Coding Newspaper Articles in the First and Second Data Sets
Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability
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Following are the precise coding instructions that my assistants used to code sixty-eight variables in the first and second data sets. This document also describes three process variables and six variables that I added.

Unit of analysis. The unit of analysis is the story. All coding should be based solely on the content of the specific story being coded. If a story doesn't mention something — even if it is common knowledge — code the story without reference to that common knowledge.

A. BASIC FACTUAL INFORMATION

REPNUM   **Representative**'s Code **Number**

1	Archer, Bill	*Houston Chronicle*
2	Baker, Richard	*Baton Rouge Advocate*
3	Beilenson, Anthony	*Los Angeles Times*
4	Bilbray, James	*Las Vegas Review-Journal*
5	Crapo, Michael	*Idaho Falls Post Register*
6	Dellums, Ronald	*San Francisco Chronicle*
7	Ewing, Thomas	*Bloomington Pantagraph*
8	Filner, Bob	*San Diego Union-Tribune*
9	Goodling, Bill	*York Daily Record*
10	Inhofe, James	*Tulsa World*
11	Kennelly, Barbara	*Hartford Courant*
12	King, Peter	*Newsday* (Long Island)
13	Kolbe, Jim	*Tucson Citizen*
14	Kyl, Jon	*Phoenix Gazette*
15	LaRocco, Larry	*Lewiston Morning Tribune*
16	Lipinski, William	*Chicago Sun-Times*
17	Mazzoli, Romano	*Louisville Courier-Journal*
18	McCollum, Bill	*Orlando Sentinel Tribune*
19	McDermott, Jim	*Seattle Times*
20	Moakley, Joe	*Boston Globe*
21	Pickett, Owen	*Norfolk Ledger-Star*
22	Quinn, Jack	*Buffalo News*
23	Spratt, John	*Rock Hill Herald*
24	Stokes, Louis	*Cleveland Plain Dealer*
25	Wynn, Albert	*Washington Times*
56	Dellums, Ronald	*San Francisco Examiner*
63	Kolbe, Jim	*Arizona Daily Star*
66	Lipinski, William	*Chicago Tribune*
69	McDermott, Jim	*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*
70	Moakley, Joe	*Boston Herald*
75	Wynn, Albert	*Washington Post*

STORY   Nexis **story number** or Dow Jones **document number**

DATE   **Date** (mm,dd,yy)

SECTION   **Section**
                    0 = other than main section
                    1 = main section

PAGE   **Page** number   [If *none* given, enter 99. If *really* 99, recode as 98]

WORDS   Number of **words** in story

               Record the exact word count from the story heading *except* for (a) collections of individual
               letters to the editor which have been packaged together and (b) collections of individual "news
               briefs" which have been packaged together. In these two cases, make a reasonable estimate
               of the word count for the individual letter or news brief based on the size of the individual item
               compared to the total space for all items. *Make your estimate end in zero.*

HDLINE   Representative's name in **headline**
                    0 = [no]
                    1 = yes

BYLINE   **Byline**
                    none = [leave blank]
                    yes   = first four letters of (first) **reporter**'s last name
               Use for signed stories and columns. *Do not use for any letters to the editor or for articles
               or columns signed by the representative (i.e., TYPE = 6 or 7).*

DATELINE   **Dateline** — place where story was written and filed
                    0 = [unable to know]
                    1 = Washington, DC
                    2 = district (or district city)   **[default]**
                    3 = other

PHOTO   Story accompanied by **photo** of representative
                    0 = [none]
                    1 = photo of representative with caption

B. GENERAL CODING:

TYPE   What **type** of story?
            1 = Basic news story (with some obvious reporting)   **[default]**
            2 = Press-release style announcement (with no obvious reporting)
            3 = List only (no story)
            4 = Editorial
            5 = Opinion column (op-ed page)
            6 = Column, letter, or article by representative
            7 = Letter to the editor
            8 = Editorial Cartoon
        [If TYPE = 3, then code just LIST and Sections C, F, and K.]

