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Framing Howard Dean: News Frames of Howard Dean during the 2004 Iowa Caucus

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Framing Howard Dean

News Frames of Howard Dean during the 2004 Iowa Caucus

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Abstract

This content analysis examines the news frames of Howard Dean, former Governor of Vermont and Democratic candidate for President in 2004, utilized in press coverage before and after the 2004 Iowa caucus. Articles appearing in three national newspapers (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*) and one local Iowa newspaper (*Des Moines Register*) between the dates of November 19, 2003 and February 19, 2004 were studied. The research answers the following questions: (1) What news frames were used in articles about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (2) Was there a change in the way the newspapers framed stories about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (3) Which of Howard Dean's professional and personal qualifications were highlighted in these articles?

Framing Howard Dean: News Frames of Howard Dean during the 2004 Iowa Caucus

Chapter I

I'm sure there are some disappointed people here. You know what...if you had told us one year ago that we were going to come in third in Iowa, we would have given anything for that. And, you know something, not only are we going to New Hampshire, Tom Harkin, we're going to South Carolina, and Oklahoma, and Arizona, and North Dakota, and New Mexico. We're going to California, and Texas, and New York. And we're going to South Dakota, and Oregon, and Washington, and Michigan. And then we're going to Washington, D.C., to take back the White House. Yeeaaahhhh!

- Former Vermont Governor Howard Dean's rally speech after his 3rd place finish in the 2004 Iowa caucus

Introduction

In January of 2004, hundreds of political activists donning orange hats descended on the state of Iowa in support of Howard Dean, former governor of Vermont, whose massive grassroots campaign for President and anti-war stump speeches had attracted the attention of potential voters across the country. He was a clear front-runner for the Democratic party's nomination, and arguably the favorite to win the all-important first political contest of the 2004 Presidential race - the Iowa caucus.

For months leading up to caucus day, Dean had been the media's poster child for what was anticipated to be a hotly contested race for the Democratic presidential nomination. The media attention was intense and controversial with many commenting that it was both personal and negative. In January, just days before the Iowa caucus, *Time* magazine asked on its cover, "Who is the Real Howard Dean?" Similarly, *Newsweek* magazine featured Dean on its cover alongside the words "Doubts about Dean." (Lydon, 2004, p. 30). On January 13, 2004, shortly after the *Newsweek* cover was released, Eric Bohert (2004) published an article entitled "The media vs. Howard Dean" in which he commented that *Newsweek's* cover story was critical and "achieved a

nifty trifecta that covered anger, gaffes and electability, all three of the main media raps against Dean”.

When January 19, 2004, arrived and the results of the Iowa caucus were tallied, it was Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, not Howard Dean, who surprised many by emerging as the Democratic front-runner. Dean finished a disappointing third place behind second place finisher North Carolina Senator John Edwards. After the caucus, Dean gave an exuberant speech meant to rally his supporters despite the loss. His red-faced enthusiasm quickly became known as “the scream speech” when it was played repeatedly on national television stations. According to Eleanor Clift of *Newsweek*, the speech even further fueled the media’s notion that the former Vermont governor was not presidential material (Clift, 2004).

Ultimately, Howard Dean would drop out of the race on February 18, 2004, and John Kerry would go on to win the Democratic nomination. Howard Fineman summarized the unexpected turn of events in a March 5, 2004, web edition of *Newsweek* magazine:

In modern times – since the advent of contested primaries – the major parties always had nominated the guy who collected the most cash and who led in the Gallup Poll by the end of the year before the voting began. This time around, of course, that guy was the unstoppable Gov. Howard Dean. He had raised an unheard of \$40 million and led in all the national polls – not to mention the local polls in key “early” states, such as Iowa and New Hampshire. Poof! He was gone, with a triumphant John Kerry standing in his place.
(Para 3-4)

“Poof,” so what happened to Howard Dean? Some, including leading political analyst Larry Sabato, attribute his failure to win the Democratic nomination to the intense media scrutiny that

surrounded his campaign (Williams, 2004). However, others, such as Democratic consultant Jenny Backus argue that without all the media attention, Howard Dean would have never risen to prominence in the first-place (Kurtz, 2004). And many believe that it was Howard Dean's own blunders, not the media, which eventually led to his poor showing in the presidential primaries (Fineman et al., 2004).

In order to have a better understanding of the nature of the media scrutiny surrounding Howard Dean before and after the 2004 Iowa caucus, an analysis of the news coverage is the best place to begin. The following paper will explore the "news frames" used in newspaper articles about Howard Dean in the 60 days preceding and the 30 days following the January 19, 2004, Iowa caucus.

News Frames

All news stories have what has been theorized as a "frame." The frame is the basic structure of the story. It is the underlying theme that helps the audience connect with the events in the news and place them in context. According to Gamson and Modigliani (as cited in Shen, 2004), "a frame is a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them" (p. 400). As W. Lance Bennett and Murray Edelman (as cited in Martin, 2003) explained,

The who, what, where, why, how, and when...give acts and events a narrative frame. A choice among alternative settings or among origins of a political development also determines who are virtuous, who are threats to the good life, and which courses of action are effective solutions. (p. 191-192)

Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese (1999) further clarify the issue by explaining that “Reports have to tell a story within a limited time or space. They use certain frames to simplify and give meaning to events, and to maintain audience interest” (p. 550-551).

In politics, the news frame, for example, can be used to highlight a candidate’s stance on a particular issue of interest, to highlight whether a candidate is winning or losing in political polls, or to take an “inside” personal look at the candidate’s life. Often it is as important to look at what *is not* highlighted as part of a news frame as it is to look at what *is* highlighted as part of a news frame. For example, if a news story only focuses on one candidate, such as Howard Dean, and leaves out details about another competing candidate, this lack of information could be as influential as what information is included.

There are at least five principal ways to frame a news story: (1) *responsibility* frame, (2) *human interest* frame, (3) *morality* frame (also sometimes called *value* frame), (4) *conflict* frame, and (5) *economic consequences* frame (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Shen, 2004).

The *responsibility* frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving the issue/problem to the government, to an individual, or to a group (Valkenburg et al., 1999). The news media are often credited for shaping public opinion on who is responsible for causing or solving key social problems, such as poverty, through their use of responsibility framing (Iyengar, 1990; Valkenburg et al., 1999).

The *human interest* frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem...Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95-96). Such a frame focuses on an individual person as an example

and has become increasingly prevalent in political journalism (Valkenburg et al., 1999, p. 551; Graber, 1976).

The *morality* frame, also called a value frame, uses people's deeply held values such as morality, ethics, individual rights, or equality to define issues (Shen, 2004, p. 403). According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), "this frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions" (p. 96). Such issues as gay rights, welfare reform, affirmative action, stem cell research, or sexually transmitted diseases are often framed using the morality frame (Shen, 2004; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

The *conflict* frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. According to Patterson (1993), "political discussion among the elite during election campaigns reduces complex substantive political debate into overly simplistic conflict" (as cited in Valkenburg et al., 1999, p. 551). Jamieson in his book *Dirty Politics* (as cited in Valkenburg et al., 1999), states that news presented in the conflict frame is primarily concerned with winners and losers and emphasizes the performance of an individual or party (p. 551).

