The coding manual was developed in close collaboration with Hollie Nyseth Brehm. The following excerpt focuses on variables used in this book. Editorial comments are marked by brackets. The full code book is available on the author’s website.

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EXPLANATIONS OF VARIABLES

PART 1. INFORMATION REGARDING SOURCE

Var. 1: Source.
Write the number that corresponds to the type of document in the blank.

Var. 2: Title.
Write the title of the document in the “Notes” section that corresponds to this variable. If there is no title, leave it blank.

Var. 3: Date of Publication.
Document the date of publication. Please note that it should be written in the following order: year-month-day. Use 4 numbers to identify the year and 2 for both the month and the day. E.g.: February 23, 2004 would be 2004-02-23.

Var. 4: Length of Document.
Note the number of words in the document. This may be listed somewhere on the page. If not, you can either find the document electronically and obtain the word count that way or provide an estimate. Also include the number of words spent on Darfur if it is a minor aspect of the document. If the majority of the article focuses on Darfur, there is no need to do this.

Var. 5: Code the number that corresponds to the type of newspaper contribution. If the type is not listed, please write it in the “Notes” section.

Var. 6: Write the number that corresponds to the section of the newspaper where the article was printed; if the section is not listed, please write it in the corresponding “Notes” portion of the coding form. Leave this variable blank if the section is not provided.

Var. 7: Write the page number where the article appears. Leave this variable blank if the page number is not provided.

Var. 8: Write the first author’s name in the “Notes” section.

Var. 9: Enter “1” if this first author is a female and “0” if he is male. If you are uncertain, you could perform a quick search online.

Var. 10: Write the number that corresponds to the first author’s profession. If more than one profession is listed, chose the one listed first. If no profession is listed, assume the author is a journalist.

[Vars. 11–20: same for additional authors—omitted here.]

PART 2. HISTORIC EVENTS/ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

Var. 21: Enter a “0” if desertification or resource scarcity is not mentioned, “1” if it is mentioned, and “2” if it is mentioned as a cause of the current conflict.

Var. 22: North/South Sudanese Civil War [coding as for Var. 21].
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Var. 23: Imperialism (colonialism/postcolonialism) [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 24: 1989 al-Bashir coup [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 25: 2003 rebellion by the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 26: Neglect of the Darfur region [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 27: North-South Peace agreement [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 29: United Nations Security Council reports or resolutions on Darfur [coding as for Var. 21].
Var. 30: International Criminal Court charges/warrants [coding as for Var. 21].

**PART 3: INFORMATION REGARDING FORM AND AMOUNT OF VIOLENCE/ACKNOWLEDGMENT VS. AVOIDANCE**

Please note: If the particular incidents mentioned seem especially relevant or interesting, please make note of them in the “Notes” section. (There is a blank by the “yes” option, but it is up to you as a coder to decide if the incident is noteworthy or not.) Also, note that there is a separate section for aid workers, peacekeepers, and other neutral parties who may have been harmed in the context of the conflict.

For “overall” variables, “thousands” = 1, “tens of thousands” = 2, “hundreds of thousands” = 3, “millions” = 4, and a rate = 5. For specific incidents, “dozens” should be coded as 50; “hundreds” should be coded as 500, and “thousands” should be coded as 5,000. For all other numeric values expressed in vague words, make your best educated guess to translate them into numbers.

**KILLINGS AND DEATH**

Var. 31: Killing
Code as a “1” if killings, deaths, or lives lost are mentioned anywhere in the document. If not, code it as “0.”

Var. 32: Overall Killings
If the document mentions the total number of people killed due to the conflict to date, write it on the coding sheet. You should write exactly what appears in the document, so you will enter either a numeric value or a word like “thousands” or “hundreds of thousands.” If no number is provided, leave it blank.

Var. 33: Specific Incident [omitted from this appendix]
Var. 34: Specific Number of Killings [in incident; omitted here]
Var. 35: Detailed Depiction [of incident; omitted here]
Var. 36: Deaths from “Natural” Causes [omitted here]
Var. 37: Number of Deaths from “Natural” Causes [omitted here]

**TORTURE**

Var. 38: Torture
Code this variable as “1” if torture is mentioned in the context of the conflict. If it is not mentioned, code it as “0.”
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[Vars. 39–42 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted from this appendix.]

**WOUNDS/INJURIES**

Var. 43: Wounds or Injuries

Code this variable as “1” if the document mentions that people were wounded or injured (though not fatally) as a result of the conflict, and “0” otherwise.

[Vars. 44–47 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

**RAPES**

Var. 48: Rapes

Enter a “1” if rapes are mentioned as an aspect of the conflict. If rape is not mentioned, code this as “0.”

[Vars. 49–52 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

**KIDNAPPING**

Var. 53: Kidnapping

Assign this variable a “1” if kidnapping is mentioned, and “0” if it is not.

