

CODING INSTRUCTIONS
(State of the Union Speeches)

The task of coding the content of the State of the Union speeches involves characterizing the speeches in seven ways. These are:

1. Presidential Characteristics
 - a. Name of President
 - b. President's Party Affiliation
 - c. Date Range of Presidency
2. General Characteristics of Speech
 - a. Date of Speech
 - b. Term during which the speech was given
 - c. Relationship of speech to an election year
 - d. Length of Speech
3. General themes discussed
4. Environmental themes
5. Methods suggested to address the environmental issues
6. Length of environmental references
7. Rhetorical form of discourse
8. Discursive Frame(s) of Discourse
9. Dominant Discursive Frame

The material on which to base your coding is contained in the State of the Union speeches (1900-2005). A separate coding sheet will be completed for each year that a State of the Union speech was written/delivered within the previously mentioned time frame. Please fill out a coding sheet for each speech using the following category descriptions.

1. PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS: The first task is to document the characteristics of the speaker. These characteristics are:

- a. **Name of President:** Name of the President who gave the speech.
- b. **Party Affiliation:** This refers to the political party to which the speaker belongs. This information is important to document as it will allow us to assess any possible partisan cleavages in elite environmental concern. If this information cannot be derived from the speech itself, please refer to the reference table located at the end of this document. Please use the following coding scheme:
 - 1 – Democrat
 - 2 – Republican
 - 3 – Other
- c. **Date Range of Presidency:** The chronological time frame during which each president served can be found on the first page of each speech. Please document this information like so:
(First year of service – Last year of service)

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH: The second task is to document the general characteristics of the speech itself. These characteristics are:

- a. **Date of Speech:** This refers to the date that the speech was delivered. This information can be found on the first page of each speech. Please document the complete date (M/D/Y).
- b. **Term of Speech:** This refers to the specific presidential term during which the speech was given. To find this information, please refer to the reference table located at the end of this document. Please use the following coding scheme:

1 – First Term	3 – Third Term
2 – Second Term	4 – Fourth Term
- c. **Relationship of Speech to Election Cycle:** This refers to whether or not the speech was delivered during an election year. This information is relevant as it serves as indicator of what issues receive the most attention when public opinion most matters. This information can be in the reference table or is sometimes referenced in the speech. Please use the following coding scheme:
 - 0 – No
 - 1 – Yes

