame (for a detailed explanation of *explanatory power,* see below). As a result, *frame* and *explanatory power* should cover identical text passages. **The number of codings for *frame* and for *explanatory power* should therefore be the same.**

In the case of quotes, the framing and assessment of the person quoted is coded, not those dominant in a given text. In other words, the objective is not to code the one framing and assessment that is dominant in a given text but rather any framing and assessment presented in a given text passage. When the opinion changes within a given text with regard to the same frame (such as when first supporters and then opponents are cited), the frame is first coded with explanatory power '+' and then with explanatory power '-'. In this way, texts incorporating different perspectives can subsequently be identified.

Irony, as far as clearly identifiable, must be taken into account when coding explanatory power. Be aware that irony can easily reverse the coding of explanatory power. A memo is attached for subsequent cross-checking whenever irony influences a coding decision.

Explanatory power (in short: *explains*)

Frames provide reasons for or against specific export pipelines. The evaluation of a frame (**not** of a pipeline project) in a given text can be *positive/neutral/negative.* A *minus sign* ('-') indicates that the respective *frame* is rejected as an argument in a given text. A *plus sign* ('+') indicates that the respective *frame* is used as an argument in a given text. An *equal sign* ('=') indicates that the respective *frame* is named, but it remains unclear whether the author considers it relevant in the pipeline debate.

The code for explanatory power is always assigned on the basis of the evaluations made in the text passage and always in relation to the country of origin (this is always the country where the text was

published). Thus, the question is whether the *frame* can be regarded as important for the respective country of origin.

Example: 'It cannot be that we build a longer, more expensive, and less profitable pipeline only to improve our relations with neighbouring country X. Additionally, some mention environmental issues in relation to the pipeline project. However, that is another question.'

This results in (1) a positive evaluation of the *frame profitability* (this *frame* is accepted as providing valid arguments); (2) a negative evaluation of the *frame relation with small neighbouring states* (this *frame* is rejected); and (3) a neutral evaluation of the *frame environment.* (It is not clear whether this frame is considered to present a relevant argument for or against the pipeline.)

6.1 Diversification of export routes

This code is assigned to all passages that provide arguments for or against the diversification of export routes through **new** pipelines supplying **new** countries or including **new** transit countries. The passage should explicitly argue for the need for additional pipelines and/or transit options or consumer markets due to, for example, insufficient capacities of existing export pipelines, unreliable transit countries, or the country's over-dependence on one export pipeline.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.2 Part of bigger project

This code is assigned to all passages that provide arguments for or against an export pipeline on the basis that it already is part of an existing or planned project of considerable size.

Example: A pipeline to Russia, which originally ran through Chechnya, should now bypass this trouble spot and transit through a neighbouring region.

Also coded are pipelines that are supposed to link two existing major pipelines, such as those connecting Central Asia with Europe and creating a new 'Silk Road' for oil and gas.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.3 Political feasibility

This code is assigned to all passages that provide arguments for or against an export pipeline on the basis of *political feasibility*. *Political feasibility* is not about wishful thinking; it is about the possibility of the physical construction of a pipeline in relation to political obstacles. The most likely context in which this frame is used is that an export pipeline cannot be constructed for political reasons. There may be many reasons for this: a conflict with a transit country; US sanctions against Iran; disputes over the legal status of the Caspian Sea, which, according to international law, may make the construction of a pipeline crossing the Caspian Sea impossible; or terrorist activities in the region. Accordingly, often, but not always, these codes are also geopolitical codes.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.4 Technical feasibility

This code is assigned to all passages that provide arguments for or against an export pipeline on the basis of *technical feasibility*. The most likely context in which this frame is used is that an export pipeline, irrespective of whether it is desirable, cannot be constructed for technical reasons. There may be many reasons for this: the area may be prone to earthquakes; there may be extended mountain ranges; or there may be insufficient production to fill a pipeline. In contrast, a pipeline is *feasible* when, for example, it is said that 'there is ample oil supply' in a case where more oil is found than was originally anticipated. Irrespective of whether the text claims that there is enough oil, the explanatory

power is coded as positive because the availability of oil is treated as a relevant argument for or against the pipeline (i.e., this argument *explains* whether the pipeline is needed).

