Policy Frames Codebook

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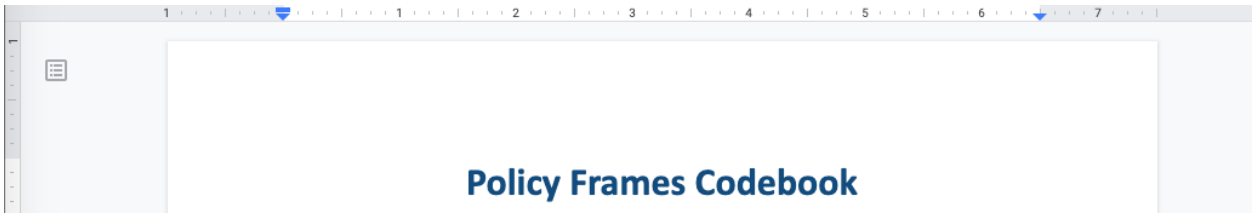
Note: *If you're viewing the Google docs version of this codebook, you might find it helpful to expand the document outline, allowing you to jump between sections and subsections of the codebook. To expand the document outline, click on the square icon at the upper left-hand corner of this page, taking you from this:*



To this:

Overview

This codebook outlines a structure for categorizing political communication content (e.g., newspaper stories, Tweets, legislative debates) according to frame and tone. We developed this codebook in order to apply it to U.S. newspaper coverage of six policy issues (capital punishment, climate change, gun control, immigration, same-sex marriage, smoking/tobacco) over time—and to Twitter discussion of immigration. The details of the research process we used (including rules about determining relevance, our weekly routine of assigning files to coders and arbitrating coding disagreements, etc.) can be found here and might be helpful to researchers hoping to embark on a similar project.

The purpose of this codebook is to document for our own coders the coding decisions we have made but, mostly, to present our approach in the hopes that other researchers might make use of it for their own work.

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How to Cite

We encourage the free, attributed use of the data collected using the Policy Frames Codebook for publications, instructional use, policy analysis, and other non-commercial purposes. The use of this codebook should be cited according to the following template:

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Frame Dimensions

Frame signals can come in many forms and can be categorized in many ways. This codebook offers a set of 'general' frame categories that, at least in theory, is a near-exhaustive list of substantive (i.e., emphasis) dimensions that could be used to frame any policy issue and that transcend policy issues, similar to how the Policy Agendas Codebook <https://www.comparativeagendas.net/> employs topic categories that transcend agendas. The premise here is that policy issues are multi-dimensional; each issue can be talked about, or framed, from different perspectives. These frame dimensions are NOT intended to be mutually exclusive; the same section of text (or the same image) might receive multiple frame codes. That said, researchers will likely want to assign a single 'primary' code at some level of analysis (e.g., the news article). For example, in the data we collected for this project, we allow coders to code the body of news stories using overlapping frame codes (where the same sentence might get two or more codes), but we also have them assign a single primary frame code to each news story as a whole. If a text contains multiple frame signals, the primary frame is simply the one that comes across most strongly; that is, the one that will likely stick the most in the audience's mind. Often the primary frame will be the one used the most frequently throughout a text, but not always.

1) Economics frame signals

In general, the costs, benefits, or any monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, organization, community or to the economy as a whole).

Can include the effect of policy issues on trade, markets, wages, employment or unemployment, viability of specific industries or businesses, implications of taxes or tax breaks, financial incentives, etc.

Examples:

i. Stories on *marijuana* emphasizing the cost of the drug war and the potential for revenue through legalization/regulation of the market.
ii. Stories on *cigarette* bans in bars focusing on the loss of tips for waiters and bartenders from smokers who no longer spend as much time inside spending money.
iii. Stories on *immigration* discussing the debate over whether regularization of status for unauthorized immigrants will be a net positive or negative for public expenditure (spending on services vs. new tax revenue).
iv. Stories on *guns* discussing an increase in gun purchases as a result of proposed gun control laws.
v. Stories on the *environment* discussing the cost of new regulations to businesses in the area.
vi. Stories on *same sex marriage* discussing the revenue state can gain or the cost to the state, or growth in wedding-related industries.
vii. Stories on *abortion* discussing the economic status of women/families seeking abortion services, insurance costs vs out of pocket expenditures, public funding.

2) Capacity and Resources frame signals

In general, the lack of—or availability of—time, physical, geographical, space, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals. May also include the capacity or availability of resources to deal with a new issue for which there are no established policy goals—in this case, capacity or resources could be an impediment to solving a problem or adequately addressing an issue.

The easiest way to think about the *Capacity and Resources* frame dimension is in terms of there being "not enough" or “enough” of something. If tobacco sales to minors are straining a local

police department's ability to patrol all high-target areas; if tobacco farmers are running out of farmland; if schools don't have enough trained personnel to staff quit-smoking seminars; if there's not enough time to implement or carry out a policy, etc. And if a story talks about there not being enough money to fund something related to smoking, then both the *Capacity and Resources* dimension (2) AND the *Economics* dimension (1) would get tagged.

Notes:

- In contrast to *Economics*, this dimension is for signals about a limitation (or adequate capacity) of funding/time/resources/etc. So while signals may be economic in nature (and cross-coded with *Economics* or other codes), this code stresses finite resources.
- *Capacity and Resources* frames may overlap with *Economics* frames in some cases, but deal specifically with the limitations or availability of resources as they relate to policy objectives.
- Examples of resources that might signal *Capacity and Resources* IF they are discussed with regard to their availability/scarcity/surplus:
    - Physical resources: including farmland, office space, classroom space, prisons, mental health institutions, housing, highways and infrastructure, natural resources (such as aquifers, open space, forests) and public parks.
    - Human resources: including law enforcement, IRS or other state agency officers, professionals such as doctors, teachers, mental health workers, troops, staff, engineers, or any other type of worker or service provider.
    - Financial resources: including availability of credit, funding, capacity to raise funds, available foreign currency, availability of commercial items as a result of sanctions, etc. (and will usually count as *Economics* frames, too).

Examples:

i. Stories on *immigration* examining the strain on local resources in town with rapid surge in immigrant population (i.e. school overcrowding, housing shortage, and traffic).
ii. Stories on *tobacco* that consider the crowding out of farmland for less lucrative food crops by tobacco farming.
iii. Stories on *gun* violence looking at the strain on Chicago's ERs due to the high number of gunshot wounds.
iv. Stories about *marijuana* growers that focus on the additional energy needs created by indoor growers, and the ability of energy producers to meet higher demand.
v. Stories on *immigration* focusing on the inadequate number of border patrol officers.
vi. Stories on *marijuana* focusing on the inability of law enforcement to police marijuana farms on public lands due to lack of funding to hire enough officers (also coded *Economics*).

vii. Stories on *same sex marriage* discussing the county clerk not having enough time to process all the marriage licenses.

3) Morality and Ethics frame signals

In general, any perspective that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social or personal responsibility (religious or secular).

Morality and Ethics is sometimes presented from a religious perspective, as in "eye for an eye," "do unto others," "thou shalt not kill," "judge not, lest ye be judged," or "Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve." Non-religious *Morality and Ethics* frames can also be used. For example, the general moral imperatives to help others can be used to justify military intervention or foreign aid, social programs such as Medicare, welfare, and food stamps. Appeals that a policy move "is just the right thing to do" or "would indicate a recognition of our shared humanity" may reflect humanistic morality. The commitment aspect of marriage would evoke feelings of morality. Environmental arguments that focus on responsible stewardship or "leaving something for our children" are based in a sense of responsibility or morality. Lawbreakers, including illegal immigrants, can be presented as fundamentally immoral, conversely breaking a law that is bad or unjust can be presented as moral (e.g., Rosa Parks). Enacting protective legislation, such as laws that protect children from pedophiles, guns, violence, poverty, or failure to do so can also be presented using moral frames.

Claims of judgment should be coded under this frame dimension.