[Vars. 54–57 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

**LIVELIHOOD**

Var. 58: Destruction of Livelihood

Code this variable as “1” if destruction of livelihood is mentioned as part of the conflict, and “0” if it is not. Livelihood could include food, water, livestock, wells, etc. Please note that there is a separate variable for the destruction of homes and villages.

[Vars. 59–62 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

Var. 63: Code this variable as “1” if the destruction of homes or villages is mentioned. Often, burning homes will be mentioned. This variable should also receive a “1” if “arson” is mentioned. If neither the destruction of homes or villages is mentioned, code this variable as “0.”

**SHORTAGE OF FOOD OR WATER**

Var. 64: Shortage of Food or Water

Assign this variable a “1” if hunger, starvation, or food/water shortage is mentioned in the context of the violence. A shortage of water also includes shortages of clean/potable water. Assign it a “0” if it is not mentioned or if it is mentioned but in a different context.

[Vars. 65–68 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]
RESETTLEMENT ISSUES

Var. 69: If issues of resettlement, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), or IDP or refugee camps are mentioned in the context of the conflict, code this variable as “1.” If these issues are not mentioned, assign it a “0.”

[Vars. 70–73 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

DISEASE

Var. 74: Assign this variable a “1” if disease or illness related to the conflict is mentioned. Otherwise, assign it a “0.”

[Vars. 75–78 are equivalent to list of variables under “killings”—omitted here.]

AID WORKERS/PEACEKEEPERS

Var. 79: Assign this variable a “1” if an aid worker, peacekeeper, or other neutral party was killed or wounded in the context of the violence. If not, assign it a “0.”

Var. 80: Assign this variable a “1” if an aid worker, peacekeeper, or other neutral party was kidnapped or threatened in the context of the violence. If not, assign it a “0.”

RACE/ETHNIC CONFLICT

Var. 81: Motive
Assign this variable a “1” if race or ethnicity is suggested as motivating aggressors. This variable should also receive a “1” if the presence of racial epithets is mentioned or illustrated. If not, assign it a “0.” A reference to “ethnic conflict” or a conflict between Arabs and Africans does not indicate racial motivation; it must be more explicit.

Var. 82: Construction
Code this variable as a “1” if race or ethnicity is depicted as constructed, or “0” if it is not depicted as constructed.

Var. 83: Skip this variable if race or ethnicity is not depicted as constructed. If it is, choose the number that corresponds to whom race/ethnicity is constructed by. If multiple actors are depicted as constructing race/ethnicity, please make notes in the corresponding “Notes” section.

Var. 84: Code this variable as “1” if the conflict is specifically described as following decades of conflict in Darfur, a “2” if it is specifically described as an age-old ethnic conflict, or as “0” otherwise.

PART 4. FRAMES
Please note: The “diagnostic” variable under each frame does not have to be coded as “1” in order for the prognostic or motivational variables to be as-
signed a “1.” Furthermore, several frames could be present in one article. Please refer to the social movement piece by Benford and Snow 2000 for further reference and explanation of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

**TERRORISM/VIOLENT GANGS/INSURGENTS**

**Var. 85:** Diagnostic  
Code this variable as a “1” if the actors and actions in the conflict are explicitly described as “terrorists,” “terrorism/terrorist acts,” “violent gangs,” or “insurgents.” If not, assign it a “0.”

**Var. 86:** Prognostic  
Code this variable as “1” if the document suggests as a solution killing and arresting “terrorists”/gang members or intimidating the population in which they seek refuge.

**Var. 87:** Motivational  
Code this variable as “1” if maintenance of the integrity of the Sudanese state is mentioned as a goal. If it is not mentioned as a goal, assign it a “0.” Essentially, the idea is that the state has a legitimate right to defend itself; and the motivation is defending itself against terrorists/other aggressors.

**Var. 88:** Author’s Voice  
Assign this variable a “0” if the author clearly rejects this frame, a “1” if the author of the document clearly subscribes to this frame, and a “2” if it is not clear. If the document has two authors (like a debate from a state department source), code it as “2.” Otherwise, leave this variable blank (i.e. if the frame is not mentioned or used in the article).

**CIVIL WAR FRAME**

**Var. 89:** Diagnostic  
Assign this variable a “1” if the violence is explicitly referred to as a civil war or a tribal war. You should also assign this a “1” if any source describes events that would definitely be classified as a civil war. A civil war is a war between organized groups within a single nation-state or, less commonly, between two countries created from a formerly united nation-state. The aim of one side may be to take control of the country or a region, to achieve independence for a region, or to change government policies. It is a high-intensity conflict, often involving regular armed forces, that is sustained, organized, and large-scale. Civil wars may result in large numbers of casualties and the consumption of significant resources (Wikipedia).