- d. Length of Speech:** This should be measured by counting the lines of text as they appear in the web version of the speech (not including greetings, sectional subheads, charts & graphs).
- 3. GENERAL THEMES DISCUSSED:** The third task is to code the general thematic contents of the speech. During a pre-coding assessment of a sample set of speeches, general themes were identified as being common features of a State of the Union speech. These themes are as follows:
- a. Agriculture:** agriculture policy, farm production, subsidies, Agricultural R&D, GMOs
 - b. Communications Technology:** this applies to government regulation and legislation of communications technology, issues relating to the Internet, national broadcasting, radio, television, etc.
 - c. Criminal Justice and the Courts:** issues regarding criminal activity and policies addressing these activities, enforcement of the law by the courts, crime rates, measures that need to be taken to improve crime rates, police training, sentencing policy, issues regarding the courts in general
 - d. Culture/History/Arts:** cultural and historical celebrations, national recognition of the arts and sciences
 - e. Economy:** business regulations, industry development, interstate trade/commerce, state of the economy, state of the market, monetary policy, banking, employment/unemployment rates (when discussed in regards to the overall economy), job creation
 - f. Education:** state and federal involvement in setting education agenda, integration, enrollment, federally funded grants and scholarships, student loans
 - g. Environment:** (see themes in next section)
 - h. Foreign Relations:** diplomatic relations with foreign countries; operations of the State Department (Trade Issues to be coded as h), partnerships with foreign allies in wartime, humanitarian support, peacekeeping efforts, arbitration, treaty arrangements
 - i. Foreign Relations – Trade:** operations of the State Department regarding trade with other countries, reciprocal trade agreements, tariff and duty policies, exports
 - j. Government Finances:** state of the Treasury, budgetary details, state of the deficit or surplus; government spending, cutbacks in spending, cost of government projects, tax policy (when discussed in regards to
 - k. Governmental Affairs:** to include topics such as government reform, organization of the civil service, creation/reorganization of government departments, position assignments and responsibilities, inner workings of the governmental machine
 - l. Health and Human Services:** issues of public health, sanitation issues, mortality rates, healthcare policy, Medicare, Medicaid, healthcare insurance, hospital services, government support for the poor/disadvantaged, Social Security, amendments to welfare programs, work training for the poor, aid to the homeless, food stamps, etc.
 - m. Housing and Urban Development:** issues regarding public housing and urban issues
 - n. Human Rights/Relations:** issues of ensuring the balanced and equitable rights of all peoples and fair treatment to all (i.e, civil rights, gender rights, gay rights, Native American rights, children’s rights, rights of the elderly), race, class, religious relations
 - o. Immigration/Naturalization:** immigration policy (laws and regulations), illegal immigration, citizenship issues, Green Card issues, Americanization, ESL issues
 - p. Indian Affairs:** issues regarding the naturalization of Native Americans, the control and administration of Indian land, Indian Reservations
 - q. Infrastructure Development:** the large-scale public systems, services, and facilities of a country or region that are necessary for economic activity, including power and water supplies, public transportation (development and safety), telecommunications, roads, schools, postal service expansion
 - r. Insular Affairs:** issues regarding the control and administration of land possessions outside the Union, such as Puerto Rico and the Phillipines; this also includes territorial possessions, such as Hawaii and Alaska that have not been granted statehood yet.
 - s. Labor:** labor laws, government’s role in labor disputes, labor strikes, minimum wage, job creation, rates of employment and unemployment (when discussed in regards to the laborer),
 - t. Military/Defense:** issues of National Defense; operations of the Pentagon; armed forces organization and training, homeland security, border security, veterans affairs, wartime production levels

Each theme should be coded for its salience within the overall context of the speech. The following coding scheme will be used:

- **Not Present (0):** The theme is not included in the speech, implicitly or explicitly.
- **Implicit (1):** Although not directly discussed, characteristics of the theme can be discerned from the speech contents.

- **Minor Explicit (2):** The theme is directly stated and discussed, however as compared to the overall contents of the speech it only plays a minor role. In length, a minor explicit theme would be less than 2% of the speech's overall content.
- **Substantial Explicit (3):** The theme is directly stated and discussed as a significant portion of the speech. A substantial explicit theme would be 2-9% of the speech.
- **Major Explicit (4):** The theme is directly stated and discussed and holds a dominant role as one of the core components of the speech. A major explicit theme would be 10% or more of the speech content.

4. SPECIFIC ENVIRONMENTAL THEMES: The fourth task is to code the specific environmental themes in the speeches. During a pre-coding assessment of a sample set of speeches, the following environmental themes were identified and considered to be representative of environmental concerns:

- a. Air Pollution (general)**
 - Acid Rain
 - Ozone Layer
 - Global Climate Change
- b. Water Pollution (General)**
 - Sewage/Waste Treatment
 - Oil Spills
- c. Beautification/Scenery Preservation**
- d. Soil Conservation/Topsoil Loss**
- e. Toxic Waste/Chemicals**
- f. Solid Waste/Garbage**
- g. Environmental Health**
- h. Government Organization to deal with Environmental Issues**
- i. Wildlife Protection/Biodiversity**
- j. Wilderness/National Parks**
- k. Urban Environmental Issues (sprawl, mass transit)**
- l. Environmental Justice**
- m. Hunting/Fishing/Game Management**
- n. Natural and or Environmental Disasters/Emergency Preparedness**
- o. Natural Resources Development (General)**
 - Forests/Forestry
 - Mining
 - Grazing
 - Oil/Natural Gas Exploration (including Outer Continental Shelf and drilling on public lands)
 - Public Land Use
 - Agricultural Conservation (soil conservation, irrigation issues, production levels, pesticide use, etc.)
 - Water Resources (flood control, shipping, and/or irrigation)
 - Transportation (highways and road development)
 - Sustainable Development
- p. Energy (General)**
 - Alternative/Renewable Energy
 - Nuclear Power
 - Coal
 - Hydropower
 - Oil
 - Energy Infrastructure
- q. Cleaner Environment (General)**
- r. Other Environmental Issue (write in)**