Finally, the *economic consequence* frame presents an issue, event, or problem in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region, or country (Valkenburg et. al, 1999, p. 552). According to Graber (as cited in Valkenburg et. al, 1999) the economic consequences of an event have important news value (p. 552). And according to Gamson (as cited in Valkenburg et. al) news producers often use the consequence frame to make an issue relevant to their audience (p. 552).

The study of framing is important because the way a story is framed can have a significant impact on public opinion (Iyengar, 1990). Kuypers (2002) contends that "facts remain neutral

until framed; thus, how the press frames an issue or event will affect public understanding of that issue or event...Framing, then, is the process whereby communicators act to construct a particular point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed (or ignored) in a particular manner, with some facts made more noticeable than others. When speaking of political and social issues, frames actually define our understanding of any given situation” (p. 7).

Much research has been done on this issue of “framing effects,” which can be defined as the way media frames affect public opinion (Shen, 2004; Valkenburg et. al, 1999; Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1995 [as cited in Scheufele, 1999]). This paper does not try to draw a causal relationship between these frames and their “framing effects,” but instead looks at how an event, such as Howard Dean’s loss in the 2004 Iowa caucus and his subsequent concession speech, affected the news frames.

In order to complement the study of framing, I will also look in even greater depth at how Howard Dean’s personal and professional qualities were portrayed within these frames. Because the mass media devote much attention to discussions of the personal and professional qualifications of contenders during presidential campaigns, and because this so-called “soft news” was important in the 2004 presidential campaign, I would like to explore this further (Graber, 1976; Williams, 2004). In her study of political candidates, Graber (1972, 1976) divided these qualifications into seven groupings: personality, style, image, executive capacities, relations with the public, philosophical orientations, and organization of government. I will examine the first five (personality, style, image, executive capacities, and relations with the public) in relation to the media coverage of Howard Dean.

To summarize, this research analyzes newspaper articles in the two months preceding the Iowa caucus and the one month after Iowa caucus to determine: (1) What news frames were used in articles mentioning Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (2) Was there a change in the way the newspapers framed stories about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (3) Which of Howard Dean's professional and personal qualifications were highlighted in these articles?

Chapter II

Literature Review

Politics and the media are undeniably linked in American history (Shogan, 2001, p. 9). Even as early as 1790, there was wide circulation of newspapers in the country, and politicians were using them to help report political speeches (Shogan, 2001, p. 12). Shogan (2001) explains that by 1831, Americans could choose from among 700 papers, including 65 dailies and by 1850, the number had increased to 2000, of which 200 were dailies (p. 12). In these early days, politicians often bought the loyalty of newspaper editors so they could tightly control political news coverage (Shogan, p. 13). Shogan gives the example of Andrew Jackson who named almost sixty journalists to his administration in an effort to try to sway media coverage in his favor (p. 13).

By the Civil War, the Penny Press had fully emerged and newspapers began to gain enough revenue from advertising that they no longer had to rely solely on political graft for survival (Shogan, p. 13). Shogan comments that “as newspapers grew more independent and more important, presidents sought new ways to influence their coverage” and he sites Florence Harding “who helped Republicans win the presidency in 1920 by her vigorous promotion of herself and her husband Warren as ‘just folks’” (p. 14). Florence Harding’s “campaign” is emblematic of a trend that would come to dominate political reporting in the later half of the 20th century: a campaign of political image.

Scholars argue that image-making through the press has become increasingly important because of the waning strength of the modern-day political parties. According to Dautrich and Hartley (1999),

The weakening of party ties has allowed the news media to assume a more prominent role in U.S. elections...One is hard-pressed to ignore two sets of long-term trends that have occurred roughly the same period of time – the growth of the media and rise of candidate-centered campaigns on the one hand, and the significant changes in the U.S. electorate’s political attitudes and behavior on the other. These trends include a decline in partisan attachments, a decline in party voting, and an increase in volatility in presidential election outcomes since 1944. There has been a clear pattern of decline in voter attachment to the parties. (p. 7)

Dautrich & Hartley (1999) comment that the causal connection between the rise of the news media and the decline of parties is difficult to establish. However, Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia believes the correlation is too great to dispute. In the first paragraph of his book *Feeding Frenzy* he states, “Journalists now take center stage in the [political] process, creating the news as much as reporting it, changing both the shape of election-year politics and the contours of government. Having replaced the political parties as the screening committee for candidates and office-holders, the media propel some politicians toward power and unceremoniously eliminate others” (Sabato, 2001).

In her studies of political primaries, Kathleen Kendall (2000) agrees with Sabato and acknowledges the role of the media in shaping modern-day perceptions of candidates, but she also believes that changes to the primary structure have been equally influenced by the waning strength of political parties (p. 4-5). Her studies show that, prior to 1972, no matter how a candidate did in the presidential primaries, it was the support of the party boss that was paramount to securing the nomination for president at the party’s convention (Kendall, 2004, p. 4). In recent years, though, as party power has declined, the primaries have become the key

indicator of who will secure the nomination (p. 4-5). She cites Wattenburg (1985) who identifies television as the driving force behind this change. Kendall (2004) says that Wattenburg (1985) pointed “especially to the heavy television coverage of the 1968 primaries, which gave voters the impression that primaries were crucial” (as cited in Kendall, 2004, p. 4).

Larry Bartels has also studied presidential primaries and in his book *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice* (1988) he explains that the primary calendar has changed dramatically since the 1960s (p. 278). In the past, there were fewer primaries and they were distributed differently over the three months of the primary season (Bartels, 1988, p. 278). Increasingly, there has been a trend towards “front-loading” with primaries occurring earlier and earlier (Bartels, 1988, p. 279). Like Kendall, Bartels found that the media coverage of these primaries has been similarly “front-loaded” with most media attention focused on the early primary contests (such as the ones in Iowa and New Hampshire) rather than later contests (Bartels, p. 36).

Robert Shogan cited Theodore White, a veteran political reporter who covered the 1968 convention in Chicago and its harrowing street riots, and commented that White scribbled in his notebook during that year’s primaries, “The Democrats are finished” (as cited in Shogan, 2001, p. 36). Shogan (2001) went on to conclude “What was finished was not only the party’s hopes in 1968 but the way the party had operated for most of its history” (p. 36). According to Shogan (2001), Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate for President in 1968, realized that change was affecting his party as well (p. 39). “As Nixon well knew, the winds of changes were sweeping through the musty corridors of Republican power too. While the Democrats in 1968 felt themselves to be victims of the media, Nixon’s quest for the 1968 Republican nomination

showed how a presidential contender could use the press, television, and the new technology to control his own destiny” (p. 37).

Theodore White is largely credited for being the first person to focus on the personalities of the presidential campaigns during the primary season (Bartels, 1988, p. 24). Larry Bartels writes “The phenomenal success of White’s ‘Making of the President’ books gave journalists vivid examples of the historical drama and human interest to be found in presidential politics. When White began to cover presidential primaries in 1956 he was all alone, figuratively and sometimes literally. But the mainstream press caught on to the formula of early, detailed, and colorful reporting of campaign events and personalities” (p. 24). The result of this new kind of journalism, according to Larry Bartels (1988), was a new sense of openness in the way the media covered political primaries. This created interest in the political process and helped to ensure that people interested in political primaries could participate in them (Bartels, 1988, p. 24). Back-room party politics that had once been the mainstay of the political nomination process came out into the open (Bartels, p. 24).

