**APPENDIX**

**DATA AND METHODS**

***Data Collection***

Our study relies on a qualitative comparative analysis of two databases of news media articles published in *The New York Times* *(NYT*), one from 1995 to 2015 (see Ebert, Liao, and Estrada 2019) and the other from 2016 to 2018. We focus on the *NYT* because as a leader in the field, its reportage shapes coverage in other media (Golan 2006; Martin and Hansen 1998) and it has among the largest national circulation rates (Doctor 2015). Using the same data collection techniques covering the same years, we conducted a supplementary analysis of articles of *The Wall Street Journal* (via ProQuest) and *USA Today* (via LexisNexis Academic and Nexis Uni) to assess the generalizability of the patterns that emerged from the *NYT*—to ensure that the frames that emerged from the *NYT* were not exclusive to this outlet and that there were not relevant frames that emerged from the *WSJ* and *USA Today* that were missing from the *NYT*. This supplemental analysis confirmed that other major outlets deploy similar frames in their coverage of privatized immigration control.

For the more recent time period (2016-2018), which encompasses the onset of the “Trump era,” we mirrored our original data collection efforts used in a prior project on privatized immigration detention from 1995 to 2015 (see Ebert, Liao, and Estrada 2019). For each period, we searched the online database LexisNexis for articles that contained reference to one of the three largest private prison companies in the U.S. or to one of the “Criminal Alien Requirement” (CAR) facilities these companies manage or managed. The codebook (see below) includes the list of search terms. Rather than focus narrowly on articles about immigrant detention, our search parameters and scope of analysis includes discussions of a broad set of institutional practices that disproportionately target immigrants for two reasons. First, we approached immigration control as a case of structural racism wherein immigrants of color are more likely to be detained and deported than their white counterparts. Second, we learned from a pilot analysis that media coverage of detention of immigrants and domestic populations conflates the two; similarly, conflation also occurs within coverage of privately and publicly managed detention facilities.

Our first search yielded 262 articles published between 1995 and 2015, 191 of which were eligible for study (see Ebert, Liao, and Estrada 2019 for an extensive description of the initial sample). The second search returned 55 articles published between 2016 and 2018, 30 of which were eligible for the study. The remaining 25 articles were ineligible for a variety of reasons: they covered another issue; included no quotes that were relevant for analysis; included a key word but the meaning did not match our use of the term; were repeat articles; were letters to the editors; or were sections of the *NYT* blog. The 30 eligible *NYT* articles comprise the bulk of the analyses presented in the manuscript. A similar search yielded six articles from *USA Today* and 35 from the *Wall Street Journal*, which we relied upon to assess the generalizability of the patterns emerging from the *NYT*.

***Data Analysis***

We conducted a frame analysis for both time periods, a methodological decision derived from our research question about the public narratives surrounding privatized immigrant detention. As “definitions of a situation” (Goffman 1974, 10), frames set the parameters for how something is spoken, thought, or written about, providing storylines for social actors to make sense of the world around them. Frames are powerful because they shape public opinions, including those related to immigration issues, which in turn can influence policy outcomes and transform behaviors (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes 2013). Therefore, frames contribute to the social construction of reality, whereby groups actively compete to define reality or the “regime of truth” (Foucault 1991) through different interpretations of the same situation (Entman 1993).

While frame analysis is well-suited to investigate publicly stated claims or arguments about an institutional practice, it can sometimes be challenging to establish a specific unit of analysis. This was the case for our study; the purpose of the news media article varies considerably by article type, warranting a different unit of analysis by article type. The articles in our sample fell into three types of coverage, including thematic, episodic, and editorial/op-ed (see Ebert, Liao, and Estrada 2019, 5-6; Iyengar 1991; Okamoto, Ebert, and Violet 2011). Thematic articles, which constituted 61.09 percent of the total articles, involve in-depth reporting and offer historical and contextual information about the issue or event and therefore are often longer. Articles categorized as episodic (65 of 221) focus on concrete issues and details with little information about the social significance or the controversies surrounding the subject of the article and tend to address questions such as who, what, when, and where. Editorials and op-eds (21 of 221), are essays written by the editorial staff of the newspaper that put forward an argument. As the purpose of the study is to investigate frames (i.e., publicly stated claims or arguments) about an institutional practice, we focus on direct quotations as the unit of analysis for the thematic articles, allowing for multiple frames to emerge per article. For editorials and op-eds, where authors engage in opinionated dialogue, we coded paragraphs and sentences that contained arguments, allowing for multiple frames to emerge per each editorial/op-ed. Articles categorized as episodic tended to be devoid of quotes; therefore, we categorized the entire article in terms of how it approached immigration control.

