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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF 2004 PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION HEADLINES OF *THE*
LOS ANGELES TIMES AND
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

by

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B.A. Palm Beach Atlantic University, 2002

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Communication
in the College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Central Florida
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ABSTRACT

Previous research suggested *Election 2004* involved many issue regimes and wedge issues (Kaplan, 2004; Drum, 2004; Fagan & Dinan, 2004). Preceding research proposed that the American perception of presidential candidates has been somewhat based on the mass media's increasing priming and agenda setting techniques (Scheufele, 2000; Kioussis & McCombs, 2004). Hence the research addressed two questions: Is there a bias for or against either candidate in the headlines of *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*? If there is bias, which issues tend to produce the most positive, negative and neutral results?

All election headlines from February to November 2004 that pertained to a specific candidate were recorded and analyzed. The researcher chose to study headlines because they convey the newsworthiness of the story and former research confirms that reader perceptions of a news account can depend on the headline (Pfau, 1995; Tannenbaum, 1953).

This study utilized content analysis to assess the word choices and biases of the headlines of the two newspapers. The researcher created definitions for coding, trained two coders, and analyzed and discussed the results. The main findings were *The Washington Times* contained more headlines that were pro-Bush, while *The Los Angeles Times* contained more headlines that were pro-Kerry. The key issues that reflected bias included that candidate's campaign, homeland security, and values.

How important it is to pick the right people to surround you.

For always loving and believing in me, to Nanny and Grandma.

For your support and for forever encouraging me in my endeavors, to Dad.

For helping me grow in my abilities and for your infinite kindness, to Aljosa.

For your unwavering love and for your unfailing hand that holds mine so tightly, to Mike.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“Yet as the world becomes a more global village and audiences learn more about the world outside and form ‘pictures in their heads’ about issues, the power of the media to influence is not to be underestimated” (Kosicki, 1997, p.22). Over the last century, the influence of the media on public opinion has been widely considered by many communication researchers (Tannenbaum, 1953; Condit et al., 2001). The media’s impact on what the public thinks has been a common topic studied (Marquez, 1980). Numerous reasons have been given for this influence on public opinion, one being the newspaper, and specifically newspaper headlines (Scheufele, 2000). Based on previous research, this study considers that newspaper headlines show the essential ideas of the article and are designed by editors to capture the reader’s attention (Scheufele, 2000; Kiouisis & McCombs, 2004).

In the past there have been studies on newspaper headlines and bias but none speculate on the United States presidential election of 2004, which brought two research problems to attention. The first research problem is to establish that newspaper headlines contain a certain political bias, and that bias can depend on the newspaper’s political affiliation. To establish a possible bias, the researcher is looking first at how many headlines were dedicated to each candidate, and in what manner (or what value) the headlines are dedicated?

The second research problem was to establish and report any bias found, which issues tend to produce the most positive, negative, and neutral results. Hence, the research addresses two major questions: Is there a bias for or against either candidate in the headlines of *The Los*

Angeles Times and *The Washington Times*? If there is bias, which issues tend to produce the most positive, negative and neutral results?

By performing a content analysis of newspaper headlines, this study aims to illustrate what kind of bias these headlines display and the specific issues most explored in the headlines. The researcher considers content analysis particularly well suited for her research due to its three major characteristics: it is systematic in that there are specific regulations and measures. Content analysis also aims to be objective, in that personal prejudice and attitudes do not penetrate the findings. Lastly content analysis is quantitative, in that the researcher can possibly summarize results with precision and clarity (Krippendorff, 1980).

All the possible headlines are to be gathered which pertained to one of the presidential party ticket candidates, Bush and/or Cheney and Kerry and/or Edwards, the researcher decided that the headlines should only relate to one issue. Finally, the researcher has 194 headlines for *The Washington Times*, and 455 headlines for *The Los Angeles Times*. The researcher utilizes two coders, in hopes that the results would remain clear of her personal bias.

To create a consistent coding system, the researcher is using the coding system of Farnsworth & Lichter (2000). Their coding system involves categorizing presidential candidate headlines into two main categories: the presidential candidate's "political position" (horse race) and "substantial matters" (the nine issue categories: values, social security/employment, national economy, health/medicine, technology, crime/legal/immigration, campaign and past decisions, homeland security and other). The researcher uses these two broad categories as the base of her categorizing system.

After creating this coding system, the researcher is to train the coders to perform a reliable content analysis, have the coders code the data, and lastly analyze the results.

The researcher is to obtain reliability results for *The Washington Times* and for *The Los Angeles Times* at varied levels. This project anticipates the discovery of bias in the headlines of *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*. Most likely *The Washington Times* will contain more pro-Bush headlines, while *The Los Angeles Times* will contain more pro-Kerry headlines.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Influence of Headlines on Readership

In 1895, Pulitzer and Hearst began using large print for headlines to attract more readership. *The World* and *The Journal*, both New York City newspapers, began using banners or streamers, to sell more newspapers. Other cities quickly picked up the format and the traditional large newspaper headline was created (Steigleman, 1949). Today much newspaper research has been completed, and communication researchers argue that many newspaper readers may read only the headlines to form their opinions (Tannenbaum, 1953; Condit et al., 2001).

What influence does the headline have on the average newspaper reader? Headlines introduce practically every newspaper item, and they are what attracts the readers' attention first and foremost by the very visual nature that distinguishes headlines from the rest of the text, (Stovall, 2002). Previous research shows that not only does a headline entice a reader, but it can also influence a reader's interpretation of an article (Pfau, 1995; Condit, et al., 2001). Emig's previous research demonstrates that 51 % of 375 participants in his study admitted basing their opinions of the day's news on headlines (Emig, 1928). The significance of studying headlines is based on the fact that readers on average spend only 34 minutes per weekday with each newspaper they read (Marquez, 1980).

How do headlines affect public discourse? Emig, an early communication researcher, stated: "When you stop to think how few people read beyond the headlines and how much of public opinion is made by headlines, you begin to realize the enormous influence exerted by the journalist (or editor) who sits at a desk and writes headlines" (1928, p.54). This influence combined with a built-in ideological slant presumably exerts another, perhaps unwelcome,

influence on public discourse. Because editors want to catch the reader's eye quickly, headlines are limited to one phrase. This limitation could force headlines writers or editors to emphasize a certain aspect of the story, and this in turn could result in a biased headline. This bias can be the result of the reporter, owner, or publisher's personal bias or political affiliations (Stephens, 2005).

The average American reader has been called "a shopper of headlines" (Steigleman, 1949, p. 389). Winship and Allport report that "through the headline, they (the editors/ owners) create the picture of the world scene that their public carries in their mind" (1943, p. 206). They claim that "a glance at the newsstand will show that editors do not always select the same communiqué, nor choose the same aspect for emphasis, and no two have identical wording" (1943, p. 207).

This past and current research on the influence of headlines is the justification for why the researcher is choosing to examine headlines rather than the whole articles. The researcher believes headlines are most visually catching, and therefore they constitute one of the most effective news-relaying mediums today. For the purposes of this study, *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* were chosen believing that their headline wording choices express the owners' or editors' partisanship biases.

Past Headline Analyses

The researcher realizes some of this research might seem outdated; however, a lot of the current research is based on information from these past and current researchers. The researcher finds the 1928 study of Emig a noteworthy project. Emig used simple sample questionnaires (which included questions like "When do you read headlines--always, occasionally, or never?") in hopes of evaluating how readers formed their opinions. Of the 375 subjects, 192 stated that

they based their opinions on “reading or skimming the headlines,” 118 on reading news stories, and 144 on reading both headline and stories. Given the number, Emig made a broad conclusion that “headlines are perhaps the most potent factor entering into the formation and direction of public opinion in the United States” (1928, p.55). The researcher acknowledges that headlines may not be as potent today as then due to the proliferation of the visual media, but then again the visual media tend to follow the news and the newspapers agendas. So the researcher deems that headlines and newspapers still have prominent influence, albeit sometimes an indirect one.

Tannenbaum was one of the most prolific researchers in connection with the impact of headlines. Modern headline researchers, such as Condit et al. (2001), claim that Tannenbaum’s work has “gone the farthest towards tearing apart the impact of headlines as stand-alone, information carrying devices as opposed to headlines as frames that shape the interpretation of the content of articles” (Condit, et al. 2001, p.380). Tannenbaum researched the impact of headlines and discovered a statistically significant difference in attitudes based on how the headline relayed or stated the issue (Tannenbaum, 1953; Condit et al. 2001).

Lastly, Condit et al.’s (2001) study on news headlines and how they related to the public’s views on genetic determinism illustrated that headlines function as: “information conveying devices for those who read only headlines on a given subject” and “as framing devices for article content” (Condit et al., 2001, p.381). Condit’s research also demonstrated that the less comprehensively the participants read the complete article, the more influence or impact the article’s headline had on the attitudes of the readers (Condit et al., 2001).

From Emig and Tannenbaum, the researcher gains confirmation that headlines have an influence on readership and a reader’s retention of an issue. Because of Condit et. al., who established the impact of the article’s headlines on readership, the researcher decides in the

absence of the rest of the article, this study fully relies on the way the headline expresses the issue and candidate.

Two other early researchers worthy of studying are Kingsbury and Hart. In 1943, they attempted to explore the ethics of American newspapers when it came to headlines and their possible bias. Kingsbury and Hart analyzed headlines on the same topic from multiple newspapers, using what they defined as the “median of all newspaper reports” as the “base line” for their comparison (Kingsbury & Hart, 1943). The researchers discovered that headlines contained a bias on reported issues, such as the militaristic-pacifistic problem, reparations, and prohibition, which were all prominent issues at the time. Their studies were inconclusive regarding the existence of bias, due to the fact that bias needs to be measured both qualitatively and quantitatively (Kingsbury & Hart, 1943). Based on these conclusions, the researcher is assigning her empirical study taking into account her methods. Therefore, then the researcher knows to look at the wording choices for positive, negative, or neutral qualities, and also for numerical and statistical reliability.

Allport and Lepkin (1943) investigated whether headlines could arouse an attitude similar to “get in and do the fight” (p. 213). This phrase refers to gaining U.S. support to join the World War II effort which was a hot political topic at the time. These researchers recognized the subtleness of semantics and the possible effects of reading the headline “Nazis Retreat at Stalingrad” as compared to “Russians Advance at Stalingrad” (Allport & Lepkin, 1943, p.213). They chose 126 sample or “representative” headlines, reproducing them on cards in 72- point Gothic type with identical filler material underneath. The cards were shown to 109 United States citizens for a period of 20 seconds, and then the participants were asked to rate each headline on an 11--point scale according to how they felt towards the U.S. participation in the war effort

(Allport & Lepkin, 1943). Their results illustrated that both positive and negative headlines affected the public opinion about the war. Their results further suggested that the “bad” (i.e., negative) news headline was “significantly more effective towards this end than those classified as good news headlines” (Allport & Lepkin, 1943, p.213). Based on these conclusions, the researcher notes that their results showed negative headlines were more effective at influencing public opinion. The researcher also has learned from these communicators to count and create categories, which take into account positive and negative values. This result made the researcher further theorize how “good” and “bad” headlines could have impacted public opinion and also made the researcher adopt similar categories for her methods. All of these past and current studies further justifies the researcher’s decision to use headlines rather than the full article.

Prevalence of Agenda Setting

According to Stovall, the content of newspaper headlines is created through a variety of factors (Stovall, 2002). The researcher hypothesizes bias, agenda-setting, and priming all play an integral part in the headline creating process. For the purposes of this study the researcher is using Hirsch, Kett, & Trefil’s definition of bias: “a preference or a partiality, particularly one that restrains unprejudiced or fair view; it is an unfair act or policy branching from presumption or preconceptions.” The researcher also uses McCombs and Shaw’s definition of agenda-setting (i.e. the media, mainly the news media, aren’t always successful at telling us what to think, but they are quite successful at telling us what to think about) and Igender and Kinder’s definition of priming (i.e. the mass media influences “the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for the public office are judged... by calling attention to some matters while ignoring others” (Tedesco, 2001).) The public learns about events from the news media;

the emphasis the news media places on a certain story influences how much value the public attributes to that issue. So the issues chosen to be in the headlines are significant, and can also affect how much importance the public attributes to that issue. So, it can be argued that the news media sets the agenda for the public's attention and builds the foundation for public opinion (Tedesco, 2001).

The first agenda-setting theory was formulated in 1922 by Walter Lippman, who stated that the news media form "the key base of the pictures in our heads about the outside world" (Tedesco, 2001). The media sets the public agenda that is for most Americans out of reach, out of sight, and out of mind (Dalton et al., 1998). Agenda-setting is a theory about the transfer of the elements in the mass media's portrayal of the world to the elements of the picture in our heads: the elements that are prominent in the media's portrayal become the prominent points in the audience's perception (Dalton et al., 1998). The relationship between the priorities of the media's agenda and their influence over the priorities of the public's agenda has been firmly established. Dalton describes the basic hypothesis in most agenda-setting studies is "the degree of emphasis placed on issues in the news influences the priority accorded these issues by the public" (Dalton et al., 1998, p.466 & Roberts, Wanta, Dzwo, 2002). This agenda-setting hypothesis has been supported in more than 200 studies during the past 33 years (Dalton et al., 1998).