However, as Doris Graber mentions there was a down-side to the new trend in personality-centered news coverage. “Everywhere, regardless of geographic, democratic, or political differences, the public received a vision of the ideal President based primarily on personal qualities....But the public received little information about the candidates’ political philosophies or executive abilities. Nor was there any indication that these might be significant qualities for judging presidential fitness” (as cited in Graber, 1976, p. 288). She also found that the press tended to show these qualities in a negative context. “The press in particular tends to depict candidates as deficient in personal and professional qualities essential for the presidency” (p. 301). Additionally, she noted another trend in the media coverage: an increased focus on

projections and election outcomes (Graber, 1976, p. 301). This phenomenon would come to be known as “horse-race” coverage.

In his book *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*, Larry Bartels (1988) offers a definition of “horse race” coverage. “As the label suggests, ‘horse race’ reporting focuses on who’s ahead, who’s gaining ground, and who will be first across the finish line. The horse race only incidentally touches on matters of political substance; instead, the emphasis is on competition for competition’s sake....In covering a presidential campaign, the media tell us more about who is winning and who is losing than they do about who is fit to be president” (p. 31).

Broh (1980) explains:

For journalists, the horse-race metaphor provides a framework for analysis. A horse is judged not by its absolute speed or skill but in comparison to the speed of other horses, and especially by its wins and losses. Similarly, candidates are pushed to discuss other candidates; events are understood in a context of competition; and picking the winner becomes an important topic. The race-not the winner-is the story. The candidate’s image, personality, staff relations, and strategy are the main foci of reporting. (p. 515)

One effect of horse race coverage is that candidates who do win receive more media coverage than candidates who lose (Bartels, p. 33). Bartels also noted that this increased media coverage is not always positive. Bartels discovered that “unknown candidates who broke out of the pack received very favorable coverage until they showed signs of becoming front-runners; then they were scrutinized much more carefully” (p. 39).

In the case of Howard Dean, Larry Sabato believes that the intense media scrutiny of Dean may have been the result of becoming the front-runner too early. On February 8, 2004, Mike Williams quoted Sabato in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, “He [Howard Dean] was pulverized

[by the media], and his response was prickly. If he had emerged as the front-runner in late December, he would probably be on his way to the nomination now.” Dean, himself, was aware that the media coverage may have been hurting his chances in the primaries. In the January 14, 2004, edition of *The Washington Post*, Howard Kurtz wrote “In the final days before the Iowa caucuses, the doctor finds himself at the center of a media maelstrom in which his every gaffe, misstep and shortcoming are being amplified and analyzed – leaving Dean complaining...that ‘the established press’ has ‘attacked us for months’.” However, Dean’s campaign manager, Joe Trippi, realized that this kind of media attention was standard for modern-day political candidates, particularly the front-runners and said it “comes with the territory” (as cited by Kurtz, 2004, p. C01).

Kathleen Kendall agrees that vast media attention is part of modern-day presidential primaries. In her study of the 1996 presidential primaries, Kathleen Kendall (2000) found that, “The 1996 presidential primaries bore close resemblance to those of earlier years, in that (1) they were treated as important by candidates and the media; (2) the media covered them as a dramatic conflict and focused upon the personal traits of the candidates; and (3) several candidates showed remarkable inventiveness in shaping the media agenda and reaching the voters” (p. 205). Kendall also found that primaries occurring first tend to receive the most media attention with the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary receiving the most media coverage (p. 206). David Yepsen (n.d.) believes that reporters are particularly drawn to the Iowa caucus because it is so early and is the first test of strength for candidates from both parties in the nomination process.

Chapter III

Research design

So how does a researcher study media coverage of presidential primaries? One method is through a content analysis of news coverage. According to Kimberly A. Neuendorf (2002), “In the field of mass communication research, content analysis has been the fastest-growing technique over the last 20 years” (p. 1). Neuendorf (2002) believes that some of the most sophisticated analyses in content analysis have been executed with a news focus and she specifically mentions the news framing approach as a particular type of content analysis (p. 205). Neuendorf explains that the news framing approach clusters concepts according to how often the concepts occur together in different news sources (p. 205). She cites Andsager and Powers (1999) who used a content analysis of news frames of breast cancer stories and found that “*Newsweek* framed breast cancer stories with regard to causes and treatments, whereas *Time* more often used an economic framing (e.g., insurance concepts), and *U.S. News and World Report* presented breast cancer news with a research focus” (p. 205).

D’Angelo (2002) explains that there are varied definitions and methods for studying news framing which allows the researcher great latitude in deciding how to study news frames on a particular topic. The downside is that research on framing can be difficult to reproduce without standard methods. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) there are two possible approaches to doing a content analysis of news frames: inductive and deductive (p. 94). “The inductive approach involves analyzing a news story with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames, beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames” (p. 94). By contrast, “A deductive approach involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news” (p. 94). The

advantage of the inductive approach is that it can detect many different, and often more subtle, ways of framing a story than the deductive approach. However, it can be hard to replicate, is labor-intensive, and is not as easily used for large samples (p. 94-95).

Robert Entman (1993) agreed that doing a content analysis of news frames can be difficult because “framing is often defined casually, with much left to an assumed tacit understanding of reader and researcher” (p. 52). In his article *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm* he tried to develop a common definition of framing. Entman stated that “Framing essentially involves *selection* and *salience*. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) agree with Entman’s definition of framing and believe that a reliable set of content analytic indicators is necessary (p. 94).

However, Paul D’Angelo (2002) disagrees with Entman and argues that there is not, nor should there be, a single paradigm of framing (p. 871). He agrees with Entman that framing has a scattered conceptualization, but he believes that framing researchers should be “encouraged to use all available techniques found in content analysis and discourse analysis in order to defend the existence of different framing devices and provide the means to detect frames in news” (D’Angelo, 2002, p. 881).

My own research found many varied definitions of framing and methods for researching news frames. There does not appear to be one right or wrong definition or method. In his study of how poverty was framed in the news, for example, Shanto Iyengar (1990) defined “framing” as “the specific concepts and terms used to present choice or decision options” (p. 20). He chose

to study *thematic* versus *episodic* news frames. In the *thematic* frame, the news might consist of information bearing on general trends or matters of public policy (Iyengar, 1990, p. 22). News in the thematic frame is abstract and impersonal (Iyengar, p. 22). By contrast, news in the *episodic* frame is covered in terms of personal experience (Iyengar, p. 22).

Christopher Martin (2003), on the other hand, cited W. Lance Bennett and Murray Edelman's 1985 definition of framing:

The who, what, where, why, how, and when....give acts and events a narrative *frame*. A choice among alternative settings or among origins of a political development also determines who are virtuous, who are threats to the good life, and which courses of action are effective solutions. (as cited in Martin, 2003, p. 192)

He also noted that Todd Gitlin (1980) called media frames "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (as cited in Martin, 2003, p. 192). In his study of the 1997 United Parcel Service (UPS) strike, Martin (2003) chose to examine five specific news frames concerning labor: (1) *The consumer is king*; (2) *The process of production is none of the public's business*; (3) *The economy is driven by great business leaders and entrepreneurs*; (4) *The workplace is a meritocracy*; (4) *Collective economic action is bad* (p. 195-196).

