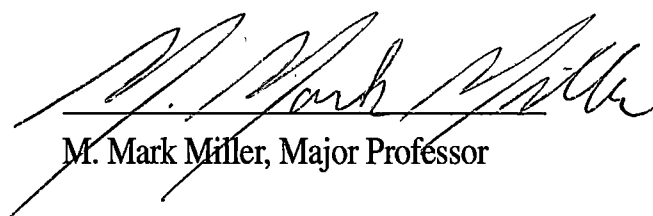


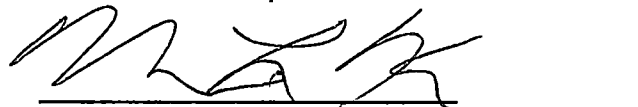
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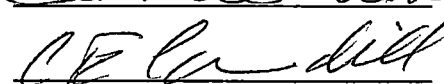


M. Mark Miller, Major Professor

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Interim Vice Provost and
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**The Impact of Interest Group and News Media
Framing on Public Opinion:
The Rise and Fall of the
Clinton Health Care Plan**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jennifer Campbell Koella
August 2001

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents.



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ABSTRACT

The obvious importance of how the news media frame issues and how news frames are influenced has made framing theory a fast growing area of communications research. The call for more framing research by communications scholars led to this study's examination of how an issue is framed by the news media, the impact that sources have on determining the news frame, and the possible influence of news frames on public opinion and policymaking.

The frame analysis performed in this study examines the effects of framing on the debate of the complex policy issue of former President Clinton's health care reform plan. The influence of an interest group's frame is analyzed as it travels from the interest group (stakeholder) to the news media to the public and to policymakers. The framing effects are also examined across the debate over Clinton's health care plan from its beginning to its end. The analysis covered the time from Clinton's inauguration and his immediate appointment of the Task Force for Health Care Reform to the announcement of the death of the health care reform bill in Congress.

This study employs the relatively new quantitative method of Frame Mapping which provides more accurate and more objective means for identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in context. Frame Mapping improves the researcher's ability to analyze stakeholders' frames and news frames in context and to measure the influence of stakeholders' frames on news frames. This study also incorporates a classical rhetorical analysis that is used to analyze stakeholders' frames and news frames in context.

In the process of analyzing the dynamics of stakeholders' frames and news frames, the researcher attempted to bring frame researchers closer to two important goals—to employ more reliable methods for identifying, measuring, and comparing news frames in context and to provide reasons why news frames shift across time. The process of analyzing the span of framing effects outlined in this study required several significant steps:

1. Stakeholders' frames had to be identified, measured, and compared by locating significant key terms in the context of stakeholders' news releases.
2. From the need for more reliable means of identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in texts, Frame Mapping, a quantitative method for frame analysis, was employed.
3. The influence of stakeholders' frames on news frames had to be determined by locating stakeholders' key terms in the context of newspaper stories.
4. The influence of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion had to be determined by comparing the trends in news frames to the trends in public opinion polls.
5. The impact of rhetorical attributes found in news releases on the success of gaining news coverage had to be determined.

The results of the stakeholder frame analysis supported the hypotheses in that Frame Mapping successfully identified, measured, and compared stakeholders' key terms in news releases. The key terms identified by the Frame Mapping method proved to be significant representations of the frames put forth by the various stakeholders.

The results of the news frame analysis supported the two main, general hypotheses that stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspaper stories across time and that news frames shift across time. Stakeholders' key terms were used by journalists in the discussions of health care reform, suggesting that stakeholders' frames were manifested in

news stories. Also, the news coverage of five of six frames either significantly increased or decreased from phase one to phase two, demonstrating that news frames shift across time.

Also, the trends in news coverage of stakeholders' frames were expected to follow the trends in public opinion. Public support for Clinton's plan decreased across time, so the trends in newspaper coverage of the favoring frames were expected to decrease. Similarly, public opposition to Clinton's plan increased across time, so the trends in newspaper coverage of opposing frames were expected to increase. However, the results of these specific hypotheses tests were inconclusive. Only two of three favoring frames significantly decreased across time, and only one of the three opposing frames significantly increased across time.

The results of the analysis of the influence of news frames on public opinion were expected to show significant, positive relationships between trends in news coverage of favoring frames and in favoring public opinion. Similarly, significant, positive relationships between trends in news coverage of opposing frames and in opposing public opinion were expected. The results of the analysis were inconclusive. Only two of the three favoring frames were positively correlated with the trends in public support, while only one of the three opposing frames was positively correlated with the trend in public opposition.

The results of the rhetorical analysis were expected to show how the situation, the writer, audience, and arguments contributed to the success of a stakeholder receiving news coverage of its position.

The results showed that the situation had a great impact on whether a frame was accurately portrayed in the media and whether the stakeholder was associated with that frame. For example, some stakeholders were placed at an advantage over others by being central to a debate, resulting in their frame being represented more accurately and more often by the news media.

The contributions of the writer as a source also proved to be important. In many cases, the only time that a stakeholder's frame was mentioned in a news story was when the stakeholder was used as a source.

The importance of being able to meet the needs of the audience of journalists was illustrated by the inability of some stakeholders to provide informative news releases. These groups did not provide journalists with the information that they could use, which may have contributed to journalists not incorporating the stakeholders' frames into news stories.

Most of the frames as messages were well-structured and delivered in a logical and well-organized manner. One of the most interesting results from this analysis was the ability of a single phrase or word to set the grounds for how an issue would be discussed in the newspaper stories.

Overall, this dissertation offered several methodological and substantive contributions to framing research. By looking at the effects of framing across communications and across time, this study showed how stakeholders' frames can affect how a policy issue is reported by the media, how the issue is received by the public, and how the frames can be incorporated into Congressional debates. Also, this study shows the

importance of pursuing quantitative frame analysis. Frame Mapping methods that employ VBPro's concept mapping programs allow the researcher to identify, measure, and directly compare the frames used by competing stakeholders.

This study also showed the importance of combining the quantitative methods of Frame Mapping and the qualitative methods of a rhetorical analysis. The combination of these methods proved to be beneficial in identifying multiple frames and revealing the importance of their interactions.

The quantitative methods of Frame Mapping proved to be reliable, and the rhetorical analysis confirmed its accuracy. Also, the inclusion of a rhetorical analysis led to several important observations on how multiple frames operate in mass communication. The combination of these methods offered a better understanding of why the salience of a stakeholder's frame can rise and fall and why news frames shift across time.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Because of the importance of how the media frame issues, framing theory has become a fast growing area of communications research. The frame analysis performed in this study examines the complete span of framing effects on the debate of the complex policy issue of former President Clinton's health care reform plan. The scope of the frame analysis is relatively complete in two ways. First, the influence of an interest group's frame is analyzed as its influence travels from the interest group to the news media to the public and to policymakers. Pan and Kosicki summarize the observations of several researchers (McLeod, Kosicki, & Pan, 1991; Neuman, 1989) of the importance of communications research that looks at the influences on and by news media:

One nagging problem for research in these areas has been how to convincingly link news text to both production and consumption processes. (p. 55)

The second span of framing effects covers the debate over Clinton's plan to reform the health care system from beginning to end. The analysis of the debate spans the time from Clinton's inauguration on January 20, 1993, and his immediate appointment of the Task Force for Health Care Reform, to the official announcement of the bill's death in Congress on September 26, 1994.

The importance of frame analysis is well documented.¹ For example, in "Toward an Old New Paradigm," Beniger discusses the future of mass communications research and the shift in research trends toward framing:

This shift is perhaps most succinctly summarized as a change in dependent variables from attitudes to cognitions, as a shift in independent variables from persuasive communication to the less directed media process ranging from "framing" through discourse to the social cognition of reality. (p. S52-S53)

In addition to Beniger, mass communications researchers have noted the growing importance of framing research. Tilly comments on the value of framing research as a way of measuring the bounds that determine how issues are discussed:

The most innovative writing of recent years has concerned the framing and reframing of public issues as both a product of and a limit on debate and decision-making. (in Beniger, p. S53)

In addition to the general importance of framing research, several researchers have called particular attention to two areas of frame analysis. First, frame researchers have criticized the majority of qualitative frame analyses for being too subjective and for offering methods that are unreliable (Gamson, 1986; Miller, 1997; Reese, 1997; Riechert, 1996; Tankard et al., 1991). This study employs the relatively new quantitative method of Frame Mapping, which provides more accurate and more objective means for identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in context.² Frame Mapping improves the researcher's ability to analyze interest groups' frames and news frames in context and to measure the influence of interest groups' frames on news frames.

1. For a more extensive review of support for frame analysis, please see "Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Development."

2. Qualitative and quantitative frame analyses are offered in greater detail in "Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Development."

The second area of analysis of great interest to frame researchers is why news frames shift across time, and why different frames dominate news coverage at different times (Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1986; Tilly, in Beniger, 1987). More specifically, why does one of many competing interest groups' frames rise to dominate the news coverage of a policy issue, and why does a competing interest group's frame eventually ascend to overtake the dominant position? This study attempts to shed light on the reasons why news frames shift their coverage among competing interest groups' frames by looking at how interest groups frame their positions on a policy issue and how interest groups' frames are manifested in news frames. This study also incorporates a classical rhetorical analysis that is used to analyze interest groups' frames and news frames in context. If the reasons for the shift in news frames lies in the textual content, then traditional rhetorical analysis offers the best means for examining the texts because rhetorical analysis is "the study and practice of shaping content" (Covino & Joliffe, p. 4).

As stated above, the policy issue used to perform the frame analysis is former President Clinton's plan for health care reform. This issue of health care reform is ideal for analyzing the range of framing effects outlined in this study. First, the debate over health care reform was covered extensively from beginning to end by the news media, making a large number of news articles available for analysis. Second, there were many interest groups actively participating in the debate by distributing news releases, making a large number of news releases available for analysis. Third, numerous polls gauging the public's opinion toward Clinton's plan for health care reform were taken. In addition, the polls

span across most of the time period for this study. In summary, Clinton's plan for health care reform was

- a controversial policy issue that prompted the involvement of many interest groups,
- a policy issue that would affect most, if not all, Americans and would be of particular interest to the public,
- an issue that received an unprecedented amount of media coverage during the time period of this study,
- a new, complex issue that would have heightened the impact of news frames on public opinion, and
- an issue that had a relatively brief life span that could be analyzed from beginning to end.

In addition to offering a policy issue for frame analysis, Clinton's plan for health care reform is in itself an interesting case study in why policy issues fail. The rapid drop in public support and the swift death of Clinton's bill have raised many questions as to what went wrong. Two studies are of particular interest to communications research. One study looks at the influence of the opposing interest groups' ad campaign on public opinion (West, et al., 1996); another looks at the direct influence of the political elites on public opinion (Koch, 1998). These studies were unable to produce significant results. Both studies, however, do mention the effect that the news media must have had on this debate. They also suggest the probable influence of interest groups on news media, as interest groups fought over the terms used to define the debate (West., et al.1996; Koch, 1998). If news coverage did play an important role in the death of Clinton's National Health Security Act, then this study's frame analysis of news coverage may also shed light on some of the reasons why Clinton's plan failed.

The purpose of this study is to add to methodological and substantive contributions to frame research in mass communications. This dissertation looks at the policy issue of health care reform and how this issue propelled certain interest groups to become involved in defining what health care reform would mean to the American people. The impact of framing on the flow of information from interest groups and news media to the public and policymakers is of greatest interest. In the process of analyzing the dynamics of interest groups' frames and news frames, the researcher hopes to bring frame researchers closer to two important goals—to employ more reliable methods for identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in context and to provide reasons why news frames shift across time.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter provides a review of the literature of frame analysis and its place in and contribution to communications research. Included in this discussion are descriptions of how frames are defined and identified; how frames are manifested in source and news media communications; how frames are created by sources and news media; and how those frames affect public opinion. Also, current methods for frame analysis and those methods used in this study are described. Finally, the issue of former President Clinton's plan for health care reform and its attributes as a means for studying framing is discussed.

FRAMING

Framing is a topic of research pursued in several fields, such as psychology, sociology, political science, and mass communications. The concept of frames and framing is similar across all of these disciplines, with varying emphasis on different stages of the communication process. In its simplest sense, framing is something we do when we tell someone a story or explain an event or phenomenon. We select what information to include, to emphasize, and to omit. When we sift through all the available information, we often choose information that represents our perception of what is at issue, and what we think is important or interesting. It is this selection and salience that drives framing—what we choose to say, what we choose to emphasize, and what we choose to omit. Entman elaborates on framing as selection and salience by stating that “to frame is to select some

aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context” (1993, p. 52). Framing also provides a story line by putting facts into context: “A story selects different features and relations that become the ‘things’ of the story—what the story is about” (Schon & Rein, p. 26).

EARLY INFLUENCES ON FRAME ANALYSIS

Frame analysis is a relatively young field, which began with Goffman’s seminal work *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974). In this work, Goffman describes framing as the means by which people organize their experiences (p. 11). Frame analysis was first pursued in psychology and sociology. In psychology, the emphasis of frame analysis concerns the effects of framing on the perception of an issue by an individual, while sociology emphasizes the framing of information as pertains to societal and cultural influences. Iyengar and Simon offer a summary of these two fields’ concepts of framing:

Psychologists typically define framing as changes in judgment engendered by alterations to the definition of judgment or choice problems. . . . The sociological perspective of framing . . . tends to focus on the use of story lines, symbols, and stereotypes in media presentations. (p. 369)

It was not long before the concept of framing was being used to describe mass communications. Tuchman, one of the first researchers to look at framing and the media, explains that “framing implies identifying some items as facts, not others” (1976b, p. 1066), and that framing in news stories offers the public “definitions of social reality” (1976a, p. 94).

The framing research conducted in the fields of psychology and sociology had an impact on the way communications researchers conceptualize framing. The study of framing in the field of communications includes both psychological and sociological concepts—the audience's perception and the presentation of information by sources and by the media: “News frames exist at two levels: as mentally stored principles for information processing and as characteristics of the news text” (Entman, 1991, p. 7).

FRAMING AND COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

Communications researchers describe framing as an essential process of creating news:

Facts have no intrinsic meaning. They take on their meaning by being embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others. Think of news as telling stories about the world rather than as presenting “information,” even though the stories, of course, include factual elements. (Gamson, 1989, p. 157)

Because of the importance researchers place on framing as a function of creating news, frame analysis has become an important addition to communications research. Some researchers even describe frame analysis as a way to improve communications research in general, because framing focuses on what other means of analysis have not—context. Researchers claim that past studies of media content often ignore the importance of context:

Content is shaped by context and is polysemic. Social scientists must therefore develop new theories to cope with the complexities of the concepts of content and meaning. (Graber, p. 145)

Some researchers see frame analysis as the new theory that can address the complexities of content. Entman expresses the need for more attention to content and context by requiring that "more content analysis explicitly information by theories of framing and of information processing should be on the research agenda" (1991, p. 25).

AGENDA-SETTING

Researchers see framing not only as a welcome addition to mass media research, but also as a possible improvement to existing forms of research. Framing has been suggested as an extension of agenda-setting. Agenda-setting theory is based on the idea that the emphasis placed on issues by the news media, such as page placement of stories in newspapers, affects the level of importance an individual attaches to the issue (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Williams et al. state that framing's emphasis on content and context would improve the accuracy of agenda-setting studies. They claim that a great amount of the variability in agenda-setting studies since 1972 could be explained by not having considered context variables (1991). Not only would an emphasis on content and context be added to agenda-setting, but frame analysis would also provide a closer look at how an issue is framed across time:

The crucial advance from the agenda-setting research is that framing analysis examines the diversity and fluidity in how issues are conceptualized and consequently allows for more fruitful analysis of the conceptual evolution of policy issues. (Pan & Kosicki, p. 70)

Not only does framing add to agenda-setting methodology, but some suggest that framing can also broaden the conceptual boundaries of agenda-setting. Tankard et al. conclude that research suggests expanding the agenda-setting theory to include framing, because

agenda-setting tells us what to think about and framing tells us how to think about it (1991).

By providing communications researchers with the tools to evaluate the context of news more closely, framing is gaining appeal as an important communications theory:

Framing seems destined to take its place alongside phenomena such as priming and agenda-setting that have emerged from modern research on mass media influence. (Nelson et al., p. 239)

In communications research, framing may soon rank among some of the more important theories in mass communications:

FRAMING AND MASS MEDIA

This dissertation explores the roles of interest groups, news media, and public opinion in influencing the policymaking process. More specifically, this dissertation looks at the policy issue of health care reform and how this issue propelled certain interest groups to become involved in defining what health care reform would mean to the American people. The impact of framing on the flow of information from interest groups and news media to public opinion and policymakers is of greatest interest.

In mass communication, framing functions differently for source (e.g., interest group), reporter, editor, public, and policymakers. The sources frame issues deliberately to reflect the views of the group or organization (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Reporters and editors frame issues based on news values (Gamson, 1989; Iyengar & Simon, 1993). However, the reporters, and subsequently the editors, can be influenced by the sources' frames (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Ultimately, the framing of information by sources and by news media impacts the way the public frame issues:

- People are not passive receivers of the news media or other messages. People actively construct their pictures of reality, but they are constrained by the information available to them from the mass media and other sources. (McCombs, et al., p. 12)

By framing issues, sources and news media give the audience a means of organization for the subject being described. The audience often use source and news media frames of policy issues to form their opinion:

Framing is a ubiquitous feature of political discourse, but it is something else as well. Because frames permeate public discussions of politics, they in effect teach ordinary citizens how to think about and understand complex social policy problems. When frames suggest what the essence of an issue is, they provide a kind of mental recipe for preparing an opinion. (Nelson & Kinder, p. 1058)

For example, in this study, the policy issue of health care reform can be framed by some "as help for the working poor; others will interpret it primarily as an unwelcome intrusion of government upon private affairs; still others will see it mainly as a solution to their own family's health care needs" (Nelson & Kinder, p. 1057).

SOURCE FRAMES AND NEWS MEDIA

In this study, sources are defined as interest groups that would benefit from a certain outcome from the policy debate over health care reform. One of the ways that interest groups try to affect policymaking is garnering public support by having their views reflected in the news media. Interest groups realize the power the news media have in presenting sources' views on policy issues:

Whatever the form of media relations or management, groups consider media representation an important source of political influence—the mass media are at least perceived as being central in the decision-making process. (Danielian, p. 67)

Interest groups know that the news media play an important part in getting their message to the public and ultimately affecting policy debate. Interest groups realize that they “cannot simply rely on their own distribution of reports to policymakers and opinion leaders. The success of their efforts also depends on how much news coverage they can get” (McCombs, et al., p. 99). Researchers have found that interest groups can be successful in influencing news media, which means influencing the public:

An increasingly important influence on the media agenda, and thus indirectly on the public agenda, is the work of various interest groups—not only to raise the salience of certain issues, but also to gain attention in the media for facts that support their side of the controversy. (McCombs, et al., p. 98)

By influencing the “media’s agenda” and by raising “the salience of certain issues,” interest groups can affect how the news media frame the issue. Danielian argues that the interest groups impact the way issues are presented in the news and stresses the importance of their ability to “control how issues are presented” (p. 66). He also notes the impact interest groups can have on policy debates: The “review of interest group politics” is “a research domain that is central to the analysis of policymaking” (Danielian, p. 63).

NEWS FRAMES AND THE PUBLIC

The news media are not only a key element in disseminating the views of sources, but they are also key in the public’s comprehension of the issues. When a policy issue debate begins, the influence of the news media frame can affect “the balance of considerations that individuals weigh when contemplating political issues” (Nelson et al., p. 235). This is especially true when the media introduce unfamiliar or complex issues, such as public policy. When an audience has no experience with an issue, the frame will

have a greater impact in organizing the issue for the audience (Graber, 1988; Williams, et al., 1991). Also, the information distributed by the media is often the audience's only source for mentally framing many issues (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), and can "encourage certain kinds of audience processing of the texts" (Pan & Kosicki, p. 56).

The importance of the influential relationships among sources, news media, and the public is that they can affect the policymaking processes on important issues. The policymakers watch public opinion closely and "will not ignore the opinions held by private persons" (Danielian, p. 68). As shown above, public opinion is affected by how news media and sources frame issues. By emphasizing what is important about an issue, "both the mass media and organized interest groups have the potential, depending on their status, for wielding such power in defining the range of discussion on issues" (Danielian, p. 68).

FRAMING DEFINED

In this study, framing functions as the action of choosing to include, emphasize, or omit particular facts when describing an issue. To frame is to create a context, whether the context is being sent or received. For example, news media create context for an issue when developing a news story. Then, the public read the news story and use the news frame to create, reenforce, or change the way they think about the issue. In this study, a frame is also described as the context that results from the act of framing. For example, once the news story is printed, the text houses the news frame for that story. Likewise, an audience can have frames in their minds, which provide the context needed to organize and understand the issue.

In this study, one of the most important tasks is to identify the frames created by interest groups (stakeholders) to represent their positions on the issue of health care reform. Therefore, this study's definition of a "frame" is centered around the ability to identify stakeholders' frames in news releases and newspaper stories. A frame is defined as *consisting of key terms that are easily associated with a stakeholder and that create a meaningful, coherent representation of a stakeholder's position on an issue*. In the sections that follow, the concept of key terms is described, as well as how their association and meaning in context create a frame. Then, stakeholders are defined, and their role in the process of framing policy issues is described.

KEY TERMS

A frame consists of pieces of information that become what the story is about (or *not* about). Entman describes a frame as "manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words" (1993, p. 52), and that a researcher can detect frames by "probing" for these "particular words" (1991, p. 7). Sources, news media, and the public use key terms and their meaning to construct frames that will be used to define what is important about an issue. For example, in a study on how the debate over endangered species was played out in television news media, Smith listed the key words and phrases used by competing interest groups to frame the issue of the environment for endangered species (1997). Some of the key terms used repeatedly by environmentalists were "land, endangered, environmental, and extinction," while some of the key terms used by businesses were "timber, jobs, and industry" (p. 160). It is easy to see the focus of the competing arguments—preservation of the land vs. growth of industry. However, these key terms

alone are not the frame. It is how these terms are defined and associated in context that give them meaning.

Each set of key terms is a list of what the interest groups view as important about an issue. How these terms are used together in context tells the audience why these items are important. In the example above, "land" is important to one group, while "industry" is important to the other. Smith shows that in context, environmentalists are arguing for the prevention of extinction of endangered species by preserving the land and their environment, while businesses are arguing that gathering timber is an industry that provides jobs. Obviously, each group is using a completely different set of key words and phrases to describe what is important about the issue: environmentalists want to preserve our environment, while businesses want to provide people with jobs. To make these arguments, each group must choose the key terms that will help express its views, and each must use those terms to create a persuasive argument for the news media and the public.

COMPETING INTEREST GROUPS AND DIFFERING KEY TERMS

As explained above, not only does each interest group use key terms to create frames, but they use *different* key terms. This difference is important when identifying competing frames in texts, such as press releases or newspaper stories. Because competing interest groups tend to use different key terms, frames can be easily attributed to the appropriate interest group. From the example above, Smith shows that environmentalists are easily identified with their position on the state of the environment for endangered species, and this position is not easily confused with the opposing position of businesses.

Miller argues that it is important for a frame to be “unambiguously attributable” to the group generating it (Miller, p. 367). Unambiguous association of the frame with its stakeholder is important methodologically to allow the researcher to objectively ascertain frames. Also, by clear attribution, the researcher can track the ability of the stakeholder to promote its frame across texts.

The use of different sets of key terms by interest groups has also been documented by Miller and Riechert: “We have established that contentious stakeholders do indeed use different vocabularies to describe or frame issues” (1997, p. 5). They found this to be consistent with Entman’s “assertion that frames can be ‘detected by probing for particular words’ that appear consistently in text to ‘convey thematically consonate meanings across media and time’” (in Miller & Riechert, 1997, p. 5). The reason for the distinction between competing interest groups’ frames probably stems from the very nature of their opposition. They have different views of what is at issue, resulting in an inevitable selection of different key words and phrases:

We see policy controversies as disputes in which the contending parties hold conflicting frames. . . . The frames they sponsor are in conflict, in the sense that they represent mutually incompatible ways of seeing the policy situation. (Schon & Rein, pp. 23-29)

In this study, key terms are defined as the words and phrases used the most frequently, consistently, and most exclusively by a stakeholder to present its position on an issue. Key terms that are used frequently and consistently often indicate meaningful significance, as noted by Luhn (1958/1968):

The justification of measuring word significance by use-frequency is based on the fact that a writer normally repeats certain words as he advances or varies his arguments and as he elaborates on an aspect of a

subject. This means of emphasis is taken as an indication of significance. The more often certain words are found in each other's company within a sentence, the more significance may be attributed to each of these words. (in Riechert, p. 85)

In addition to providing the most significant terms, the words and phrases that are used frequently and consistently will help ensure that the frame maintains a consistent meaning across texts. Also, if the same key terms are used frequently, consistently, and most exclusively by stakeholders, then the frame will be unambiguously attributable to that stakeholder.

STAKEHOLDERS

Social reform movements are closely related to the organized movements of interest groups (Greer, 1949). In this analysis, the various interest groups involved in a policy issue that have a vested interest in how that issue is resolved are *stakeholders*. In addition to having a vested interest in an issue, stakeholders must have distributed information to the news media via news releases. Stakeholders must be motivated sources actively seeking to influence news frames. As described by Funkhouser, motivated news sources can create news by drawing attention to the issue at hand:

Rather than mirroring realities of the times, the media seem to have attended to persons or agencies with the ability and motivation to call attention to particular issues by creating "news" (Funkhouser, p. 73).

If a stakeholder calls attention to an issue and the media respond, then the issue will receive coverage, and the stakeholder's frame may appear in the news story.

It is important to note that most frame analyses deal with groups of like-minded stakeholders. For example, an analysis looking at stakeholders' strategies used during the debate over wetland development was conducted by Riechert and Miller (1997). In this

study, they identify two major groups of stakeholders—property owner advocates and conservation advocates. Each of these two major groups of stakeholders is made up of several like-minded stakeholders. Property owners might be made up of companies and industries wanting to build new facilities. Conservation advocates might be made up of farmers, conservationists, and environmentalists.

Contentious Stakeholders

When a policy issue is being debated in the news media, there will be several stakeholders or groups of like-minded stakeholders fighting to control the news frame:

In a policy controversy, . . . two or more parties contend with one another over the definition of problematic policy situations and vie for control of the policy-making process. (Schon & Rein, p. 29)

Contentious stakeholders not only compete with one another to influence the news frame, but they also compete with journalists and editors. The news media frame is constructed by sources, reporters, and editors (Gamson, 1989). A single news story can house some or all of these competing frames (Gamson, 1989). Sources' frames compete with other sources' frames, and reporters' frames compete with all sources' frames. For a source, having its frame emerge dominant over all the competing frames in the media adds legitimacy to the frame, because the "frame in news text is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (Entman, 1993, p. 55). Not only is legitimacy added to the frame in news texts, but also the initial frame adopted by the media may determine how the issue will be framed in the future (Gitlin, 1980).

The process of contentious stakeholders competing for news coverage has been addressed by several researchers and is of particular interest to this study for two reasons. First, this study analyzes the communications distributed by contentious stakeholders that are competing to define what is important about health care reform. Second, the researchers analyzing contentious stakeholders employ the method of Frame Mapping, the method of analysis used in this study.¹

A body of work by M. Mark Miller and other researchers examines the appearance of competing stakeholders' frames in news media using Frame Mapping methods, which employ computer-assisted concept mapping procedures. Some of this research includes the reframing of media coverage of women's health (Andsager & Powers, 1998); the interaction of interest group strategies and journalistic norms on how the news media frame environmental issues (Miller & Riechert, 1997); framing of wetlands across three presidential administrations (Riechert & Miller, 1997); and the visual and verbal framing of issues in television news coverage of endangered species (Smith, 1997).

CONTENTIOUS STAKEHOLDERS AND NEWS FRAME DYNAMICS

The media often provide the arena where controversial policy issues are debated and where contentious stakeholders compete for the limited space and time that media offer. News media cannot represent all possible views, so journalists must frame the issue by selecting, emphasizing, and omitting information:

1. Frame Mapping is explained in greater detail in the Methodology section of this chapter and in "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames."

Mass Media coverage of political issues is necessarily selective. Not all sources can be quoted, all angles explored, or all relevant facts cited. The media depend upon frames to help organize and lend coherence to relatively brief treatments of complex subjects. (Nelson, et al., p. 237)

Contentious stakeholders make their play for power by trying to manipulate news frames. As stakeholders compete for news coverage, the news media can shift their attention from one stakeholder's viewpoint to another. News frames do not remain static. Issues "surge and decline," as do the "social concerns" and "focal points" of attention by the media and by the public (Behr & Iyengar, p. 28). As a debate proceeds, the news frame focuses on the latest topic of interest, causing one frame to become the central concern while other frames take more peripheral roles. Researchers have recognized that the shift in focus of news frames is an area of research that requires attention. Gamson explains that "the problem becomes one of explaining the relative prominence of given news frames and how this ebbs and flows over time" (p. 160).

Dominant and Peripheral Frame Dynamics

Because media interests and news frames "ebb and flow over time," news frames inherently emphasize one stakeholder's frame at one point in time, and then shift focus to a different stakeholder's frame. Even though one frame may receive more coverage, other peripheral frames are still present in news text (Gamson, 1989). A stakeholder frame that is peripheral can easily replace a current, more dominant frame if the focus of the policy issue shifts. For example, in a study conducted by Riechert and Miller, the researchers found that in the beginning of the debate over the preservation of wetlands, the conservationist's frame dominated news coverage. Then, when President George Bush announced his intent to preserve wetlands, the news shifted its interest to those groups

opposing the President's intent. The news frame was then being dominated by the property owners and the businesses (1997).

The dynamic nature of news frames occurs as a policy issue is being framed and reframed across time. The shift in how an issue is being defined can affect how the debate plays out in public discussion and in the policymaking process. The importance of researching this phenomenon is noted by Tilly:

The most innovative writing of recent years has concerned the framing and reframing of public issues as both a product of and limit on debate and decision making. . . . The next step is no doubt to work out a better understanding of the ways that interactions between challengers and power holders connect in dominant frames of public discussion, debate, and conflict. (in Beniger, p. S53-S54)

A dominant frame is defined by Entman as having "the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most people" (1993, p. 56). In this study, the dominant frame is defined as the frame having the most exposure in the news media. Therefore, the frame found most frequently in the news text is the *dominant frame*. Less frequent frames are defined as *peripheral frames*. Also, based on the review of literature, this study recognizes several characteristics of *news frames*. First, news frames can be influenced by stakeholders' frames. Second, news frames can contain more than one frame. Third, news frames are dynamic and can change across time.

METHODS FOR FRAME ANALYSIS

Most existing frame analysis research uses the qualitative method of traditional content analysis for identifying, defining, and coding frames in texts. However, there have been numerous problems with this approach. This study uses Frame Mapping, a relatively

new approach to frame analysis that addresses many of the problems currently encountered.

PROBLEMS WITH REPLICABILITY AND CODING

Many researchers agree that the qualitative method of content analysis is too subjective and causes problems with replicability and coding. Gamson argues that qualitative content analysis cannot produce “adequate reliability” when trying to identify “a frame or story line” (1989, p. 159). Even though researchers may agree that key terms make up a frame, they may not agree on *which* key terms. The qualitative approach introduces too much researcher subjectivity, because “two analysts may see the same text in different ways” (Gamson, 1989, p. 159). For example, Tankard et al. were not able to produce a highly reliable measure of media frames using traditional content analysis (1991). They found a lack of consistency in identifying frames across coders. Tankard explains that framing “appears to be emerging as such an important concept in news studies that some effective method of measuring it needs to be found” (p. 12).

PROBLEMS WITH DICHOTOMOUS CODING

Another problem with qualitative analyses is dichotomous coding, where news stories have been coded as containing only one frame. Tankard et al. found that they had made a mistake in their research by trying to dichotomize news story content by labeling a news story as representing only one dominant frame. The researchers analyzed pro-life and pro-choice frames in news stories covering the issue of abortion. After their analysis, they realized that coding each news story as wholly representative of either pro-choice or pro-life was too simplistic (1991). Entman also warns against concluding that a message

contains only a positive or negative dominant message (1993), because news stories can contain numerous competing frames (Gamson, 1989). Dichotomous coding erroneously ignores the presence of peripheral frames in a news story and implies biased journalism.

FRAME MAPPING

As described above, the main problems with the qualitative methods for conducting frame analysis involve identifying and coding frames in texts, causing problems with replicability and with the representation of peripheral frames in news stories. Frame analysis needs a more rigorous method for more reliable research that is less subjective and accounts for the presence of multiple frames.

Frame Mapping is a method of analysis introduced by Riechert (1996), and refined by Miller and Riechert in subsequent research (1997; 2000; in press-a; in press-b). Miller and Riechert offer Frame Mapping as a way to “investigate the framing process with rigor and convenience” (2000, p. 53). Frame Mapping employs VBPro, a suite of concept mapping software programs used for content analysis (Miller, 1993). Frame Mapping addresses the problems outlined above and offers additional features, such as continuous measures for statistical analyses of the data. Frame Mapping is described here briefly and is explained in greater detail in “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames.”

Replicability and Reliable Coding

To increase replicability, researcher subjectivity in choosing the key terms that make up a frame should be minimized. One way to eliminate most researcher subjectivity in choosing key terms is to use VBPro. VBPro not only decreases researcher subjectivity,

but it also locates the words and phrases that meet the definition for key terms and for a frame as outlined for this study.¹

VBPro allows the researcher to identify stakeholder's frames by producing a list of key terms from stakeholder texts, such as news releases or trade journal articles, that has two important qualities: terms that occur most frequently, and terms that are used more exclusively by a stakeholder. Entman explains that to find a frame in texts requires "probing for particular words that appear consistently" (Entman, 1993, p. 7). Frame Mapping provides a means for locating such words:

Frame Mapping, therefore, provides a rigorous method to investigate frames by ascertaining the key words used by stakeholders to articulate their position. (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 6)

Key words that are used frequently and consistently are important in identifying a frame, because this type "of emphasis is taken as an indicator of significance" (Luhn, in Riechert, p. 85). It is this repetitive persistence of key terms that establishes a frame:

Persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, are by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. (Gitlin, p. 7)

Gamson (1989) recommends coding by these influential key terms:

By identifying the particular signature elements for a given frame—the metaphors, catchphrases, or other symbolic devices typically used to convey it—it is possible to find phenotypic expressions that can be reliably coded. (p. 159)

Frame Mapping enables coding texts by the key terms located in context. Frame Mapping also aids the researcher in associating key terms with the appropriate stakeholders. The

1. The way Frame Mapping locates key terms in context is described in detail in "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames."

association of key terms to “one and only one stakeholder point of view” is important when choosing key terms (Miller, p. 370), because those terms must be readily associated with one stakeholder (or group of like-minded stakeholders). If two competing stakeholders are using the same key terms and phrases, then it would be impossible to distinguish one frame from the other.

Therefore, by choosing a distinct set of key terms that represent a stakeholder’s frame, the researcher can define the frame specifically with a single set of terms. By using those key terms to code for frames in texts, then the problem of inter-coder reliability is no longer a problem. Also, by using a consistent set of key terms to identify a frame, frame analyses would be more accurately replicated.

Dichotomous Frames

There is most likely a dominant frame per newspaper story, but the entire news story should not be labeled as having only one frame. As previously defined, a news frame can contain several frames. Finding the percentage of the story that is devoted to each frame would offer a more accurate account of what is being communicated. Using VBPro, the Frame Mapping method can eliminate the problem of dichotomous coding of news stories by identifying the multiple frames that are present in a news story and determining which of those frames is dominant and which are peripheral. VBPro can also determine the percentage of text devoted to each frame in a news story, allowing for a more accurate coding of frames in news texts.

Large Data Sets and Continuous Measures

In addition to addressing the existing problems with the current methods for frame analysis, Frame Mapping, using VBPro computer programs, allows researchers to perform content analyses on large amounts of data than would otherwise not be feasible. For example, in this study, VBPro enabled the content analysis of 242 news releases and 2,523 newspaper stories. In addition, VBPro transforms the content analysis data into continuous measures that allow the researcher to perform statistical analyses and to track subtle changes in content across time.¹

The Frame Mapping method, using the VBPro suite of concept mapping software, is an excellent addition to frame analysis. By removing most researcher subjectivity, by heightening accuracy, and by improving replicability a more reliable method of identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in texts is provided. However, there are aspects of this study that require not only Frame Mapping analysis, but also rhetorical analysis.

FRAMING AND RHETORIC

Rhetorical analysis and frame analysis are similar methods of research in that both methods look at text and context. In fact, some of the definitions of rhetoric could be exchanged easily for those of framing:

Rhetoric might be understood as the study and practice of shaping content . . . [where the communicator] selects and configures language so that certain terms are privileged and endorsed, and others are ignored. (Covino & Jolliffe, p. 4)

1. VBPro works in conjunction with statistical software packages, such as SPSS® and SAS®, to perform various statistical analyses.

And as Entman states, this selection and salience is the very heart of framing: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Also, like the definition of rhetoric, Entman goes on to mention the conscious decision of inclusion and omission of items: "Most frames are defined by what they omit, as well as include" (Entman, 1993, p. 54).

In this study, it is beneficial to employ the rhetorical tools for closely analyzing the language found in texts. As Gamson states, the power of the frame can only be as effective as its language (Gamson, 1992). By using rhetorical analysis to examine the language used by stakeholders and news media, this study may be able to better explain the motivation of trends in news coverage.

The circumstances surrounding the health care debate provide a volatile topic, and it will be beneficial to examine how the stakeholders and the news media operate within this environment. In order to learn more about the nature of framing in news media and about how the stakeholders' frames operate in dynamic situations, the texts need to be "broken down," and rhetoric can "be used as an analytical art—an art for 'breaking down' what has been composed" (Corbett, p. 43). In his paper on frame analysis, Reese also discusses the usefulness of breaking down the frames:

Certainly, media texts represent the most readily available evidence of frames, and creating an inventory of verbal and visual features is useful in some cases. We still need, however, to figure out how those features are woven together to signify a frame. (p. 10)

As Entman explains, "texts can make bits of information more salient by placement or repetition, or by associating them with culturally familiar symbols"

(Entman, 1993, p. 53). Rhetorical analysis can help to break the news stories down and to look at these “bits” and their patterns, and determine whether the intended messages found in the news releases are being represented in the news stories.

In this study, the Frame Mapping method uses VBPro’s suite of computer programs to show the trends of key terms in news releases and in newspaper stories. The results of the Frame Mapping analysis are then compared with trends in public opinion. In order to gain a better understanding of what motivates these trends, the texts require a closer look. While Frame Mapping examines the trends of key words in texts, it is only counting words in meaningful ways. Frame Mapping does not offer a close examination of the context, but the rhetorical analysis does offer such an examination.

In this study, the rhetorical analysis is used to look more closely at the different stakeholders’ frames as they exist in news releases and to describe the circumstances that brought about the need for the stakeholders’ involvement in health care reform. The ultimate goal of the stakeholders is to influence health care reform legislation by garnering public support and attracting the attention of policymakers. One way of achieving this goal is to gain exposure in the news media by distributing news releases. The rhetorical analysis is used to identify any rhetorical attributes within the texts of the news releases or any circumstances propelling the stakeholders to become involved in the health care reform debate that may have contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media frames via their news releases.

Rhetoric is a “situationally contingent” art (Covino & Joliffe, p. 7; Schiffrin, p. 363) because a text does not occur in a vacuum. The timing, the climate, and the

environment in which something is communicated greatly affect the success of a text (Covino & Jolliffe, p. 5). The news releases and newspaper stories must be analyzed in the context in which they were created by the writer and received by the audience because a “communication cannot be understood apart from its material, contingent, and highly particular situation” (Benson, p. xv). This context is often referred to as the “Rhetorical Situation.” The rhetorical situation places the writer, audience, and message in the circumstances where communication takes place.¹

When looking at the transfer of frames from news releases to news stories, rhetorical analysis offers methods for looking closely at a text's abstract and concrete attributes that contribute to the successful or unsuccessful transfers of frames. Through a rhetorical analysis, frames can be analyzed closely, which should give greater insight to how they operate within news releases and newspaper stories, because it is “through rhetoric” that those who have a vested interest in policy issues “attempt to draw attention to particular features of a policy proposal—while drawing attention away from others—thereby increasing the importance and accessibility of those considerations for citizens” (Koch, p. 211).

FRAMING HEALTH CARE REFORM

A policy issue that propelled competing stakeholders to become involved in the framing of health care reform was the health care reform plan introduced by President Bill Clinton. This study uses the debate over Clinton's plan for health care reform to test

1. The rhetorical situation is explained in more detail in “Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.”

hypotheses on the impact of stakeholder frames on news media frames and the influence of stakeholders frames and news frames on public opinion and policymaking.

President Clinton's National Health Security Act (NHSA), introduced on September 22, 1993, was a complex, controversial issue that attracted an unusually large amount of media coverage (West et al., p. 39). Health care reform, which usually did not enjoy great amounts of media attention, was thrust into the spotlight for all the months of this debate:

The large-scale nature of the changes, the fact that a president made the issue the centerpiece of his domestic agenda, and the enormous amount of lobbying spending pushed health care, normally a peripheral public concern, to the center of the national political debate. (West et al., 1996, p. 39)

As the debate played out in the media, the circumstances surrounding the discussions of health care reform were constantly changing: the approval rate for Clinton's plan went from high to low in a relatively brief amount of time; some interest groups pulled support halfway through the debate, while others offered support halfway through the debate; an unprecedented amount of money was spent by interest groups to stop Clinton's plan; and finally, what appeared to be sure success for the Clinton plan became defeat. The amount of news coverage, the activity of numerous stakeholders, and the dramatic shifts in public opinion make the debate over health care reform an ideal candidate for frame analysis.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Stakeholders battled to control how health care reform would be framed by establishing the key terms of the debate:

In many respects, political battles are fights over the terms of debate. . . Health care reform is an obvious example of a struggle over competing constructions of political reality” (West et al., p. 36).

The stakeholders attempted to frame the issue by choosing the “terms of the debate” and defining the boundaries of how the public would think about health care. They chose words and phrases that would further their positions on the issue by emphasizing either favorable or unfavorable views toward Clinton’s plan:

The primary strategy employed by supporters and opponents of Clinton’s health insurance reform effort was to highlight or characterize specific features of the proposed National Health Security Act that might move public opinion in their favor. (Koch, p. 211)

Ultimately, as in many controversial issues, the fight is over how the conflict would be “understood by the public, each side attempting to frame the debate to its own advantage” (Koch, p. 210). Once a stakeholder finds success in directing the debate, the language that the stakeholder has chosen can become a key factor to the public in understanding the debate. Entman explains that once a term or phrase is widely accepted and closely associated with an issue, it can “exert great social power,” causing the “power of a frame [to be] as great as that of language itself” (1993, p. 55).

STAKEHOLDERS

The stakeholders in this debate are “numerous interest group leaders,” and these groups were “engaged in a fierce battle over the future” of health care (Koch, p. 210). In this study, two major groups of stakeholders are defined—those groups supporting Clinton’s effort for health care reform and those opposing. Each group of stakeholders has a separate view of what is important about health care reform, and each group uses the

news media to try to reach the public with its view on health care. It is important to note that those groups opposing Clinton's health care plan did not oppose health care reform, but opposed the means by which Clinton proposed to pursue health care reform.

PUBLIC OPINION AND HEALTH CARE

The Clinton plan to reform the health care system was new and complex (Beauchamp, 1996), making the public more reliant on news media for information about this debate. Because the audience knew very little about the issue, shifts in news media coverage may have caused shifts in the public's opinion toward Clinton's plan for health care reform. In this study, the trends in news frames are compared to trends in public opinion to test the degree of influence.

In the 1992 presidential campaigns, Bill Clinton made health care reform a top priority. The public opinion polls showed that the American people also rated the need for health care reform a top priority. A poll of 1992 voters ranked health care as the third most important issue when making their choice for president (Jacobs & Shapiro, p. 418). From his campaign through the first year of his presidency, Clinton continued to enjoy strong support from the public for his plans to reform health care. The support was so pervasive that "initial polling results led policymakers to believe there was strong public support for policy solutions that guaranteed universal coverage by relying on a major government overhaul of the health care system" (Brodie & Blendon, p. 404).

Clinton put his health care plans in motion almost immediately after his inauguration. He appointed the Task Force for Health Care Reform headed by Hillary Clinton and Ira Magaziner and announced that he would put a reform plan in front of

Congress within his first 100 days of office. However, despite his efforts and those of the task force, Clinton did not meet his deadline. This delay did not seem to affect the opinion of the American people as polls continued to show strong support for Clinton's efforts.

Finally on September 22, 1993, Clinton unveiled the NHSA to Congress and to America. Now, the question was whether the majority of the public still supported Clinton's plan after he unveiled some of its details. The polls answered "yes:"

"The reviews are in and the box office is terrific," the political analyst William Scheider wrote just after [the bill] was presented. "President Clinton's health care reform plan is a hit. . . . The more people read and hear about the plan, the more they seem to like it." (Fallows, online, 1995)

Soon after the unveiling of the NHSA, the White House fell silent and opponents picked up momentum in their campaigns. And within a few months, the polls were showing a decrease in support for Clinton's health care plan. A poll taken on September 26, 1993, four days after the announcement of the NHSA, showed 59% approval for Clinton's plan. However, by early March the approval had fallen to 41%. Polls continued to show a lack of majority support throughout the remainder of the debate. Then, after the bill was killed in Congress, "almost one-half of the public said they were relieved that Congress did not enact any reform" (Princeton Survey Research Association, in Brodie & Blendon, p. 406).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation explores the impact of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion and policymaking, with the intent of discovering more about the nature of news frames and their effect. More specifically, this study is concerned with the following

six research questions. These questions will be explained in greater detail in the chapters that follow. All of the research questions refer to data available during the time frame of this study. (The time frame for this study and the events that define it are discussed in the section following the research questions.)

KEY TERMS AND STAKEHOLDERS

In the review of literature, studies suggest that competing stakeholders use different key terms to frame a policy issue. This study addresses the following question concerning stakeholders' use of key terms:

1. Do the competing groups of stakeholders use different key terms to frame the issue of health care reform?

The data used for this analysis consisted of all of the available news releases distributed by stakeholders that either supported or opposed Clinton's plan for health care reform. Then, VBPro was used to identify the most frequent, most consistent, and more exclusive key terms associated with each of the groups of stakeholders. T-tests were used to determine whether the key terms used by the competing stakeholders were significantly different.

NEWS FRAMES

The review of literature suggests that stakeholders' frames influence news frames. The literature also suggests that news frames are dynamic and shift focus from one stakeholder to another across time. This analysis determines a stakeholder's influence across time by the frequency of occurrence of its key terms in newspaper stories:

2. To what degree are a stakeholder's key terms manifested in news stories across time?

3. Does the news frame shift its focus from one stakeholder's frame to another?

The data used for this analysis consisted of key terms identified in research question one and all the newspaper stories concerning Clinton's plan for health care reform printed by *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. The newspaper stories were coded for each stakeholder's key terms. The amount of text devoted to each set of key terms across time was determined by performing a t-test to compare the frequency of use of key terms in newspaper stories across time.