**Var. 90:** Ethnic War  
Assign this variable a “1” if the conflict is described as an ethnic conflict, or a “0” if it is not. Any reference to “Arab vs. African” would necessitate a “1” in this category. Both the civil war diagnostic and this variable could receive a “1,” but the violence may also
be described as “ethnic violence” without the specification of a civil war. Likewise, it could be described as a civil war without an ethnic component.

Var. 91: Prognostic  
Code this variable as “1” if the document suggests that peace negotiation is the appropriate solution, or “0” otherwise.

Var. 92: Motivational  
Code this variable as “1” if achieving peace is mentioned as a goal. If it is not mentioned as a goal, assign it a “0.”

Var. 93: Author’s Voice  
Assign this variable a “0” if the author clearly rejects this frame, a “1” if the author of the document clearly subscribes to this frame, and a “2” if it is not clear. If the document has two authors (like a debate from a state department source), code it as “2.” Otherwise, leave it blank.

CRIME AND STATE CRIME FRAME

Var. 94: Diagnostic  
Code this as “0” if the violence is not described as criminal and if no acts that are criminal are noted. Assign this variable a “1” if acts that are considered criminal in most criminal codes (rape, torture, murder, pillaging, robbery, kidnapping, etc.) are mentioned. Please note that killing is not necessarily considered a crime in the context of war, but an explicit reference to “murder” is a crime. Assign this variable a “2” if the acts are explicitly referred to as “criminal” or as “crimes.” This variable would also receive a “2” if a source suggests that someone in Sudan should be charged for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, etc., or reports that someone was charged with these or similar crimes.

Var. 95: War Crimes  
Code this variable as “1” if acts included in the violence are specifically labeled “war crimes” by any source, or “0” if they are not.

Var. 96: Crimes Against Humanity  
Code this variable as “1” if acts included in the violence are specifically labeled as “crimes against humanity” by any source, or “0” if they are not.

Var. 97: Genocide  
Code this variable as “1” if any source specifically refers to the violence as “genocide,” or “0” if they are not. “Genocidal acts” should also receive a “1,” but “characteristics of genocide” or “worse than genocide” should not.

Var. 98: Genocide Debated [omitted here]
Var. 99: Genocidal Intent [omitted]
Var. 100: Destruction of Groups [omitted]
Var. 101: Types of Destruction [omitted]
TYPES OF CRIMINAL PERPETRATORS

Var. 102: Assign this variable a “1” if the Sudanese State is explicitly referred to as a criminal perpetrator or participating in murder, torture, or rape. If not, assign it a “0.”

Var. 103: Assign this variable a “1” if the Janjawiid/Arab militias are explicitly referred to as criminal perpetrators or as perpetrating rape or torture. If not, assign it a “0.” Please also note that “Janjawiid” are often referred to as “Arab militias” and should be treated as the same entity throughout this coding.

Var. 104: Assign this variable a “1” if rebels are explicitly referred to as criminal perpetrators or as perpetrating rape, torture, or murder. If not, assign it a “0.”

Var. 105: Please note if there are other actors who are described as criminal perpetrators or as perpetrating rape, torture, or murder.

LEVEL OF CRIMINALS

Var. 106: President of Sudan [omitted here]
Var. 107: Sudanese Cabinet Ministers [omitted]
Var. 108: Tribal Leaders [omitted]
Var. 109: Sudanese Military Officers [omitted]
Var. 110: Sudanese Soldiers [omitted]
Var. 111: General Support/Tolerating [omitted]
Var. 112: Material Support [omitted]
Var. 113: Armed Action [omitted]
Var. 114: Prognostic [omitted]
Var. 115: Motivational [omitted]

CONSEQUENCES OF ICC INTERVENTION

Var. 116: Prolonged Conflict [omitted]
Var. 117: Isolation of President or Country [omitted]
Var. 118: Peace [omitted]
Var. 119: Justice [omitted]
Var. 120: Other Outcomes [omitted]
Var. 121: Author’s Voice [omitted]

HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY FRAME

Var. 122: Diagnostic
Code this variable as “1” if hunger, illness, lack of (clean) drinking water, or encampment of the civilian population is depicted as a main aspect of the conflict or if the conflict is explicitly called a “humanitarian emergency.” If not, assign it a “0.”

Var. 123: Prognostic
Code this variable as “1” if delivery of aid to civilians affected by the violence and by internment is suggested or praised. Assign it a “0” if it is not mentioned, or a “2” if it is rejected.
Var. 124: Motivational
This variable should receive a “1” if any source suggests that near-term survival is the primary concern toward which several or all sides of the conflict, including the Sudanese state, should cooperate.

Var. 125: Author’s Voice [omitted here]

AGGRESSIVE STATE FRAME

Var. 126: Diagnostic
Assign this variable a “1” if the Sudanese state is depicted as aggressive but not criminal. If the state is not portrayed as aggressive, assign it a “0.” Aggressive behavior is disproportional or inappropriate use of force not depicted as criminal. We really want to capture acts that are seen as “going too far” but not criminal.