Examples:

i. On *immigration*: The mayor of Cambridge, MA writes an op-ed defending the city council's vote to declare Cambridge a "Sanctuary City" by saying that "we cannot in good conscience participate in tearing families apart by cooperating with ICE on deportations." A local pastor applauds the decision by citing Matthew 25:33-40, in which Jesus says, "Whatever you did for the least of these…"
ii. A story on the *national debt* discusses the immorality of "spending our grandchildren's money."
iii. On *guns*: "The Executives claimed not to know if their guns had ever been used in a crime. They eschewed voluntary measures to lessen the risk of them falling into the wrong hands. And they denied that common danger signs -- like a single person buying

many guns at once or numerous ''crime guns'' that are traced to the same dealer -- necessarily meant anything at all."

iv. Stories about *cigarettes* may discuss the morality of selling a product that is known to cause cancer.
v. Stories about *smokers* lacking personal integrity.
vi. A story concerning the "Sanctity of Marriage," or the morality of *same-sex marriages*.
vii. Any discussion of religious leaders or member of a congregation being punished for supported *same sex marriage*.
viii. Any reference that marriage is a union between a man and a woman.
ix. Any discussion of it being wrong to execute a person for a crime they committed as a minor.

4) Fairness and Equality frame signals

In general, the fairness, equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.

Fairness and Equality frame signals often focus on whether society and its laws are equally distributed and enforced across regions, race, gender, economic class, etc. Many gender and race issues, in particular, include equal pay, access to resources such as education, healthcare and housing. Another example could be fairness considerations about whether punishments are proportional to crimes committed.

In most cases, when there is any mention of civil rights it will be coded *Fairness and Equality*, but it is often coded under *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* and/or *Morality and Ethics* as well. Similarly, *Fairness and Equality* signals are often used in discussing social justice issues.

Any talk of discrimination should receive a *Fairness and Equality* code.

Any talk of an inmate's innocence or exogeneration will be coded as *Fairness and Equality*.

Examples:

i. Stories on *marijuana* mentioning how much more likely Black folk are to receive a prison sentence despite similar levels of marijuana use and low-level drug-dealing among whites.

ii. A story that contrasts the experience of a *same-sex couple* in completing bureaucratic paperwork with that of a heterosexual couple.
iii. A talk radio personality insists that tough restrictions on *abortion* will only affect poor people, while wealthier people will still be able to obtain safe abortion service.
iv. On *immigration*: “The senators said women in foreign countries often do not have the same educational and career opportunities as men. We should not cement those inequalities into our immigration laws," Ms. Hirono said.
v. Stories on *immigration* addressing the fairness of punishing undocumented immigrants who were brought to the country as children.
vi. Stories talking about the fairness of gay men and women not being offered benefits from businesses/corporations that do not recognize *same sex marriage*.
vii. Stories talking about the potential innocence of an inmate sitting on *death row*.
viii. Stories addressing a death row inmate’s failure to receive due process (note: these articles will also feature considerable *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdictio*n frame signals, but provided the main takeaway is the legal system's failings, it should be coded as *Fairness and Equality*).

5) Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

In general, the legal, constitutional, or jurisdictional aspects of an issue, where legal aspects include existing laws and court cases; constitutional aspects include all discussion of constitutional interpretation and/or potential revisions; and jurisdiction includes any discussion of which government body should be in charge of a policy decision and/or the appropriate scope of a body’s policy reach.

The use of—or reference to—legal reasoning in discussion of a policy area or problem, especially foundational/fundamental rights broadly recognized.

Of special note are constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This dimension deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.

This dimension includes arguments about the right to bear arms, equal protection, free speech and expression. The constitutionality of restricting individual freedoms, imposing taxes, and conflicts between state, local or federal regulation and authority. It also includes certain references to court cases (especially precedent-setting court cases), questions of judicial

authority, conflict between different branches of government as they relate to the authority to regulate.

Notes:

- Asylum and Amnesty: References specifically to seeking asylum or granting amnesty should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. However, the article should be coded to what it is primarily about: not always *Legality ,Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* (may be *Fairness and Equality* or *Health and Safety*, for example). Also, mentions of refugees should be coded as *Health and Safety*.
- Court cases should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*.
- All aspects of jurisdiction: U.S. vs. United Nations, states vs. federal, voters vs. courts, military tribunal vs. civilian courts, etc.
- Legal documentation: green card, visas, passports, driver licenses, marriage license, etc.
- Juries should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* provided the discussion pertains to their role as a legal entity. For instance, a jury reaching a verdict, or a prosecutor acting strategically would be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* (note juries can also signal *Fairness and Equality*, and *Public Sentiment* when framed accordingly).
- Clemency should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* except in instances when the discussion of the act focuses on the political actor or political ramification of granting clemency.

Examples:

i. Opponents of laws targeting undocumented immigrants in Arizona and Alabama are quoted as saying only the federal government, not individual states, are entitled to regulate immigration and enforce *immigration* laws.
ii. The notion of a “well regulated militia” is referenced in a debate over how the Second Amendment should be understood in the contemporary *guns* policy.
iii. Speculation abounds on whether the interstate commerce clause can be used to defend the Affordable Care Act (*Obamacare*).
iv. Stories concerning the constitutionality of medical *marijuana* or legalization of marijuana, especially as it relates to conflicting federal and state regulation.
v. Stories discussing legal challenges, from the federal government, to Arizona’s *immigration* laws.
vi. Stories about *same sex marriage* addressing the legality of Prop 8.

6) Crime and Punishment

In general, the violation of policies in practice and the consequences—retribution—of these violations.

This dimension includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of civil and criminal laws by individuals and law enforcement.

When laws are broken, sentencing and punishment, including punishment by the courts. Also fines imposed for breaking laws (but fines would also be coded as *Economics*).

Notes:

- Deportation: references to being deported should be coded as *Crime and Punishment*. In articles that talk about deportations cases, the court case hearing is *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. If the individual is found guilty, not having the necessary documents that grant legal standing, deportation is the punishment and should be coded accordingly.
- Increases or reductions in crime.
- Often, punishment of a particular group (or member of that group) will be coded as *Crime and Punishment*, but may also be dually coded as something else. For example, if an article discusses clergy being punished for performing same-sex marriage then it will get coded as *Morality and Ethics* for the religious aspect of it and *Crime and Punishment* for the punishment part of it.
- An execution will be coded as *Crime and Punishment*, except in instances where the main focus is on the philosophical, constitutional, or health ramifications of the death penalty.
- DNA leading to the arrest of suspects will be coded as *Crime and Punishment*. Discussion of DNA as a new resource for law enforcement to solve cases will be coded *Capacity and Resources*.

Examples:

i. Stories on *immigration*: "Illegal immigrants broke the law and should be punished, not rewarded."
ii. Stories on *smoking* discussing the ramifications for selling cigarettes to minors under 18.
iii. On zero-tolerance laws, including for *marijuana*: "A little graffiti might not seem like a big deal, and some people say cops shouldn't waste their time and energy on it, but when you ignore blatant disregard for the law—whether it's writing on a wall or littering or

carrying an ounce of marijuana—you are giving license to criminality and sending a signal that only emboldens criminals."

iv. A discussion about increased *gun violence* in a city would be coded as *Crime and Punishment*. However, discussion about how to solve the problem of increased gun violence or how effective existing policies are would be coded as *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*.

v. An article pertaining to a sanction, penalty, punishment would normally fall under *Crime and Punishment*. However, if the context of the sanction is the stronger signal, then code in favor of context. For example if a priest is sanctioned by the church for same-sex marriage support, the primary frame would be *Morality and Ethics* because the punishment is more or less contained to the church domain. Likewise, a politician being censured/sanctioned by Congress (or legislative body: council, boards) is clearly punishment, but again one that is both contained and specific to a political realm, and thus would be *Political Factors and Implications*.

7) Security and Defense frame signals

In general, any threat to a person, group, or nation, or any defense that needs to be taken to avoid that threat.

Notes:

- *Security and Defense* frames differ from *Health and Safety* frames in that *Security and Defense* frames address a preemptive action to stop a threat from occurring, whereas *Health and Safety* frames address steps taken to ensure safety in the event that something happens.
- This dimension can include efforts to build a border fence or "secure the borders," issues of national security including resource security, efforts of individuals to secure homes, neighborhoods or schools, and efforts such as guards and metal detectors that would defend children from a possible threat.
- Discussion regarding terrorist activity should be coded as *Security and Defense*. This includes arrests of terrorist, immigrants linked to terrorism activity, increased border security to prevent terrorism, etc.
- Arrests at border will receive both a *Crime and Punishment* and *Security and Defense* code but the primary frame would be *Security and Defense* since the action is taking place on the border.
- All terrorist attacks are coded as *Security and Defense*, but attention should be paid to potential criminal, legal, or any other aspects and double coded accordingly.