While we used frame analysis for both time periods, our analysis from the first time period (1995 to 2015) was largely inductive, whereas the analysis from the second time period (2016 to 2018) was more deductive. We remained open to emergent frames within articles published in the Trump era, but we used the existing codebook from the previous time period as a guide for coding these articles. For the first period, we began by conducting a pilot analysis of approximately 10 percent of the data where each of the four members of our research team noted patterns that inductively emerged from the analysis of the narratives. Based on this preliminary round of coding, we developed a codebook that identified, defined, and provided examples of the themes we applied to the remaining data (see Codebook below). We tested and revised the codebook across four rounds, memoing and meeting regularly to discuss any discrepancies. Once we reached an intercoder reliability score of 90 percent, we coded the remaining data. For the second round of coding, one author of the paper was responsible for coding the bulk of the data.

A total of 646 frames emerged during the first time period, and 148 during the second (see Table 1 in manuscript). These frames fell under three broad packages: those that 1) praised, 2) criticized, and 3) did not include a direct argument but nevertheless normalized the existence of or the practices associated with corporatized detainment and control of domestic and immigrant populations. Each of these packages contained frames that were used as the basis of comparison for this project. For example, within the critical package, advocates against privatized prison often referenced concerns over human rights abuses. In the favorable package, supporters of the industry spoke of how private prison companies provide a needed service. For clarity’s sake, our analysis in the current manuscript focuses on the frames that yielded the most meaningful comparisons between the two periods. Thus, our results do not include a comparison between all 646 frames coded in the first period and all 148 frames coded in the second. Rather, our focus is on a comparison between frames where interesting shifts emerged from the data. Within the critical packages, this includes references to human rights violations as well as privatized immigration management not being economically beneficial. Within the favorable package, this includes references to the industry addressing identified issues, deflection away from structural problems, and the industry providing a needed service.

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**CODEBOOK**

***Search Protocol***

Using the online database LexisNexis, we searched the following search terms within *The* *New York Times*, 1995-2015: "GEO Group" OR "Management and Training Corporation" OR "Management & Training Corporation" OR "Corrections Corporation of America" OR "Adams County Correctional" OR "Big Spring Correctional" OR "Cibola County Correctional" OR "D. Ray James Correctional" OR "Giles W. Dalby Correctional" OR "Eden Detention Center" OR "McRae Correctional" OR "Moshannon Valley Correctional" OR "NE Ohio Correctional" OR "Northeast Ohio Correctional" OR "Reeves County Detention" OR "Rivers Correctional" OR "Willacy County Correctional" or terms("GEO Group" OR "Management and Training Corporation" OR "Management & Training Corporation" OR "Corrections Corporation of America" OR "Adams County Correctional" OR "Big Spring Correctional" OR "Cibola County Correctional" OR "D. Ray James Correctional" OR "Giles W. Dalby Correctional" OR "Eden Detention Center" OR "McRae Correctional" OR "Moshannon Valley Correctional" OR "NE Ohio Correctional" OR "Northeast Ohio Correctional" OR "Reeves County Detention" OR "Rivers Correctional" OR "Willacy County Correctional").

Using the online database Nexis Uni, we searched the following search terms within *The* *New York Times*, 2016-2018: "CoreCivic" OR "GEO Group" OR "Management and Training Corporation" OR "Management & Training Corporation" OR "Corrections Corporation of America" OR "Adams County Correctional" OR "Big Spring Correctional" OR "Cibola County Correctional" OR "D. Ray James Correctional" OR "Giles W. Dalby Correctional" OR "Eden Detention Center" OR "McRae Correctional" OR "Moshannon Valley Correctional" OR "NE Ohio Correctional" OR "Northeast Ohio Correctional" OR "Reeves County Detention" OR "Rivers Correctional" OR "Willacy County Correctional" or terms("CoreCivic" OR "GEO Group" OR "Management and Training Corporation" OR "Management & Training Corporation" OR "Corrections Corporation of America" OR "Adams County Correctional" OR "Big Spring Correctional" OR "Cibola County Correctional" OR "D. Ray James Correctional" OR "Giles W. Dalby Correctional" OR "Eden Detention Center" OR "McRae Correctional" OR "Moshannon Valley Correctional" OR "NE Ohio Correctional" OR "Northeast Ohio Correctional" OR "Reeves County Detention" OR "Rivers Correctional" OR "Willacy County Correctional")