Also, note that a state could be seen as both aggressive and criminal. If one person in a document says that the Sudanese state is criminal, do not assign it a “1” for this category based on that statement, because the criminal acts involved in Darfur are always aggressive. However, often another voice in the document will speak about Sudan as aggressive but not criminal even though others see it as criminal; and then both the diagnostic in the aggressive state frame and the criminal frame would be coded as “1.”

Var. 127: Prognostic 1 [economic, political]
Code this variable as a “1” if international pressure, economic sanctions, isolation, or other similar responses to the aggression are suggested. If one of these actions is not suggested, assign this variable a “0.” If one or more is rejected, assign it a “2.”

Var. 128: Prognostic 2 [military]
Code this variable as a “1” if humanitarian intervention (by any actor, such as the UN, NATO, or a specific country) is suggested, a “0” if it is not suggested, or a “2” if it is rejected. Humanitarian intervention is the use of force across state borders by a state or group of states aimed at preventing widespread violations of human rights of individuals other than its/their own citizens. It is not aid/disaster relief.

Var. 129: Motivational
Assign this variable a “1” if reduction of the aggression of the Sudanese state is mentioned as a goal. If not, assign it a “0.”

AGGRESSORS
In this section, we want to know who is blamed as an aggressor. A group that is portrayed as a victim responding to aggression is not an aggressor. Rather, we are interested in pro-active action (not defensive action) that is seen as disproportional. Also, please note that if you coded someone as “criminal” based on a statement, do not code this actor as aggressive based on that same statement. It is possible that separate statements by different people (or the same person
about different incidents) characterize the same actor in the conflict as both
criminal and aggressive, in which case this actor would be coded as a criminal
and as an aggressor.
Var. 130: Janjawid/Arab militia [omitted here]
Var. 131: Sudanese Military [omitted here]
Var. 132: Rebels/ “Africans” [omitted here]
Var. 133: Please make a note of any other actors who are depicted as
aggressors.
Var. 134: Author’s Voice [omitted here]

PART 5. COMPLICITY/SUPPORT OF SUDAN BY OTHER
COUNTRIES
[omitted here]

PART 6. REFERENCES TO PAST ATROCITIES
Var. 143: Reference
This variable should receive a “1” if past atrocities are mentioned
in the document in the context of a discussion about Darfur.
Sometimes atrocities are mentioned in a different context (e.g.,
in connection with the Sudanese civil war), and in this case you
would not code the atrocity here. Also note that we are interested
in genocide and similar atrocities. There is no need to note the
mention of humanitarian emergencies or to include these in the
bridging section. If this variable receives a “0,” skip to
Variable 153.
Var. 144–151: Specific Atrocities [e.g., Holocaust, Rwanda, Bosnia]
Any atrocities that are mentioned in the document should
receive a “1.”
Var. 152: Please note any other atrocities (aggressive war, war crimes, crimes
against humanity) mentioned in the corresponding “Notes”
section on the coding sheet.
Var. 153: Responsibility
Explicit reference to the source country’s (i.e., country in which
the paper is produced or which the state department represents)
responsibility to act against violence [omitted here].
Var. 154: History
Explicit reference to source country’s responsibility to act due to
its history [omitted].
Var. 155: Place in World
Source country’s responsibility to act due to its place in the world
[omitted].
Var. 156: Genocide Convention
Source country’s responsibility to act due to Genocide Convention
[omitted].
BRIDGING METAPHORS

Please note: We are interested in the violence itself, not reactions to it.

Var. 157: Mimetic Bridging
Code this variable a “1” if Darfur violence is mentioned as equal or equivalent to past atrocity. If not, assign it a “0.” Also, please make note of the atrocity in the “Notes” section.

Var. 158: Contextual Bridging
Assign this variable a “1” if the violence in Darfur is mentioned as having similar contextual conditions (type of war, weak command structure, etc.) as another conflict or event, and note the conflict/event in the “Notes” section. Otherwise, assign it a “0.”

Var. 159: Prognostic Bridging
Assign this variable a “1” if the author forecasts that the violence in Darfur will produce an outcome (loss, victory, loss of legitimacy, public support, etc.) similar to that of a past event, and make a note of that event. Otherwise, assign it a “0.”

Var. 160: Bridging Challenge
Assign this variable a “1” if the author contrasts the conflict in Darfur with another atrocity, and make a note of the atrocity. If not, assign it a “0.”

[PARTS 7–9 (VARS. 161–179) CONCERN USE OF OTHER FACTORS, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND REFERENCES TO SOURCES OF INFORMATION—OMITTED FROM THIS APPENDIX.]

[CODE SHEET OMITTED FROM APPENDIX]