The argument that the capacity of the existing pipeline system is insufficient to export the available oil/gas production and that new pipelines should be built is also coded as technical feasibility.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.5 Profitability

This code is assigned to all passages that relate to the economic advantages enjoyed by the companies involved. This includes economical calculations and profit and loss accounts. *Profitability* is also coded when reference is made to the state having a share in companies or receiving revenues as a result of the pipeline (e.g., through tax payments from companies involved in oil and gas exports). Further, the prospect of access to new emerging markets (e.g., China) is coded here. If statements about profits resulting from pipeline projects do not relate to companies or the state budget but to the population/society, they should be coded as 6.9 *Socioeconomic development*.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.6 Geopolitics

This group of codes comprises all text passages addressing the geopolitical aspects of export pipelines from the Caspian Sea area. A statement has a geopolitical dimension when it refers to external affairs, strategic partnerships, or, at least, areas of shared interest or cooperation between states. This includes strategic access to resources (i.e., oil and gas), such as by way of transport corridors. In this context, strategic access to resources should be understood in terms of geopolitics, specifically in terms of spheres of strategic influence, not economic profitability. For example, a contribution to aspired independence from Russia should be recorded under 6.6.3 *Geo: Russia*.

=> **6.6.1 Global** (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.6.2 Geo: USA (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.6.3 Geo: Russia (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.6 4 Geo: China (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.6.5 Geo: India (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.6.6 Geo: West (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

6.7 Relations with regional powers

This group of codes comprises all arguments for or against an export pipeline related to the relationship with regional powers in the Caspian area (i.e., Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan). This code also has a geopolitical aspect (for a detailed explanation, see 6.6 above).

=> **6.7.1 Turkey** (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.7.2 Iran (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

   6.7.3 Pakistan (Explanatory power: +/=/-)

6.8 Relations with small neighbouring states

This code is assigned to all arguments for or against an export pipeline related to the relationship with neighbouring states not covered by codes *6.6 Geopolitics* or *6.7 Relations with regional powers*. These

countries are Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.9 Socio-economic development

This code is assigned to all aspects of social and economic development in the three Caspian countries: economic growth, (un-)employment, the fight against poverty, social equality, the health system, and the education system – as far as these issues are mentioned in the context of export pipelines. The rationale of this *frame* is that money earned from oil and gas exports is used to advance the economic and social well-being of the respective country. To this end, a brief remark suffices, such as, 'The export pipeline will make all of us, the entire population of this country, rich.'

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.10 Resource curse

The term *resource curse* describes the various negative consequences the abundance of natural resources may have for a country and its population and the apparent paradox that many countries exporting fossil fuels and minerals have a lower economic growth rate than countries less rich in natural resources. Further aspects of the *resource curse* are corruption, inflation, exchange rate appreciation, and de-industrialisation through over-dependence on exports of natural resources.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.11 National security

National security is interpreted in a very broad sense. It is related to national interests in a geopolitical sense; in other words, everything, including energy security, a national security council would discuss. A basic requirement is that the national interest is the key argument and that the significance of export pipelines is mentioned in this context.

National security, understood in this sense, does **not** refer to the security of individual pipelines (e.g., against terrorist attacks) but only to the significance of pipelines with regard to the energy security or foreign policy of a given country. Where *security* is understood to mean the security of a pipeline as a piece of infrastructure, the appropriate codes are 6.3 *Political feasibility* or 6.4 *Technical feasibility*.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.12 Environment

This code is assigned to all arguments for or against an export pipeline related to environmental issues.

Explanatory power: +/=/-

6.13 Patriotic rhetoric

This code is assigned to all arguments for or against an export pipeline as revealing patriotic tendencies with regard to the respective country (i.e., the country of origin of the source).

Example: 'The president congratulated all those present at the opening ceremony of the export pipeline. He noted that investor interest in the pipeline testifies that the country enjoys a favourable business reputation and that the pipeline is proof of the ability of the country to realise ambitious projects.'

Explanatory power: +/=/-

7. Meta debate

This code is assigned to all passages that contain debate about the pipeline debate (i.e., the explicit evaluation of the media debate on export pipelines) as well as problems journalists encounter when reporting on the topic. Journalists' commentary on their own past reporting or on specific reports published elsewhere are not coded here. The code is only assigned when the text passage includes a reflection on the **character of the broader debate** about pipelines, not just isolated statements within that debate.

Present: Yes/No [Only the presence of such a debate is coded with a 'Yes'. If no entry is made, it is automatically counted as a 'No'.]