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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>What type of story?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Basic news story (with some obvious reporting) [default]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Press-release style announcement (with no obvious reporting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>List only (no story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Opinion column (op-ed page)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Column, letter, or article by representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Letter to the editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Editorial Cartoon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[If TYPE = 3, then code just LIST and Sections C, F, and K.]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>How central is the named representative to the story?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Representative is a secondary subject in the story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Representative is mentioned only on a list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Representative is an incidental subject (only computer would notice)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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]
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]

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]

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]

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]

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]
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, CHALCEN, 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)