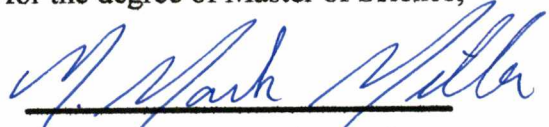


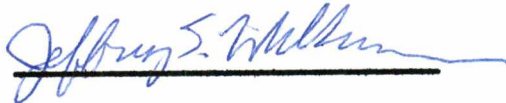
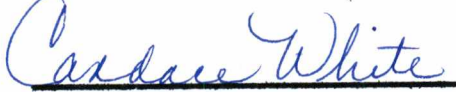
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Mary Thompson entitled "Framing the Public's Opinion: *Concept and Frame Mapping of President Clinton's Alleged Sexual Scandals as Depicted in the Mainstream Media and Usenet Newsgroups*." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communications.



M. Mark Miller, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and Dean
of The Graduate School

Framing the Public's Opinion
Concept and Frame Mapping of President Clinton's Alleged Sexual Scandals
as Depicted in the Mainstream Media and Usenet Newsgroups

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mary R. Thompson
August 1998

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family
especially my mom
who has spent many hours
during my education
helping me with my studies,
Thank you all for your love and support

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the fall of 1994, I began my studies at the University of Tennessee as an evening school student. Weekly car trips up to Knoxville through rain and snow and occasional traffic jam were a necessity to continue my education. Then in the fall of 1995, the UT Communications College offered the Distance Education program for a master's degree and the journey simply became one into downtown Chattanooga. It is with great sincerity that I thank those faculty and staff for their involvement in bringing the Distance Education program to UT, Chattanooga. They have made my dream of earning a master's degree possible.

I would also like to thank my Thesis Committee, Dr. Mark Miller (chair), Dr. Jeff Wilkinson and Dr. Candace White, for their assistance. Sincere gratitude also goes out to Dr. Miller for use and explanation of the VBPro and VBMap software programs without which this thesis would not have been possible. And final acknowledgment is made for the assistance rendered by Margaret Casado, the off-campus, distance education librarian. Margaret's regular and expedient response to my requests made the task of long-distance research manageable and fun.

ABSTRACT

This thesis addressed the issue of framing and its potential implications for the public opinion process. It has been suggested by various researchers that the media serve as the central link in the public opinion process, hence the issue frames generated by the media have a great potential to impact the audience, public opinion and policy.

Through a content analysis employing the Frame Mapping process, issue frames regarding the topic of "Sexgate" were analyzed as presented in media and public generated texts. The Frame Mapping process identified key terms and clusters of terms frequently used by both parties. In total 199 newspaper articles, representing the media, and 783 Usenet posting, representing the public, produced multidimensional data that was visually mapped to show the frequency and co-occurrence of the key terms.

The findings provided evidence of the use of divergent frames by the issue stakeholders. Media frames consisted of legal principles involved in the scandal while the public's issue frame was one of morality and character.

The medium of the Internet as a representative of the public, as opposed to polling results, allowed for a truer examination of the public's opinion/frame of this complex issue. With the growth of the Internet and the potential political power of framing, this study contributes to understanding and advancing the public's role in policy formation and strengthening of democracy.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

"It is possible to tell many different stories about the same events," according to Gamson (1989, p. 158). This is accomplished by *framing*, a process by which individuals or organizations tell a story by selecting or omitting, highlighting or diminishing certain aspects or facts in order to present a definition of reality. This framing process not only exists within the context of a news story but also within the minds of the audience.

Thus, framing plays a potentially relevant role in the democratic process. As Kennemar (1994) explains, "...the news media are a very major way by which the public is linked with the institutions and individuals concerned with governing" (p. 2). It is through the media that information is exchanged between the parties involved in the public opinion/policy process. It is even assumed that "...the news media ... serve as surrogates for [the public]" within this entire process (Kennamer, 1994, p. 2). With the media as the central link *or surrogate*, their ability to frame an issue between and amongst the parties could be potentially dangerous to democracy.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

Much research has been devoted to understanding media framing's impact on audiences and the political process; however, more research providing direct comparison to the frames generated by the media and those generated or adopted by the public is suggested. Such research would potentially provide knowledge of the public's

acceptance of the media frame on a particular issue, hence the power of the media to influence opinion and politics. In fact, Miller and Riechert (1997) suggest looking at "...news as an independent variable shaping public opinion in the tradition of agenda setting research or affect policy formation in the tradition of agenda building research" (p. 12).