Fuyuan Shen (2004) used entirely different ways to define and research framing than those used by either Iyengar or Martin. He used Gamson and Modigliani's definition of a frame: "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them...The frame suggests what the controversy is, about the essence of the issue" (as cited in Shen, 2004, p. 400). Shen (2004) went on summarize that

“framing is thus a process by which media and political elites define and construct issues or events” (p. 400). In particular, he chose to study *value* framing and *consequence* framing in two issues: stem cell research and oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) (Shen, 2004, p. 403). According to Shen, “*value* framing occurs when media and political elites use people’s deeply held values such as morality, ethics, individual rights, and equality to define issues” (Shen, p. 403). *Consequence* framing, however, “presents an event or issue in terms of the potential consequences it is likely to have upon individuals and communities at large” (Shen, p. 403). He believed that the media often frame many of today’s issues and events in terms of consequences in order to increase the newsworthiness of issues or events to the audiences (Shen, p. 403).

Holli A. Semetko and Patti M. Valkenburg (2000) acknowledged that there is no single definition of a news frame or of framing, but found that all the definitions shared similar characteristics (p. 94). Essentially, they found that news frames serve to help media and individuals convey, interpret, evaluate, and narrow-down information (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). In their study of European politics, they chose to study five specific frames, two of which are similar to the ones used by Shen. The five frames studied were *conflict*, *human interest*, *economic consequences*, *morality*, and *responsibility* (Semetko & Valkenburg, p. 95-96). The *conflict frame* “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (Semetko and Valkenburg, p. 95). The *human interest frame* “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (Semetko and Valkenburg, p. 95). The *economic consequences frame* “reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically” (Semetko and Valkenburg, p. 96). The *morality frame* “puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of

religious tenets or moral prescriptions” (Semetko and Valkenburg, p. 96). Finally, the *responsibility frame* “presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group.” (Semetko and Valkenburg, p. 96).

In contrast to the frames used by Martin (2003) which were specific to labor, the frames outlined by Semetko and Valkenburg are more general, and could be applied across various industries and events. Because Semetko and Valkenburg used the above categories of news frames to study European politics, I believed that these same categories could also be used to study news frames of American politics, particularly the news frames of Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus (See Appendix A). In order to research these news frames in relation to Howard Dean, I examined news coverage in three national newspapers (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*) and one local Iowa newspaper (*Des Moines Register*). News stories were selected for analysis if they met the following criteria:

1. Article appears in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, or *Des Moines Register* between the dates of November 19, 2003 and February 19, 2004
2. Article headline contains the word “Dean” and the article refers to Howard Dean
3. Article is in the A Section of the newspaper
4. Article is a news article and not an editorial

Articles from *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* were identified using the Lexis Nexis Academic database, articles from the *Des Moines Register* were identified using the Access World News Newsbank database, and articles from the *Los Angeles Times* were identified using the newspaper’s on-line archive database (www.latimes.com). These newspapers were chosen to get a diverse sample of media coverage all across the country. Newspaper articles

were chosen instead of television news spots or for two reasons: (1) newspaper articles are well archived and easily searchable in a variety of academic databases and (2) because people who read newspapers also tend to be politically involved (Kuypers, 2002, p.2).

To help identify the individual news frames within each story, a series of categories based on those developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) were created (See Appendix A). The coder was instructed to read each news story carefully and then answer “yes” or “no” to each question. A secondary set of categories was developed to capture the personal and professional qualifications of Howard Dean as reported in the news articles. These questions were based on those used by Doris Graber (1972, 1976) in her research of presidential candidate characteristics. Results were first entered onto a coding sheet for each article (see Appendix A), and then the results were transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet. The results were tabulated and analyzed using descriptive statistical methods through the statistical computer program SPSS.

Chapter IV

Results

In total, 403 articles were analyzed for news frames. All articles appeared in the A Section of *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Des Moines Register* from November 19, 2003 to February 19, 2004 (Table 1). To be included in the sample, the headline of each article included the word “Dean” and the article was in the news portion of the A Section (editorial articles were not included in the sample). A sub-set of these articles (articles from January 5, 2004 to January 26, 2004) was also analyzed to determine which personal and professional qualifications of Howard Dean were highlighted within the articles.

Table 1

Number of Articles with “Dean” in the Headline from November 19, 2003, to February 19, 2004, by Newspaper

| Newspaper | Number of articles with “Dean” in the headline | Percentage of total sample (%) |
|---------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| New York Times | 95 | 23.6 |
| Des Moines Register | 37 | 9.2 |
| Washington Post | 120 | 29.8 |
| Los Angeles Times | 151 | 37.5 |
| Total | 403 | 100 |

Of the 403 articles, 115 articles (28.5%) began on the front page of the newspaper (A1) and 288 articles (71.5%) began on a later page in the A Section. The fact that there were 115 front-page articles about Howard Dean over the course of the three months indicates that these newspapers considered news about Howard Dean to be important and that they considered him to be a serious contender for the Presidential nomination. The notion that Howard Dean was a serious contender was reported on the front page of *The New York Times* as early as December, 2003. In an article entitled “Bush’s advisers focus on Dean as likely opponent next year” *The New York Times* reported, “President Bush’s political advisers are now all but certain that Howard Dean

will be the Democratic presidential nominee and they are planning a campaign that takes account of what they see as Dr. Dean's strengths and weaknesses, Republicans with ties to the White House said” (Stevenson, 2003, p. A1).

Byline

The notion that Howard Dean was a serious contender was reinforced by the fact that all four newspapers assigned their own reporters to write articles about Howard Dean. Of the 403 articles, only 13 (3.2%) were attributed to a wire service such as Reuters or the Associated Press (Table 4). Of the 13 wire service articles, 10 appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* and 3 appeared in *The Washington Post*. No wire service articles appeared in *The New York Times* or *Des Moines Register*.

Table 4
Bylines (summary for all articles)

| Author | Number of articles | Percentage of total sample (%) |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Wire service | 13 | 3.2 |
| Newspaper staff | 390 | 96.8 |
| Total | 403 | 100 |

News Frames

Almost half (49.4%) of the articles in the sample were presented in the *conflict* frame (Table 3). The second most commonly used frame was the *human interest* frame (22.8%) and the third most commonly used frame was the *attribution of responsibility* frame (16.9%).

Approximately 8% of the articles were presented in the *economic consequences* frame and only 2.7% of the articles were presented in the *morality/values* frame.

Table 3
News Frames (summary for all articles)

| Frame | Number of times frame used | Percentage of total sample (%) |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Attribution of responsibility | 68 | 16.9 |
| Human interest | 92 | 22.8 |
| Conflict | 199 | 49.4 |
| Morality/Values | 11 | 2.7 |
| Economic consequences | 33 | 8.2 |
| Total | 403 | 100 |

