

**Codebook**

**Senator:** categorical measure

Last name of Senator

**Senator Code:** continuous measure 1-25 increasing by whole number of senators in no particular order

**Date:** continuous measure consisting of MM.DD.YY on which the speech was given

**State:** categorical measure

Name of state that the Senator represents

**State Code:** ICPSR codes as listed below

41 AL ALABAMA  
81 AK ALASKA  
61 AZ ARIZONA  
42 AR ARKANSAS  
71 CA CALIFORNIA  
62 CO COLORADO  
01 CT CONNECTICUT  
11 DE DELAWARE  
43 FL FLORIDA  
44 GA GEORGIA  
82 HI HAWAII  
63 ID IDAHO  
21 IL ILLINOIS  
22 IN INDIANA  
31 IA IOWA  
32 KS KANSAS  
51 KY KENTUCKY  
45 LA LOUISIANA  
02 ME MAINE  
52 MD MARYLAND  
03 MA MASSACHUSETTS  
23 MI MICHIGAN  
33 MN MINNESOTA  
46 MS MISSISSIPPI

34 MO MISSOURI  
 64 MT MONTANA  
 35 NE NEBRASKA  
 65 NV NEVADA  
 04 NH NEW HAMSHIRE  
 12 NJ NEW JERSEY  
 66 NM NEW MEXICO  
 13 NY NEW YORK  
 47 NC NORTH CAROLINA  
 36 ND NORTH DAKOTA  
 24 OH OHIO  
 53 OK OKLAHOMA  
 72 OR OREGON  
 14 PA PENNSYLVANIA  
 05 RI RHODE ISLAND  
 48 SC SOUTH CAROLINA  
 37 SD SOUTH DAKOTA  
 54 TN TENNESSEE  
 49 TX TEXAS  
 67 UT UTAH  
 06 VT VERMONT  
 40 VA VIRGINIA  
 73 WA WASHINGTON  
 56 WV WEST VIRGINA  
 25 WI WISCONSIN  
 68 WY WYOMING  
 55 DC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**Southern:** dichotomous measure where 0= not Southern; 1= Southern

States that are coded as Southern are: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina

**Party:** categorical measure where 1=Republican; 2=Democrat

**Page in CR:** continuous measure 1-infinity

References the page in the Congressional Record on which the speech can be found

**Seniority Status:** categorical measure where 1=Junior; 2=Senior

**Position:** categorical

Against: 1

For: 2

Not Applicable: 0

**Length of speech:** continuous measure 0-infinity, number of words in speech, not including articles

**Call to Action:** categorical

0: No CTA or N/A

1: examine an aspect of the bill, look carefully, raise questions. Insert a piece of supporting material to speak for person.

2: vote for/against this bill or take some other form of action. Strongly oppose or support

3: action for/against the bill – unfriendly amendments, stop the bill, push it through immediately, something over which they don't necessarily have power but are pushing for, structural change to the bill

**Ethos:** dichotomous measure of appeal to authority

0 – Absence of ethos

1 – can refer to personal status such as mention of rank in Senate, position on committee. Can also call upon other figures and their position signaling to help build their argument, such as newspaper article, opinion piece, or city/state resolutions

**Pathos:** dichotomous measure

0 – Absence of pathos

1 – it is not enough to say one is saddened or will support; one must evoke an emotional image through telling a story, referring to events, etc. Can also be an argument built with rhetorical questions, absence of a logical argument, but still a persuasive series of statements, analogies, similes

**Logos:** dichotomous measure

0 – Absence of logos

1 – presence of a logical argument, evidence from a variety of sources, not including articles or resolutions read into the record, but raw data and analysis.

**Germane:** dichotomous measure

0: overall speech is not about Voting Rights Act and/or does not include a call to action relating to the Voting Rights Act

1: overall speech is about Voting Rights Act and/or includes a call to action relating to the Voting Rights Act

**Emotional Words:** continuous measure

Range: 0-infinity

A word is coded as emotional if it evokes a powerful image in the reader's mind or is associated with conveying an emotional message or perspective. A list of words that were coded as emotional are organized by speech and date given below. A number after the word represents the number of times it was used in the speech if more than once; this does not include the original mention of the word but represents the total number of times it was used. After the coded words is a list of words perceived to be emotional but were not coded as emotional; for examples, reference the methodology of the paper.