ABOUT   What is the **main subject** of the story (as defined by the headline and first few sentences)?
            0 = Story ***not*** about politics (obituary, sports, human interest)
            1 = A policy issue (that the federal government deals with)
            2 = Political campaign of (or against) **representative**
            3 = Political campaign ***not*** involving the representative
            4 = **Incumbent representative** (but not as part of any campaign)
            5 = Another representative or senator (but not as part of any campaign)
            6 = Congress as an institution
            7 = President Clinton (or White House)
            8 = Federal agencies
            9 = Political parties
          10 = Interest group or PAC
          11 = Story clearly **about politics** (but doesn't fit #1 to #10)
          99 = [legitimate skip]

CENTRAL   How **central** is the named representative to the story?
            1 = Representative is the main subject of the story or one of several main
                 subjects of the story (must be mentioned in headline and/or first three
                 paragraphs)
            2 = Representative is a secondary subject in the story
            3 = Representative is mentioned *only* on a list
            4 = Representative is an incidental subject (only computer would notice)

VALENCE   **Valence** of story from the perspective of the representative
> 1 = Appears to contribute to **positive** impression of representative (i.e., the representative would be happy to have this story on the front page)
> 2 = Neutral, mix of positive and negative elements, or unclear to coder (e.g., accurate coding would require an understanding of the local context) [**default** — if not clearly positive or negative, use this category]
> 3 = Appears to contribute to **negative** impression of representative (i.e., the member would prefer that the story not run or run on a back page)

LIST   Story contains **list** with information **about the representative**:
> 0 = [no list]
> 1 = roll-call vote (or votes)
> 2 = announced position on upcoming roll-call vote (or votes)
> 3 = party agreement or loyalty
> 4 = interest group ratings
> 5 = attendance rates
> 6 = campaign contributions
> 7 = electoral statistics
> 8 = addresses for writing representative
> 9 = income, honoraria, wealth
> 10 = incumbent sins (junkets, overdrafts)
> 11 = no available code
> 12 = multiple items (none dominant)

C. SPECIFIC NATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

This section is used to record any **national policy issues** discussed in the story. National policy refers to any policy issue that Congress handles (i.e., not repair of street lights or garbage pickup). The threshold for coding ISSUEA, ISSUEB, and ISSUEC is that an issue should *not* merely be mentioned in passing but that it should either be (1) surrounded by some description or discussion of the issue, (b) mentioned in the headline, or (3) mentioned multiple times in the story. In short, an issue must be noticeable to the casual reader and not merely an incidental mention.

The issue that is featured most prominently in the story is coded as ISSUEA, the second most prominent as ISSUEB, and the third most prominent as ISSUEC. Do not use ISSUEB or ISSUEC unless multiple issues are mentioned. Never use the same code for ISSUEA, ISSUEB, and ISSUEC. The 3-digit code numbers for these variables are listed on a separate sheet.

In addition, **any mention** — even the most incidental mention — of eight policy issues is coded separately. These policy issues may *also* be included as ISSUEA, ISSUEB, OR ISSUEC if they are also among the three most prominent stories mentioned.

ISSUEA   **Most prominent** national policy issue mentioned in story
             0 = [no policy issue mentioned]
           code# = use code number for policy issue from separate coding sheet

ISSUEB   **Second** most prominent national policy issue mentioned in story
             0 = [no second policy issue mentioned]
           code# = use code number for policy issue from separate coding sheet

ISSUEC   **Third** most prominent national policy issue mentioned in story
             0 = [no third policy issue mentioned]
           code# = use code number for policy issue from separate coding sheet

ABORTN   Any mention in story of *a proposal* related to any aspect of **abortion**
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

DEFICIT   Any mention in story of *a proposal* to **balance budget or reduce deficit**
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

CRIME   Any mention in story of *a federal proposal* to **control crime**
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

GAYS   Any mention in story of *a proposal* relating to **gays in the military**
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

GUNS   Any mention in story of *a proposal* to **ban or regulate guns**
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

CONTRCT   Any mention of the Republican's **Contract with America** (only after 9/1/94)
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

HEALTH   Any mention in story of **President Clinton's Health Reform Plan** (or other *comprehensive*
           health reform plan put forward in response to his plan)
             0 = [no mention]
             1 = mentioned

NAFTA   Any mention of **North American Free Trade Agreement** in story
                    0 = [no mention]
                    1 = mentioned

D. REPRESENTATIVE'S ROLES

The *main* codes for ROLEA and ROLEB should be 1, 2, 3, 4. Codes 5, 6, 7, 8 are included to deal with cases that simply cannot be coded with one of the first four codes. Code 9 is for those cases that do not fit any of the pre-assigned codes.