Each environmental theme as well as the included sub-themes should be coded for their salience within the environmental context of the speech. The following coding scheme will be used:

- **Not Present (0):** The theme is not included in the environmental context of the speech, implicitly or explicitly.
- **Minor Explicit (1):** The theme is directly stated, however as compared to the overall environmental contents of the speech it only plays a minor role. A minor explicit theme would likely be a few words to a few lines in length.

- **Substantial Explicit (2):** The theme is directly stated and discussed in more detail than a minor explicit theme. More details would be offered regarding the nature of the environmental problem and/or issue. A substantial explicit theme would likely be at least a paragraph in length or more.

5. **METHODS SUGGESTED TO ADDRESS THE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES:** The fifth task is to identify the strategies put forth to address the environmental issues in each speech. The paths of recourse to be coded are:
- Major Public Works Program** (TVA, CCC, Rural Electrification, Corp of Engineers, etc.) The key criteria is whether the government agency actually does the work. If yes, then a. If not, but hires contractors, then b.
 - Government funded Infrastructure Development:** either grants or budgetary allocation (Interstate Highways, Federal support for sewage systems, etc.)
 - Economic Incentives for desired actions** (tax breaks and/or subsidies)
 - Technology Development** (incentives for and/or direct support for research to develop new technologies).
 - Creation/transformation of government agency to deal with issue** (formation of EPA, US Fish and Game, BLM, etc.)
 - Creation of new laws and regulations to enforce change.**
 - New or significant expansion of government program(s)** (this regards the policy direction of the current administration)
 - Market Mechanisms:** A strategy that emphasizes the role of the private sector and the “free market” in addressing and controlling environmental issues. Changes in existing laws/regulations/incentives to foster corporations to address issue.

Considering that more than one strategy may be present, each should be coded using the following scheme:

- **Not Present (0):** The particular action is not mentioned at all.
- **Present (1):** The particular action is either strongly implied or specifically mentioned, but only briefly (a few words to a line or two).
- **Strongly Present (2):** The particular action is mentioned and discussed in detail (more than a few lines).

6. **LENGTH OF EXPLICIT ENVIRONMENTAL REFERENCES:** The sixth task is to determine the length of explicit environmental references. This should be done in a cumulative way, whereby all the explicit environmental references are counted together. This should be done by counting lines of text. By doing this we can determine what percentage of the speech is dedicated to environmental themes. This in turn will provide us with a measure of salience.

7. **RHETORICAL FORM OF DISCOURSE:** The seventh task is to characterize the way the speaker frames his interpretation of environmental issues. One of these forms of rhetoric should be chosen.
- Conservative:** A style of language use that accepts and legitimates the basic order of society. It accepts and reaffirms the dominant cultural beliefs of society and the current power structure as legitimate. Questions about the status quo and existing relationships of power are not raised. Conservative environmental texts generally focus on narrow incremental goals that can marginally improve particular environmental problems.
 - Managerial:** A style of language use that accepts that the basic order of society is legitimate, but proposes marginal changes within the existing social order. Some of the aspects of the dominant cultural beliefs and power structure are seen as either illegitimate or outdated. But the amount of this problem in the dominant cultural beliefs is not great enough to reject the social order. Rather, society is seen as basically sound, but in need of some fixes. This results in a discourse that identifies problems and then suggests remedies that can be brought about within the existing social structure. Managerial environmental texts generally use scientific information to illustrate a specific problem, and then identify specific policy measures that can be implemented within existing social institutions to mitigate or rectify a particular problem.
 - Confrontational:** A style of language use that challenges the legitimacy of the existing social order and forwards alternatives. This style of language rejects the legitimacy of the basic order of society. This includes a rejection of the dominant cultural beliefs and existing power structure. Instead, an alternative set of cultural beliefs is forwarded and advocated. Confrontational environmental texts identify environmental problems as being so fundamentally tied to our current social order that solutions to them lie in another way of organizing human relations to the physical and natural environment. These texts then attempt to develop an alternative ways to organize social order.