Examples:

i. In the debate over *immigration* reform: “Rep. Buck McKeon (R-Calif.), the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, suggested that Arab terrorists could disguise themselves as Hispanics in order to cross into the United States. ‘And if you get an Arab that's trained, that's coming into this country to be a terrorist, they can mingle in and they can get in here. Then they could do damage.’”
ii. Stories on *same-sex marriage* discussing the possibility that legalizing same-sex marriage would give radical terrorist another reason to attack the US.
iii. Stories on *gun* ownership looking at statistics on attempted break-ins when there is a gun in the home.
iv. Stories on carrying a *gun* for self-protection/self-defense.
v. On *immigration*: Stories that look at citizen militia groups such as the Minutemen, who engage in activities to “secure the borders.” Or a story about citizens acting in a law enforcement capacity to secure a neighborhood, such as a neighborhood watch group.
vi. The threat language of a threat to traditional marriage/values in a *same-sex marriage* article.
vii. Stories about safe routes to school, gun-free zones around schools.

8) Health and Safety

In general, the potential health and safety outcomes of any policy issue.

This dimension can include, but is not limited to, health care access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, carnage, obesity, mental health effects, infrastructure and building safety. Policies taken to ensure safety should a tragedy occur would fit under this, as well. Can include emergency preparedness kits, lock down training in schools, disaster awareness classes for teachers, etc.

Notes:

- Issues that involve gun safety will fit in this category but issues involving steps taken to avoid gun violence would be considered *Security and Defense*.
- When an article talks about health benefits as the main focus of an article it will receive a *Health and Safety* primary tag. The article will most likely have body codes of *Health and Safety*, *Quality of Life* and *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*. However, more often or not the main frame of the article will be *Health and Safety* because health benefits fall under the domain of health.

- Often used in conjunction with *Quality of Life*.
- Mental health or any signal of mental limitations, regardless of the person, are coded *Health and Safety*.
- Any discussion of the various capital punishment methods and procedures are coded *Health and Safety*.
- Mentions of refugees should be coded as *Health and Safety*.

Examples:

i. Stories on the prevalence of hit-and-runs by undocumented *immigrants* who are unable to obtain driver's licenses.
ii. Refugees seeking protection, coming to America, stranded at sea, finding their way. Their mention signals us to think about the health and welfare of the individuals.
iii. A commentator says allowing *same-sex marriage* is an endorsement of unsafe sexual practices and will contribute to the spread of disease.
iv. Lou Dobbs claims that *immigrants* from Mexico bring leprosy and tuberculosis to this country.
v. Stories that discuss *gun safety* features such as gun locks, child-proofing, safety and training classes, prevention of accidental shootings.
vi. A story about limiting minors' access to *abortion* services, birth control, morning after pills etc., or parental consent restrictions.
vii. Stories on the *environment* discussing the health effects from breathing polluted air.

9) Quality of Life

In general, the benefits and costs of any policy on quality of life.

Notes:

- The effects of a policy on people's wealth (would also be coded as *Economics*), mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.
- This dimension includes any mention of people receiving generic "benefits," anything to do with adoptions, details of weddings in stories about same-sex marriage, etc.
- Often used in conjunction with *Health and Safety*.

Examples:

i. Stories on the day-to-day stress that undocumented *immigrants* face, such as fear of being deported, losing their jobs, being stopped by an officer, or the inability to participate in normal social activities or acquire resources.
ii. Stories on *smoking* talking about the effects on smokers of being shunned, or forced to smoke in designated areas and/or outside. What it feels like to be a smoker in an anti-smoking culture.
iii. Stories on *gun control* discussing stress or other quality of life issues among people who live in areas with high rates of gun violence.
iv. Stories describing the benefits and/or detriments of being a child of a *same-sex marriage*.
v. In discussions of *immigration*, we tend to see harsh working conditions, terrible wages, "virtual slavery" as frames highlighting the poor quality of worker life.
    a. Actual slavery: being held against one's will, violence, and loss of independence/rights should signal *Health and Safety*, *Fairness and Equality*, and perhaps *Morality and Ethics* depending on the language of the article. We were decidedly against categorizing all references to slavery (literal and figurative) as triggering one frame.
vi. Stories describing a victim's family's suffering or experiencing a sense of closure (note: if the family wants "an eye for an eye," that would be coded *Morality and Ethics*).

10) Cultural Identity

In general, the social norms, trends, values and customs constituting any culture(s) (American or otherwise), as they relate to a specific policy issue.

Notes:

- English language acquisition (ESL programs, adult-education, tutoring) are *Cultural Identity* as they cue notions of assimilation.
    - Exception: Learning English defaults to *Cultural Identity,* however if there is discussion of how learning English will give them a leg up or somehow improve their life in America it would be *Quality of Life* (however, if emphasizing job creation as a whole, *Economics* will be coded as well*).*
- Includes discussion of the patriotism of a given group, American gun culture, culture of violence, the history of an issue or the significance of an issue within a group or subculture.

- Discussions of the Census and demographics (i.e. how many immigrants, what types of immigrants), rates of demographic/population change (i.e. “New York is increasingly South American, immigrants from the continent soar from 13% to 18%)
- Discussions of a cultural shift (i.e. Some 40% of the Fortune 500 companies now offer domestic-partner benefits including nearly 70% of the top 50 top businesses).
- Includes the cultural norms of ethnic and political groups (e.g., an affinity for Republicans to wear cowboy hats, or for Latinos to have big family gatherings), references to famous people, notable politicians, leaders or representatives of a subculture, and their tastes, preferences, relationships with a specific issue. Note that religious feelings should go under *Morality and Ethics*. *Cultural Identity* is about the ethos of a group.
- Organizations and/or individuals associating themselves with a notable person or invoking their words, beliefs, in order to make a cultural reference, including Reagan, Lincoln, FDR, Camelot, MLK, famous hockey player, Beyonce, etc. in relation to a policy issue. May also include stereotypes or assumed preferences and reactions of a group, or endorsements related to a policy issue.

Examples:

i. On *immigration*: White Non-Hispanics who grew up in a town that is now 60% Latino are quoted in an article talking about how they don’t recognize the town anymore, can walk into a convenience store and not hear any English, and were shocked to discover that their elementary school was just renamed for Cesar Chavez.
ii. On *guns*: People in Western Pennsylvania talking about how urban-dwellers have no understanding of or appreciation for hunting, wouldn’t know how to survive in the wilderness, and think meat just grows at the supermarket.
iii. On *immigration*: “What do the actress Julianne Moore, the funnyman John Leguizamo, the supermodel Christy Turlington Burns and the director George C. Wolfe have in common? They're among the 15 celebrities brought together by We Belong Together, a new national initiative to promote immigration reform.”
iv. On *Same-sex marriage*: Conservative blacks object to comparisons between civil rights movement and same-sex marriage.
v. On *Same-sex marriage*: Headline “Civil rights march divides Dr. King followers”. Story about tension between two interpretations of MLK legacy. Conservative-religious blacks vs. anti-discrimination blacks. Article qualifies twice since it features two identities and group leaders prominently (MLK).
vi. An article describing a Tea Party rally, and that group's shared sense of identity.
vii. Discussion of Marco Rubio's relationship to Latino voters, President Obama's relationship to African American voters, Hillary Clinton's/Sarah Palin's relationship to women voters, etc.

viii. Celebrity endorsements for any policy issue.

11) Public Sentiment

In general, the public's opinion.

Includes references to general social attitudes, protests, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or "getting ahead of" public opinion or polls. References to a party's base or constituency (would usually overlap with *Political Factors and Implications*).

Includes any public passage of a proposition and/or law (i.e. "California voters passed Prop 8).