Since Lippman's 1922 study, the concept of the news media as an agenda-setting function has continued to be addressed by many researchers, but it did not become an actual theory until McCombs and Shaw's study in the 1970s. McCombs and Shaw labeled agenda-setting as a social learning theory that examined the public's behavioral tendencies, specifically how individuals pass on information gained from the new media to others (Kosicki, 1997). Their

study outlined a basic approach to mass communication research by attempting to explain what people think about and how. McCombs and Shaw discovered a significant correlation between these two factors, which led them to the conclusion that the importance of an issue, and how long an issue remains in the limelight is significantly influenced by news media (Kosicki, 1997).

Is the press addressing the issues that the public deems most relevant, or is it that the media acts as gatekeepers, determining what the public should be thinking about especially through their choices of headlines? As Cohen argued in 1963, agenda-setting by the news media contributed considerably to what the American public regarded as the most important issues in the country. Agenda-setting theory is composed of a few main concepts: issue regimes, issue salience, and priming.

The agenda-setting process sets into effect issue regimes, which are defined as a “specialized time period in which one issue draws the most awareness” (Pan & Kosicki, 1997). These issue regimes, or news stories, are so important they control the amount of media coverage placed on an issue and have the potential to crowd out other important stories. Deeming these concepts important, the researcher believes there were a few issue regimes (i.e. values and homeland security) prevalent in the headlines pertaining to the 2004 presidential election. The researcher also considers that these issue regimes could have possible ideological effects on the public, producing the level of importance attributed to a specific issue. The researcher also argues that any possible issue regime will contain certain headlines revealing the reporter, owner, or publisher’s personal bias. The researcher believes that the agenda-setting theory is one to consider in relation to the second research question: If there is bias, which issues tended to produce the most positive, negative and neutral results? Because this theory establishes a strong correlation between key issues in headlines and what the public considers important, she

hypothesizes that *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* will cover similar issues, but with different candidate preferences and biases.

The concept of agenda-setting became more defined and multifaceted based on extensive research on the fluctuation of media effectiveness, which depends on the audience's specific internal and external conditions. In the scope of this project, this concept was deemed significant when considering the two coders. The researcher considers bias to be inherent in one's mind, but attempts to ensure the coders' objectivity by creating an explicit coding system for this project. This coding system is not open; it is based on eight categories, and it requires the coders to assign the headlines to a category.

Past Agenda-Setting Studies

For the purposes of this study, the researcher is using Hilgartner and Bosk's research (1988) in mass media's influence on public opinion for her definition of the public arena. The public arena is viewed as "the totality of channels, forums, and apparatuses of public deliberation about public policy issues and the relevant 'venues' of policymaking" (Scheufele, 2000). In the scope of this project, the researcher hypothesizes that *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* readers (i.e. public arena) were affected by the issues chosen in the prominent headlines, and that these headlines had an effect on the public's consideration towards those issues.

For the purposes of this study, the time frame is a 10-month period during the 2004 United States presidential election, which produced varied headlines in *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*. Wanta and Hu argued (1994) that one must consider the variance in time frames when working with agenda-setting because it demonstrates the "time varying causal effects"; issues can affect the public at different times and levels (Scheufele, 2000). When an

issue affects the public the most, usually between 4 and 6 weeks, “an optimal effect span” occurs (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1990, p.187). Brosius and Kepplinger’s (1990) study showed that when news coverage of an issue is intense and there is monthly variation in coverage, agenda- setting effects were most likely to occur (Kosicki, 1997). Taking the optimal effect span and possible monthly variations into consideration, the researcher is choosing to study a relatively time period, beginning with February 2004 (John Kerry was announced as the Democratic presidential candidate) and ending with November 2004 (the end of the presidential campaign and the election).

In Wanta and Hu’s (1993) study, press coverage is considered for its effect on increasing public concern. When a person is involved in an issue that is high in the public sphere of concern, press coverage can create an even higher public concern. Press coverage influence can fluctuate based on the specific audience member’s self involvement or interest with a specific issue (Kosicki, 1997). Research by Just et al. (1996), and Kant et al. (2000), showed the communicative actions of political candidates, the media, and the public may perform different functions at various times during the United States presidential election process (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004). Cronin and Loevy (1994), Matthews (1978), Polsby and Wildavsky (1988), and Trent and Friedenburt (1995) illustrate that “media attention, or lack thereof, to the early stages of presidential campaigns has had a significant effect on the electoral process” (Haynes & Murray, 1998, p.421). These past studies are important to consider because the researcher studied the U. S. presidential elections. The researcher also hypothesizes that these two newspapers’ attention towards certain issues at the beginning of the campaign would express the bias of the reporter, owner, or publisher.

Wanta and Wu's (1992) study showed interpersonal communication reinforced media agenda-setting effects (Yang & Stone, 2003). McLeod, Becker, & Byrnes (1974), discussed how interpersonal communication can enhance the agenda-setting effects; Atwater, Salwen, & Anderson (1985), Erbring, Goldenberg, & Miller (1980), discussed how interpersonal communication can inhibit agenda-setting effects, and Yang & Stone (2003), discussed how interpersonal communication could have no effect at all (Yang & Stone, 2003).

The importance level of a specific issue in the mass media and how it related to interpersonal communication can be a difficult factor to study. The researcher notes that interpersonal communication can play a role in the effectiveness of a headline on a reader, and that is why the research could not make broader claims about the about the mass media's influence on public opinion. The researcher hypothesizes that the headlines were partially effective due to wording choices and the reader's personal bias. Lastly, the researcher argues that headlines were partially affected by the role interpersonal communication plays in a reader's thought process.

Wedge Issues

The researcher hypothesized that wedge issues would be prevalent in *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* headline sets. According to Hirsch, Kett, & Trefil, wedge issues are defined as a "sharply divisive political issue, especially one that is raised by a candidate or party in hopes of attracting or disaffecting a portion of an opponent's customary supporters" (2002, p. 41). It has been said that the weeks before an election are the time to act and create a "colorful distinction" (Cloud, 2004). This key concept is noteworthy to this research because of the chosen time period (the 10-months leading up to the U.S. presidential election of 2004).

Many political analysts believe that since President Bush's State of the Union address on January 23, 2004 many campaign themes, agendas, and possible wedge issues appeared that would potentially affect the 2004 United States presidential election campaign (*Washington Post*, 2004). From that point on a majority of political advisors and House and Senate leaders believed that the wedge issues would cause "Democrats to decide between their delegation's values and their components" (Fagin & Dunn, 2004). Stuart Roy, a spokesman for House Majority Leader Tom Delay, a Texas Republican, stated "You want to draw distinctions between the parties" (Fagin & Dunn, 2004). In July 2004 Former Speaker Newt Gingrich, a Georgia Republican, advised Republicans to focus the campaign on a few wedge issues "in an effort to paint Senators John Kerry and John Edwards as an out-of-the-mainstream ticket" (Kaplan, 2004). The researcher considered this a valuable statement for her study on bias, because it is notable to analyze the political party concerns regarding issues and making distinctions between political parties, agendas, and issues.

The researcher considers homeland security/terrorism as an example of a wedge issue of this U.S. presidential electoral campaign. President Bush stated "We can go forward with confidence and resolve-or we can turn back to the dangerous illusion that terrorists are not plotting and outlaw regimes are no threat to us at all" (*Washington Post*, 2004). This study is based on the assumption and argument that the mantra of the Bush campaign was "Re-elect Bush or side with the terrorists"; this mantra was reflected in the pro-Bush headlines, possibly affecting the outcome of the election.

The researcher speculates that the media presented Senator Kerry as a candidate with differing opinions on issues, framing him as wishy-washy or flip-flopping. The researcher also believes this is bias apparent in *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times'* headlines

and that these headlines illustrate that by the end of the 2004 United States presidential election campaign the media had portrayed Kerry as a candidate lacking strong leadership with an unclear position on the war.

President Bush stated “Unless you act, Americans can face a huge tax increase” (Dionne, 2004). Taxes were another wedge issue prominently discussed by both candidates. The researcher considers that these two newspapers will portray the candidates as having opposing views on taxes and the national economy.

In the scope of this project, it could be argued that a key wedge issue was values, specifically issues dealing with morality, abortion and gay marriage. The researcher argues that the Defense of Marriage Act proposed amendment was in reaction to the high profile gay marriages in the spring of 2004 (*Washington Post*, 2004). According to political analysts, this issue has become “a perennial issue for politicians” similar to the “partial birth” abortion phrase used frequently in the 1990s (*Anniston Star*, 2004). According to a *Time* poll (October 2004), only 12 % of Americans think that values issues were crucial to this election (Cloud, 2004). The researcher hypothesizes that more headline bias will be shown to wedge issues.

These wedge issues were apparent in newspapers and also in the presidential debates. Both Kerry and Bush attempted to chop away pieces of the wedge pie with their views of morality. During the third debate in Tempe, Arizona, Bush called Kerry, “a liberal Senator from Massachusetts” when referencing Kerry’s past decisions, stating that “each individual has dignity and value in God’s sight” when referencing stem cell research (Cloud, 2004, p.35; Dionne, 2004). Bush discussed his support for the anti-gay marriage amendment, using the word “marriage” eleven times. Kerry responded to Bush by referring to the “Almighty” ten times, and his personal religious beliefs (which had not previously been addressed). The researcher believes

Kerry's responses were an attempt to silence Republicans on morality and values issues and she speculates that there will not be many headlines which relate to Kerry dealing with values.

Stem cell research was an icy wedge issue in the U.S. presidential election of 2004. Many conservatives and Catholics opposed stem cell research because they felt that this process destroys embryos (Cloud, 2004). Which led John Edwards to state in response to actor Christopher Reeve's passing that "[as a result of] the work that we will do when John Kerry is president, people like Christopher Reeve will get up out of that wheelchair and walk again" (Cloud, 2004, p.35).

Wedge issues have been described as "land mines as well as gold mines" (Oliphant, 2004, p.35). The researcher hypothesizes that wedge issues will be a key component in answering the second research question, "If there is bias, which issues tended to produce the most positive, negative and neutral results?"

Priming

According to Igender and Kinder (1987), the priming theory demonstrated that the mass media influences how governments, presidents, policies, and candidates are looked at or received by recognizing some matters while ignoring others. In physiological terms, the priming concept describes the activation of a node in the network of thought by an external stimulus, and how that activation can work as a sieve or as a premise for further thought processing and judgment (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1990). This theory is important when considering the effectiveness of bias in a newspaper's headline. Past studies such as the ones by Collins & Loftus (1975), Higgins & King (1981), Taylor & Fisk (1978), and Wyer & Srull (1981), showed priming concepts are rooted in cognitive psychology and are derived from the "associative network model of human

memory, in which an idea or concept is stored as a node in the network and is related to other ideas or concepts by semantic paths” (Pan & Kosicki, 1997, p.25).

Priming is related to perceptual processing and governs whether the message the media send to the public is perceived as good, bad, or indifferent. The researcher considers this concept important for the present study based on the belief that headlines which show bias of any kind can prime a reader, that is if the reader is not exposed to any other message or media. The researcher acknowledges that no one thing can change a reader’s point of view. Also, when a reader creates an opinion based on the bias of the newspaper the potential ideological effects could be of concern.

The Washington Times

The Washington Times was founded in 1982, and claims it is “America’s newspaper.” It is described as a “full service general interest daily newspaper in the nation’s capital” (*Washington Times*, 2004). It has a reputation for tough investigative reporting and is owned by News World Communications Inc. (*Washington Times*, 2004). This newspaper is affiliated with the: *Middle East Times*, *Tiempos del Mundo*, and *Segye Ilbo*.

The Los Angeles Times

The Los Angeles Times (L.A. Times) was founded in 1881 and is considered today “the largest metropolitan newspaper in the country” (*L.A. Times*, 2004). Throughout its history, *The L.A. Times* has changed few owners; it was recently purchased by the Tribune Company in 2000 (*L.A. Times*, 2004). According to a study completed over a six-month period ending on March 31, 2004, the *L.A. Times’* Sunday circulation is 1,392, 672 while the average daily circulation is 983, 727 (*L.A. Times*, 2004). *The L.A. Times* is delivered from Santa Barbara to the Mexican border, “a 45,000-square-mile area larger than the state of Ohio” (*L.A. Times*, 2004). *The L.A.*

Times is an international newspaper; it is translated into the country's native language and distributed to its residents. Some examples are the *Chinese Daily News*, *Korea Times*, and *India Journal*.

The Possible Ideological Slants of the Washington Times and the Los Angeles Times

After discussing with scholars and graduate students at her university, the researcher in an attempt to find out what the general public views the bias of *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*, decided to for the purposes of this study to access public opinion on the computer via the Internet.

The researcher realizes that there are a few highly credible sources and a few slightly credible sources in this upcoming section, but she believed the Internet was the quickest way to access general public opinion on this subject. The researcher also acknowledges that there is a limitation to this research due to the medium. There is a possibility that the Internet does not show all of the information and that there is a possibility that more opinionated right or left-wing people use the Internet.