8. **DISCURSIVE FRAME(S) OF ENVIRONMENTAL REFERENCES:** The eighth task is to code which environmental discourse forms the speaker’s viewpoint. There are ten environmental discourses that can be selected.

- a. **Manifest Destiny** is a summary term for the dominant discourse toward nature in the United States. This discourse provides both an economic and moral rationale for exploiting the natural environment (Norton 1991:76-77). Key components of this discourse are:
- Nature has no intrinsic value.
 - Human welfare is based on development of the natural environment.
 - The natural environment is unproductive & valueless without development.
 - Human labor transforms the natural environment into useful commodities.
 - There are abundant natural resources available for human use.
 - Humans have a right to use the natural environment

People using this discourse define their objective as “Preserving our Natural Resources for the public instead of from the public”, “Protecting the American way of life”, and “Preserving private property rights.” They are also known to focus on how the use of public lands provides economic and recreational benefits for different groups, without adversely harming the land, to meet their needs.

- b. **Wildlife Management:** This discursive frame defines an orientation toward the recreational use of a given wildlife resource - be it fish species, types of birds, or different animals. Key components of this discourse are as follows:
- The scientific management of ecosystems can ensure stable populations of wildlife.
 - This wildlife population can be seen as a crop from which excess populations can be sustainably harvested in accordance with the ecological limitations of a given area.
 - This excess wildlife population thus can be utilized for human recreation in sport hunting.

People using this discourse focus on ensuring that there are plenty of the desired species available for hunting or fishing. They also define what constitutes correct “sporting behavior.” Organizations based on this discourse define their objective as conserving or rationally developing our wildlife resources to provide for human recreation needs. They use words such as "maximizing the supply of game", or "conserve our wildlife resources.”

- c. **Conservation:** In this discourse, nature is a resource to be used by human society to meet human needs. This forms the basis for collective action to ensure that natural resources are used by applying the criteria of rationality and efficiency to achieve the maximum utility to society. Key components of this perspective are:
- Physical and biological nature is nothing more than a collection of parts that function like a machine.
 - Humans need to use the natural resources provided by nature to maintain society.
 - Nature can be managed by humans through the application of technical knowledge used by competent professionals.
 - The proper management philosophy for natural resources is to realize the greatest good for the greatest number of people over the longest period of time.

Those using this discourse define their objective as conserving or rationally developing our natural resources to meet long term human needs. They use words such as "ensure wise use of natural resources", or "bring about efficient conservation and development". Some of the environmental issues addressed by conservationists are:

- Beautification
- Recreational Use
- Preserving Green Space
- Soil And Water Conservation
- Watershed Management
- Land Management

- d. **Preservation** This discursive frame defines a spiritual and psychological relationship between humans and the natural environment. In this discourse, nature in the form of wilderness, untouched by human activity, has intrinsic value. Nature also serves as a site for self renewal through the experience of its aesthetic beauty. This translates into a concern over the preservation of scenic areas, wilderness, and wildlife. Key components of this perspective are:
- Natural systems are self-creating evolutionary wholes that cannot be reduced to the sum of their parts. Hence nature is not a machine, but an intact organism.
 - Human actions can impair the ability of natural systems to maintain themselves or to evolve further

- Wilderness & wildlife are important component in supporting both the physical and spiritual life of humans.
- Human values go beyond those measured by the national income accounts to include the preservation of wild lands and life.
- Continued existence of wilderness and wildlife is critical to the spiritual well being of humanity.
- Protection of wilderness areas and wildlife for the current and future generations is an essential environmental task.