ROLEA   Representative's **principal role** in story is as
                    1 = Participant in federal policy making (broadly defined to include lawmaking and the
                            provision of geographic benefits)
                    2 = Performer of casework for individual constituents
                    3 = Visitor to constituency or host to constituents in Washington
                    4 = Candidate in past, present, or future electoral contest
                    5 = Politician with associated sins (ethical, junkets)
                    6 = Politician with virtues to be noted (awards, praise)
                    7 = Source of quote for story on something else
                    8 = Purely incidental mention in story on something else
                    9 = Other role — *use sparingly* when the other codes do not fit at all
                  99 = [legitimate skip]

ROLEB   Representative's **secondary role** in story is as
                    0 = [no secondary role — ROLEA does very nicely]
                    1 = Participant in federal policy making (broadly defined to include lawmaking and the
                            provision of geographic benefits)
                    2 = Performer of casework for individual constituents
                    3 = Visitor to constituency or host to constituents in Washington
                    4 = Candidate in past, present, or future electoral contest
                    5 = Politician with associated sins (ethical, junkets)
                    6 = Politician with virtues to be noted (awards, praise)
                    9 = [legitimate skip]

GEOAGT   Representative **clearly portrayed as a local agent**, obtaining *geographic benefits* for district. Geographic benefits refer to policy effects that are disproportionately concentrated within the representative's district, such as public works, grants to local governments, or federal expenditures of any type. Do *not* use this category for benefits to individuals — e.g., social security checks.
0 = [no portrayal of representative as local agent]
1 = favoring some proposal to acquire geographic benefits
2 = working to acquire geographic benefits
3 = announcing success in acquiring geographic benefits
4 = claiming credit for acquiring geographic benefits
5 = explaining why geographic benefits will not be forthcoming
6 = helping to educate constituents about geographic benefits
9 = [legitimate skip]

GEOPROT   Representative **clearly portrayed as a local protector**, shielding district from *geographic costs* that Congress or the bureaucracy might impose. Geographic costs refer to policy effects that are disproportionately concentrated within the representative's district, such as the closing of a military base, the imposition of a nuclear waste dump, or the loss of federal funds of any type. Do *not* use for costs to individuals — e.g., loss of social security checks.
0 = [no portrayal of representative as local protector]
1 = opposing some proposal to impose geographic costs
2 = working to block or modify imposition of geographic costs
3 = announcing success in blocking or modifying geographic costs
4 = claiming credit for blocking (or modifying) geographic costs
5 = explaining why geographic costs will be imposed
6 = helping to educate constituents about geographic costs
9 = [legitimate skip]

GRPAGT   Representative **clearly portrayed as a group agent**, obtaining *group benefits* for some group in society or working to shield some group from the imposition of *group costs*. Group benefits and costs refer to policy effects that accrue disproportionately to a particular group in society (organized or unorganized). This category is *not* used for costs and benefits that are heavily concentrated within a representative's constituency where the concept of geographic costs and benefits fits better.
0 = [no portrayal of representative as group agent]
1 = taking a position for or against the proposal
2 = working to advance or block the proposal
3 = announcing success in advancing or blocking the proposal
4 = claiming credit for advancing or blocking the proposal
5 = explaining failure to advance or block the proposal
6 = helping to educate constituents about group costs and benefits
9 = [legitimate skip]

GENAGT   Representative **clearly portrayed as the champion of some proposal** that promises benefits that are *not* easily classified as geographic or group benefits (or works to block the imposition of costs that are not easily classified as geographic or group costs). This is a residual category that includes such notions as general costs and benefits, collective goods, public goods, moral values, and a number of other policy effects that fall more uniformly on members of society than do geographic or group effects.
0 = [no portrayal of representative as statesman]
1 = taking a position for or against the proposal
2 = working to advance or block the proposal
3 = announcing success in advancing or blocking the proposal
4 = claiming credit for advancing or blocking the proposal
5 = explaining failure to advance or block the proposal
6 = helping to educate constituents about general costs and benefits
9 = [legitimate skip]

COMLDR   Story shows representative as **leader** of a **committee** (chair or ranking minority member)
0 = [no]
1 = **identifies** representative as committee leader
2 = shows representative **acting** as committee leader
9 = [legitimate skip]