The researcher searched on her computer at google.com and by putting in the key word “*Washington Times* right-wing” hypothesizing (after her discussions) that it was viewed by the general public as a conservative or right-wing newspaper. The researcher noted her question of bias was illustrated in different websites. There were many websites which pulled up on her screen that contained important information on *The Washington Times*' writers, Donald Lambro, Deborah Simmons, Ralph Harrow, and Amy Fagan, all of which have a conservative slant (Dick Gephardt, 2004, Democratic Underground, 2004, FARK, 2004, Politics.com, 2005). Other conservative noteworthy names discovered are Ann Coulter, Rush Limbaugh, Matt Drudge, and Sun Moon. Sun Moon is one of the owners of *The Washington Times*, who is seen by a few

sources as being extremely right-wing. On a general note, when going onto group web logs, forums, and discussion groups, the general buzz concerning *The Washington Times*' ideological slant was that it was created "from the onset, (by Borchgrave, a prominent writer, who) helped set *The Washington Times*' conservative tone; he penned a front-page editorial which showed (the bias of this newspaper)" (Ross, 2001) The researcher when logging into discussions at Politics.com, Democratic Underground, Metroboards.com, FinHaven & Co. Forum, and varied online web magazines, discovered these groups all discuss the right-wing bias of this newspaper.

The researcher then searched on the Internet at google.com and by putting in the key word "*Los Angeles Times* left-wing" hypothesizing it to be viewed by the public as a liberal or left-wing newspaper. The researcher's hypothesis was proven accurate, at least by the groups selected from Google. There were many websites which pulled up on her computer screen that contained valuable information dealing with *The Los Angeles Times*' writers, David Shaw, and Robert Scheer both of which claim to have a liberal slant (Pickerell, 2005). Other noteworthy findings were support towards *The Los Angeles Times* from the liberal historian, Arthur Schlesinger and some "Los Angeles Times Liberal Groups", such as the Feminist Majority Foundation (Feminist Majority Foundation.org, 2003). On a broad note, when looking onto group web logs, forums, and discussion groups, the general notes concerning *The Los Angeles Times*' ideological slant was that it was left-wing. The researcher when logging into discussions at Politics.com, Feminist.org, and varied online web magazines discovered these groups discuss the left-wing bias of this newspaper.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

A content analysis was performed in an attempt to assess the possible political bias expressed in headlines. This study compared headline wordings in two prominent national newspapers: *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Washington Times*. The researcher felt it was important to look at what is considered to be a more left-wing newspaper, *The Los Angeles Times*, as well as what is considered to be a more right-wing newspaper, *The Washington Times*, in order to establish and analyze if and how newspapers across the political spectrum insert a bias into their headlines. The researcher used Hirsch, Kett, & Trefil's definitions of political parties as parameters of this study. "Left wing" denoted an affiliation with the liberal party which primarily supports federal social welfare programs designed to open opportunities to all citizens; "right wing", on the other hand, denoted the conservative party which generally argues for a strong national defense program and opposes federal involvement in promoting social welfare. Although both major political parties have left- and right- wing factions, for the purposes of this study "left wing" was associated with the Democratic Party, and the candidates, Kerry and/or Edwards, whereas "right- wing" was associated with the Republican Party, and the candidates Bush and/or Cheney (Hirsch, Kett, & Trefil, 2002).

For the purposes of this study, the researcher hypothesized that the general public considered these two newspapers to hold very different political opinions. This research utilized a past coding system analyzing newspaper headlines between February 2004 and November 2004, the period between the announcement of the Democratic Party presidential candidates and the presidential election. This time frame was chosen based on the assumption that it contained

headlines that dealt with issues most pertinent to the 2004 presidential campaign. In this study, *The Washington Times* headlines were referred to as Headline Set One and *The Los Angeles Times* headlines were referred to as Headline Set Two.

Content Analysis

Content analysis assumes that inferences of the connection between intent and content can be made validly or that actual connections exist (Baxter & Babbie, 2004). The researcher hoped to illuminate the individual headline wordings by interpreting what political biases are reflected in their content.

The key assumption of the content analysis methodology is that the “study of manifest content is meaningful” (Berelson, 1971, p.37). The three types of reliability in a content analysis are stability, reproducibility, and comparability. Stability is the degree to which study results do not vary over time; reproducibility (intercoder consistency) is the amount to which the same results are attained when the identical text is coded by more than one person, and comparability refers to how the classification of the text contrasts with a standard or norm (Baxter and Babbie, 2004).

For this study the researcher 1) collected the sample headline set, 2) created a specific coding system, 3) trained the coders to perform a reliable content analysis, 4) had the coders code the data, and 5) analyzed the results.

1) Collecting the headline sets

The researcher began collecting the sample headline set from *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Washington Times* in August 2004, collecting all election headlines pertaining to the presidential ticket candidates, Bush and/or Cheney and Kerry and/or Edwards between February 2004 and November 2004. This sample contained 194 headlines from *The Washington Times* and 455 headlines from *The Los Angeles Times*.

2) Creating a specific coding system

To create a reliable coding system, the researcher utilized the coding system of Farnsworth & Lichter (2000). Their coding system involved placing presidential candidate stories into two main categories: the presidential candidate's "political position" and "substantial matters." The researcher implemented these two broad categories as the base of her categorizing system. For the purposes of this study, the candidates' "political position" was defined as the "horse race" and the candidate's specific campaign and positions, while the candidates' "substantial matters" referred to the nine issue categories: values, social security/employment, national economy, health/medicine, technology, crime/legal/immigration, campaign and past decisions, homeland security and other. The category of "other" was added because some headlines did not fit into any other categorical denomination.

Under the utilized coding system, campaign issues were considered "substantial" if they were linked to the candidates' character rather than to positional standing in the polls. Some examples of "substantial" campaign issues include:

- whether candidates were making misleading, deceptive, or unsupportable campaign promises

- whether candidates were too closely linked to special interests
- whether candidates were accepting endorsements from highly controversial sources
- whether candidates were conducting divisive campaigns.

3) Training the coders

In order to prevent the researcher's personal bias to cloud the outcome of the study the researcher chose two third party coders. In a training session, the researcher introduced and explained the definition and the category sheet, and elaborated in detail the process of coding, focusing on the intercoder consistency (Appendix B).

In order to eliminate any personal preconceptions, the researcher took all definitions for this project from Hirsch, Kett, and Trefil's *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*.

The researcher also created a category sheet, listing eight broad, prominent presidential election issues, as well as a catch-all category of "other". The sheet was designed to allow the coders to categorize the sample headline set as *positive*, *negative*, or *neutral* in relation to the candidate discussed in the headline (Appendix B).

When training the coders the researcher explained the following examples of positive, negative, and neutral responses:

1. Candidate who seems to be gaining ground should receive a positive evaluation.
2. Candidate who accepts humanitarian award should receive a positive evaluation
3. Candidate who already has 50 % of votes should receive a positive evaluation.
4. Candidate who is slipping in the polls should receive a negative evaluation.
5. Candidate who is failing on their policy should receive a negative evaluation.

6. Candidate who has only 50 % of votes should receive a negative evaluation.
7. Candidate who will debate tonight should receive a neutral evaluation.
8. Candidate's whose doctor has prescribed bed rest should receive a neutral evaluation.
9. Candidate who makes a decision should receive a neutral evaluation.
10. Candidate who has 50 % of votes should receive a neutral evaluation

Following this training discussion, the researcher presented each of the coders with an identical Headline Set One, from *The Washington Times*. The coders were trained to assign the main issue expressed in the headline to a specific category, with the appropriate value (*positive, negative, neutral*). The coders accordingly analyzed the first headline set of 194 headlines (*The Washington Times*), at which point, the researcher took a checkpoint to discuss the analysis. This allowed the researcher to give further instructions to the coders to ensure consistency.

After the researcher was satisfied with the reliability of the results in the sample Headline Set One, the coders were given the second headline set, and category sheet; they kept the same definition sheet.

4) Having the coders code the data

The coders coded the Headline Set Two (*The Los Angeles Times*) on their own.

5) Analyzing the results

To further ensure the accuracy of collected data and prevent the unintentional manipulation on the part of the researcher, the researcher chose a colleague to assist her with calculating the results. The colleague was introduced to the data and the formulas were explained to him. The researcher believed that by following this method and taking extra steps to ensure validity, the results would be more reliable.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The data set produced a headline total of N= 649 (Headline Set One, *The Washington Times* N= 194; Headline Set Two, *The Los Angeles Times* N= 455). The researcher's goal for intercoder reliability, a percentage agreement between the coders was 70 %. The results for Headline Set One, *The Washington Times* provided a percentage agreement average total of 53.58 %. The results for Headline Set Two, *The Los Angeles Times* provided a percentage agreement average total of 71.75 %.

Intercoder Reliability

The coders assessed headlines if they referred to one candidate and one issue. At the initial coding meeting, the two coders were given definitions of positive, negative, and neutral responses. In an attempt to measure bias, coders were instructed to assign each headline into a specific candidate and issue category. Once placing the headlines into appropriate categories, the coders then decided if the headlines were positive, negative, or neutral for the candidate who was the subject of the headline. The results for the Headline Set One (*The Washington Times*) and Headline Set Two (*The Los Angeles Times*) are displayed in Appendix G. After collecting the data, the researcher and colleague analyzed the two coders' distributions of the headlines.

The researcher and colleague tested for reliability by reporting the percent of headlines that were placed into the same category (positive, negative, or neutral) by the two coders. Table one displays the percent agreement from the coders on *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* headline sets.

The researcher obtained mixed reliability results for *The Washington Times*. For Kerry, intercoder reliability in the categories of Values (negative), Employment/Social Security (positive), National Economy (neutral), and the Candidate's Campaign (positive) was .70 or above. For Bush, intercoder reliability in the categories of Values (both positive and negative), National Economy (positive), Homeland Security (positive) was .70 or above (Table 1).

As can be seen for *The Washington Times* data the reliability levels had a grand mean of 53.57 %. In summation, the average of the reliabilities is below the desired 70 % levels. The lowest reliability levels were obtained for Bush, in Technology and Employment/Social Security.

The researcher also obtained varied reliability results for *The Los Angeles Times*. For Kerry, the intercoder reliability in the categories of values (neutral), national economy (negative), technology (neutral), crime/legal (positive, negative), campaign (negative), and other (positive, negative, neutral) was .70 or above. For Bush, the intercoder reliability in the categories: values (both positive and negative), employment/ social security (positive, negative, neutral), campaign (negative), and other (neutral) was .70 or above. As can be seen for *The Los Angeles Times*, the reliability levels range from 46 % to 100 % with a grand mean of 71.75 %. In summation, the average of the reliabilities is above the desired 70 % levels. The lowest reliability levels were obtained for Bush, in Health/Medical and for Kerry, in Technology and Homeland Security (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Agreement by Coders on Each Campaign Issue

<i>The Washington Times</i>			<i>The Los Angeles Times</i>				
	N	Bush	Kerry		N	Bush	Kerry
Values	10.5	66.67	100*	Values	16.5	69.23	83.33
Emply/SocSecurity	3	0	66.67	Emply/SocSecurity	18	85.71	66.67
Nat'l Economy	11.5	57.14	71.43	Nat'l Economy	20.5	60.6	54.55
Health/Medical	1	100	1	Health/Medical	8	50	42.86
Technology	0.5	0	1	Technology	2.5	100	50
Crime/Legal	5	25	25	Crime/Legal	15	66.67	87.5
Campaign	88	69.05	47.89	Campaign	255.5	92.38	90.74
Homeland Security	36	90.48	88.24	Homeland Security	91.5	86.44	46
Other	38.5	39.29	2.7	Other	27.5	58.82	100
Average	21.56	49.74	57.42	Average	55.56	74.43	69.07

*The bold font illustrates being above the desired reliability of .70 %

Despite the fact that intercoder reliability was questionable in certain areas it was necessary to combine the coders' categorical responses in order to test the two research questions. Table 2 combines the categorical responses for *The Washington Times* and Table 3 combines the categorical responses for *The Los Angeles Times*. Because research question one asks if there is a bias in the newspapers, the researcher examined the percentages of positive, negative, and neutral headlines for both newspapers.