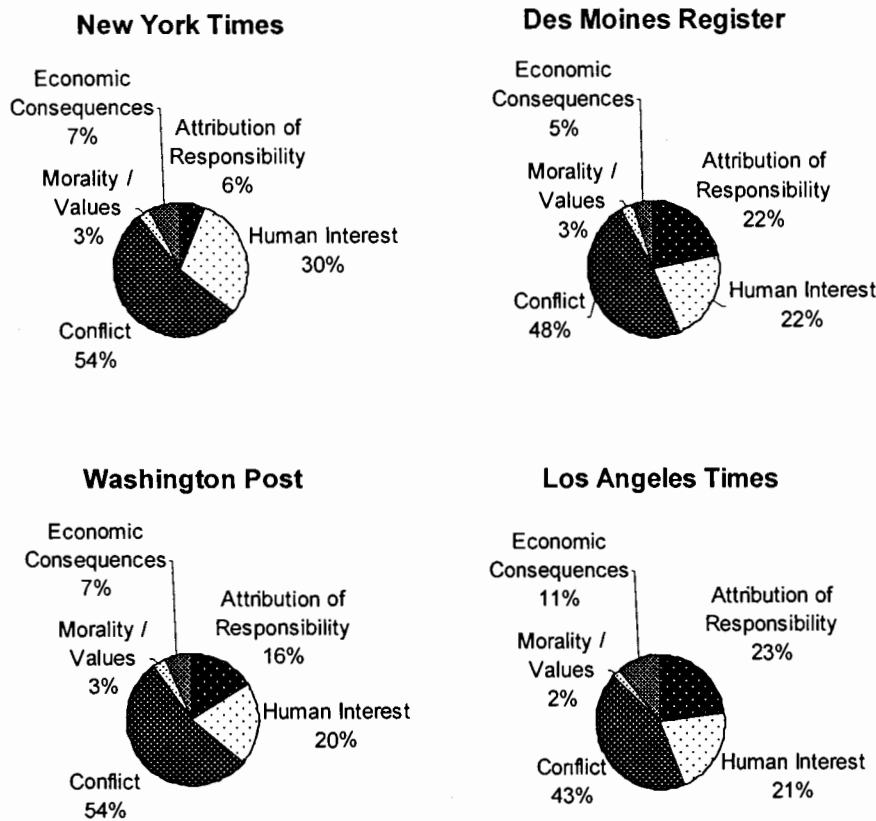
Articles presented in the *conflict* frame typically included articles that highlighted disagreements between Howard Dean and at least one other candidate (for example, “Dean Attacks Kerry on Fund-Raising and Acting ‘Like a Republican’” from the *New York Times* on February 12, 2004, page A35). Often these articles would also report on the candidates’ current standings in the polls (for example, “Dean Ahead, but Iowa Still up for Grabs” from the *Los Angeles Times* on January 11, 2004, page A1). Articles presented in the *human interest* frame included articles about Howard Dean’s personal life. For instance, several articles reported that the remains of Howard Dean’s brother were found in Laos in November of 2003 (for example, “Find Brings Closure for Dean” from the *Los Angeles Times* on November 19, 2003, page A13). Additionally, several articles in the *human interest* frame emphasized Howard Dean’s family including his wife, Judy, and her absence from the campaign trail (for example, “Dean Joined by His Wife to Cap Iowa Campaign” from the *Los Angeles Times* on January 19, 2004, page A16). Articles written in the *attribution of responsibility* frame included articles about Howard Dean’s desire to keep his Vermont gubernatorial records sealed and articles on endorsements from Al Gore and Bill Bradley (for example, “Dean Defends Sealing His Papers as Governor” from *The New York Times* on December 2, 2003, page A26 and “Bradley, a 2000 Campaigner, Back in State to Endorse Dean” from *Des Moines Register* on January 7, 2004, page A1). Articles in the

economic consequences frame primarily drew attention to campaign contributions and Howard Dean's ability to raise money (for example, "The 2004 Campaign: Fund-Raising; Dean Raises \$14 Million and Sets Record" from *The New York Times* on December 30, 2003, page A19).

Finally, there were very few articles in the *morality/values* frame, but articles in this category, for example, stressed Howard Dean's views on stem cell research or his views on race relations (for example, "Dean Criticizes Bush on Stem-Cell Ban" from *The Los Angeles Times* on January 10, 2004, page A9).

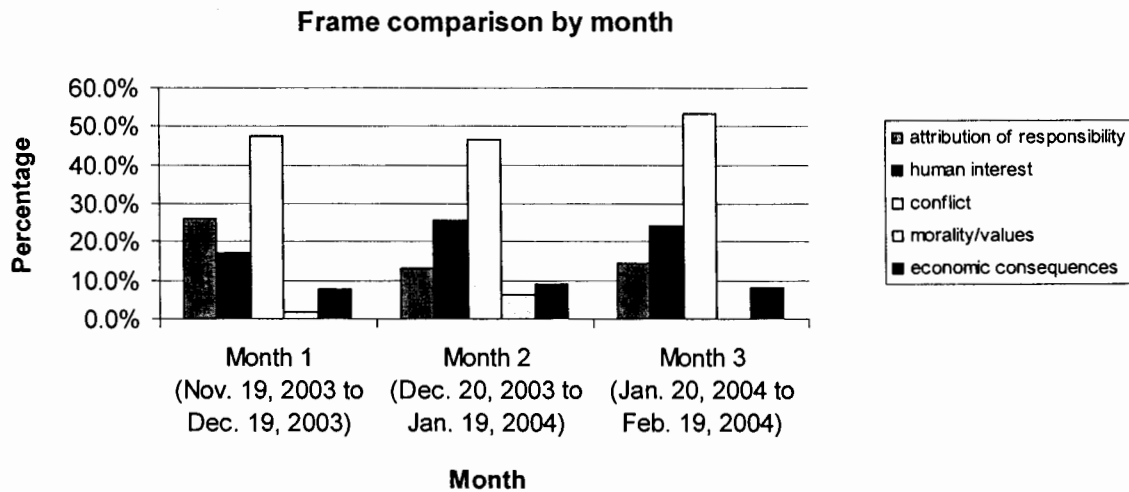
The frames were fairly consistent across each newspaper (Figure 1). *The New York Times* presented slightly more articles in the *human interest* frame and the *Los Angeles Times* presented slightly more articles in the *economic consequences* frame than the other three papers, but overall the proportion of frames was very similar in all four newspapers.

Figure 1 – News Frames by Newspaper



When examined by month, there are few noticeable changes in the way the stories about Howard Dean were framed (Figure 2). In all three months, the most prevalent frame was the *conflict* frame. Approximately 48% to 53% of all articles in each month were presented in this frame. Their only slight differences in the frequency of framing can be seen in the categories of *attribution of responsibility* and *human interest*. In the first month (November 19, 2003 to December 19, 2003) there was a higher frequency of *attribution of responsibility* articles than *human interest* articles, but in Months 2 and 3 this was reversed. Most articles in the *morality/values* frame were in Months 1 and 2, with no articles in the *morality/values* frame in Month 3. The percentage of articles in the *economic consequences* frame was comparable for all three months.

Figure 2



The consistency of framing across all three months indicates that there was not a major change in the way *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Des Moines Register* framed articles about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus. To explore the issue further, I examined the number of articles by week to see if there was a change in the quantity of coverage before and after the Iowa caucus. These results are presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4. As shown in Figure 3, coverage of Howard Dean was highest in the two weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus (January 7, 2004 to January 20, 2004) and then gradually declined each week thereafter.