Additionally, at face value, all interest groups will be coded as *Public Sentiment* because they represent part of the population (Sierra Club, Georgians for Reduction, Minutemen, NRA, etc.). When an article deals with members of a group or interest group leaders they will be coded as *Public Sentiment*. However, code for what the interest group is actually doing.
Example*:* NRA lobbying Congress for new gun bill, would be coded as *Political Factors and Implications* for headline.

Notes:

- How many people constitute a public? An editorial with one person's opinion does not constitute public sentiment. But the opinion of groups of people—or a single person interviewed in a story as representing broader opinion—does count. Most news stories including interviews of laypeople/civilians would mark *Public Sentiment*, because those interviews are being used to represent public sentiment.
- A group of experts in a particular domain get coded according to their domain, and **NOT** *Public Sentiment* (e.g. police officers in *Crime and Punishment*, or climate scientists in *Capacity and Resources*).

Examples:

i. Stories on *same-sex marriage* stressing the rapid shift in public sentiment on the issue recently, saying this seems to be a "turning point."
ii. A segment on the evening news points out that subtle changes in survey questions make a big difference in apparent levels of support for *Obamacare*.
iii. On *immigration*: "Polls that describe the many requirements immigrants may have to meet to gain citizenship. For example, paying fines and back taxes, undergoing a criminal

background check and waiting many years. These polls have found much higher Republican support than polls that do not mention the obstacles to citizenship or refer generally to 'requirements.'"

iv. Bar patrons are interviewed about *smoking* bans in bars.

v. On *guns*: Stories involving polling about Second Amendment issues.

12) Political Factors and Implications

In general, any political considerations surrounding an issue.

Includes issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.

Notes:

- Includes mentions of political maneuvering. Mentions of a political entity or political party (e.g., Democrats, Republicans, Libertarians, Green Party, Tea Party, the House, The Senate, Clinton, Bush, Gore, etc.) get marked as *Political Factors and Implications*.
- Whenever a political vote is mentioned, (e.g., the new smoking ban passed 11-3) the *Political Factors and Implications* code should be used.
- When a headline mentions "both sides" this refers to politics.

Examples:

i. On *immigration*: "The Growers Association has the committee chair in its pocket, so there's no way the bill will include harsher punishments for companies hiring undocumented immigrants."

ii. On *poverty*: "The only reason the Senate can't pass the bill is that Democrats consider anti-poverty efforts their area and don't want Republicans to get credit for what they expect to be a popular law."

iii. In *immigration* articles, includes references to "gang of eight," discussion of changing demographics in relation to a party's base, and the difference between primary and general election goals/ talking points.

iv. Explicit discussion of running a black/white/brown/female/gay/Christian candidate for the expressed purpose of capturing a specific demographic.

13) Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation

In general, existing policies, policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, as well as analysis of whether hypothetical policies will work or existing policies are effective.

Note the mere mention of existing policy, including recently passed laws, (even without evaluation or analysis) goes under *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*.

This dimension deals with whether what currently is or isn't allowed is working (i.e., assessment of the existing policy) and discussion of what should or should not be done.

Includes debate over best practices. Thus, this frame dimension—perhaps more than any other—is likely to appear frequently across texts. Yet care should be given to only use this code category as the primary frame when the main thrust of an article is really about policy; otherwise use it as a tool to indicate specific discussion of policy goals or analysis that appear with other major frames.

Notes:

- In some articles, this frame will appear more than others, but should not normally be used as the primary frame; use it as a tool to indicate specific discussion of policy goals or analysis that appear with other major frames. For example, if an article talks about securing the border and goes into a policy that would provide better security along the border and the best way to do this. The primary frame will be *Security and Defense*, but the body of the article will consist of both *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation* and *Security and Defense* frames.
- "Policy" encompasses formal government regulation (e.g., federal or state law) as well as regulation by businesses (e.g., sports arenas not allowing the sale of alcohol).
- This dimension type stresses the practical: specifically, what should or shouldn't be done and why? A story describing ways existing policies have been successful or failed, or proposed policy solutions to a problem.
- Includes discussion of any legislation that will be voted on as long as there is some discussion of the proposed bill (description, evaluation, prescription of what the bill should have been, etc.). e.g., in the case of a story about Senator Smith proposing Bill X that discusses only the political implications of his move, only the *Political Factors and Implications* code would be used. But more likely, even if the political implications of his move are discussed (coded *Political Factors and Implications*), there would likely also be discussion of the bill itself (coded *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*).

- In short, everything about laws that have been/are being/or will be passed by Congress go under *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*, not *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*, although there may be some overlap in some cases.
- If an article discusses a policy change with a church then it will be coded as both *Morality and Ethics* (for the religious aspect of it) and as *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation* for the new policy.
- Phrases such as "comprehensive immigration reform" should not be coded unless they are followed by specific policy prescriptions.
- Everything can be about policy, so be careful to not use this code everywhere.

Examples:

i. Stories on *smoking* looking at a proposal for adding a small new tax on cigarettes and using the generated revenue subsidize hospital care for uninsured sufferers of smoking-related illness.
ii. Story discussing *NAFTA* 20 years later: How well did the trade agreement work in accomplishing its declared goals?
iii. Stories on *immigration* discussing a proposed border fence is a policy prescription, or proposed solution, to the issue of illegal immigration. The main frame would likely be *Security and Defense*.
iv. Stories on *gun control* discussing proposed waiting periods for gun buyers to address the problem of felons or people with mental illness accessing guns is a policy prescription within a *Health and Safety* frame.
v. Stories discussing the outcomes of stricter/more lax *environmental* regulations.
vi. Stories discussing a *smoking* ban at a sports arena, at the workplace, or a city, federal or state ordinance or measure.

14) External Regulation and Reputation frame signals

In general, the United States' external relations with another nation; the external relations of one US state with another.

Notes:

- Includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes between different groups or regions.
- Includes the perception of one nation, state, and/or group by another (for example, international criticisms of the United States maintaining capital punishment; influence of California's medical marijuana industry on bordering states).

- Border relations, interstate or international efforts to achieve policy goals; alliances or disputes between groups.
- This code isn't very common. It should really be the reputation of a group by outsiders or the regulations/agreements between states.

Examples:

i. On *immigration*: "The Mexican President sharply criticized elements of the reform bill that would place enormous resources toward what he called 'further militarization' of the border."
ii. Stories on *incarceration* discussing a recent report by a human rights group, which places the U.S. near the very bottom of modern industrialized nations for criminal justice system, prisons, and the use of the death penalty.
iii. Stories discussing the attitude of the UN/EU toward US *military actions* around the world.
iv. Stories discussing changing international perceptions of American economic stability following the government shutdown.

15) Other

Any frame signal that does not fit in the first 14 dimensions.

Examples:

i. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Guns"
ii. "In America; Out of Control"
iii. "Volcano still and Earth-shaker"
iv. "Apply some science"

Troubleshooting Related Frames

Below are ways of considering various related coding frames. Use these additional notes to troubleshoot potential confusions when coding. However, coders should continue to consult the full descriptions of each frame dimension above.

Take note there will be overlap between related frames, meaning that the same article (or even sentence) will often receive two or more frames. Whichever of the frames is most dominant should be counted as the primary frame.

Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation vs. Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction vs. Crime and Punishment

Put simply and very generally, this is the main difference between the three codes: *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation* relates to how a policy should work, *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* relates to what that law is and deciding whether or not a law was broken, and *Crime and Punishment* relates to the actual application of a law (the breaking of it, and the punishment).

- ***Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*:**
  This frame is for signals in which "rules" are evaluated or analyzed. These "rules" could include federal law, Congressional bills, state law, business policy, and any other regulation. Laws that have been, are being, or will be passed by Congress will be *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*. These will either be descriptions of proposed rules or the evaluation of existing rules — what the rules are, will be, should be, and/or how well or poorly the rules are working. It is important to note that a description, without evaluation, of an existing law is not *Policy Description, Prescription, and Evaluation* but rather *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* (see below). It must provide a description of these proposed rules plus an evaluation to be *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*.