Table 2: Percentage of Positive, Negative, and Neutral Headlines in *The Washington Times* for Both Candidates

Bush					Kerry				
	N	+	-	o		N	+	-	o
Values	7.5	33.33%	46.67%	20.00%	Values	3	33.33%*	33.33%	33.33%
Emply/SocSecurity	0.5	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	Emply/SocSecurity	2.5	80.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Nat'l Economy	5.5	63.64%	18.18%	18.18%	Nat'l Economy	6	8.33%	50.00%	41.67%
Health/Medical	1	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	Health/Medical	NR**	NR	NR	NR
Technology	0.5	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	Technology	NR	NR	NR	NR
Crime/Legal	2.5	20.00%	20.00%	60.00%	Crime/Legal	2.5	20.00%	20.00%	60.00%
Campaign	35.5	46.48%	19.72%	33.80%	Campaign	52.5	32.38%	36.19%	31.43%
Homeland Security	20	52.50%	37.50%	10.00%	Homeland Security	16	25.00%	56.25%	18.75%
Other	19.5	23.08%	33.33%	43.59%	Other	19	21.05%	42.11%	36.84%
Average	10.28	43.23%	30.60%	26.17%	Average	14.5	31.44%	36.84%	31.72%

*The bold font illustrates being above the desired reliability of .70 %

**NR illustrates categories that received no responses.

The assessment of the research questions focuses on the issues that met the .70 reliability level for *The Washington Times*. These issues are Values, Health/Medical, and Homeland Security (Table 2). For the Values category, Kerry and Bush had equal amounts (33.3 %) of favorable headlines. For the Health/Medical category, Bush received more favorable headlines (50 %), while Kerry had 0 % favorable headlines. For the Homeland Security category, the Bush results were 52.5 % favorable; while Kerry's results indicate only 25 % positive headlines and 56.25 % negative headlines. In sum, these data show that Bush received more favorable treatment than Kerry in *The Washington Times* on these issues.

The same conclusion is apparent from the average rating of all categories. This newspaper's results illustrate a total of 43.23 % positive headlines towards Bush, with only 24.46 % positive headlines towards Kerry. Based on these data *The Washington Times* presented Bush in a more positive manner than Kerry.

Table 3: Percentage of Positive, Negative, and Neutral Headlines in *The Los Angeles Times* for Both Candidates

Bush					Kerry				
	N	+	-	o		N	+	-	o
Values	11	36.36%	22.73%	40.91%	Values	5.5	27.27%*	27.27%	45.45%
Emply/SocSecurity	13	30.77%	38.46%	30.77%	Emply/SocSecurity	5	80.00%	0.00%	20.00%
Nat'l Economy	12	33.33%	45.83%	20.83%	Nat'l Economy	8.5	76.47%	11.76%	11.76%
Health/Medical	3	50.00%	33.33%	16.67%	Health/Medical	5	70.00%	0.00%	30.00%
Technology	1	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	Technology	1.5	33.33%	0.00%	66.67%
Crime/Legal	7.5	53.33%	26.67%	20.00%	Crime/Legal	7.5	46.67%	33.33%	20.00%
Campaign	101	30.69%	33.17%	36.14%	Campaign	154.5	41.42%	15.86%	42.72%
Homeland Security	55	32.73%	27.27%	40.00%	Homeland Security	36.5	47.95%	28.77%	23.29%
Other	13.5	7.41%	66.67%	25.93%	Other	14	42.86%	7.14%	50.00%
Average	24.11	36.07%	32.68%	31.25%	Average	26.44	51.77%	13.79%	34.43%

*The bold font illustrates being above the desired reliability of .70 %

Table 3 displays the data from *The Los Angeles Times*. These results show that *The Los Angeles Times* dedicated slightly more headlines to the Democratic candidates Kerry and Edwards. The coders reported 52 % of headlines referred to Kerry, while 48 % referenced Bush.

Again, the assessment of the research questions focused primarily on those issues that met the .70 reliability level. For *The Los Angeles Times*, these issues are Values, Employment/Social Security, Technology, Crime/Legal, Campaign, Homeland Security, and Other. For the Values category, Kerry received equal amounts (27.27 %) of positive and negative headlines, but also had 45.45 % of neutral headlines. The corresponding Bush data was similar, 33.36%, 22.73%, and 40.91% respectively. For the Employment/Social Security category, Kerry was given the most positive results (80 %), while Bush had only 30.77 % of positive headlines. For the Technology category, Bush had the favorable results, 50 % positive and 50 % neutral headlines. For the Crime and Legal category, Kerry received 46.47 % positive responses. In the Campaign category, Kerry had 41.42 % favorable headlines compared to 30.36 % for Bush. For the Homeland Security category, Kerry had the most favorable results (47.95 %), while Bush had only 32.73 % positive headline ratings. For the Other category, Kerry had more positive

headlines (42.86%) than Bush (7.41%). In sum these data results show that Kerry received more favorable treatment than Bush in *The Los Angeles Times*.

The same conclusion is apparent from the average ratings of all categories. This newspaper's results illustrate the total of 40.29 % positive headlines towards Kerry, while containing only 36.07 % positive headlines towards Bush. This newspaper's results illustrate the total of 34 % negative headlines towards Bush, while containing only 13.79 % negative headlines towards Kerry.

As seen in Tables 2 and 3, the researcher established a pro-Bush bias in *The Washington Times* and a pro-Kerry bias in *The Los Angeles Times*. After establishing these newspapers' biases (Research Question One) the researcher addressed question two.

Research Question Two: If there is bias, which issues tended to produce the most positive, negative and neutral results?

The issue that produced the most biased results for *The Washington Times* was Homeland Security. This newspaper favored Bush over Kerry. Bush resulted in having 52.5 % positive headlines in this category, while Kerry resulted in having 56.25 % negative headlines.

The issue that produced the most biased results for *The Los Angeles Times* was Employment/Social Security. This issue favored Kerry over Bush. Kerry had 80 % positive headlines in this category, while Bush had only 30.77 % positive headlines. Also indicated in Table 3 are the data in the Campaign category (the largest category) containing 41.42 % headlines in favor of Kerry, and on the other hand, only 30.69 % headlines favorable towards Bush.

A similar trend was obtained for the negative headlines on this issue, with 33.17 % of the Bush headlines rated as negative compared to only 15.86 % negative headlines for Kerry.

These statistics combined support the claim that *The Los Angeles Times*' headlines lean a little more favorably towards Kerry and/or Edwards and that *The Washington Times* lean more favorably towards Bush and/or Cheney (Research Question One).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The researcher discovered that testing for a bias is an extremely difficult endeavor due to the fact that bias is innate (it exists in the mind of the reader who cannot just turn it off even though they try to) and bias cannot always be completely separated from a project. Historically speaking, newspapers were set up as a method to promote political agendas. *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* were the main focus of this project, and the researcher defined them as right and left wing. With this study, the researcher tried to establish if and how bias is expressed through the headlines dedicated to and in connection with the 2004 United States presidential election.

For the scope of this project, the first research problem was to establish that newspaper headlines contain a certain political bias, and that bias can depend on the newspapers political affiliation. Hence, the research addressed this major question: Is there a bias for or against either candidate in the headlines of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Washington Times*?

The current study found bias to be present in the headlines of *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*. *The Washington Times* contained more pro-Bush headlines, and *The Los Angeles Times* contained more pro-Kerry headlines (Tables 2 and 3).

The researcher's second research problem was to establish and report if there was a bias found, which issues tended to produce the most positive, negative, and neutral results. The results for the two newspapers are as follows:

For *The Washington Times*, the most positive results were accumulated for Bush in the campaign category. The most negative results were responses toward Kerry in the campaign

category. This researcher notes that it could be argued that the pro-Bush *Washington Times* purposely chose to feature Bush prominently in this category because it portrayed him in a favorable way. Finally, the total numbers were highest for Bush in the positive and for Kerry in the negative and neutral (Tables 2 and 3).

For *The Los Angeles Times*, the most positive and neutral results were accumulated for Kerry in the campaign category. The most negative results were responses toward Bush in the campaign category. This researcher notes that it could be argued that the pro-Kerry *Los Angeles Times* purposely chose to feature Kerry significantly in this category because it portrayed him in a favorable way. The total numbers were highest for Kerry in the positive and neutral and for Bush in the negative (Tables 2 and 3).

The researcher argues that there is evidence that Bush had more positive bias in *The Washington Times*, while, Kerry had more in positive bias in *The Los Angeles Times*.

Additional Observations

The researcher noted there were a few issue regimes (i.e. Values and Homeland Security) prevalent in the headlines pertaining to the 2004 presidential election. *The Washington Times* covered Values, Health/Medical, and Homeland Security (Table 2), but *The Los Angeles Times* headlines covered Values, Employment/Social Security, Technology, Crime/Legal, Campaign, Homeland Security, and Other (Table 3). The researcher deemed the possible issue regimes were the issues which crossed over to both newspapers: Values and Homeland Security.

The researcher also reasoned that these two newspapers' attention towards certain issues at the beginning of the campaign would express the bias of the reporter, owner, or publisher. The bias shown in these two newspapers did not change during this ten-month period, and was more

positive for Bush in *The Washington Times* and was more positive for Kerry in *The Los Angeles Times*.

The researcher observed that wedge issues would be prevalent in *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* headline sets. Wedge issues were and the two wedge issues which contained intercoder reliability and were the most prominent were Values and Homeland Security (Tables 2 and 3)

The researcher noted that more headline bias will be shown to wedge issues. The researcher is not certain this was shown. Bias was seen in all categories analyzed in both newspapers.

The researcher observed that the media presented Senator Kerry as a candidate with differing opinions on issues, framing him as wishy-washy or flip-flopping. Some of the percentage ratios could be seen as portraying Kerry as indecisive, for example, in *The Washington Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* in the Values category (Tables 2 and 3).

Limitations

Reliability was a limitation in this study. The two coders complicated matters, and there were problems due to the fact that the coders' read and interpreted the headlines differently. Coders personal biases could have had an effect on the results, despite the fact that they were instructed to categories the headlines objectively.

The researcher limited this study to headlines which contained just Bush and/or Cheney or Kerry and/or Edwards and one issue. Headlines that contained words such as "the candidates" "Democrats" or "Republicans" could not be linked to one specific candidate, and were not used.

A possible alternative explanation for the results could be that some headlines did not seem to have clear cut intent. If headlines were trying to criticize or if they were neutral, they

were not always apparent. Some headlines also were inconsistent and employed heavy political references.

For example, the headline “Kerry Speak” is a play on words referencing the phrase, “Newspeak” from George Orwell’s novel *1984*. In the researcher’s opinion this illustrates a definite bias against Kerry. Coder one viewed this headline as a neutral one, while, coder two viewed this as a negative headline. Coder one thought it was simply referring to Kerry speaking and coder two recognized it was referencing Kerry’s speaking patterns in a sarcastic manner.

Future Research

This was an ambitious research study because it was largely subjective due to the fact that readings and interpretations of coders is never devoid of a bias. These were two mainstream national newspapers which could have possible political affiliations, and they are also financed by large corporations.

At the start of this study, the researcher speculated that the two newspapers’ wording choices were influenced by possible corporate interests. For future researchers, comparing a major national newspaper’s headlines to an independent, or privately owned (with no open political affiliation) headlines is suggested.

Given that these two newspapers have control over published headlines and printed thoughts it could be fascinating to examine a live television or radio broadcast, which could be harder to censor or control, and see how the candidates and issues were presented and treated in those forums.

The researcher considered that the specific issues covered the most in the headlines were issues which possibly affected the readers on a personal or intimate level. The researcher hypothesized that the prevalent headline issues were talked about daily in conversations and are

related to the reader's values (i.e. principles, standards, or qualities considered worthwhile or desirable).

Future research on this topic is warranted. Uncensored internet and media personal websites could also be studied to examine what they show as being important issues, and to possibly calculate their biases. Equally interesting for future research would be how possible wedge issues were dealt with in radio talk shows.

As a side note, although this research did not look at it, it could be worthy of studying if and how does one's opinions change after reading certain headlines or a certain newspaper for a significant amount of time? This would be difficult to accomplish due to the nature of cognitive messages, but a researcher could study a reader if they only read one newspaper perhaps and were not exposed or watched television, listened to the radio, or talked with others. All of these factors would have to be considered to hypothesize if it is possible that someone's once neutral opinion could change into a positive or negative opinion after repeated exposure to a biased news outlet?

Another side note to consider would be both television and radio advertisements; which issues the candidates chose to focus on, and which political parties and which specific states used more commercial time for their candidates and their companies. It might be worthy of studying how Florida specifically was targeted by campaign advertisements in the 2004 presidential election.

APPENDIX A

CODING CATEGORY DEFINITIONS

CODING CATEGORY DEFINITIONS

Although the possibility does exist that a headline could be interpreted to fit more than one category, it was the responsibility of the coder to choose the area of concentration in which the writer was attempting to convey their message to the reader.

1. Values- This category covered a broad range of topics dealing with individual, and family matters. How the candidate(s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue related to values. Major topics to be considered will include abortion, marriage, gay issues, and religion.

2. Social Security/Employment- This category covered issues dealing with social security and employment issues, and how the candidate (s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue.

3. National Economy- Matters dealing with both domestic and international business and trade, and how the candidate (s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue. This would encompass employment, benefits, social security, taxes, business investment and deficit / surplus spending.

4. Health/medicine- This category covered any headlines pertaining to health and medicine, and how candidate's were viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue. A major topic considered was stem cell research.

5. Technology- This category covered any headlines pertaining to technology, and how the candidate (s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue related to technology.

6. Homeland Security- Matters of foreign state will also be analyzed in this category, as well as terrorism, the war in Iraq, and the military, and how the candidate(s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue related to technology.. The use or deployment of United States military and support personnel in domestic and international arenas, past, present and potential future involvement. Security both domestically and internationally will be viewed as a military function rather than a domestic criminal act.