Figure 3

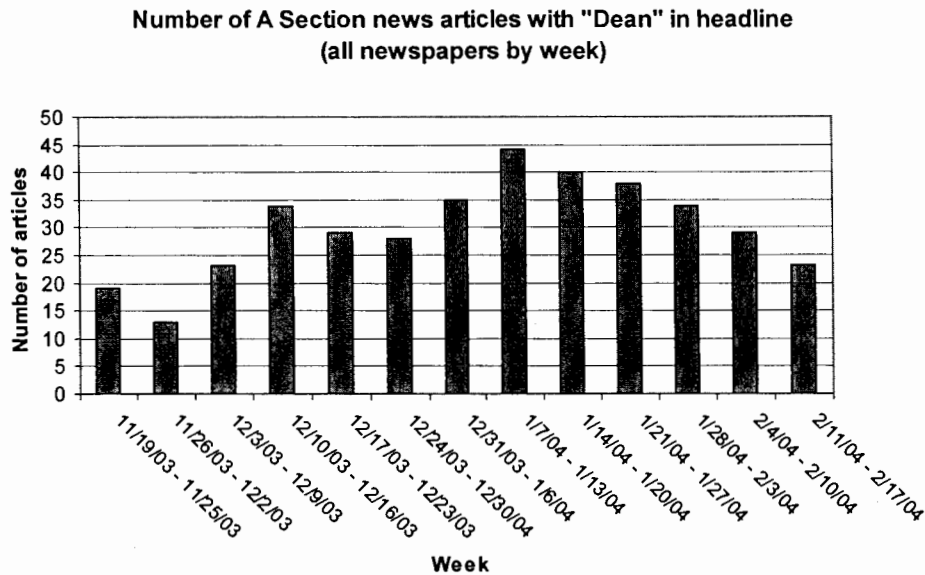
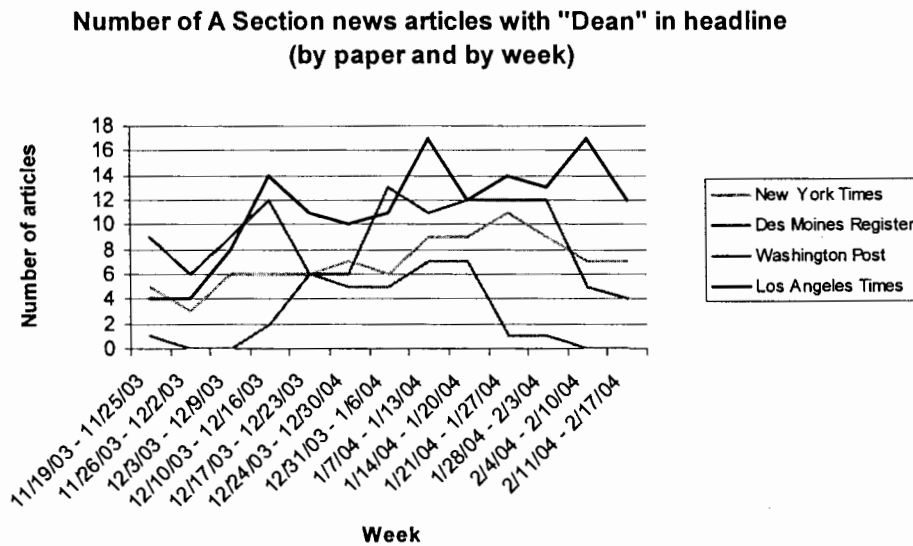


Figure 4 shows that this trend was fairly consistent in each individual newspaper.

Coverage of Howard Dean peaked in the weeks before and during the Iowa caucus and then began declining in February of 2004. One newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*, continued comprehensive coverage of Howard Dean into the month of February despite his losses in the New Hampshire primary on January 27, 2004, and his subsequent losses on February 3, 2004, “Super Tuesday,” in Arizona, Delaware, Missouri, Oklahoma, South Carolina, New Mexico, and North Dakota. The fact that the *Los Angeles Times* continued its in-depth coverage of Howard Dean despite his losses in the primaries seemingly contradicts Larry Bartels’ theory that news media focus attention only on those candidates who are either in the lead or doing better than expected (Bartels, 1988, p.33).

Figure 4



Personal and Professional Qualities

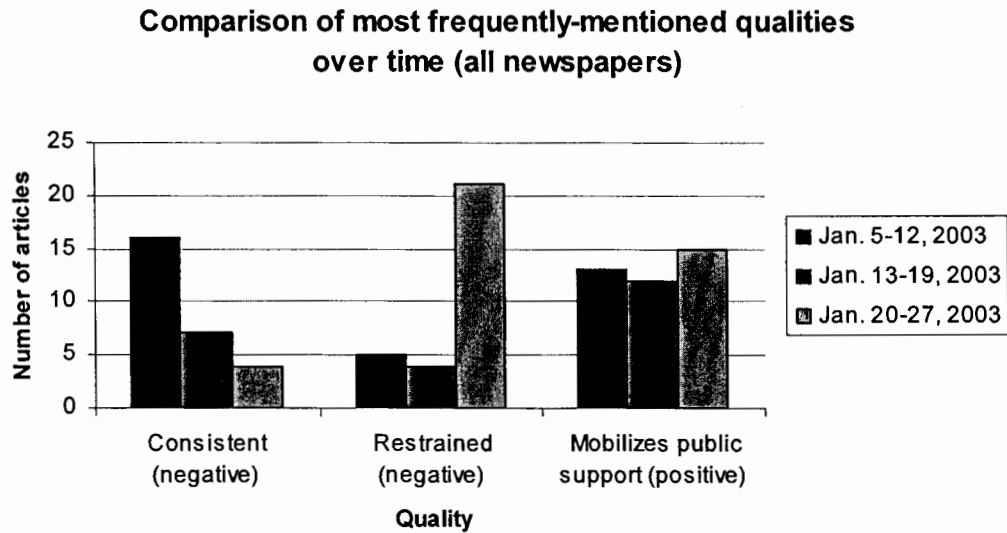
133 articles between the dates of January 5, 2004, and January 26, 2004, (two weeks before the Iowa caucus and one week after the Iowa caucus) were further examined to assess what personal and professional qualities of Howard Dean were highlighted in the four newspapers (Table 5). A total of 304 qualities were highlighted in these articles. Of the 304 qualities mentioned, the majority were positive (204 [67%]). Only 82 qualities mentioned were negative (27%) and 18 (6%) were normative. These results are somewhat surprising given that Howard Dean and his campaign manager, Joe Trippi, believed the media coverage of his campaign to be overwhelmingly critical and negative (Kurtz, 2004).

Table 5
Personal and Professional Qualities of Howard Dean mentioned in articles from January 5, 2004 to January 26, 2004

| Qualities | Number of articles mentioning that Howard Dean has this quality (Positive) n (% of articles reporting quality) | Number of articles mentioning that Howard Dean does not have this quality (Negative) n (% of articles reporting quality) | Number of articles mentioning that Howard Dean should have this quality (Normative) n (% of articles reporting quality) |
|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Professional Image | | | |
| Inspirational | 9 (6.8%) | 0 | 1 (0.8%) |
| Competent administrator | 14 (10.5%) | 2 (1.5%) | 0 |
| Versatile executive | 1 (0.8%) | 1 (0.8%) | 0 |
| Nation unifier | 7 (5.3%) | 0 | 1 (0.8%) |
| Peacemaker | 2 (1.5%) | 1 (0.8%) | 0 |
| Is consistent | 1 (0.8%) | 27 (20.3%) | 1 (0.8%) |
| Personality traits | | | |
| Trustworthy | 1 (0.8%) | 0 | 0 |
| Compassionate | 8 (6.0%) | 1 (0.8%) | 0 |
| Man of principle | 22 (16.5%) | 1 (0.8%) | 1 (0.8%) |
| Charismatic | 12 (9%) | 2 (1.5%) | 0 |
| Projects leadership | 17 (12.8%) | 6 (4.5%) | 2 (1.5%) |
| Style | | | |
| Restrained | 17 (12.8%) | 30 (22.6%) | 3 (2.3%) |
| Forthright | 19 (14.3%) | 0 | 1 (0.8%) |
| Strong | 11 (8.3%) | 1 (0.8%) | 0 |
| Capacities | | | |
| Domestic affairs ability | 11 (8.3%) | 1 (0.8%) | 0 |
| Foreign affairs ability | 1 (0.8%) | 4 (3%) | 1 (0.8%) |
| Relations with public | | | |
| Communicates with constituents | 8 (6.0%) | 0 | 2 (1.5%) |
| Keeps public informed | 2 (1.5%) | 4 (3%) | 1 (0.8%) |
| Mobilizes public support | 40 (30.1%) | 1 (0.8%) | 2 (1.5%) |
| Listens | 1 (0.8%) | 0 | 2 (1.5%) |
| Total qualities (n) | 204 | 82 | 18 |