STAKEHOLDER FRAMES, NEWS FRAMES, AND PUBLIC OPINION

The trends in public opinion shifted dramatically over the course of the health care reform debate. The opinions shifted from positive to negative in a relatively brief period of time. The review of literature suggests that stakeholders' frames and news frames can shift across time and that these frames can influence public opinion. This analysis asks whether the presence of favoring or opposing stakeholder frames in newspaper stories (across time) influenced the shifts in public opinion:

4. Is there a systematic relationship between the shifts in news media frames and the shifts in public opinion?

The data used for this analysis consisted of the trends of stakeholder's frames in news media determined in research question two and all of the available public opinion polls asking whether the subjects favored or opposed Clinton's plan for health care reform. The frequencies of favoring and opposing stakeholder key terms in newspaper stories across time were correlated with the percentages of those favoring and opposing Clinton's plan for health care reform. The correlations determined whether there was a significant

relationship between the trends in key term usage in newspaper stories and the trends in public opinion.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD STAKEHOLDER INFLUENCE

The last analysis to be performed is a rhetorical analysis. The review of literature suggests that a rhetorical analysis will add valuable information about the context of stakeholder frames in news releases and the context of stakeholder frames in newspaper stories. This analysis will determine the level of success enjoyed by the stakeholders in influencing news frames and the possible rhetorical contributions attributing to that success:

5. What are the rhetorical attributes that possibly contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media via press releases?
6. To what degree are the stakeholders' frames accurately presented in newspaper stories and attributed to the appropriate stakeholders?

The data used for this analysis consisted of small samples of news releases and newspaper stories that were representative of various stakeholders and various newspapers. A traditional rhetorical analysis using the rhetorical situation and the rhetorical triangle were used to determine the contribution of the context in which the release was written and received by news media, the contribution of the writer as a desirable source, the contribution of the reasoning behind the stakeholder's frame, and the contribution of the stakeholder's ability to address the audience.

TIME SPAN

The time span for this study is from January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994. The span of time begins with Clinton's inauguration and ends with the announcement of the "death" of Clinton's health care plan in Congress. The time period is broken down into two phases. The two phases were chosen because of the difference between an abstract plan to reform health care and an actual health care reform bill (National Health Security Act of 1993) that was submitted to Congress. The NHSA was submitted to Congress on October 27, 1993. Therefore, time phase one (the time before the bill was submitted to Congress) is defined as being from January 20, 1993 to October 26, 1993, and time phase two (the time after the bill was submitted to Congress) is defined as being from October 27, 1993 to September 26, 1994.

SUMMARY

The review of literature shows that the impact of framing on and by news media has made frame analysis an important addition to communications research. The addition of frame analysis has even been described as a way to improve communications research in general, because it focuses on what other means of analysis have not—context. However, frames and context are often left to the subjectivity of the researcher causing several problems with the current methodology. This study's application of Frame Mapping works to eliminate most of the researcher bias and the problems inherent with such bias, such as the ability to successfully reproduce an analysis, the discrepancies across coders, and the fallacy of dichotomous coding.

This study also proposes to examine how the policy issue of health care reform is framed by stakeholders and by news media and how those frames influence public opinion and policymaking. By studying the nature of stakeholders' frames and news frames and their effects, the researcher attempts to shed on the reasons why some stakeholders' frames are covered by the news media and why the news media shifts its focus from one stakeholder to another.

CHAPTER 3: STAKEHOLDER FRAMES AND NEWS MEDIA FRAMES

As stated previously, this dissertation is concerned with identifying the frames of competing stakeholders, determining the impact of stakeholders' frames on news frames, and determining the impact of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion and policymaking. This chapter looks at the first step in this sequence of analyses by identifying stakeholders' frames. Also, the significance of the difference between stakeholders' frames was determined. Stakeholders' frames were constructed by identifying the key terms the stakeholders use to describe their positions on the issue of health care reform.

STAKEHOLDERS AND KEY TERMS

In the review of literature, a frame is defined as consisting of key terms that are easily associated with a stakeholder and that create a meaningful, coherent representation of a stakeholder's position on an issue. A frame, as defined in this study, applies specifically to the frames of competing stakeholders. The review of literature suggests that competing stakeholders use different sets of key terms to make their arguments and state their positions (Andsager, 2000; Andsager & Miller, 1994; Miller, Andsager, & Riechert, 1998; Miller & Riechert, 1997; Riechert, 1996; Smith, 1997), because "the frames they sponsor are in conflict, in the sense that they represent mutually incompatible ways of seeing the policy situation" (Schon & Rein, p. 29). The research question addressed in this

chapter is whether competing stakeholders frame the issue of health care reform differently by using different key terms. This question is addressed by analyzing the news releases distributed by the various stakeholders involved in the health care debate. As described in "Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Development," a stakeholder is an interest group that has a vested interest in the outcome of a policy issue. In addition to having a vested interest, stakeholders must distribute news releases stating their positions on the issue. In this study, there are two major groups of stakeholders. The favoring stakeholders are made up of interest groups that support the Clinton health care plan in part or in whole. The opposing stakeholders are made up of interest groups that oppose the Clinton health care plan in part or in whole. It is important to note that the stakeholders opposing the Clinton plan did not oppose health care reform, but opposed Clinton's plan for reform.

METHODS

For this stage of the analysis, the Frame Mapping method is used to identify the key terms that stakeholders used to establish their positions on health care reform as evidenced in the news releases they distributed. This method also quantifies the frequency of occurrence and co-occurrence of the key terms in texts for subsequent statistical analyses. Frame mapping "provides an objective method for choosing words and phrases to be quantified" and provides a means for producing graphical representations of the data for "interpreting competing positions within an issue discussion" (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 3).

Frame Mapping requires texts that represent the positions of at least two competing stakeholders, such as “news releases, articles in advocacy and trade publications, position papers on World Wide Web sites, and postings to usenet news groups” (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 2). This study uses news releases, because they “provide a primary means for interest groups to elucidate their issue stances” (Andsager, p. 581). By using news releases distributed directly from the stakeholders, Frame Mapping method uses the stakeholders’ own words and phrases to construct stakeholders’ frames (Miller & Riechert, in press-b). In this way, Frame Mapping “allows the frames to emerge from the data, rather than the researcher imposing a priori frames on news coverage as in traditional content analysis” (Andsager, p. 581).

In summary, the news releases distributed by the stakeholders use key terms that are purposefully chosen by these groups to best present their arguments: hence, creating strong frames for their positions on the issue of health care reform. Also, the stakeholders are supplying the terms that constitute their frames, instead of having a frame designated by the researcher. Therefore, Frame Mapping not only produces more accurate representations of stakeholders’ frames by using their own words and phrases, but also greatly reduces researcher subjectivity in identifying frames.

The following sections describe the process used to collect machine-readable news releases from online databases, the processes for cleaning and coding these units of analysis, and the use of computer-assisted concept mapping programs (used in Frame Mapping).

COLLECTION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS NEWS RELEASES

The news releases used for this study were gathered from Lexis-Nexis <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/>> and the Dow Jones Interactive database <<http://nrstg1p.djnr.com/>>. (These databases can be accessed through the UTK Libraries online Databases <<http://www.lib.utk.edu>>.) The databases contain PR Newswire news releases. PR Newswire was used as the source for interest group news releases because of the need for original releases distributed by the interest groups. PR Newswire offers electronic delivery of full text news releases and information distributed *directly from companies and institutions*.

News releases addressing the issue of Clinton's plan for health care reform were located using a Boolean string of terms that was constructed to locate as many useful releases as possible. The Boolean string is as follows:

health AND care AND Clinton

This string requires that all the terms *health*, *care*, and *Clinton* **must** be present in the release. The term *Clinton* was added to limit the search to those releases specifically discussing Clinton's health care plan, because several state-level health care plans were also being debated during the time frame of this study. When searching the PR Newswire databases, an additional restriction was added to the search that requires the Boolean string to be present in either the headline or the lead paragraph(s). This restriction was used to help further limit the releases to those focusing on the topic of the Clinton health care plan. News releases were restricted to the time period for this study (January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994).

Once all of the news releases were downloaded, all duplicates were discarded. Of the remaining releases, only those applicable to this study were chosen. For a news release to be included in this study, the main topic of the release had to be the Clinton health care plan, and the release had to show a clear position of either supporting or opposing the health care plan as a whole or in part. Any release that did not focus on the Clinton plan did not qualify as an acceptable release. For example, a release promoting a new line of home health care equipment that uses the Clinton Administration's focus on health care as evidence of the importance of their home care equipment would be thrown out. Any release that did not focus on the issue of Clinton's plan for health care reform was discarded.

CHOOSING STAKEHOLDERS

After removing the releases that did not address the Clinton health care plan, the next step was to locate the releases that clearly stated support or opposition for the Clinton plan. For example, favoring releases often stated that the group "applauds the Clinton plan," "supports the Clinton plan," or "commends President Clinton on his plan for health care reform." Opposing releases often stated that the group "warns against the Clinton plan" or "strongly opposes Clinton's means of funding a health care plan."

Identifying releases as either supporting or opposing the Clinton plan began by reviewing the releases chronologically, beginning with January 20, 1993. The early stages of this process revealed an important pattern that affected the way releases were categorized. Reviewing the first several months of news releases produced very few

releases opposing Clinton's plan. It was not until mid-to-late October 1993 that opposition began to be evident in some of the releases. This pattern warranted further investigation.

To investigate, several news releases showing opposition to the Clinton plan that were distributed in late October and early November were collected. Then, a list of the interest groups that had distributed those releases was compiled. Next, a search for news releases which were distributed prior to late October by the interest groups on the list was conducted. A small sample of these news releases was reviewed. The sample revealed that even though those interest groups were strongly opposed to Clinton's plan in late October (and after), they had distributed releases early in the debate praising the Clinton administration for making general plans to reform health care. It seems that prior to late October most of the interest groups were in favor of the idea of health care reform and the improvement it promised.

The releases distributed prior to October 27, 1993, also contained suggestions from the interest groups for what the plan should contain or omit. It appears that early in the debate nearly all of the groups were trying to persuade the Clinton administration to make inclusions or omissions in the health care plan that would benefit those interest groups. For example, the National Federation of Independent Business tried to persuade the Administration to find some other means for funding health care reform besides employer mandates. On the other side of this argument, the AFL-CIO supported employer mandates, because the AFL-CIO represented the workers who would benefit from this funding. However, when some of these efforts were ignored and Hillary Rodham Clinton

officially submitted the bill to Congress on October 27, 1993, those groups who were unable to sway the administration began to attack the plan formally in their news releases.

Therefore, based on the content of the news releases, most of the stakeholders who were either for or against the bill could not be identified until on or after October 27, 1993. The news releases that were distributed between October, 27, 1993, and September 26, 1994, were reviewed for clear statements of opposition or support. Any release not showing clear support or opposition for some part of the Clinton plan or the Clinton plan as a whole was discarded. From the remaining releases, a list of stakeholders that distributed releases with clear positions was made.

Stakeholders showing Support

The following is a list of the stakeholders that distributed releases between October 27, 1993, and September 26, 1994, that showed support for Clinton's health care reform plan:

WORKERS' UNIONS

AFLCIO

AFSCME

AFSCME (DC 37)

American Nurses Association (Division of the AFL-CIO)

Coalition of Labor Union Women

National Association of Letter Carriers

Ohio Nurses Association (Division of the AFL-CIO)

United Food and Commercial Workers Union (mention support by Pathmark)

Washington State Nurses Association (Division of the AFL-CIO)

LARGER BUSINESSES

Bethlehem Steel

Chrysler Corporation

Key Employee Leasing, Inc.

LARGER HEALTH INSURANCE COMPANIES:

AFLAC

Blue Cross and Blue Shield

VARIOUS MEDICAL/HEALTH CARE PROVIDER GROUPS

American Academy of Family Physicians

Association of American Physicians and Surgeons

American Dental Association

American Psychological Association

American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons

Boston Beth Israel Hospital

Catholic Health Association

Michigan Hospital Association

PHARMACIES

National Association of Chain Drug Stores

National Association of Retail Druggists

SMALL BUSINESS GROUPS (GOVERNMENT SPONSORED)

Small Business Coalition for Health Care

United States Small Business Administration

OTHERS

American Trucking Association

Cuyahoga - Board of County Commissioners (Cuyahoga County, Ohio)

National Council on the Aging

Senator Wofford

Stakeholders showing Opposition

The following is a list of the stakeholders that distributed releases between October 27, 1993, and September 26, 1994, that showed opposition to Clinton's health care reform plan:

SMALL BUSINESSES

Independent Grocers Alliance
Manufacturers' Alliance for Productivity and Innovation
Michigan Chamber of Commerce
Michigan Retailers Association
National Federation of Independent Businesses
National Retail Federation
National Small Business United
Pennsylvania Small Business United
Small Business Association of Delaware Valley
Small Business Survival Committee
Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce (sided with small business)
TEC Pennsylvania Small Business United
U.S. Chamber of Commerce (sided with small business)

VARIOUS MEDICAL/HEALTH CARE PROVIDER GROUPS

Association of American Medical Colleges
Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc. and the Coalition for Mental
Health Care That's Always There
American Council for Health Care Reform
American Hospital Association
Georgia Hospital Association
Southwest Michigan Hospital Council

BIOTECHNOLOGY GROUPS

Alliance for Aging Research (supported the advancement of medical research)
AMGEN
Biotechnology Industry Organization

SMALLER INSURANCE COMPANIES

American Insurance Association
Health Insurance Association of America

TOBACCO COMPANIES

Tobacco Action Coalition
Tobacco Growers Information Committee

EMPLOYMENT GROUPS

Coalition for Jobs and Health Care
Citizens for a Sound Economy
Employment Policies Institute

OTHERS

Associated Builders and Contractors
American Conservative Union
Citizens Commission on Human Rights
Family Research Council
Independent Institute
Michigan Peer Review Organization
Beaver County Chapter of Pennsylvania for Human Life
Senator Santorum
Senator Arlen Specter

Based on the position these groups held after the bill was introduced to Congress on October 27, 1993, these stakeholders are those who had a vested interest in health care reform policy—they stood to be positively or negatively affected by the bill as it was outlined at that time. The lists of stakeholders given above meet the qualifications outlined by the definition of a stakeholder by having a vested interest in the outcome of the policy debate and by distributing news releases stating their positions. However, at this point, only a portion of their releases had been collected (only those distributed between October 27, 1993 and September 26, 1994).

The next step was to gather the releases distributed by these stakeholders between January 20, 1993 and October 26, 1993. After these releases were collected, all other releases were discarded. The reason that the remaining releases distributed during phase one (January 20, 1993 to October 26, 1993) were not reviewed for clear statements of support or opposition is that the interest groups distributing them must not have continued

to distribute releases after October 26, 1993. If an interest group did not distribute releases after October 26th, then they did not show a vested interest in the outcome of the policy debate, and did not meet the definition of a stakeholder. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the entire list of stakeholders can be compiled by those distributing releases with clear positions between October 27, 1993 and September 26, 1994.

It is important to note that even though many of the stakeholders did not become aggressively for or against the plan until after the bill was introduced to Congress, their concerns remained constant before and after the bill's submission. They were always pushing the issues that were important to them. For example, whether a release was distributed before or after October 27th, the National Federation of Independent Businesses distributed releases that fought for the protection of small businesses. Therefore, the frames found in the releases remained consistent across the time frame for this study.

CLEANING THE DATA

Once all of the news releases were collected, they were placed into a single computer file. The text of the news releases was cleaned by spell-checking and by removing any "special characters" that VBPro recognizes as a flag.

SPECIAL CHARACTERS

Special characters prompt VBPro's programs to perform specific commands. For example, VBPro marks text enclosed in square brackets, [], to be omitted from content

analysis. The special characters, their meanings, and their replacements are described below:

Pound Signs

To VBPro programs, a pound sign (#) represents the beginning of a new case. All pound signs occurring in the text of the news releases had to be replaced. After reviewing the releases, all instances of the pound sign were found to indicate a number. For example, in a list of items, the numbering would be #1, #2, etc. Because of this consistent usage, all pound signs were replaced with the word *number*.

Square Brackets

To VBPro programs, all text contained within square brackets is to be omitted from the analysis. In the news releases collected, all square brackets were replaced with *braces* { }.

Hyphens

VBPro programs separate all hyphenated terms into two separate words. For example, *part-time* would become *part* and *time* or *pre-existing* would become *pre* and *existing*. All hyphens were changed to *underscores* _.

In addition to combining hyphenated terms with underscores, meaningful phrases were also combined with hyphens, such as *health_care*, *universal_coverage*, and *employer_mandate*. This step was taken to maintain the meaning of particular phrases. For example, the term *employer* has a completely different meaning from *employer mandate*.

For a complete list of phrases that were combined with hyphens, please see "Appendix H: Hyphenated Terms."

Ellipsis

To VBPro programs, a period followed by a space signals the end of a sentence. Ellipsis that contains spaces would cause the program to count extra sentences. All spaces within ellipsis were removed.

Bracketing Text for Omission

This study is concerned only with the information found in the body of the news releases, so all extraneous materials were bracketed for omission from the content analysis. For example, titles, copyright notices, and database information were placed within square brackets.

ASSIGNING IDENTIFICATION TO NEWS RELEASES

Once the data were cleaned, each news release was tagged with a pound sign to mark each release as a separate case. The pound sign was immediately followed by a unique case identification number, the date the release was distributed, and the time phase (phase one or phase two). For example, release number 200, distributed on November 1, 1993, during phase two, would be labeled #02001101932.

VBPro can sort cases by words or symbols located within the text. To make sorting by phase, interest group, or position (supporting or opposing the plan) easier, pseudo terms were added to the body of the releases. Pseudo terms must be terms that would not

occur naturally within the text, so dollar signs (\$) were added to each term. The pseudo terms added to the text are as follows:

- The terms **\$p1** or **\$p2** were used to identify the phase when the release was distributed. The term **\$p1** represents phase one (January 20, 1993 - October 26, 1993). The term **\$p2** represents phase two (October 27, 1993 - September 26, 1994).
- The term **\$group** was used to identify the interest group distributing the release (e.g., **\$AFL_CIO**).
- The terms **\$favor** and **\$against** were used to identify whether the release supported or opposed the Clinton plan in whole or in part.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

The descriptive statistics for the total number of news releases and stakeholders are given below:

- Total number of news releases = 242
- Number of favoring news releases = 118
- Number of opposing news releases = 124
- Number of news releases in phase one = 113
- Number of news releases in phase two = 129
- Number of favoring stakeholder groups = 29
- Number of opposing stakeholder groups = 39

The statistics show that there are a fairly equal numbers of news releases representing stakeholders favoring the Clinton plan (118) and the stakeholders opposing the Clinton plan (124). There were slightly more news releases distributed in phase two than in phase one. However, phase two is four months longer than phase one, so the average number of news releases distributed in phase two was actually lower. It appears that news release distribution probably declined across time. Also, the statistics show that there were slightly more opposing stakeholders involved in the debate (39) than favoring stakeholders (29).

FORMATTING

The file containing the cleaned and tagged news releases had to be formatted before it was submitted to subsequent VBPro programs for analysis. VBPro's Formatter program processed each news release as a single case, omitted bracketed material, and organized the text for analysis by all other VBPro programs. The Formatter also signaled an error if a release was unusually long, which usually indicated that a release had not been tagged with an identification string and was included as a part of the previous release. Such errors were corrected.

SEARCHING AND ORGANIZING

After formatting, the releases were separated into two files: one file containing all the releases supporting Clinton's plan and another containing all the releases opposing Clinton's plan. The files were separated using VBPro's Search program to locate the pseudo terms **\$favor** and **\$against** as they occurred in the texts. The first search located all the cases containing the pseudo term **\$favor** and saved them to a file. The second search located all the cases containing the pseudo term **\$against** and saved them to a separate file.

ALPHABETIZING AND SELECTING

Each file returned by the Search program (one file with all supporting releases; one file with all opposing releases) was submitted to VBPro's Alphabetizer program. The Alphabetizer created a list of all the words in the releases in alphabetical order. The Alphabetizer also listed the associated frequency of each term—the total number of times the word occurred in the file. The lists were saved into two separate files

The two alphabetized files were then submitted to VBPro's Select program.¹ The Select program compared the two alphabetized files of terms and frequencies (one file of favoring release terms and one file of opposing release terms) using a chi-square criterion to determine which words were used the most frequently and more exclusively by one set of stakeholders over the other.

CHI-SQUARE

Chi-square is one of the most common tests for significant relationships among categorical variables. VBPro's Select program uses a chi-square analysis to determine the terms that were used the most frequently and more exclusively by each set of stakeholders. These terms were determined by performing a chi-square analysis of all the terms contained in the two files—the frequency of term usage in the favoring releases was compared to frequency of term usage in the opposing releases.

Chi-square's null hypothesis is defined as having no relationships among the variables. No relationships among variables means that the frequency of term usage would be expected to be the same in both the favoring and the opposing news releases. For example, chances are that the word "and" would be used often in both sets of news releases. If this were the case, then the Chi-square tests would show a low magnitude for the word "and." The Select program uses the magnitude of the Chi-square results for each term used the most frequently and more exclusively by *either* the favoring stakeholders *or* the opposing stakeholders. Higher magnitude of a term used by one set of stakeholders means that the term was used more frequently and the more exclusively by that set of

1. VBPro's Select program is a new edition to the VBPro suite of programs. This program was unavailable to most researchers who conducted previous frame analyses using Frame Mapping.

stakeholders and was used rarely by the set of competing stakeholders. The terms of higher magnitude are the key terms that are desirable for this analysis.

After all of the terms were analyzed, the Select program generated a list of the 200 most frequent and more exclusive terms for the favoring stakeholders and a list of the 200 most frequent and more exclusive terms for the opposing stakeholders. The terms are ranked in descending order of chi-square magnitude. The outputs shown in "Table 3.1: Output from Select Program (nominated favoring key terms)" and in "Table 3.2: Output from Select Program (nominated opposing key terms)" are the first 20 terms selected—the 20 terms with the highest chi-square magnitude. For the complete lists of all 200 terms, please see "Appendix A : Nominated Key Terms for Favoring Stakeholders" and "Appendix B: Nominated Key Terms for Opposing Stakeholders."

Each term is listed with its chi-square value, the percentage of term usage in each set of releases (A% is the percentage of term use in the \$FAVOR releases and B% is the percentage of term use in the \$AGAINST releases.), and %Difference is the difference between the previous two percentages. For example, in the list of terms from the opposing releases, the first term listed is the pseudo term \$AGAINST. It makes up .23% of all the words used in the \$AGAINST releases and 0% of the words used in the \$FAVOR releases.

The lists of terms created by the Select program are "nominated" as possible key terms. By definition, a frame should be composed of terms and phrases used frequently and proportionately more often by one group over the other. High frequency terms are often indications of terms that hold a meaningful significance, as noted by Luhn (1958/1968):

Table 3.1: Output from Select Program (nominated favoring key terms)

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
1. \$FAVOR	130.301	0.240	0.000	0.240
2. AFSCME	110.405	0.203	0.000	0.203
3. NURSES	98.137	0.197	0.006	0.191
4. ANA	69.531	0.128	0.000	0.128
5. UNION	60.227	0.146	0.013	0.133
6. CHA	52.968	0.097	0.000	0.097
7. PHARMACY	50.760	0.093	0.000	0.093
8. AFL_CIO	47.448	0.087	0.000	0.087
9. BETTS	37.514	0.069	0.000	0.069
10. WOMEN	35.029	0.075	0.004	0.071
11. WORKPLACE	33.425	0.067	0.002	0.065
12. OSHA	33.099	0.061	0.000	0.061
13. OUR	32.258	0.347	0.169	0.178
14. UFCW	31.996	0.059	0.000	0.059
15. REFORM	31.216	0.410	0.217	0.193
16. BLUE_CROSS	30.846	0.081	0.009	0.072
17. LEADERS	29.792	0.079	0.009	0.070
18. WORKERS	27.790	0.298	0.145	0.153
19. MCENTEE	27.581	0.051	0.000	0.051
20. MEETING	26.648	0.073	0.009	0.064

Table 3.2: Output from Select Program (nominated opposing key terms)

Word	Chi-Square	A %	B%	% Difference
1. \$AGAINST	113.465	0.000	0.230	-0.230
2. SMALL_BUSINESS	75.076	0.067	0.302	-0.235
3. NFIB	63.507	0.000	0.129	-0.129
4. WOULD	59.801	0.309	0.642	-0.334
5. RESEARCH	56.377	0.026	0.179	-0.152
6. FARIS	48.076	0.000	0.098	-0.098
7. BUSINESSES	42.212	0.014	0.122	-0.107
8. JOBS	39.652	0.055	0.195	-0.140
9. OWNERS	39.150	0.032	0.153	-0.120
10. BUSINESS	38.124	0.039	0.162	-0.123
11. BIOTECHNOLOGY	35.372	0.000	0.072	-0.072
12. PSYCHIATRIC	35.280	0.002	0.077	-0.075
13. MANDATES	29.928	0.000	0.061	-0.061
14. INDUSTRY	29.855	0.026	0.120	-0.093
15. EMPLOYER_MANDATE	26.758	0.014	0.088	-0.074
16. DOCUMENTS	26.300	0.000	0.053	-0.053
17. SPECTER	26.300	0.000	0.053	-0.053
18. BAUER	24.485	0.000	0.050	-0.050
19. SURVEY	24.081	0.045	0.138	-0.093
20. NSBU	23.578	0.000	0.048	-0.048

The justification of measuring word significance by use-frequency is based on the fact that a writer normally repeats certain words as he advances or varies his arguments and as he elaborates on an aspect of a subject. This means of emphasis is taken as an indication of significance. The more often certain words are found in each other's company within a sentence, the more significance may be attributed to each of these words. (in Riechert, p. 85)

Not all 200 terms were used, because some of the terms do not hold any significant meaning (e.g., conjunctions or prepositions). The categories of terms that were discarded were proper nouns, pseudo terms (injected by the researcher), pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, courtesy titles, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, and verbs of attribution. For example, some of the terms thrown out were *if, any, under, be, was, and still*. For the complete lists of terms that were discarded, please see "Appendix C: Terms Discarded from the Select Output for Favoring Stakeholders" and "Appendix D: Terms Discarded from the Select Output for Opposing Stakeholders." The final list of nominated key terms for stakeholders supporting the Clinton plan is shown in "Table 3.3: Nominated favoring key terms." The final list of nominated key terms for stakeholders opposing the Clinton plan is shown in "Table 3.4: Nominated opposing key terms."

CONCEPT MAPPING

Through the use of VBPro's computer-assisted concept mapping programs, Frame Mapping allows for the quantification of the nominated terms by their occurrence and co-occurrence, so that term significance (frequency of occurrence) and association (co-occurrence) are measurable and can be graphically represented. Through the graphical representation of term co-occurrence, competing frames and "their relative prominence"

Table 3.3: Nominated favoring key terms

\$favor	access	acute	advanced
affordable	age	ages	alcohol
bargaining	benefit	benefits	canadian_style
children	children's	commitment	community
comprehensive	focus	comprehensive_reform	continuous
continuum	core	cost_containment	cost_shifting
crisis	delivery	dental	dental_benefits
discriminatory	drug	elderly	ensure
entitled	equal	fair	fight
financing	global	guarantee	historic
hysterectomies	injury	injuries	international
labor	leaders	legislative	low_income
medicare	medications	middle_class	mother
needs	nurse	nurses	registered_nurses
nursing	nursing's	occupational	outpatient
participate	pharmacy	pharmacies	pharmacists
postal	practice	prescription_drug	prescription_drugs
prescriptions	primary	principles	problems
professionals	proponent	public	recognition
reform	restructured	retirees	right
safety	school	single_payer	social
supplemental	support	system	systemic
union	unions	universal	universal_coverage
values	violence	women	work
working	works	worker	workers
workplace	workplaces	youth	united
delegates	first	steel	convention
members	representatives	catholic	labor_gains
labor_pains	satellite	oral	widen
overall	must	local	assembly
meeting	lady	met	comprehensive_healthcare_reform

Table 3.4: Nominated opposing key terms

\$against	abortion	abortions	abortion_on_demand
advocacy	against	agencies	aids
alliance	alzheimer's	antitrust	bills
biotech	biotechnology	breakthrough_drug	breakthrough_drugs
bureau	bureaucracy	business	businesses
buy	case	choice	claims
company	companies	consumer	contents
court	create	cures	cut
cuts	diseases	district	documents
due	employer_mandate	entrepreneurs	estimates
fact	federal	firms	full_time
government	government_run	hire	hmo
hmos	home	human	impact
industry	information	job_loss	job_losses
jobs	limiting	loss	lost
low	managed_care	mandate	mandated
mandates	medicines	opposed	organization
owners	part_time	pay	payroll_tax
performance	plans	price_controls	prozac
psychiatric	psychiatrists	quality	reduce
research	results	retailers	retailing
secret	shows	small	small_business
small_businesses	small_firms	staff	study
subsidies	tax	taxes	taxpayers
treatments	tried	truth	types
unlimited	survey	surveys	report
foundation	press	committee	office
authors	find	proposals	main
percent	continued	membership	aide
broadcast	television	region	number
days			

as frames in texts can be easily compared (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 4).

Quantification of key term characteristics is one of the significant differences between

Frame Mapping and traditional qualitative analysis:

Quantification makes Frame Mapping a marked contrast to traditional methods of studying the efforts of stakeholders to present their positions and news media coverage of such efforts. These traditional methods rely primarily on qualitative methods that often are dismissed as partisan positions of the researchers rather than as objective, replicable characteristics of stakeholders positions. (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 3)

Concept mapping, as employed by Frame Mapping methods, allows this study's definition of "key terms" to be easily operationalized. In this study, key terms must be used frequently, consistently, and must create a meaningful, coherent representation of a stakeholder's position on an issue. Concept mapping facilitates the identification of such terms:

Concept Mapping, in other words, provides mathematical procedures for determining the patterns of terms in text, or for identifying which terms occur most frequently and relatively exclusively together in text, making them the essence of, or representative of, the particular text from which they are distilled. (Riechert, p. 84)

Because the key terms are taken from news releases distributed directly from the stakeholders, the key terms identified through the concept mapping procedures would be representative of the stakeholders' own description of their positions.

CODING NEWS RELEASES

To perform the task of quantifying term occurrence and co-occurrence, Frame Mapping employs the suite of VBPro computer-assisted concept mapping programs. The VBPro programs used at this stage in the analysis were the Coder program and VBMap.

The Coder program coded the news releases with the lists of key terms found in “Table 3.3: Nominated favoring key terms” and in “Table 3.4: Nominated opposing key terms.” Favoring releases were coded for favoring key terms and opposing releases were coded for opposing key terms. Two numeric files were generated by the Coder: one file containing the frequencies of the nominated terms in favoring releases, and one file containing the frequencies of the nominated terms in opposing releases. The two coded files and the two files containing the news releases were submitted to VBMap.

VBMap assigned each term a 3-dimensional coordinate that “reveals the structure of the data related to term occurrence and co-occurrence” (Miller & Riechert, in press-b, p. 5). Because of the difficulty in trying to read 245 plotted terms on a 3-dimensional graph, the 3-D coordinates were used to create a dendrogram using the SPSS® statistical package. A dendrogram is a tree-like diagram showing the degree of term association based on term co-occurrence. From the output represented in the dendrogram, the final set of key terms representing stakeholder positions was determined. These steps are described in more detail in the following section.

VBMAP

The Mapper program uses the frequency data from the Coder and the text from the news releases to create 3-dimensional coordinates for each term. The 3-D coordinates represent a spacial location within the texts, so that actual distances between terms can be calculated. The 3-D coordinates are representative of the occurrence and co-occurrence within the news releases. As stated above, trying to determine co-occurring terms from 245 plotted terms on a 3-dimensional graph would be too complex, so the files containing

the 3-D coordinates were used to create a dendrogram using the SPSS® statistical package. The dendrogram was generated by using agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis. The cluster analysis program groups the terms together based on the 3-D coordinates generated by VBMap.

AGGLOMERATIVE HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS

In this study, a stakeholder's frame is identified by the set of meaningful key terms that are used frequently, consistently, and more often by a stakeholder to state its position on a given issue. The power of the language of the frame can be measured by the frequency and consistency of key term use. The Select program provided the nominated terms that were used most frequently and proportionately more often by competing stakeholders. Then, the cluster analysis shows the terms that were used together in context. Terms that are consistently used together in context are more likely to create clear, meaningful themes.

The 3-D coordinates generated by VBMap were submitted to SPSS® for cluster analysis. The agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis used the map coordinates provided by VBMap to cluster the terms based on the degree to which they co-occur. The degree of co-occurrence is determined by the amount of actual distance among the terms in the news releases—the closeness of their proximity. If the terms were consistently used together in the news releases, then the 3-D coordinates would successfully place those terms into the same cluster. Clusters of terms have varying degrees of “strength.” The greater the consistency of close term proximity means the greater the strength of the cluster. In this analysis, the most desired clusters are those that are the strongest. The

strongest clusters contain the key terms that tend to co-occur the most often. If terms are used together often, then the significance of those terms and their co-occurrence is heightened. Therefore, the strongest clusters should reveal a meaningful theme that is used repeatedly in the news releases. Themes that are repeated often are the most likely to be meaningful, coherent representations of stakeholder positions. Key terms that represent meaningful, coherent stakeholder positions are the terms this study requires.

Agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis began by labeling each term as its own individual cluster. Then, several “passes” were made over the data to determine which terms co-occur and the degree to which they co-occur. The first pass clustered the terms with the strongest co-occurrence. With each subsequent pass, individual terms or clusters of terms were combined with other terms and clusters of terms. With each pass, the co-occurrence of the terms being combined grew weaker. Because the terms with the strongest co-occurrence are the most desirable, the clusters that were formed on the first pass were used for this study.

Dendrograms

The output from the cluster analysis is presented in a dendrogram. A dendrogram is a tree-like diagram where branches show how closely the terms co-occur in the texts. Terms that consistently co-occur in the text should cluster on the same branch of the dendrogram. A portion of the opposing stakeholder dendrogram is shown in “Figure 3.1: Partial dendrogram for nominated opposing key terms.” The complete dendrograms for both sets of stakeholders can be found in “Appendix F: Dendrograms.”

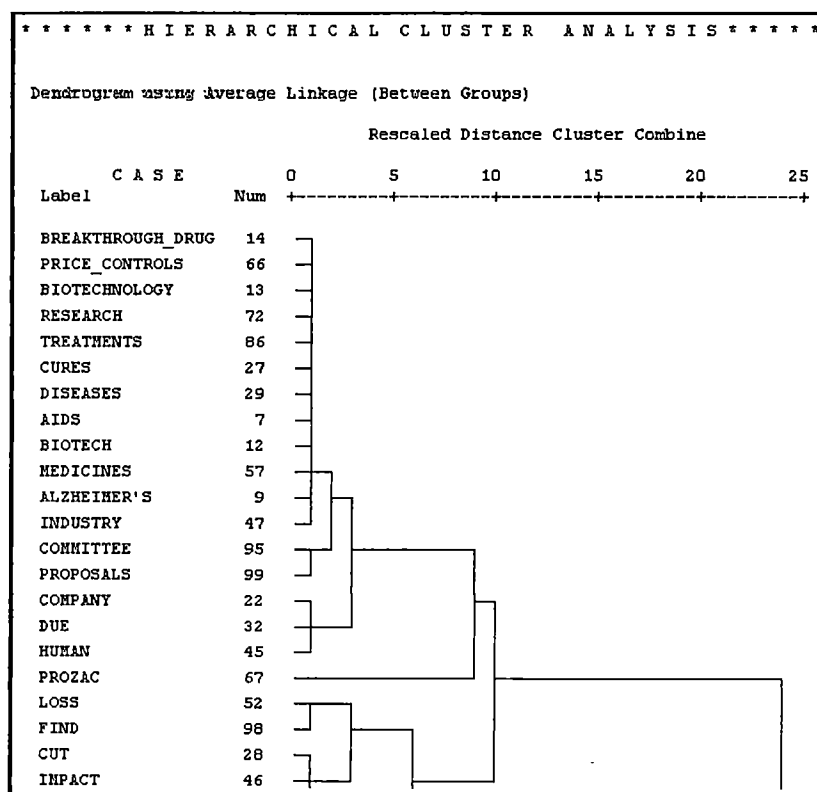


Figure 3.1: Partial dendrogram for nominated opposing key terms

The terms with the strongest co-occurrence were combined on the first pass. The clusters formed on the first pass are indicated on the dendrogram by the branch located closest to the list of terms. For example, as shown in the portion of the dendrogram above, the following terms were combined into a cluster on the first pass:

- breakthrough drug
- price controls
- biotechnology
- research
- treatments
- cures
- diseases
- AIDS

- biotech
- treatments
- medicines
- Alzheimer's
- industry

On the second pass, the terms “committee” and “proposals” were added to the original cluster created on the first pass. Because “committee” and “proposals” were added on the second pass, they did not occur with the original cluster of terms as consistently as those within the original cluster. With each pass, more terms were added, but with decreasing strength of co-occurrence.

IDENTIFYING FRAMES

Originally, the dendrograms were approached with the intention of locating a single cluster of terms representing the stakeholders supporting the Clinton plan and a single cluster of terms representing the stakeholders opposing the Clinton plan. However, the dendrogram revealed several large, strong clusters of terms (created on the first pass) that clearly represented several different positions as to why they were either for or against the Clinton plan. A central position was not pulling the stakeholders together. Sub-sets of issues were being argued separately. By definition, the frame must clearly be associated with the appropriate stakeholders. Because of the lack of a single frame being able to accurately represent the diversity among the stakeholders' positions, several sets of key terms representing the different sub-issues of health care reform were chosen.

As described in the Cluster Analysis section, the strongest, most desirable clusters are those formed on the first pass. However, there were many clusters formed on the first pass—clusters ranging in size from as few as one term to as many as 18 terms. The

definition of a frame requires that key terms must represent a meaningful, coherent position on the issue of health care reform. Also, there must be enough key terms in the cluster to construct a frame that can be identified in the newspaper stories on subsequent analyses. A cluster with too few key terms would not offer a reliable way of identifying frames in newspaper stories because of the possible ambiguity of usage of the terms. For example, a frame consisting of only the terms "committee" and "proposals" would have numerous possible meanings in the context of newspaper stories. The review of literature does offer an established number of terms required to make up a frame. To choose sets of terms that would be accurately represented in newspaper stories and to keep the frame analysis manageable, six total clusters of terms (three from favoring and three from opposing) were chosen. The clusters chosen were those containing the greatest number of terms that were combined on the first pass. The six sets of key terms represent six separate stakeholder positions.

At first glance, the key terms appear to clearly define six separate issues concerning the Clinton health care reform plan. The three sets of key terms representing the stakeholders favoring the Clinton plan appear to be concerned with comprehensive reform, the role of community pharmacies, and universal coverage. The three sets of key terms representing the stakeholders opposing the Clinton plan appear to be concerned with the role of biotechnology companies, the role of small businesses, and the alleged illegal "secret" meetings of the Task Force for Health Care Reform. The definition of a frame requires that these sets of key terms produce meaningful, coherent positions on health care reform. To judge whether the six sets of key terms meet this requirement, the terms were

reviewed in their original context—favoring and opposing news releases. In the sections that follow, the six sets of key terms taken from the dendrogram are listed and their meaning in the context is described.

FRAMES IN CONTEXT

To ensure that the terms chosen from the dendrogram do indeed co-occur in the news releases in meaningful ways, each set of key terms was reviewed in context. By reading the terms in context and gaining a better understanding of the way they are being used, the researcher can better define each stakeholder's frame. Once the terms have been identified and reviewed, the frames for each group of stakeholders can be compared, and the degree of variation among the separate frames can be determined.

Locating Key Terms in Context

VBPro's Search program was used to locate all of the sentences in the news releases that contained at least one of the key terms. The search was repeated for all of the six sets of terms. Six files were saved, which contained all of the sentences found in each case (each news release). A description of each set of key terms in context is given below, as well as samples of actual sentences from the news releases.

Comprehensive Reform

The key terms representing the comprehensive reform frame are listed below:

- comprehensive reform
- principles
- financing
- system
- catholic

- lady
- comprehensive health care reform
- single payer
- meeting
- cost containment
- participate
- delivery
- commitment

In their news releases, the stakeholders using this set of key terms made two main arguments about Clinton's plan for health care reform. First, they expressed their general support for Clinton's health care plan as a whole. Second, they repeatedly listed the items that the health care plan should include. Most stakeholders listed the following items:

- Reform of the health care delivery system
- Universal coverage financed by employer mandates
- Universal access to health care
- Comprehensive benefit package
- Budget that would enforce cost containment
- High quality of health care

These groups also incorporated the six principles on which Clinton based his health care plan (security, comprehensive benefits, savings, quality, choice, and simplicity) into their lists of desired items. In the early stages of the health care debate, some of the groups wanted these items to be provided in a single-payer plan. A single-payer system provides universal coverage by doing away with insurance companies and by the government reimbursing health care providers with tax money. Once Clinton refused a single-payer system, the groups continued to support Clinton's plan, but demanded that he still include their lists of items in his health care reform plan.

Most of the key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. However, three of the key terms produced ambiguous meanings by being used in multiple contexts. The terms "lady," "meeting," and "participate" did not meet the requirements for key terms as defined in this study and were discarded. The remaining key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and the terms carry a consistent meaning across news releases. Also, the key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the "comprehensive reform frame." The frame is representative of the stakeholders' support for Clinton's plan and the desire for comprehensive reform that would include their list of health care issues. The following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro's Search program output:

- The overall costs of the current health care **system** will remain out of control until we have **comprehensive reform**.
- Members have endorsed 10 **principles**, including universal coverage, shared responsibility for funding among employers, employees and government and **cost containment**.
- The **single-payer** plan, sometimes referred to as a Canadian style national insurance program, would provide health care coverage to all Americans.
- A new health care plan would address the problem of **financing** retiree health care by lowering the age of eligibility for Medicare to the average retirement age of 60, thus maintaining the current **system** of social insurance for **financing** their benefits.
- The evaluation reveals the Clinton bill and the **single-payer** proposal sponsored by U.S. Reps. meet the coalition's **principles** of **comprehensive reform**.
- Only through **system**-wide health care **delivery** reform can we lower costs while enhancing quality.

Pharmacy

The key terms representing the pharmacy frame are listed below:

- elderly
- Medicare
- prescription drug
- prescription drugs

- prescriptions
- pharmacists
- pharmacy
- pharmacies
- drug
- discriminatory
- medications
- community
- outpatient

In their news releases, the stakeholders frame the administration's plan for monitoring prescription drug prices as an end to discriminatory pricing that will relieve the community pharmacies and the uninsured elderly from high prescription drug prices. The stakeholders argue that pharmacies pay more for prescription drugs than hospitals, mail order houses, and other volume buyers. They explain that the higher prices are passed from the pharmacies on to the elderly, the uninsured and those whose outpatient prescriptions are not covered under their insurance. They support Clinton's plan for regulating prescription drug prices set by pharmaceutical companies. They also support Clinton's plan to include prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

The set of key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. The key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and they carry a consistent meaning across news releases. The key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the "pharmacy frame." The frame is representative of the stakeholders' support for Clinton's plan to include regulation of prescription drug pricing. They also support his plans to include prescription drug coverage as part of his plan for health care

reform, including Medicare coverage. The following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro's Search program output:

- Two independent studies released today conclude that half of the estimated cost of providing a **Medicare outpatient prescription drug** benefit to the nation's 35 million **elderly** could be offset by new savings in the **Medicare** program as a result of senior citizen access to the type of **pharmacy** services envisioned in President Clinton's Health Security Act.
- Providing access to **prescription drugs** and **pharmacy** services in **community** retail **pharmacies** could produce savings which would result from less use of their services covered by **Medicare** and will offset by approximately half the estimated five-year cost of the proposed drug benefit.
- Savings also result from **pharmacists** monitoring the effectiveness and appropriateness of patient **drug** therapy – for example, reviewing all the **medications** a person is prescribed and catching the fact that the heart medication conflicts with the diabetes medication.
- In the joint letter, West and Ziegler pointed out that **community** retail **pharmacy** health care reform Coalition's recommendation to end **discriminatory** pricing has received widespread support.

Universal Coverage

The key terms representing the universal coverage frame are listed below:

- support
- comprehensive
- middle class
- universal coverage
- continuous
- systemic
- must
- members
- crisis
- ensure
- representatives

In the news releases, the issue of universal coverage is framed by the stakeholders supporting Clinton's plan as being a necessity for any health care reform plan. They propose that universal coverage be financed by employer mandates on small businesses,

which will ensure continuous, comprehensive coverage for all workers. They also describe universal coverage as a solution to the health care “crisis of working America” and to the threat to the “middle-class, [who] are at risk of losing affordable health care.”

Most of the key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. However, three of the key terms produced ambiguous meanings by being used in multiple contexts. The terms “must,” “members,” and “representatives” did not meet the requirements for key terms as defined in this study and were discarded. The remaining key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and they carry a consistent meaning across news releases. The key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the “universal coverage frame.” The frame is representative of the stakeholders’ support for Clinton’s plan to include universal coverage as part of his plans for health care reform. The following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro’s Search program output:

- The president has presented an opportunity for this nation to achieve **universal coverage**; provide a **comprehensive** benefit package; establish **continuous**, uninterrupted coverage for consumers regardless of employment status; and **ensure** consumers the ability to choose their providers.
- The underlying problems are **systemic** in character and can only be addressed, as the president has recognized, through **comprehensive** change.
- Those in Washington who say there is no **crisis** in health care don’t work in emergency rooms where nurses see those who delay care because of lack of insurance or see how violence presents itself as a kid with a gunshot wound. And, they’re not **middle-class** workers who see their wages being eroded by escalating health care costs and who fear losing their job and health insurance.
- McEntee added that AFSCME would **support** a health care reform bill only if it included **comprehensive** benefits, **universal coverage**, and did not tax health care benefits.
- The health care **crisis** is primarily a **crisis** of working America.

Biotechnology

The key terms representing the biotechnology frame are listed below:

- cures
- diseases
- breakthrough drug
- breakthrough drugs
- price controls
- biotechnology
- research
- aids
- biotech
- treatments
- medicines
- Alzheimer's
- industry

In the news releases, the biotechnology companies frame Clinton's plan for monitoring prescription drug prices as price controls that will harm biotechnology and the biotech industry in several ways. The main threat is that possible investors will be scared away by the fear of losing money on their investment. By losing investment capital, the biotech industry would be forced to cut budgets, causing downsizing and lost jobs. Ultimately, the lack of investment capital will slow, if not completely stop, research of possible treatments and cures for diseases, such as Alzheimer's and AIDS.