7. Crime and legal- This category contains crime and legal matters, civil rights, and immigration, and all matters related to the battle against domestic and / or international crime, laws and punishment. Proposed or actual changes in domestic law enforcement agencies, legal profession, laws, attorneys, judges, and the courts. Civil rights- All issues pertaining to any generally accepted minority group. Immigration- matters relevant to the legal or illegal status of foreign persons within or outside the borders of the United States, and how the candidate(s) are viewed as favoring or not favoring a particular issue.

8. Candidate's Past Decisions and Candidate's Campaign- This covers all issues related to the funding, public, private and government, as well as political action. Groups (PACS), and special interest groups.

9. Other- This category contains all issues related to any topic not covered in the other categories.

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEETS

CODING SHEET 1

Examples of positive, negative, or neutral headlines:

1. Candidate who seems to be gaining ground should receive a positive evaluation.
2. Candidate who accepts humanitarian award should receive a positive evaluation
3. Candidate who already has 50 % of votes should receive a positive evaluation.
4. Candidate who is slipping in the polls should receive a negative evaluation.
5. Candidate who is failing on their policy should receive a negative evaluation.
6. Candidate who has only 50 % of votes should receive a negative evaluation.
7. Candidate who will debate tonight should receive a neutral evaluation.
8. Candidate's whose doctor has prescribed bed rest should receive a neutral evaluation.
9. Candidate who makes a decision should receive a neutral evaluation.
10. Candidate who has 50 % of votes should receive a neutral evaluation

Under the coding system utilized, campaign issues were considered "substantial" if those issues were linked to character rather than to positional standing. Examples of campaign issues that may relate to character and thus were classified as substantial include:

1. whether candidates were said to be making misleading, deceptive, or unsupportable campaign promises
2. whether candidates were too closely linked to special interests
3. whether candidates were accepting endorsements from highly controversial sources
4. whether candidates were conducting divisive campaigns.

CODING SHEET 2

Definition Sheet taken from *The New Dictionary for Cultural Literacy*

1. Conservatism- a general preference for the existing order of society, and an opposition to efforts to bring about a sharp change
2. Conservative- a descriptive term for persons, policies, and beliefs associated with conservatism.
3. Democrat Party. They generally support a tax system that places a greater burden on the rich and large corporations, and they prefer spending on social programs to spending on defense. According to *Cultural Literacy* today most blacks, along with Jews, liberals, labor unions, support the party, which since the 1930s has been strong in major cities. According to *Cultural Literacy*, under President Clinton, the Democratic Party shed some of its New Deal legacies in order to win back working- class and middle—class votes lost to Republicans. The Democrats’ party symbol is the donkey.
4. Left- wing- a descriptive term for liberal, radical, or revolutionary political views, particularly the view that there are unacceptable social inequalities in the present order of society. Communists and socialists, as well as moderate liberals, come under the term left- wing. Left- wing groups are sometimes known collectively as the Left.
5. For this study and generally in the United States, left wing groups primarily support federal social welfare programs designed to open opportunities to all citizens. Left- wing policy is generally associated with the Democratic Party.
6. Leftist- one who holds a left- wing viewpoint; someone who seeks radical social and economic change in the direction of greater equality.

7. Liberal- a descriptive term for persons, policies, and beliefs associated with liberalism.
8. Liberalism- in the twentieth century, an ideology associated with free political institutions and religious toleration, as well as support for a strong role of government in regulating capitalism and constructing the welfare state.
9. Moral- rules or habits of conduct, especially of sexual conduct, with reference to standards of right and wrong
10. Republican Party- a political party that began in 1854 and is defined today in *Cultural Literacy* as one of the two major political parties in the United States. In the 1920s, the party reestablished its reputation for supporting business and as being wary of any expansion of the place of government in national life. This characterization is still a reasonably accurate, if simplistic, description of basic Republican views. The party is often called the GOP, which stands for Grand Old Party. The party's symbol is an elephant.
11. Right- wing- a descriptive term for conservative or reactionary political views, particularly those supporting the current social order or calling for a return to an earlier order. Right wing- groups are sometimes known collectively as the Right. Right- wing groups generally support free enterprise.

In the United States, the right- wing generally argues for a strong national defense program and opposes federal involvement in promoting social welfare. Although both major political parties have right- wing factions, right- wing policy is generally associated with the Republican Party.

12. Value- a principle, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable

APPENDIX C

COMPLETE DEFINITION SHEET

COMPLETE LIST OF DEFINITIONS

Agenda-Setting Theory- originally formulated by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw. This theory states that the media (mainly the news media) aren't always successful at telling us what to think, but they are quite successful at telling us what to think about.

Bias-a preference or a partiality, particularly one that restrains unprejudiced or fair view. It is an unfair act or policy branching from presumption or preconceptions.

Capitalism- an economic and political system characterized by a free market for goods and services and private control of production and consumption.

Carpetbaggers- Northerners who went to the South after the Civil War to take part in reconstruction governments, when persons who had supported the Confederacy were not permitted to participate in public office. Some of them arrived, (according to legend), carrying only one carpetbag, which symbolized their lack of permanent interest in the place they pretended to serve. Carpetbagger is still used as a federal term for nonresident politicians who take advantage of their districts.

Conservatism- a general preference for the existing order of society, and an opposition to efforts to bring about a sharp change.

Conservative- a descriptive term for persons, policies, and beliefs associated with conservatism.

Democrat Party- a political party that arose in the 1820s from a split in the Democratic-Republican party. Andrew Jackson was the first president to be elected from the Democratic Party.

The Democrats' furthest strength was with farmers, laborers, and the people of the frontier. Always strong in the south, the party was relentlessly damaged by the Civil War, Reconstruction, and did not turn out a winning president between 1861- 1885, when Grover Cleveland was elected. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in contrast to the Republicans, the Democrats tended to be the party of the South and West, opposed to the interests of business in the Northeast.

In the time frame of the New Deal, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party reached enormous strengths among labor unions, minority groups, and middle income people. The Democratic presidents since Roosevelt have been Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, James Carter, and William Clinton.

Since the New Deal, Democrats have stressed the position of the federal government in promoting social, economic, and political opportunities for all Americans. They generally support a tax system that places a greater burden on the rich and large corporations, and they prefer spending on social programs to spending on defense. According to *Cultural Literacy* today most blacks, along with Jews, liberals, labor unions, support the party, which since the 1930s has been strong in major cities.

The Democrats strength in the white South, its strongest base before 1950, has slipped significantly, and in the 1970s and 1980s many blue collar workers shifted to the Republican Party. According to *Cultural Literacy*, under President Clinton, the Democratic Party shed some of its New Deal legacies in order to win back working- class and middle—class votes lost to Republicans. The Democrats’ party symbol is the donkey.

Ideology- a system of attitudes or theories, usually political, held by an individual or group. Capitalism, communism, and socialism are usually called ideologies.

Left- wing- a descriptive term for liberal, radical, or revolutionary political views, particularly the view that there are unacceptable social inequalities in the present order of society. Communists and socialists, as well as moderate liberals, come under the term left- wing. Left- wing groups are sometimes known collectively as the Left.

For this study and generally in the United States, left wing groups primarily support federal social welfare programs designed to open opportunities to all citizens. Left- wing policy is generally associated with the Democratic Party.

Leftist- one who holds a left- wing viewpoint; someone who seeks radical social and economic change in the direction of greater equality.

Liberal- a descriptive term for persons, policies, and beliefs associated with liberalism.

Liberalism- in the twentieth century, an ideology associated with free political institutions and religious toleration, as well as support for a strong role of government in regulating capitalism and constructing the welfare state.

Moral- rules or habits of conduct, especially of sexual conduct, with reference to standards of right and wrong

Ombudsman- a representative appointed by the government or other organization to investigate complaints against people in authority. This position is designed to give those with less power- the “little people”- a voice in the operation of large organizations.

Priming- According to Igender and Kinder (1987), the priming theory demonstrated that the mass media influences “the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for the public office are judged... by calling attention to some matters while ignoring others.”

Propaganda- official government communications to the public that are designed to influence opinion. The information may be true or false, but this information is mostly selected for a political effect.

Radical- in politics, someone who demands substantial or extreme changes in the existing system.

Regime- an administration, or a system of managing government

Republican Party- a political party that began in 1854 and is defined today in *Cultural Literacy* as one of the two major political parties in the United States. Originally it was composed mainly of northerners from both major parties of the time. The first Republicans were united by their opposition to the expansion of slavery. Their first winning presidential candidate was Abraham Lincoln in 1860. During reconstruction, many Republicans were enthusiastic to penalize the South for its former slaveholding and for its secession from the United States.

The Northern Republicans, for example, supported Carpetbaggers in southern governments. After reconstruction, the Republicans favored a high protective tariff and were considered the defenders of northeastern and business interests. The party supported the Spanish-American War and the expansion of the United States territory overseas. Some Republicans were part of the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century.

In the 1920s, the party reestablished its reputation for supporting business and as being wary of any expansion of the place of government in national life. This characterization is still a reasonably accurate, if simplistic, description of basic Republican views. Since Lincoln, the Republic presidents have been Andrew Johnson, Ulysses Grant, Rutherford Hayes, James Garfield, Chester Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and George W. Bush.

The party is often called the GOP, which stands for Grand Old Party. The party's symbol is an elephant.

Right- wing- a descriptive term for conservative or reactionary political views, particularly those supporting the current social order or calling for a return to an earlier order. Right wing- groups are sometimes known collectively as the Right. Right- wing groups generally support free enterprise.

In the United States, the right- wing generally argues for a strong national defense program and opposes federal involvement in promoting social welfare. Although both major political parties have right- wing factions, right- wing policy is generally associated with the Republican Party.

Value- a principle, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable

Wedge issue- A sharply divisive political issue, especially one that is raised by a candidate or party in hopes of attracting or disaffecting a portion of an opponent's customary supporters.

Welfare state- a state or government that promotes welfare through programs of public health. Pensions, unemployment, compensation, public housing, and the like. The expression welfare state is often used by those hostile to government interventions in this area.

All definitions were taken from *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*

APPENDIX D

HEADLINE SET 1

HEADLINE SET 1

The Washington Times

1. California gay 'marriages' pushing Bush to act
2. AFL-CIO backs Kerry with unanimous vote
3. Bush again installs a judge at recess
4. Kerry's lead in polls seen as misleading
5. Bush speech to target Democratic foes
6. 'This is war,' Rumsfeld told Bush
7. Same-sex 'marriage' a thicket for Bush
8. Democrat governor hits Bush
9. Rumsfeld panel caught Bush's eye
10. Bush attacks 'partisan anger'
11. Kerry opposed key weapons
12. Sen. Kerry's dead letter
13. Kerry's economic beliefs
14. Bush affirms Cheney on fall ticket
15. What makes John Kerry tick?
16. Bush defends marriage
17. Bush urges amendment on marriage
18. Gay rights advocates decry Bush's 'desperate act'
19. Hillary hits Bush foreign policy
20. Edwards swings across California
21. Kerry expects to walk fine line on gay 'marriage'
22. Bush seeks protection for gun dealers
23. Bush calls Democrats weak on terror war
24. Edwards backs state rights on homosexual 'marriage'
25. List says Kerry top Senate liberal

26. Bush, Schroeder talks signal thaw
27. Kerry attacks Bush as weak on defense
28. Kerry's donors
29. Kerry haunts Powell's diplomatic mission
30. Faith-based groups prosper under Bush rules
31. Bush bounds into the ring, swings at rival
32. 'CIA knows' Kerry's foreign support
33. Kerry's friends
34. Bush camp hits Kerry on spending
35. GOP sees pattern of fabrication by Kerry
36. White House denies Bush obsession with Iraq
37. Bush critic was passed over for top security post
38. Kerry speak
39. Bush chided for oil prices
40. President's critic had hailed him in letter
41. Bush defends actions in war on terror
42. Miller begins 'Democrats for Bush'
43. Bush critic cites terror failures
44. Kerry aides plot Moran's defeat
45. Bush accuses Kerry of seeking higher taxes
46. Polls show war criticism hurts Bush
47. Daschle threatens to block all Bush judicial nominees
48. Bush defends proposal for aliens
49. Kerry promises 10 million jobs
50. Kerry's false promises
51. Liberal groups' ads help keep Kerry competitive
52. Kerry a firm foe of death penalty
53. Cheney pegs Kerry taxes at \$1.7 trillion
54. Kerry, Bush outline tax plans
55. Bush laments slow job growth
56. Getting sick, tired of Kerry