Although the majority of qualities mentioned were positive, including mobilizes public support (mentioned in 30% of the articles), two negative qualities were also mentioned in more than 20% of the articles: inconsistent (i.e., consistent [negative]) and unrestrained (i.e., restrained [negative]). Figure 5 shows these qualities over time.

Figure 5



During the three weeks that articles were examined for attributed qualities, Howard Dean's recognized quality of being able to mobilize public support was reported fairly evenly throughout the three weeks. The quality of being inconsistent was mentioned most frequently from January 5-12, 2003, which was the week of the *Des Moines Register's* nationally televised Democratic presidential debate and a radio debate sponsored by National Public Radio. During the debates, Dean's opponents criticized him of making conflicting statements regarding his views on the death penalty for Osama bin Laden and on his views on middle-class tax relief (Okamoto, 2004; Beaumont, January 9, 2004).

The quality of being unrestrained was mentioned most frequently from January 20-27, 2003. This is significant because this is the week after Howard Dean's concession speech in Iowa. During this week, many articles specifically mentioned the unusual speech, and interestingly, most of the articles attributed Dean's unrestrained outburst to an image that

appeared “unpresidential.” A front page article in the *Des Moines Register* on January 20, 2004 began,

Howard Dean’s fiery demeanor, frequently targeted as a character flaw by his rivals in the Democratic presidential primary, surfaced in a screaming address to his supports Monday following his third-place finish in the Iowa caucus. One political observer said the unusual outburst did not project the image of a ‘real president.’ (Dalmer & Higgins, 2004)

Articles, like one on the front page of the *Des Moines Register* three days later, went on to mention that the speech may have hurt Dean’s chances at winning the presidential nomination.

“U.S. Sen. Tom Harkin on Iowa, who endorsed Howard Dean in his bid for the presidential nomination, said Thursday that Dean hurt his chances with his arm-swinging speech in Des Moines following his third-place caucus finish” (Norman, 2004). Similar sentiments were reported in the *Los Angeles Times*,

Howard Dean's overheated concession speech in Iowa may have inflicted irreparable harm on his campaign, intensifying concerns that Vermont's former governor is prone to outbursts and fits of pique that make him unqualified to be president...."He's a very rational, pleasant human being, but he looked like a rabid dog," said Charlie Cook, publisher of a nonpartisan Washington political newsletter. "To say he appeared unpresidential is an understatement." (Barabak & Fiore, 2004)

The article went on to say that the damage from the speech was immediately quantifiable.

“Surveys showed a fall in Dean's approval ratings and a tightening race in New Hampshire -- where he faces a major test Tuesday, when the state hosts the nation's first presidential primary” (Barabak & Fiore, 2004). Unfortunately for Dean, the negative qualities of being unrestrained

and inconsistent seemed to overshadow the positive quality of being able to mobilize public support, and by mid-February 2004, he withdrew from the race for President.

Chapter V

Discussion and Conclusions

There is little doubt that the results of the 2004 Iowa caucus were surprising to many. The morning after the caucus, the front page of the *Des Moines Register* reported “Kerry’s and Edwards’ strong showings and Dean’s and Gephardt’s disappointing finishes marked a complete reversal of their positions in the polls as late as last month. Momentum by Kerry and Edwards going into Monday’s contest also trumped Dean’s and Gephardt’s perceived organizational advantages” (Beaumont, January 20, 2004). And just as surprising as the caucus’ actual vote tallies, was the rally cry Howard Dean delivered to his supporters the evening of the Iowa caucus. His post-caucus concession speech was played repeatedly on television stations and described by *The Washington Post* as a “red-faced outburst” (Vandehei, 2004). After Iowa, Dean continued to have a core group of supporters, but his poll numbers slowly diminished and he eventually withdrew from the Presidential race without having won a single Presidential primary contest.

In researching the news frames used in articles about Howard Dean, I have attempted to gain a better understanding of this surprising turn of events. The purpose of this thesis was to examine the news frames used in newspaper articles about Howard Dean before and after the 2004 Iowa caucus to answer the following research questions: (1) What news frames were used in articles about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (2) Was there a change in the way the newspapers framed stories about Howard Dean before and after the Iowa caucus? (3) Which of Howard Dean’s professional and personal qualifications were highlighted in these articles?

The research showed that the primary news frame used in newspaper articles about Howard Dean was the *conflict* frame. This is in keeping with Larry Bartels (1988) theory that the modern news media tend to cover stories about political candidates as if it were a horse race where competition and winners and losers are the main story lines (p. 31). Many of the articles in the conflict frame also reported on the latest poll numbers, but the poll results were usually not the sole focus of each article. The second most common news frame used was the *human interest* frame and the third most common news frame was the *attribution of responsibility* frame. Very few articles used either the *morality/values* frame or the *economic consequences* frame.

The frames were highly similar across newspapers, and despite Dean's surprising third-place finish in the Iowa caucus, there was very little change in the way these newspapers framed stories about him before and after the caucus. A change could be seen, though, in the amount of coverage and in the personal and professional qualifications that were highlighted in the articles before and after the caucus.

Total coverage of Howard Dean in all four newspapers peaked in frequency during the weeks directly preceding the Iowa caucus, and then slowly decreased in February after his loss in Iowa and subsequent losses in other political primaries. According to Larry Bartels' theory of horse-race reporting, candidates who are winning receive the majority of media coverage (1988, p. 33). I did not correlate weekly poll numbers with the newspaper coverage in my research; however, given Larry Bartels' theory, it would be interesting to research whether Dean's poll numbers were highest in the same weeks that newspaper coverage was also the highest. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if the newspaper coverage of John Kerry increased as a result of his first-place finish in Iowa while the newspaper coverage of Howard Dean was decreasing.

A decrease in newspaper coverage of Howard Dean after the Iowa caucus was immediately seen in each newspaper except the *Los Angeles Times*, which continued its thorough coverage of Howard Dean longer than the other papers did. In fact, coverage of Howard Dean was more thorough in the *Los Angeles Times* during the entire three months studied than in each of the other newspapers. The *Los Angeles Times* had over twenty different reporters covering Howard Dean and there were 151 A-section news articles about Howard Dean in the *Los Angeles Times* from November 19, 2003 to February 19, 2004 compared to only 120 articles in *The Washington Post*, 95 articles in *The New York Times*, and 37 articles in the *Des Moines Register* during the same time period. In particular, the *Los Angeles Times* had many more articles about campaign contributions and fund-raising than the other three papers. Most of these articles were in the *economic consequences* category, and this was the only newspaper out of the four where the *economic consequences* frame was used in more than 10% of the newspaper's articles.