SUBLDR   Story shows representative as **subcommittee leader** (chair or ranking minority member)
0 = [no]
1 = **identifies** representative as subcommittee leader
2 = shows representative **acting** as subcommittee leader
9 = [legitimate skip]

COMMEM   Story shows representative as *just* a **member of a committee** (or subcommittee). Do not use this code if the representative is a committee leader or a subcommittee leader of the committee or subcommittee in question.
0 = [no]
1 = **identifies** representative as committee member
2 = shows representative **acting** as committee member
9 = [legitimate skip]

PTYLDR   Story shows representative as a **party leader** within the House
0 = [no]
1 = **identifies** representative as party leader
2 = shows representative **acting** as party leader
9 = [legitimate skip]

CAULDR   Story shows representative as **leader** of some organized **congressional caucus** (Black
                caucus, coal caucus, Democratic Study Group)
                0 = [no]
                1 = **identifies** representative as caucus leader
                2 = shows representative **acting** as caucus leader
                9 = [legitimate skip]

E. REPRESENTATIVE'S LAW-MAKING ACTIVITIES

This section is used to record the representative's participation in the various phases of the legislative process, from identifying a problem, to proposing a solution, introducing a bill, holding committee hearings, marking up a bill in committee, and building a coalition for the bill. *If the representative is involved in activities for several different issues, code his or her activities for ISSUEA.*

The eight variables should be used sparingly — especially the three **"talking variables"** (PROBLEM, SOLUTN, and VIEWS). Ordinarily one should use *only one* of these three variables, for SOLUTN implies that one believes that there is a problem, and VIEWS implies that one believes there is both a problem and a solution. Code the latest talking activity and assume that it will imply the earlier talking activities.

The five **"action variables"** can be used in combination with each other, for it is possible to do several different activities (e.g., introduce a bill, participate in hearings, and work to broaden a coalition). Since these action variables imply a fair amount of talking, one should not assign any of the talking variables once one has assigned one or more action variables.

E.1. Talking Variables

PROBLEM   Representative discusses a **problem** in need of a governmental solution. *Do not use with
                any other variables in this section.*
                0 = [no]
                1 = yes
                9 = [legitimate skip]

SOLUTION   Representative discusses a possible **solution** to a known problem. *Do not use with any
                other variables in this section.*
                0 = [no]
                1 = yes
                9 = [legitimate skip]

VIEWS   Representative offers **views** on some bill or proposal. *Do not use with any other variables in this section.* This is the **default** variable that is used when none of the other seven variables provide a better fit.
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

E.2. Action Variables

INTRO   Representative **introduces** a bill
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

ENDORSE   Representative **endorses** or co-sponsors someone else's bill
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

HEARING   Representative participates in a committee (or subcommittee) **hearing**
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

MARKUP   Representative participates in a committee (or subcommittee) **markup** to revise a bill and make it ready for floor consideration.
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

COALITN   Representative is portrayed as **working actively to build a coalition** for (or against) a bill
     0 = [no]
     1 = yes
     9 = [legitimate skip]

F. REPRESENTATIVE'S POSITION TAKING AND VOTING

PTAKING   Story shows representative **taking a position** on a policy issue during the **final stage** of
            House consideration (i.e., after a bill has emerged from a committee and is pending on
            the House floor):
            0 = [no position taking at this stage]
            1 = actual position on a roll-call vote
            2 = firm commitment to vote a certain way on a pending roll-call vote
            3 = general statement of views on a pending issue that falls short of a
                commitment to support (or oppose) a particular roll-call vote
            4 = representative explicitly declines to take a position when asked

Code only if PTAKING > 0

BILL   Policy position was on a specific **bill**
    code# = use code number for specific bill from separate coding sheet
      999 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if PTAKING > 0

POLCONF   Story shows reader what the basic policy **conflict** was (arguments pro and con)
            0 = [no explanation of basic policy conflict]
            1 = story reveals basic arguments on representative's side of issue
            2 = story reveals arguments on both sides of issue
            3 = story reveals basic arguments on opposite side of issue
            9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if PTAKING > 0