The set of key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. The key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and they carry a consistent meaning across news releases. The key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the "biotechnology frame." The frame is representative of the stakeholders' opposition to the inclusion of drug regulation in Clinton's plan for health care reform. The

following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro's Search

program output:

- Clearly the administration doesn't understand the extent to which this **industry** is dependent on private capital markets to finance **research** to find **cures** and therapies for **AIDS**, breast and ovarian cancer, **Alzheimer's** and other deadly and costly **diseases**.
- This is further evidence of the damage already done to **AIDS research** by the administration's proposals for **price-controls** on **breakthrough medicines**.
- Rep. Moakley's statement in opposition to the proposed **breakthrough drug** council is his second strike against **price-controls**. His position is clear and unequivocal: **Price-controls** will hurt biomedical progress, impede our quest for **cures** and **treatments** and cost jobs in the fast growing **biotechnology industry**.
- Many chronic conditions like **Alzheimer's** disease and arthritis, currently lack effective **cures** or **treatments**.
- Declines in medical **research** in **biotech** laboratories have already begun.

Small Business

The key terms representing the small business frame are listed below:

- advocacy
- main
- bills
- small firms
- subsidies
- business
- businesses
- small business
- small businesses
- government run
- opposed
- payroll tax
- part time
- firms
- job loss
- job losses
- mandate
- mandated

- mandates
- number
- owners
- employer mandate
- hire

In the news releases, the small business organizations frame Clinton's plan to include employer mandates as means for funding health care costs as harming the owners of small businesses and small firms. They claim that an employer mandate is basically a "payroll tax." They argue that such a payroll tax would result in high job loss, lowered wages, reduced or cancelled expansion, and the inability to start new businesses and hire new employees. Clinton's plan would include subsidies to help small businesses with the expense, but the interest groups claim that the subsidies offer no long-term relief.

Most of the key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. However, two of the key terms produced ambiguous meanings by being used in multiple contexts. The terms "main" and "number" did not meet the requirements for key terms as defined in this study and were discarded. The remaining key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and they carry a consistent meaning across news releases. The key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the "small business frame." The frame is representative of the stakeholders' opposition to the inclusion of employer mandates in Clinton's plan for funding health care reform. The following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro's Search program output:

- More than 80 percent of the **owners** of small- and mid-sized **businesses** say that increasing **payroll taxes** to fund health care reform will have a major negative impact on their **business**.

- A **payroll tax** is the most harmful tax that can be levied on a **small business**.
- He also pointed out that many **small businesses**, which **hire** retirees for **part-time** jobs, will probably stop doing so if they are required to contribute to their health care coverage.
- The proposed **subsidies** and caps on premium costs, promised as a means of easing the financial burden on **small firms**, offers no long range relief. The **subsidies** are meaningless.
- He added that any health reform proposal that contains an **employer mandate** of any kind will end up being bad for **small business**, and we will oppose it.
- This [projected] high rate of **job loss** is not necessarily a result of health care reform. It stems from the **employer mandate** in the president's version of **government-run** health care.
- The **mandate** is nothing more than a **payroll tax** that will force employers to cut jobs, reduce wages, and scrap plans for expansion.
- NFIB, which represents more than 600,000 **small firms**, has long **opposed** the **mandate** idea.
- The clinic **mandates** are just one more reason FRC **opposes** the Clinton-Mitchell and Clinton-Gephardt health plans in our efforts to fight anti-family **bills**.

Secrecy of the Task Force

The key terms representing the small business frame are listed below:

- against
- limiting
- federal
- report
- documents
- secret
- court
- truth
- district
- tried

In the news releases, the stakeholders argue against the Clinton plan as a whole because it was created in secret. The issue of the secrecy of the task force is framed by the stakeholders as an illegal activity. They claim that they are taking the First Lady and the task force to court to force them to open their secret meetings and their secret documents

and reports for the benefit of the public. They argue that the secret documents must be released before they are destroyed by the task force. They also wanted the public to know the truth about the President's health care reform plan.

The set of key terms met the requirements of the frame definition for this study. The key terms are used together frequently by the stakeholders in news releases, and they carry a consistent meaning across news releases. The key terms represent a frame that can be defined as the "secrecy of the task force frame." (The "secrecy of the task force frame" will be referred to as the "secrecy frame".) The frame is representative of the stakeholders' opposition to the entire Clinton plan for health care reform, because it is being created in secret. The following sample of sentences from news releases was taken from VBPro's Search program output:

- Karen Riley of the Washington Times **reported** earlier this year that she observed evidence that task force **documents** were being shredded at the White House. Since it was announced in **court** that 224 boxes of **secret documents** exists, it will be interesting to see how many **documents** are actually released by the White House.
- AAPS and ACHCR are plaintiffs in the lawsuit **against** Hillary Rodham Clinton and her health care task force. A trial is presently scheduled for September 12 in **federal district court** on the lawsuit.
- This trial could determine that senior administration officials broke **federal** law by holding **secret** meetings and withholding task force **documents** from the public.
- It's time to tell the **truth** about both the Clinton Plan and its look-a-likes in Congress.
- This is why Mrs. Clinton **tried** to hold all meetings of her Health care Task Force in **secret**.
- The president's code words for **limiting** your choice, and for health care rationing are national health board, global budgeting, managed-care, and health alliances.

FRAME POSITIONS IN NEWS RELEASES

To learn more about how these frames are positioned within the stakeholders' discussion on health care reform, the six sets of key terms were used to code all the news

releases together (both favoring and opposing in one file). The same procedures for creating 3-dimensional coordinates of individual key terms discussed earlier in this chapter were used to create 3-dimensional coordinates for the six sets of key terms. The 3-D coordinates were submitted to SPSS® for plotting on a 3-dimensional graph. The 3-D plots of the of six frames in news releases offer a visual representation of the possible relationships among frames within the stakeholders' discussion of health care reform ("Figure 3.2: 3-Dimensional plot of frame positions in news releases").

Possible relationships are represented by the close proximity of frames on the 3-D plot. If frames are plotted in close proximity to each other, then the two frames are being discussed together in the same news release. If the frames are discussed in the same release, then the frames are probably sharing some view of health care reform. For example, two groups may be in agreement that Clinton's plan would offer a good, comprehensive package of benefits. It is important to note that for a relationship to emerge from the text (causing the frames to be in close proximity on the 3-D plot), the shared view must be consistent and repetitive. A single mention of a shared view by two or more different sets of stakeholders would not be enough to cause a relationship to be evident on the graph. (The relationships among the frames in the news releases are explored even further in "Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.")

In the 3-D plot, all of the favoring frames are found on the positive side of the Y axis, while all opposing frames fall on the negative side of the Y axis. It is logical for the favoring frames to tend to group together and the opposing frames to group together, because an overall support or opposition is shared among the like-minded groups.

OTL8 147
100% COTTON

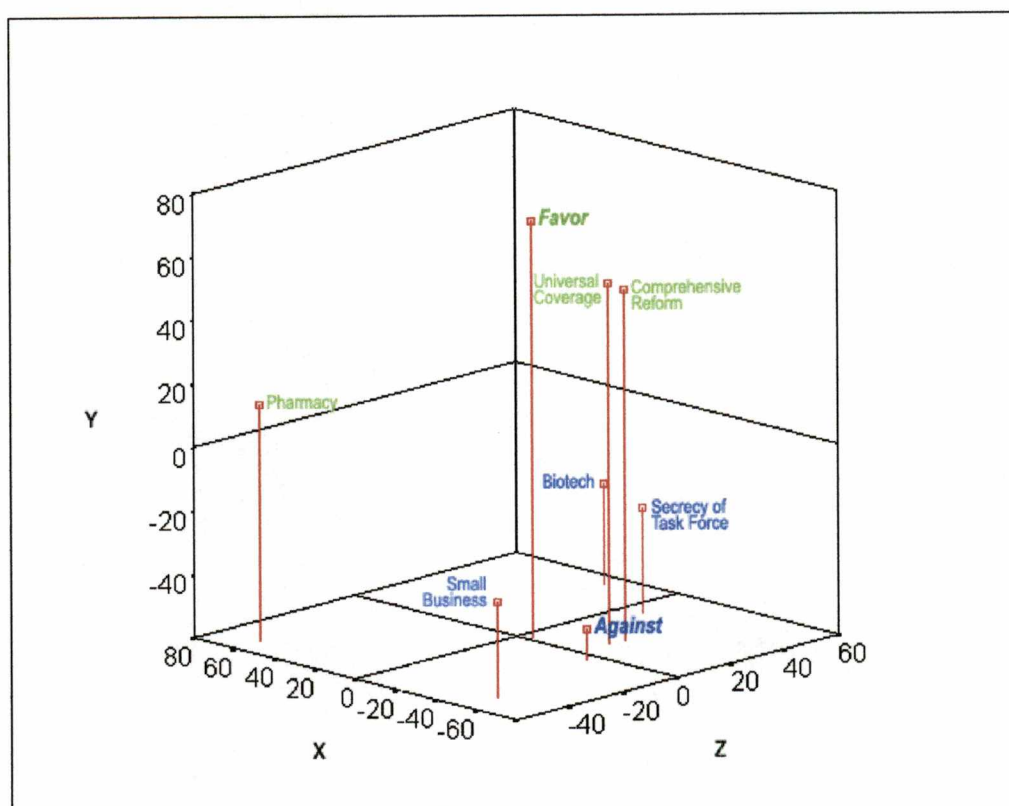


Figure 3.2: 3-Dimensional plot of frame positions in news releases

Of the favoring frames, the universal coverage and comprehensive reform frames are found in quite close proximity, while the pharmacy frame is distant from both of these two favoring frames. As stated above, the close proximity of the universal coverage frame and the comprehensive reform frame means that these two frames were being discussed together repeatedly in some of the news releases.

After reviewing the favoring frames in context, the reason for the close proximity of the universal coverage and comprehensive reform frames appeared to be that universal coverage is consistently listed among the items necessary for successful comprehensive reform of the health care system. Also, universal coverage and comprehensive reform were two of the major points of Clinton's health care reform plan and were often discussed together.

The distance between these two favoring frames and the pharmacy frame represents the lack of "common ground" among these frames. When the pharmacy frame is reviewed in context, it does not discuss universal coverage or comprehensive reform, but focuses on the coverage of prescription drugs and the need to lower prescription drug costs. This does not represent a good or a bad trend among data, but simply shows the similarities and differences among the ways stakeholders discussed health care reform.

Of the opposing frames, none of the frames fall into close proximity. After reviewing the frames in context, all three argued for quite different items of reform without much overlap. The arguments put forth by small businesses and biotechnology companies both mention the loss of jobs as a result of Clinton's plan, but the biotechnology companies do not make it a focal point of their argument as do the small

businesses. So, even though two groups of stakeholders both share the view that Clinton's plan would result in lost jobs, the biotechnology frame does not use that argument often enough to pull these two frames closer on the graph.

After reviewing the key terms in context in the previous section and the frames in the context in this section, the researcher concludes that the Frame Mapping method accurately located key terms that were used frequently, consistently, and create a meaningful, coherent representation of a stakeholders' positions.

RESULTS

The key terms selected by VBPro show meaningful themes in context. The terms are used frequently, consistently, and form meaningful context on the issue of health care reform. Now that the frames have been identified and defined, the extent to which they are used by favoring stakeholders and opposing stakeholders must be determined. Are the key terms used significantly more often by the appropriate groups of stakeholders? To answer this question, key term usage will be compared among the stakeholders using t-tests. Up to this point the terms selected have merely been nominated as possible key terms, but whether those terms are being used significantly more often by either opposing or supporting stakeholders has not been verified. A t-test was performed to determine statistical significance of the exclusivity of key term usage. This analysis answers whether competing stakeholders use different key terms to frame the issue of health care reform. Independent t-tests (one-tailed) were performed, comparing the frequency of use of each frame by favoring and opposing stakeholders.

TESTING FAVORING KEY TERMS

In the first sequence of t-tests, the frequencies of usage of each of the three sets of favoring key terms by the favoring stakeholders were compared to the frequencies of usage by opposing stakeholders.

H₁ = The favoring key terms are used more frequently by favoring stakeholders than by opposing stakeholders.

$p < .05$

COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

“Table 3.5: Mean usage of comprehensive reform key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of comprehensive reform key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average use by opposing stakeholders.

“Table 3.6: T-tests comparing mean key terms usage between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of comprehensive reform key terms in favoring releases is 3.2966, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is 1.4435. The average key term use is nearly 2.5 times greater in the favoring releases. This difference is significant with $p < .0001$. The hypothesis is supported. Favoring stakeholders use the comprehensive reform key terms significantly more often than opposing stakeholders.

Table 3.5: Mean usage of comprehensive reform key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	3.2966	3.9878	.3671
Opposing stakeholders	1.4435	2.0494	.1840

Table 3.6: T-tests comparing mean key terms usage between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
4.578	240	.000	1.8531	.4047	1.0557	2.6504

PHARMACY

“Table 3.7: Mean usage of pharmacy key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of pharmacy key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average use by opposing stakeholders. “Table 3.8: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of pharmacy key terms in favoring releases is 3.3729, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is .7177. The average key term use is nearly 5 times greater in the favoring releases. This difference is significant with $p < .0165$. The hypothesis is supported. Favoring stakeholders use the pharmacy key terms significantly more often than opposing stakeholders.

Table 3.7: Mean usage of pharmacy key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	3.3729	13.6687	1.2583
Opposing stakeholders	.7177	1.7229	.1547

Table 3.8: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
2.145	240	.0165	2.6551	1.2376	.2173	5.0930

UNIVERSAL COVERAGE

“Table 3.9: Mean usage of universal coverage key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of universal coverage key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average use by opposing stakeholders. “Table 3.10: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of universal coverage key terms in favoring releases is 2.5508, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is .8065. The average key term use is more than 3 times greater in the favoring releases. This difference is significant with $p < .0001$. The hypothesis is supported. Favoring

Table 3.9: Mean usage of universal coverage key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	2.5508	2.6718	.2460
Opposing stakeholders	.8065	1.4409	.1294

Table 3.10: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
6.363	240	.000	1.7444	.2741	1.2044	2.2844

stakeholders use the universal coverage key terms significantly more often than opposing stakeholders.

TESTING OPPOSING KEY TERMS

In the second sequence of t-tests, the frequencies of usage of each of the three sets of opposing key terms by the opposing stakeholders were compared to the frequencies of usage by the favoring stakeholders.

H₂ = The opposing key terms are used more frequently by opposing stakeholders than by favoring stakeholders.

$p < .5$

BIOTECHNOLOGY

“Table 3.11: Mean usage of biotechnology key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of biotechnology key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average used by opposing stakeholders. “Table 3.12: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of the biotechnology key terms in favoring releases is .3390, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is 2.9194. The average key term use is nearly 8 times greater in the opposing releases. This difference is significant with $p < .003$. The hypothesis is supported. Opposing stakeholders use the biotechnology key terms significantly more often than favoring groups.

Table 3.11: Mean usage of biotechnology key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	.3390	.9357	8.614E-02
Opposing stakeholders	2.9194	10.0402	.9016

Table 3.12: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
-2.780	240	.003	-2.5804	.9282	-4.4088	-.7519

SMALL BUSINESS

“Table 3.13: Mean usage of small business key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of small business key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average used by opposing stakeholders. “Table 3.14: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of the small business key terms in favoring releases is 1.2881, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is 6.5000. The average key term use is more than 5 times greater in the opposing releases. This difference is significant with $p < .0001$. The hypothesis is supported. Opposing stakeholders use the small business key terms significantly more often than favoring stakeholders.

Table 3.13: Mean usage of small business key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	1.2881	3.9204	.3609
Opposing stakeholders	6.5000	8.8955	.7988

Table 3.14: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
-5.847	240	.000	-5.2119	.8914	-6.9679	-3.4558

SECRECY OF TASK FORCE

“Table 3.15: Mean usage of secrecy key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the average number of secrecy key terms used by favoring stakeholders compared to the average use by opposing stakeholders. “Table 3.16: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders” shows the results of the t-test, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

The mean frequency of the secrecy key terms in favoring releases is .5932, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in opposing releases is 2.3306. The average frame key use is nearly 4 times greater in the opposing releases. This difference is significant with $p < .0005$. The hypothesis is supported. Opposing stakeholders use the secrecy frame significantly more often than favoring stakeholders.

Table 3.15: Mean usage of secrecy key terms by favoring and opposing stakeholders

	Mean use of key terms	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Favoring stakeholders	.5932	1.4035	.1292
Opposing stakeholders	2.3306	5.6392	.5064

Table 3.16: T-tests comparing mean usage of key terms between favoring and opposing stakeholders

t	df	Significance	Mean Difference	Standard Error Diff.	95% Lower	95% Upper
-3.252	240	.0005	-1.7374	.5343	-2.7899	-.6850

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the frames representing the views of the favoring and opposing stakeholders were broken down into multiple positions concerning several different health care reform issues. If a single frame for favoring stakeholders and a single frame for opposing stakeholders had been used, as was originally planned, the frames would not have been adequate representations of the varied stakeholder concerns:

Public issues are multifaceted; they are always, as Verba and his colleagues (1987, p. 94) put it, 'many issues at once.' Some citizen's may see a proposal for national health care as help for the working poor; others will interpret it primarily as an unwelcome intrusion of government upon private affairs; still others will see it mainly as a solution to their own family's health care needs (Nelson & Kinder, p. 1057).

Because health care reform is "many issues at once," tracking six separate issues through news coverage will show a greater breadth of representation of the health care reform debate and should offer a more interesting analysis.

Six frames were identified and found to have thematic meaning when reviewed in context. The key terms representing these frames were found to be used more frequently, consistently, and more exclusively by their respective stakeholders. All hypotheses were proven to be significant, showing that each set of key terms are used more exclusively by their respective stakeholders. The comprehensive reform, the pharmacy, and the universal coverage frames were significantly attributed to those groups favoring Clinton's health care plan; the biotechnology, the small business, and the secrecy frames were significantly attributed to those groups opposing Clinton's health care plan.

CHAPTER 4: STAKEHOLDERS' FRAMES AND NEWS FRAMES

As stated previously, this dissertation is concerned with identifying the frames of competing stakeholders, determining the impact of stakeholders' frames on news frames, and determining the impact of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion and policymaking. This chapter looks at the second step in this sequence of analyses by determining the impact of stakeholders' frames on news frames. In the previous chapter, the stakeholders' key terms were found to represent meaningful frames and to be significantly associated with their respective stakeholders. In this chapter, the stakeholders' key terms are used to determine the trends in newspaper coverage of the health care reform debate. The key terms found in the previous chapter are representations of stakeholder positions on the issue of health care reform and should provide adequate measures of newspaper coverage of those issues:

Conceptualizing frames in terms of key verbal components measurable in news releases and news stories allows us to examine how dominance of competing frames can shift over time in public discourse and in the news media. (Miller & Riechert, in press-a, p. 7)

In the review of literature, research shows that the competing stakeholders fought over the terms of the health care reform debate in the news media (West, 1996; Koch, 1998). The researchers suggest that the battle may have been fought and won by gaining the greatest amount of media coverage (West, 1996). The review of literature also shows that stakeholder frames can impact news frames (McCombs et al., 1991; Danielian, 1992;

Miller, Andsager, & Riechert, 1998; Miller & Riechert, 1997, 2000), and that news frames shift their focus from one stakeholder frame to another across time (Behr & Iyengar, 1985; Gamson, 1989; Miller & Riechert, 1997). When news media turn their attention to a particular stakeholder's frame, then that frame emerges as the dominant frame over other more peripheral frames (Entman, 1993; Miller & Riechert, 1997; Tilly, in Beninger, 1987). In this study, the dominant frame is defined as the frame having the most exposure in the news media, where it has "the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most people" (Entman, 1993, p. 56).

To determine the trends of news frames across time, the key terms associated with the favoring and opposing stakeholders (found in the previous chapter) were examined for their frequencies of appearance in newspaper stories. This analysis tests whether the news media's framing shifts the focus of coverage among the various issues represented by the six sets of stakeholders. This chapter looks at two questions. First, are stakeholder frames manifested in newspaper stories across time? Second, does the news frame shift among competing frames across time, giving more coverage to one frame over others at different points in time? These questions were addressed by comparing the frequency of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories in phase one (January 20, 1993 to October 26, 1993) to the frequency of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories in phase two (October 27, 1993 to September 26, 1994) to determine increases or decreases in news coverage across time.

METHODS

As described above, the research questions are addressed by comparing the frequency of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories in phase one (January 20, 1993 to October 26, 1993) to the frequency of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories in phase two (October 27, 1993 to September 26, 1994). Independent t-test (one-tailed) will be used to compare the frequency of each set of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories in phase one versus frequency of use in phase two. The t-tests will show whether the amount of news coverage given to the sets of key terms either increased or decreased across time.

COLLECTING NEWS STORIES

The newspaper stories used for this analysis were gathered from Lexis-Nexis <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>> (this databases can be accessed through the UTK Libraries Database site). The sample included *all* newspaper stories covering the Clinton health care plan that were published by three major newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. These papers are elite papers and should give a reasonable representation of national coverage, because news "flows downward from the elite dailies" (Breed, in Winter & Eyal, p. 379). Also, these newspapers are available electronically, and the newspaper stories can be easily gathered and prepared for computer-assisted content analysis.

The newspaper stories were located using a Boolean string of terms that was constructed to locate as many useful releases as possible. The Boolean string is as follows:

health AND care AND Clinton

This string requires that all the terms *health*, *care*, and *Clinton* **must** be present in the newspaper story. The term *Clinton* was added to limit the search to those stories specifically discussing Clinton's health care plan, because several state-level health care plans were also being debated during the time frame of this study. When searching the Lexis-Nexis database, an additional restriction was added to the search that requires the Boolean string to be present in either the headline or the lead paragraph(s). This restriction was used to help further limit the stories to those focused on the topic of the Clinton health care plan. Newspaper stories were also restricted to the time period between January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994. From this sample, only *news stories* were chosen—no editorials, letters to the editor, or opinion pieces. Once the news stories were collected, the stories were reviewed for content. Only stories that specifically discussed the Clinton health care plan were used, and the remaining articles were discarded.

ASSIGNING IDENTIFICATION TO NEWSPAPER STORIES

Once all of the newspaper stories were collected, they were placed into a single computer file. The text of the stories was cleaned by spell-checking and by removing any “special characters” that VBPro recognizes as a flag. The process for removing special characters was the same as the process used for news releases. Please see “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames” for a complete description of the process.

Once the data were cleaned, each newspaper story was coded with a pound sign to mark each story as a separate case. The pound sign was immediately followed by a newspaper ID (*The New York Times* = 1, *The Los Angeles Times* = 2, and *The Washington Post* = 3), a unique ID number, the date the release was distributed, and the phase (phase

one or phase two). For example, article 800 from the Los Angeles Times, distributed on November 1, 1993 (phase two) would be labeled #208001101932.

As described in "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames," VBPro can sort cases by words or symbols located within the text. To make sorting by phase or newspaper easier, pseudo terms were added to the body of the newspaper stories. The pseudo terms that were added to the texts are as follows:

- The terms **\$p1** or **\$p2** were used to identify the phase when the release was distributed. The term **\$p1** represents phase one (January 20, 1993 - October 26, 1993). The term **\$p2** represents phase two (October 27, 1993 - September 26, 1994).
- The term **\$newspaper** was used to identify the newspaper distributing the article (e.g., \$NYT).

ANALYSIS

The following sections describe the data collected, the expected trends in newspaper coverage of stakeholders' frames, the means of analysis for tracking the use of key terms in newspaper stories across time, and the results of the analysis.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

The descriptive statistics for the news stories are listed below:

- Total number of news stories = 2523
- Total number of news stories from *The New York Times* = 790
- Total number of news stories from *The Los Angeles Times* = 808
- Total number of news stories from *The Washington Post* = 925
- Total number of news stories in phase 1 = 1311
- Total number of news stories in phase 2 = 1212

The statistics show that there are a fairly equal amounts of news stories distributed by *The New York Times* (790) and *The Los Angeles Times* (808), with *The Washington Post*

(925) distributing a greater number of stories. Given that phase two is four months longer than phase one, there was a greater total number of articles published in phase one. On average, there were approximately 187 articles published per month in phase one versus 110 per month in phase two.

EXPECTED TRENDS

The main research questions in this chapter are whether stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspaper stories across time and whether news frames shift across time, giving more coverage to one frame over others at different points in time. An interesting way to test for these questions is to forecast the trends in newspaper coverage of stakeholders frames across time, based on the trends in public opinion.

The public opinion polls showed a decrease in public support for the Clinton plan across time, while there was an increase in public opposition to the Clinton plan across time. In the literature review, the influence of news frames on public opinion was described. Most studies show that news frames do have an impact on public opinion (e.g., Iyengar & Simon, 1993; McCombs, et al., 1991; Nelson et al., 1997). Some researchers have also found that the influence of news frames increases when the media introduce an unfamiliar or complex issue (Graber, 1988; Williams et al., 1991), which may result from the media being the audiences' only source for information (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Clinton's plan for health care reform was such an issue. The health care reform plan was new, complex, and extensive, covering a wide variety of issues (Beauchamp, 1996).

If public opinion is significantly affected by media content, then the frequency of stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories should reflect the trends in the public opinion polls. Therefore, the pattern of occurrence of favoring and opposing key terms in newspaper stories should show a similar trend as the public opinion polls—frequency of occurrence of favoring key terms in newspaper stories should decrease across time, while the frequency of occurrence of opposing key terms should increase across time.

RESULTS

As stated above, the main questions addressed in this analysis are whether stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspaper stories across time and whether news frames shift across time, giving more coverage to one frame over others at different points in time. Therefore, the main, general hypotheses are as follows:

H₁ = Stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspaper stories across time.

H₂ = News frames shift across time, giving more coverage to one frame over another at different points in time.

These general hypotheses are tested by more specific hypotheses which will determine whether the trends in news coverage of favoring and opposing stakeholders' frames follow the respective trends in public opinion.

FAVORING FRAMES IN NEWSPAPER STORIES

The frequency of use of key terms in newspaper stories was tracked across the time period for this study (January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994). The unit of analysis was the newspaper story. The first sequence of independent t-tests was performed to determine

if there were significant decreases in the use of favoring key terms in newspaper stories published across time (from phase one to phase two).

H₁ = The number of favoring stakeholders' key terms per article is significantly greater in newspaper stories published in phase one than in phase two.

$p < .05$

“Table 4.1: Means for the three sets of favoring stakeholders' key terms in phase and phase two” shows the average frequency of the favoring key terms for each of the three favoring frames in newspaper stories during phase one and phase two. “Table 4.2: T-test for equality of means” shows the results of the t-tests, given equal variances. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$.

Table 4.1: Means for the three sets of favoring stakeholders' key terms in phase and phase two

	Phase	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Comprehensive Reform	1	1312	2.6502	4.3448	.1200
	2	1212	1.9637	2.7022	7.762E-02
Pharmacy	1	1312	2.3742	4.9760	.1374
	2	1212	1.8663	4.1312	.1187
Universal Coverage	1	1312	1.2005	1.8846	5.203E-02
	2	1212	2.1469	2.9474	8.466E-02

Table 4.2: T-test for equality of means

	t	df	Significance	Standard Error Difference
Comprehensive Reform	4.721	2522	.000	.1454
Pharmacy	2.778	2522	.003	.1829
Universal Coverage	-9.684	2522	.000	9.773E-02

The mean frequency of comprehensive reform key terms in phase one is 2.6502, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 1.9637. The average key term use is more than 1.3 times greater in phase one. The decrease from phase one to phase two is significant with $p < .0001$. The hypothesis is supported. The use of comprehensive reform key terms significantly decreased from phase one to phase two.

The mean frequency of pharmacy key terms in phase one is 2.3742, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 1.8663. The average key term use is nearly 1.3 times greater in phase one. This difference is significant with $p < .003$. The hypothesis is supported. The use of pharmacy key terms significantly decreased from phase one to phase two.

The mean frequency of universal coverage key terms in phase one is 1.2005, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 2.1469. The average key term use is nearly 1.8 times *less* in phase one. This difference is significant with $p < .0001$. The hypothesis is contradicted. The use of universal coverage key terms significantly *increased* from phase one to phase two. The trend of the use of universal coverage key terms is contradictory to what was expected.

The trends in favoring stakeholder frames in newspaper stories are further explained in “Chapter 5: News Frames and Public Opinion” and “Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.”

OPPOSING FRAMES IN NEWSPAPER STORIES

The second sequence of independent t-tests was performed to determine if there were significant increases in the use of opposing key terms in newspaper stories published across time (from phase one to phase two).

H₂ = The number of opposing stakeholders’ key terms per article is significantly greater in newspaper stories published in phase two than in phase one.

$p < .05$

“Table 4.3: Means for the three sets of opposing stakeholders’ key terms in phase and phase two” shows the average frequency of the opposing key terms for each of the three opposing frames in newspaper stories during phase one and phase two. “Table 4.4: T-test for equality of means” shows results of the t-tests, given equal variances for biotechnology and small business. Equal variances were significant with a p-value of $< .0001$. Unequal variances are assumed for secrecy with a p-value for equal variance of $< .123$.

Table 4.3: Means for the three sets of opposing stakeholders' key terms in phase and phase two

	Phase	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Biotechnology	1	1312	1.6105	3.4191	9.439E-02
	2	1212	1.0437	4.8565	.13952
Small Business	1	1312	2.7645	5.2847	.1459
	2	1212	3.6658	5.3969	.1550
Secrecy of Task Force	1	1312	2.6067	3.3070	9.130E-02
	2	1212	2.8399	3.9494	.1134

Table 4.4: T-test for equality of means

	t	df	Significance	Standard Error Difference
Biotechnology	3.410	2522	.0005	.1662
Small Business	-4.238	2522	.000	.2127
Secrecy of Task Force	-1.602	2369.518	.0545	.1456

The mean frequency of the biotechnology key terms in phase one is 1.6105, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 1.0437. The average key term use is 1.5 times *less* in phase two. This difference is significant with $p < .0005$. The hypothesis is contradicted. The use of biotechnology key terms significantly *decreased* from phase one to phase two. The trend of the use of biotechnology key terms is contradictory to what was expected.

The mean frequency of the small business key terms in phase one is 2.7645, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 3.6658. The average key term use is more than 1.3 times greater in phase two. This difference is significant with $p <$

.0001. The hypothesis is supported. The use of small business key terms significantly increased from phase one to phase two.

The mean frequency of the secrecy key terms in phase one is 2.6067, and the mean frequency of the key term occurrence in phase two is 2.8339. The average key term use is only 1.087 times greater in phase two. This difference is *insignificant* with $p < .0545$. The test fails to support the hypothesis. The use of secrecy key terms did *not* significantly increase from phase one to phase two.

The trends in opposing stakeholder frames in news stories are further explained in “Chapter 5: News Frames and Public Opinion” and “Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.”

FRAME POSITIONS IN NEWSPAPER STORIES

To learn more about how stakeholders’ frames are positioned within the journalists’ discussion on health care reform in newspaper stories, the six sets of key terms were used to code all the newspaper stories. The same procedures for creating 3-dimensional coordinates of individual key terms discussed in “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames” were used to create 3-dimensional coordinates for the six sets of key terms. The 3-D coordinates were submitted to SPSS® for plotting on a 3-dimensional graph. The 3-D plots of the of six frames in newspaper stories offer a visual representation of the possible relationships among frames within the discussion of health care reform (“Figure 4.1: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in newspaper stories”). Possible relationships are represented by the close proximity of frames on the 3-D plot. If frames are plotted in close proximity to each other, then the frames are being discussed together in the same newspaper story. For example, whenever journalists discuss the

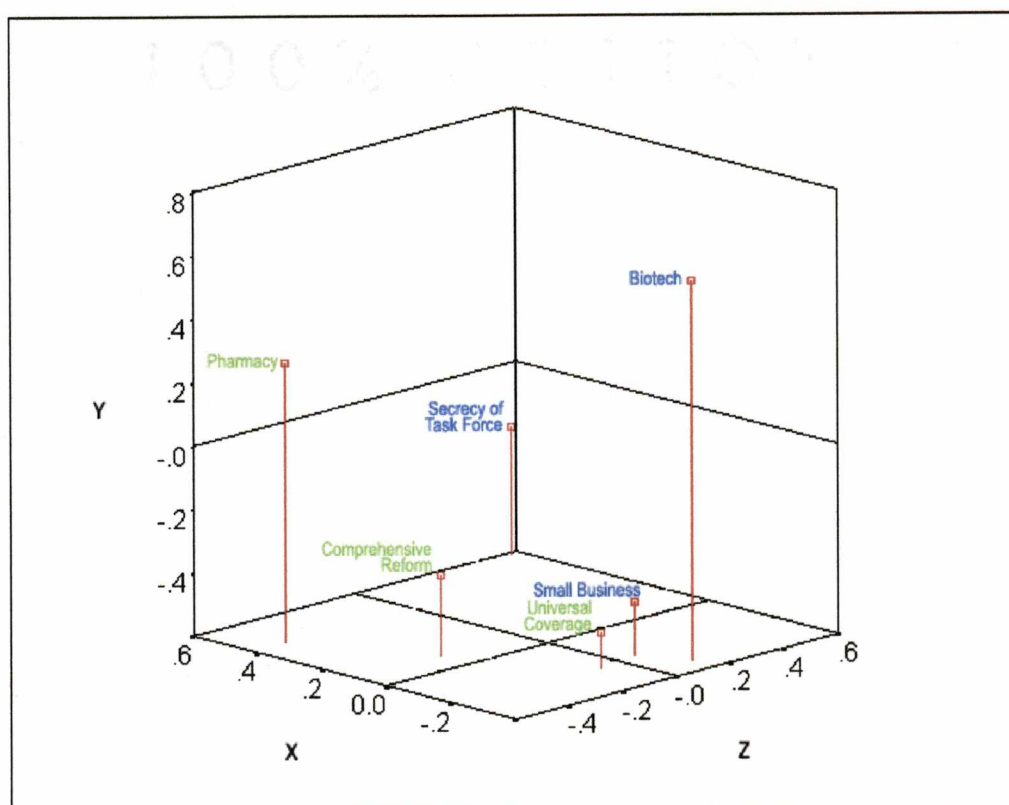


Figure 4.1: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in newspaper stories

possible impact of Clinton's health care plan on employment, they may always mention the prediction of job loss by both small business and biotechnology companies. If this description was used often and consistently, then these two frames should be found in close proximity on the plot. A single mention of a shared view would not be enough to cause a relationship to be evident on the graph. (The relationships among the stakeholders' frames in the newspaper stories are explored even further in "Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.")

The 3-D plot of the stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories shows that the favoring frames are not found in close proximity to one another, and the opposing frames are not found in close proximity to one another. In most cases, this is not surprising, because each frame presents a different position concerning health care reform.

One unexpected positioning is that the universal coverage frame and the comprehensive reform frame are not discussed together in the newspaper stories as they were in the news releases ("Figure 3.2: 3-Dimensional plot of frame positions in news releases"). In the news releases, these two frames were in close proximity because of the contextual overlap. It appears that the topics of universal coverage and comprehensive reform were discussed as separate items by journalists in the newspaper stories.

The only frames in close proximity are universal coverage and small business. It appears that these two topics were discussed together often in newspaper stories. After reviewing the frames in context for the rhetorical analysis in "Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis," the researcher discovered that these two issues were discussed together often in newspaper stories.

SUMMARY

The results of this analysis support the two main, general hypotheses that stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspapers stories across time and that news frames shift across time. Stakeholders' key terms were used by journalists in the discussions of health care reform in newspaper stories. Also, the news coverage of five of six frames either significantly increased or decreased from phase one to phase two.

The results of the analyses of comparing trends in news coverage of stakeholders' frames to the trends in public opinion gave conflicting results. Some of the trends of newspaper coverage of stakeholders' frames supported the hypothesis, some failed to support the hypothesis, and some contradicted the hypothesis. The trends of newspaper coverage of two of the sets of favoring stakeholder key terms, comprehensive reform and pharmacy, decreased significantly across time, supporting the hypothesis. The trends of newspaper coverage of the third set of favoring stakeholder key terms, universal coverage, actually increased significantly across time, contradicting the hypothesis. Of the sets of opposing stakeholders' key terms, only one set supported the hypothesis—small business. The trends of newspaper coverage of the set of small business key terms, increased significantly across time, supporting the hypothesis. The trends of newspaper coverage of the biotechnology key terms decreased significantly across time, contradicting the hypothesis. Finally, the trends of newspaper coverage of the secrecy key terms appeared to have increased slightly across time, but not to a significant degree, failing to support the hypothesis. The contradictions to the hypotheses warrant further investigation and are

discussed in greater detail in “Chapter 5: News Frames and Public Opinion” and in
“Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis.”

CHAPTER 5: NEWS FRAMES AND PUBLIC OPINION

In the previous chapter, the impact of stakeholders' frames on news frames was analyzed. In this chapter, the possible impact of news frames on public opinion is examined. This chapter discusses the methods used to measure the relationship between news frames and public opinion, the methods for gathering data, the methods for analysis, and the results of the analysis.

In the literature review, the influence of news frames on public opinion was described. Most studies show that news frames do have an impact on public opinion (e.g., Iyengar & Simon, 1993; McCombs, et al., 1991; Nelson et al., 1997). Some researchers have also found that the influence of news frames increases when the media introduce an unfamiliar or complex issue (Graber, 1988; Williams et al., 1991), which may result from the media being the audiences' only source for information (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Clinton's plan for health care reform was new, complex, and extensive, covering a wide variety of issues.

Because the presentation of issues in the news can affect public opinion, especially with issues such as Clinton's plan, the presentation of several issues of health care reform is the focus of this analysis. As described in the literature review, a news frame usually consists of more than one frame, but with one frame most likely being dominant. The dominant frame is defined as the frame receiving the most coverage in the newspaper articles. The most dominant frame in news coverage is probably the one with the greatest

impact on public opinion, because it has “the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most people” (Entman, 1993, p. 56).

This analysis compares the rise and fall of frame dominance with the trends of public opinion. As shown above, when coverage of a frame increases, the probability of influence on the public is greater. Likewise, if the coverage of a frame decreases, then the impact on the public should decrease as well. For example, does public support for Clinton’s plan rise and fall with the increasing or decreasing amount of news coverage being devoted to a stakeholder’s frame? If coverage rises, does influence rise? The research question being addressed in this analysis is as follows: Is there a systematic relationship between trends in stakeholder frame coverage in newspaper stories and the trends in public support, or lack of support, for Clinton’s plan for health care reform?

METHODS

In this section, the collection and description of data is given, and the methods of analysis are explained. The sample of data needed to determine the trends of newspaper coverage of stakeholders’ frames is available from the data used in the analysis of newspaper coverage of stakeholders’ frames in “Chapter 4: Stakeholders’ Frames and News Frames.” The data needed to determine the trend in public opinion is available from various public opinion databases. The details of data collection are described in the following sections. The description of data collection is followed by a description of the methods for analysis using Pearson’s correlation coefficient.

COLLECTION OF NEWSPAPER STORIES

To help ensure optimum effects on opinion polls, the time frame for collecting newspaper stories that were published prior to each poll must be determined. Several studies have been conducted that attempt to determine the time frame for which newspaper stories have the optimum effect on public opinion.

In a summary of agenda-setting studies addressing the issue of the time frame for which newspaper stories have the optimum effect on public opinion, Winter and Eyal reviewed several studies. In an agenda-setting study conducted by McCombs, Becker, and Weaver, the optimal time frame for significant effect of news stories was between two to five months (1975). In another agenda-setting study, Stone found that two months of news stories prior to the poll showed an increase in correlation between media coverage and the public's agenda(1975). And lastly, in a study performed by Winter and Eyal, the optimum time frame was two to six weeks prior to polling (1981). Because these studies estimate that the optimum effects occur approximately two months prior to polling, this study will use the newspaper stories published two months prior to each of the polls. The sample of newspaper stories was taken from the newspaper stories collected for the analysis of stakeholders' frames found in newspaper stories in "Chapter 4: Stakeholders' Frames and News Frames." The newspaper stories were taken from *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. The sample consists of all newspaper articles published during the two months prior to each opinion poll.

COLLECTION OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Because health care reform was such a prominent issue, numerous polls were taken during the debate over Clinton's plan for health care reform. The first step in gathering poll data was to choose the most appropriate type of poll questions for this analysis. Because the polls were going to be correlated with the stakeholder frames (frames representing support for or opposition to some aspect of Clinton's health care reform plan), then the poll questions needed to ask about the public's support or opposition to Clinton's plan. The search was limited to poll questions asking about Clinton's plan for health care reform specifically. Also, the question had to ask, in some way, whether the subject either favored or opposed Clinton's plan. For example, some of the acceptable questions used are as follows:

- In general, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care reform plan?
- Overall, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's plan for reforming the health care system?
- From what you know of it, do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's health care plan?

Poll questions meeting the criteria outlined above and their results were downloaded from Roper's online public opinion database, which can be accessed via Lexis-Nexis <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/>>; from the online survey database at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's ODEM Institute <<http://www.irss.unc.edu>>; and from the Gallup Polls (Gallup, 1994; Gallup, 1995).¹ The search of the databases was limited to the

1. For the complete list of poll questions and results, please see "Appendix G: Poll Questions and Results."

time frame for this study—January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994. In total, 45 public opinion polls were collected.

CORRELATION

To determine whether a systematic relationship exists between the amount of news coverage of stakeholder frames and public opinion, the strength of the linear relationship between these two variables was found using Pearson's correlation coefficient and the coefficient of determination. Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) measures the strength of the linear relationship between two variables, and the coefficient of determination (r^2) measures the percentage of common variance between two variables.

The correlation coefficient determines if the independent variables (frequencies of stakeholder key terms in news stories) and the dependent variables (public opinion poll results) covary, the direction in which they covary, and the extent to which they covary.¹ However, it is important not to over-interpret a significant correlation. A significant correlation merely states that a relationship exists and does not state the cause of that relationship.

If a significant correlation exists, the relationship between the two variables can be either positive or negative. The value of r can range between -1 and 1 , indicating either a positive or negative relationship. A value of 1 is a perfect positive correlation; a value of -1 is a perfect negative, or inverse, correlation; and a value of 0 is no correlation. If the variables are positively correlated, then the high values of X tend to co-occur with the high values of Y , and the low values of X tend to co-occur with the low values of Y . If the

1. The variables used for this study are explained further in the following sections.

variables are inversely correlated, then the high values of X tend to co-occur with the low values of Y and vice versa.

Once the correlation coefficient is determined, the coefficient of determination, r^2 , can be calculated. The coefficient of determination tells more of the relationship between two correlating variables. As described above, the value of r^2 shows the proportion of shared variance between the two variables. This value can be interpreted as the percentage of variance in the dependent variable (public opinion poll results) that is accounted for by the independent variable (frequency of stakeholder key terms in news stories).

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This section contains descriptions of the data and the variables used in this analysis. Also, descriptions of the correlations among variables are provided, followed by the hypotheses and results.

DESCRIPTION OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

There were 45 polls collected from various databases. The number of polls per month is provided in "Figure 5.1: Polls per month." The dates of the polls range from September 12, 1993 to August 4, 1994. The total number of polls found was taken within the time frame for this study—January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994.

The first two months show the highest number of polls taken. This is probably due to the announcement of the National Health Security Act (NHSA) on September 22nd. In addition to the high number of polls the first two months, there are two other surges in the

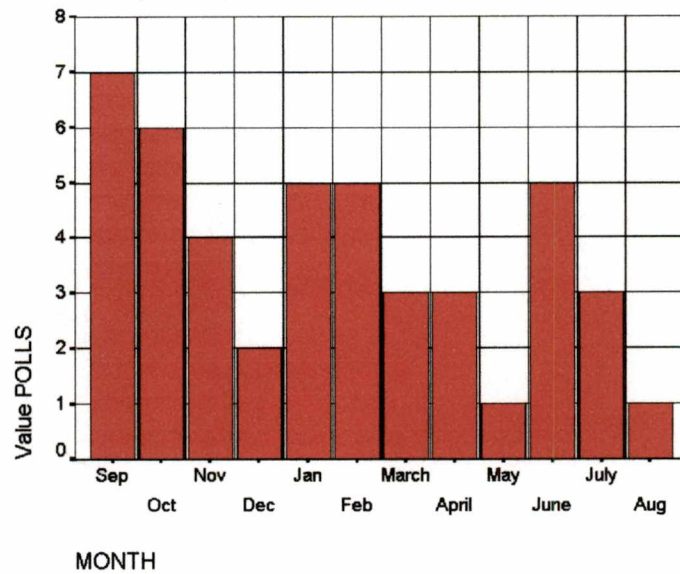


Figure 5.1: Polls per month

number of polls taken—January and June. The surge in January may be due to the President's State of the Union Address and the heightened interest in health care that resulted. The surge in June may be due to the meetings of various Congressional committees that were debating the health care bill.

DESCRIPTION OF NEWSPAPER STORIES

There were 45 sets of newspaper stories collected. Each set of stories corresponds with each of the 45 polls. As described above, each set of newspaper stories consists of all the stories published by *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post* during the two months prior to each poll. The trends of stakeholder frame coverage in the newspaper stories are defined as the average number of stakeholder key terms per newspaper story. VBPro's Coder program was used to code each of the 45 sets of newspaper stories for all six sets of key terms (comprehensive reform, pharmacy,

universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy). The output from the Coder program generated 45 files with the total number of key terms found in each story. Then, the average number of key terms per story for each of the six frames was calculated for each of the 45 sets of stories. The reason the average number of key terms was used instead of the total number of terms is that there were dramatic shifts in the number of stories published across time. For example, in late September 1993, there were hundreds of newspaper articles published about Clinton's health care plan that had been officially announced on September 22nd. Because of the high number of articles being published at this time, the total number of key terms would be great. However, the high number of frames would be due to the number of articles being published and not to a particular interest in any one frame. To avoid any misrepresentation, the average number of key terms per story was used instead of the total number of key terms. So, in total, there were six sets of average key terms—one for each frame—for each of the 45 sets of stories.

VARIABLES

The variables in this analysis consist of the independent variable—the average number of key terms per story representing each of the six frames—and the dependent variable—the percentage of public support and the percentage of public opposition as found in the public opinion polls. As stated above, the variables are analyzed using Pearson's correlation coefficient.

Z-SCORES

In addition to providing the correlations of the trends found in this analysis, trends are also compared graphically. To show accurate representations of comparisons of the trends, the variables had to be standardized. Standardized scores, or z-scores, offer a way to compare variables on a graph that were originally measured on different scales. In this study, the percentages of public opinion poll results and the average number of key terms in newspaper stories do not use the same scale of measurement, so they are based on different means and standard deviations. By standardizing the percentages of the polls and the averages of key terms, the variables can be graphically compared on the same scale with the same mean and standard deviation.

To standardize scores, each value is measured by how many standard deviation units it falls above or below the mean. The new mean for both variables is zero. The values falling above the mean are given positive values, and the values are calculated by counting the number of standard deviations the value is above the mean. The values falling below the mean are given negative values, and the values are calculated by counting the number of standard deviations the value is below the mean. This transformation gives all scores a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one, allowing the two sets of values to be graphically compared on the same scale.

CORRELATION MATRIX

This section contains descriptions of the correlation matrix results, which include an overview of the following: public opinion results, inter-frame relationships among the three favoring frames (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage), and inter-

frame relationships among the three opposing frames (biotechnology, small business, secrecy). Then, the hypotheses and the results are presented.

The correlation matrix shown in "Table 5.1: Correlation Matrix." lists the correlations among the variables. Each of the correlations is discussed in the sections that follow.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL RESULTS

"Figure 5.2: Public opinion poll results" given below shows the trends of the public opinion poll results for those favoring or opposing Clinton's plan for health care reform. The graph also includes the "No Opinion" category.