***General Coding Instructions***

1. Eligibility criteria for articles
   1. An article is eligible if it appropriately references one of our search terms. Classify articles as ineligible if there is no mention of relevant search terms.
      1. Exception: “thematic” articles that have no relevant quotes are ineligible.
      2. Exception: NYT Blogs and Letters to the Editor are also ineligible.
2. Eligibility criteria for quotes (or paragraphs within editorials/op-eds)
   1. Eligible: If the quote (or document or report from which the quote stems) was meant for the public consumption
   2. Ineligible: If it was meant for private communication (e.g., emails)
   3. Ineligible: hearsay (someone recounting what someone else said that cannot be substantiated)
   4. Ineligible: recounting of prior events, even if first-hand
   5. Ineligible: When the quote isn’t about privatization, prison, private prison, mass incarceration, detention system, immigration control, entities related to the prison system or the criminal justice system
   6. Ineligible: When the quote doesn’t include an argument.
      1. Exception: If the argument isn’t explicit within the quote, the “normalizing” code may be applicable.
3. When coding the argument of the quote, code should be applied such that the prison, private prison, mass incarceration, detention system, immigration management is the object of the frame. What are they saying about X? Are they supportive and how are they supportive? Are they critical and how are they critical?
   1. When coding quotes, frames apply to the argument within the quote (and not the theme of the article)
   2. Code quotes, but code context surrounding the quote if it makes clear(er) the argument that is within the quotation marks
4. When in doubt, “over code.” Be more inclusive rather than exclusive. When a person has two identities (e.g. lawyers work for advocacy groups to represent immigrants can be coded as both “advocacy groups representative” and “immigrant’s attorney”) or if a quote has two arguments, apply both codes.
   1. For example: “A guard who watched the demonstration, who asked that his name not be published for fear of losing his job, voiced the ambivalence toward Wyatt that seems to shape the attitudes of many in Central Falls. He spoke with sympathy of “good, hard-working people” detained there, and with distaste of the rookie guards -- a result of low pay and high turnover -- “who talk to people with no respect, like they’re dogs.” But he added: “Immigration and all that, that has nothing to do with us. We’re just the prison’” (Bernstein 2008).
5. Collectively, we will code the following:
   1. Flagged articles
   2. Flagged quotes
6. When you come across an article that is interesting but not eligible for study (as per the instructions above), make a note on the Google drive document (“war on immigrants WOI NOTES”) with the heading INTERESTING and then briefly explain why the article is interesting.

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***Classifications***

**Code:** ELIGIBILITY

**Full:** If the article is ineligible, then no need to further code/classify (that is, move on to next article).

**Example:** Article 19 is ineligible. It includes the terms “management training center” but it’s not the MTC that we’re looking for *(*“Moreover, a hospital plans to establish a clinic in the area, the recreation center is to be expanded and McDonald’s plans to open a restaurant and a management training center” (Cohen 1995).

**Example:** Article 216 is ineligible. It is a thematic article that refers to Northeast Ohio Correctional Center (CCA manages Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, which is also a CAR), but the article is about a trial of Amish individuals and it includes zero relevant quotes (Eckholm 2012).