Eastland - apathy, condemns, discriminate, distrust, heinous, horror, incredulous, inconceivable, ingenuity, monstrous, moron, oppressive, perpetrated 19, repudiation, scrutiny, shocked, sin, 23, splendid, trusted, unconstitutional 27, vindictive, violate, wholehearted, exclusion, destroyed,

Scott - aroused, barred, beating, inflicted, drama, flogging, heinous, incredulity, murder, oppressive, racist, servitude, tragic

Ervin - consideration, constitutional, entitled 3, perversion, revere, omnipotent,

Thurmond - demanding, entitled, guilty, vicious,

Tallmadge - unconstitutional, anarchy, dismayed, disorder, extremism, emotionalism, lawless, strife, unequal, forceful, discriminate,

Dodd - commend, courageous, praise, vigorously

Gruening - confident, deplorable, drastic, heaven, indecency, lawlessness, loathsomeness, murder, outrage, overwhelming, violence,

Fulbright - apathy, cruel, demand, discrimination 3, envy, eradicate, evil, failure, fear, indignant, insidious, irrefutable, laudable, negro 2, oblivious, oppressed, permeated, poignant, righteousness, shocking, sins, successful, vigilance

Ervin - criticism, entitled, ignores,

Douglas - anxious, blunt, deprive, entitled, negroes 2,

Javits – terrible, terror, victim, racist, martyrs

Allegation, denying, refuting, unequivocally – Mansfield

Kennedy – arbitrarily, denied, denying, deprive, deprived, discriminates, discrimination 8, failure, shame,

Smathers – accused, animosities, assailants, assassins, attackers, awesome, barbarous, cowardly, crime, criminal, deplore, deprive, dramatize, eliminated, embraced, emphasized, extremism, genocide, impeded, incite, liberty, murder, negro, obstructing, profound, regret, regrettable, reincarnated, restraint, retaliation, tensions, terrorism, terrorists, tragedy, tragic 2, tyranny, unjust, vengeance, vigilantes,

Robertson - Contemptible, destroy, discriminatory, harsh, hypocritical, iniquitous, tortures, vengeful, vicious

Ervin – Drama, entitled, inditements, prohibit, speculation

Mondale – commended, dedication, enjoyment, honored, overwhelming, God-given

Smathers – abandoned, abrogated, abundantly, alleges, alleging, anxiety, assurance, awesome, criminal, dagger, denial, discriminate, discrimination, diseased, empowered, erosion, failed 2, genocide, impose 2, inviolate, offender, overwhelming, prohibit, repulsive, sovereign, threat, trigger, unconstitutional 2, violated

Ervin – abolished, absurdly, admonished, alleges, apathy, arbitrariness 2, arbitrary 2, burden, combat, condemn, condemned, condemning, conspires, damages, denial 3, denied 3, denies 2, deny 2, deprive, devoted, discrimination 8, discriminatory 4, disregard, encroachment, eliminated, entitled, escape, failure 2, forceful, grave, harsh, illogical, impossible, imprisonment 2, indefensible, integrity, ironic, negroes, overburdened, passion, precipitous, pretended, prohibit, prohibition 2, punish, punishable, remarkable, trespass, unconstitutional 2, utmost, vigorous, violate, violated 3, violates, violation, violations 3, wrongfully

Sparkman –astonishment, drastic, empower, empowered, felony, harsh, offend, impose, superimposed, unconstitutional 3,

Talmadge – blatantly, criticism, discriminatory, exclusion, innocent, lynch, splendid, unconstitutional,

Sparkman – aggrieved, agitators, denial, discrimination, emotionalism 3, empowered, genuine, harsh, radical, repulsive, vigorous

Sparkman 4.28 – alleged, discriminatory

Tower 4.28 – alleges, alleging 2, arbitrary, coerces, coercion 2, contempt, criminal, deficient, discriminate, discrimination 9, discriminatory 3, eliminate, entitled, fails, fraudulent 3, guilt, guilty 2, illegally, imprisonment, intimidates, intimidation 2, prohibit, prohibiting, prohibits, threatens, unconstitutional,

Stennis 4.28 – abolish 7, abolished 3, abolishing, abdicate, amazed, commend, contention, deny, derelict, dereliction, frantically, impugn, integrity, invalid, mockery, succumb, unconstitutional 4, violate

Clark 4.29 – entitled

Sparkman 4.30 – eliminate, fertile, flagrant, stimulating, unconstitutional, violation