There is a significant inverse correlation between favor and oppose with $r = -.745$ and a significance of $p < .0001$. The coefficient of determination is approximately $r^2 = .56$, meaning that the variables share a variance of 56 percent. According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a marked relationship with high correlation (in Williams, 1979). The reason the two variables do not have a perfect inverse correlation and a higher coefficient of determination is the inclusion of the "No Opinion" category.

The graph appears to show a gradual decrease in support for the plan, and a gradual increase in opposition to the plan. The "No Opinion" category shows a very slight decrease across time. The trends may indicate that as the debate progressed, some of those who were undecided may have made the decision to oppose the plan. Because the favor and oppose variables are not perfectly, inversely related, the correlation results for both the percentage of those favoring the plan and the percentage of those opposing the plan must be examined.

Table 5.1: Correlation Matrix

	Favor	Oppose	Biotech	Small Bus.	Secrecy	Comp. Reform	Pharm.	Univ. Cov.
Favor Plan								
Correlation (r)	1.000	-.745	.357	-.448	.540	.444	.377	-.485
Significance		.000	.008	.001	.000	.001	.005	.000
Oppose Plan								
Correlation (r)	-.745	1.000	-.373	.347	-.502	-.565	-.500	.541
Significance	.000		.006	.010	.000	.000	.000	.000
Biotechnology								
Correlation (r)	.357	-.373	1.000	-.544	.388	.324	.524	-.846
Significance	.008	.006		.000	.004	.015	.000	.000
Small Business								
Correlation (r)	-.448	.347	-.544	1.000	-.714	-.076	-.223	.637
Significance	.001	.010	.000		.000	.309	.071	.000
Secrecy								
Correlation (r)	.540	-.502	.388	-.714	1.000	.124	.157	-.420
Significance	.000	.000	.004	.000		.209	.151	.002
Comprehensive Reform								
Correlation (r)	.444	-.565	.324	-.076	.124	1.000	.875	-.427
Significance	.001	.000	.015	.309	.209		.000	.002
Pharmacy								
Correlation (r)	.377	-.500	.524	-.223	.157	.875	1.000	-.641
Significance	.005	.000	.000	.071	.151	.000		.000
Universal Coverage								
Correlation (r)	-.485	.541	-.846	.637	-.420	-.427	-.641	1.000
Significance	.000	.000	.000	.000	.002	.002	.000	

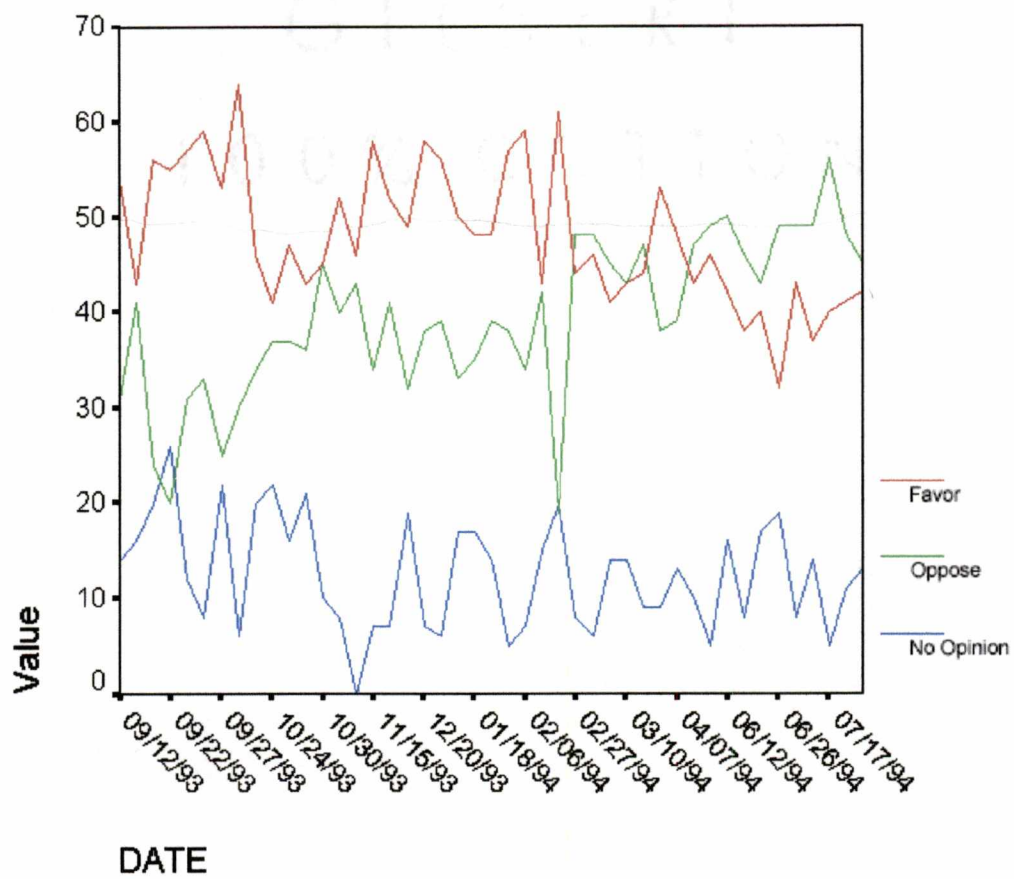


Figure 5.2: Public opinion poll results

INTER-FRAME INTERACTION FOR FAVORING FRAMES

“Figure 5.3: Inter-frame interaction among the mean z-scores for favoring key term frequency in newspaper stories” given below shows the average frequency of the three sets of favoring key terms (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage) in newspaper stories two months prior to each of the 45 public opinion polls.

Inter-frame Correlations

The correlations and shared variances for the three sets of favoring key terms are as follows:

Comprehensive Reform and Pharmacy	$r = .875$	$r^2 = .77$	$p < .0001$
Comprehensive Reform and Universal Coverage	$r = -.427$	$r^2 = .18$	$p < .002$
Pharmacy and Universal Coverage	$r = -.641$	$r^2 = .41$	$p < .0001$

All of the inter-frame correlations given above are significant. The comprehensive reform and pharmacy frames are positively correlated and appear to decrease across time. According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, the correlation of $r = .875$ is a marked relationship with high correlation (in Williams, 1979). However, the universal coverage frame is negatively correlated with both the comprehensive reform and pharmacy frames. With correlations of $r = -.427$ and $r = -.641$, universal coverage has a moderate inverse correlation with comprehensive reform and a substantial inverse relationship with pharmacy frames (Guilford, in Williams, 1975).

After reviewing the literature describing the events surrounding the health care reform debate, the information did not offer many explanations for the trends of either comprehensive reform or pharmacy key terms usage by the news. The increase in

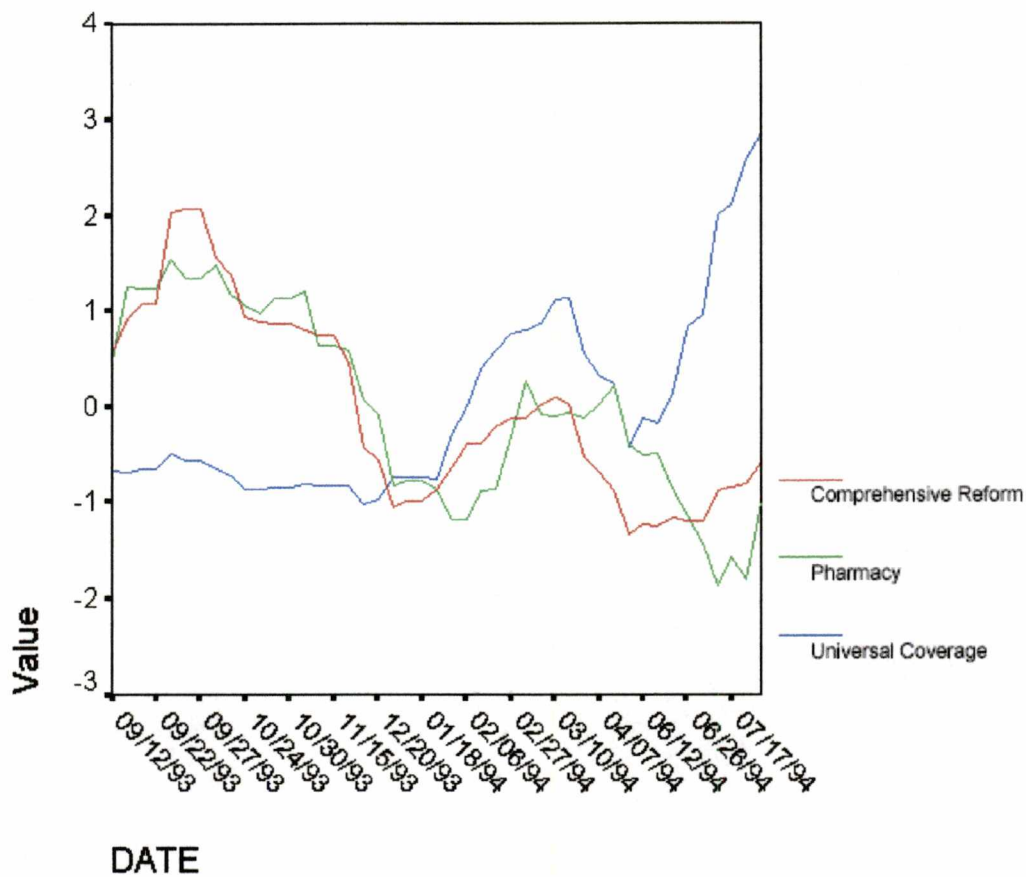


Figure 5.3: Inter-frame interaction among the mean z-scores for favoring key term frequency in newspaper stories

coverage of both frames in late September may be due to the announcement of the National Health Security Act on September 22, 1993. This is the only point in coverage attributable to an event discussed in health care reform literature. For example, the review did not reveal any public statements about comprehensive reform or about the role of pharmacies by policymakers that would have caused an increase in newspaper coverage. However, events were found that may explain the trends in universal coverage.

The universal coverage frame increases sharply in late January and again in late July. The rise in the average usage of the universal coverage key terms may be attributable to a series of events beginning in late January.¹ On January 25, 1994, President Clinton stressed his unwavering dedication to universal coverage and claimed that he would veto any health care bill that did not include a plan for universal coverage. The definition of universal coverage, the rate at which it would be implemented, and the means for funding became a point of debate in Washington. Then, on July 19, 1994, health care reform was floundering in committees over the issue of universal coverage. The attention and controversy that surrounded the issue of universal coverage from January until the end of the polling most likely influenced the increase in news coverage.

INTER-FRAME INTERACTION FOR OPPOSING FRAMES

“Figure 5.4: Inter-frame interaction among the mean z-scores for opposing key term frequency in newspaper stories” shows the average frequency of the three sets of opposing key terms (biotechnology, small business, secrecy) in newspaper stories two months prior to each of the 45 public opinion polls.

1. For a complete timetable of events, please “Appendix E: Timeline for the Health Care Reform Debate.”

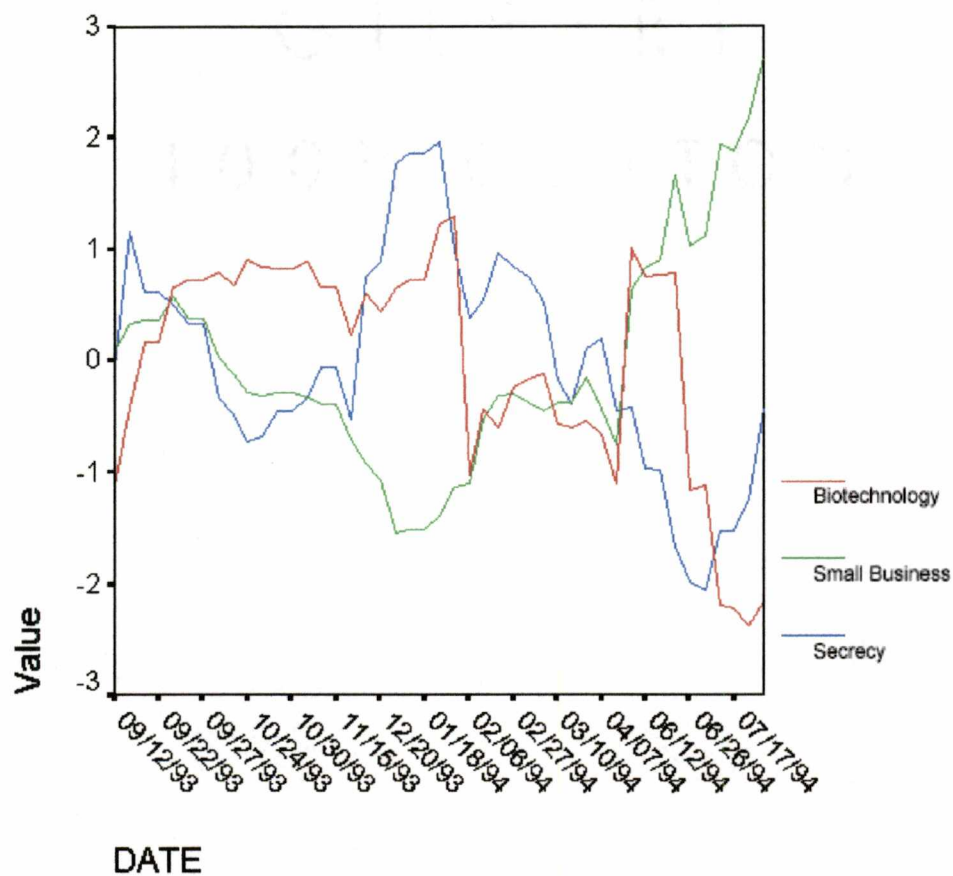


Figure 5.4: Inter-frame interaction among the mean z-scores for opposing key term frequency in newspaper stories

Inter-frame Correlations

The correlations and shared variances for the three sets of opposing key terms are as follows:

Biotechnology and Small Business	$r = -.544$	$r^2 = .30$	$p < .0001$
Biotechnology and Secrecy of Task Force	$r = .388$	$r^2 = .15$	$p < .004$
Small Business and Secrecy of Task Force	$r = -.714$	$r^2 = .51$	$p < .0001$

All of the inter-frame correlations given above are significant. The average use of the small business key terms increases across time. The sets of biotechnology and secrecy key terms are inversely correlated with the small business key terms and appear to decrease across time, with the secrecy frame decreasing at a faster rate. After a review of the literature of events surrounding the health care debate, there were several events which may account for the trends in usage of the key terms for each of the three opposing groups of stakeholders.

The average use of the small business key terms drops almost immediately after the health care plan is introduced in late September, then begins a steady climb in January and February. The rise in interest in employer mandates, which were to be placed on small businesses as part of Clinton's plan, began in early 1994. The increased interest in the small business frame by the news media may have resulted from the focus of the health care debate turning toward the argument over employer mandates. Also, the issue of employer mandates was causing Clinton to lose support from several business organizations.

In early February 1994, the Business Roundtable not only withdrew support for the Clinton plan, but also gave support to a rival health care plan that was introduced by

Representative Jim Cooper. Also, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the board of the National Association of Manufacturer's declared their opposition to the plan. Then, on April 21, 1994, Jim Slattery, a member of the Waxman's Health Subcommittee, stated that he would oppose any bill that contained employer-mandates.

In mid-June, there is a final surge in use of small business key terms in the newspapers. The attention may be due to the debates over employer mandates taking place in congressional committees. For example, on June 11, Bob Dole threatened to fight any health care bill with an employer mandate. Then, on June 28, 1994, the House Committee on Energy and Commerce announces deadlock over employer mandates.

The issue of biotechnology was not causing as much of a stir as the issue of small businesses and employer mandates, but it did enjoy two notable increases in coverage. In early November through late January, Clinton and the pharmaceutical companies exchanged criticisms. Clinton claimed that pharmaceutical companies were charging too much for prescription drugs, causing "elderly Americans to skip meals to pay for medicine." The pharmaceutical companies responded that the prices accurately reflected the costs of research. This verbal exchange resulted in a brief period of increased news coverage. The second surge in newspaper coverage began in late April when the pharmaceutical companies celebrated a big victory over Clinton's efforts to regulate prescription drug prices. The House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John D. Dingell made a public announcement that he would "work to eliminate" the president's plans for an Advisory Council on Breakthrough Drugs—a council that would monitor prescription drug prices.

The use of the secrecy key terms had a steep increase in coverage in early December that continues through late January. Then, from late January until the end of the polling, the coverage decreases. The surge in coverage in late 1993 and early 1994 is probably from the litigation over the secrecy of the President's Task Force on Health Care. The task force held all meetings in secret and kept all documents and records secret.

Most of the court drama had played out before the polling began. However, the rise in news coverage at the beginning of the polling period in August and September caught the end of the debate over the distribution of task force documents. After the release of the documents, the news coverage declines until December 1994. The renewed interest in the secrecy of the task force began when a federal judge accused Ira Magaziner, the top task force advisor, of perjury on December 21, 1993. The judge requested a criminal investigation. However, the investigation was never conducted. Because of the decrease in court activity, the interest of the news media probably declined.

SUMMARY

The public opinion polls show a gradual decrease in support for the Clinton's plan and a general increase in opposition to Clinton's plan across time. If the news frames were successful in influencing public opinion, then the general trend in the average usage of favoring key terms should decrease across time, and the average usage of opposing key terms should increase across time. The trends of the average use of key terms described in "Chapter 4: Stakeholders' Frames and News Frames" and in the sections on inter-frame interaction show possible support for and possible contradiction to the expected trends. In

the following section, the hypotheses and results from the analyses examine the possible significance of these trends.

NEWS COVERAGE AND PUBLIC OPINION

The research questions address the possible influence of stakeholders' frames found in newspaper stories on the public opinion during the debate over Clinton's health care plan. The following sections provide the research hypotheses and the results of the analyses.

COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

The first research question addresses the relationship between favoring public opinion poll results and the average number of comprehensive reform key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H_1 = When the occurrence of the average number of comprehensive reform key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those supporting the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant positive relationship between the percentage of those favoring Clinton's plan and the average number of comprehensive reform key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = .444$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 20 percent, with a significance of $p < .001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is in "Figure 5.5: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories."

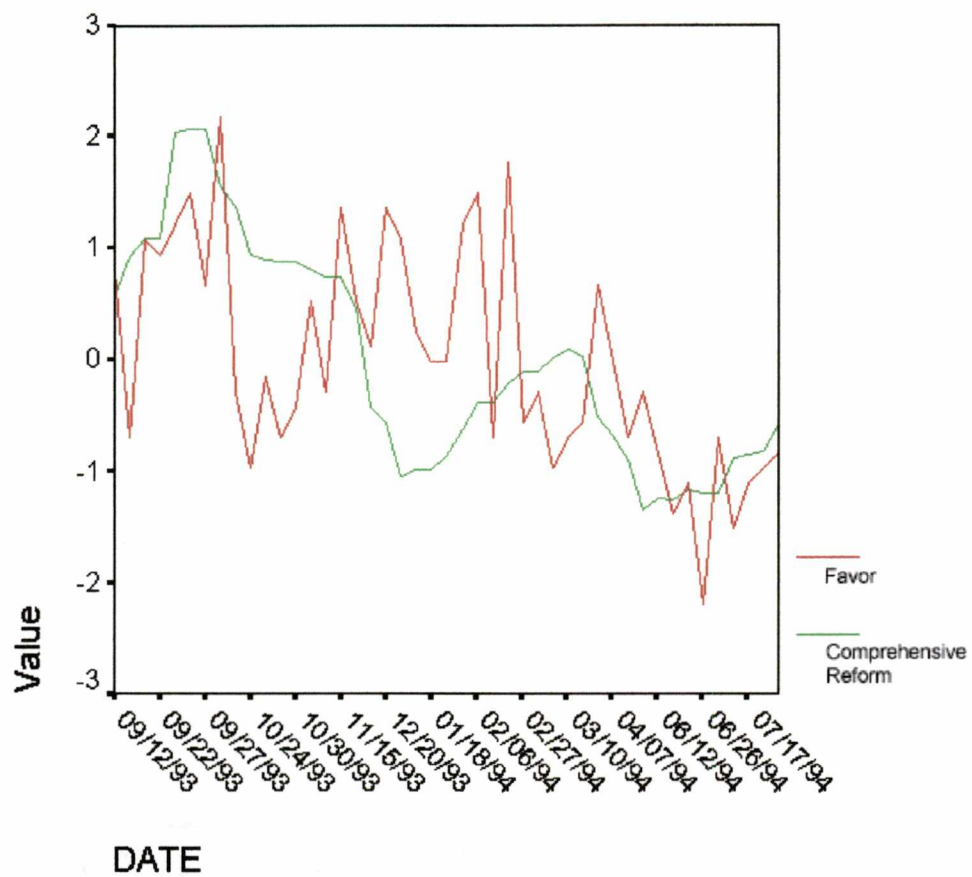


Figure 5.5: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories

According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the stakeholders' view on comprehensive reform during the two months prior to the polls may have had an impact on the public's support of Clinton's plan for health care reform.

PHARMACY

The second research question addresses the relationship between favoring public opinion poll results and the average number of pharmacy key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H₂ = When the occurrence of the average number of pharmacy key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those supporting the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant positive relationship between the percentage of those favoring Clinton's plan and the average number of pharmacy key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = .377$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 14 percent, with a significance of $p < .005$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.6: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a definite, but small relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the stakeholders' view on the role of pharmacies during the two months prior to the polls may have had an impact on the public's support of Clinton's plan.

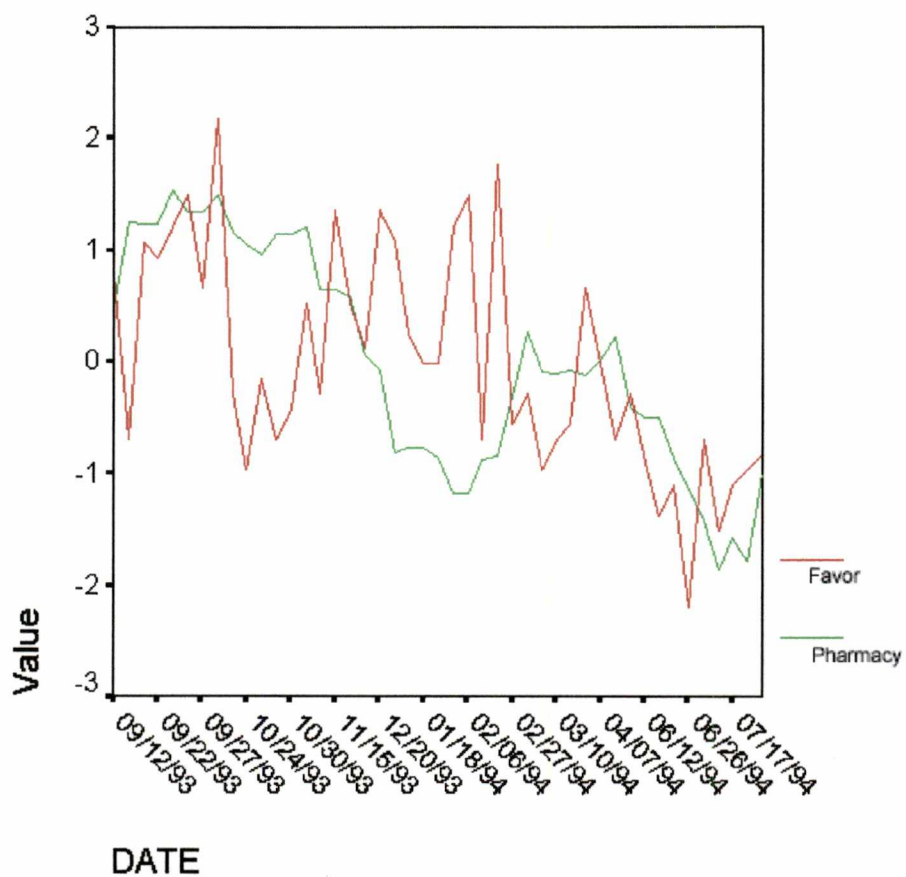


Figure 5.6: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories

UNIVERSAL COVERAGE

The third research question addresses the relationship between favoring public opinion poll results and the average number of universal coverage key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H₃ = When the occurrence of the average number of universal coverage key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those supporting the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant *inverse* relationship between the percentage of those favoring Clinton's plan and the average number of universal coverage key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.485$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 25 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.7: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for universal coverage key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship contradicts the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the stakeholders' view on universal coverage during the two months prior to the polls did *not* have an impact on the public's support of Clinton's plan for health care reform.

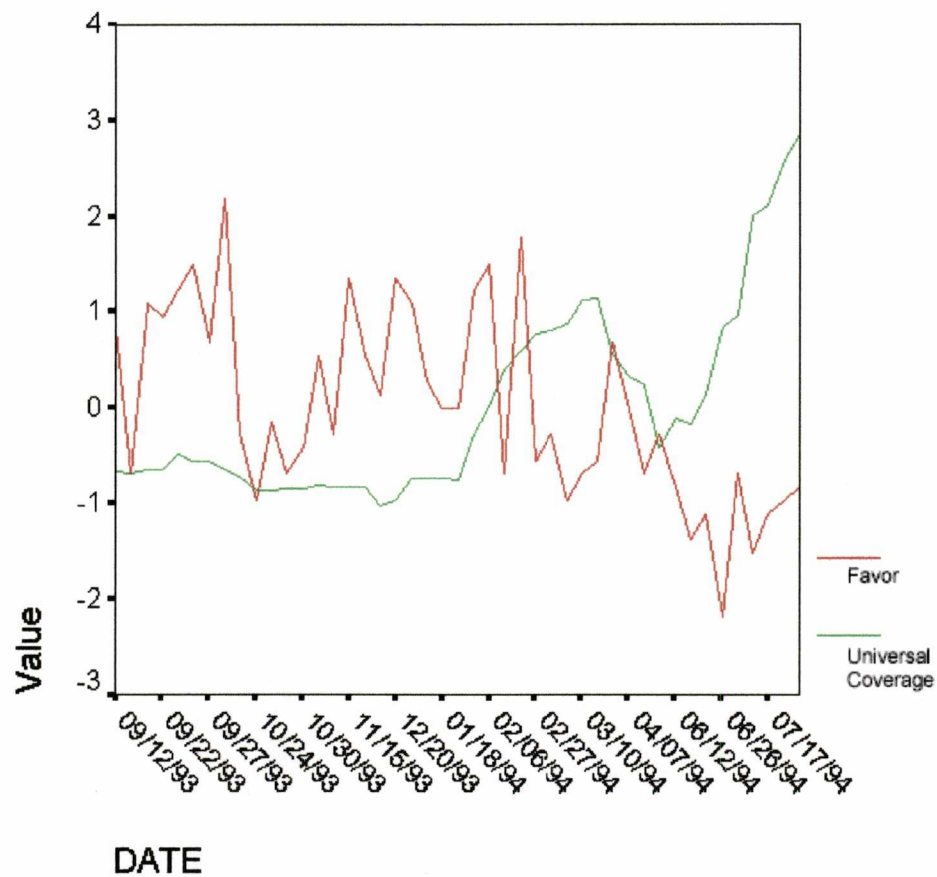


Figure 5.7: Percentage z-scores of those favoring Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for universal coverage key term frequency in newspaper stories

BIOTECHNOLOGY

The fourth research question addresses the relationship between opposing public opinion poll results and the average number of biotechnology key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H₄ = When the occurrence of the average number of biotechnology key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those opposing the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant *inverse* relationship between the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan and the average number of biotechnology key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.373$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 14 percent, with a significance of $p < .006$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.8: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for biotechnology key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a definite, but small relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship contradicts the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the opposing stakeholders' view on biotechnology during the two months prior to the polls did *not* have an impact on the public's opposition to Clinton's plan for health care reform.

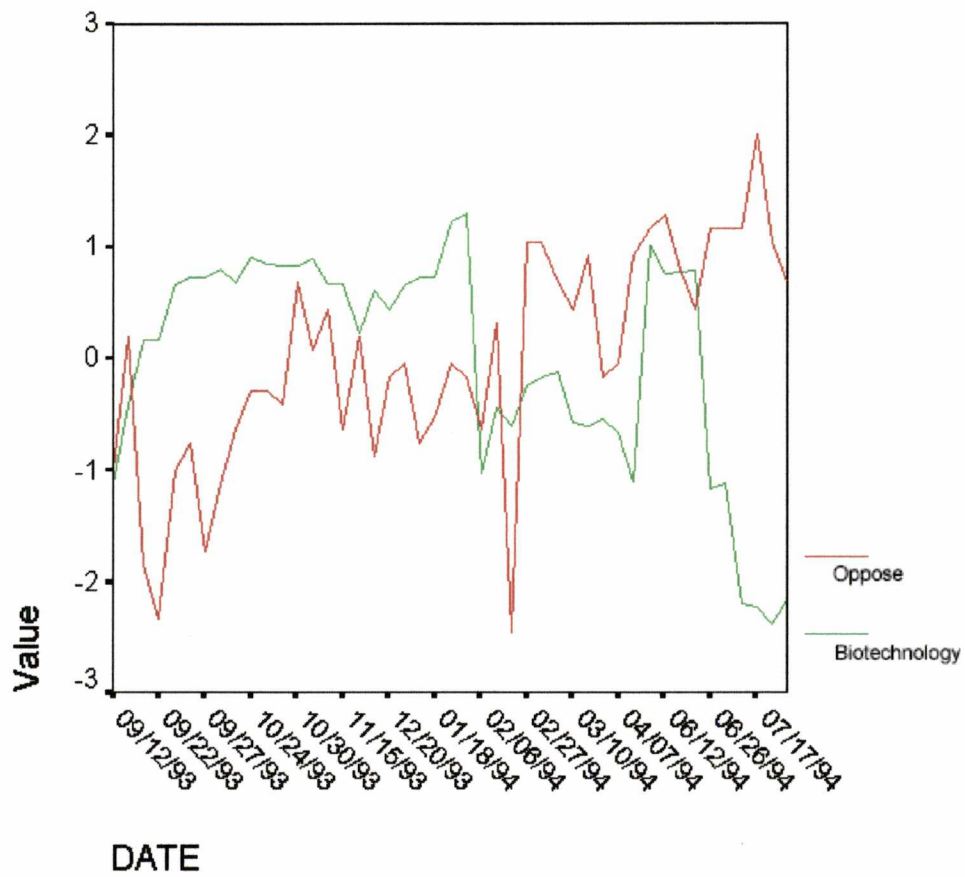


Figure 5.8: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for biotechnology key term frequency in newspaper stories

SMALL BUSINESS

The fifth research question addresses the relationship between opposing public opinion poll results and the average number of small business key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H₅ = When the occurrence of the average number of small business key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those opposing the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant positive relationship between the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan and the average number of small business key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = .347$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 12 percent, with a significance of $p < .010$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.9: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for small business key term frequency in newspaper stories."

According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a definite, but small relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the opposing stakeholders' view on small businesses during the two months prior to the polls may have had an impact on the public's opposition to Clinton's plan for health care reform.

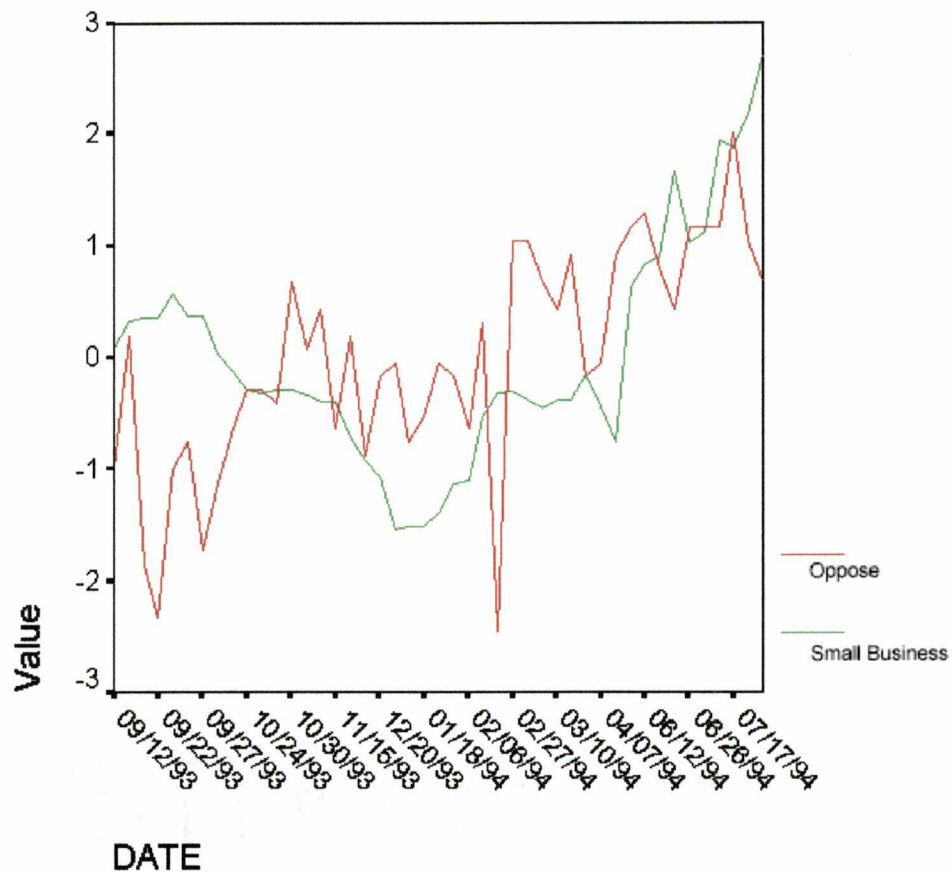


Figure 5.9: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for small business key term frequency in newspaper stories

SECRECY OF TASK FORCE

The sixth research question addresses the relationship between opposing public opinion poll results and the average number of secrecy key terms found in the newspaper stories:

H₆ = When the occurrence of the average number of secrecy key terms increases or decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the percentage of those opposing the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

There is a significant *inverse* relationship between the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan and the average number of secrecy key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.502$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 25 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.10: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for secrecy key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship contradicts the research hypothesis.* It appears that the newspaper coverage of the opposing stakeholders' view on the secrecy of the President's Task Force for Health Care Reform during the two months prior to the polls did *not* have an impact on the public's opposition to Clinton's plan for health care reform.

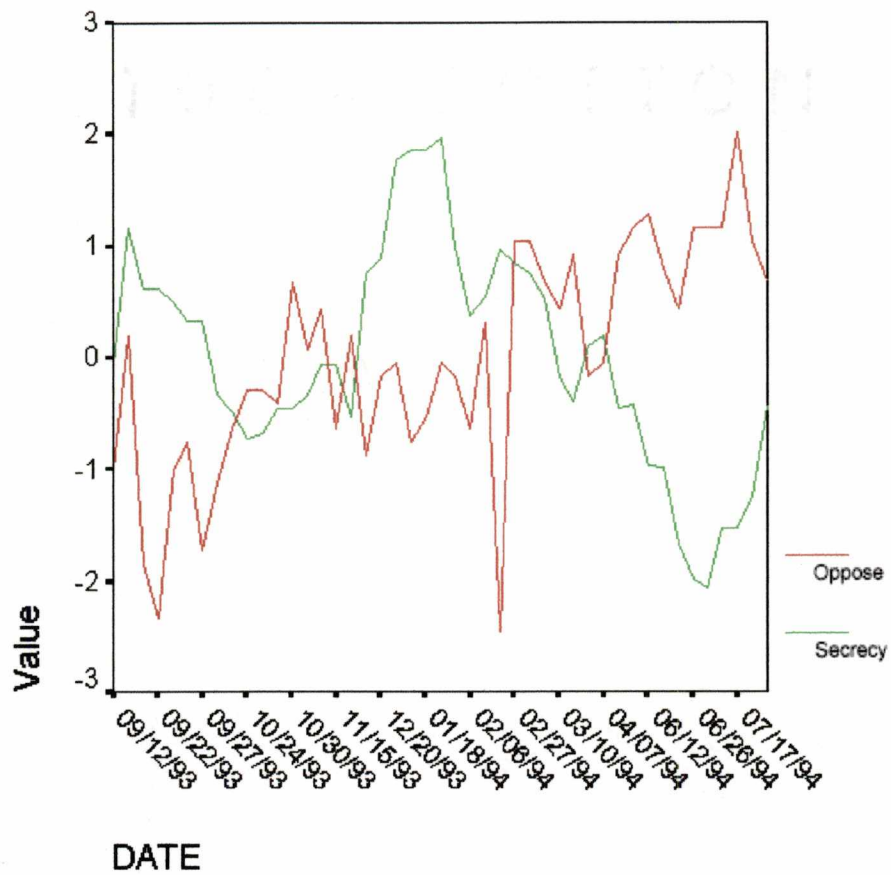


Figure 5.10: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for secrecy key term frequency in newspaper stories

SUMMARY

In the previous section, the descriptions of the trends in public opinion and news frames showed that there would probably be evidence to support and to contradict the hypotheses. The results of the analysis did show both support and contradiction of the hypotheses. Therefore, the research question of whether there are systematic relationships between trends in news frames and the trends in public opinion toward Clinton's plan for health care reform remains uncertain. The trends in the two sets of key terms for comprehensive reform and pharmacy show significant support for such a systematic relationship, while the trend for the third set of favoring key terms for universal coverage not only fails to support the hypothesis, but significantly contradicts it. The trends of the sets of opposing key terms show even less support. The trend for the set of small businesses key terms is the only set of opposing key terms that shows support for its hypothesis, while the other sets of key terms for biotechnology and secrecy both show contradiction.

The results of this analysis did not offer any conclusive evidence that the representation of stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories had an effect on the public's opinion of Clinton's plan's for health care reform. The representation of stakeholders frames in newspaper stories is explored further in "Chapter 6: Rhetorical Analysis."

Some of the results of the analyses offer questions that may be answered by post hoc testing. Because there was very little increase in the use of opposing key terms across time, perhaps the increase in public opposition to the Clinton plan was, instead, influenced by the *lack* of favoring news frames. Also, the trends in newspaper coverage of two of the

favoring frames, comprehensive reform and pharmacy, could not be explained by a series of newsworthy events. Little insight was available as to what motivated the trends in reporting these two issues. Perhaps these trends were driven by the frequency of news release distribution. These questions are explored in the following section.

POST HOC TESTING

This section explores the questions that arose from the results of the planned analyses on the possibility of the impact of news frames on public opinion. The first set of questions directly addresses the original research question of whether there is an influence of news frames on public opinion. Instead of hypothesizing that an increase in opposing news frames led to an increase in the public's opposition to Clinton's plan, the post hoc analysis looks at whether a decrease in favoring news coverage led to the increase in the public's opposition to Clinton's plan. The second set of questions, however, searches only for more satisfying explanations for some of the trends in newspaper coverage. The post hoc research questions, data, analyses, and results are described in the following sections.

IMPACT OF FAVORING FRAME USAGE

The first set of post hoc research questions attempts to answer whether there is a significant *inverse* relationship between the decrease in favoring stakeholder frames in newspaper stories and the increase in the public's opposition to Clinton's plan for health care reform. This question will be addressed using two of the three favoring stakeholders' frames—the comprehensive reform frame and the pharmacy frame. The trend of usage of

the universal coverage key terms did not support the original hypothesis and did not decrease across time; therefore, it is not a suitable candidate for the post hoc analysis.

The variables and the analysis are the same as the original analysis. The same sets of key terms in newspaper stories were used, as well as the same sets of public opinion polls. The independent variable is the average number of key terms per newspaper story, and the dependent variable is the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan for health care reform. The data was analyzed using Pearson's correlation coefficient. (This method of analysis is explained earlier in this chapter.)

COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

The first post hoc research question addresses the relationship between the average number of comprehensive reform key terms found in the newspaper stories and the increase in opposing public opinion poll results across time:

H_1 = When the occurrence of the average number of comprehensive reform key terms decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase in the percentage of those opposing the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

The results of the analysis show that there is a significant inverse relationship between the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan for health care reform and the average number of comprehensive reform key terms used in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.565$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 32 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in

“Figure 5.11: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton’s plan and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories.” According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the post hoc research hypothesis.*

The graph shows that when usage of the comprehensive key terms is high, from mid-September to the beginning of December, opposition remains low. Also, as usage of the key terms decreases, the opposition begins to rise. This relationship indicates that the lack of positive information about comprehensive reform may have had an impact on the public’s opposition to Clinton’s plan for health care reform.

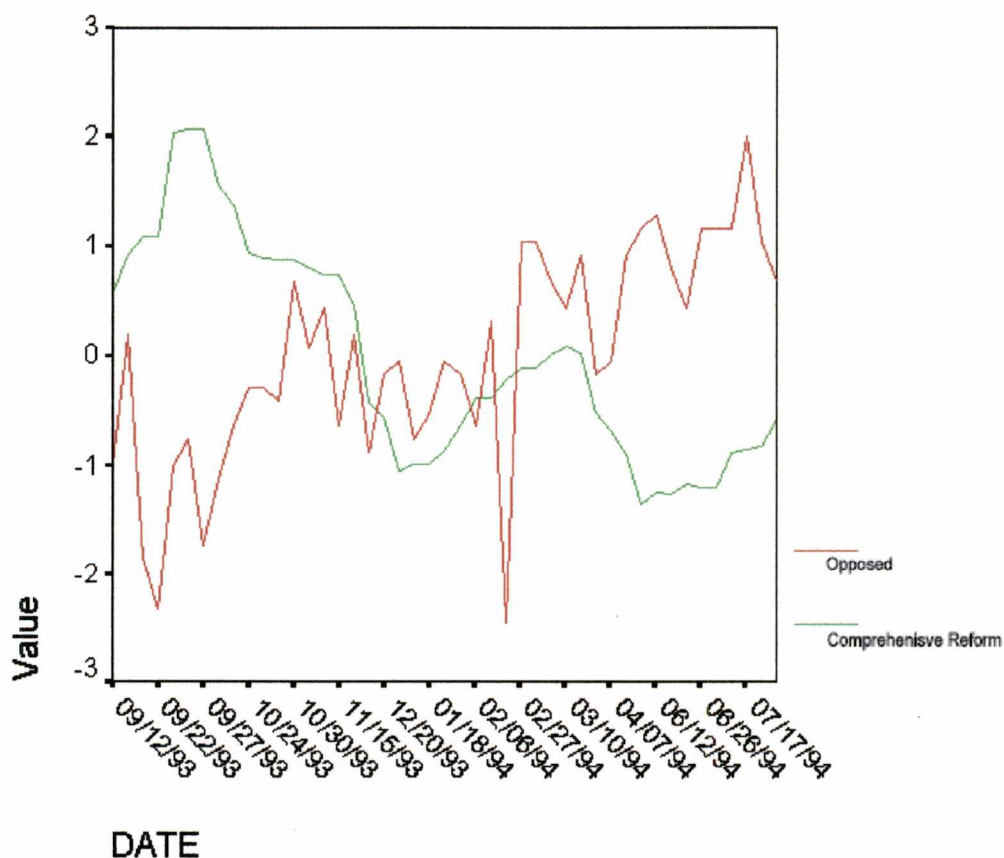


Figure 5.11: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton’s plan and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories

PHARMACY

The second post hoc research question addresses the relationship between the increase in opposing public opinion poll results and the average number of pharmacy key terms found in the newspaper stories across time:

H₂ = When the occurrence of the average number of pharmacy key terms decreases in newspaper stories across time, there will be a systematic increase in the percentage of those opposing the Clinton plan in the public opinion polls across time.

The analysis results show that there is a significant inverse relationship between the percentage of those opposing Clinton's plan for health care reform and the average number of pharmacy key terms used in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.500$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 25 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.12:

Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the post hoc research hypothesis.*

The graph shows that when usage of the pharmacy key terms is high, from mid-September to the beginning of December, opposition remains low. Also, as usage of the key terms decreases, the opposition begins to rise. This relationship indicates that the lack of positive information about the role of pharmacies in health care reform may have had an impact on the public's opposition to Clinton's plan for health care reform.

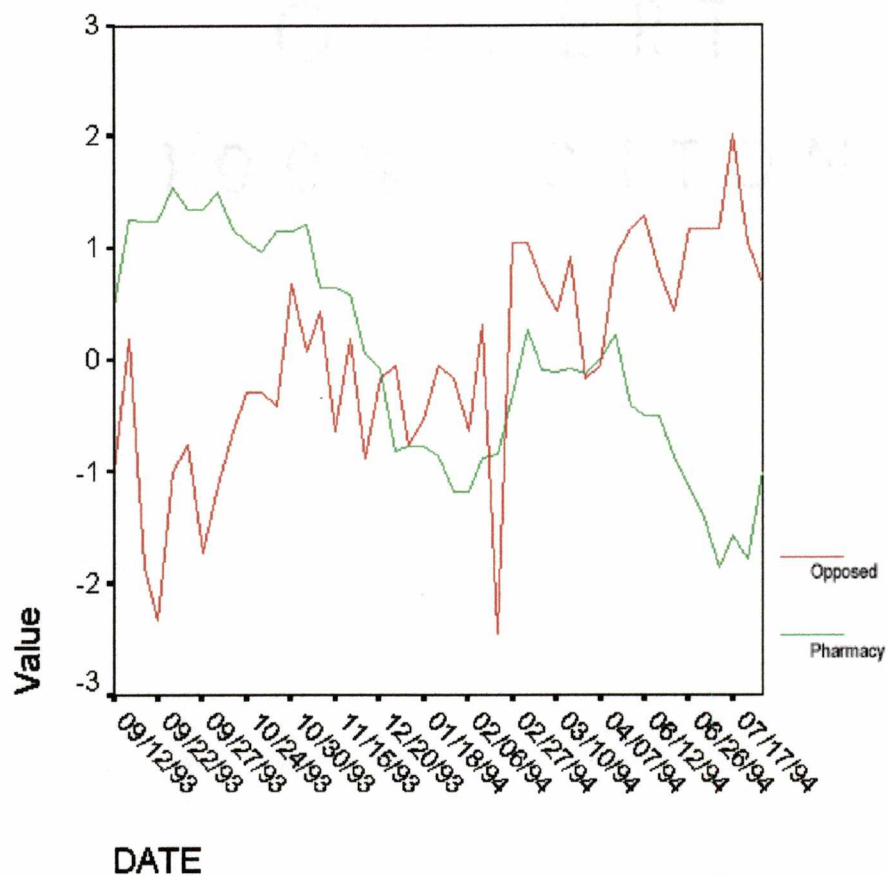


Figure 5.12: Percentage z-scores of those opposing Clinton's plan and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories

SUMMARY

The results of this post hoc analysis support the research hypotheses that the decrease in the usage of favoring frames may have influenced the increase in the public's opposition to Clinton's plan. In addition to supporting this hypothesis, the graphs and the correlation also show that when usage of both sets of the key terms was high, opposition was relatively low.