There were three personal and professional qualities mentioned frequently about Howard Dean in the news articles: mobilizes public support, inconsistent, and unrestrained. Interestingly, very few of the articles mentioned whether Howard Dean had foreign affairs or domestic affairs ability, signifying a lack of information about whether Howard Dean was actually qualified to be President. This supports Doris Graber's research which showed that the media tend to focus on the personal qualities of candidates in lieu of giving the public information about a candidate's political philosophies or executive abilities (Graber, 1976, p. 288). An opportunity for future research would be to look at the personal and professional qualities highlighted in the editorial articles about Howard Dean to see if they contained additional information about his domestic and foreign affairs ability that was not captured in the news articles.

Howard Dean's quality of being unrestrained was mentioned most frequently in the week immediately following the Iowa caucus, which was likely the result of his post-caucus speech that became known as the "scream speech." It is a little bit more difficult to point to one event that led to the newspapers' assertion that Howard Dean was inconsistent, however, a series of missteps including inconsistent statements in early January probably contributed to a loss in Howard Dean's campaign momentum. In fact, the loss of momentum may have occurred as early as December, 2003, when the United States military forces in Iraq captured Saddam Hussein. Howard Dean was openly opposed to the war in Iraq, a stance that many of his supporters found appealing, but after the capture of Saddam Hussein, Howard Dean was widely criticized by his opponents for saying that America was not any safer at home or abroad with Saddam in captivity (Beaumont, 2003). Thomas Beaumont reported on the front page of the *Des Moines Register* on December 17, 2003, "Kerry stepped up his attack on Dean Tuesday, arguing the former Vermont governor is unfit to be president because he dismissed Saddam's capture Saturday as unlikely to improve US safety. 'Those who believe today that we are not safer with his capture don't have the judgment to be president or the credibility to be president of the United States,' Kerry said" (Beaumont, 2003).

In the end, it turned out that voters agreed with Kerry and Howard Dean was not the man chosen to be the Democratic nominee for President. However, this does not mean that Howard Dean was forgotten. His legacy from the 2004 Democratic presidential race will most likely be his ability to mobilize public support. Almost one of every three articles from January 5, 2004, to January 27, 2004, mentioned this quality, and it was reflected in the record-breaking \$50 million he gathered in campaign contributions and in his more than 600,000 core supporters (Finer, 2004). On February 8, 2004, Mike Williams of the *Atlanta-Journal Constitution* wrote of

Howard Dean, “A virtual no-name on the national stage just a year ago, he turned the political world upside down in a matter of months, an insurgent who attracted a legion of hard-core supporters motivated by a passion not seen in politics since the 1970s. He also revolutionized the nuts and bolts of presidential campaigning with a free-form, Internet-based operation that generated money and enthusiasm” (p. A1).

It was clear from the number of articles about Howard Dean that *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Des Moines Register* shared the public’s interest in what Howard Dean brought to Iowa’s political landscape in 2004. The newspapers framed stories about him primarily in terms of conflict. In doing so, they also highlighted his inconsistencies, his unrestrained demeanor, but most importantly, his ability to inspire and motivate supporters.

Appendix A – Coding Sheet

Initials of coder: _____

Article number: _____

Date of coding (example: mm/dd/yy): ____/____/____

Newspaper:

- Washington Post
 New York Times

- Los Angeles Times
 Des Moines Register

Date of newspaper (example: mm/dd/yy): ____/____/____

Title of article: _____

Location of beginning of article (check one):

- Front page (A1)
 Not front page (page other than A1)

Author of article (check one):

- Wire service (example: Associated Press, Reuters)
 Newspaper Staff (example: Tom Smith)

I. Framing Questions

(Please read the entire article and then answer questions 1-5 based on what you perceive to be the predominant frame in the story. Check either “yes” or “no” for each question. Keep in mind that you must check “yes” to one of the first five questions.)

1. Is the predominant frame of this article the **attribution of responsibility frame**? yes no

Check yes if:

- The story suggests that Howard Dean has the ability to alleviate or has a solution for a problem.
- The story suggests that Howard Dean is responsible for an issue/problem.

If you checked yes for Question 1, proceed to Question 6.

If you checked no for Question 1, proceed to Question 2.

2. Is the predominant frame of this article the **human interest frame**? yes no

Check yes if:

- The story uses Howard Dean to provide a human example or put a “human face” on the issue.
- The story employs adjectives, visuals, or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion towards Howard Dean.
- The story goes into the private or personal life of Howard Dean.

- The story emphasizes how Howard Dean is personally affected by an issue or problem.

If you checked yes for Question 2, proceed to Question 6.
If you checked no for Question 2, proceed to Question 3.

3. Is the predominant frame of this article the **conflict frame**? yes no

Check yes if:

- The story reflects disagreement between Howard Dean and another political candidate.
- The story refers to two or more sides of a problem or issue.
- The story refers to winners and losers.

If you checked yes for Question 3, proceed to Question 6.
If you checked no for Question 3, proceed to Question 4.

4. Is the predominant frame of this article the **morality (values) frame**? yes no

Check yes if:

- The story contains an ethical or moral message.
- The story makes reference to morality, God, or other religious tenets.
- The story offers specific ethical prescriptions for what Howard Dean should do (*for example*: A story stating that Howard Dean should support a pro-life stance is offering a specific ethical prescription).

If you checked yes for Question 4, proceed to Question 6.
If you checked no for Question 4, proceed to Question 5.

5. Is the predominant frame of this article the **economic consequences frame**? yes no

Check yes if:

- The story mentions financial losses or gains.
- The story mentions the costs/degree of expenses involved.
- There is a reference to economic consequences if Howard Dean pursues or does not pursue a particular course of action.

Please verify that you checked yes to one of the first five questions. After you have verified that you have checked yes to one of the first five questions, please proceed to Question 6. (If you did not check yes to one of the five questions, please proceed back to Question 1 and review your answers. You must check yes to one of the first five questions.)

II. Personal and Professional Characteristics

6. Please re-read the article and check the appropriate boxes according to what personal or professional qualities the story mentioned about Howard Dean. NOTE: If the article did not discuss a particular quality listed in the table, leave the row blank (do not check any boxes).

- Checking “positive” means that the article stated that Howard Dean has this quality.
- Checking “negative” means that the article stated that Howard Dean does not have this quality.
- Checking “normative” means that the article stated that Howard Dean should have this quality.

| Qualities | Positive <i>Howard Dean has this quality</i> | Negative <i>Howard Dean does not have this quality</i> | Normative <i>Howard Dean should have this quality</i> |
|--------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Professional Image | | | |
| Inspirational | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Competent administrator | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Versatile executive | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nation unifier | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Peacemaker | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Is consistent | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Personality traits | | | |
| Trustworthy | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Compassionate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Man of principle | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Charismatic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Projects leadership | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Style | | | |
| Restrained | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Forthright | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Strong | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Capacities | | | |
| Domestic affairs ability | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Foreign affairs ability | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Relations with public | | | |
| Communicates with constituents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Keeps public informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mobilizes public support | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listens | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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