- ***Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*:**
  This frame is for signals where there is either a description of an already existing law (without evaluation). The caveat here is that, if there is evaluation, the evaluation is done on the basis of whether the rule is legal and/or Constitutionally sound. Additionally, description of court cases or legal discussion determining, testing, or questioning this will be *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. Mentions of jurisdiction (e.g. state vs. federal) to come to this conclusion will also be *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. A sentence being delivered in a court case will also be

Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction. Proposed constitutional amendments will be *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*.

- ***Crime and Punishment*:**
  This frame is for signals that describe a crime, a violation of a rule; the description of the crime, arrests, police activity, mentions of violence, having to pay a fine. This is the description of an activity that occurs after breaking a policy and before it is discussed in a court.

- Examples:
  - Proposed laws are framed as a jurisdictional issue from the outset (can states regulate immigration?, can the federal government regulate smoking?, etc.), and such discussion would be tagged as both *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation* and *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*.
  - A story about a court case involving a fine or jail time would get tagged as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction* (for the court case) and *Crime and Punishment* (for jail time and the fine) and *Economics* (for the fine).
  - Minors purchasing cigarettes
    - *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*: effective policies to keep minors from purchasing cigarettes.
    - *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*: discussion if this policy is constitutional or not, legal precedent for the law, or a court case about someone convicted for selling cigarettes to minors.
    - *Crime and Punishment*: the violation of the law, the arrest of someone selling cigarettes to minors.

Political Factors and Implications* vs. *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation

Oftentimes, in discussion about a policy being passed, there will be mention of the politicians or political discussion of the proposed or evaluated law. Therefore, when politicians are talking about the policy, code the politicians name/party as *Political Factors and Implications*, but their evaluation of the policy will be coded as *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*.

When determining the primary code for an instance like this, still choose the stronger emphasis of the article. If the political discussion, voting, partisan conflict, moving the bill through Congress is the stronger signal, then code the primary as *Political Factors and Implications*. If the articles does not include enough of these political references, and consists more of a discussion of the policy itself, then the primary should be *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*.

Security and Defense* vs. *Crime and Punishment

A way to consider the difference between *Security and Defense* and *Crime and Punishment* is to think of (hear us out) a dragon attempting to attack a castle. A description of efforts made to prevent the dragon from destroying the castle would be *Security and Defense*. A description of the dragon *destroying* the castle would be *Crime and Punishment*. In less medieval-folklore terms, *Security and Defense* is perspective, while *Crime and Punishment* is retrospective. For example, arrests taking place as people cross the border would be *Crime and Punishment*. Yet increases in border security measures would be *Security and Defense*. Likewise, articles regarding terrorism will signal *Security and Defense*, but arrests of terrorists would signal *Crime and Punishment* (terrorists would still be coded as *Security and Defense*, but the portion that describes the arrests would be *Crime and Punishment*).

Quality of Life* vs. *Health and Safety

A *Quality of Life* signal might concern a health related issue, but it is mentioned in a more general manner, how the policy in question has impacted their daily life and/or overall wellbeing. A *Health and Safety* signal, rather, will explicitly describe the health concerns. For example, in the case of undocumented immigration, a description of imigrants dying in the desert or descriptions of them suffering will be a *Health and Safety* frame. The general hardships immigrants face would signal the reader to code *Quality of Life*.

In regards to smoking articles, discussion of quitting smoking constitutes a *Quality of Life* framework. Discussion of quitting smoking because you will live longer or be healthier will be coded as *Health and Safety*.

Morality and Ethics* vs. *Economics

This dilemma might occur often in articles about smoking, especially in the case about tobacco companies and their marketing strategies. Marketing should be coded *Economics* as a default, unless the morality of the marketing practices is specifically mentioned. When coding the body, there might be many instances where there are double-codes. When choosing a primary, as always, the main emphasis of the article should be coded. If an article focuses purley on marketing practices, it should be *Economics*. If an article focuses on marketing to children who lack the maturity to fend of marketing pressures, it should be *Morality and Ethics*.

Morality and Ethics* vs. *Fairness and Equality

In general, *Morality and Ethics* relates to social responsibility, while *Fairness and Equality* relates to social justice. In regards to discussions about social justice, *Fairness and Equality* should be coded when there is a concern about equitable treatment. *Morality and Ethics* should be coded when there is a larger sense of justice, however the word “justice” should *not* be automatically coded as *Morality and Ethics*. For example, in death penalty articles, *Morality and Ethics* will be

used in declarations of a "just sentence" or the righteousness of a death penalty. *Fairness and Equality* will be used when discussing the fairness of a sentence in comparison to others on the basis of race, capriciousness, etc.

Health and Safety* vs. *Security and Defense

Let's bring back the dragon and castle analogy. The dragon's external threat to the castle, as explained above, will be *Security and Defense*. This could be demonstrated through the use of guards, metal detectors, background checks, etc. However, *Health and Safety* signals can be applied when accidental/non-threatening gun use that threatens the personal safety of a person, like the mention of gun locks and gun safes. This is because the safety concerns exist within the castle. These measures are about preventing unintended personal injuries; the emphasis on personal injuries is what justifies a *Health and Safety* coding frame.

Health and Safety* vs. *Crime and Punishment

Similarly, *Health and Safety* should be coded when the physical damage caused by the dragon entering the castle is stated, like descriptions of bloodshed, carnage, death, bodily wound or injury. However, words like murder, killed, shot signal *Crime and Punishment*. While these acts exist within the castle, the physical harm is not emphasized. The acts that cause the physical harm are rather emphasized. Therefore, when an article is talking about a murder, it would be tagged as *Crime and Punishment*, unless or until there is a description of the bodily harm. Then it would be coded as *Health and Safety*.

External Regulation and Reputation* vs. *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

Remember that nations, states, counties, cities, etc. are all "entities." If an article mentions how one entity might/has/will influence another entity, it will be coded as *External Regulation and Reputation*. This could be through examples such as peer pressure, spillover, or extradition. However, if an article talks about which entity should have decision making power, it is a matter of jurisdiction and therefore will be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. For example, an article that discusses whether or not a same-sex marriage in California is recognized in Nevada should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*. On the other hand, an article that talks about the repercussions in Nevada becasue California has legalized same-sex marriage will be coded as *External Regulation and Reputation*.

Cultural Identity* vs *Capacity and Resources

One signal that would prompt a *Cultural Identity* frame would be the emphasis on a demographic shift. The strain on resources or a discussion on the magnitude of that demographic shift would be coded as *Capacity and Resources*.

Framing Issue-Specific Coding Rules

These “rules” are generalizations based on ways these signals are typically framed, at least in the context of U.S. newspaper coverage. The context in which they are presented should always take precedence.

Immigration

Relevance

- The article must concern United States immigration
- Human trafficking, the forced transportaion of people, is irrelevant; however, human smuggling is relevant as a subset of immigration

Economics

- The economic impact of immigrants on the economy (i.e. taking jobs, etc)

Capacity and Resources

- Visa lotteries
- Discussions about the backlog or long que for legal immigration, or shortage of visas available for immigrants

Fairness and Equality

- The term “anchor babies”
- Mentions of discrimintation towards immigrants

Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

- Immigrantion and Naturalization Service (INS) ceremonies
- Discussions concerning the legal status of immigrants, including the amount of undocumented individuals
- Descriptions of deportation court hearings or immigration courts
- Executive orders
- Amnesty
- Visas and green cards
- Asylum or defection

Crime and Punishment

- Sanctuary cities (as they grant freedom from punishment under immigration laws) (also see *Policy Description, Prescription, and Evaluation*)
- ICE raids, operations, detention centers
- The violation of immigration laws (i.e. unauthorized border crossings)
- Descriptions of deportations

Security and Defense

- Border enforcement and patrol, including immigration and customs enforcement at airports
- “Build the wall” rhetoric

Health and Safety

- Descriptions of immigrants dying in jail or detention centers
- Descriptions of immigrants dying or starving while crossing the U.S. border
- Descriptions of prison or detention center conditions
- Mentions and descriptions of refugees
- Shelter or housing for immigrants
- Descriptions that emphasize immigrant families and children

Quality of Life

- Descriptions of immigrants receiving benefits, such as food stamps
- Descriptions of cutting or denying benefits for immigrants
- The possibility of citizenship
- The negative implications and/or everyday impacts of discrimination towards immigrants in the U.S.
- Description of the immigrant experience, in general