INFLUENCE OF NEWS RELEASE DISTRIBUTION

In the original analysis, the trends of key terms usage in newspaper stories were described by associating peaks in coverage with various events that may have contributed to the increase in media interest in those issues. However, the issues of comprehensive reform and pharmacies did not offer any specific events to account for many of the increases and decreases in news coverage. The concept of comprehensive reform was broad and was supported by most stakeholders, both favoring and opposing. As a result, this issue did not cause much conflict. The issue of pharmacies may not have been worthy of any major events or any conflict that would have attracted media attention, because of the narrow audience appeal.

Even though news coverage of these issues may not have been event driven, there are definite peaks and valleys in the amount of news coverage given to these issues. This set of post hoc questions addresses whether the amount of news coverage being given to an issue is driven by the frequency of unique news release distribution. Do increases or decreases in unique news release distribution (across stakeholders) correspond with increases or decreases in the average number of frame terms used in newspaper stories?

For this analysis, the original sets of key terms in newspaper stories were used. News releases were gathered from the data used in the analysis of stakeholder frames found in “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames.” The independent variable is the total number of news releases distributed during the same time frames as the collection of newspaper stories (explained in more detail below). The data were analyzed using Pearson’s correlation coefficient. (This method of analysis is explained earlier in this chapter.)

DATA COLLECTION

For this analysis, the news releases that were distributed during the same two months (prior to each of the 45 polls) as the newspaper stories were collected. First, the file containing all favoring news releases was used to locate all the news releases containing comprehensive reform key terms.¹ (The following procedure was repeated for pharmacy key terms.) To locate the desired news releases, VBPro’s Search program was used to locate every sentence containing a key term. All the sentences containing key terms were saved to a file.

When the Search program saves the sentences to a file, the sentences are clearly assigned to the news release where they occur. Each set of sentences occurring in a single news release is preceded by the news release’s identification label, which contains the news release’s ID number and the date distributed. After the identification label, the sentences are listed in the order in which they occur in the news release. This procedure casts a wide net that gathers some releases that may contain a single key term. Such

1. This file was generated for the analysis of stakeholder frames. Please see “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames” for a description of how this file was generated.

releases probably do not address the issues of comprehensive reform or pharmacies. To remove releases that contain too few key terms, a minimum requirement of at least three sentences per news release had to contain key terms to be included in the final sample.

Once the final sample of comprehensive reform news releases and pharmacy news releases were obtained, each set of releases was divided into 45 groups, based on their distribution date. Each of the 45 sets of news releases represents the releases that were distributed during the two months prior to each of the 45 public opinion polls—the same two month periods used to collect the newspaper stories.

COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

The third post hoc research question addresses the relationship between the frequency of distribution of comprehensive reform news releases and the average number of comprehensive reform key terms in newspaper stories across time:

H₃ = When the distribution of the total number of comprehensive reform news releases increases or decreases across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the average number of comprehensive reform key terms in newspaper stories across time.

The frequency of distribution of the comprehensive reform news releases was correlated with the average number of comprehensive reform key terms used in newspaper stories across time.

The analysis shows a significant relationship between the distribution of comprehensive reform news releases and the average number of comprehensive reform key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.661$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 44 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical

representation of this relationship is given in “Figure 5.13: Z-score distribution frequency of comprehensive reform news releases and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories.” According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the post hoc research hypothesis.*

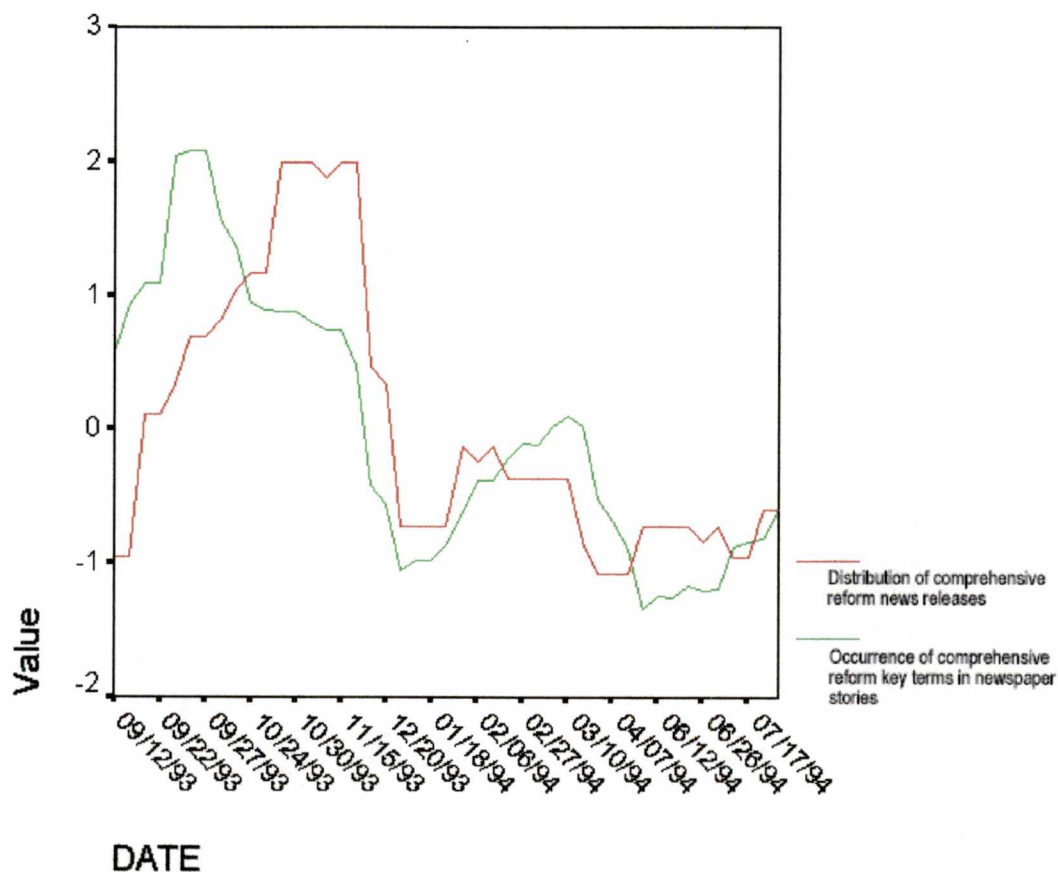


Figure 5.13: Z-score distribution frequency of comprehensive reform news releases and the mean z-scores for comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper stories

The graph shows that the trend in the frequency of distribution of unique comprehensive reform news releases and the trend in newspaper coverage of comprehensive reform follow each other closely. This relationship suggests that the trends in the frequency of the distribution of unique news releases may have influenced news coverage of comprehensive reform.

PHARMACY

The fourth post hoc research question addresses the relationship between the frequency of distribution of pharmacy news releases and the average number of pharmacy key terms in newspaper stories across time:

H₃ = When the distribution of the total number of pharmacy news releases increases or decreases across time, there will be a systematic increase and decrease in the average number of pharmacy key terms in newspaper stories across time.

The frequency of distribution of pharmacy news releases was correlated with the average number of comprehensive reform key terms used in newspaper stories across time.

The analysis shows a significant relationship between the distribution of pharmacy news releases and the average number of pharmacy key terms in newspaper stories. The correlation is $r = -.566$ and the percentage of variance shared is approximately 32 percent, with a significance of $p < .0001$. The graphical representation of this relationship is given in "Figure 5.14: Z-score distribution frequency of pharmacy news releases and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories." According to the correlation table developed by J.P. Guilford, this is a substantial relationship (in Williams, 1979). *This relationship supports the post hoc research hypothesis.*

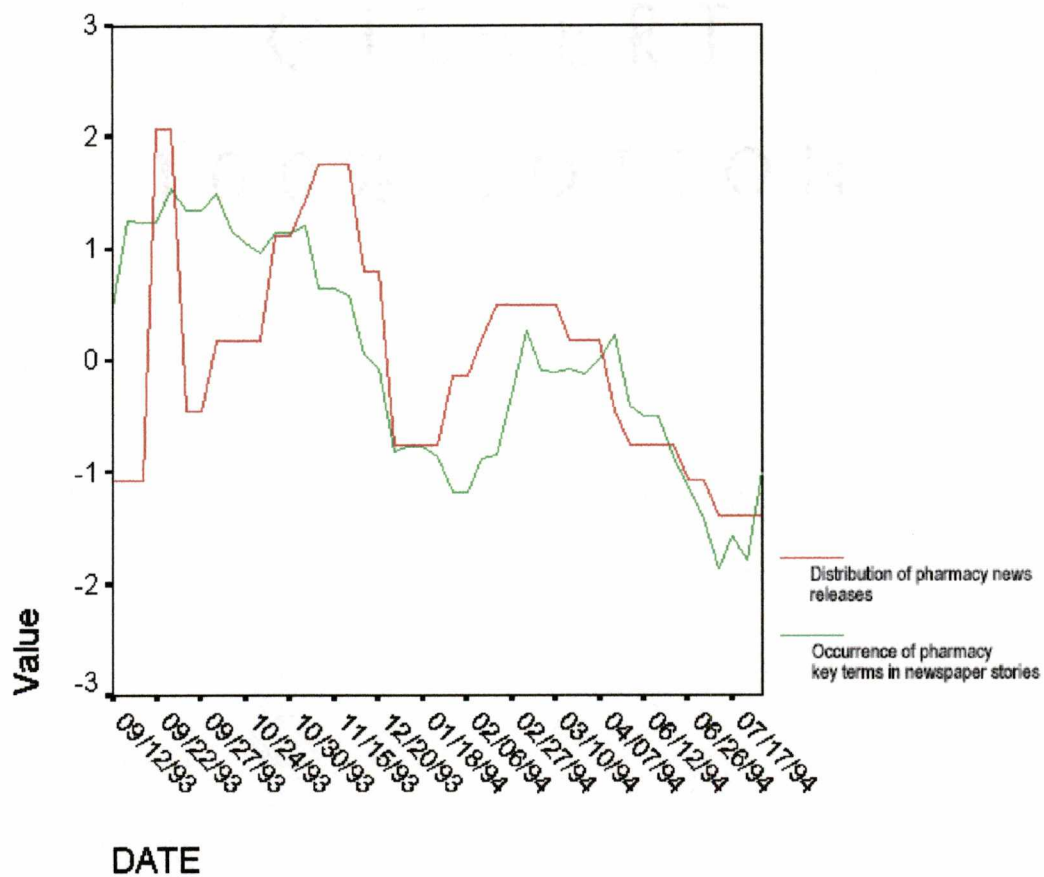


Figure 5.14: Z-score distribution frequency of pharmacy news releases and the mean z-scores for pharmacy key term frequency in newspaper stories

The graph shows that the trend in the frequency of distribution of unique comprehensive reform news releases and the trend in newspaper coverage of comprehensive reform follow each other closely. This relationship suggests that the trends in the frequency of the distribution of unique news releases may have influenced news coverage of comprehensive reform.

SUMMARY

The results of the post hoc analyses of the impact of the frequency of unique news release distribution offer evidence that it may have affected newspaper coverage of comprehensive reform and pharmacies. It is important to note that the sample of news releases used in this study was from multiple organizations and did not contain duplicates, so the increases in news release distribution were not a result of the same release being distributed multiple times. Therefore, the increase and decrease in news release distribution were from the level of unique activity across several similar organizations.

In a collection of information subsidy research, Cameron et al. found some studies showing very little effect of news releases on news media content and some studies showing a moderate to substantial influence on news media content. Also, a study by Turk found a moderate effect of information subsidies on the news media agenda: "To the extent that their subsidies are used in media content, these practitioners have influenced the media agenda" (1985, p. 12). The evidence found in this analysis supports Turk's research, which shows that news releases can influence the topics covered by the news media. Both graphs show strong relationships between the distribution of releases and the

amount of news coverage. These visual representations of the linear relationships are confirmed by the substantial, significant correlations and shared variances.

CHAPTER 6: RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

In “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames,” the frame analysis describes how competing stakeholders use different frames to describe what is important about health care reform. In this chapter, a rhetorical analysis is used to look more closely at the different stakeholders’ frames and the circumstances surrounding the creation of each frame. The goal of this analysis is to explore two main questions:

1. What are the rhetorical attributes that possibly contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media via press releases?
2. To what degree are the stakeholders’ frames accurately presented in newspaper stories and attributed to the appropriate stakeholders?

These questions can be answered by reviewing the situation in which the news releases were created by the author and received by the audience.

The ultimate goal of the stakeholders is to influence health care reform legislation by garnering public support and attracting the attention of policymakers. One way of achieving this goal is to gain exposure for their frames in the news media by distributing news releases. Therefore, one measure of successful influence on news media is whether a stakeholder’s frame is accurately described in the newspaper stories. The rhetorical analysis looks at the frequency with which a stakeholder’s frame appears in the news stories and the possible textual contributions to that end.

This chapter describes the methods used for the rhetorical analysis, the collection of the data, and the analysis and results. The methods used are based on the “rhetorical situation” and the “rhetorical triangle” (reviewed in the following sections). The methods

describe the circumstances surrounding the creation of stakeholders' frames, the frames themselves, and the manifestation of frames in news releases and newspaper stories.

METHODS

Rhetorical analysis and frame analysis are similar methods of research in that they look at both text and context. In fact, some of the definitions of rhetoric could be exchanged easily for those of framing:

Rhetoric might be understood as the study and practice of shaping content . . . [where the communicator] selects and configures language so that certain terms are privileged and endorsed, and others are ignored. (Covino & Joliffe, p. 4)

The main difference between the rhetorical analysis and the frame analysis used in this study is that the frame analysis is mostly quantitative and the rhetorical analysis is mostly qualitative.

Rhetoric is a "situationally contingent" art (Covino & Joliffe, 7; Schiffrin, 363) because a text does not occur in a vacuum. The timing, the climate, and the environment in which something is communicated greatly affect the success of a text (Covino & Joliffe, p. 5). The news releases and newspaper stories must be analyzed in the context within which they were created by the writer and received by the audience because a "communication cannot be understood apart from its material, contingent, and highly particular situation" (Benson, p. xv). This context is often referred to as the "rhetorical situation." The rhetorical situation places the writer, audience, and message in the circumstances where communication takes place.

RHETORICAL SITUATION

The context of a communication as a rhetorical concept was originally described by Lloyd Bitzer (1968). In general, he describes the rhetorical situation as the “contexts in which speakers or writers create rhetorical discourse” (Bitzer, p. 2). The rhetorical situation has three main elements—the problem or reason that causes a text to be communicated (*exigence*), the existing audience for this problem, and the constraints that emerge from both 1) inside and outside the text and 2) the process of its communication. Bitzer defines the three elements of the rhetorical situation as follows:

Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse, there are three constituents of any rhetorical situation: the first is the *exigence*, the second and the third are elements of the complex, namely the *audience* to be constrained in decision and action, and the *constraints* which influence the rhetor and can be brought to bear on the audience.¹
(Bitzer, p. 6)

CONTEXT

The exigence is the need or problem that compels communication—it is the reason a text is created. The exigence can be described as the circumstances, or context, propelling a writer to create a text. For the context to be rhetorical, according to Bitzer, the exigence must be a need or problem that can be changed through communication (pp. 6-7). Ultimately, the writer must have the goal of propelling an audience to action. If the exigence brings a need for communication, then that communication must have the ability to evoke change through an audience. For example, in this study, Clinton’s plan to fund and carry out health care reform compelled stakeholders to create and distribute news

1. A rhetor is the person or group who creates a text.

releases that either supported or opposed the plan. By distributing news releases that explain their positions on the issue, the stakeholders hope to obtain public support through exposure in the media. If the public supports their positions, the likelihood of their positions being considered in the policymaking process is greatly increased. For the documents under review in this study, the overall exigence, or context, is the Clinton administration's plans for health care reform.

Health Care Reform

Clinton's plan for health care reform, which ultimately became the National Health Security Act of 1993 (NHSA), was far reaching and complex. The administration tried to "convince their fellow technocrats that they had thought of everything and taken everything into account" (Beauchamp, p. 84). In a plan so broad and so abstract, there would undoubtedly be points of agreement and contention. The main points of agreement, the points that were not at issue, were the abstract ideas of universal coverage and health care system reform. No one objected to the idea of providing coverage for all Americans, nor would anyone argue that the health care system could be improved. However, some of the plan's details did cause contention, such as what the coverage would include, how health care costs would be monitored, who would provide the services, and how coverage would be financed.

In this study, the frames found and discussed in "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames" show four specific points of contention. These four issues provide the contexts for the stakeholders' involvement: cost and coverage of prescription drugs, financing universal coverage with employer mandates, the President's overall plan

for comprehensive reform, and the secrecy of the meetings and documents of the President's Task Force for Health Care Reform.

The question concerning context is how did each specific context affect the stakeholders' ability to promote their frames in the newspaper articles. For example, the issue of financing universal coverage with employer mandates caught the attention of policymakers, who became deeply involved in the debate. So, the question of context is how did the involvement of the policymakers affect the stakeholders' ability to promote their frames of support or protest over the use of employer mandates.

CONSTRAINTS

Rhetorical constraints are more difficult to define, and even more difficult to identify in a text. The constraints are the boundaries which limit the shared ideas between a writer and an audience. The boundaries can be "persons, events, objects, and relations" (Bitzer, p. 8). Rhetorical constraints are not only shared ideas, but also "features of the audience's—and perhaps the speaker's or writer's—frames of mind, belief systems, and ways of life that lead the audience to accept the speaker's or writer's ideas and to act upon exigence" (Covino & Jolliffe, p. 11). So, the writer must work within the constraints of the rhetorical situation by meeting the needs and values of the audience to successfully move the audience to action. If the writer disregards the "situational parameters and the particularities therein, he will be unable to achieve an effective resolution or management of the situation" (Consigny, p. 181).

In this study, the writer has two main audiences—the *initial* audience of journalists who receive the news releases and the *ultimate* audience of the general public and the

policymakers, who read the newspaper stories. The constraints for successfully communicating a message from a news release to journalists and ultimately to the public rest almost solely in meeting the needs and expectations of the journalists.

For the most part, newspapers print articles that contain the facts of events, issues, or other timely topics. However, for a journalist to be interested in the facts, the issue must be deemed newsworthy. The basic journalistic news values dictate whether a story is newsworthy. Basic news values are defined in various ways, but most are similar to the following list:¹

- **Impact**
The number of people affected.
- **Conflict**
Tension, arguments, or rivalry among people, organizations, etc.
- **Currency/Timeliness**
Whether the issue is of interest at that point in time.
- **Proximity**
Issue that concerns a local community.
- **Prominence**
Prominent people, organizations, groups, etc., such as politicians or celebrities.
- **Unusualness**
Events that are out of the ordinary.

Some of these constraints were met by most news releases because of the attention being given to health care reform at this time. During the time period of this study, the health care debate was *current* and *timely*; the deep involvement of the President and the First Lady provided the debate with *prominence*; the stakeholders supporting and opposing the

1. Similar lists are defined by Boone (1993) and by Harris, Lieter, and Johnson (1992).

plan gave the issue *conflict*; and the passing of the health care reform legislation would *impact* all Americans. Still, the ability of the stakeholders to heighten any of these values or to include any other values would probably increase the chances of receiving news coverage. For example, when an interest group files a lawsuit against Hillary Rodham Clinton and the President's Task Force on Health Care Reform for meeting in secret, then chances are, given the timeliness, conflict, and prominence, that this story will be covered by the news media.

The context and constraints of the rhetorical situation provide boundaries for communication. The communication that takes place within these boundaries involves the "rhetorical triangle," which consists of the writer, the audience, and the message.

THE RHETORICAL TRIANGLE

The writer, audience, and message are the core elements of the *rhetorical situation*. The relationship among the writer, audience, and message is often represented by the "rhetorical triangle," and the rhetorical triangle is put into context by the rhetorical situation ("Figure 6.1: Rhetorical Situation").

The contemporary version of the rhetorical triangle was first introduced by James Kinneavy in *A Theory of Discourse* and is composed of the writer, audience, and message, with persuasion as the main purpose of the text (p. 19).¹ The rhetorical triangle is well-grounded in Aristotle's appeals, or means of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos. The

1. Kinneavy refers to this relationship as the "communication triangle" with the three points being encoder (writer), decoder (audience), and reality (message). The terms "rhetorical triangle" and "communication triangle" are used interchangeably in the field of rhetoric.

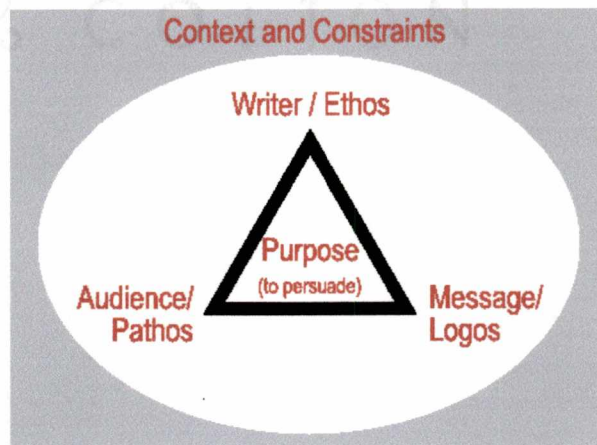


Figure 6.1: Rhetorical Situation

means of persuasion are closely tied with the points of the rhetorical triangle—writer, audience, and message—and have been included in “Figure 6.1: Rhetorical Situation.”

The writer’s presence in the text, or ethos, dictates the level of credibility, knowledge, and reasonableness attributed to the writer. The level to which the writer is able to reach an audience, or pathos, can be attributed to the degree to which the audience’s needs, emotions, and values are addressed in the text. The text must also make reasonable arguments, or logos, that are well-organized, consistent, and arrive at logical conclusions.

WRITER

Because the actual author of a written text is literally removed from the audience, the writer must establish a presence, or ethos, within the text. In this study, the writer is the stakeholder distributing the release, and the ethos is the level of credibility established by the stakeholder in the release. If the stakeholder has successfully portrayed itself as a credible source with credible information, then the stakeholder increases its chances of

being used as a source by journalists. In "Framing: Towards a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," Entman argues that the "frame in the news . . . registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (p. 53). Entman also argues that being identified in the news frame not only establishes the stakeholder as a competing interest, but also "adds legitimacy to the stakeholder's frame" (p. 53). Studies of news frames also show the importance of being mentioned as a source in newspaper stories. Riechert found that when a stakeholder is quoted as a source in newspaper stories, the stakeholder is more likely to have a "strong influence" on the news frame (p. 279).

In this study, the success of a writer to establish a credible presence in the news releases is measured in two ways. The first is whether the stakeholder's identity is registered in the debate. For example, the center of the debate over prescription drug reform is the price of prescription drugs set by pharmaceutical companies. The pharmaceutical companies were discussed in the newspapers often, identifying them as major players in the debate. The second is the presence of quotes from or references to the stakeholders in the newspaper stories. Stakeholders can be either those collected for the rhetorical analysis sample or any stakeholders similar to those sampled. For example, from all of the news releases that opposed Clinton's plan for prescription drug reform, the Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO) was among the stakeholders collected. If BIO is used as a source, then the stakeholders opposing Clinton's plan for prescription drug reform were successful in influencing the news frame. However, if BIO is not used as a source, but a similar group representing the same kinds of interests (e.g., Pharmaceutical

Manufacturers Association) is used, then the groups opposing Clinton's prescription drug plan would still be considered successful in influencing the news frame.

AUDIENCE

Broadly defined, an audience is made up of those who come in contact with a text. In rhetorical analyses, this definition is often narrowed to include those who come in contact with a text *and* have a reason to be concerned. Those who have a reason to be concerned are usually those who can do something about the situation, or those who are affected by the situation's outcome. In the case of health care reform, those who can do something are journalists and policymakers. Those who are affected by the outcome are the American people because the health care plan had the potential to affect everyone in the country. To create an effective text, the writer must meet the needs and values of all audiences to some degree.

As described above in the section on rhetorical constraints, the initial audience is the journalist, and meeting the needs of the journalist can be achieved by providing a story which exhibits several of the basic news values (impact, conflict, timeliness, proximity, prominence, currency, or the unusual). If the writer can provide a news release that contains several news values, then the chances of having an article written about the release are greatly increased. To the stakeholder, the news media are perhaps the most important audience. Without meeting the needs of the media, the stakeholder's argument may never reach the public or the policymakers.

MESSAGE

The message is the organizing thought, or central claim. In this study, the messages analyzed are those that are central to the frame. The logical organization and fairness of the presentation of evidence can contribute to a message that is well-received by an audience. When analyzing a text for the message and its delivery, several questions are important to ask.

The first set of questions concerns the specific issue that is being debated. First, what is *not* at issue—what is common ground? For example, all stakeholders were in favor of health care reform. There was a consensus that the health care system could be improved. Second, what is at issue—what are the differences of opinion? For example, one of the most controversial issues of the health care debate was how universal coverage would be funded. Unions, such as the AFL-CIO, wanted coverage to be supplied through employer mandates, while small businesses, such as the National Federation for Independent Businesses, did not. The questions of what is and is not at issue provide a general context for the purpose of stakeholder involvement.

The second set of questions is particularly important to this study because of the focus on frames and the key terms that construct those frames. First, how are key terms defined—what context is created by each set of key terms? For example, some of the key terms used by small businesses were “job-loss” and “government-run” health care. These terms are defined as being the results of employer mandates. Second, is a single phenomenon being defined differently? For example, the argument over monitoring the price of pharmaceuticals was described quite differently by each side. Pharmacies defined

the monitoring of prescription drug prices as an end to “discriminatory pricing” that would make prescription drugs more affordable, while pharmaceutical companies defined the monitoring as a way of instituting “price controls” that would bring a stop to important research for cures for AIDs, breast cancer, and Alzheimer’s.

The last set of questions looks at how the argument is presented. Is the frame logical? What evidence is presented to support the frame? Does the evidence support the conclusions? For example, one argument being presented by a group of stakeholders is that the President’s Task Force on Health Care was meeting in “secret” because the bill would never pass if the “public ever finds out the details” (American Council for Health Care Reform). This frame is not logical, nor is it supported with any reasonable evidence. The questions concerning the delivery and structure of the frame give evidence as to the success of the message. A successful message is one that dominates the grounds on which an issue is discussed in newspaper stories.

In summary, the success of the frame message is determined by the degree to which the message is accurately represented in the news stories and by the attribution to the appropriate stakeholder. The accuracy of the frame depends on how the questions listed above are answered: Are the key terms defined as they were intended? Who has more success in defining a phenomenon? Are the frames logical and well-organized? However, this success relies not only on the presentation of the argument, but also on the success of the writer as a credible source, proper attribution of the frame, and the degree to which the needs of the audience are met.

SUMMARY

As described in the previous sections, the goal of the rhetorical analysis is to explore two main questions:

1. What are the rhetorical attributes that possibly contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media via press releases?
2. To what degree are the stakeholders' frames accurately presented in newspaper stories and attributed to the appropriate stakeholders?

The methods used to answer these questions are based on the "rhetorical situation" and the "rhetorical triangle."

The rhetorical triangle is used to answer questions about the specific situation, or context, of each frame, and its constraints. First, the question of how did each specific context affect the stakeholders' ability to promote their frames in the newspaper articles is answered. The second question is whether there is evidence in the news releases of the stakeholder's ability to operate within the rhetorical constraints. This study is limited to the *constraints* of the basic news values (impact, conflict, timeliness, proximity, prominence, currency, or the unusual). (Because the frames described in the news releases must be examined to answer this question, it is answered in the "Frame Message" section of each analysis.)

The rhetorical triangle is used to answer a second series of questions about the contributions of the writer, the ability to meet audience's needs, and the structure and delivery of the frame as a message. The first set of questions concerns the writer: Is the writer used as a source or reference in the newspaper stories? If so, does the writer successfully promote the frame? Is the writer identified as a "player" in the debate? Is the

frame clearly attributed to the appropriate stakeholder? (Because this study is interested in the stakeholders and their ability to use news releases to promote their frames, the frame found in the newspaper articles must be clearly attributed to the appropriate stakeholders.)

The second question is concerned with the audience: Are the needs of the primary audience being met? The primary audience is the journalist, and the constraints are the journalist's news values. If the news values of the journalistic constraints are met, then the needs of the journalists should be met as well. This question is answered in conjunction with the question concerning constraints, and will be answered in the "Message" section of each analysis.

The last set of questions concerns the success of the frame's message. First, there are questions that address the issue: What is not at issue? What is at issue? (These questions are answered with the frame description for each stakeholder.)

Second there are questions that address the success of the use of key terms and phrases: How are key terms defined—what context is created by each set of key terms? Is a single phenomenon being defined differently by opposing stakeholders?

Third, there are questions that address the success of the delivery and structure of the delivery of the frame in news releases: Is the frame logical? Is there evidence presented to support the frame? Does the evidence support the conclusions?

The questions concerning the delivery and structure of the frame give evidence as to the success of the message. A successful message is one that dominates the grounds on which an issue is discussed in newspaper stories.

The general rhetorical situation and its constraints are the same for all of the stakeholders. All stakeholders are addressing some aspect of the Clinton health care reform plan. All stakeholders are writing news releases for newspaper coverage. However, the details of the health care reform plan's potential coverage and financing affected a wide of variety of interests, causing multiple "situations" with reactions by multiple stakeholders. Each of the six frames found in "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames" (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy) represents the different situations that prompted stakeholders to distribute news releases. These situations are explained in more detail below with each frame analysis.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The analysis determines the rhetorical attributes that possibly affected the stakeholders in their attempts to influence news frames with their news releases. First, samples of news releases and news stories are collected. Second, the sample of news releases is reviewed to determine the specific rhetorical situation and the contributions of the context and of the writers. Third, the degree to which the stakeholder's frame message is accurately reflected in the news is determined.

COLLECTION OF NEWS RELEASES

The goal for the collection of the news releases was to find a sample that was a good representation of each of the six frames (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy), as well as a good representation of

a variety of sources. A sample of four news releases from each of the six frames was collected, totaling 24 releases. To obtain the desired sample, the releases were chosen by three criteria—high frequency of key term occurrence within the release, varying sources, and the distribution date.

The frequency of key term occurrence in the releases was determined by using VBPro's Search program. The program was used to locate all sentences in the news releases that contained at least one key term. The search was repeated for all six sets of key terms. Six files were saved, which contained all of the sentences with key terms in each news release.

Each release was reviewed for frequencies of sentences with key terms. Releases with high frequencies of sentences with key terms were sought to help ensure that the news releases collected would offer good examples of the frames. This method was chosen over random sampling because of the possibility of randomly obtaining a sample that may contain a news release with only one key term. Such a sample would not offer a good representation of a frame.

Once a collection of news releases containing high frequencies of sentences with key terms was chosen, the releases were categorized by date of distribution. The time frame for this study is from January 20, 1993 to September 26, 1994. The time frame is broken down into two phases: January 20, 1993 to October 26, 1993 and October 27, 1993 to September 26, 1994. Depending on the date distributed, the news releases were separated into two categories based on the two time periods. Then, two releases from varying sources were chosen from each phase. By choosing releases from varying sources,

a sample containing a majority of releases from a single source was avoided. By spreading the releases across time, a sample containing releases distributed at one time, and perhaps addressing a single event, was also avoided.

COLLECTION OF NEWSPAPER STORIES

News stories were collected in a similar manner as the news releases. The goal for the collection of the news stories was to find a sample that was a good representation of each of the six issues being addressed by the stakeholders (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy), as well as a good representation of a variety of sources. Also, because the news stories were being analyzed for the presence of the frame messages in the news releases, the news stories collected were published after each of the selected news releases. However, this method for choosing news stories does not claim that the chosen releases directly contributed to the chosen news stories. There is no way of knowing if the journalists saw any of the releases in the sample.

A sample of four news stories representing each of the six issues was collected, totaling 24 stories. To obtain the desired news stories, the stories were chosen by three criteria—high frequency of key term occurrence within the story, varying newspapers, and the publication date. The frequency of key term occurrence in the stories was determined by using the same process as that used for the news releases (described in the previous section), where VBPro's Search program searched the news stories for occurrences of key terms in sentences. Once a collection of news stories containing high frequencies of frame terms was collected, the 24 stories were chosen based on the date of the corresponding

news releases. Each news story selected was published sometime shortly after each of the 24 news releases.

OVERVIEW OF FRAME ANALYSES

As explained above, even though the main rhetorical situation, constraints, and audience were shared by all stakeholders, each of the six groups of stakeholders addressed a more specific issue with Clinton's plan for reform. The six frames revolve around four issues: prescription drug reform, financing universal coverage, the President's overall plan for comprehensive reform, and the secrecy of the President's Task Force for Health Care Reform. By coincidence, there were two instances of a shared issue among four of the frames: two groups were concerned with Clinton's plan for prescription drug reform—one in favor and one opposed; two groups were concerned with financing universal coverage with employer mandates—one in favor and one opposed. These two sets of directly competing stakeholders offer an interesting way of performing this rhetorical analysis by observing how well the stakeholders competed for news media coverage of the same issue. Therefore, the analyses for these two sets of competing stakeholders are combined—one analysis addressing prescription drug reform and one analysis addressing financing universal coverage. These two analyses are followed by an analysis of the comprehensive reform and by an analysis of the secrecy of the task force.

PRESCRIPTION DRUG REFORM

There were two main objectives under Clinton's plan for prescription drug reform: extending prescription drug coverage and monitoring prescription drug prices. The

expansion of prescription drug coverage brought strong support from all groups involved. Extended coverage meant more customers, and a broader customer base was a welcome idea to all stakeholders. The second issue of monitoring drug prices caused a heated debate between those in favor of monitoring drug prices and those opposed.

CONTEXT

Under Clinton's health care reform plan, the administration planned to monitor the costs of existing prescription drugs and especially the new "breakthrough drugs."¹ The administration and its supporters claimed the costs of prescription drugs and new breakthrough drugs were outrageously overpriced and must be "contained." Under the new health care plan, the administration planned to instate the Advisory Council on Breakthrough Drugs, which would review the prices of breakthrough drugs and make a public statement as to whether the price was fair. Also, under the new plan, Medicare would receive prescription drug coverage, as well as a means of monitoring drug prices. The administration planned to give the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services the power to refuse Medicare reimbursements for any prescription drugs which she concluded were too expensive. Those in favor of the Clinton plan supported the administration's efforts to drive down the costs of prescription drugs, while some opposing groups saw the plan as a threat to their industry or, in the case of the elderly, their quality of life.

In this context, the drug companies had the advantage. The issue of prescription drug reform revolved around the pharmaceutical industry, putting drug companies at the

1. Breakthrough drugs are defined as new drugs coming to the market for which there is no alternative medication or treatment.

center of the debate. The drug companies were in a better position with the media because they were sought for quotes and information about the debate. Also, some states, such as California, have a large number of pharmaceutical companies, causing certain members of Congress to come to their aid. For example, California Representative Lynn Schenk, a member of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, voiced strong protest to price controls and made “efforts to scrap the advisory council [on breakthrough drugs]” (Tumulty & Chen).

The situation put pharmacies at a definite disadvantage. In the sample of newspaper stories, there were no instances of policymakers defending the pharmacies as they did the drug companies. Also, the pharmacy frame itself did not address the mainstream debate directly. Instead of arguing against the high cost of prescription drugs in general, the pharmacy stakeholders argued against the “discriminatory prices” given to community pharmacies specifically. They claimed that hospitals and mail order businesses received discounted prices on drugs that were not offered to pharmacies. The plight of the pharmacies may not have been newsworthy enough, because they did not receive the kind of news coverage given to the drug companies. Ultimately, the context was advantageous to the drug companies, resulting in more exposure of their frame in the newspaper stories sampled.

WRITERS

From the sample of news releases for the debate over prescription drug reform, the stakeholders representing the selected opposing releases are the Alliance for Aging Research, the Independent Institute, the Biotechnology Industry Organization, and the

Citizens for a Sound Economy. Most of these groups claimed that the administration's plans to monitor the prices of prescription drugs were a direct threat to advancements in biotechnology and the research of pharmaceuticals used to treat or cure diseases. Other opposing stakeholders simply wanted the health care plan to support medical research for diseases that affect "graying America."

The stakeholders representing the selected favoring releases are the National Council on the Aging, the National Association of Chain Drug Stores, and the National Association of Retail Druggists. These groups represent those who were interested in lowering the costs of prescription drugs sold to pharmacies. Most of the groups in this sample supported the administration's plans to monitor the prices of prescription drugs because of the costs to pharmacies and their uninsured patrons, especially the elderly.

Stakeholders favoring Clinton's prescription drug reform were mildly successful in promoting their frame as news sources, and they were unsuccessful in being portrayed as players in the debate. The stakeholders were used only twice as sources, and of those only one reference successfully promoted the frame. The successful promotion of the frame was by the National Association of Chain Drug Stores (NACDS):

The task force has also been receptive to the arguments of retail drug stores, which complain that they cannot get the deep discounts offered by manufacturers to hospitals and other big purchasers of prescription drugs.

Robert A. Waspe, senior vice president of the National Association of Chain Drug Stores, said he had urged the White House to seek a ban on such "price discrimination" and to establish a board to set a standard price for each prescription drug. (Pear, 1993)

Here, the connection between high prices by the drug companies and high costs to pharmacists is made. Also, the specific key phrase of “price discrimination” was successfully incorporated.

In a second newspaper story, the journalist quotes pharmacist John Kiszkiel, but the plight of pharmacies at the hands of the drug companies is not portrayed. The story focuses on Clinton’s efforts to secure the support of the elderly, and the pharmacist’s quote is used to show the hardships of the elderly, but the connection between drug companies’ discriminatory prices being charged to pharmacies and the costs to pharmacy patrons is not made:

“I’ve had people come in here and break down and cry” in the store because they cannot afford to buy the drugs their doctors say they need, pharmacist John Kiszkiel told Clinton. “I’ve had people here who told me they had to sell their homes” or choose between buying drugs and paying rent.” (Priest, 1994a)

Even though the pharmacy frame emphasizes the hardships of the elderly patrons, the connection of lowering prices for the pharmacy that in turn lower the prices for the elderly is not made in this story—price discrimination against the pharmacies is not mentioned. In fact, the pharmacy is not seen as a business trying to help the elderly (as they portray themselves in their news releases), but as a business trying to make money:

At the same time, however, the Clinton plan has been popular with the drug store owners, who hope that the lower drug costs for the elderly will increase their sales. (Lauter, 1994)

In this story, the pharmacies were unsuccessful in promoting their frame, and even received coverage contrary to the intended frame—the pharmacists were not portrayed as trying to help the elderly, but to make more money from them.

The only time that the pharmacy frame was ever accurately represented in the newspaper stories collected was when the NACDS was used as a source. Therefore, based on the sample, pharmacies were not identified as a player in the debate over prescription drug reform. But, the importance of being used as source is evident. Without the quote from the NACDS, the pharmacy frame would not have been represented in the sample.

The drug companies were more successful not only in promoting the frame by being used as sources, but also by being identified as major players in the debate. In most cases, the "drug companies" are referred to collectively, and most references clearly promote the biotechnology frame. In one story, the heated debate between Clinton and the drug companies is described, where a journalist summarizes drug companies' view on Clinton's proposal:

They [drug companies] assert that his proposals would cripple research budgets, delaying cures for scourges like AIDS, cancer, and Alzheimer's disease. (Freudenheim, 1993)

The journalist has summarized the biotechnology frame perfectly. The connection between "crippled budgets" and reduced research for "AIDS, cancer and Alzheimer's disease" is clear. (AIDS and Alzheimer's were the main two diseases listed in the news releases.) In the same newspaper story, the frame is promoted further when the journalist quotes an executive at Genentech:

G. Kirk Raab, Chief executive of Genentech, Inc., of San Francisco, one of the most successful biotechnology companies, said the price constraints "could slow down or eliminate the volume of research" by making it harder for young companies to raise money from investors. Genentech's products include genetically engineered human growth hormone and a drug that dissolves blood clots after heart attacks. (Freudenheim, 1993)

The Genentech executive is successful in making the connection between a loss of capital and the decrease in research. The diseases used in the biotechnology news releases (AIDS and Alzheimer's) are not repeated here, but the connection to a loss of beneficial cures and treatments is made by the inclusion of some of the drugs created by Genentech.

In addition to being major players in the debate, the drug companies also had the support of several policymakers. In one newspaper story, California Senator Lynn Schenk was championing the vast biotechnology industry in southern California. She relayed the biotechnology frame exactly:

The advisory council's "mere inclusion in the President's Health Security Act has already influenced the investment community and forced many small biotechnology companies to cut back on research and development efforts.

Those firms, she added in an interview, "are the ones doing the research on AIDS and Alzheimer's and cancer. It's also the industry of the future." (Tumulty & Chen, 1994)

Not only does Schenk make the connection between the President's plan and a loss of investment capital, but she also makes the direct connection between the loss of capital and the decline in research of AIDS and Alzheimer's specifically.

The battle over prescription drug reform is clearly described as a battle between the Clinton administration and the drug companies. The ability to be used as sources was dominated by the drug companies. The drug companies never even acknowledge the pharmacies' argument of "discriminatory pricing." The companies only attack the President's proposal, which distances the pharmacies further from the debate. Therefore, the pharmacies' plight is never really established as an "issue" of prescription drug reform, nor are the pharmacies established as players in the debate.

FRAME MESSAGES

The key terms are used by each set of stakeholders to describe what is important about prescription drug reform (“Table 6.1: key terms for prescription drug reform debate”). Both lists of key terms consist of who is being hurt or threatened (pharmacies vs. biotech industry), the products or services provided (prescription drugs vs. treatments and cures), and a description of the administration’s plans to monitor drug pricing (price controls vs. (an end to) discriminatory pricing).

Frames in News Releases

The opposing stakeholders frame the administration’s plan for monitoring prescription drug prices as price controls that will harm biotechnology and the biotech

Table 6.1: key terms for prescription drug reform debate

Opposing	Favoring
biotechnology	community
biotech	pharmacy
industry	pharmacies
breakthrough drug	pharmacists
breakthrough drugs	elderly
medicines	medications
treatments	Medicare
cures	prescription drug
research	prescription drugs
diseases	prescriptions
Alzheimer’s	drug
AIDS	outpatient
price controls	discriminatory (pricing)

industry in several ways. The main threat is that possible investors will be scared away by the fear of losing money on their investment. By losing investment capital, the biotech industry would be forced to cut budgets, causing downsizing and lost jobs. Ultimately, the lack of investment capital will slow, if not completely stop, research into possible treatments and cures for diseases, such as Alzheimer's and AIDS.

The favoring stakeholders frame the administration's plan for monitoring prescription drug prices as an end to discriminatory pricing that will force drug companies to offer pharmacies the same discounts given to hospitals and mail order businesses. The discounted prices would allow community pharmacies to lower the costs of prescriptions for the elderly and for outpatients. Also, pharmacies support the administration's plans for including prescription drug coverage under the health care plan and under Medicare.

Frames in News Stories

In "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames," the trends of frame frequency in newspaper stories were tracked across time. The frame analysis compared favoring frame trends with one another and opposing frame trends with one another. At that point in the research, there was no reason to make frame comparisons based on a shared issue. However, the rhetorical analysis revealed that the issue of prescription drug reform was shared by the drug companies and by pharmacies. So, for this rhetorical analysis, a comparison of frequencies of the biotechnology and pharmacy frames in newspaper stories is of interest ("Figure 6.2: Mean z-scores of the biotechnology and pharmacy key term frequencies in newspaper stories"). The frequencies of these two

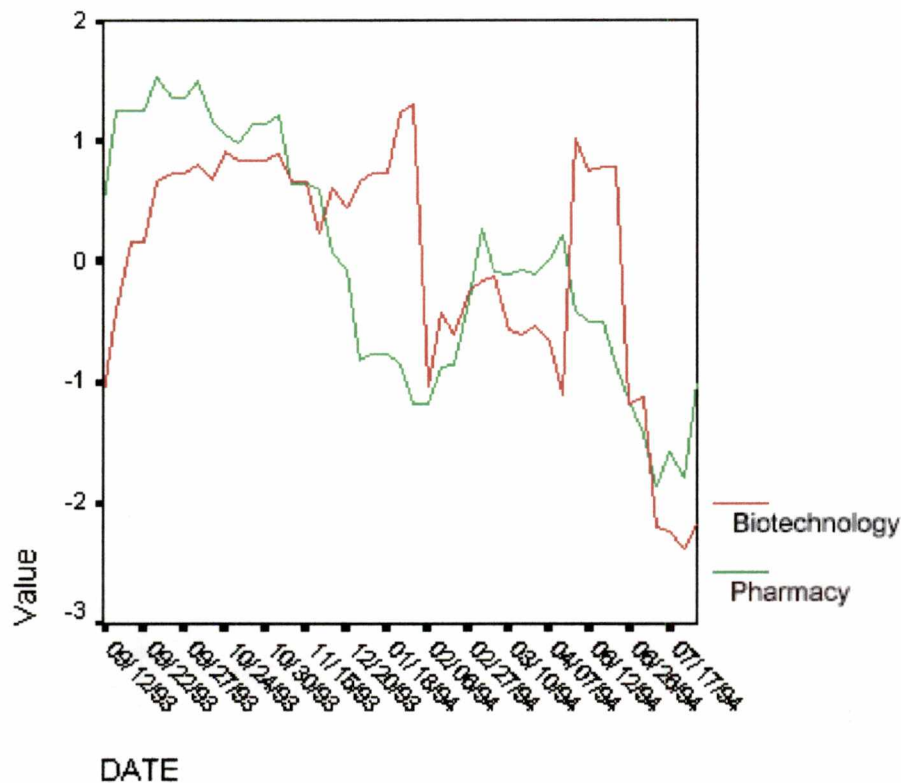


Figure 6.2: Mean z-scores of the biotechnology and pharmacy key term frequencies in newspaper stories

frames follow significantly similar patterns across time (with a correlation of $r = .524$ and significance of $p < .0001$), which shows that each frame probably contributed to the discussion of the issue of drug prices in the news. According to J.P. Guilford's guide, this relationship is substantial (in Williams, 1979).

From the sample of news stories, it appears as if the drug companies were more successful in framing the administration's plan for prescription drug reform. In most stories, the issue was played out as a battle between the drug companies and the Clinton administration's plans for prescription drug reform. Pharmacies were almost completely ignored. Because the drug companies were often the focus of the controversy in the news,

the companies were used as sources for quotes, resulting in their frame being well-represented. The loss of investors and the damage the loss of capital would have on research were discussed often.

The opposing groups were exceptionally successful in their use of the key phrase “price controls” and in the use of AIDS and Alzheimer’s as examples of diseases that would go unresearched. For example, the key phrase “price controls” was often used in the quotes from drug companies, but it was also evident in the journalists’ language. For example, one journalist explains the situation of drug prices in terms of the “fears of federal price controls” and the drug industry’s effort to “forestall such price controls.”

The phrase “price controls” was even used by those who were supporting Clinton’s efforts. When describing the issue of the costs of prescription drugs, “Al Gore stated earlier this week that without price controls, health care costs would surely rise from 14% to 20% of the gross domestic product by the year 2000” (Fritz, 1993). A frame may enjoy some of its greatest success when it forces its opponents to use its language to discuss the issue. When a key term or phrase becomes so dominant that it begins to be used by the competition, then a group has successfully defined the grounds on which an issue is to be discussed. At that point, a key term or phrase becomes an even more powerful use of language. In the case of drug reform, the key term “price controls” demonstrated such power. When a search was conducted of all news stories, “price controls” was used 446 times, and “discriminatory pricing” was used only twice in the context intended.¹

1. All 446 uses of “price controls” were not reviewed in context; however, in a single article, the phrase was used 17 times in the context intended. So, even a fraction of the total number of times “price controls” was used would be considerably more than the phrase “discriminatory pricing.”