**Code:** TYPEART

**Full:** The type of article.

1. Thematic: Thematic coverage of private prisons, immigration, immigration system, criminal justice system, detention is contextual, focusing on larger structural conditions that contribute to current situation (i.e., focuses on answering “why” something happened). Another type of thematic article may not be specifically discussing the issue of private immigration detention but nonetheless include relevant quotes about it.
   1. Unit of analysis: quote
2. Episodic: Episodic coverage focuses on concrete issues and details with little information about the consequences of the event (i.e., addresses “what,” “where,” and “when” questions).
   1. Unit of analysis: article
3. Editorial/Op-ed: Editorial/Op-ed articles are entirely and explicitly opinion-based, expressing the perspective of the author and/or editorial board.
   1. Unit of analysis: paragraph/section

**Code:** IMMIGRATIONREF

**Full:** Is immigration/immigrants/migration referenced in the article? Choose between present or not present.

**Code**: Date

**Full**: date article published

**Code:** FLAG

**Full:** The article is complicated and needs to be reviewed by the coding team. Choose between no flag (default) and flag.

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***If Article Type = Episodic, code the following:***

**Code:** NEGATIVE-Episodic

**Full:** Apply to articleif the article covers activity in the prison that is negative.

**Examples:** “New Jersey Daily Briefing; 6 Guards Charged in Beating”; negative because it’s covering a prison hostage situation (Pristin 1995); “Officers Storm Jail In Florida Standoff” (AP 2004).

**Code:** POSITIVE-Episodic

**Full:** Apply to articles that cover activity in the prison that is positive.

**Examples:** “Business Digest” (Staff 1995); positive because the article introduces two studies that found a CCA facility is providing better services at a more cost efficient price.

**Code:** NORMALIZING-Episodic

**Full:** Apply to article if the article covers activity about the company (stock prices, company profiles, etc.).

**Examples:** “For Stocks, Winners Outnumbered the Losers by 2 to 1 in This Year’s First Quarter,” coverage of CCA being the number 1 stock performer on the NY Stock Exchange (Abelson 1995).

**Code**: FLAG-Episodic

**Full**: Applies to episodic coverage that warrants further conversation with coding team.

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***If Article Type = Thematic or Editorials/Op-Eds, code the following:***

**Code:** SOURCE

**Full:** The source of the quote. Choose between:

1. Advocacy organization representative: member and/or representative (including attorneys) of advocacy organizations (as defined by Andrews and Edwards (2004, 485) advocacy organizations consist of groups that “make public interest claims either promoting or resisting social change that if implemented, would conflict with the social, cultural, political, or economic interests or values of other constituencies and groups”).
2. Detainee attorney: attorneys of individuals or groups of individuals that are or were detained.
3. Friend or relative of detainee
4. Federal government official/representative, including experts hired by the federal governments to conduct research and produce reports
5. Immigrant detainee
6. Local government official
7. Nonimmigrant detainee
8. Other
9. Prison employee: employee at prison; worker inside the actual prison/facility
10. Private prison company representative: company spokesperson, company attorneys, company administration, and company executives
11. State government official
12. Public: a member of the general public such as a citizen of a town where a private detention center is located.
13. Expert: researcher, analyst, professor, etc.

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***Packages and Frames***

***Trump Frames***

**Code:** TRUMPPOL

**Full:** Critical of the way Trump administration’s policies, either immigration or towards the private detention industry more directly, benefit the private detention industry.

**Example:** “‘It just felt inherently unjust for Sacramento to make money from dealing with ICE,’ said Phil Serna, a Sacramento County supervisor who joined two colleagues in canceling the contract. ‘For me, it came down to an administration that is extremely hostile to immigrants. I didn't feel we should be part of that’” (Romero 2018).

**Code:** Trump Connection

**Full:** Passages that make a reference to the ways the Trump administration has affected or will affect, either directly or indirectly, the private prison industry.

**Example:** “‘The outlook for the companies really changed overnight with the election of Mr. Trump,’ Mr. Dwyer of KDP Investment Advisors said” (Sommer 2016).

***Critical Frames***

**Code:** LACKACCOUNT

**Full:** Lack of accountability/regulation in individual private prisons or the system of detention as a whole. **Example:** “Peter Schey, a California lawyer handling a class-action suit seeking improved conditions for detainees, says the quality of detention is uneven because the agency is decentralized and the detention system is governed by a ‘hodgepodge of policies’ rather than a set of uniform regulations” (Purdy and Dugger 1996).

**Code:** NOTECONBENEFIC

**Full:** Not economically beneficial. Private prisons are not cheaper than publicly-run prisons, are not beneficial to taxpayers, and companies didn’t offer the jobs or boost other sector of economy as promised.