Those using the preservation frame define their objective as preserving wilderness in a pristine state, untouched by humans. This includes leaving all of the plants and wildlife that inhabit that area to develop in a "natural" manner, i.e. unaffected by human influences. They use words such as "preserve and protect", or "ensure the continued existence of wilderness areas." The following issues are generally addressed in this discourse:

- Preserving Biodiversity
- Wildlife Protection/Preservation
- Park/Wilderness Preservation

e. Reform Environmentalism: This discursive frame maintains that human prospects for the future are linked to ecosystem conditions. Based in the natural sciences, and the notion of humanity as part of the earth's ecosystems, it links human survival to environmental conditions. In this discourse, nature has a delicate balance, and humans are part of it. This perspective emphasizes that nature is an ecological system, that is, a web of interdependent relationships. Humanity is part of this ecological system. Hence, to maintain a healthy and growing social order, ecologically responsible actions are necessary. These actions can be developed and implemented through the use of law and the natural sciences. This perspective animates action to identify and eliminate the physical causes of environmental degradation. Key components of this perspective are:

- Natural systems are the basis of all organic existence, including humans
- Humankind is an element within natural ecosystems, and hence human survival is linked to ecosystem survival.
- Ethical human actions (actions which promote the good life for humankind) necessarily promote action toward all life on earth in an ecologically responsible manner.
- Proper use of natural sciences can guide the relationship between humanity and its natural environment.

Organizations based in this discourse identify their organization's purpose as protecting the earth's ecosystem, and the human condition overall. They use phrases along the following lines: "to protect and enhance human welfare and combat environmental deterioration", or "this organization is dedicated to improving environmental quality." In general, the descriptions of the problems are very analytic, and based in the natural sciences. The proposed remedy is usually some form of law or regulation to be enforced by government, or tax incentives to use market forces, to either clean up or reduce the ecological problem. Those using this discursive frame generally focus on the following areas:

- Population Control
- Specific Environmental Pollution Problem
- Environmental Litigation

f. Environmental Justice: This perspective sees ecological problems occurring because of the structure of society and the imperatives this structure creates for the continued exploitation of both humans and nature. Hence, the resolution of environmental problems requires fundamental social change. The link between human survival and ecosystem survival defined by Environmentalism is accepted. However, instead of focusing on the physical causes of environmental degradation, this frame sees environmental problems as creations of human social order. Hence the solution of environmental problems lies in social change. Key components of this viewpoint are:

- Domination of humans by other humans leads to domination of nature.
- The economic system & nation-state are the core structures of society that create ecological problems.
- Commoditization & market imperatives force consumption to continually increase in the developed economy.
- Environmental destruction in low income/racially distinct communities, or third world countries originates in the exploitation of the people who live in these areas by the dominant social institutions.
- Resolution of environmental problems requires fundamental social change based on empowerment of local communities.

Regardless of their specific focus, those using this discourse define their objective as changing the social order in some manner to solve environmental problems. The means to carry out this goal include holding government and corporations accountable through democratic processes, or by bringing legal suits to end toxic waste dumping. The purpose is to "Create economic democracy through localized decision-making," "Develop grass roots capabilities to involve local citizens in resolution of their communities environmental problems.", or "Abolish environmental racism."

- g. Environmental Health:** In this discourse, human health is the outcome of a number of interactions with physical, chemical, biological and social factors in the natural environment. Additionally, human health is directly impacted by toxic substances and pollution. To ensure community health requires a livable and healthy community, with adequate social services, and elimination of exposures to toxic or polluting substances. Key components of this discourse are:
- Human health is a collective property based on community characteristics
 - Exposure to toxic chemicals or other pollutants results in a deterioration of community health
 - To preserve human health, a clean and unpolluted community environment is needed

People using this discursive frame focus on the identification and elimination of sources of pollution that impact community health.