57. Kerry interview butt of GOP jokes
58. Kerry campaign lacks political maestro
59. Kerry adopts positive tone
60. Kerry irked at vote cancellation
61. Bush expands AIDS initiative
62. Gore says report proves Bush lied
63. Meet the Flint Stone: Shots fired at Bush from gassy troll
64. Bomb hits hotel on Bush agenda
65. Changing world poses test for chief Bush speechwriter
66. Edwards leading candidate as Kerry's running mate
67. Kerry vows better economies for Americas
68. Bush leaves 'bitter' rift behind at EU summit
69. John Kerry: Always Weak On Liberty
70. Kerry lacking coherent message
71. Bush camp hits back at Kerry with a quip
72. Kerry and welfare reform
73. Kerry vs. Kerry
74. Kerry sides with unions, skips mayors conference
75. Cheney trumpets Iraq turnover, chides Kerry
76. Economy boosting Bush, poll finds
77. Bush presses view post-Saddam world is safer
78. Bush had no 'inkling' of 9/11 plans
79. Kerry takes up Urban League offer to debate with president
80. Kerry-Edwards ticket casting choices
81. Kerry and Berger
82. Kerry's costly loan
83. Bush dates 9/11 blunders to Clinton era
84. Pentagon finds missing military records of Bush
85. Bush makes a pitch for black votes
86. Kerry camp spins its wheels
87. Kerry pushes positive spirit

88. Kerry's curtain raiser
89. Kerry, Edwards and values
90. Kerry chills Bush bashing
91. Kerry sets a course for Fenway Park
92. Kerry's contortions on abortion
93. Kerry's coronation
94. Kerry defends wife over saucy retort
95. Kerry promises voters the moon
96. Kerry losing ground to president on key issues, survey finds
97. At convention, Bush to tout 'great record'
98. Bush raps anti-Kerry ads on Vietnam
99. Kerry bid to make Bush 'goat' for 9/11 seen risky
100. Cheney sidesteps marriage debate
101. Diary refutes Kerry claim
102. Anti-Kerry book selling swiftly in D.C. area
103. Press downplays anti-Bush groups
104. Rumsfeld must go, Kerry insists
105. Bush in the Big Apple
106. Kerry's defense(less) posture
107. Kerry economically scary?
108. Bush team keeps conservative agenda in check
109. Bush, McCain to sue over attack ads
110. O'Neill leads charge against Kerry's 'lies'
111. Polls show Bush leading in 3 battleground states
112. GOP poll: Kerry vague on Iraq
113. President to woo alienated Muslims
114. Kerry's strategic misspeak
115. 'V' for valor or Kerry's version?
116. American Legion to hear Kerry
117. Unfair attacks on Kerry
118. Cheney hails Bush role after 9/11

119. Ad targets Kerry's '70 talks with enemy
120. Team Bush jockeyed for edge in debates
121. Kerry hits Bush speech to U.N.
122. CBS owes president apology
123. Kerry in the truth trenches
124. Bush leads in states won by Gore
125. Kerry demoralizes U.S. troops, Bush says
126. Rove touts Bush headway in key areas
127. Kerry claims Bush might reinstate draft
128. Kerry straddles on Iraq
129. Bush win likely to bring about domestic reform
130. The Kerry doctrine on Iraq
131. Kerry camp doubts Rove's analysis
132. Congress extends Bush tax cuts for middle class
133. Kerry terms terrorism 'most urgent' threat
134. Bush slams Kerry over 'brave' Iraqi
135. Kerry Iraq plans questioned
136. Kennedy to rip Bush on Iraq
137. Republicans decry Kerry's 'legal game'
138. Who's got a secret? Kerry's got a few
139. Bush attacks Kerry's flip-flops
140. Bush ad hits Kerry on Iraq flip-flops
141. N.Y. man disappears after threats to Bush
142. Kerry's affront to allies
143. Bush camp rips Kerry rhetoric
144. Democrats happy with Kerry's new anti-war view
145. POW wives rip Kerry in new ad
146. Kerry corrects gaffe with new mistake
147. Falwell asks Christians to support president
148. Veto-less president Bush avoids confrontations
149. Kerry campaigns to Hispanic voters in Western states

150. Bush rallies rise to stadium-size
151. Kerry record in Senate put premium on probes
152. Liberals target Bush with Florida wage initiative
153. Bush's anti-terror successes
154. Security Council members deny meeting Kerry
155. Kerry says social justice would guide presidency
156. President likely to win again
157. Bush campaign accuses Kerry of 'fabricating' U.N. meetings
158. Kerry's phantom meeting
159. Senate hopefuls avoiding Kerry
160. Bush 'battered' by critical press
161. Kerry uses headlines to attack
162. Bush pushes his tax cuts, warns against Kerry plans
163. CBS eyed '60 Minutes' Bush bombshell
164. Terrorists hope to defeat Bush through Iraq violence
165. Nuclear-free Kerry
166. Kerry forces claim upper hand
167. Clinton cohorts run anti-Bush ads
168. Kerry: 'liberal and proud of it'
169. Why Bush will win
170. President ridicules foe's 'wild charges'
171. Kerry aides see road to victory in the Midwest
172. NEA spends more than \$1 million to back Kerry
173. Bush's bold space policy
174. Russian Jewish support for Bush
175. Kerry playing for the cameras
176. Study finds press pro-Kerry
177. Burrito poll picks Kerry as winner
178. Kerry delivers 'closing argument'
179. President Bush for a safer world
180. Kerry's dishonorable response

181. Bush makes final battleground blitz
182. Kerry hits 4 swing states, hails 'blessed gift' of vote
183. Terror top voter issue; Bush leads most polls
184. Presidential race seen spurring record turnout
185. Churchgoers, white men strongly support Bush
186. Bush looks like winner in Ohio
187. Kerry stays on stump as voters go to polls
188. RNC chief tells Bush supporters victory 'close'
189. Coattails make history Bush's victory on solid footing
190. Focus on moral values tipped vote for Bush
191. Bush's victory comforts troops
192. Europe cautiously optimistic about 2nd Bush term
193. Kerry's grace in defeat lauded
194. Bush begins mulling Cabinet reshuffle

APPENDIX E

HEADLINE SET 2

HEADLINE SET 2

The Los Angeles Times

1. Bush Has Sullied U.S. Reputation, Kerry Charges
2. Kerry's TV Ad Claims Questioned
3. Bush Campaign Cranks Up Attack Ads on Kerry
4. Bush Gets Better Ratings in 3 Battleground States Than Nationwide
5. Voters Shift in Favor of Kerry
6. Kerry Tells Houston, 'We've Got a Problem' – Bush
7. Kerry Says President Is Weak on Defense
8. Kerry Campaign Escalates Push to Mobilize Veterans
9. Bush Remained Confident of Win
10. The White House: Kerry's Vision Not Clear, Analysts Say
11. Bush Snags Much More of the Latino Vote, Exit Polls Show
12. Exit Polls; Early Data for Kerry Proved Misleading
13. Election 2004; Bush's Win Lifts Stocks
14. Ohio Up for Grabs; Bush Has Slim Lead
15. The Race for the White House; Why 'This Is About Bush'
16. Kerry's entree to Jewish vote
17. Edwards Set Loose in Key States
18. Bush Sees a Rare Chance to Win Wisconsin
19. Iraq War Weighs Heavy on New Mexico's Voters: Many aren't happy with Bush, but also aren't sold on Kerry, whose initial lead has slipped.
20. Bush Explains Vision for Security and Opportunity
21. Both Parties Court Expatriate Vote: Overseas ballots probably put Bush over the top in Florida in 2000.
22. Moms Making a Move to Defeat Bush

23. Open Road in '04 Race: Bush has advantages his father didn't--primarily a lack of GOP infighting.
24. Kerry Firm in Economic Stance
25. Kerry Latches On to Claim of a Bush- Saudi Oil
26. Gun Groups May Not Be Bush Campaign Weapon
27. Bush Has Kept a High Profile in Battleground States Since 2001
28. Kerry May Be Driving, but He's Yet to Signal
29. Bush-Kerry Fight Off to Quick Start: The president hits L.A. for more fundraising as his ad blitz begins
30. Crossover Votes Helped Edwards
31. Bush Family Values: War, Wealth, Oil
32. GOP Returns Fire Over Bush's Military Service
33. Kerry Launching National TV Splash
34. Kerry to Ramp Up His Advertising, While Bush Scales Back
35. Kerry Calls Bush Plan a 'Backdoor' Military Draft
36. Distaste for Bush Spurs Liberals to Push for Kerry
37. Kerry Says Bush Ignoring Health Crisis
38. Kerry Escalates Military Assault
39. Politics of Patriot Act Turn Right for Bush
40. Kerry Firing Away at Bush's Reputation as Straight Shooter
41. Kerry Levels New Fire at Bush Over His Budget
42. Ads by Kerry, Allies Hit Bush on Jobs
43. Kerry Vows Not to Divide Nation by Race
44. Kerry Pledges to Help Minorities Finish College
45. Kerry Keeps Recruiting, McCain Keeps Resisting
46. If Election Hinges on Iraq, Kerry May Need Added Firepower
47. Key Midwest Swing States Are Leaning Toward Bush
48. Bush Aims to Solidify His Base
49. New Kerry TV Advertisement Aims to Counter GOP Attacks
50. Bush Urges Same-Sex Marriage Ban
51. Kerry Accuses Bush of 'Fear and Smear'

52. New Bush Ads Target Kerry's Senate Record
53. Bush has \$64 million to spend in six weeks, but Kerry has far outdone him in recent months.
54. Edwards' Real Worth May Be in Message to Strapped Voters
55. Bush on Kerry's Anti-Terror Plan
56. Kerry Asks Bush to Debate on Vietnam
57. Bush Edges Ahead of Kerry for the 1st Time
58. Kerry Sees Link Between Health Costs, Job Woes
59. Party-Funded Ads to Help Kerry 'Ride Wave'
60. When Kerry Calls, an Ohio Street Divides
61. Kerry to Reach Out to 'People on the Right'
62. Focus on Foe May Hurt Bush
63. Kerry Pumping Up Foreign Oil as Issue
64. McCain, Bush Hit Campaign Trail
65. Exit Polls Spot Vulnerabilities in Kerry's Show of Strength
66. Kerry Working Hard for the Winning Edge in Ohio
67. Kerry Invokes Reagan's Name in Stem- Cell Plea
68. The Conflict in Iraq; Bush Likens War on Terror to WWII
69. White House in for Rolling Thunder: President Bush will address the veterans group, which deals with POW and MIA issues.
70. Europe Offers Help Privately, Kerry Says
71. Bush Spanish-Language Ads Hit Kerry Education Record
72. Kerry's Low Profile May Cost Crucial Latino Votes
73. Bush Is 'on the Run' From Democrats, Kerry Says
74. More Are Falling in Line Behind Kerry
75. Bush Lawyer Tied to Anti-Kerry Group Quits
76. Kerry Decries Stem Cell Limits, Promises Funding
77. Bush Lays Claim to Edwards Country
78. Negative Ads Beat Bush to Missouri
79. Kerry Links U.S. Strength to Responsibility
80. In Speech, Bush to Stress 'Ownership'

81. Kerry Zeroes In on High School Dropout Levels
82. Bush Goes Green on Florida Visit
83. Bush Takes Lead Over Kerry, New Polls Show
84. Bush Joins the Fray in L.A. Visit
85. Bush Lawyer Also Advises Anti-Kerry Veterans
86. Kerry Faults Bush's Delay at School After 9/11 News
87. Cheney Blames Democrats for Nation's Pain at the Gas Pump
88. Kerry Calls for Rhetorical Cease-Fire
89. Did Candidate Kerry Get Better or Just Get Votes?
90. Bush Hears Fears of Steelworkers in 3- State Swing
91. Kerry Needs More Than Antipathy to Bush
92. Bush Pushes His Social Agenda
93. Retired Officials Say Bush Must Go
94. Bush Says War on Terror Led to Women's Freedom
95. Kerry Knocks Bush's Record
96. Kerry Up to \$180 Million
97. President Tells Californians His Rivals Want Tax Hike
98. Kerry Condemns Anti-Bush Ad
99. Undecided Voters Still Uncertain of Kerry
100. Kerry Says U.S. Should Be a Better Neighbor to Latin America
101. Kerry Calls for Raising Minimum Wage
102. Kerry Raises Iraq Abuse Questions
103. Kerry Close to Decision on Delay, Sources
104. Gun Groups May Not Be Bush Campaign Weapon
105. Eco-Activists Sharpen Plans to Unseat Bush
106. Kerry's Take on Catholicism 'Typical
107. Kerry Calls for Expanded International Role in Iraq
108. Kerry Criticizes the Way Bush Went to War
109. GOP Contrasts Kerry Votes With South's Values
110. Kerry in Verbal Attack Mode on Iraq
111. Kerry Cites Scripture, Appeals for 'Works of Compassion'