EXPLAN   Story offers representative's **explanation** for taking a particular position
            0 = [no explanation offered for representative's position]
            1 = explanation emphasizes own views of good public policy (or conscience)
            2 = explanation emphasizes **benefits** for constituents
            3 = explanation emphasizes **pressure** from constituents
            4 = explanation emphasizes role of party leadership or party loyalty
            5 = explanation emphasizes role of president
            6 = explanation emphasizes the rules and procedures of the House or the
                complicated parliamentary situation
            7 = explanation emphasizes **tough choices** (none of the alternatives were
                great, this was the best of a bad lot)
            8 = explanation emphasizes several elements
            9 = explanation is about the various reasons for *not* voting or taking a position
          10 = representative admits making an error and regrets decision
          99 = [legitimate skip]

G. CRITICISM OF PERFORMANCE AS A POLICY MAKER

CRITICON   Someone in the story criticizes the representative's performance as a policy maker. The
criticism focused on:
0 = [no criticism on performance as policy maker]
1 = bill introduced or co-sponsored by the representative
2 = bill endorsed by the representative
3 = representative's action in committee or subcommittee
4 = firm commitment to vote a certain way on a pending roll-call vote
5 = actual position on a roll-call vote or votes
6 = actual costs that can be traced to one of the above actions
7 = basic position on an important political or social issue (*not* 1 to 6)
8 = failure to keep past promises
9 = lack of accomplishments or ineffective
10 = out of touch with constituency
11 = conflict of interest (inability to separate own "private interest" from public interest)
12 = campaign contributions and/or support from pacs influenced votes
13 = poor attendance record
14 = other criticism of representative **as a policy maker**
15 = various failures (with no failure dominant)
99 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if CRITICON > 0

CRITICBY   Someone in the story criticizes the representative's performance as a policy maker. The **critic
was**:
1 = an electoral challenger (or staff member)
2 = an obvious supporter of the challenger
3 = an interest group leader or issue activist
4 = newspaper editorial or opinion columnist
5 = a party leader from the representative' party (not from Congress)
6 = a party leader from the other party (not from Congress)
7 = a current member of the House or Senate (at any rank)
8 = the president
9 = a constituent not falling into any of the above groups (i.e., letter writer)
10 = a state or local official
11 = various critics (with no critic dominant)
99 = [legitimate skip]

H. ETHICAL PROBLEMS AND ATTACKS ON CONGRESS

RATKDFND Representative attacks or defends Congress as an **institution**
  0 = [representative neither attacks nor defends]
  1 = representative attacks Congress
  2 = representative offers balanced critique of Congress
  3 = representative defends Congress as an institution
  9 = [legitimate skip]

REPETHC   Story mentions a (possible) **ethical problem of the selected representative**. The problem
    mentioned was:
  0 = [no discussion of ethics]
  1 = Use of public money (or inside information) for representative's personal gain
  2 = Use of campaign contributions or other funds from special interests for
      representative's personal gain
  3 = Inappropriate hiring or treatment of staff (nepotism, discrimination, sexual
      favors, sexual harassment, etc.)
  4 = Sexual indiscretions outside the workplace
  5 = Problem with drugs or alcohol
  6 = House bank scandal
  7 = A criminal matter (not covered above)
  8 = Another ethical problem not described above
  9 = Various ethical problems (with no problem dominant)
  99 = [legitimate skip]

CONETHC   Story mentions an **ethical problem of Congress** as an institution (although perhaps with
    reference to the ethical problems of **other** representatives). The problem mentioned
    was:
  0 = [no discussion of ethics]
  1 = Use of public money (or inside information) for representatives' personal gain
  2 = Use of campaign contributions or other funds from special interests for
      representatives' personal gain
  3 = Inappropriate hiring or treatment of staff (nepotism, discrimination, sexual
      favors, sexual harassment, etc.)
  4 = Sexual indiscretions outside the workplace
  5 = Problem with drugs or alcohol
  6 = House bank scandal
  7 = A criminal matter (not covered above)
  8 = Another ethical problem not described above
  9 = Various ethical problems (with no problem dominant)
  99 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if CONETHC > 0

ETHCLINK   What is the selected representative's **connection** to the story's mentions of an ethical problem
               in Congress?
               0 = [no connection at all]
               1 = represented cited as **example** of the problem in Congress
               2 = representative portrayed as **not** part of the problem
               3 = representative portrayed as working to **solve** the problem
               9 = [legitimate skip]