- h. Deep Ecology:** In this discourse, nature is seen as a value in its own right, independent of human existence. Humanity is only one species among many, and has no right to dominate the earth and all of the other living organisms. This creates an ethic of radical wilderness advocacy. Unlike Preservation, which seeks to keep what remains, Deep Ecology seeks the restoration of fully functioning ecosystems, in which the evolution of life, unaffected by human actions, can continue. It also advocates the inherent rights of all nonhuman beings to exist in their natural state. In this sense, Deep Ecology makes a moral argument for the preservation of the natural environment. Key components of this discourse are:
- The richness and diversity of all life on earth has intrinsic value.
 - Humankind's relations to the natural world presently endanger the richness and diversity of life.
 - Human life is privileged only to the extent of satisfying vital needs.
 - Maintenance of the diversity of life on earth mandates a decrease in the human impacts on the natural environment, and substantial increases in the wilderness areas of the globe.
 - Changes (consistent with cultural diversity) affecting basic economic, technological, and cultural aspects of society are therefore necessary.

Those using the Deep Ecology frame generally define their objectives as acting to preserve the rights of all nonhuman beings to a natural existence, unaffected by human intervention. They use words such as "intrinsic rights of species to life" or "placing ecological considerations first in any decision making process" to define their purpose. The following issues are generally addressed:

- Alternative Communities/Bioregionalism
 - Direct Action Wilderness Protection
 - Radical Wilderness Advocacy
- i. Ecofeminism:** This discourse ties the development of a patriarchal society, and the domination of women by men, to the domination of nature by humanity. In this discourse, nature is a living web in which humanity is enmeshed. Ecosystem abuse is rooted in androcentric concepts & institutions. Specifically, the origin of the problem of ecological degradation is the treatment of nature as an object to be possessed and dominated, instead of a partner to be cooperated with. This cultural treatment of nature is tied to the development of an patriarchal society, and the domination of women by men. Just as man dominates women, humanity dominates nature. The resolution of our ecological problems thus entails a shift from a manipulative and controlling culture toward both women and nature to a culture of co-operation. Relations of complementarity rather than superiority between culture/nature, human/nonhuman, and male/female are needed to resolve the conflict between the human and natural worlds. Key components of this discourse are:
- Earth is home for all life and should be revered & nurtured.
 - Ecosystem abuse is rooted in androcentric concepts, values, and institutions.
 - Relations of complementarity rather than superiority between culture/nature, human/nonhuman, and male/female are needed to resolve both patriarch and environmental degradation.
 - The many problems of human relations, and relations between the human and nonhuman worlds, will

not be resolved until androcentric institutions, values, and ideology are eradicated.

Those using this frame generally define their objectives to expand the use- of feminist views into the decision making process regarding the natural environment, such as “promote the inclusion of women and their environmental perceptions in the design and implementation of development and environmental policies.”

j. Ecospiritualism: For this discursive frame, nature is God's creation, and humanity has a moral obligation to keep and tend the Creation. Hence, natural and unpolluted ecosystems and biodiversity need to be preserved. Key components of this discourse are:

- Nature is endowed with spiritual value.
- Humanity, as part of nature, has a moral obligation to preserve it intact.
- Religious beliefs need to be developed that embody this ethic.
- These beliefs can then inform actions to create an ecologically sustainable society.

The rationale for action is based on a moral argument regarding the spiritual or religious character of Nature and humanity's obligation toward it.

Each discursive frame should be coded using the following scheme:

- **Not Present (0):** The particular action is not mentioned at all.
- **Present (1):** The particular action is either strongly implied or specifically mentioned, but only briefly (a few words to a line or two).
- **Strongly Present (2):** The particular action is mentioned and discussed in detail (more than a few lines).

9. PRIMARY DISCURSIVE FRAME OF ENVIRONMENTAL THEMES: The coder should choose one primary discursive frame that best represents the speaker's viewpoint(s). This is a forced choice question.