112. Kerry Maintains That World Leaders Want Bush to Go
113. Bush Bows to Rival's 'Heroic' Military Service
114. Kerry to File Complaint Tying Bush to Attack Ads
115. Kerry and Edwards struggle to be heard over Bush backers at a train stop in Missouri
116. Post-convention polls show mixed results for Kerry, as neutral analysts expected
117. The Heaviest Load Is for Kerry Alone
118. Kerry's Strategy Accents Positive
119. Kerry Gets a Little Bit Country in Bid for Rural Vote
120. Kerry Gets Some Help From GOP Senator
121. Kerry Pushed on Claim as Reporter Corrects Quote
122. Kerry Adds 4 Southern States to His Wins
123. Kerry Turns Full Attention to Bush
124. Kerry Says Rice Should Testify Publicly on 9/11
125. Kerry's Focus Is Fundraising
126. Kerry Is Raising Money at a Record Rate
127. Kerry Urges More Resources for Bioterrorism Threat
128. Kerry Details Nuclear Material Safeguards
129. Kerry Details Strategy to Fight Terror
130. Kerry Sees Face of Joblessness
131. Kerry Latches On to Claim of a Bush- Saudi Oil
132. Kerry Slams Timing of Iraq Switch
133. Longer Race May Help Kerry
134. Bush Takes a Tumble on Bicycle Trail
135. Kerry Proposal Would Boost Teachers, but With a Price
136. Bush Sets Battle State Bus Tour
137. Kerry Says Bush 'Asleep at the Wheel' on Jobs
138. Kerry Would Threaten Gun Rights, Cheney Tells the NRA
139. Kerry Hits Back at His Critics
140. President Talks Up Tax Cuts in Iowa
141. Kerry More Inclusive on Ties Abroad

142. Iraq Creates Quandary for Kerry
143. Bush Hopes for Bounce off Employment News
144. Bush Replays Themes That Worked in 2000 Election
145. Bush's Team Targets Kerry in Web Video
146. Bush Opening Social Security Debate Without Saying Much
147. Stem Cell Research Gains Political Life: Kerry criticizes Bush's limits on the science
148. Hiring Dip Makes Bush Campaign Job Harder
149. Musicians Banding Together to Beat Bush
150. Rock Royalty to Join Voices Against Bush With Fall Concerts
151. Bush Hints at What He'd Do in Another Term
152. Bush Highlights Security and Jobs on Midwest Swing
153. Bush Camp on Watch, and They Never Close
154. Bush Expected to Oppose Creating Intelligence Czar
155. Bush and Cheney Spend Holiday Working Crowds
156. Small Towns Playing a Big Role: Kerry follows Bush into rural west Wisconsin, where jobs and Iraq issues could be decisive
157. In Senate, Kerry Maintained a Low Profile on High-Tech
158. Bush Targets Kerry in TV Attack Ad
159. AFL-CIO Endorses Kerry, Hits Bush on Labor Policy
160. GOP Resolved to Portray President as Unwavering
161. Democrats Stay on Offensive; Kerry keeps a low profile, but others in his campaign scold Bush for telling an interviewer that the war on terrorism can't be won.
162. Bush Visits Miami to Shore Up Cuban American Backing
163. U.S. Chamber to Fund Attacks on Edwards, Trial Lawyers
164. Kerry Starts Firing Back at Critics of War Record
165. Bush Campaign Steps Up Attacks as Kerry Gains in Polls
166. Kerry Says He'll Double Intelligence Spending
167. Bush Opts for Urban League Over NAACP
168. Democrats Finish Busy First Week; After making rounds with his new partner,
169. Kerry breaks away for a security briefing

170. Kerry, Edwards Face Uphill Battle in Republican-Leaning North Carolina
171. California Helps Kerry Set Fundraising Records
172. Why a Conflicted Kerry Voted Yes -- and Later No -- on Iraq
173. GOP Finds Little to Like in Kerry's Man
174. Pro-Bush TV Spot Invokes Reagan
175. Rebuke of Bush Underscores Foreign Policy Clash
176. Ad Accuses 'Texas Oilman' Bush of Supporting Drilling off Florida
177. Kerry Accuses Bush of Plans to Cut Education Funding
178. Kerry Comes Under Fire for Stance on Iraq
179. Kerry Vows Business-Friendly Programs to Reduce Pollution
180. Kerry Hits Colleges in Pursuit of Youth Vote
181. Kerry Entering Changed Landscape
182. Bush Loads \$104 Million in Ammo for Ad War
183. Bush Defends His Stance Before 9/11
184. Commander in Chief Rallies Troops
185. Senator and His Allies Keep Up With Tempo of Bush Ads
186. Key Republicans Admit Anxiety Over Campaign; Some say Bush's team has moved too slowly and has failed to address economic concerns
187. Bush Steps Up Defense of His Economic Policy
188. Bush to Visit California for Fundraising
189. What Did Bush Do in the Guard?
190. Kerry Fans Come Together in Kabul
191. Bush Purposely Mised the Public, Gore Says
192. Kerry Scolds Bush and GOP as Divisive
193. Bush Attends 9/11 Memorial
194. Bush Puts Off Filling Post After Kerry Criticizes Pick
195. In Congress, Rising Deficit Hangs Over Bush Tax Cuts
196. First Set of Bush Ads Aims to Polish President's Image
197. Edwards: 'I Don't Intend ... to Lose'
198. Campaign Spending Surpasses \$1 Billion; Bush has raised more and spent more this election than rival Kerry has, FEC reports show

199. Bush Back on the Trail With a New Message: 'Results Matter'
200. Cheney Takes Western Jaunt
201. Latinos Support Kerry, Say Bush Misled Public on Iraq, Polls Show
202. Bush Sees Bicycle Built for Two
203. Initiatives to Ban Gay Marriage Could Help Bush in Key States
204. For Kerry, Decisions Are Found Only in the Details
205. Philadelphia Paper Endorses Kerry's Run
206. Edwards Looking Out for No. 2?
207. Kerry's Day Starts With Memorial
208. Odds Are, Nevada Will Be a Tossup; Bush won -- barely -- in 2000, but with a shifting demographic, anything is possible this year
209. President Rolls Through Battleground States
210. Bush Uses Pennsylvania Trip to Urge Patriot Act Extensions
211. Bush Losing Ground in Rural America
212. Questions Build for U.S. as Iraq Turmoil Grows; Bush concedes 'it's hard to tell' when strife will end. Bremer isn't sure who will take power
213. Candidate Has Learned Fine Art of the Photo Op; After a foggy start, Kerry becomes a shrewd practitioner of sunny campaign images
214. Vacationing Kerry Reserves His Judgment on 9/11 Book
215. Dean Launches Organization to Push 'Progressive Values'; The political action group will work to elect Kerry but its founder's mission lies beyond that
216. Kerry Hopes to Rally African Americans
217. Domestic Troubles Challenge Bush Campaign
218. N Korea May Be in 'Anybody but Bush' Camp.
219. Crossover Champion Edwards Needs to Lure More Democrats
220. Sunny Side Up for Edwards
221. White House Counters Attack on Bush's Military Service
222. Kerry Would Block Nevada Waste Site
223. Kerry Compares Bush to Depression-Era Leader
224. Kerry Did Not Read Iraq Study, Aides Say

225. Vote on Gay Marriage Ban Backfires on GOP; Senate Republicans had hoped the amendment would put the spotlight on Kerry
226. Kerry Event Sticks to Music, Message
227. Stars Raise Voices Against Bush
228. Aiming to Show He's One of Them; Kerry pauses for some shooting and farm-life tales to counter the 'big-city liberal' label
229. Changing Catholic Vote Appears Up For Grabs; Kerry isn't expected to see the kind of support Kennedy got from the important bloc in 1960
230. In Concerted Effort, Kerry Pulls In Big Names, Big Bucks
231. Kerry to Unveil Plan to Slow Gas Prices
232. Leading Democrats Come Together in Support of Kerry
233. Kerry Gets a Supporter Foreign to His Views
234. Off the Cuff and Into the Crossfire; Kerry remark about 'crooked' and 'lying' opponents draws angry retorts from GOP
235. Bush Agrees to Give 9/11 Panel More Than 1 Hour
236. For Bush's Campaign, 9/11 Is Defining Theme
237. Kerry Wins 9 of 10 States, Lauds Rival as a Champion of Values
238. Edwards, Kerry Come Out Swinging in Scrappy Debate
239. Big Stars Play Supporting Role to Kerry
240. Heinz Kerry Says Anger Led to Party Switch
241. Count Bush's Doctrine of Preemption as a Casualty of the Iraq War
242. Tech Investor Has Ad Blitz Dialed In; A venture capitalist is using new fundraising rules to finance a Kerry TV and radio campaign in key Latino markets.
243. Cheney Keeps His Speech Light
244. Bush Touts Technology Issues
245. Kerry Still Unknown to Many
246. Kerry Outlines Centrist Strategy in a 'Contract' With Middle Class
247. Bush Move on Mideast May Sway Jewish Vote
248. Blair May Nudge Bush to Reach Out on Iraq
249. Kerry Camp to Release Economic 'Misery Index'
250. Bush Presidency Could Be Ultimate Casualty of War

251. Bush Promises Boost for Job-Training Program
252. House Leader Tom DeLay orders federal employees to analyze John F. Kerry's tax plan
253. Super Tuesday, With a Bullet; Gun votes may draw Kerry and Edwards back to the Capitol on the day 10 states vote
254. Bush Urges Same-Sex Marriage Ban; Missouri's Cool to Gay Nuptials, but It's No Burning Issue
255. Kerry Mocks Bush on Economy
256. Bush Supports Shift of Jobs Overseas
257. Small Ad Run Dwarfs Buzz of Other TV Spots; The Swift boat group's anti-Kerry salvo has driven media coverage since it appeared
258. Bush Back on Campaign Trail
259. Refighting Vietnam in Battleground States; Florida seems as divided on Kerry controversy and whether it matters as it does on other issues
260. Kerry Critic Sticks to Claims
261. Allies Not in Formation on Kerry's Troops Plan
262. Bush Opposes 'Legacy' Edge in College Admissions
263. President Pushes Flextime
264. Bush Touches Base With His Core Supporters
265. Bush Supports 9/11 Panel but Not on Details
266. Kerry's Convention Speech Leaves the Undecided Swayed, Not Smitten
267. Kerry Promises Trust, Strength, Leadership
268. Kerry Tops \$200 Million in Donations
269. McCain: 'Cheney Is Not Just Another Pretty Face'
270. A Speech as Sunny as the Day; Edwards goes solo with a mostly upbeat message.
He also suggests Bush lacks leadership skills
271. Bush Defends Reasons for War
272. Bush Argues Case Against Edwards
273. Kerry to Speak at NAACP Meeting
274. Bush Declines
275. Business Leaders React Cautiously to Edwards

276. Pop Star on the Sidelines for Kerry
277. Southern Discomfort May Be His Shot; In Georgia, Edwards targets angry white conservatives willing to abandon Bush
278. Bush Brushes Off Vietnam Debate
279. Capitol Hill Blacks Pan Kerry's Ads
280. A Week That Could Bolster Bush
281. Kerry Says Abuse of Iraqi Prisoners Is 'Inexcusable'
282. Kerry Campaign Unveils Biographical Ad Effort
283. Kerry Aided by 'Illegal' Soft Money, GOP Claims
284. Conflicting Observances of 'Mission Accomplished'; On the anniversary of Bush's declaration, he defends the Iraq war as two veterans dissent
285. Buoyant Kerry Embraces Role of Frontrunner
286. The Republican Convention; Bush Is Praised as War Leader
287. Cheney Breaks From Bush on Gays
288. Voters Worried About America's Global Image; Poll shows eroding support for the war and dissatisfaction with Bush's foreign policy
289. Kerry's Senate Intelligence Votes Targeted
290. Pro-Kerry Groups Tops in Ad Spending
291. Kerry Pledges to Boost Parks Budget
292. In Havana, Their Man Is John Kerry
293. GOP Sees Amish as Secret Weapon; Members of the sect seldom vote, but some in Ohio and Pennsylvania are vocal in their support for Bush's stands on values.
294. Top Texas Donor's Influence Far More Visible Than He Is; Robert Perry is behind an ad attacking John Kerry's war record and many GOP campaigns
295. Cheney Takes Anti-Terror Talk to Colorado
296. Edwards, in Florida, Voices Support for Easing Limits on Travel to Cuba
297. On a Roll, Into Swing States; Kerry borrows from past lessons with a tour meant to court media, 'persuadable' voters.
298. Kerry Vows 'Significant' Troop Reduction
299. Thwarted Liberal Democrats Say They'll Stick With Kerry
300. Kerry's 'Inconsistencies and Contradictions' on Iraq Remain

301. Crewmates Attest to Kerry's Mettle as Wartime Commander
302. As Democrats Convene, Cheney Will Counter Program
303. As Democrats Gather in Boston, Kerry Takes Campaign to Iowa

304. Bush Joined by Daughters on Campaign Stop in Heartland
305. Swing States' Jobs Could Help Bush
306. Edwards Finds Another Orange County
307. Foreign Policy Tops Agenda for Democrats; A draft of the party platform reflects John F. Kerry's priorities on the war and security issues
308. Both Campaigns Train the Spotlight on Cheney; The power insider is sent out for a more public role.
309. Kerry: Postpone Iraq Abuse Courts- Martial Trials would demoralize other troops and should wait until commanders' role is known, he says
310. Kerry Opens Records on Lobbyists, War Days
311. Criticism of Leadership Tests Bush's Best Asset
312. Bush Unveils Plan to Move Troops Home
313. Seeking Inroads on Back Roads; The Kerry-Edwards swing across country calls to mind the strategy and rhetoric of candidates Clinton and Gore in summer 1992.
314. Choice Is Pragmatic, Undramatic; Edwards has wide party support and has been campaign-tested.
315. Key Voters Are Less Positive on Bush Than Most, Poll Finds
316. Kerry Will Target Threat of Weapons
317. Bush Gains in Efforts to Win Over Jewish
318. Bush Points Out Lesson in Prisoner Abuse Scandal
319. 9/11 Allegations Draw Bush's Fire
320. Edwards Isn't a Cinch for the No. 2 Slot
321. Bush Urges Same-Sex Marriage Ban; Bush Seeks Constitutional Ban on Same-Sex Marriage
322. Confidence in Kerry Increases in Key States
323. Anti-Bush Protesters Fill N.Y. Streets