As described above, the pharmacy frame focused on price discrimination. The topic of price discrimination against pharmacies was not mainstream and was described accurately only once. Therefore, the pharmacy frame itself was working against the stakeholders by not incorporating a more newsworthy angle that would appeal to a larger audience.

In the news releases, both groups make logical, well-organized arguments that lead to logical conclusions. Drug companies argue that Clinton's plan would result in no investor capital, and no investor capital would result in less research for cures and treatments. The pharmacies argued that Clinton's plan would result in lower prices for pharmacies, and lower prices to pharmacies would result in lower prices for patrons. Their messages in and of themselves are both logically argued with evidence to support their claims. However, the pharmacies failed to work within the constraints of this situation, and their ability to gain more exposure in the news was damaged. They did not offer journalists a position that would appeal to a large readership.

SUMMARY

In summary, the rhetorical situation put the drug companies at an advantage over the pharmacies by being central to the debate over prescription drug prices. Also, the pharmacies did not operate successfully within the constraints of the situation by limiting their frame to the impact on pharmacies. The pharmacies did make the hardships of the elderly a strong part of their frame, but the tie was made directly to high prices charged by the pharmacies rather than to the high prices charged by the drug companies. The elderly were also a popular subject with the White House. The Clinton administration made the

same argument as the pharmacies, but left the pharmacies out of the equation. When the issue of the elderly buying prescription drugs was discussed in the newspaper stories, the White House was often used as the source.

The frames as messages were both logical and well-organized. However, the drug companies were more successful in defining the issue as one of “price controls,” and in defining the grounds on which prescription drug prices would be argued. Ultimately, the drug companies won the battle in April 1994, when the proposed Advisory Board on Breakthrough Drugs was dropped from the health care reform plan.

FINANCING UNIVERSAL COVERAGE

Employer mandates were the primary means of financing universal coverage under the Clinton plan. The issue of financing universal coverage was the focus of a formidable debate between small businesses and bigger businesses and unions. All groups were in favor of universal coverage, but the means for financing this coverage and for acquiring this coverage from insurance companies were points of controversy.

CONTEXT

Clinton’s health care plan proposed to have all businesses “assume responsibility” for providing health care coverage for all employees. Also, the plan proposed that health insurance for smaller businesses and the self-employed would be acquired through health alliances. Health alliances would be set up by state governments as “regional purchasing monopolies for bargaining for the best price in insurance” (Beauchamp, p. 85). Because individuals and small businesses didn’t have the same purchasing power for health

insurance as bigger businesses with thousands of employees, health alliances would pool individuals and small businesses into larger groups with more purchasing power, resulting in lower health insurance costs.

The context of the debate over financing universal coverage with employer mandates was complicated by the active interest of the policymakers. The argument over employer mandates was one used by opponents in Congress to try to kill Clinton's attempts at reform. This debate gained momentum as time passed. Unlike the debate over prescription drug reform, the debate over employer mandates was dominated by the policymakers. The debate in Congress completely overshadowed the debate among the interest groups.

But, similar to the situation of drug companies, small businesses were at the center of the debate over employer mandates, giving them an advantage over big businesses and unions. Small businesses were identified as major players in the debate. However, because of the attention given to policymakers, small businesses did not achieve the same level of success in promoting their frame as sources. Even though small business did not have great success in promoting their frame as sources, the topic in the debate among policymakers reflected the position of small businesses, resulting in the promotion of the small business frame. Big businesses and unions were not identified as players in the debate—no stakeholders were used for quotes or references in the newspaper articles sampled.

Overall, the situation put both sets of stakeholders at a disadvantage. The spotlight was consumed by policymakers, leaving little room for interest groups. Ultimately, small

businesses would gain the advantage, because they were central to the issue, and their position on the issue was the topic of the policy debate. Even though small businesses were not directly used as sources, their frame was still promoted, and the frame was still being attributed to small businesses. The universal coverage frame was also promoted by policymakers during their debates, but there was no attribution of this frame to the big businesses or unions.

WRITERS

From the sample of news releases for the debate over employer mandates, the stakeholders representing the selected opposing releases are the National Federation for Independent Businesses (NFIB), the National Small Business United (NSBU), the Coalition for Jobs and Health Care (CJHC), and the Pennsylvania Small Business United (PSBU). All groups in this sample represent the interests of small businesses. Small businesses were opposed to the plan's strategies for financing and providing universal health insurance coverage. Small businesses claimed that under these plans they would be forced to pay health care costs for all their employees—a cost that would put some of them out of business. They also claimed that they would be forced to purchase health insurance through “government-run” health alliances that would limit their choice of coverage and health care providers.

The stakeholders representing the selected favoring releases are the AFL-CIO, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), Pathmark, Bethlehem Steel, and Chrysler Corporation. Bigger businesses, especially those with full-time employees, and unions were some of the those in favor of the Clinton plan's strategy for financing

universal coverage. Big businesses were already paying high health care costs for employees and wanted to “share the burden” with small businesses. Workers’ unions were obviously in favor of the plan’s strategy, because all workers would have health insurance coverage. However, the use of health alliances was not an issue with most bigger businesses, because any business with 5,000 employees or more would be exempt from working through health alliances. These businesses would be allowed to operate as their own “corporate alliance” when bargaining for health insurance.

As described above, the debate over financing universal coverage with employer mandates was one that attracted the active interest of policymakers. The debate over employer mandates would become an issue that would escalate as time passed. Because policymakers used employer mandates as a weapon to either support or oppose Clinton’s plan, there were numerous quotes and references to Senators and Representatives who played pivotal roles on various committees that would review the health care bill. Based on the sample of newspaper articles collected, the stakeholders involved in the debate were clearly overshadowed by the involvement of members of Congress. There were no big businesses or unions mentioned in any of the articles, and there were only two references made to a small business organization. As sources, the stakeholders took a back seat to newspaper coverage of the policymakers.

Small businesses are identified as players in the debate in a general way, but there is little reference to the actual stakeholders that represent the small businesses. For example, there are numerous statements about the position of “small businesses”:

Small businesses have been among the most outspoken critics of the administration’s health reform agenda. (Chen, 1993)

The only stakeholder that is used as a source is the National Federation of Small Business (NFIB). They are used as a source twice, but only one reference successfully promotes a portion of the frame. The successful use of the frame emphasizes the fear of government-run health care via employer mandates:

It's another example of government interference—we don't trust them to put together a system that will work. (Rosenblatt, 1994)

Here, the small business frame is weakly conveyed. The possibility of instituting a plan that includes employer mandates and doesn't harm small businesses is seen as unlikely. The quote also promotes the idea of government-run health care. In another article sampled, the NFIB is unsuccessful in promoting any part of the small business frame:

A top official of the 500-member National Federation of Independent Business said Monday that the group remains unalterably opposed to the mandate. (Chen, 1993)

This statement does not promote the frame in any way other than its opposition to the mandate. The audience knows that the NFIB is against employer mandates, but they are left to draw their own conclusions as to the specific reasons why (e.g., going out of business and too much government interference).

Big businesses and unions did not play a significant role in the newspaper coverage of the debate over employer mandates. They are not used as sources and do not succeed in either being identified as players or promoting their frame.

The real debate was waged among members of Congress. For example, Representative John Lewis, Democrat of Georgia, said that one proposal competing against Clinton's plan did not include employer mandates and "was a 'dagger at the heart'

of the bill, because it would eliminate the means to achieve and pay for universal coverage” (Chen, 1993). This statement was quickly challenged by Representative Bill Thomas, Republican of California, that the employer mandate “was a dagger at the heart of small businesses” (Chen, 1993). Both sides of the debate appear to have successfully promoted the frames for and against employer mandates. The supporters were clear in making arguments that “there was no feasible way to achieve universal coverage except by requiring employers to pay for most of the cost” (Chen, 1993). The opposition was just as clear in making arguments that the mandates would “put the squeeze on businesses and industries that have to grow . . . and force people out of business” (Pear, 1994).

In conclusion, most of the stakeholders were unsuccessful in being recognized as players in the debate, as well as being unsuccessful in promoting their frames as sources. The only stakeholder used as source, the NFIB, did not enjoy much success. Ultimately, this debate was dominated by the policymakers, which completely overshadowed any stakeholder involvement.

FRAME MESSAGES

The key terms are used by each set of stakeholders to describe what is important about financing universal coverage with employer mandates (“Table 6.2: key terms for universal coverage financing debate”). The opposing list of key terms consists of who is being hurt or threatened by Clinton’s plan (small businesses), what would result from the plan (lost jobs and government-run health care), and descriptions of the administration’s plans (employer mandates and a payroll tax).

Table 6.2: key terms for universal coverage financing debate

Opposing	Favoring
small business	support
small businesses	continuous
business	universal coverage
businesses	comprehensive
small firms	middle-class
firms	crisis
owners	ensure
advocacy	systemic
bills	
mandate	
mandated	
mandates	
subsidies	
government-run	
opposed	
payroll tax	
part-time	
job loss	
job losses	
hire	
employer mandate	

The favoring list of key terms consists of who would benefit from Clinton's plan (middle class), what would result from the plan (universal coverage and continuous coverage), and descriptions of the administration's plans (an end to the health care crisis and threats to middle-class America).

Frame Messages in News Releases

The issue of employer mandates is framed by small businesses as harming the owners of small businesses and small firms by instituting what is basically a "payroll tax." They argue that such a payroll tax would result in high job loss, lowered wages, reduced or cancelled expansion, and the inability to start new businesses and hire new employees. Clinton's plan offers subsidies to help small businesses with the expense, but the interest groups claim that the subsidies offer no long-term relief.

The issue of employer mandates is framed by big businesses and unions as being a necessity in order to finance universal coverage and to ensure continuous, comprehensive coverage. They also describe the health care problem as being a "crisis of working America" and a threat to the "middle-class, [who] are at risk of losing affordable health care." These groups do not often refer to "employer mandates," but to sharing the responsibility, or burden, of employee health care among *all* businesses. They claim that without "sharing the responsibility" with small businesses, the bigger businesses are put at a disadvantage against foreign competition, because of paying higher employee health care costs.

Frame Messages in News Stories

In “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames,” the trends of frame frequency were tracked across time, but the frame analysis compared favoring frame trends with one another and opposing frame trends with one another. At that point there was no reason to make comparisons based on a shared issue. However, the rhetorical analysis revealed that the issue of employer mandates was shared by small businesses, big businesses, and unions. So, for this rhetorical analysis, a comparison of the frequencies of the small business and universal coverage frames in newspaper stories is of interest (“Figure 6.3: Mean z-scores of the small business and universal coverage key term frequencies in newspaper stories”). The frequencies of these two frames follow significantly similar patterns across time (with a correlation of $r = .637$ and significance of $p < .0001$.), which shows that each frame probably contributed to the discussion of this issue in the news. According to J.P. Guilford’s guide, this relationship is substantial (in Williams, 1979).

The debate over funding universal coverage with employer mandates was a hot topic from the beginning of the health care reform debate to the end, and a topic that gained more momentum as time passed. Based on the trends of frame occurrence in the newspaper stories, both small business and universal coverage frames gain increasing occurrence toward the end of the debate.

The surge in the discussion of this debate began to rise sharply around the end of January. This increase in interest was probably due to several events. On January 25, 1994, President Clinton stressed his unwavering dedication to universal coverage and claimed that he would veto any health care bill that did not include a plan for universal coverage.

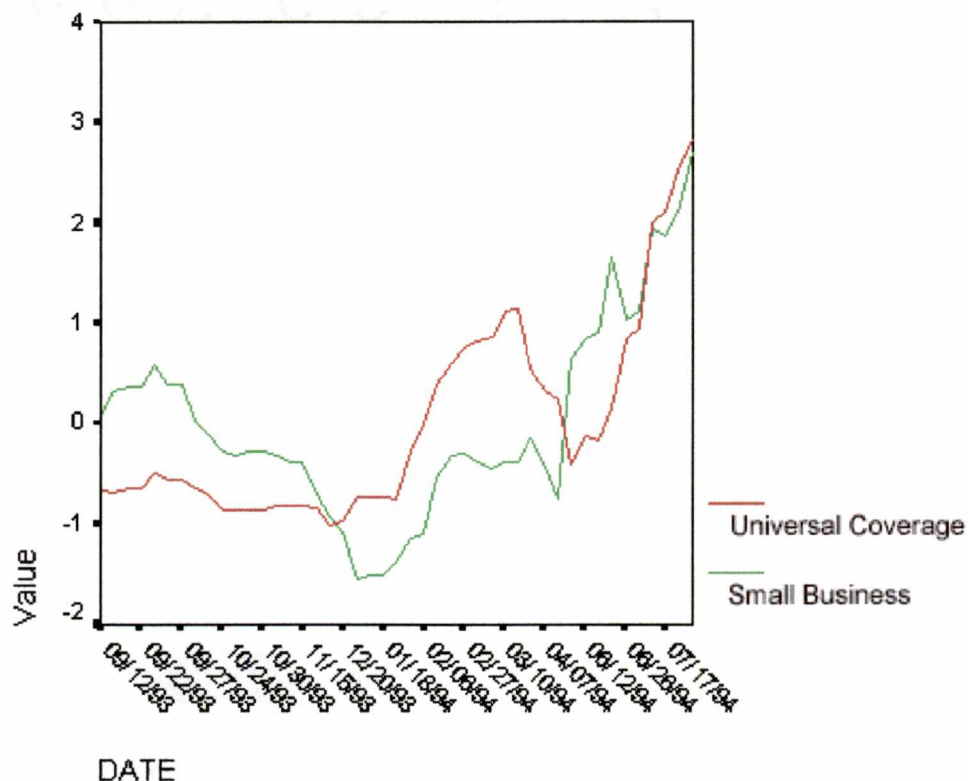


Figure 6.3: Mean z-scores of the small business and universal coverage key term frequencies in newspaper stories

At this point, the debate over universal coverage and its financing became an even hotter topic that would be the focus of many committee battles in Washington, striking a devastating blow to negotiations over the health care bill.

Throughout the newspaper stories sample, the subject of employer mandates was portrayed as a central concern to Clinton's health care plan. The issue is described as occupying the "top slot" in the list of potential "deal-killers" and as the "central element of Clinton's health care plan" (Rosenblatt, 1994). As described above, the news coverage was driven by policymakers. Congressional supporters of employer mandates enjoyed early success, with the majority of policymakers supporting the idea of funding universal

coverage with employer mandates. But as time passed, the opposing policymakers gained greater force.

The universal coverage frame was promoted by policymakers in the newspaper articles, but was never attributed to any stakeholders. This lack of attribution probably occurred because the frame echoed the language of the Health Security Act, and the Health Security Act was used as a source instead. The answer to the question of whether their frame was accurately portrayed in the news is "yes," but this success should not be attributed to the stakeholders.

Small businesses were more successful in getting their frame into the news and in being associated with the frame. News coverage provided quotes and descriptions from policymakers that depicted the possible problems a mandate would cause small businesses.

In the debate over employer mandates, there was a definite shift in frame dominance from a frame that supported employer mandates to one that opposed them. The shift may have been slightly driven by the stakeholder frames found in news releases. However, the shift in frame dominance was more likely driven by the shift from support to opposition by the policymakers.

The phrase "employer mandate" was used markedly more often than the idea of "shared responsibility" or "shared burden." The phrase "employer mandate" increased in the frequency of its usage across time in the news stories sampled. In the case of defining the grounds of the debate over financing universal coverage, small businesses enjoyed the greatest success.

SUMMARY

In summary, the rhetorical situation put small businesses at an advantage by being at the center of the debate. Even though this debate was dominated by policymakers, the small business and the universal coverage frames were accurately described by the policymakers. However, the crucial difference is that the small business frame was still attributed to small businesses, while the universal coverage frame was not attributed to big businesses or unions. As sources, all stakeholders were unsuccessful. Even though the NFIB was used as a source twice, they were unable to promote the entire frame successfully.

The frames as messages were both logical and well-organized with evidence to support them. However, news coverage of the frames seemed to be attributed to events rather than the quality of the delivery of the frames by stakeholders. Like the pharmacies, the universal coverage frame was not rooted in newsworthy attributes. It echoed the elements of the National Health Security Act, which means that the stakeholders did not offer anything new to journalists. Ultimately, the small businesses would win the fight over employer mandates. In June and July of 1994, various Congressional committees, reviewing the health care reform bill, announced impasses over employer mandates.

COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

In the early stages of the health care reform debate, Clinton was planning health care reform that promised coverage to all Americans that was based on the “six principles” of health care reform (National Health Security Act, 1993).

CONTEXT

Clinton's health care plan promised health care coverage to all Americans. The plan was advertised by the Clinton administration as a "comprehensive package of benefits that can never be taken away" (National Health Security Act, 1993). The Health Security Act changed drastically across time as trade-offs were made, but was initially explained by the White House as being based on six principles: *security*, *comprehensive benefits*, *savings*, *quality*, *choice*, and *simplicity*:

- The new health care system would offer *security* by providing coverage that would never be taken away, regardless of employment status, age, health, etc. Also, insurance companies would not be able to drop anyone from a plan nor deny coverage.
- The plan would provide *comprehensive benefits* similar to "those offered by most fortune 500 companies . . . and then some."
- *Savings* would be generated by limiting how much premiums could be raised and by encouraging managed competition. Also, the costs of Medicare would be lowered by expanding Medicare to cover prescription drugs, and the "rampant overcharging" of prescription drugs by drug companies would be contained.
- *Quality* would be enhanced by emphasizing preventive care with coverage for physicals, prescriptions, mammograms, immunizations, etc.
- Under the plan, an individual's *choice* of doctor and plan would be preserved.
- The new health care system would be *simpler* and more efficient by requiring a single, standardized claim form for all insurance companies. Also, billing reimbursement would follow standardized rules and codes for payments.

The comprehensive reform frame does not argue for a single, specific point of reform, but simply claims support for Clinton's plan to reform the health care system in general, while emphasizing his six principles. The support was for a list of mostly conceptual ideas, with little detail for achieving them. For example, the groups approved of Clinton's plan to provide universal coverage, universal access, and a comprehensive

benefits package, but these ideas were supported by most everyone. Therefore, the basis for the support that these groups offered was not one that would cause opposition.

The situation caused a great disadvantage in the stakeholders' ability to promote the comprehensive reform frame. The fact that this frame simply reflects the items listed in Clinton's plan caused the frame to be so completely overshadowed by the Clinton plan itself that there were no stakeholders mentioned in any of the newspaper articles sampled. Like the debate over employer mandates, the stakeholders supporting Clinton's brand of reform were completely overshadowed by the debate of the policymakers. The news coverage revolved around the Congressional battles over Clinton's plan. The frame itself did receive a lot of news coverage, but in this study, the concern is over the stakeholders' ability to promote the frame and to be associated with the frame. In this case, the situation caused the frame to be promoted but not to be connected to the stakeholders in any way.

WRITERS

From the sample of news releases for the issue of comprehensive reform, the stakeholders representing those favoring Clinton's plan for reform are Blue-Cross Blue-Shield (BCBS), the American Academy of Family Physicians (AAFP), the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). All of these groups would benefit from the passing of Clinton's plan through Congress. Clinton planned to institute a plan based on managed competition among health insurance companies, which would have caused larger health insurance companies, such as BCBS, to thrive. Clinton also planned to push preventive and maintenance health programs to try to keep people

healthy, a policy that would increase the demand for general practitioners, such as those represented by the AAFP. Finally, employees who were not currently covered by health insurance would be guaranteed coverage under Clinton's plan, which rallied great support from unions like the AFL-CIO and AFSCME. All groups stated clear support for Clinton's plan while each emphasized its own interests.

Like the debate over financing universal coverage, the policymakers were the primary players in the battle over comprehensive reform. There were no references to any stakeholders. The sources used were the President, members of his Task Force for Health Care Reform, and members of Congress, such as Bob Dole, Jim McDermott, Richard Gephardt, and Daniel Moynihan.

Because of the lack of stakeholder involvement, this debate is better reviewed as it proceeded in the Congressional debate. The President's plan moved from being relatively popular, to being criticized as it was compared to alternative plans. Ultimately, the plan was dismissed as being impossible to pass. In the beginning, many sources were in agreement in supporting Clinton's efforts for comprehensive reform:

In their initial reaction, lawmakers of both parties praised Clinton for tackling the issue and his persuasive, determined tone. (Devroy, 1993)

However, as time passed, various members of Congress were submitting their own health care reform plans. Then, political elites began taking sides as Clinton's plan was being compared with and criticized against the other plans. For example, a Republican plan was proposed as an alternative to Clinton's plan, and sources were promoting the plan as a better way to offer comprehensive reform:

A critic of President Clinton's proposed health care reform plan, Rep. Carlos J. Moorehead (R-Glendale) supports an alternative Republican proposal that he says would expand care and reduce costs while placing a lighter burden on employers. (Miller, A.C., 1993)

In defense of Clinton's plan, Henry Waxman argued against the republican plan:

"The Republican plan is unacceptable because it doesn't get to the heart of the problem," Waxman said. "It accomplishes very little and it doesn't address the major problems of controlling health costs or assuring every American of coverage." (Miller, A. C., 1993)

In the end, as the plan was slowly dying, nearly all sources were convinced of the impossibility of passing Clinton's plan for reform: "Members said the issue is all but dead for this season" (Priest, 1994b).

The newspaper accounts appeared to be keeping track of the popularity of the President's plan among members of Congress. Therefore, all stakeholders were unsuccessful both in being identified as players and in promoting their frames.

FRAME MESSAGE

The comprehensive reform frame consists mostly of the items that groups listed as being the desired attributes of a health care plan. These items were often produced in the form of a list of what a health care plan should include, and then the stakeholders praised Clinton for including the items in his plan. The key terms are listed in "Table 6.3: key terms for comprehensive reform."

Table 6.3: key terms for comprehensive reform

Favoring key terms
financing
principles
comprehensive reform
Catholic
system
commitment
comprehensive health care reform
cost containment
delivery
single-payer

Frame Message in News Releases

All groups framed their positions on health care reform similarly by making a statement that expressed their support for Clinton's health care plan and by listing the items that a health care plan should include. All groups listed the following:

- Reform of the health care delivery system
- Universal coverage financed by employer mandates
- Universal access to health care
- Comprehensive benefit package
- Budget that would enforce cost containment
- High quality of health care

Most groups incorporated the six principles on which Clinton based his health care plan (security, comprehensive benefits, savings, quality, choice, and simplicity) into their

lists of desired items. In the early stages of the health care debate, some of the groups wanted these items to be provided in a single-payer plan. A single-payer system provides universal coverage by doing away with insurance companies and by the government reimbursing health care providers with tax money. Once Clinton dismissed the single-payer plan as “politically impossible,” the groups continued to support Clinton’s plan, but demanded that he maintain his commitment to comprehensive reform, universal coverage, and employer mandates.

Mostly, the discussions are vague. The groups call for reform and for cost containment of health care expenses, but do not address details. For example, they offer abstract visions of financing by stating that the system should be financed “through the use of progressive, equitable funding mechanisms earmarked for health care” or by “establishing and maintaining industry-wide financing mechanisms as appropriate for particular industries.”

Frame Messages in News Stories

In “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames,” the post hoc frame analysis found that the frequency of the comprehensive reform frame in newspaper stories declined across time and may have been a result of stakeholders’ news release activity. As news release activity declined, frame usage in the news stories declined in a significantly similar pattern with a correlation of $r = .668$ and a significance of $p < .0001$ (“Figure 6.4: Z-score distribution frequency of favoring news releases and mean z-scores of comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper articles”). According to J.P. Guilford’s guide, this relationship is substantial (in Williams, 1979).

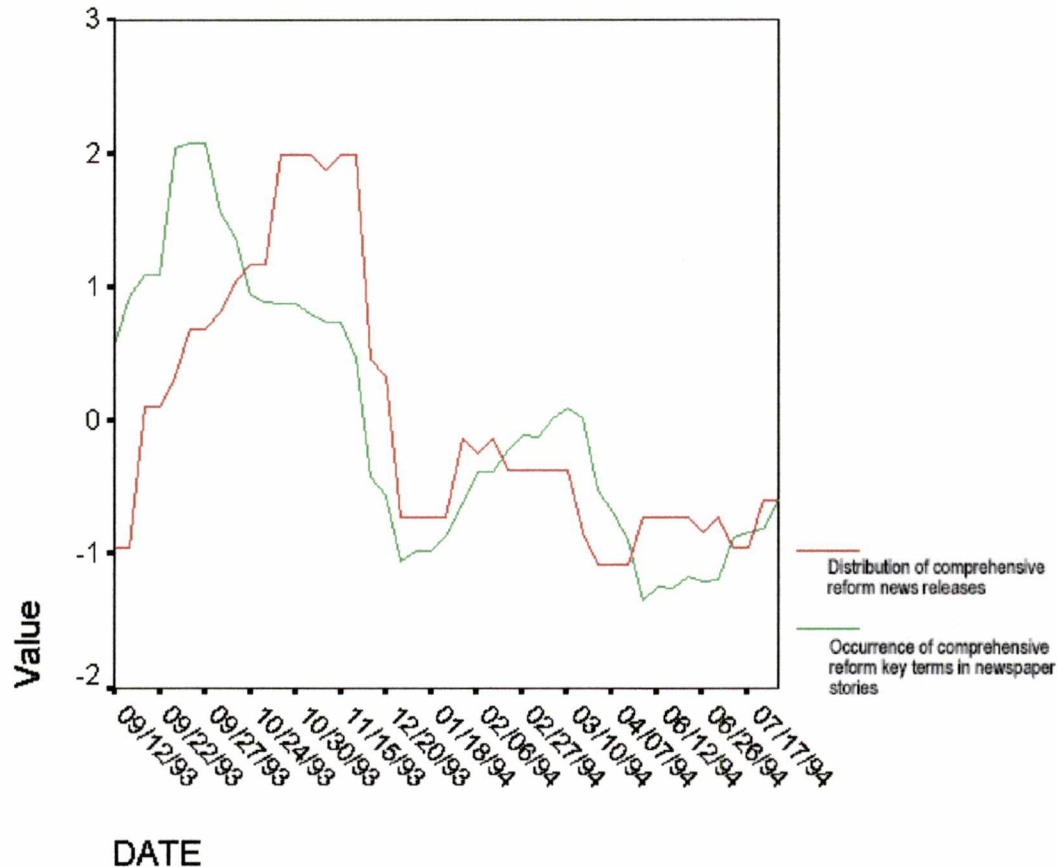


Figure 6.4: Z-score distribution frequency of favoring news releases and mean z-scores of comprehensive reform key term frequency in newspaper articles

Examination of the texts has shown that the stakeholders appear not to have affected the news coverage. The stakeholders are never mentioned in the newspaper stories sampled. Also, the frame message is vague and does not offer the journalist any additional information beyond what is already described in the National Health Security Act. These results throw doubt on the impact of the frequency of distribution of news releases on the amount of news coverage given to comprehensive reform.

As to the success of the stakeholder's message, the grounds for discussion and the definition of the issue were also dominated by the policymakers.

SUMMARY

It is not accurate to make the conclusion that the comprehensive reform stakeholders were successful in getting their message in the news. They simply echoed the benefits described by the administration and those listed in the NHSA. There is no mention of these groups nor any other supporting group in the news stories sampled. The news stories described the items listed in the NHSA, which happened to match those listed in the news releases. Also, any controversy over those items that were reported in the news stories was attributed to policymakers and not to any groups. It is more likely that this frame was pushed by events surrounding the policy process for the Clinton plan than by the news releases.

SECRECY OF TASK FORCE

The issue of the secrecy of the President's Task Force for Health Care Reform was concerned with the task force holding its meetings behind closed doors and keeping the documents and records from being made available to the public.

CONTEXT

The secrecy of the task force was a much debated issue that ran even longer than the health care debate itself. After Hillary Rodham Clinton was appointed head of the Health Care Task Force, she and her top aide Ira Magaziner planned to hold meetings behind closed doors. This was not well-received by several of the interest groups that would be directly affected by health care legislation. On February 11, 1993, the National Legal and Policy Center (NLPC) demanded the White House open meetings to the public.

The request was refused. This refusal was followed by a lawsuit being filed by the NLPC, the American Council for Health Care Reform (ACHCR), and the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons (AAPS), which would attempt to force the task force to open meetings and to make all of the documents available to the public.

On March 10, 1993, Judge Royce C. Lamberth ordered the task force to open meetings to the public. After Judge Lambert's decision, the task force decided to officially disband on May 31, 1993. Then, on June 23, 1993, Judge Lambert's ruling was overturned, and the task force was permitted to meet in behind closed doors. At this point, it was too late—the task force had disbanded.

The question of releasing the secret documents was still unanswered. On June 14, 1993, the *Washington Times* reported that the White House was shredding task force documents. On June 15, 1993, the court ordered the White House to stop any destruction of task force documents. Eventually, portions of the task force documents were released to the public.

The situation was nearly perfect for the groups filing a suit against the task force and against Hillary Rodham Clinton. The stakeholders were central to the issue, because they were the ones filing the lawsuit. There were only three major groups involved in the lawsuit, making them the most desirable sources available. Also, they were suing the First Lady and the President's task force, making the lawsuit a newsworthy topic. In addition, they even had the courts on their side with a majority of the rulings being cast in their favor.

As the following sections will show, the stakeholders would fail in taking advantage of such an opportune situation. They committed such mistakes as focusing on unfounded accusations as to why meetings were being held in secret and on allusions to what was being concealed from the public. In addition, the groups often presented arguments with no evidence. As a result, in all of the newspaper stories sampled, only one stakeholder was used as a source. Ultimately, the newspaper coverage was limited to the activities of the court proceedings.

WRITERS

From the sample of news releases, the stakeholders representing those opposing the secrecy of the task force are The Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, The American Council for Health Care Reform, and the Coalition for Mental Health Care That's Always There. Even though these groups were representing very different groups, the motivations and the main messages were the same—they wanted access to the task force meetings and to the documents. Another common thread among the groups is that they were all participating in the lawsuit against Hillary Rodham Clinton and the task force.

The secrecy of the task force was covered by the news, but the coverage was limited to the actions of the court proceedings. Only one group was used as a source—the AAPS. The group was used to comment on the court decision to put the task force on trial. They successfully promoted the frame that the task force operated illegally by having outside groups advise the task force behind closed doors.

The internal documents were released by the White House Wednesday as part of the pretrial proceedings of a federal lawsuit filed here against

the Clinton Administration by a group of conservative physicians alleging that the task force went about its work inappropriately by meeting behind closed doors.

A trial is now set for later this year. The documents "confirm what we suspected- that special interest groups were involved in writing the plan," said Dr. Jane Orient, executive director of the American Assn. of Physicians and Surgeons, which sued the administration.

The task force relied heavily on advice from "academics, foundations and managed care organizations interested in reducing access to care through rationing," Orient said. (Chen & Rosenblatt, 1994)

Even though the stakeholders were relatively unsuccessful in being used as news sources, their lawyer was quoted several times. He was also successful in promoting the frame in his quotes. For example, he was successful in promoting the illegality and secrecy of the meetings:

The groups have been fighting the White House in court for nine months, arguing that the Clinton administration illegally conducted most of the on the health plan in secret. (York, 1993)

The lawyer probably received more coverage because the news articles were limiting their coverage to the court proceedings. Even though his quotes were always in reference to what was happening in the courts, he still managed to promote the frame.

As stated above, the newspaper coverage followed the court proceedings. In most of their coverage, the newspapers limited the mention of the stakeholders to their roles as plaintiffs, and sometimes did not even use their names, but described them vaguely as a "physicians' group," etc. So, the groups were identified as players in the debate, but probably not because of the success of their news releases.

What began as a near perfect situation for the stakeholders to be sought as sources and to promote their frame ended as a situation that saw little stakeholder participation. They were identified as players, but not to any great degree. They were also unable to make themselves appealing as news sources, which is most likely attributable to the poor frame construction and the lack of evidence to support their accusations.

FRAME MESSAGE

The secrecy frame consists mostly of the items concerning the issue of the task force meetings and paperwork. For example, the court case is discussed (court, truth, district, and federal), and the items in question are described (secret documents and reports). The key terms are listed in “Table 6.4: Secrecy Key Terms.”

Table 6.4: Secrecy Key Terms

Opposing key terms
secret
documents
court
truth
district
federal
limiting
tried
against
report

Frame Message in News Releases

The issue of the secrecy of the task force is framed by the stakeholders as an illegal activity. They claim that they are taking the First Lady and the task force to court to force them to open their secret meetings and their secret documents and reports for the benefit of the public. They wanted the public to know the truth about the President's health care reform plan.

The key terms and phrases used to make up the secrecy frame were often put into an extremely negative context. Some of the phrases used were "destroying secret documents," "hiding information from the public," and "defying the law" by meeting in secret. The words and phrases were not only negative, but also they were emotionally charged. The groups were trying to instill feelings of anger and distrust toward the task force, while offering little proof. By making accusations with no proof, the stakeholders did not operate within the constraints of providing a usable news story.

The strongest blow against the stakeholders was their repetitive use of unfounded accusations. The following examples show their faulty logic and lack of evidence. First, the American Council for Health Care Reform argues that the reason the task force is meeting in secret is because they "want the details of the President's health care plan" to be "hidden from the public." They go on to argue that even Clinton's advisors are telling him that if the public finds out the details, his plan won't pass: The President's advisors told him his health care reforms absolutely can't pass Congress if the American people find out the details.

Second, they argue that the records and documents are being kept secret because they contain the horrible details of the Clinton plan—the details they do not want the

public to know. Three months before Clinton introduced his plan on September 22, 1993, the stakeholders claimed to already know its contents. They claim that the Clinton plan would “restrict the freedom to choose your own doctor” and “ration” health care services. They claim that Clinton’s plan is patterned after a similar system used in England and Canada, where “patients must wait up to six months for surgical procedures such as cardiac bypass, and more than one and a half years for hip replacements.” They go on to describe how Clinton’s plan will be the “end [of] privacy for all Americans.” They explain that the health security card will contain a “powerful micro computer chip capable of holding 1,600 pages of detail.” They claim that this information “could be used by the government to eventually control every aspect of your life.”

Overall, the stakeholders were unsuccessful in creating a frame that operated within the constraints of journalistic news values. They were also unsuccessful in creating a logical argument with credible evidence to support their claims and conclusions.

Frame Message in the News

As described in “Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames,” the frame analysis found that the secrecy frame did not follow the expected trend of the opposing releases. (The issue was projected to increase across time as shown in “Figure 6.5: Mean z-score of secrecy key term frequency in newspaper stories”) The literature review uncovered a series of events that clearly accounted for the general trends of the frequency of the secrecy frame in the news. This frame appears to have been event driven. This conclusion is also supported by the results of the rhetorical analysis, based on the lack of

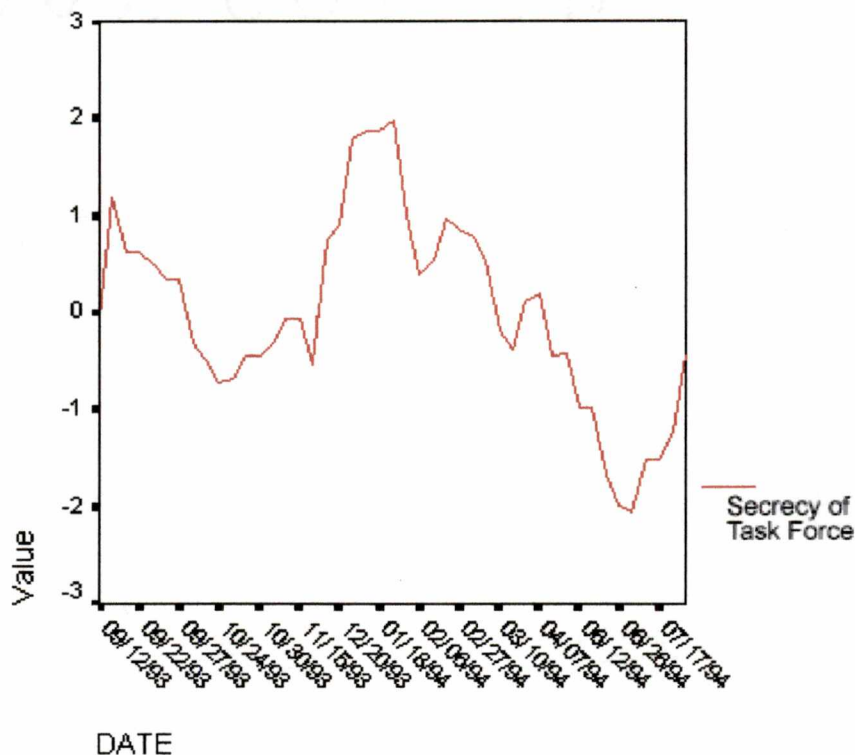


Figure 6.5: Mean z-score of secrecy key term frequency in newspaper stories

coverage attributed to the stakeholders. In addition, as described above, the newspaper coverage did not promote the stakeholder's frame, but followed the court proceedings, which would also lend to event driven news coverage.

As described in the previous sections, the stakeholders were unsuccessful in creating a frame that operated within the constraints of journalistic news values. They were also unsuccessful in creating a logical argument with credible evidence to support their claims and conclusions. However, they were extremely successful in defining the meetings of the task force as "secret," and determining the grounds for the discussion of the task force's meetings. In every article sampled, journalists made at least one reference

to the “secret” meetings or documents. What could have been described as meetings that were “held in private” or as documents that were “confidential” were defined as “secret.”

SUMMARY

On the whole, the interest groups were mostly unsuccessful in getting their message covered by the media. The only success was getting journalists to describe the task force meetings and documents as “secret.” But the remaining arguments made by the interest groups were too unfounded to be printed by the newspapers. These groups would probably have enjoyed more success if they had written releases that were more fact-based, which would have better met the needs of the audience of journalists.

SUMMARY

As described in the previous sections, the goal of the rhetorical analysis is to explore two main questions:

1. What are the rhetorical attributes that possibly contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media via press releases?
2. To what degree are the stakeholders’ frames accurately presented in newspaper stories and attributed to the appropriate stakeholders?

The methods used to answer these questions are based on the “rhetorical situation” and the “rhetorical triangle.” This analysis showed evidence that all of the pieces of the rhetorical situation and the rhetorical triangle could contribute to a stakeholder’s success or failure in promoting a frame for newspaper coverage. The contributions of situation, writer, audience, and message delivery all proved to be important.

All stakeholders were greatly affected by the context in which they tried to promote their frames. In the cases reviewed in this analysis, the situations gave a wide variety of outcomes to stakeholder success. The pharmaceutical companies were placed at an advantage over pharmacies by being central to the debate over prescription drug prices. Then, the situation of financing employer mandates put both sets of stakeholders at a disadvantage when the policymakers took up the debate in Congress. Finally, a near perfect situation would go unused by stakeholders that could not operate within the situation's constraints.

The contributions of the writer, the audience, and the structure and delivery of the message all proved to be important. In many cases, the only time that a stakeholder's frame was promoted was when the stakeholder was used as a source. This supports earlier research that found that stakeholders were placed in a better position to influence the news frame when used as a source (Riechert, 1996). However, this did not always work, as in the case of the pharmacies. Not only was their frame not represented, but the frame was distorted to the point of projecting the opposite of the original frame's intention.

The ultimate audience for the stakeholders is the public, including policymakers. However, to reach this audience, the message must successfully meet the needs of the journalists. The importance of meeting these needs was best evidenced by the stakeholders against the secrecy of the task force. These groups did provide journalists with the information that they could use, resulting in the journalists simply covering the court proceedings.

Most of the frames as messages were well-structured and delivered in a logical and well-organized manner. However, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, a text does not occur in a vacuum and must take into account the context in which it is written and received. So, frames that may have been quite adequate were unsuccessful in the contexts of their debates.

One of the most interesting results from this analysis was the ability of a single phrase or word to set the grounds for how an issue would be discussed. The overwhelming use of the phrases “employer mandates,” “price controls,” and “secret” appeared to set the stage for the debate. Also, as time passed the term’s usage would increase, implying that the term was growing in its power to define the issue.

This analysis has shown that a rhetorical analysis can add important information to frame analysis. A frame cannot be removed from its textual situation, nor can the elements of writer, audience, and message be ignored. Each analysis demonstrated the importance of each of the elements of the rhetorical situation. Also, much light was shed on data that did not behave in the manner predicted. Ultimately, the rhetorical analysis added breadth, depth, and greater understanding of stakeholders’ frames and the contributions that can cause a frame to be either promoted or ignored in news coverage.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, a brief summary of the analyses and results of this study is given. Following the summary, the methodological and substantive contributions to framing research made by this study are discussed, as well as the implications for further research and the limitations on analyses.

The obvious importance of how the news media frame issues and how news frames are influenced has made framing theory a fast growing area of communications research. The call for more framing research by communications scholars led to this study's examination of how an issue is framed by the news media, the impact that sources have on determining the news frame, and the possible influence of news frames on public opinion and policymaking. The goal of this study was to add to the body of knowledge of framing theory in mass communications.

SUMMARY

This dissertation examined the complete span of framing effects from determining stakeholders' frames to their influence on news media, public opinion, and policymaking. The process of analyzing the span of framing effects outlined in this study required several significant steps:

1. Stakeholders' frames had to be identified, measured, and compared by locating significant key terms in the context of stakeholders' news releases.
2. From the need for more reliable means of identifying, measuring, and comparing frames in texts, Frame Mapping, a quantitative method for frame analysis, was employed.

3. The influence of stakeholders' frames on news frames had to be determined by locating stakeholders' key terms in the context of newspaper stories.
4. The influence of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion had to be determined by comparing the trends in news frames to the trends in public opinion polls.
5. The impact of rhetorical attributes found in news releases on the success of gaining news coverage had to be determined.

STAKEHOLDERS' FRAMES

The analysis of stakeholders' frames identified, measured, and compared stakeholders' frames by locating significant key terms in the context of stakeholders' news releases. Also, this analysis determined the level to which each set of key terms could be unambiguously attributed to the appropriate stakeholder. Quantitative Frame Mapping methods were used to identify stakeholders' frames. Frame Mapping was used in an effort to eliminate most of the researcher bias usually found in qualitative frame analyses, as well as the problems inherent with such bias, such as the difficulty with replicability and inter-coder reliability.

The results of the stakeholder frame analysis support the conclusions of previous research (Riechert 1996) in that Frame Mapping successfully identified, measured, and compared stakeholders' key terms in news releases. The key terms identified by the Frame Mapping method proved to be significant representations of the frames put forth by the various stakeholders. When the key terms were reviewed in the context of the news releases, they were found to be representative of stakeholders' positions and to have thematic meaning in the discussion of health care reform.

These results of the stakeholder frame analysis suggest that Frame Mapping methods offer the researcher the ability to locate repetitive patterns of key terms in texts that can be easily identified with the respective stakeholders. The results also support the research suggesting that the differences in the language used by competing stakeholders are inherent to their opposing views of what is important about a policy issue (Schon & Rein, 1993).

NEWS FRAMES

The news frame analysis tested whether stakeholder frames were manifested in newspaper stories across time and whether the news frame shifted its focus among competing stakeholders' frames across time, giving more coverage to one frame over others at different points in time. In this analysis, the frequencies of stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories were tracked across time. Because news frames have been shown to affect public opinion, the forecasted trends in the occurrence of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories on news frames were determined using trends in public opinion. More specifically, the trend in the occurrence of opposing stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories was expected to follow the trend in the public's opposition to the Clinton plan by increasing across time. Also, the trend in the occurrence of favoring stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories was expected to follow the trend in the public's support of the Clinton plan by decreasing across time.

The results of this analysis support the two main, general hypotheses that stakeholders' frames are manifested in newspaper stories across time and that news frames shift across time. Stakeholders' key terms were used by journalists in the discussions of

health care reform in newspaper stories. Also, the news coverage of five of six frames either significantly increased or decreased from phase one to phase two.

However, the results of the analysis of comparing trends in news coverage of stakeholders' frames to the trends in public opinion gave conflicting results. Some of the trends of newspaper coverage of stakeholders' frames supported the hypothesis, some failed to support the hypothesis, and some contradicted the hypothesis. The frequency of occurrence of only two of the three sets of favoring stakeholders' key terms decreased significantly across time, while the frequency of occurrence of only one of the three sets of opposing stakeholders' key terms increased significantly across time. Even though the influence of stakeholders' frames on news frames did not always follow the expected trends, there is clear evidence that the stakeholders' frames did influence newspaper coverage.

INFLUENCE OF NEWS FRAMES ON PUBLIC OPINION

The analysis of the influence of news frames on public opinion determined the amount of influence of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion by comparing the trends in newspaper coverage of competing stakeholders to the trends in public opinion polls. This analysis was performed by comparing the average use of stakeholders' key terms in newspaper stories two months prior to each of the 45 public opinion polls to the results of the public opinion polls. The results were expected to show systematic increases or decreases in support for Clinton's plan as favoring news coverage increased or decreased; also, the results were expected to show systematic increases or

decreases in opposition to Clinton's plan as opposing news coverage increased or decreased.

The results of whether there are systematic relationships between trends in news frames and the trends in public opinion toward Clinton's plan for health care reform were inconclusive. Only two of the three favoring frames were positively correlated with the trends in public support, while only one of the three opposing frames was positively correlated with the trends in public opposition.

Because there was very little increase in the average use of opposing stakeholders' key terms across time, the first post hoc analysis explored the idea that the increase in public opposition to the Clinton plan was influenced by the *lack* of favoring news frames in newspaper coverage. Because the trends in newspaper coverage of the comprehensive reform and pharmacy frames could not be explained by a series of newsworthy events, the second post hoc analysis explored the idea that these trends were driven by the frequency of news release distribution.

INFLUENCE OF OMITTED FRAME

The results of the omitted frame analysis supported the hypothesis that the decrease in news coverage of favoring frames may have influenced the increase in the public's opposition to Clinton's plan. The graphs and the correlations showed that when news coverage of favoring frames was high, opposition to the plan was low; and, when news coverage of favoring frames was low, opposition to the plan was high. This analysis shows support for the idea that the effects of framing by the news media are based just as heavily on what is omitted as on what is included and emphasized (Entman, 1993).

INFLUENCE OF NEWS RELEASE DISTRIBUTION

The results of the news release distribution analysis offered evidence that the frequency of news release distribution may have affected newspaper coverage of the comprehensive reform and pharmacy frames. The graphs and the correlations showed strong relationships between the distribution of releases and the amount of news coverage. When news release distribution was high, news coverage was high; when news release distribution was low, newspaper coverage was low. It is important to note that the sample of news releases used in this study was from multiple organizations and did not contain duplicates. Therefore, the increase and decrease in news release distribution were from the level of unique activity across several similar organizations.