**Example:** “And, sure enough, despite many promises that prison privatization will lead to big cost savings, such savings -- as a comprehensive study by the Bureau of Justice Assistance, part of the U.S. Department of Justice, concluded -- ‘have simply not materialized’” (Krugman 2012).

**Code:** NOTPRIVATE

**Full:** Prisons should not be privatized, should be the exclusive domain of the state, and remain in the public sphere.

**Example:** “The point, then, is that you shouldn’t imagine that what The Times discovered about prison privatization in New Jersey is an isolated instance of bad behavior. It is, instead, almost surely a glimpse of a pervasive and growing reality, of a corrupt nexus of privatization and patronage that is undermining government across much of our nation” (Krugman 2012).

**Code:** NOTWORTH

**Full:** Private prisons are not worth it. Communities don’t want prisons because they’re not good for the community. This could be justified by safety concerns, concerns for having new poor people in the community, and because prisons look bad. They are not worth the trouble. This frame is not about the economy per se, but about the other externalities of prisons. May include government officials or citizens expressing concerns over public safety.

**Example:** “The idea that you can sneak these things through doesn’t work -- not in New York,” Mr. Schumer said. “When you are going to locate something that is going to have a detrimental effect on a community, then you need to consult that community’” (Filkins 2001).

**Code:** POORMGMTHUMRIGHTS

**Full:** Prisons (either public or private) are poorly managed and/or commit human rights violations.

**Example:** “‘The rampant problems of medical and mental health care aren’t just going to go away if there’s more oversight,’ said David Shapiro, a lawyer with the A.C.L.U.’s National Prison Project, which has called for legally binding rules on conditions in immigration detention.” – In response to news of previously unreported deaths of immigrant detainees at Eloy Detention Facility in Eloy, AZ (Bernstein 2009).

**Code:** TEARFAMAPART

**Full:** Tear families apart. Because private prisons often send inmates to other states, it often separates families from one another.

**Example:** “‘Most of these people didn’t have any relatives or friends near them,’ Father Gomez said, ‘not even a lawyer.’” – Rev. Otoniel J. Gomez, speaking about immigrant detainees at the Wyatt Correctional Facility. Gomez is the priest of Maynor Cante, an immigrant who had been detained there (Bernstein 2008).

**Code:** CRITICAL Package

**Full:** Apply to quotations where the speaker is critical of prisons, private prisons, the immigration system, or the criminal justice system but the critique does not fall into any of the abovementioned frames.

**Example:** “David Utter, the director of the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana, which has sued Wackenhut and Louisiana, said, ‘Privatization has been a failure in Louisiana and the sooner we end that experiment the better’” (Butterfield 2000).

***Favorable Frames***

**Code:** ADDRESSINGISS

**Full:** Addressing issues. May acknowledge existence of some minor, isolated issues with a private prison but emphasizes commitment and ability to fix them. Also, may look like satisfaction from government officials or others about a particular private prison or the system itself once some issues are addressed.

**Example:** “‘Corrections Corporation of America has shown us a detailed security and emergency planning report,’ the Mayor said. He also said he was pleased with the new I.N.S. judges and lawyers at the center, which would lessen the length of detainees’ stays and reduce the chances of the center becoming a prisonlike tinderbox of frustrations.” – Mayor J. Christian Bollwage of Elizabeth, NJ, where CCA had just reopened a prison formerly operated by Esmor Correctional Services (Smothers 1997).

**Code:** COMMUNITY

**Full:** Community partnership/economic contributions to the towns where private prisons are located. Private prisons provide jobs and generate income for towns by way of taxes and fees.

**Example:** “‘The prison is a super positive for us,’ Mayor Ivester said. ‘But it’s a life raft, an inner tube. We’re still on the ocean. We’re not going down, but we’re not really going up either.’” – Jack W. Ivester, Mayor of Sayre, OK, where North Fork Correctional Facility, operated by CCA, is located (Kilborn 2001).