324. For a Top 'Swiftie,' This One's Personal; John O'Neill, a key architect of the anti-Kerry veterans group, has loathed Kerry since they both returned from Vietnam.
325. Veterans Battle Over the Truth; An ad calls Kerry a liar. His Vietnam crew sees a hero. Memories, and agendas, are in conflict.
326. Kerry Picks Ex-Rival Edwards to Join Ticket, Widen Its Appeal
327. Hand-Over Is Political Gamble for Bush
328. Massachusetts GOP Wants Kerry to Bow Out of Senate
329. U.S. Undaunted, President Says
330. Resolute in Rhetoric, Reagan and Bush Part Ways in Deed
331. Kerry Tries on Rose-Colored Glasses
332. Amid the Kerry Storm, a Calm Named Marvin
333. Democrats Work to Boost Latino Turnout for Kerry
334. Navy Veterans Fire On Kerry
335. Kerry Meal Flap on Rewind
336. Students Give Kerry Mixed Grades
337. Bush Vows to Finish Job in Iraq, Stands by Timetable
338. Clinton Opens Fundraising Campaign to Assist Kerry
339. Kerry and Edwards Pointed and Polite in Lively USC
340. Edwards, Kerry Take Messages
341. Sizing Up the Democratic Contenders' Strengths; John Edwards, a first-term senator, is recognized more for his speaking skills and legal acumen than his legislative record.
342. Edwards Fumbles on Foreign Policy Answers
343. Bush Is Set to Strike Back at Democrats
344. Undecided Voters Want Bush to Offer Specifics
345. 2000 Speech Held Clues to Bush's Approach
346. Kerry Plan Seeks Fuel Efficiency, Stability
347. Edwards Builds Case for 'Politics of Hope'
348. Kerry-Edwards Ticket Revives Populism Issue

349. U.S. Election May Be Distraction to North Korea in Nuclear Talks; The Pyongyang regime, which hopes Kerry will replace Bush, is unlikely to engage in serious bargaining in the latest round, analysts say.
350. A Capitol Perennial There for Kerry's Picking
351. Bush Defends Medicare Card in Missouri Visit
352. Kerry Firm in Economic Stance
353. Kerry Hesitates as Democrats Promote Immigration Plan
354. Kerry Camp Posts His Military Records
355. Fundraisers Are Collecting by the Bundle for Bush Camp
356. Repaying a Big Debt to Lt. Kerry
357. Bush-Fox Talks Yield Easing of Travel, Work Rules
358. Bush TV Ads Anger Some Relatives of 9/ 11 Victims
359. Kerry, Edwards Offer Different Prescriptions
360. Kerry Keeps Up His Winning Ways in 3 More States
361. Bush, Frustrated by Democrats, Again Bypasses Senate on Judge
362. Edwards' Track Record on Trade Has Lane Changes
363. President's Strength a Potential Weakness
364. Bush Defends War in Iraq
365. Voting With One Hand on Bible in Oklahoma; Voters in the GOP stronghold say they identify with President Bush over moral issues
366. President Orders Interim Intelligence Reforms
367. Moms' Protest in New York Says President Is a Bad Apple
368. GOP House Candidates Tread Carefully Around Iraq; Campaigns balance embracing Bush and acknowledging voter uneasiness about war
369. GOP Platform Draft Toes Bush Administration Line
Prison Abuse Reports May Insulate Bush From Blame
370. Bush Yet to Flesh Out Domestic Agenda
371. Focus Shifts to Kerry's Antiwar Activities in '70s
372. Bush's Nephew Courts Americans in Mexico
373. Bush Hears Straight Talk From Steelworkers
374. Catholic Advisor to Bush Resigns

375. Excess Kerry Funds to Aid Democratic Camps
376. Known for Discussing Faith, Bush Moderates His Message
377. Early-Voting Debate Takes On Partisan Tone in Missouri; St. Louis politicians sue to open polls two weeks before election, a move that could hurt Bush
378. Kerry Backs Missouri Ban on Gay Marriage
379. Veterans Attack Kerry on Medals, War Record
380. Fight Brews Over 9/11 Reform Plan; President Bush's view of new intelligence chief is labeled deficient in congressional hearings.
381. President Says War Was 'Right'
382. Bush Urges Aides to Speed Up Review of 9/11 Proposals
383. Kerry Talking a Fine Line on Abortion
384. The 9/11 Commission Report; Signs of Mounting Pressure on Bush
385. Bush Cites 'Solid Record' on Rights to Black Group
386. More of Bush's National Guard Records Discovered
387. Amid Probe, Berger Cuts Ties With Kerry Camp
388. Cheney Says Rivals Too Cozy With Lawyers
389. Kerry to Tour Pivotal States
390. 'Hope Is On the Way,' Edwards Assures Latinos in Los Angeles
391. Rumbblings Are Felt at Base of Bush's Support
392. Both Parties Homing In on the Expatriate Vote; Kerry's sister has a key role in reaching out to millions of Americans living in foreign lands
393. Presidential Aide Rove Rallies the Faithful in Irvine
394. Some in Congress Rethinking War Vote Based on False Data; Several Republicans are among those raising doubts that another preemptive attack could win support, but Bush reaffirms his policy.
395. Democrats Ready for Prime Time; Kerry's life story, along with speeches by Clinton, Gore and Vietnam veterans, will take center stage at the national convention.
396. A Future President's Rebirth; Bush reshaped his style of conservatism -- and himself -- during his father's 1988 campaign.
397. Will Lay Indictment Be a Drag on Bush Campaign?
398. A Politician in a Hurry Lands at Kerry's Side

399. Cheney Derides Kerry's Values
400. Kerry Camp Ready for Mystery Running Mate
401. Cheney Unrelenting on War Policy
402. Bush Salutes Civil Rights Act at 40
403. There's No Easy Way for Kerry to Repay Campaign Bank Loan
404. Bush Exercises Freedom to Bestow Presidential Medals
405. Bush Stresses Desire to Combat AIDS
406. The Picture of Political Civility; Bush praises his predecessor's 'forward-looking spirit' during the unveiling of the Clintons' official White House portraits.
407. Kerry Stumps Angelenos With Evening Stroll
408. Selling Workers on Bush Policies Is Hard Job
409. Cancel That Limo, the Kerry Fundraiser's On Hold
410. Pope Backs Plan for Iraq Sovereignty in Visit by Bush
411. A Grateful, Hostile France Awaits Bush
412. Bush Taking Sober Tone in 2004 College Speeches
413. Pelosi: Bush Showing 'Incompetence'
414. Bush Won't Tap Oil Reserves to Ease Gas Prices
415. Kerry Hits the Oregon Trail With Dean
416. Florida Teen's Hip-Hop Homage Moves Kerry
417. In Arkansas, Kerry Finds Key Word to Be 'Clinton'
418. Bush Issues an Apology on Prisoners
419. Utilities Have Helped Bush, GOP
420. Crew Contradicted Kerry Over Battle, Doctor Alleges
421. Bush Denounces Troops' Treatment of Prisoners
422. Cheney's Address at Missouri College Upsets Its President
423. More Funds Raised in Bid to Beat Bush
424. Bush Picks Envoy to Iraq
425. Gay Republicans Torn Over Endorsing Bush Reelection
426. Bush Agrees to a Larger U.N. Role in Iraq
427. Facing Questions, Bush Calls News Conference
428. Public Gives Bush a Long Leash on 9/11, but Little Slack on Iraq

429. Bush Selects Orange County Executive for Manufacturing Czar
430. War Is Diverting Kerry's Attacks on Fiscal Front
431. Bush Links More Rigorous Schooling to Getting Jobs
432. Kerry Doing the Math and Scaling Back Some Plans
433. As Bush Brags on Tax Cuts, Some See Oversell
434. Kerry Health Plan Cost Is Revised
435. Kerry Shoulders Through Surgery
436. Campaign Gold Awaits Kerry in California Visit
437. Kerry Says His Tax Plan Protects Jobs
438. Author Reports Theft of Some of Kerry's FBI Files
439. Kerry Reports Money Going Fast
440. Bush Urges Unity on Terror
441. Sharpton Gives Kerry a Partial Endorsement, Stays in Contest
442. Bush Team Uses Cable in an Effort to Shore Up Support
443. Spotlight Follows Kerry on Day Off
444. Democratic, GOP Groups Target Bush in New TV Ads
445. Kerry Finds Recount Still Resonates
446. Edwards Linked to Lobbyist Money
447. Bush and conservatives backed the proposal, which is considered this year's follow-up to the ban on 'partial-birth' abortions
448. Vietnam War Illuminates, Shadows Kerry's Campaign
449. Kerry's Got Kennedy's Nod, if Not His Politics
450. Bush Releases More Military Documents
451. Bush Pledges Help on U.S. Jobs
452. Vietnam War-Era Photo Seen as a Bid to Tarnish Kerry
453. Bush Drilling Plan Brings Foes Together
454. Bush Concedes Flaws in Iraq Weapons Data
455. 'I Did My Duty,' President Says of His Military Service Record

APPENDIX F

CODING RUBRICS

CODING RUBRICS

Bush/ Cheney	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Values			
Economy			
Health/ Medical			
Technology			
Homeland Security			
Crime and Legal/ Civil Rights/ Immigrations			
Social Security			
Candidate's Past Decisions and Campaign			

Kerry/Edwards	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Values			
Economy			
Health/ Medical			
Technology			
Homeland Security			
Crime and Legal/ Civil Rights/ Immigrations			
Social Security			
Candidate's Past Decisions and Campaign			

APPENDIX G

CODERS' RESPONSES

The Washington Times/Headline Set One Coding Responses

	Coder 1			Coder 2		
	Bush			Bush		
	+	-	o	+	-	o
Values	2	4	3	3	3	0
Empl/SocSecurity	0	0	0	0	1	0
Nat'l Economy	3	2	2	4	0	0
Health/Medical	0	0	1	1	0	0
Technology	1	0	0	0	0	0
Crime/Legal	0	0	1	1	1	2
Campaign	11	12	19	22	2	5
Homeland Security	9	10	0	12	5	4
Other	2	4	5	7	9	12
Category Total	28	32	31	50	21	23
% Response	30.77%	35.16%	34.07%	53.19%	22.34%	24.47%
Candidate Total	91			94		
% Total Response	46.91%			48.45%		

	Coder 1			Coder 2		
	Kerry			Kerry		
	+	-	o	+	-	o
Values	2	1	0	0	1	2
Empl/SocSecurity	2	0	0	2	1	0
Nat'l Economy	0	4	3	1	2	2
Health/Medical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crime/Legal	1	1	2	0	0	1
Campaign	19	29	23	15	9	10
Homeland Security	4	9	2	4	9	4
Other	1	0	0	7	16	14
Category Total	29	44	30	29	38	33
% Response	28.16%	42.72%	29.13%	29.00%	38.00%	33.00%
Candidate Total	103			100		
% Total Response	53.09%			51.55%		

The Los Angeles Times/Headline Set Two Coding Responses

	Coder 1			Coder 2		
	Bush			Bush		
	+	-	o	+	-	o
Values	4	3	6	4	2	3
Empl/SocSecurity	4	6	4	4	4	4
Nat'l Economy	1	4	4	7	7	1
Health/Medical	1	2	1	2	0	0
Technology	0	0	1	1	0	0
Crime/Legal	3	1	2	5	3	1
Campaign	14	35	56	48	32	17
Homeland Security	8	20	31	28	10	13
Other	2	11	4	0	7	3
Category Total	37	82	109	99	65	42
% Response	16.23%	35.96%	47.81%	48.06%	31.55%	20.39%
Candidate Total	228			206		
% Total Response	50.11%			45.27%		

	Coder 1			Coder 2		
	Kerry			Kerry		
	+	-	o	+	-	o
Values	1	3	2	2	0	3
Empl/SocSecurity	2	0	2	6	0	0
Nat'l Economy	3	1	2	10	1	0
Health/Medical	0	0	3	7	0	0
Technology	0	0	1	1	0	1
Crime/Legal	4	3	1	3	2	2
Campaign	32	24	106	96	25	26
Homeland Security	3	8	12	32	13	5
Other	7	1	6	5	1	8
Category Total	52	40	135	162	42	45
% Response	22.91%	17.62%	59.47%	65.06%	16.87%	18.07%
Candidate Total	227			249		
% Total Response	49.89%			54.73%		

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