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

The goal of the rhetorical analysis was to identify the rhetorical attributes that possibly contributed to the success or failure of the stakeholders to influence news media via press releases. This analysis also determined whether stakeholders' frames were accurately presented in newspaper stories. The small sample of news releases and newspaper stories centered around each of the six stakeholders' frames. The methods of analysis were based on the "rhetorical situation" and the "rhetorical triangle." The results showed evidence that the rhetorical situation, the rhetorical constraints, the writer, the audience and the message all could contribute to a stakeholder's success or failure in promoting a frame for newspaper coverage.

The research showed that a frame cannot be removed from its textual situation, nor can the elements of writer, audience, and message be ignored. Each analysis demonstrated

the importance of the elements of the rhetorical situation on a stakeholder's success. The rhetorical analysis also shed light on some of the results of the quantitative analysis that did not reflect the predicted outcomes. Ultimately, the rhetorical analysis added breadth, depth, and greater understanding of how stakeholders' frames operate in context. The specific contributions of the rhetorical analysis are presented in greater detail in the Discussion section.

DISCUSSION

In this study, there were several methodological choices made that either built on or varied from the trend in the small body of quantitative frame analysis. The choices in methodology led to several substantive contributions to frame analysis and to communications research. The methodological and substantive contributions are discussed in the sections that follow.

There are four main methodological contributions offered in this dissertation. First, this study, to date, is the only frame analysis that spans the effects of framing from beginning to end by looking at the impact of the frames originated by stakeholders on news media, public opinion, and policymaking. Second, this study employs the Select program, which is the latest addition to the VBPro suite of computer programs. In general, the Select program allows the researcher to organize and directly compare the terms used by competing stakeholders. Third, this is the first frame analysis to look at the interaction and impact of multiple stakeholder frames on news media, public opinion, and policymaking. Fourth, this study is the first to incorporate a classical rhetorical analysis of stakeholders' frames in context.

IDENTIFYING STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR FRAMES

In the analysis of stakeholders' frames, the original intent was to identify two main stakeholders' frames—a favoring stakeholder frame and an opposing stakeholder frame—as is the trend in quantitative frame analyses using Frame Mapping. However, methodological choices allowed clearer, distinct, multiple frames to emerge from the news release data. The original plan to use two stakeholders' frames was abandoned in favor of using multiple frames representing the positions of six different groups of stakeholders (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy). The reasons that multiple frames emerged so clearly from the analysis of the news release data probably resulted from the way the concept of stakeholders was refined and from the use of VBPro's Select program.

DEFINING STAKEHOLDERS

Defining stakeholders as interest groups with a vested interest in the outcome of a policy issue has been established in previous framing research (Andsager, 2000; Miller, 1997; Miller & Riechert, 1997, 2000, in press-a, in press-b; Riechert, 1996; Smith, 1997). This study built upon this definition by requiring stakeholders to distribute news releases that clearly supported or opposed Clinton's health care plan. This requirement led to the decision to choose only those stakeholders' releases showing a clear position that were distributed on or after the National Health Security Act was officially submitted to Congress on October 27, 1993. All the interest groups distributing releases prior to October 27th that had not distributed any releases (showing a clear position) after October 27th were thrown out. The interest groups that did not distribute releases on or after

October 27th did not appear to exhibit a vested interest in the outcome of the health care debate. Some of the releases distributed by these interest groups were reviewed. Many of the releases commented on the interest group's general support for health care reform without rallying behind any particular health care issue. By excluding these interest groups, with their ambiguous discussion of health care reform, and by including only those interest groups actively participating in the debate on or after October 27th, the final sample of news releases contained clearer, more consistent representations of stakeholders' positions. A sample of news releases resulting from a more restricted definition of stakeholder probably contributed to the emergence of clearer, more consistent frames representing the groups of stakeholders desiring specific outcomes.

USING THE SELECT PROGRAM

The second contribution to the emergence of multiple frames was the use of VBPro's Select program. The Select program is a recent addition to the VBPro suite of computer programs and was previously unavailable to framing researchers. The Select program allows the researcher to identify the key terms that were used more frequently and more exclusively by competing stakeholders.¹ In previous quantitative frame analyses using Frame Mapping, researchers had to nominate possible key terms from a single list containing both favoring and opposing stakeholder terms, instead of having two separate lists, as generated by the select program.² Also, the single list did not provide the

1. For a detailed description of the Select process, please see "Chapter 3: Stakeholder Frames and News Media Frames."

2. In this description of Frame Mapping without the Select program, the process is greatly simplified. For a detailed description of this process, please see Riechert's description in *Advocacy Groups and News Media Framing of Public Policy Issues: Frame Mapping the Wetlands Debates* (1996).

researchers with any indication of the exclusivity of term use by competing stakeholders. In contrast, the Select program's chi-square comparisons produce two lists of key terms ranked by the frequency and the exclusivity of term use by competing stakeholders. Both processes choose the "meaningful" terms in the same way by eliminating ambiguous terms, such as prepositions, conjunctions, etc.

In both processes, the researchers submit the nominated key terms to VBMap for 3-dimensional plotting. VBMap can plot the 3-dimensional coordinates for 120 terms. By using a single list of terms, as in the original Frame Mapping process, only 120 terms can be plotted. As stated above, the single list of terms does not offer the researcher any indication of which terms were used more exclusively by the competing stakeholders. With the Select program, twice as many terms are available for analysis because two separate lists are used, and the lists show which terms belong to which stakeholders.

In both Frame Mapping processes, the 3-dimensional coordinates are submitted to SPSS® for creating dendrograms. The original Frame Mapping process produces a single dendrogram, while two dendrograms (one from favoring key terms and one from opposing) are produced with the Frame Mapping process using the Select program. In the original process, the key terms clustering around the pseudo term \$favor were used as the favoring key terms, and the key terms clustering around the pseudo term \$against were used as the opposing key terms. By being limited to the terms clustering around the pseudo terms, this process resulted in two stakeholders' frames representing very global positions.

The Select program prepares data for convenient, separate analyses of competing stakeholders' news releases. By looking at the competing stakeholders' key terms separately, the researcher is able to see how each set of key terms occurred and co-occurred within the context of either all favoring or all opposing texts. Because the occurrence and co-occurrence of terms within a single, overall view (all opposing or all favoring) were used, the multiple positions for favoring and opposing the plan were more likely to emerge from the data than if both sets of key terms were analyzed using the same dendrogram.

In summary, using releases from stakeholders that met stricter standards of definition resulted in a sample of news releases containing clearer, more consistent representations of stakeholder positions. Then, by analyzing stakeholders' key terms using the Select program, the terms were compared using a chi-square analysis, producing two sets of key terms that were used more frequently and more exclusively by each set of stakeholders. Also, the number of terms available for analysis was doubled. All of these methodological decisions heightened the likelihood of clear, multiple frames emerging from the news release data. The increased restrictions on the acceptable stakeholders and the use of a more targeted means of analysis with the Select program offer researchers the opportunity to identify, measure, and compare multiple frames in a complex policy debate.

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF FRAMES IN NEWS RELEASES

The presence of the six distinct frames (comprehensive reform, pharmacy, universal coverage, biotechnology, small business, and secrecy) representing six distinct stakeholder positions in news releases was confirmed by the rhetorical analysis. The

rhetorical analysis found that the six sets of key terms identified by the Frame Mapping method were legitimate, accurate representations of the positions held by the groups of stakeholders.

Analysis of the stakeholders' frames in the context of the news releases also revealed that two pairs of the six positions were in direct competition. The universal coverage frame competed with the small business frame, and the pharmacy frame competed with the biotechnology frame. The discovery of these competing frames and the added dimension of stakeholders competing directly for news coverage would not have been possible without the use of multiple frames.

After reviewing the results of the rhetorical analysis which confirmed the strong presence of multiple frames in news releases, the use of only two competing frames in frame analysis of a complex policy issue does not appear to accurately represent the diversity of motivations behind why a stakeholder supports or opposes a policy issue. Also, as a frame is defined in this study, the set of key terms used to create the frame must be clearly associated with the stakeholders. If there is only one favoring or opposing frame, then it cannot be clearly associated with all of the groups of stakeholders represented by that frame. For example, if one opposing frame contained key terms from both the small business stakeholders and the biotechnology stakeholders, then only certain key terms would be clearly associated with each of the groups. Therefore, in the opposing stakeholders' frame, some of the terms and phrases that represent biotechnology companies, such as "breakthrough drugs," "AIDS," "Alzheimer's," and "cures," are not clearly associated with small businesses.

In subsequent analyses, the breadth and depth added by the use of multiple frames and the use of rhetorical analyses offered insights into the influences on news frames and into the salience of stakeholder issues to the public. The contributions of multiple frames and of the rhetorical analyses in these areas of frame analysis are described in the following sections.

NEWS FRAME DYNAMICS

One of the recurring questions in frame analysis is what causes a frame to enter into news coverage of a policy debate, to emerge dominant, to fall from dominance, and to all but exit the debate. Finding the reasons for this “ebb and flow” of frames in news coverage across time is important for frame analysis (Gamson, 1989). In previous quantitative frame analyses and in this study, positive evidence was found that supports the proposition that the amount of news coverage given to stakeholders’ frames shifts across time as a policy debate progresses. Researchers have noted that frames shift across time, as well as the direction in which those frames ascend and descend in news content. For example, in this study, there was a significant increase in news coverage of the small business frame across time, while there was a significant decrease in news coverage of the comprehensive reform frame across time. Even though the amount and direction of increasing or decreasing news coverage of stakeholder frames has been reported, there has been little offered as to why news media shift the direction and the amount of their attention among competing frames across time. By observing the way multiple frames are manifest in news content, the researcher was able to conclude that news frames operate on

two levels, and that the reasons for the shift in news coverage of frames is driven by this two-tiered process.

The results of the rhetorical analysis of stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories in conjunction with the results of the Frame Mapping analysis show that news frames function on two levels. The first level of news content is driven by the framing of the main policy issue, i.e. the framing of health care reform. For example, is health care reform framed as being about the price of prescription drugs or as being about employer mandates? The second level of news framing is driven by how the main policy issue is framed. For example, if health care reform is framed as being about employer mandates, are employer mandates framed as driving small business out of business or as a way to successfully fund universal coverage?

The results from the rhetorical analysis and the Frame Mapping analysis suggest that the first level of news framing is driven mostly by events and the involvement of political elites. The health care topic that prompted events, attracted the attention of the President, and attracted the attention of the political elites appears to have driven the way that newspapers framed the main issue of health care reform. For example, "Figure 7.1: Mean z-scores for comprehensive reform and secrecy key term frequencies in newspaper stories" shows the trends of the comprehensive reform frame and the secrecy frame. In mid-to-late September, there was a sharp increase in news coverage of the comprehensive reform frame that can be attributed to the television broadcast of Clinton's health care reform proposal on September 26, 1993. Then, from mid-December to late January, there

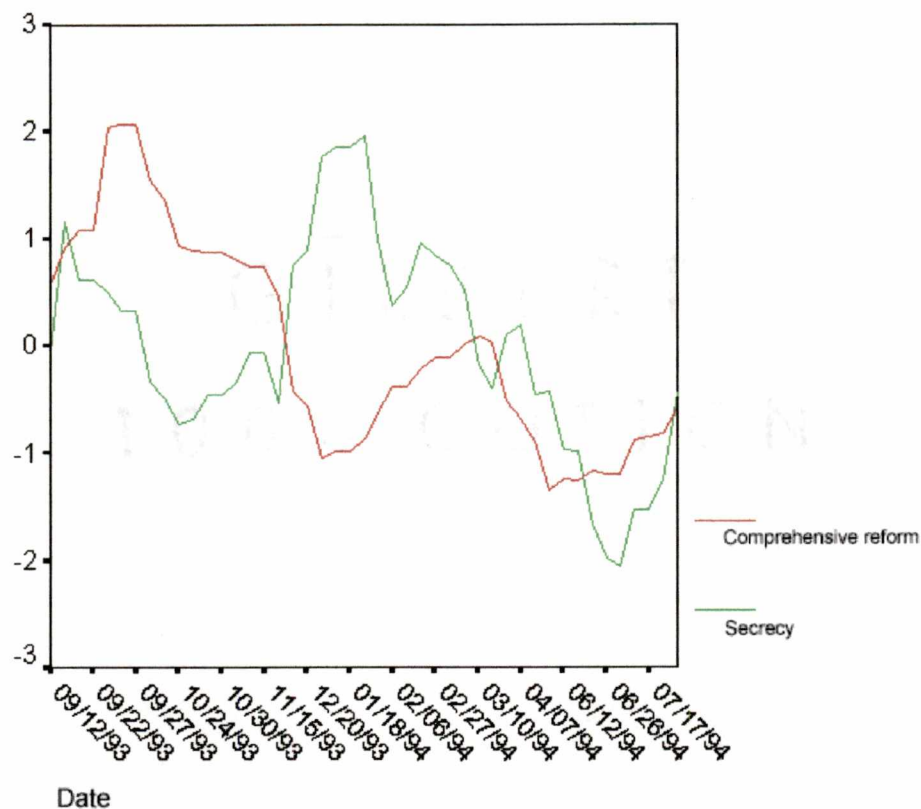


Figure 7.1: Mean z-scores for comprehensive reform and secrecy key term frequencies in newspaper stories

was a sharp increase in news coverage of the secrecy of the task force that can be attributed to the heightened activity in the lawsuit against the task force. Therefore, during September, the main issue of health care reform was framed as a way to provide comprehensive reform, while in December and January, health care reform was framed as a plan that was possibly developed illegally.

The rhetorical analysis revealed that the second level of news framing was driven by the first level of news framing. For example, when President Clinton gave his State of the Union address on January 25, 1993, he stated that he would veto any health care reform bill that did not include universal coverage. (Universal coverage was to be funded

by employer mandates.) At this time, the debate over employer mandates became more active, and the main issue of health care reform was framed as the debate over employer mandates. With the first level of the news frame decided, the second level of the news frame was influenced by those framing employer mandates as a way to fund universal coverage and those framing employer mandates as driving small business out-of-business.

In "Figure 7.2: Mean z-score frequency of the average use of universal coverage and small business key terms in newspaper stories," the amount of news coverage given to the universal coverage frame begins a sharp climb around the time that Clinton gave his state of the union address. The President stressing the importance of universal coverage appears to have caused the universal coverage frame to become dominant in newspaper coverage. However, on June 11, 1994, Bob Dole stated that he would filibuster and kill any health care reform bill that contained employer mandates. In "Figure 7.2: Mean z-score frequency of the average use of universal coverage and small business key terms in newspaper stories," the amount of coverage given to employer mandates jumps ahead of universal coverage at the same time as Dole's comment. Dole was not alone in his vocal condemnation of employer mandates, and the issue of universal coverage and employer mandates remained a heated argument until the death of the bill in late September. As evidenced in "Figure 7.2: Mean z-score frequency of the average use of universal coverage and small business key terms in newspaper stories," the debate involving these two frames continues to increase at a fast rate until the end of the polling period.

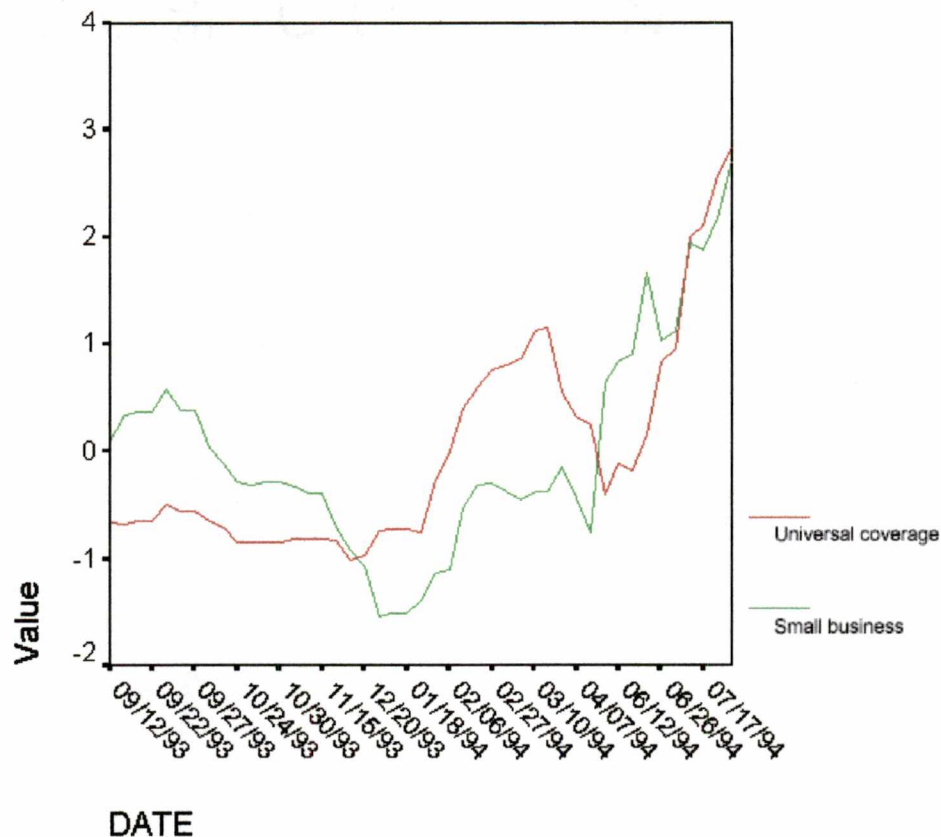


Figure 7.2: Mean z-score frequency of the average use of universal coverage and small business key terms in newspaper stories

By framing the policy issue of health care reform in terms of employer mandates, the positions held by the universal coverage stakeholders and the small business stakeholders became more salient and more newsworthy, heightening the amount of news coverage devoted to their views on health care reform. However, the results of the rhetorical analysis showed that this debate was framed by both stakeholders and political elites. The analysis revealed that when a health care reform issue was receiving attention from both stakeholders and political elites, the stakeholders were usually overshadowed by political elites in newspaper stories. For example, some articles addressing the issue of

employer mandates devote all of their attention to the views of political elites, making no references to stakeholders. However, if political elites incorporate a stakeholder's frame into their frames, then the coverage of the views of political elites can be as beneficial as the coverage of the stakeholders themselves. Overall, stakeholders appear to have had more success in influencing the second level of framing than the first.

The first level of news framing appears to drive the salience of the stakeholders' positions, causing the appearance, the dominance, and the exit of stakeholder frames in news content. The salience of stakeholder positions being based on the first level of news framing may explain the inconsistencies in the results of the analysis of news coverage of stakeholder frames. Continuing the example above, on the first level, health care reform was framed as a debate over employer mandates. Then, news coverage of the small business and universal coverage frames escalated to dominate all other frames used in this study. On the second level, the debate over employer mandates was initially dominated by the universal coverage frame because of President Clinton's State of the Union address. Then, the universal coverage frame was eventually replaced as the dominant frame by the small business frame because opponents in Congress had begun to champion small businesses.

The discovery of the two tiers of news frames would not have been possible without the rhetorical and quantitative analyses of multiple stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories. If multiple frames had not been used, then the elements of stakeholder competition would not have been detected, and the operation of news frames on two levels would have gone unnoticed. The frames that were in direct competition allowed the

researcher to explore the dynamics of how news media shift their attention from one frame to another and why.

ADVANTAGE OF OPPOSING STAKEHOLDERS

As described above, the use of multiple frames in subsequent rhetorical analyses of the six stakeholder frames as they occurred in news releases and in newspaper stories revealed the direct competition between the universal coverage and the small business stakeholders over the issue of employer mandates, as well as the competition between the pharmacy and biotechnology stakeholders over the issue of drug prices. By comparing the news coverage given to the competing frames, the analysis revealed that in each of the debates the opposing stakeholders (small business and biotechnology) were more successful in influencing news frames. As noted above, part of the influence was due to the interest of political elites, but part may have been a result of the actual “opposing” position of these stakeholders.

The opposing frames were more controversial and may have been deemed more newsworthy. In a summary of public relations research, Cameron et al. found that a study by Martin and Singletary showed that negative releases had a better chance of getting in the news (1997). The fact that the comprehensive reform and pharmacy frames agreed with Clinton’s plan may not have made for an interesting news story. However, the biotechnology and the small business stakeholders were attacking Clinton’s plan, making their positions more compelling. The opposing stakeholders may have had an advantage in influencing news frames simply by the position they took on health care reform issues.

This observation demonstrates the importance of journalistic news values to a stakeholder's success in influencing news frames.

THREE-DIMENSIONAL PLACEMENT OF STAKEHOLDERS' FRAMES IN ISSUE DISCUSSION

One of the interesting contributions offered by the use of multiple frames and the use of a rhetorical analysis was the explanation of the 3-dimensional plots of the frames in the context of news releases and newspaper stories. This is the first study where separate 3-dimensional maps of the stakeholders' frames in news releases and in newspaper stories were used for the comparison of the spacial placement of frames in the discussion of a policy issue.

In the 3-dimensional plot of stakeholders' frames in news releases, the universal coverage and comprehensive reform frames were in close proximity on the graph, implying a contextual overlap in their discussions of health care reform ("Figure 7.3: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in news releases"). After reviewing the news releases, universal coverage and comprehensive health care reform were often discussed together as favorable attributes of Clinton's health care plan.

In the 3-dimensional plot of the stakeholders' frames in newspaper stories, the universal coverage frame and the comprehensive reform were no longer found in close proximity ("Figure 7.4: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in newspaper stories"). Instead, universal coverage was found to be in close proximity with the small business frame. The positioning of the universal coverage frame suggested that universal coverage was not being discussed in conjunction with comprehensive reform by the news media.

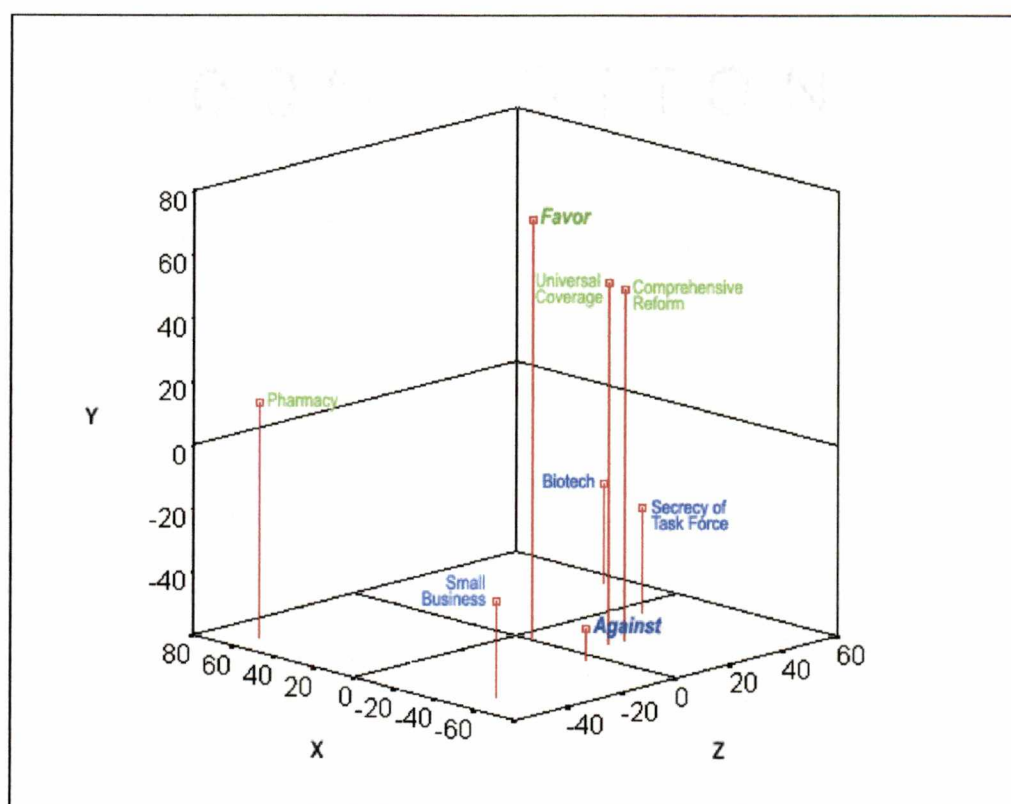


Figure 7.3: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in news releases

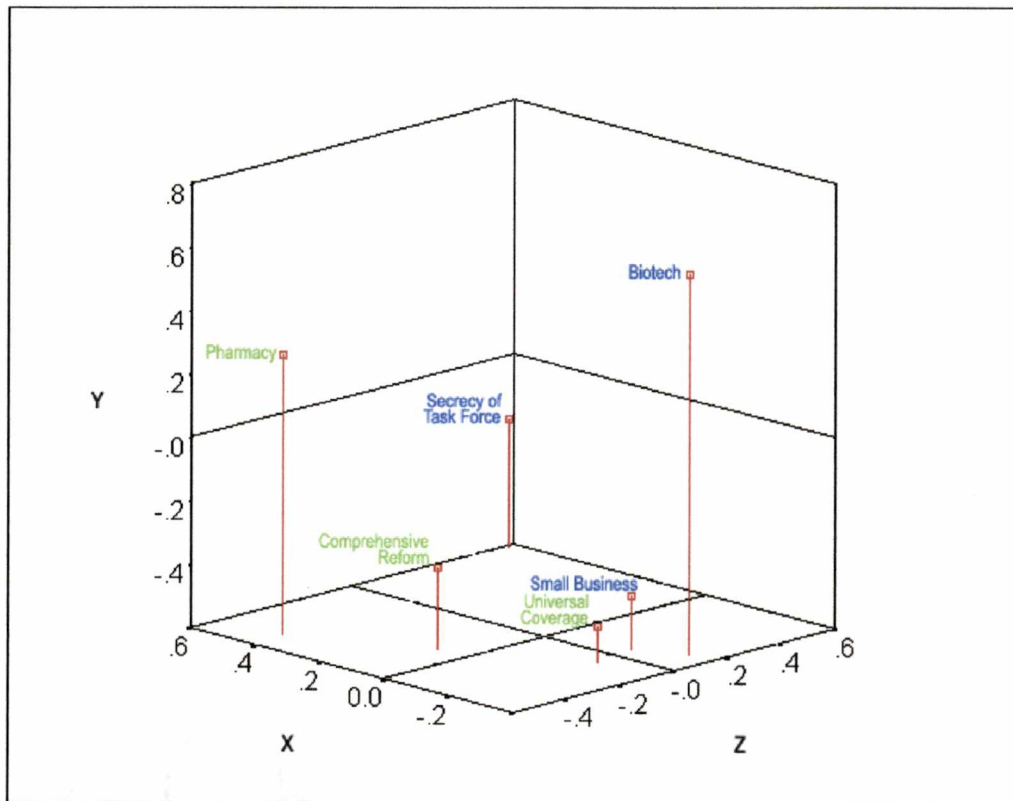


Figure 7.4: 3-Dimensional plot of frame position in newspaper stories

It also suggested that the universal coverage frame was being discussed in the same newspaper articles as the small business frame. However, at that point in the analysis, the shared issue between universal coverage and small business was only a speculation. Then, the rhetorical analysis of frames in newspaper stories revealed that the frames were involved in the same debate over employer mandates.

The ability of the Frame Mapping method to detect the contextual overlap of these two frames in newspaper stories adds to the support for its ability to not only locate frames in newspaper stories, but to also accurately show the relationships among frames in the discussion of a contentious issue. Using Frame Mapping to compare the 3-dimensional placement of frames in both news releases and in news stories shows how the discussion of stakeholders frames in news releases varies from the way they are discussed in the news and shows meaningful relationships among frames is the discussion of issues in news context.

Another interesting phenomenon that this comparison suggests is the way that journalists operate. By varying from the way health care reform was discussed by interest groups in their news releases, evidence is given that journalists do not passively incorporate information from news releases into their news stories.¹ If they did simply pass the information along, then the comprehensive reform frame and the universal coverage frame would have continued to have been discussed together in news stories. This observation supports the findings of a similar study conducted by Miller, Andsager, and Riechert where they found significant variations in the way the presidential candidates

1. It is important to note that journalists did not get their information solely from news releases. Journalists use a variety of sources for information for their news stories.

presented themselves in news releases, Web site pages, etc., and the way they were represented by journalists in news stories (1998).

INFLUENCES ON PUBLIC OPINION

The goal of the public opinion analysis was to determine the impact of stakeholders' frames and news frames on public opinion by comparing the frame trends in newspaper coverage to the trends in public opinion polls. In this analysis, not all of the results supported the hypotheses. All favoring frames were supposed to correlate with the trend in public support for Clinton's plan. Only two of the three frames were positively correlated. All of the opposing frames were supposed to correlate with the trend in public opposition to Clinton's plan. Only one of the three frames was positively correlated.

In light of the proposed idea of news frames operating on two levels, these inconsistent results of this analysis no longer seem surprising. If the first level of news framing is the driving force that determines the saliency of stakeholders' frames, then the influence of stakeholders' frames on public opinion is also more likely to be driven by the first level of news framing. For example, if health care policy is framed as a debate over employer mandates, then the universal coverage and small business frames become more salient to journalists and more influential on the public.

The assumption is that the possibility of a stakeholder's frames to influence public opinion is dependent on how the policy issue is being framed. For example, when health care reform policy is being framed as a way to provide comprehensive health care reform, then the stakeholders' frames addressing the issue of comprehensive reform become more influential on public understanding and opinion. If health care reform is *not* being framed

as a way to provide health care reform, but as a way to control drug prices, then the stakeholders' frames addressing comprehensive reform will not be as salient to journalists nor as influential on public understanding and opinion.

After a review of the trends in public opinion and the trends in news coverage of stakeholders' frames, this assumption appears to be supported. From mid-September to early October, Clinton's health care reform plan was being framed as a way to provide comprehensive reform of the entire health care system. During this time, the dominant stakeholder frame addressing comprehensive health care reform should have had the greatest influence on public opinion. The dominant frame during this time was the comprehensive reform frame—a favoring frame. This time period also showed the highest level of public support for Clinton's plan and the lowest opposition. Likewise, from June until the end of the polling, health care reform was being framed as a debate over employer mandates. During this time, the dominant stakeholder frame addressing the issue of employer mandates should have had the greatest influence on public opinion. The dominant frame during most of this time was the small business frame—an opposing frame. This time period also showed the lowest level of public support for Clinton's plan and the highest opposition.

It appears that the first level of news framing not only dictates what is salient to the media, but also what is salient to the public. As McCombs et al. explain, "issues emphasized by the media over time become more salient to many citizens and voters" (p. 101). In this sense, the operation of news frames on two levels is similar to agenda-setting theory in that the first level of news framing tells the people what facet of the issue to think

about. Then, the second level of news framing is where the dominant, salient stakeholder's frame tells the people how to think about that topic.

In this discussion of the analysis and results of framing on public opinion, the importance of using multiple frames and of conceptualizing news frames as operating on two levels is evident. Here, the trends show that way the main policy issue is framed may dictate the direction of public concern and heighten the saliency of stakeholders' frames.

INFLUENCES ON POLICYMAKING

The observations made in the rhetorical analysis are congruent with the assertion that stakeholders' frames affect policymaking. By using multiple frames and the knowledge of the rhetorical situations, the researcher observed how the President and political elites attached themselves to various policy issues and frames.¹ Probably, the most important finding was how members of Congress who opposed Clinton's plan had successfully found an influential stakeholder frame that was salient to journalists and that resonated with the public. The members of Congress who opposed Clinton's plan made the decision to use the plight of small businesses to fight the plan.

Beginning in April, members of Congress began to defend small businesses against employer mandates. On April 21, 1994, Jim Slattery announced that he would oppose any bill that contained employer mandates. Soon after, Bob Dole announced that mandates would not pass legislation. Then, on June 11, 1994, Dole threatened to

1. It is important to note that stakeholders' frames presented in news releases and news stories and the ratings in public opinion polls were not the only sources of influence on policymakers. Other sources, such as interest group advertising and lobbyists, were also influencing policymakers decisions.

“filibuster and kill” any health care bill with an employer mandate. Finally, on June 28, 1994, the House Committee on Energy and Commerce announced deadlock over employer mandates.

As the debate over employer mandates moved to the forefront of the health care debate and as the small business frame dominated the universal coverage frame in news stories, the public’s opposition to the plan increased. In summary, by attaching themselves to a stakeholder’s frame that turned out to be popular with the media and resonant with the public, policymakers had permanently damaged Clinton’s health care bill.

The members of Congress who supported Clinton’s plan did not find such a frame to champion. In the beginning, the Clinton supporters stood behind the comprehensive reform frame, and comprehensive reform of the health care system was definitely popular with the public. But once the details of Clinton’s plan were examined and the reality of comprehensive reform became unlikely, the success of comprehensive reform no longer seemed plausible and began to decrease in saliency to the media and to the public almost immediately after Clinton’s plan was introduced on television on September 26, 1993.

This observation suggests that stakeholders’ frames can influence the policymaking process not only by influencing public opinion, but by becoming attractive to policymakers. Stakeholder frames can be used by policymakers to achieve a desired outcome of the policymaking process by wielding it as a cause for their position on the issue. In this case, the opponents to Clinton’s plan used their defense of small businesses as their reason for opposing Clinton’s plan.

LIMITATIONS

The limitations on this analysis and future analyses patterned after this study are placed mainly on the research of policy issues in general and the data used for analysis.

POLICY ISSUES

One of the limitations on the ability to perform a frame analysis on a policy issue like health care reform is the influence of intervening issues. The impact of intervening issues can influence the way a policy issue is received by the media and the public. For example, during the debate over health care reform, the issues of NAFTA and Whitewater were also being debated. Negative attitudes toward these issues may have affected news media coverage of the health care reform plan and the public's attitude toward the plan. The effect of the public's attitudes toward intervening issues on their attitudes toward health care reform was not within the scope of this study.

The amount of data available electronically for the frame analysis of the health care reform debate was extensive. The number of news releases, newspaper stories, and public opinion polls were more than adequate for the needs of this study. However, if the scope of the frame analysis presented in this study is used in further research of other policy issues, the same amount of electronic data may not be available.

DATA USED IN ANALYSES

The influence of stakeholders' frames on news media and public opinion is limited because only three newspapers were used in this study (*The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*). The three newspapers used are elite papers and

offered a good representation of what would have been in other print media. However, this study did not include other print, televised, or electronic media within its scope of analysis. Other frame analysis studies should be conducted using other forms of media to compare against the results of this study.

The use of three newspapers also limits the analyses of the influence on and by news media. Journalists from the three newspapers did not receive copies of all of the news releases used in this analysis, nor were all news releases used to create the newspaper stories used in this study. Also, the participants in the public opinion polls did not read all of the articles in all three newspapers.

The polls used in this study offered a good sample of public opinion toward Clinton's health care plan. However, there were variations in the wording of different poll questions. The possible influences on responses caused by the way a poll question was asked were not included in the scope of this study.

Another limitation on the analysis of public opinion was the exclusion of the possible influence of interest group advertising. Studies show that during the debate on health care reform, several interest groups focused their efforts on television, radio, and print advertising, such as the memorable "Harry and Louise" television ads run by the Health Insurance Association of America (West et al., 1996; Koch, 1998).¹ The influence of interest group advertising was not included within the scope of this analysis.

1. The "Harry and Louise" ads were run in opposition to the President's health care plan. The ads usually showed a young couple sitting at their kitchen table trying to make sense of the new health care plan and pointing out its weaknesses. The ads were considered to be so resonant with the public that studies have been conducted which tested the influence of these ads alone on public opinion toward Clinton's health care plan (West et al.).

This study limited its scope of possible influences on policymakers to the results of public opinion polls and the stakeholders' frames presented in news releases and newspaper stories. This study did not include other interest group efforts to sway policymakers, such as using lobbyists, advertisements, or phone calls. A study by West et al. shows that interest groups targeted certain policymakers by airing television commercials in the states of key politicians (1996). The study also shows that interest groups distributed office phone numbers of key policymakers and encouraged the public to make phone calls. These additional interest group efforts were not included in the scope of this study.

FURTHER RESEARCH

The opportunities for further research suggested by this dissertation are both methodological and theoretical. The methods used in this analysis have implications for further research of similar studies, as well as opportunities for other avenues of research. The theoretical propositions made in the discussion of how news frames operate require further research for the refinement of those ideas.

FRAME MAPPING

The methodological processes of refining the qualifications of acceptable stakeholders and of using the Select program as part of the Frame Mapping method, offer a means for identifying, measuring, and comparing multiple stakeholder positions in complex policy issues. Future frame analyses of complex policy issues should use the

Frame Mapping method to explore the interaction and impact of multiple stakeholder frames to compare against the results found in this study.

OMITTED FRAMES

The Frame Mapping method allows the pursuit of research on the effects of the frames omitted from news coverage. To date, framing research focuses on what is included and emphasized in news frames with little attention to what is omitted. The results from the post hoc analysis show that there is reason to pursue further research on the impact of what is being excluded from the news frame. The Frame Mapping methods outlined in Chapters Three and Four, which identify stakeholders' frames and track the way those frames ascend and descend in news coverage, offer the means of knowing when a frame drops from news coverage. Therefore, the absence of a frame can be detected and its effects analyzed. (A limitation on this type of analysis is that it requires the frame to emerge from the news release data during the stakeholder frame analysis.)

ASSIGNING NEWS RELEASES

Most quantitative frame analyses, including this analysis, divide news releases into two main categories (e.g., Riechert, 1996; Smith, 1997). The categories represent the two main competing sets of stakeholders. In this analysis, the news releases were divided into releases that either favored or opposed Clinton's plan. Using two categories for news releases is appropriate for the initial discovery of stakeholders' frames. However, once multiple frames have been defined, the news releases should be re-assigned to multiple categories reflecting the multiple frames. In the post hoc analysis, the news releases specifically for comprehensive reform and pharmacies were re-assigned. The methods

used required a news release to contain at least three sentences with the frame's key terms to be categorized as a representative of the frame. By re-categorizing news releases to represent specific frames, the researcher can produce a more accurate analysis of the influence of stakeholders' frames on news frames. Also, it allows the researcher to track the frequency of news release distribution for specific groups of stakeholders. Further research should be performed to refine the methods for re-categorizing news releases.

INTERVENING ISSUES

As mentioned previously, the effect of intervening issues being debated at this time, such as Whitewater and NAFTA, may have influenced the public's attitude toward the health care plan. Intervening issues being addressed in the same newspaper stories as health care reform may have affected the public's attitude toward the health care plan. Further research should be conducted to detect the inclusion of intervening policy issues in news coverage. Because Frame Mapping can detect frames in news content, it would be relatively easy to conduct a search for a Whitewater frame and a NAFTA frame as they occurred in health care reform news stories. If these two intervening issues are discussed within the same newspaper articles as health care, then it is reasonable to assume that connections among these issues were made. This scenario would be easily transferred to future frame analyses of other policy issues.

If an analysis shows that intervening issues are being discussed in the same newspaper articles, then it would be interesting to conduct further analyses comparing public opinion polls on health care reform with the entrance of Whitewater and NAFTA into the health care debate in newspaper stories. For example, did public support of the

health care reform plan drop after issues like Whitewater were being discussed in conjunction with health care reform? This type of analysis would also be easily transferred to future frame analyses of other policy issues.

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

This study showed that a rhetorical analysis can add important perspectives to frame analysis. A frame cannot be removed from its textual situation, nor can the elements of writer, audience, and message be ignored. Ultimately, the rhetorical analysis added breadth, depth, and greater understanding of stakeholders' frames and the contributions that can cause a frame to be either promoted or ignored in news coverage. A rhetorical analysis would offer interesting perspectives to any future frame analysis of policy issues. However, a limitations on this kind of analysis are the amount of time it takes to research the context of each situation, to research the stakeholders involved in the debate, and to analyze the rhetorical attributes of the texts. Even though a rhetorical analysis is labor intensive, its rewards are evident.

THREE-DIMENSIONAL PLOTS

Using Frame Mapping and a rhetorical analysis to compare the 3-dimensional placement of frames in both news releases and in news stories shows not only show how the discussion of issues in news releases varies from the way they are discussed by journalists in the news, but also shows meaningful relationships of how issues are discussed in context. More analyses of this type may show important trends in how issues shift in association from news releases to newspaper stories. It would offer insights into

how news media interpret news releases, and how news media decisions in framing issues is different from stakeholders.

DIRECTLY COMPETING STAKEHOLDERS

The rhetorical analysis revealed two sets of directly competing stakeholders. The first set showed community pharmacists arguing for the monitoring of drug prices and drug companies arguing against it. The second set showed big businesses and unions arguing for funding universal coverage with employer mandates and small businesses arguing against it. The analyses of directly competing stakeholders provided some of the more interesting observations of how stakeholders' frames and news frames operate. For example, the analysis of directly competing frames allows the researcher to observe more easily whether one group of stakeholders dominates newspaper coverage of the issue. Also, the reasons why one group of stakeholders dominates another may be more apparent in the news stories covering the debate. Further research of competing stakeholders should include analyses of directly competing stakeholders in a policy issue debate.

ADVANTAGE OF OPPOSING STAKEHOLDERS

The rhetorical analysis suggests that stakeholders opposing policy change had an advantage. They received more news coverage apparently because of their more controversial positions. Because the opposing stakeholders were attacking Clinton's plan, their positions were more compelling. The opposing stakeholders may have had an advantage in influencing news frames simply by the position they took on health care reform issues. Further research is needed to explore this possibility.

TWO-TIERED NEWS FRAMING

The evidence supporting the operation of news frames on two levels was not properly tested in this study. However, the observed trends in the data should offer enough evidence to spark further analyses. By analyzing news frames on two levels, more insight may be brought to the understanding of why certain frames enter into a policy debate and why some ascend to or descend from dominance. Further analysis of these ideas by other independent researchers is required to refine the concepts presented in the Discussion section.

STAKEHOLDERS' FRAMES AND POLITICAL ELITES

The impact of framing on the policymaking process is undeniable. The discussion of the policymaking process implies that stakeholders' frames can be used by political elites as a tool in either opposing or supporting policy issues. It also suggests that the success of a policymaker's argument may rest on the salience of the frame chosen. The use of stakeholder frames by political elites in the policymaking process and in the way the policy issue is debated in the media would offer interesting further research.

CONCLUSION

Framing is an interesting area of communications research offering many avenues of analysis concerning the framing of issues by interest groups, political elites, and news media, as well as the possible impact of framing on news media, the public, and the policymaking process. The frame analysis performed in this study examined the complete span of framing effects on the debate over health care reform. The influence of

stakeholders' frames on the news media, the public, and policymakers offers insights into the way framing operates in mass communications. The use of quantitative Frame Mapping methods and a rhetorical analysis in this study added greater breadth and depth in understanding how stakeholders position themselves in policy debates by establishing frames of their views and how news frames are influenced by events, political elites, and stakeholders. The analysis also offers a better understanding of how stakeholders' frames are used by political elites in their debates over policy issues and how choosing a frame that is salient to the media and resonates with the public can be important.

The quantitative Frame Mapping method and the rhetorical analysis proved to complement each other well as the methods used in this analysis. The possible contributions of a frame analysis of this scope were heightened by the use of both of these quantitative and qualitative methods. Each method used alone would not have offered the same dimensions to the analysis or to the discussion of the results. The combination of the Frame Mapping methods used in this study, which included the Select program, and the rhetorical analysis needs to be tested further by other communications researchers.

The goals of this analysis were to improve the reliability of the methods used to identify, measure, and compare frames in context and to provide possible reasons why news frames shift across time. This study has succeeded in beginning to address these concerns. The methods for frame analysis were improved by refining the definition of stakeholders and by including the Select program in the Frame Mapping process. However, these methods can be further refined by incorporating these procedures into future frame analyses. The reasons why news frames shift across time were not found by

this study. This study offers a direction where more may be learned about why news frames shift. The use of multiple frames and the concept of two-tiered news framing may provide a way to move closer to a better understanding of the nature of news frames and how they operate.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: NOMINATED KEY TERMS FOR FAVORING STAKEHOLDERS

The table below shows the output from VBPro's Select program. The table contains the 200 terms with the highest chi-square magnitude that were taken from the news releases distributed by stakeholders that supported the Clinton plan.