Tydings 5.3 – disturbed, pleasant, pleasure, racial, ugly, violence

Thurmond – denied, denying 2, fail, violate

Douglas – negro 2, negroes 3, shocking

Sparkman 5.12 – indignity, punish, sad

Sparkman 5.20 – aggrieved, arbitrary, deprived, forced, terminated,

Dirksen 4.9 – abstruse, diligent, diligently, distinguished, faithful, grace, gratitude, arduous, doubt, grateful, impress, patience,

Mansfield 4.9 – appreciation, appreciative, arduous, dedication, distinguished 4, grateful, praise, tired

Kuchel 4.9 – freedom, honored 2, proud 3

Dirksen 4.13 – abolished, alleging, denial 3, denied 2, denying, discriminate, discrimination 2, honored, punish, punitive, servitude, violations

Tower 4.22 – succinct, thoughtful, discrimination

Javits 4.22 – urgently

Kennedy 4.27 – attack, avoided, forcing,

Javits 4.27 – sensational 2, discredit 2, morality, regret, flagrant, denial, Negroes 2, shocking

Kennedy 4.13 – delighted, abandoned, abatement, abolish 8, abolished, abolishing 2, abolition 2, accentuated, adversely, ample, anxious, arbitrary 2, attacking, avoid 2, avoided, bluntly, burden 5, burdened, burdensome, candidly, careless 2, champion, confronted, contentions, conviction 3, covert, criminal 3, cumbersome 2, dedicated, definance, denial 3, denied 6, deny 4, denying, deprivation 2, deprive, deprived, depriving, desire 3, discriminate 6, discriminated 2, discriminates, discriminating 2, discrimination 18, discriminatory 11, disguise, ditch, docile, doubt 4, doubted, doubts, dramatic 4, elimination, entitle, evade, evil, exhaustive, failed, fails,

failure 3, fatal, fate, forbade 2, forbit, force, forceful, genuine 2, hardship, hindrance, ignorant 2, illegal 3, impaired, impede 3, impediment 2, impossible 2, indigent, indigents, innocuous, intimidating, invalidate 4, invalidated, irrelevant, morality, negro 28, negroes 20, noxious, obnoxious, obstruct, obstruction, overwhelming 2, peculiarities, poverty 3, prohibit 3, prohibited 2, prohibitory, resist, sacred, segregation 2, sentiment 2, servitude 2, sharply, steals, superimpose, threat, unconstitutional 6, violate, violation, violence,

Javits 4.13 – failed, irrefutable, pleased,

Hart 4.13 – elimination, eloquent, desire, desirable, distinguished, elimination, eloquent 2, eloquently, excitement, genuine, merit, overwhelming, responsibly, unconstitutional,

Holland 4.13 – abolish, afraid, carelessness, commend, diligence, distinguished 4, eliminate, elimination, exclude, neglect, relief, servitude, zeal

Dirksen 4.22 – abolishing, abstruse, amazing, amenable, bloody 2, condemns, denied 4, discriminated, discrimination 6, distinguished 3, divine, doubt, emotion, esteemed, entitled 2, hideous, hostility, impose, imposed, imprisoned, infamous, inhibited, invaded, lavished, mockery, pains, peculiar, perish, prayerful, prejudice, restraint, sentiment, sentimentality, slavery, slaves, strife, whimsy

Ervin 4.22 – condemned, condemns, denial 3, denied, denying 2, discrimination, distinguished, overwhelmingly, reluctant, steamroller, violating, violation 4,

Javits 4.22 – denying 2, discriminating 2, discrimination 4,

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Bayh 12.12 – arbitrarily, burden 3, controversy, demand, denied 2, destroying, discrimination 2, discriminatory, distasteful, doubt, excluded, failings, frustrated, hostile, hypocrisy, injustices, impede, ironic, jeopardy, mockery, overburdened, pious, shocking, struggle, unquestionably, unwilling, unfortunately,

Harris 12.17 – excellent, sad, terrible,

**AMBIGUOUS AND ISSUE RAISING WORDS:** Hope, believe, impossible v improbable, strike, wrongful v wrongfully, negro is not an emotional word at the time but is worth noting when it is mentioned, with respect

**Colored Mention:** continuous measure

0 – no mention of the word “colored” in a speech

1-infinity – number of mentions of the word “colored” in a speech

**Negro Mention:** continuous measure

0 – no mention of the word “Negro” in a speech

1-infinity – number of mentions of the word “Negro” in a speech

**Other Notes:** notes by the coder about the speech

**Vote:**

1: Nay

2: Yea