I. PARTY, IDEOLOGY, AND THE PRESIDENT

PTYSUPP   Is the **representative portrayed** as a supporter or an opponent of his or her own **party in
               Congress**? The portrayal should be fairly obvious to the casual reader and should
               not require that the reader make any strong inferences about whether some action is
               (or is not) a reflection of what a loyal party member might do. A simple roll-call vote
               would not ordinarily be evidence of party support (or opposition) unless the story
               reported that the representative stood with (or against) his or her party or party
               leaders. Ordinarily, the story should make clear *who* is portraying the representative
               as a party supporter (i.e., if PTYLINK cannot be coded, then PTYSUPP should not
               be coded.
               0 = [no mention of support or opposition]
               1 = supporter of own party in Congress
               2 = mixed view — supports and opposes party
               3 = opponent of own party in Congress
               9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if PTYSUPP > 0

PTYLINK   Who portrayed the representative as a supporter or an opponent of his or her own party in
               Congress?
               1 = the representative (or staff)
               2 = someone who clearly **approves** of the representative
               3 = neutral source or multiple sources   **[default]**
               4 = someone who clearly **disapproves** of the representative
               5 = electoral challenger (or staff)
               9 = [legitimate skip]

PRESSUPP   Is the **representative portrayed** as a supporter or an opponent of **President Clinton**? The
portrayal should be fairly obvious to the casual reader and should *not* require that the
reader make any strong inferences about whether some action is (or is not) a
reflection of what a friend of the president might do. A simple roll-call vote would not
ordinarily be evidence of presidential support (or opposition) unless the story reported
that the representative stood with (or against) the president. Ordinarily, the story
should make clear *who* is portraying the representative as a supporter of the president
(i.e., if PRESLINK cannot be coded, then PRESSUPP should not be coded.
0 = [no mention of support or opposition]
1 = supporter of Clinton
2 = mixed view — both supports and opposes
3 = opponent of Clinton
9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if PRESSUPP > 0

PRESLINK   Who portrays the representative as a supporter or an opponent of President Clinton?
1 = the representative (or staff)
2 = someone who clearly **approves** of the representative
3 = neutral source or multiple sources   **[default]**
4 = someone who clearly **disapproves** of the representative
5 = electoral challenger (or staff)
6 = the president (or his staff)
9 = [legitimate skip]

IDEOL   Is the representative **portrayed in ideological terms**? The portrayal should be fairly
obvious to the casual reader and should *not* require that the reader make any strong
inferences about whether some action is (or is not) a reflection of what a politician
with particular ideological beliefs might do. A simple roll-call vote would not
ordinarily be evidence of ideological behavior unless the story used ideological
language to describe the representative's behavior. Ordinarily, the story should make
clear *who* is portraying the representative
0 = [no ideological label used]
1 = extremely liberal
2 = liberal   **[default]**
3 = moderately liberal
4 = moderate, middle-of-the-road   **[default]**
5 = moderately conservative
6 = conservative   **[default]**
7 = extremely conservative
8 = mixed ideological message
9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if IDEOL > 0

IDEOLINK   Who portrayed the representative in ideological terms?
             1 = the representative (or staff)
             2 = someone who clearly **approves** of the representative
             3 = neutral source or multiple sources   **[default]**
             4 = someone who clearly **disapproves** of the representative
             5 = electoral challenger (or staff)
             9 = [legitimate skip]

J. CAMPAIGN COVERAGE INVOLVING THIS REPRESENTATIVE

The **only** campaigns that should be coded here are campaigns in which:
        (a) the incumbent representative is running for **reelection**
        (b) the incumbent representative is running for some **higher office**
        (c) candidates are running **against** the incumbent in a **primary**
        (d) candidates are running in the **other party's primary** for the right to challenge the incumbent
                representative in the general election,
Do not code stories that focus on past campaigns or on any elections that do not include the incumbent.

These variables **can** be used even if a representative's campaign is **not** the main subject of the story (i.e., if ABOUT does not equal 2). If there is some discussion of a representative's campaign and it makes sense to code these variables, then do so, even if some other matter is the main subject of the story.