Cultural Identity

- Artwork made by immigrants and/or artwork that depict the immigrant experience

Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation

- Immigration reform, in terms of policy
- DACA and Dreamers, unless the description is framed more specifically to signal another frame
- Sanctuary cities, if the emphasis is on the passing of this policy

Smoking and Tobacco

Relevance

- The article must be about tobacco smoking or the tobacco industry to be relevant
- Cigarette or cigarette-adjacent topics and items (i.e. cigarette lighters) are relevant
- Cigarette use and smoking outside the U.S. is irrelevant. But articles about cigarette use and sales tactics from a U.S.-based tobacco company in another country are relevant
- E-cigarettes are relevant and are treated similarly to normal cigarettes

Economics

- Cigarette and tobacco companies in general, without other cues

Capacity and Resources

- Cigarette litter or butts

Morality and Ethics

- Cigarette companies advertising to children
- Mentions of cigarette companies intentionally making their products more addicting

Crime and Punishment

- Illegally purchasing, stealing, or smuggling cigarettes

Health and Safety

- Descriptions of addiction, those battling addiction, nicotine and other chemicals in cigarettes
- Government or CDC-run ad campaigns to reduce smoking
- The FDA, in general
- Descriptions of fires started by cigarettes that led to deaths

Quality of Life

- Descriptions of smokers dealing with smoking bans, having to find designated smoking areas
- The habits of smokers, including how many times or packs a smoker smokes each day
- The adjustments made by smokers while quitting

Cultural Identity

- Demographic information concerning smoking rates in certain age groups and/or geographic areas
- Advertisements for tobacco products, without other framing signals
- Mentions of tradition in smoking, teaching others how to make cigars, etc.
- Discussions concerning the history, heritage, and/or culture of tobacco and smoking

Political Factors and Implications

- Descriptions of tobacco companies lobbying

Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation

- The FDA in connection to specific policies about smoking regulation

Gun Control

Relevance

- The article must explicitly mention guns or shootings
- Articles about the Second Amendment without mention of guns or shootings are irrelevant
- Articles concerning Stand Your Ground laws are relevant only if there is explicit mention of guns and gun control; this is because Stand Your Ground laws apply to the general use of deadly force when one feels their safety is threatened

Economics

- Articles that discuss the impact of politics on rates of gun sales should be coded either *Political Factors and Implications* or *Economics*, according to which signal is stronger

Fairness and Equality

- Politifact articles, or articles in general checking the validity of a statement about gun control

Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

- Stand Your Ground laws (in relation to guns) should be coded as *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*, unless there is a stronger signal present

Crime and Punishment

- Mentions and discussions of gun violence without other context or framing signals

Health and Safety

- Descriptions of protections against the occurrence of an inadvertent health injury caused by a gun (gun locks, gun safes, etc.)

Cultural Identity

- Descriptions of "cultural snapshots", such as an increase or decrease in the number of guns

Public Sentiment

- The NRA is considered a public sentiment group at face value and without other coding signals
- Comment threads responding to a single question on gun control

Political Factors and Implications

- The NRA when they are acting politically, such as lobbying
- The term "gun debate" is coded politically, especially when used in the headline
- Articles that discuss the impact of politics on rates of gun sales should be coded either *Political Factors and Implications* or *Economics*, according to which signal is stronger

External Regulation and Reputation

- The movement of guns between states, counties, etc.

Same-Sex Marriage

Relevance

- The article must explicitly mention or surround gay marriage in the United States; this includes state-sanctioned same-sex partnerships in the forms of civil unions, domestic partnerships, and marriage
- Articles concerning domestic partnerships, without the mention of same-sex marriage, are irrelevant
- Articles concerning divorce are relevant

Morality and Ethics

- A person or organization intolerant of same-sex marriage
- Discussion of marriage for the purpose of procreation (i.e. it is between a man and a woman)
- Comparisons of same-sex marriage to beastiality or marriage to inanimate objects
- Actions taken by ministers or members of the church clergy
- Vows and commitments

Fairness and Equality

- When referring to "equality of the law" ot "equal under the law"
- Discussions about whether gay couples should get divorced

Quality of Life

- Marriage announcements
- Discussion of what benefits same-sex couples have or can get (unless there is a cue for the benefit itself)
- Discussions of benefits that are denied from same-sex couples (unless there is a cue for the benefit itself)
- Discussion of how homosexual teachers or teaching homosexuality in schools will impact children
- Marriage viewed as for the purpose of happiness

Cultural Identity

- The notion of the "traditional family" or "traditional family values"
- Mentions of ceremonial celebrations in a wedding (cutting cake, doves, throwing rice)
- Mentions of gay pride festivals

Public Sentiment

- Decision-making bodies at colleges and universities
- Mentions of protests, activism

External Regulation and Reputation

- The comparison of two states' laws on same-sex marriage, the discussion of different states view each others' same-sex marriage laws, the discussion of how one state's laws on same-sex marriage will influence another state's laws

Climate Change

Relevance

- The article must explicitly mention or surround climate change and/or climate change policy in the United States; signals about other countries and climate change that do not relate to the United States are irrelevant
- Articles concerning international treaties involving "developed nations," the United Nations, G8, Kyoto, etc. are relevant even without the direct mention of the United States
- Articles about nuclear energy, without mentioning climate change, are irrelevant
- If an article is relevant, but its headline only mentions other countries (i.e. "Europe's Emission Goal Will Save Lives, Study Says), the article will maintain relevance but code the headline as "other"
- Articles about natural disasters are relevant when they are described as a consequence of human-caused climate change

Economics

- The mention of trade policies

Capacity and Resources

- Climate change, at face value and without other cues

- Global warming mentioned exclusively with no other signals
- The California Air Resources Board
- Mentions of endangered species
- Mentions of energy and energy use
- Discussions on how changes in temperature will numerically increase or decrease resources
- Scientific discussion on changes in temperature

Morality and Ethics

- Use of phrases such as “stand up to save our earth,” “do your part,” or “stand up to prevent climate change”

Security and Defense

- Discussions of climate change threats, risks, or alarms

Health and Safety

- Mentions of pollution at face value with no other signals
- Descriptions of the destructive or catastrophic results of climate change

Quality of Life

- Discussions on how changes in temperature will impact how people live (i.e. sweater weather, terribly hot days)

Cultural Identity

- The description of climate change as a hoax
- Mentions of United States National Parks

External Regulation and Reputation

- The mention of international agreements or summits (i.e. G-8 Summit, the United Nations, Paris Agreement, Kyoto Protocol)

Capital Punishment (aka Death Penalty)

Relevance

- Only articles about capital punishment in the U.S., handed out by U.S. courts are relevant
- Articles mentioning that the death penalty is being considered as a sentence are relevant
- Articles about animals being put to death are irrelevant

Economics

- Discussions concerning the fiscal costs of the death penalty
- Bail, with a broader discussion of its fiscal consequences

Capacity and Resources

- Funding or a lack of funding for attorneys

Morality and Ethics

- Discussions of applying the death penalty to juveniles

- Descriptions of social justice
- Declarations of a "just sentence" or the righteousness of the death penalty

Fairness and Equality

- Discussions of the fairness of a sentence in comparison to others, often based on race, capriciousness, etc.
- Suggestions or the possibility of a defendant's innocence
- Exonerations
- Misconduct by law enforcement, mismanaged trials, wrongdoings by the legal system
- DNA or forensic evidence

Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

- Descriptions of seeking out or having sought out the death penalty
- Terms like "pleads guilty" or "found guilty"
- Terms like "indicted" or "indictment"
- Flaws or disorder in the courts or court system
- The rights of the accused/defendants/death row inmates
- "Cruel and unusual punishment" rhetoric
- Imposing a moratorium on the death penalty (also could be *Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation*, depending on context)
- Clemency or pardons, at face value
- Courts upholding a ruling or sentence, or appealing a ruling or sentence
- Mental insanity as a defense strategy

Crime and Punishment

- Sentences of the death penalty
- Descriptions of the crime that prompted consideration of the death penalty
    - Except in extreme cases, different descriptions of the same crime should be treated as the same type of *Crime and Punishment* signal ("murder", "slaying", "fatal church arson"); here, the trick is to use your best judgment
- Descriptions of criminal justice and equity
- Inmates advocating or protesting against the death penalty
- Bail