**Code:** DEFLECTPROB

**Full:** Deflecting problems at the institutional level. Rather than it being the fault of the private prison company or system, problems lie with some other part of the immigration or criminal justice system (like long wait times for immigration hearings), or blame may be placed on individuals (like the problem of a few individually poor guards, or problems are the fault of the detainees). Instances where problems are minimized, either by minimizing harm or claiming unfounded or exaggerated allegations, or outright denied are also included. The minimization of problems facilitates the company or system from being blameworthy because the issue is merely a mistake rather than an issue at the systemic and institutional level.

**Example:** “In response to the Justice Department lawsuit, Wackenhut released a written statement saying that the company “is providing a constitutionally sound, safe and secure facility” and that it is “working hard to continuously improve the operations through additional support from our corporate and regional staff.” In addition, Wackenhut said it believed the Justice Department experts had been misled by “exaggerations and misstatements of facts” by inmates they had interviewed, and that the experts’ findings “do not accurately reflect the condition of the facility today” (Butterfield 2000).

**Example:** “Anthony Pope, the officers’ lawyer, described them as professionals and “family men,” and said the account of the beatings had been fabricated by the detainees. He suggested the injuries reported by the immigrants had been inflicted during the disturbance at the I.N.S. center. “Wherever the injuries may have occurred, certainly it was not at the hands of these officers,” Mr. Pope said” (Sullivan 1995).

**Code:** ECONEFFIC

**Full:** Economic efficiency of private prisons. They can save taxpayers and governments money.

**Example:** ‘“C.C.A. simply provides safe inmate housing and quality rehabilitation programming at a cost savings to Texas taxpayers.’” – Steve Owen, CCA spokesperson, in response to a civil rights group’s argument about the poor conditions at Dawson State Jail, owned by CCA and located in the outskirts of Dallas, TX (Grissom 2013).

**Code:** GOODMGMT

**Full:** Good management. Private prisons are well-managed, clean, safe, secure, and held accountable for problems.

**Example:** “‘The bottom line is that the juvenile facility at Jena is a well-managed and safe facility.’” – Statement released by Wackenhut Correctional, now GEO Group, in response to Justice Department investigation that found inmate abuse in one of their juvenile prisons (Butterfield 2000).

**Example:** “‘There’s no evidence that conditions in private prisons are worse than in public ones, and there’s growing evidence that conditions are better,” he said. ‘People like to say that private prisons aren’t accountable, but they’re actually more accountable than public ones.’” – Adrian T. Moore, an economist at the Reason Public Policy Institute, commenting on a story about the closing of the Elizabeth, NJ prison that was formerly operated by Esmor Correctional Services, later reopened by CCA (Tierney 2000).

**Code:** NEEDED

**Full:** Apply to quotations that reference the need for prisons, private prisons, the immigration system, or criminal justice system in terms not having enough space for prisoners/immigrants, needing to be able to effectively detain immigrants, private prison companies providing a needed service, etc.

**Example:** “I am not prepared to abandon the policy and shut down the facilities such that we have no capability to detain adults who bring their children,” Mr. Johnson said in an interview. “We simply cannot have a situation where if you cross the border and are apprehended, you can count on being escorted to the nearest bus station” (Preston 2015).

**Code:** FAVORABLE Package

**Full:** Apply to quotations where the speaker is supportive of prisons, private prisons, the immigration system, or the criminal justice system but the critique does not fall into any of the abovementioned frames.

***Neither Critical nor Favorable***

**Code:** NORMALIZING

**Full:** Apply this code to quotations that reference any aspect of prisons, private prisons, the immigration system, or criminal justice system that takes their existence for granted, equates them to other types of prisons, or focuses on other aspects of the prison (i.e., that normalizes their practices/behaviors and/or existence).

**Example:** “In both cases we were rebuffed,” the mayor said. “The answer was no. A third time we went to C.C.A. and said, ‘We’ve tried. You talk to them.’ C.C.A. experienced the same inflexibility we did” (Kilborn 2003).

**Code:** FLAG

**Full:** Apply this code to quotations to request discussion. Apply this when the quote is relevant but there are currently no available codes/packages. Flag means that we want to talk about how to code it.

**Example**: “Traci Billingsley, a spokeswoman for the Bureau of Prisons, said, ‘We weren’t aware of the local opposition.’ Correctional Services Corporation, the contractor hired to renovate the building, was required to notify only the New York Police Department and two elected officials about their plans” (Filkins 2001).

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