STAGE   Story focuses on following **stage** of campaign:
                0 = [no campaign coverage that satisfies above condition]
                1 = 1994 primary involving representative (own party)
                2 = 1994 primary to choose challenger to representative (other party)
                3 = 1994 primary involving representative running for higher office
                4 = 1994 general election involving representative running for reelection
                5 = 1994 general election involving representative running for higher office
                6 = 1994 campaign (stage not obvious from story but satisfies above screen)
                9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if STAGE > 0

CAMPAGN   Principal focus of **campaign coverage**:

      1 = Who might run (incumbent for reelection, who might challenge)
      2 = Candidate profile (incumbent)
      3 = Challenger profile
      4 = Incumbent's record
      5 = Challenger's qualifications, previous record, and policy positions
      6 = Campaign contributions, fund raising, and campaign spending
      7 = Campaign events
      8 = Endorsements of incumbent or challenger (by interest group)
      9 = Endorsements of incumbent or challenger (by political officials)
    10 = Endorsements of incumbent or challenger (in editorial)
    11 = Horse race stories (who is ahead and behind)
    12 = Policy issue or issues (use when *both* incumbent's and challenger's policy
      positions are compared; do *not* use if the focus is primarily on the incumbent's
      positions (use #4) or the challenger's positions (#5)
    13 = Explains outcome of past primary or general election (this district)
    14 = No available code
    15 = Multiple elements (none dominant)
    99 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if STAGE > 0

CHALCENT   How central is the **challenger** to the story (challenger in the primary or general
election, as appropriate)?

      0 = [Challenger not mentioned]
      1 = Challenger is the main subject of the story or one of several main subjects of the
          story (must be mentioned in headline and/or first three paragraphs)
      2 = Challenger is a secondary subject in the story
      3 = Challenger is mentioned *only* on a list
      4 = Challenger is an incidental subject (only computer would notice)
      9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if STAGE > 0

CHALVAL   **Valence** of story from the perspective of the challenger (challenger in the primary or general
election, as appropriate)

      0 = [Challenger not mentioned]
      1 = Appears to contribute to **positive** impression of challenger
      2 = Neutral, mix of positive and negative elements, or unclear to coder (e.g., accurate
          coding would require an understanding of the local context)
      3 = Appears to contribute to **negative** impression of challenger
      9 = [legitimate skip]

Code only if STAGE > 0

CATKDFND Challenger attacks or defends Congress as an **institution**

        0 = [challenger neither attacks nor defends]
        1 = challenger attacks Congress
        2 = challenger offers balanced critique of Congress
        3 = challenger defends Congress as an institution
        9 = [legitimate skip]

K. COUNT OF REPRESENTATIVE'S AND CHALLENGER'S PROMINENCE

REPMEN Number of mentions of the **representative's name** in the body of the story

CHALMEN Number of mentions of the candidate who is challenging the representative in the representative's own primary or in the general election. Use whichever challenger is appropriate based on the way in which STAGE is coded.

        If STAGE = 1 or 3, use primary challenger
        If STAGE = 4 or 5, use general election challenger

This variable may be used to record mentions of the challenger even if STAGE = 0, for example, when a challenger appears in a story that is *not* about a campaign (Kyl and Coppersmith comment on a newly awarded grant). In such cases, CHALCENT, CHALVAL, and CATKDFND are not coded, for they require STAGE >0.

L. INFORMATION ADDED BY THE SYSTEM AS CODER ENTERS DATA

CODERNUM Coder number

        1 = Coder 1
        2 = Coder 2
        3 = Coder 3

ENTRDATE Date information was added to the system

ID Unique identification number added by the system

M. INFORMATION ADDED BY INVESTIGATOR AFTER DATA ENTRY

PHASE Story is part of basic (25 papers) or extended (31 papers) phase of study.

        1 = Basic study only (19 original papers)
        2 = Basic and extended studies (6 original papers)
        3 = Extended study only (6 comparison papers)

Note on subsequent notation.

        First Data Set (phase = 1 or 2)
        Second Data Set (phase = 2 or 3)

SELECT   Story was selected by computerized search for
                           1 = Representative's first and last names
                           2 = Representative's last name only

DUPPAIRS   Story was coded twice as part of reliability study.
                           0 = Story coded once
                           1 = Story coded twice

CONTEST   Incumbent ran in contested election.
                           0 = No (one retired, three ran unopposed)
                           1 = Yes

PRIMDATE   Date of primary election.

COMPAPR   Did the local newspaper compete with another local daily paper?
                           0 = No (13 papers)
                           1 = Yes and competing paper is in the first or second data set (12 papers)
                           2 = Yes but competing paper is not in either data set (6 papers)