Security and Defense

- 9/11, Boston bombing terrorists, or death penalty trials and sentences for terrorists in general
- Common names: McVeigh, Nichols, Kaczynski, DC snipers
    - In these cases, there needs to be a stronger alternative frame signal to justify its use instead of *Security and Defense*
        - "McVeigh's family expected the worst" is *Quality of Life*
        - "Kaczynski plea talks crumble" is *Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction*

    - "A just sentence for Moussaoui" is *Fairness and Equality*

Health and Safety

- Discussions regarding the method of execution
- Botched executions
- Discussions of a defendant's mental sanity, mental disorder, IQ level, competency, psychological well-being

Quality of Life

- Defendents expressing a desire to receive the death penalty
- Perspectives from families of victims and/or death row inmates, generally

Cultural Identity

- Execution and death row statistics and trends, generally

Political Factors and Implications

- Clemency or pardons in regards to political figure granting or not granting them and the ramifications of that decision
- A governor offering or rejecting a stay of execution, even if the governor is not discussed

Policy Description, Prescription and Evaluation

- Imposing a moratorium on the death penalty (also *Legality, Consitutionality and Jurisdiction* depending on context)

External Regulation and Reputation

- Comparing one state's death penalty laws to another

Tone

There are two layers to coding a text for tone: explicit vs implicit and pro vs anti vs neutral. These two layers should both be considered to form a final code relevant to the entire article. Explicit or implicit direct the reader towards pro, anti, or neutral attitudes toward the policy issue, relative to the pre-identified "side" of the issue. **Therefore, there are five coding options for tone: implicit pro, implicit anti, explicit pro, explicit anti, and neutral**.

Pro vs Anti vs Neutral:

To determine if an article is pro, anti, or neutral to the policy issue in question use the following litmus test: Imagine a staunch supporter (pro) and a staunch opponent (anti) of the policy in question. Which one (if either) would be gratified by having this article reported? How would a lobbyist for or against the policy issue feel if he or she saw this article? Sympathetic or humanizing views tend to be coded as pro, for example. Articles that frame the policy issue in a negative light are coded as anti. Context in the article, therefore, should play heavily in determining the tone signal. Additionally, the tone signal should be based on the tone of the person "speaking" in the article: either the author of the article or the persons quoted. A neutral code is used when a balance of pro and anti signals are used, or if an answer to the litmus test is unable to be reached.

The connotation of "pro" and "anti" (i.e. pro meaning in favor of same-sex marriage) should be decided by what is most intuitive and easiest for coders to remember.

It is also essential to view tone as directionally relative to the policy issue in question. In other words, view "pro" and "anti" on either side of a tone-spectrum, and the text's tone reflects which side of the spectrum is signaled. This means that even modest statements, policy changes, etc. can lean the tone towards one side or the other. For example, in the case of same-sex marriage, domestic partnerships for same-sex partners are pro. Even if same-sex marriage is still illegal, the allowance of domestic partnerships still leans towards a pro tone. Likewise, in an article about climate change, even subtle carbon reductions would signal a pro tone similar to the way a total elimination of fossil fuels would.

Certain parts of an article are not inherently pro or anti. In some cases, the article will simply present facts or the current situation. For example, in the case of immigration, the article may describe "the current state of the border" or "the dysfunction of the INS." If coding for the body

of the article, these sentences of phrases would be neutral; there is no context as to what the state of the border is or how the INS is dysfunctional. However, when the article presents an evaluation of these situations, a pro or anti tone signal will be used. In the same example, the dysfunction of the INS and how it costs immigrants too much time and money would be pro. The current state of the border as a major security threat would be anti. In the same vein, mentions of "the need for reform" is not enough to frame the article's tone. The reform must further be described in order to frame it as pro or anti.

Explicit vs Implicit:

1. Explicit Directional Signals
    - Opinions expressed directly in support for one side of the issue at hand; in the context of news coverage, explicit polarity arguments usually appear in the form of an editorial article or in a quotation appearing within a news report.
    - Explicit articles can commonly take the form of editorials, letters to the editor, or other related articles.
    - Examples:
        - Smokers have rights that need to be respected (explicit pro smoking)
        - Taxes on tobacco sales are a good idea (explicit anti smoking)

2. Implicit Directional Signals
    - Information presented that reflects positively or negatively on one side of the issue at hand; implicit polarity signals are at work any time a text presents information that advocates on one side of an issue would be glad to see printed or would wish had not been printed.
    - Implicit articles can commonly take the form of objective reporting of information (how most articles are written, in general).
    - Even if an article, sentence, paragraph, or phase does not explicitly state whether something is good or bad, they can still be implicitly persuasive, leaving a toned impression on the reader.
    - Examples:
        - The smokers' advocacy group gained ground yesterday on Capitol Hill (implicit pro-smoking)
        - Tobacco company provides jobs for local community (implicit pro-smoking)
        - Taxes on tobacco sales are expected to bolster the state's economy (implicit anti-smoking)
        - New study links smoking to additional forms of cancer (implicit anti-smoking)

Quick Rules

- **Protests -** Articles about protest are not guaranteed to be explicit. If the article describes a protest with a primary message of persuasion, using quotes from protesters, and language that “should” make the reader feel a certain way about the issue. This would make the article explicit.
- **Polls -** Release of poll results is rarely explicit. However, if the results are contained within a number of explicit quotes reacting to the poll. For example, interpreting the results as evidence that the reader “should” feel one way or another about the issue. If so, then the article can take on an explicit tone.
- **Voting -** Voting results or the act of voting is implicit, even if it seems that votes are representations of people’s opinions.
- **Price Increases** - When a company raises its prices (of guns or cigarettes, for example) it is neutral.

Tone Issue-Specific Coding Rules

These “rules” are generalizations based on ways these signals are typically framed, at least in the context of U.S. newspaper coverage. The context in which they are presented should always take precedence.

The rules on relevance for each policy issue described in the previous “Framing Rules For Coding By Policy Issue” framing section also apply to “Tone Rules For Coding By Policy Issue”.

Same-Sex Marriage

General

- If the article provides information for same-sex partnership rights *and* information against same-sex marriage, then code based on which sides leaves a greater impression and/or which side is the majority of the article

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of same-sex marriage

- The articles makes a case for same-sex legal rights
- In general, discussions concerning how gay marriages may impact the marriage industry
- Discussions of the struggles faced by same-sex couples that illicit sympathy

Anti-Signals

Anti = against same-sex marriage

- The article provides more of a case against same-sex legal rights
- Instances of discrimination or negative experince of same-sex couples or those who support same-sex marriage
- Mentions of same-sex divorces

Smoking and Tobacco

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of tobacco and tobacco products

- The smuggling of tobacco products, or the increase of other related crimes due to tax increases
- Discussions of the positive health impacts of smoking, like burning body fat
- Mentions of smoking bans hurting businesses
- Discussions of the history, heritage, culture of tobacco presented in a favorable light
- Discussions of teen (or other demographic) smoking on the rise

Anti Signals

Anti = against tobacco and tobacco products

- Products or actions that help people quit smoking or reduce their urge to smoke
- Mentions of taxes imposed on tobacco or cigarettes
- Discussions of the negative health impacts caused by smoking
- Fires started by cigarettes
- Laws restricting the sale of tobacco products to minors
- Discussions of the history, heritage, culture of tobacco presented in a negative light
- Negative financial impacts on tobacco companies, such as company stocks dropping
- Rhetoric on the dangers of tobacco products
- Lawsuits, legal battles, legal proceedings involving tobacco products

Neutral Signals

Neutral = neutral to tobacco and tobacco products

- The instance of tobacco companies raising their own prices

Immigration

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of immigration related to the United States

- In general, sympathy presented to immigrant families and children
- Descriptions of immigrants dying, suffering, or facing hardship while crossing the border
- Calls for using politically correct language (i.e. using “undocumented” instead of “illegal”) in terms of immigration
- Policy that favors more open immigration policy