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
1. \$FAVOR	130.301	0.240	0.000	0.240
2. AFSCME	110.405	0.203	0.000	0.203
3. NURSES	98.137	0.197	0.006	0.191
4. ANA	69.531	0.128	0.000	0.128
5. UNION	60.227	0.146	0.013	0.133
6. CHA	52.968	0.097	0.000	0.097
7. PHARMACY	50.760	0.093	0.000	0.093
8. AFL_CIO	47.448	0.087	0.000	0.087
9. BETTS	37.514	0.069	0.000	0.069
10. WOMEN	35.029	0.075	0.004	0.071
11. WORKPLACE	33.425	0.067	0.002	0.065
12. OSHA	33.099	0.061	0.000	0.061
13. OUR	32.258	0.347	0.169	0.178
14. UFCW	31.996	0.059	0.000	0.059
15. REFORM	31.216	0.410	0.217	0.193
16. BLUE_CROSS	30.846	0.081	0.009	0.072
17. LEADERS	29.792	0.079	0.009	0.070

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
18. WORKERS	27.790	0.298	0.145	0.153
19. MCENTEE	27.581	0.051	0.000	0.051
20. MEETING	26.648	0.073	0.009	0.064
21. DENTAL	26.478	0.049	0.000	0.049
22. NURSING	26.478	0.049	0.000	0.049
23. ZIEGLER	26.478	0.049	0.000	0.049
24. WORKING	25.602	0.144	0.048	0.096
25. \$AFSCME	25.374	0.047	0.000	0.047
26. UNIVERSAL_COVERAGE	25.283	0.134	0.042	0.092
27. DELIVERY	24.940	0.089	0.018	0.071
28. COMPREHENSIVE	24.917	0.104	0.026	0.078
29. COMMUNITY	24.783	0.148	0.052	0.097
30. PRACTICE	24.135	0.055	0.004	0.051
31. SAFETY	23.813	0.059	0.006	0.053
32. SUPPORT	23.778	0.211	0.094	0.117
33. DRUG	23.727	0.097	0.024	0.074
34. ACCESS	23.616	0.197	0.085	0.112
35. POSTAL	23.535	0.049	0.002	0.047
36. AMERICAN_FEDERATIO	23.167	0.043	0.000	0.043
37. BLUE_SHIELD	23.167	0.043	0.000	0.043
38. UNIONS	23.167	0.043	0.000	0.043
39. PROBLEMS	22.277	0.108	0.031	0.076
40. CATHOLIC_HEALTH_AS	21.342	0.045	0.002	0.043
41. PHARMACIES	21.342	0.045	0.002	0.043
42. CHA'S	20.961	0.039	0.000	0.039
43. NEEDS	20.465	0.134	0.050	0.084

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
44. PRESCRIPTION_DRUG	20.246	0.043	0.002	0.041
45. ELDERLY	19.953	0.075	0.017	0.059
46. SOMBROTTO	19.857	0.037	0.000	0.037
47. COMPREHENSIVE_HEAL	19.809	0.047	0.004	0.043
48. LABOR	19.792	0.085	0.022	0.063
49. AND	19.462	3.030	2.577	0.452
50. OUTPATIENT	19.444	0.055	0.007	0.047
51. PRESCRIPTION_DRUGS	19.152	0.041	0.002	0.039
52. WORK	18.933	0.167	0.074	0.093
53. BENEFIT	18.806	0.118	0.042	0.075
54. AAFP	18.754	0.035	0.000	0.035
55. KIRKLAND	18.754	0.035	0.000	0.035
56. SHE	18.524	0.126	0.048	0.078
57. PRIMARY	18.412	0.057	0.009	0.048
58. PUBLIC	17.814	0.195	0.096	0.099
59. CURLEY	17.651	0.032	0.000	0.032
60. DOLE	17.651	0.032	0.000	0.032
61. PARTICIPATE	17.651	0.032	0.000	0.032
62. APPROPRIATE	17.452	0.047	0.006	0.041
63. UNITED	16.784	0.097	0.033	0.064
64. WHO	16.771	0.345	0.212	0.133
65. \$ANA	16.547	0.030	0.000	0.030
66. ADA	16.547	0.030	0.000	0.030
67. DELEGATES	16.547	0.030	0.000	0.030
68. REGISTERED_NURSES	16.547	0.030	0.000	0.030
69. YOUTH	16.547	0.030	0.000	0.030

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
70. VIOLENCE	15.873	0.035	0.002	0.033
71. AS	15.597	0.646	0.464	0.182
72. GUARANTEE	15.518	0.039	0.004	0.035
73. SINGLE_PAYER	15.518	0.039	0.004	0.035
74. PRESCRIPTIONS	15.444	0.028	0.000	0.028
75. SYSTEMIC	15.444	0.028	0.000	0.028
76. CRISIS	15.361	0.043	0.006	0.037
77. AMERICAN_NURSES_AS	14.783	0.032	0.002	0.031
78. COST_SHIFTING	14.783	0.032	0.002	0.031
79. PRINCIPLES	14.781	0.057	0.013	0.044
80. SYSTEM	14.719	0.402	0.265	0.137
81. APA	14.341	0.026	0.000	0.026
82. BARGAINING	14.341	0.026	0.000	0.026
83. NURSING'S	14.341	0.026	0.000	0.026
84. TROTTER	14.341	0.026	0.000	0.026
85. WE	14.276	0.520	0.365	0.155
86. AFFORDABLE	13.728	0.095	0.037	0.059
87. DR.	13.437	0.047	0.009	0.037
88. FIRST	13.424	0.128	0.059	0.069
89. NURSE	13.320	0.043	0.007	0.035
90. \$CHA	13.237	0.024	0.000	0.024
91. DENTAL_BENEFITS	13.237	0.024	0.000	0.024
92. PHARMACISTS	13.237	0.024	0.000	0.024
93. STEEL	13.237	0.024	0.000	0.024
94. VALUES	13.237	0.024	0.000	0.024
95. ADDRESS	13.204	0.073	0.024	0.049

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
96. MRS.	12.823	0.069	0.022	0.047
97. WE'VE	12.608	0.028	0.002	0.027
98. WITH	12.541	0.623	0.462	0.161
99. AGE	12.467	0.045	0.009	0.035
100. CONVENTION	12.467	0.045	0.009	0.035
101. RIGHT	12.458	0.083	0.031	0.052
102. MEMBERS	12.384	0.181	0.099	0.081
103. ADVANCED	12.335	0.032	0.004	0.029
104. INTERNATIONAL	12.324	0.041	0.007	0.033
105. COMMITMENT	12.266	0.037	0.006	0.031
106. COYLE	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
107. DORITY	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
108. GORE	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
109. HYSTERECTOMIES	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
110. OCCUPATIONAL	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
111. ONA	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
112. ZAPP	12.134	0.022	0.000	0.022
113. CHILDREN	12.088	0.061	0.018	0.043
114. BENEFITS	11.831	0.217	0.129	0.088
115. SOCIAL	11.732	0.047	0.011	0.036
116. RODHAM	11.586	0.069	0.024	0.045
117. RETIREES	11.524	0.026	0.002	0.025
118. GLOBAL	11.506	0.043	0.009	0.033
119. LADY	11.337	0.039	0.007	0.031
120. SCHOOL	11.337	0.039	0.007	0.031
121. MET	11.284	0.030	0.004	0.027

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
122. MEDICARE	11.085	0.118	0.057	0.061
123. SAFLCIO	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
124. ASSEMBLY	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
125. BARNETTE	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
126. BOWLES	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
127. CONTINUUM	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
128. FEHBP	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
129. GERALD	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
130. HISTORIC	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
131. INJURIES	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
132. JD	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
133. RECOGNITION	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
134. SAFEWAY	11.031	0.020	0.000	0.020
135. REPRESENTATIVES	10.530	0.051	0.015	0.036
136. DISCRIMINATORY	10.443	0.024	0.002	0.023
137. FOCUS	10.360	0.037	0.007	0.029
138. LEGISLATIVE	10.200	0.047	0.013	0.034
139. STRONG	10.034	0.053	0.017	0.036
140. AMERICAN_PSYCHOLOG	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
141. BOLD	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
142. CATHOLIC	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
143. CHILDREN'S	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
144. INJURY	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
145. LABOR_GAINS	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
146. LABOR_PAINS	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
147. MEDICATIONS	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
148. MSN	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
149. NACDS	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
150. SATELLITE	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
151. WIDEN	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
152. WORKPLACES	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
153. WORKS	9.928	0.018	0.000	0.018
154. FINANCING	9.621	0.039	0.009	0.029
155. FAIR	9.396	0.035	0.007	0.027
156. PRAISED	9.396	0.035	0.007	0.027
157. SUPPLEMENTAL	9.365	0.022	0.002	0.020
158. W.	9.365	0.022	0.002	0.020
159. LOW_INCOME	9.242	0.030	0.006	0.025
160. J.	9.203	0.026	0.004	0.023
161. PROFESSIONALS	9.203	0.026	0.004	0.023
162. FIGHT	8.996	0.041	0.011	0.030
163. AGES	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
164. ALCOHOL	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
165. BETHLEHEM	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
166. CANADIAN_STYLE	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
167. COMPREHENSIVE_REFO	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
168. CONTINUOUS	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
169. CORE	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
170. COX	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
171. EQUAL	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
172. NARD	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
173. ORAL	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
174. PROPONENT	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
175. REICH	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
176. RESTRUCTURED	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
177. SPENCER	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
178. TESTIFIED	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
179. TOWARDS	8.825	0.016	0.000	0.016
180. WORKER	8.699	0.037	0.009	0.027
181. INVITED	8.445	0.032	0.007	0.025
182. OVERALL	8.418	0.055	0.020	0.035
183. MUST	8.325	0.152	0.090	0.062
184. DC	8.292	0.020	0.002	0.018
185. ENTITLED	8.292	0.020	0.002	0.018
186. MIDDLE_CLASS	8.292	0.020	0.002	0.018
187. MOTHER	8.292	0.020	0.002	0.018
188. REFERRED	8.292	0.020	0.002	0.018
189. VIRGINIA	8.257	0.028	0.006	0.023
190. UNIVERSAL	8.142	0.071	0.031	0.040
191. COST_CONTAINMENT	8.115	0.039	0.011	0.028
192. ENSURE	7.998	0.045	0.015	0.030
193. LOCAL	7.998	0.045	0.015	0.030
194. ADDRESSED	7.794	0.035	0.009	0.025
195. \$BCBS	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014
196. ACTIVELY	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014
197. ACUTE	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014
198. APPLAUDS	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014
199. BETHLEHEM_STEEL	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014

Table A.1: List of top 200 favoring terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
200. BUSH	7.721	0.014	0.000	0.014

APPENDIX B: NOMINATED KEY TERMS FOR OPPOSING STAKEHOLDERS

The table below shows the output from VBPro's Select program. The table contains the 200 terms with the highest chi-square magnitude that were taken from the news releases distributed by stakeholders that opposed the Clinton plan.

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
1. \$AGAINST	113.465	0.000	0.230	-0.230
2. SMALL_BUSINESS	75.076	0.067	0.302	-0.235
3. NFIB	63.507	0.000	0.129	-0.129
4. WOULD	59.801	0.309	0.642	-0.334
5. RESEARCH	56.377	0.026	0.179	-0.152
6. FARIS	48.076	0.000	0.098	-0.098
7. BUSINESSES	42.212	0.014	0.122	-0.107
8. JOBS	39.652	0.055	0.195	-0.140
9. OWNERS	39.150	0.032	0.153	-0.120
10. BUSINESS	38.124	0.039	0.162	-0.123
11. BIOTECHNOLOGY	35.372	0.000	0.072	-0.072
12. PSYCHIATRIC	35.280	0.002	0.077	-0.075
13. MANDATES	29.928	0.000	0.061	-0.061
14. INDUSTRY	29.855	0.026	0.120	-0.093
15. EMPLOYER_MANDATE	26.758	0.014	0.088	-0.074
16. DOCUMENTS	26.300	0.000	0.053	-0.053
17. SPECTER	26.300	0.000	0.053	-0.053
18. BAUER	24.485	0.000	0.050	-0.050
19. SURVEY	24.081	0.045	0.138	-0.093

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
20. NSBU	23.578	0.000	0.048	-0.048
21. ANY	23.522	0.057	0.156	-0.100
22. SECRET	22.671	0.000	0.046	-0.046
23. IF	21.918	0.091	0.204	-0.113
24. \$NFIB	21.764	0.000	0.044	-0.044
25. BIOTECH	21.764	0.000	0.044	-0.044
26. NBC	20.857	0.000	0.042	-0.042
27. CHAMBER	19.950	0.000	0.041	-0.041
28. HAWAII	19.918	0.002	0.046	-0.044
29. RESULTS	19.579	0.006	0.055	-0.049
30. MANDATE	19.165	0.016	0.075	-0.059
31. ABORTION	18.367	0.016	0.074	-0.057
32. REPORT	18.312	0.026	0.092	-0.066
33. BUREAUCRACY	18.117	0.002	0.042	-0.040
34. FOUNDATION	17.820	0.012	0.064	-0.052
35. IMPACT	17.465	0.008	0.055	-0.047
36. SUBSIDIES	17.465	0.008	0.055	-0.047
37. HORVAT	17.229	0.000	0.035	-0.035
38. ORGANIZATION	16.749	0.022	0.081	-0.059
39. SURVEYS	16.322	0.000	0.033	-0.033
40. COURT	15.684	0.004	0.042	-0.038
41. ALLIANCE	15.535	0.010	0.055	-0.045
42. ANTITRUST	15.415	0.000	0.031	-0.031
43. CURES	15.415	0.000	0.031	-0.031
44. SMALL	14.572	0.012	0.057	-0.045
45. FAMILY_RESEARCH_CO	14.508	0.000	0.029	-0.029
46. FRC	14.508	0.000	0.029	-0.029
47. SHAKER	14.508	0.000	0.029	-0.029
48. ADVOCACY	13.926	0.004	0.039	-0.035

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
49. BILLS	13.926	0.004	0.039	-0.035
50. ACCORDING	13.923	0.065	0.140	-0.075
51. CUT	13.702	0.018	0.066	-0.048
52. JOB_LOSS	13.626	0.002	0.033	-0.031
53. WOOD	13.626	0.002	0.033	-0.031
54. MANION	13.601	0.000	0.028	-0.028
55. UNDER	13.345	0.099	0.186	-0.086
56. BRENNAN	12.694	0.000	0.026	-0.026
57. HMO	12.694	0.000	0.026	-0.026
58. PAYROLL_TAX	12.694	0.000	0.026	-0.026
59. PRESS	12.672	0.006	0.041	-0.034
60. GOVERNMENT	12.664	0.106	0.191	-0.086
61. COMPANIES	12.460	0.057	0.123	-0.066
62. VERY	12.294	0.020	0.066	-0.046
63. AGAINST	12.224	0.018	0.063	-0.044
64. WHY	12.167	0.014	0.055	-0.041
65. PERFORMANCE	11.837	0.002	0.029	-0.027
66. SMALL_FIRMS	11.837	0.002	0.029	-0.027
67. GAO	11.788	0.000	0.024	-0.024
68. NATIONAL_FEDERATIO	11.605	0.008	0.042	-0.034
69. I	11.434	0.071	0.140	-0.069
70. PRICE_CONTROLS	11.417	0.012	0.050	-0.038
71. COMMITTEE	11.312	0.035	0.087	-0.052
72. MAGAZINER	11.310	0.004	0.033	-0.029
73. SHOULD	11.304	0.106	0.186	-0.080
74. EVEN	11.126	0.032	0.083	-0.050
75. CLAIMS	10.984	0.006	0.037	-0.031
76. HMOS	10.984	0.006	0.037	-0.031
77. AAPS	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
78. HIRE	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
79. MCDONOUGH	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
80. MEDICINES	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
81. PART_TIME	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
82. RENNIE	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
83. TEC/PSBU	10.881	0.000	0.022	-0.022
84. HOME	10.876	0.020	0.063	-0.042
85. CREATE	10.685	0.010	0.044	-0.034
86. FIRMS	10.685	0.010	0.044	-0.034
87. AIDS	10.647	0.012	0.048	-0.036
88. INFORMATION	10.312	0.030	0.077	-0.047
89. KENNEDY	10.148	0.006	0.035	-0.029
90. CONSUMER	10.069	0.018	0.057	-0.039
91. BUY	10.055	0.002	0.026	-0.024
92. RETAILERS	10.055	0.002	0.026	-0.024
93. TAXPAYERS	10.055	0.002	0.026	-0.024
94. ACHCR	9.974	0.000	0.020	-0.020
95. AMERICAN_COUNCIL_F	9.974	0.000	0.020	-0.020
96. BREAKTHROUGH_DRUG	9.974	0.000	0.020	-0.020
97. HAWAII'S	9.974	0.000	0.020	-0.020
98. PROZAC	9.974	0.000	0.020	-0.020
99. OFFICE	9.914	0.014	0.050	-0.035
100. MANAGED_CARE	9.638	0.022	0.063	-0.040
101. CHOICE	9.323	0.039	0.087	-0.048
102. SHOWS	9.320	0.006	0.033	-0.027
103. U.S.	9.229	0.073	0.134	-0.061
104. DISTRICT	9.167	0.002	0.024	-0.022
105. MANDATED	9.133	0.012	0.044	-0.032
106. LOST	9.128	0.010	0.041	-0.030

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
107. STATED	9.073	0.030	0.074	-0.043
108. \$FRC	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
109. ALZHEIMER'S	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
110. AUTHORS	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
111. BIO	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
112. CHAMBER'S	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
113. CITIZENS_COMMISSIO	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
114. GEORGIA	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
115. MOTLEY	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
116. PARKER	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
117. REIKER	9.067	0.000	0.018	-0.018
118. BE	8.830	0.609	0.762	-0.153
119. AHA	8.731	0.004	0.028	-0.024
120. TRUTH	8.731	0.004	0.028	-0.024
121. ALREADY	8.686	0.026	0.066	-0.040
122. WHICH	8.617	0.236	0.333	-0.098
123. ESTIMATES	8.499	0.006	0.031	-0.025
124. CUTS	8.462	0.014	0.046	-0.032
125. FEDERAL	8.437	0.085	0.147	-0.062
126. FIND	8.391	0.008	0.035	-0.027
127. HUMAN	8.364	0.010	0.039	-0.029
128. PROPOSALS	8.311	0.035	0.077	-0.043
129. AGENCIES	8.282	0.002	0.022	-0.020
130. DISEASES	8.282	0.002	0.022	-0.020
131. LOSS	8.282	0.002	0.022	-0.020
132. NEW	8.264	0.144	0.221	-0.077
133. \$SPECTER	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
134. ENTREPRENEURS	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
135. GOVERNMENT_RUN	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
136. GRADISON	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
137. MAIN	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
138. MAPI	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
139. PERRY	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
140. RETAILING	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
141. R_PA	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
142. TRIED	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
143. UNLIMITED	8.160	0.000	0.017	-0.017
144. PERCENT	7.920	0.339	0.449	-0.110
145. CONTINUED	7.883	0.004	0.026	-0.022
146. HIAA	7.883	0.004	0.026	-0.022
147. MEMBERSHIP	7.883	0.004	0.026	-0.022
148. TAXES	7.869	0.016	0.048	-0.032
149. SMALL_BUSINESSES	7.789	0.065	0.118	-0.053
150. STAFF	7.687	0.006	0.029	-0.023
151. ANOTHER	7.611	0.010	0.037	-0.027
152. MR.	7.610	0.008	0.033	-0.025
153. FULL_TIME	7.401	0.002	0.020	-0.018
154. GARY	7.401	0.002	0.020	-0.018
155. TREATMENTS	7.401	0.002	0.020	-0.018
156. QUALITY	7.389	0.130	0.199	-0.069
157. PLANS	7.367	0.114	0.179	-0.065
158. STUDY	7.332	0.065	0.116	-0.051
159. REDUCE	7.299	0.030	0.068	-0.038
160. BY	7.271	0.601	0.738	-0.137
161. \$AHA	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
162. ABORTIONS	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
163. ABORTION_ON_DEMAND	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
164. AIDE	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
165. ALFONSO	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
166. BREAKTHROUGH_DRUGS	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
167. BROADCAST	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
168. CONTENDS	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
169. JOB_LOSSES	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
170. KENNEDY'S	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
171. MICHIGAN_PEER_REVI	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
172. MPRO	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
173. TELEVISION	7.254	0.000	0.015	-0.015
174. OR	7.148	0.209	0.293	-0.084
175. WAS	7.127	0.140	0.210	-0.070
176. NUMBER	7.110	0.039	0.079	-0.041
177. FACT	7.057	0.014	0.042	-0.028
178. DAYS	7.043	0.004	0.024	-0.020
179. PSYCHIATRISTS	7.043	0.004	0.024	-0.020
180. DUE	6.886	0.006	0.028	-0.022
181. LOW	6.886	0.006	0.028	-0.022
182. OPPOSED	6.886	0.006	0.028	-0.022
183. PAY	6.869	0.079	0.133	-0.053
184. STILL	6.842	0.008	0.031	-0.023
185. BUT	6.795	0.158	0.230	-0.072
186. CASE	6.525	0.002	0.018	-0.016
187. LIMITING	6.525	0.002	0.018	-0.016
188. REGION	6.525	0.002	0.018	-0.016
189. TYPES	6.525	0.002	0.018	-0.016
190. THESE	6.465	0.140	0.206	-0.066
191. COMPANY	6.451	0.022	0.053	-0.031
192. ABOUT	6.448	0.106	0.164	-0.058
193. TAX	6.358	0.057	0.101	-0.044

Table B.1: List of top 200 opposing terms with the highest chi-square magnitude

Word	Chi-Square	A%	B%	% Difference
194. \$ACHCR	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
195. ALLIANCE_FOR_AGING	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
196. ARLEN	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
197. BUREAU	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
198. CCHR	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
199. CONSAD	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013
200. EVER	6.347	0.000	0.013	-0.013

APPENDIX C: TERMS DISCARDED FROM THE SELECT OUTPUT FOR FAVORING STAKEHOLDERS

The following lists are the terms that were discarded from the list of favoring terms generated by VBPro's Select program. The terms were discarded because of either their ambiguity or their lack of meaning in defining stakeholders' positions.

PROPER NOUNS

AFSCME
ANA
CHA
AFL_CIO
BETTS
OSHA
UFCW
BLUE_CROSS
MCENTEE
ZIEGLER
AMERICAN_FEDERATION
BLUE_SHIELD
CATHOLIC_HEALTH_ASSOCIATION
CHA'S
SOMBROTTO
AAFP
KIRKLAND
CURLEY
DOLE
ADA
AMERICAN_NURSES_ASSOCIATION
APA
TROTTER
COYLE
DORITY
GORE

ONA
ZAPP
RODHAM
BARNETTE
BOWLES
FEHBP
GERALD
JD
SAFEWAY
AMERICAN_PSYCHOLOGY_ASSOCIATION
MSN
NACDS
BETHLEHEM
COX
NARD
REICH
SPENCER
DC
VIRGINIA
BETHLEHEM_STEEL
BUSH

PSEUDO TERMS

\$AFSCME
\$ANA
\$CHA
\$AFLCIO
\$BCBS

PRONOUNS, CONJUNCTIONS, PREPOSITIONS, AND COURTESY TITLES

OUR
SHE
WHO
WE (WE'VE)
AND
AS
DR
MRS
WITH
TOWARDS

AUXILIARY VERBS AND ADVERBS

ACTIVELY

ATTRIBUTION

ADDRESS

PRAISED

TESTIFIED

INVITED

REFERRED

ADDRESSED

APPLAUDS

EVALUATION WORDS

STRONG

BOLD

APPROPRIATE

AMBIGUOUS TERMS

W

J

APPENDIX D: TERMS DISCARDED FROM THE SELECT OUTPUT FOR OPPOSING STAKEHOLDERS

The following lists are the terms that were discarded from the list of opposing terms generated by VBPro's Select program. The terms were discarded because of either their ambiguity or their lack of meaning in defining stakeholders' positions.

PROPER NOUNS

NFIB
FARIS
SPECTER
BAUER
NSBU
NBC
HAWAII
HORVAT
FAMILY_RESEARCH_COUNCIL
FRC
SHAKER
WOOD
MANION
BRENNAN
GAO
NATIONAL_FEDERATION_OF_INDEPENDENT_BUSINESS
MAGAZINER
AAPS
MCDONOUGH
RENNIE
TEC/PSBU
KENNEDY
ACHCR
AMERICAN_COUNCIL_FOR_HEALTH_CARE_REFORM
HAWAII'S
CHAMBER

CHAMBER'S
CITIZENS_COMMISSION_FOR_A_SOUND_ECONOMY
GEORGIA
MOTLEY
PARKER
REIKER
BIO
AHA
GRADISON
MAPI
PERRY
HIAA
GARY
ALFONSO
KENNEDY'S
MICHIGAN_PEER_REVIEW
MPRO
ALLIANCE_FOR_AGING
ARLEN
CCHR
CONSAD

PSEUDO TERMS

\$NFIB
\$FRC
\$SPECTER
\$AHA
\$ACHCR

PRONOUNS, CONJUNCTIONS, PREPOSITIONS, AND COURTESY TITLES

IF
ANY
UNDER
I
US
ANOTHER
MR
OR
BUT
ABOUT

WHICH
BY
THESE

AUXILIARY VERBS AND ADVERBS

WOULD
WHY
SHOULD
BE
WAS
STILL
VERY
EVEN
ALREADY
EVER

ATTRIBUTION

ACCORDING
STATED

EVALUATION WORDS

NEW

AMBIGUOUS TERMS

R_PA

APPENDIX E:TIMELINE FOR THE HEALTH CARE REFORM DEBATE

The information in the following time table is composed of dates and events gathered from numerous health care reform sources cited for this dissertation. However, a majority of the information came from two sources: “The Health Care Debate: What Went Wrong? How the Health Care Campaign Collapsed—A Special Report” (Clymer, 1994) and PBS’s News Hour Online (www.pbs.org).

Table E.1: Timeline for Health Care Reform Debate

Date	Event
Late summer/Fall 1992	Presidential campaign. Clinton uses health care reform as a major campaign issue. Emphasizes the use of employer mandates to pay for employees' health care benefits, while government supplied health care for the unemployed.
January 20, 1993	Inauguration.
January 25, 1993	Hillary appointed to head a task force on national health care reform. Ira Magaziner appointed as top adviser. Clinton announces that the task force will “prepare health care reform legislation to be submitted to Congress within one hundred days of our taking office.” Ultimately, Clinton focuses on the budget, while Hillary focuses on the health care issue.
February 11, 1993	National Legal and Policy Center (NLPC) demands that the task force open its currently closed meetings.
February 17, 1993	Clinton delivers first address to a joint session of Congress. He makes the connection between deficit reduction and health care reform.
February 24, 1993	NLPC, the American Council for Health Care Reform and the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons file a lawsuit against Hillary Rodham-Clinton and the task force for open meetings and open documents.
April 30, 1993	First deadline set by Clinton administration for plan completion—missed.
March 8, 1993	U.S. Chamber of Commerce endorses managed competition.
March 10, 1993	Federal judge orders task force to open meetings.

May 3, 1993	A chart is leaked to the New York Times detailing methods for the health care reform, and insinuating that Clinton is calling for \$150 billion in new taxes.
May 20, 1993	Private, internal health-policy debate takes place. Even though the debates are supposed to be private, the debates are re-counted by the <i>Washington Post</i> and the <i>New York Times</i> .
May 31, 1993	Clinton's Health Care Task Force is officially disbanded.
June 14, 1993	<i>Washington Times</i> reports the shredding of task force documents.
June 15, 1993	Federal Judge orders White House to stop destroying task force documents.
August 6, 1993	Clinton's budget is approved with Gore casting the tie-breaking vote.
Early September, 1993	Draft of the health care plan is leaked to interest groups and the media. Some opposing interest groups begin ad campaigns (e.g., HIAA's Harry and Louise ads)
September 11, 1993	Washington Post and the New York Times run stories about Clinton's health care plan.
September 19, 1993	Pat Moynihan states that there is "no health care crisis" on <i>Meet the Press</i> .
September 22, 1993	Clinton presents a general health care reform plan to a joint session of Congress. Speech is televised. Clinton stresses universal coverage and employer mandates. (Clinton plans to devote the next five weeks to promoting health care reform—was not accomplished.)
September 28, 1993	Hillary begins testimony on health care before five congressional committees.
October 3, 1993	Soldiers killed in Somalia.
Early October 1993	Clinton practically disappears from health care scene. Some of the distractions include Somalia and the upcoming NAFTA vote.
October 6, 1993	Representative Jim Cooper (D) of Tennessee introduces a health care proposal.
October 21, 1993	Senator John Breaux (D) of Louisiana introduces a health care proposal.
October 27, 1993	Clinton's health care bill is presented to Congress.
Late October 1993	Opposing interest groups become more aggressive (Based on press releases collected for this study.)
November 1, 1993	Hillary attacks health insurance industry (most likely in response to the popular "Harry and Louise ads"). Receives full coverage by the press.
December 1993	Clinton re-enters health care scene. Whitewater becomes a major issue.
December 21, 1993	Federal Judge accuses Ira Magaziner of lying under oath. Judge requests a criminal investigation.
January 3, 1993	Republicans make links Whitewater with the health care reform plan.

January 25, 1994	State of the Union address. Clinton stresses dedication to universal coverage. He threatens to veto any bill that does not guarantee universal coverage. Bob Dole's response is that there is "no health care crisis," and emphasizes that the plan is government-run health care.
Early February 1994	Business Roundtable withdraws support from the Clinton plan, and gives support to a rival plan (the Cooper plan). U.S. Chamber of Commerce not only withdraws support for the Clinton plan, but comes out against the plan. Paula Jones announces lawsuit for sexual harassment and civil rights violations against Clinton.
February 5, 1994	The board of the National Association of Manufacturer's declares its opposition to the Clinton plan.
Late March 1994	Republicans make more noise over the link between Whitewater and the health care plan.
April 1994	NFIB puts out an "emergency alert" to 8,000 NFIB members in Kansas to stop Jim Slattery from voting in favor of the Clinton plan in the Waxman's Health Subcommittee if the plan contains employer-mandates.
April 21, 1994	Jim Slattery announces that he will oppose any bill that contains employer-mandates.
Late April - May 1994	Employer-mandates become a hotter topic. Dole announces that "individual mandates aren't going to pass."
May 31, 1994	Representative Rostenkowski is indicted on 17 counts of conspiring to defraud the government and must resign his position as chairman of the House Ways and Means committee. (A blow to the passing of the Clinton bill.)
June 11, 1994	Dole threatens to "filibuster and kill" any health care bill with an employer-mandate.
June 28, 1994	House Committee on Energy and Commerce announces deadlock over employer mandates.
June 29, 1994	Dole presents a health care plan that does not include employer-mandates, individual mandates, and no price controls on pharmaceuticals. Receives support from major business lobbies.
Late June 1994	HIAA brings back the "Harry and Louise" ads.
July 19, 1994	Clinton relaxes demands for universal coverage in a speech to the National Governor's Association.
August 2, 1994	Senator George Mitchell (D) of Maine introduces health care proposal.
August 4, 1994	Clinton endorses Mitchell's health care proposal.
August 9, 1994	Senate begins debate over health care legislation. AARP endorses the Mitchell bill.
August 11, 1994	Crime bill takes precedence over health care legislation in the Senate.

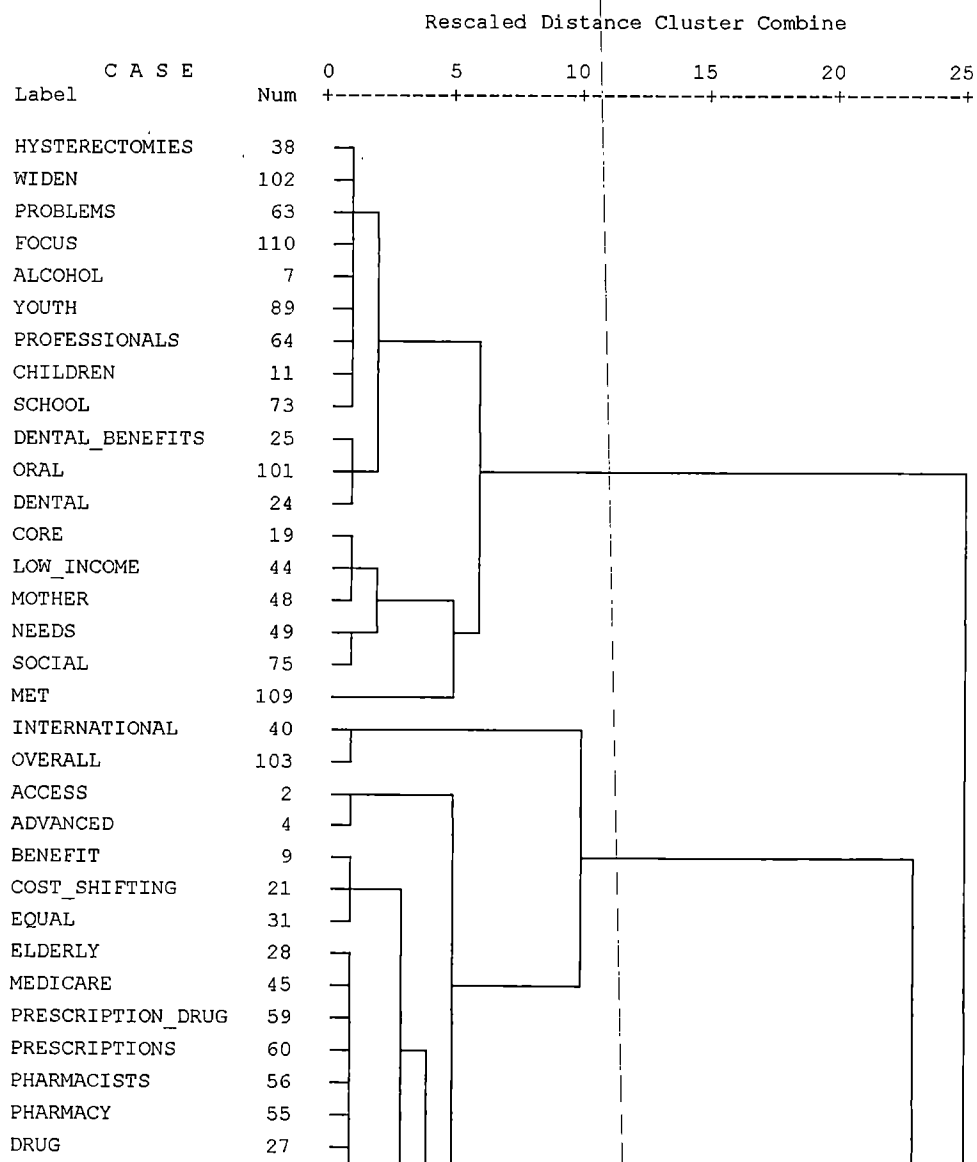
August 26, 1994	Unofficial consensus that health care legislation will not be passed during the current session.
September 26, 1994	Senator George Mitchell officially announces that health care legislation would not be introduced in the current session of Congress.

APPENDIX F: DENDROGRAMS

The following dendrogram contains the terms used by favoring stakeholder groups.

***** HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS *****

Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)



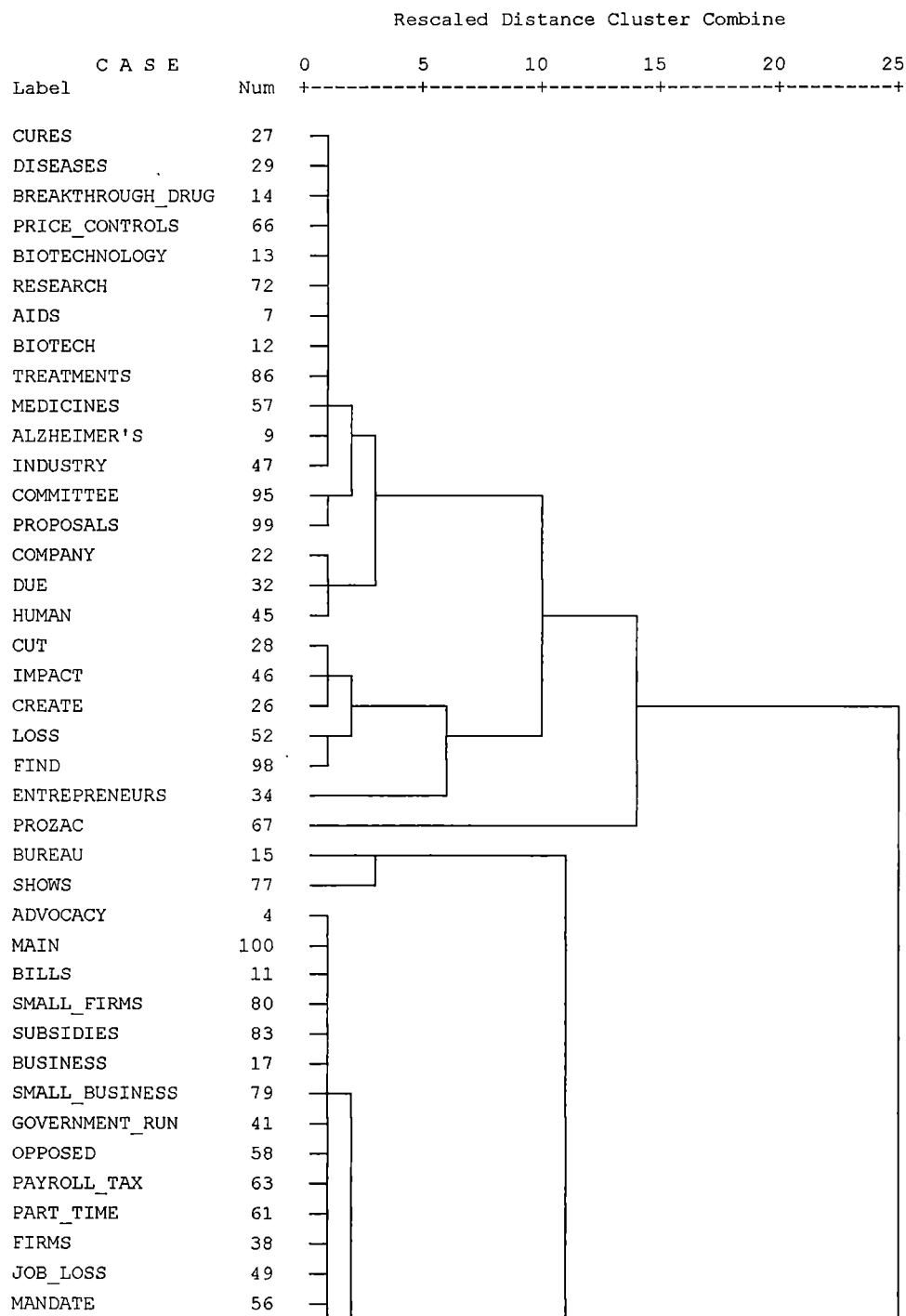
DISCRIMINATORY	26			
MEDICATIONS	46			
COMMUNITY	13			
OUTPATIENT	53			
AGE	6			
INJURY	39			
OCCUPATIONAL	52			
SAFETY	72			
WORKPLACE	88			
PUBLIC	66			
LABOR_GAINS	98			
LABOR_PAINS	99			
BARGAINING	8			
UNION	80			
LABOR	41			
WORKER	87			
CONVENTION	94			
DELEGATES	91			
LOCAL	105			
FAIR	32			
LEGISLATIVE	43			
ENTITLED	30			
POSTAL	57			
FIGHT	33			
RIGHT	71			
WORK	86			
WOMEN	85			
\$FAVOR	1			
SUPPORT	77			
COMPREHENSIVE	14			
MIDDLE_CLASS	47			
UNIVERSAL_COVERAG	82			
CONTINUOUS	17			
SYSTEMIC	79			
MUST	104			
MEMBERS	95			
CRISIS	22			
ENSURE	29			
REPRESENTATIVES	96			
HISTORIC	37			
REFORM	68			
GLOBAL	35			
VALUES	83			
GUARANTEE	36			
FIRST	92			
AFFORDABLE	5			
RETIREEES	70			
UNITED	90			
STEEL	93			
LEADERS	42			
RECOGNITION	67			
COMPREHENSIVE_REF	16			

PRINCIPLES	62	
FINANCING	34	
SYSTEM	78	
CATHOLIC	97	
LADY	108	
COMPREHENSIVE_HEA	15	
SINGLE_PAYER	74	
MEETING	107	
COST_CONTAINMENT	20	
PARTICIPATE	54	
DELIVERY	23	
COMMITMENT	12	
CANADIAN_STYLE	10	
PROPOSER	65	
RESTRUCTURED	69	
ACUTE	3	
SATELLITE	100	
ASSEMBLY	106	
VIOLENCE	84	
NURSE	50	
NURSING	51	
CONTINUUM	18	
PRACTICE	58	
UNIVERSAL	81	
PRIMARY	61	
SUPPLEMENTAL	76	

The following dendrogram contains the terms used by opposing stakeholder groups.

***** H I E R A R C H I C A L C L U S T E R A N A L Y S I S *****

Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)



PLANS	65	
GOVERNMENT	40	
TAXPAYERS	85	
PRESS	94	
CONSUMER	23	
AGAINST	5	
LIMITING	51	
FEDERAL	37	
REPORT	92	
DOCUMENTS	31	
SECRET	76	
COURT	25	
TRUTH	88	
DISTRICT	30	
TRIED	87	
INFORMATION	48	
ALLIANCE	8	

APPENDIX G: POLL QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

There were 45 polls collected, and most of the polls ask the same basic question: "Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care plan?" However, there are a few variations of the introductory phrase. (Shown below.) Also, there are five polls that ask this same question, except in terms of "approve or disapprove" instead of "favor or oppose." The subjects who did not answer as favoring or opposing were categorized differently by some of the polls. The variations are as follows: Neither; Not Sure; Don't Know; Refused; Unsure; Never heard of the plan; and No Opinion. These variations are all listed below as "No Opinion."

POLL QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

In general, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's health care reform plan?

Table G.1: Question one results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
10/28/93-10/28/93	43	36	21
1/17/94-1/18/94	50	33	17
2/10/94-2/10/94	43	42	15
2/16/94-2/17/94	61	19	20
3/2/94-3/3/94	41	45	14
3/9/94-3/10/94	43	43	14
4/6/94-4/7/94	48	39	13
6/15/94-6/16/94	40	43	17

Table G.1: Question one results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
7/13/94-7/14/94	37	49	14
8/4/94-8/4/94	42	45	13

From everything you have heard or read about the plan so far, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's plan to reform health care?

Table G.2: Question two results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
11/19/93-11/21/93	52	41	7
1/15/94-1/17/94	56	39	6
1/17/94-1/18/94	48	35	17
1/28/94-1/30/94	57	38	5
2/26/94-2/28/94	46	48	6
2/28/94-3/30/94	44	47	9
4/16/94-4/18/94	43	47	10
5/20/94-5/22/94	46	49	5
6/11/94-6/12/94	42	50	8
6/25/94-6/28/94	44	49	8

From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the (President Bill) Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals?

Table G.3: Question three results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
9/24/93-9/27/93	53	25	22
10/21/93-10/24/93	41	37	22

Table G.3: Question three results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
12/2/93-12/5/93	49	32	19
6/23/94-6/26/94	32	49	19

From everything you have heard or read so far, do you favor or oppose (President) Bill Clinton's plan to reform health care?

Table G.4: Question four results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
9/22/93-9/22/93	55	20	26
10/28/93-10/30/93	45	45	10
11/2/93-11/4/93	52	40	8

Overall, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's plan for reforming the health care system?

Table G.5: Question five results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
10/1/93-10/6/93	64	30	6
11/11/93-11/15/93	58	34	7
12/12/93-12/12/93	58	38	4
2/2/94-2/6/94	59	34	7
4/4/94-4/7/94	53	38	9

From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's health care program?

Table G.6: Question six results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
10/22/93-10/26/93	47	37	16
6/10/94-6/14/94	38	46	16
7/23/94-7/26/94	41	48	11

(As you may know, the (President Bill) Clinton Administration is currently working on major proposals to reform the country's health care system.) In general, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's health care reform plan?

Table G.7: Question seven results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
9/23/93-9/23/93	57	31	12

From what you've heard or read so far, do you favor or oppose (President) Bill Clinton's ideas about reforming health care?

Table G.8: Question eight results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
9/10/93-9/12/93	54	31	14

From what you've heard or read about the plan so far, do you favor or oppose (President) Bill Clinton's plan to reform health care?

Table G.9: Question nine results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
9/24/93-9/26/93	59	33	8
10/6/93-10/16/93 ^a	46	34	20

a. Poll taken in Georgia only.

Thinking about health care, from everything you have heard or read about the plan so far, do you favor or oppose President (Bill) Clinton's plan to reform health care?

Table G.10: Question ten results

Date	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
7/15/94-7/17/94	40	56	5

From what you know of it, do you approve or disapprove of (President Bill) Clinton's health care plan?

Table G.11: Question eleven results

Date	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
9/16/93-9/19/93	43	41	16
9/22/93-9/22/93	56	24	20
11/11/93-11/14/93	46	43	10
1/20/94-1/23/94	48	39	14
2/24/94-2/27/94	44	48	8

APPENDIX H: HYPHENATED TERMS

The following list consists of the phrases that were hyphenated by the researcher.

The first reason for adding hyphens is that the terms were hyphenated in some texts and not others. To maintain consistency, all cases were hyphenated. The second reason for adding hyphens is that the terms were being consistently used as phrases in a significant context. To maintain the meaning of the terms being used as phrases, they were hyphenated. For example, the phrases “employer mandate,” “breakthrough drug,” “small business,” and “payroll tax” all have specific meanings when used together. These terms were hyphenated to enable the researcher to locate instances of these significant phrases.

abortion-on-demand
age-related
anti-family
big-business
bi-partisan
breakthrough-drug
canadian-style
chamber-of-commerce
clinton-look-alikes
club-sponsored
community-based
comprehensive-healthcare-reform
comprehensive-reform
co-payment
co-sponsored
cost-containment
cost-shifting
dental-benefits
doctor-patient
drug-related
employer-based
employer-based-mandate

employer-mandate
employer-paid
employer-provided
employer-sponsored
employment-based
fee-for-service
formula-driven
free-market
full-page
full-service
full-time
government-controlled
government-defined
government-managed
government-mandated
government-provided
government-run
health-care
high-quality
high-tech
income-based
job-killing
job-loss
labor-gains
labor-management
labor-pains
long-term
lower-income
low-income
low-wage
managed-care
market-based
medicaid-eligible
middle-class
middle-income
mid-sized
non-mandate
non-medicaid
non-negotiable
non-union
not-for-profit
out-of-pocket
out-patient
over-commercialization

part-time
payroll-tax
pharmacist-patient
pre-existing
prescription-drug
price-controls
right-to-life
self-employed
self-insured
single-payer
small-business
small-firms
sub-specialties
town-hall
universal-coverage
wal-mart
year-long

VITA

Jennifer Campbell Koella was born in Kingsport, Tennessee on April 7, 1970. She attended schools in the public system in Sullivan County where she graduated from Sullivan South High School in 1988. She entered the University of Tennessee in August 1988. She received a Bachelor of the Arts in English Composition with an emphasis in Technical Communication and a Minor in Business in May 1992. Then, she entered the Master's program in Technical Communication at Tennessee Technological University in August 1992. She received a Master of the Arts in English Literature with an emphasis in Technical Communication in May 1994. She returned to the University of Tennessee in August 1994 to pursue a Doctorate of Philosophy from the College of Communications. The doctoral degree was received in August 2001.

While pursuing her bachelor's degree, she became a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society in 1992.

While pursuing her Master's degree, she served as co-editor for *Verbatim*, the English Department Newsletter, in 1992. She was elected President of the Student Chapter of the Society for Technical Communication in 1993. Also, from 1993 to 1994, she served as the Graduate Advisor for the Student Chapter of the Society for Technical Communication Newsletter. In 1993, she became a member of the Sigma Tau Delta English Honor Society.

While pursuing her doctoral degree, she worked as a graduate assistant for Computing and Academic Services from May 1995 to January 1998. During this time, she

also worked as a part-time instructor for the Department of Journalism where she created and taught a 400 level special topics course—Electronic Research and Publishing. Then, she worked as a consultant for Ruby Tuesday, Incorporated from January 1998 to May 1998. After fulfilling her contract with Ruby Tuesday, she returned to the University of Tennessee where she worked as a graduate assistant for the Innovative Technology Collaborative from May 1998 to December 1998. In January 1999, she began working for SNMP Research, Incorporated as a Technical Communication Specialist.

While working for Computing and Academic Services, she was the editor for the fourth edition of the University's *UNIX Users Guide*. Also, she co-authored *Mayfield's Quick View Guide to the Internet for Students of English* with English Professor Michael Keene. The guide became popular and has been adapted to more than 12 disciplines.

During this time, she delivered several papers on her research at conferences internationally. The topics presented were "Integrating New Technology into the Technical Communication Curriculum," "The Current State of Freestanding English Departments," "Contributions to the Rhetoric of Science from Environmental and Risk Communication," "Restructuring Online Documentation for the World Wide Web," and "The Misrepresentation of Religion in the Cherokee Phoenix."

During the years she worked on her doctoral degree, she served as an Executive Committee Member for the East Tennessee Chapter of the Society for Technical Communication from 1994 to 1995. During this time, she also served as Program Manager for the East Tennessee Chapter's Technical Publication Competition for the Society for Technical Communication from 1994 to 1995. She went on to serve as a Judge for the East

Tennessee Chapter's Technical Publication Competition for the Society for Technical Communication from 1995 to 1996 and from 1996 to 1997.

In 1996, she was elected student representative for the Doctoral Studies Committee for the College of Communications and was re-elected for a second term in 1997. She also served as Assistant Stem Manager for the 44th Annual Society for Technical Communication International Conference in 1997. Then, she served on the Steering Committee for Electronic Theses and Dissertations for the University of Tennessee from 1997 to 1998.

As she worked toward her doctorate, she received an Award of Achievement for her work on the *User Guide for VBPro: A Program for Analyzing Verbatim Text* from the Society for Technical Communication in 1996. In 1998, she was awarded the Della A. Whitaker Scholarship from the Society for Technical Communication for excellence in clear technical writing and editing. She also became a member of the Kappa Tau Alpha Communications Honor Society in 1998.

She currently lives in Maryville, Tennessee, with her husband Addison. She works in Knoxville, Tennessee, for SNMP Research, Incorporated as a Technical Communication Specialist.