Anti Signals

Anti = against immigration related to the United States

- “America first” or “saving American jobs” rhetoric
- Mentions of increased border security
- Tough or tougher immigration enforcement
- Calls against using politically correct language (i.e. using “undocumented” instead of “illegal”) in terms of immigration
- Policy reform calling for a tightening of restrictions on immigration

Neutral Signals

Neutral = neutral to immigration to the United States

- Phrases like “immigration reform” or “fixing the system” alone are neutral; additional context as to why the reform is needed or what the reform calls for will influence whether to code pro or anti

- Statements of facts and figures based around immigration or immigrant populations and the like are neither pro or anti; additional context and evaluation of these facts and figures is needed to assign a pro or anti signal

Gun Control

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of guns, loosening of gun restrictions

- A helpful litmus test: would the NRA be happy this article was published?
- Descriptions of NRA actions that promote healthy gun ownership but with personal responsibility
- An article that describes a state proposing less stringent gun laws than federal laws

Anti Signals

Anti = against guns, in favor of gun regulations

- A helpful litmus test: would representatives from the Millions Moms March be glad this article was published?
- A law, requirement, or proposed concession of future or existing laws that limits gun usage
- Lists of gun control laws
- Discussions of mass shootings

Neutral Signals

Neutral = neutral to gun laws

- An equal balance of pro-gun and anti-gun opinions
- Articles in which both pro- and anti-gun lobbyists would be equally happy or unhappy to read the article

Climate Change

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of climate change legislation

- Mentions of the film “An Inconvenient Truth”
- Descriptions of climate change as human-caused
- Scientific studies demonstrating the existence of climate change and its negative effects
- Legislation and/or international treaties passed to curb climate change impacts
- Criticism of oil companies for contributing to climate change
- Descriptions of how people’s quality of life will suffer from the effects of climate change

Anti Signals

Anti = against climate change legislation

- Descriptions of climate change as a hoax, real but not a problem, real but not human caused, and/or not worthy of legislative action
- Mocking Al Gore
- Statements like “there is still a lot to learn” or others that doubt the validity of climate change
- Descriptions of how people’s quality of life will improve from the effects of climate change (i.e. some places will become warmer, and therefore, more pleasant to live in or visit)
- Descriptions of the fiscal costs associated with climate change policies
- Mentions of a lack of or stall in the progression of climate change policy

Capital Punishment (aka Death Penalty)

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of capital punishment status quo

- Descriptions of death sentences
- Emotionally charged signals from prosecutors, judges, family members against the accused
- A sympathetic description of the victim of the crime or their perspective
- Detailed or graphic descriptions of crimes that prompted the death penalty (i.e. murder and rape cases)
- Rejections of death row appeals by judges
- Characterization of the defendant as a “bad person”
- The consideration of the use of the death penalty for terrorists (often in response to 9/11)
- Arguments that the death penalty process should be sped up to limit inmate appeals
- Retractions of the death penalty or the decision to not pursue the death penalty phrased so that it appears the death penalty was deserved
- The use of certain lethal injection drugs upheld by courts
- Lists of executions by state or geographic area

Anti Signals

Anti = against capital punishment status quo

- Humanizing depictions or the perspective of those on death row
- Suggestions or indications of a person on death row’s innocence
- The accused receiving a life-sentence instead of the death penalty (when both options were considered)
- Releasing people from death row

- Depictions of botched or painful executions
- The call for or the act of the state halting executions
- Emotionally charged statements from the family of the convicted or the public defender
- Retractions of the death penalty or the decision to not pursue the death penalty
- Prosecutorial errors
- Death row appeals
- Moratoriums
- A decline in death penalty sentences
- Violations of the rights of international criminals
- Rigorous requirements to punish someone with the death penalty
- Suggestions that death row inmates are treated unfairly
- Advocating for more humane methods (i.e. lethal injections instead of the electric chair)
- Mentioning systematic inequalities (i.e. the disproportionate number of Black men on death row)
- Describing flaws or mistakes in judicial or criminal proceedings, or other indications that there was a miscarriage of justice in a capital punishment trial or appeal
- Questioning whether mentally ill or disabled people should be eligible for the death penalty
- Arguing for the difficulty in implementing the death penalty equally, such as indications that there was a disparity between death penalties in one geographic area and another
- Descriptions of death penalty case defenders not being paid enough or that they are not skilled enough to represent defendants

<u>Neutral Signals</u>

Neutral = indifferent to capital punishment status quo

- Life sentence is chosen over death sentence in the case of a plea deal; this decision does not carry the same "pro" quality that a jury sentence would
- Articles the provide a great amount of description of the cime, but the jury does not decide to carry out the death penalty; however, it can be tipped to a pro signal if a judge or prosecutor is quoted stating "they should have gotten the death penalty"
- Articles about physician assisted sucicde, espionage, or drug trafficking; they are only pro signals when more emotional signals are present
- Incongruence with a personal opinion and a majoritarian statement concerning the death penalty
    - "I oppose capital punishment, but believe only the legislature can properly outlaw it"
    - "We at the Post are against the death penalty, but the governor should uphold the will of the people and not communute x's death sentence"

Twitter Coding as Applied to Immigration

To explore the applicability of coding for tone and framing for other forms of modern media outlets, this research team conducted a smaller-scale research study on Twitter tweets concerning United States immigration. The same parameters and rules for coding frame and tone described above were applied. However, additional rules for coding Twitter tweets were also created.

General Rules for Coding Tweets

- The text of the tweet at face value should inform how it is coded. Additional context provided by the Twitter account would influence the coding unfairly.
- It should be assumed a tweet is about U.S. immigration and relevant unless clear contextual clues suggest otherwise (twitter account names, certain vernacular, etc.). In this case, it is acceptable to look at the source of the tweet for this context and to determine relevance only.
- Images and links included in tweets should be treated as part of the tweet.
- Hashtags should be treated as part of the text of the tweet.
- If a tweet is part of a thread of tweets from the same tweeter, treat all as relevant context for the tweet you are coding.
- If there are multiple frames of equal weight, go with the first frame.
- *When coding for tone:*
    - Tweets, by their nature, are generally explicit because they are thoughts and opinions from individual accounts. They tend to be explicit, unless plainly stating facts or clearly quoting someone else's opinions. In these cases they will be implicit.
    - Calls to actions or calls for retweets are explicit
    - Sarcasm, unless it is obvious, should be neutral.
    - If a tweet's main point is to call out hypocrisy, rather than take a stance on immigration, it should be neutral.
    - The use of all-capital letters for a certain word or part of a tweet can make an implicit tweet explicit.
    - Hashtags are typically used to link a tweet to a given conversation or a certain topic, so they normally will not make a tweet explicit. Only when a tweet has a hashtag that is clearly part of the tweeter's opinion would make it explicit.

Specific Notes for Coding Immigration Tweets

Relevance

- Tweets from or about the Pope are relevant
- Tweets about American slavery or colonization of Native American land are irrlevenat

Framing

Morality and Ethics

- "No human is illegal" rhetoric

Cultural Identity

- "We are a nation of immigrants" rhetoric
- Discussions about political correctness concerning immigrants (i.e. the use of the word "illegal" vs "undocumented")

Public Sentiment

- Calls to action, such as calls for retweets
- "Day Without Immigrants" protests
- Tweets that ask users to vote or participate in polls

Tone

Note: The rules on relevance for each policy issue described in the previous "Framing Rules For Coding By Policy Issue" framing section also apply to tone.

Pro Signals

Pro = in favor of immigration related to the United States

- Legal services and information concerning DACA
- Immigration lawyers, or ads for immigration legal assistance
- The immigrant experience presented in a humanizing way

Anti Signals

Anti = against immigration related to the United States

- "Make American Great Again" rhetoric
- Trump immigration policy, at face value
- Negative stereotypes or aspects of immigration, such as forced marriage

Neutral Signals

Neutral = neutral to immigration related to the United States

- A tweet that is in favor of immigration, but as long as it is legal immigration
- Obama immigration policy does not hold an inherent signal, unlike Trump immigration policy; Obama immigration policy is neutral until context or specific policies are presented
- Melania Trump's immigration status is inherently neutral because tweets about such tend to be less about immigration policy and more as an example of Trump hypocrisy