The following study is conducted to compare media frames and audience frames of a controversial, political issue. The issue under study is that of President Clinton's alleged sexual misconduct involving government employees and interns and corresponding accusations of illegal sexual harassment and perjury, also referred to as "Sexgate." It is believed that the media frames will decisively differ from those of the Usenet public due, in part, to the public's on-line anonymity, thus willingness to express more ardent opinions and due to their ability to access more alternative opinions and information via the Internet.

As part of the study, three research questions are asked:

- 1) What frames do the mainstream media present to the public in the alleged sexual/criminal scandals of President Clinton?
- 2) What frames do the public via Usenet groups present in the alleged sexual/criminal scandals of President Clinton?
- 3) Do political Usenet groups on the Internet frame issues deemed "news" in a similar fashion to the frames provided in the mainstream media or do they generate their own framework for discussion?

Especially with the growing power of the Internet and its ability to allow millions to exchange knowledge quickly and actively, the new "online" public is now, more than

ever, in control of their sources of news (as both senders and receivers). The Internet public seems less susceptible to influences of framing as set forth by the Fourth Estate and more capable of providing their own framework for the world around them.

With the growing use of the Internet, the online public, in essence, is slowly transforming itself into the *Fifth Estate*. Today much of the online public is less reliant on the media to provide them with all that is deemed news. Power has begun to shift. Again, opinion is at the control of those people surfing the net. Yet, how is the public utilizing that power? Are Internet users relying on their own frames of reference to present/discuss issues of national importance (news) or are they still taking their cues from the mass media?

According to Stuart Hall, "news media produce representations and images of the social world, provide and selectively construct social knowledge, and order a complex world by making it seem natural or by distilling complex meanings into a common sense" (Domke, 1997, p. 3). In doing so, the press establish "the range of criteria for constructing, debating, and resolving social issues" (Domke, 1997, p. 3). Further, Entman (1993) claims that framing can impact political communication:

Framing in this light plays a major role in the exertion of political power, and the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power--it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text (p. 55).

The media's control of story content and its impending effect is not only potentially dangerous to the development of a balanced and fair representation on which political opinions are partially based, but the impending effect is also many times undetectable to the majority of the audience as well as the journalists reporting the stories. In fact, Entman (1993) claims that though objectivity remains important to journalists, their engagement in framing leads to unbalanced and non-objective coverage for their

audiences. "Media then, through inclusion and emphasis upon certain ideologies in discourse they contain, likely help to challenge or reinforce certain social relations, even though journalists often are not aware of their role" (Domke, 1997, p. 3).

Numerous studies by such scholars as Goffman (1974), Tuchman (1976), Gans (1979), etc...have been conducted that attempt to establish and explain the media's power in constructing reality as well as the public's ability and need to frame issues and events. Past researchers such as Shoemaker and Reese (1991) and Riechert (1996) have also focused studies on the sources/stakeholders influencing and providing frames for the media. Theories of framing include focuses on the news organization, individual reporters, the events and various social conditions (audience, dominant ideology, culture) (Gitlin, 1980). Yet, despite the various studies, *quantitative* research is limited in directly comparing how the media and the public frame the same issue; does the public actually rely on the provided frames or do they generate their own?

Research conducted by Lang and Lang (1953) compared the perceptions/frames of the television audience and actual participants to a 1951 parade honoring General Douglas MacArthur. It was noted that the perceptions of the actual audience varied greatly from those of the television viewer.

By conducting a comparative study of media framing of a particular issue to that of the public via Internet Usenet newsgroups, knowledge will be added to the field of framing research which will help strengthen or weaken support for the impact of framing on the audience. For it is not enough to study the existence of media framing in a story and how framing is accomplished, even whether the media present frames already designed and provided by elite sources/sponsors; these studies have already been undertaken and support the existence of the phenomenon. However, it is vitally important to study the effects of framing on the audience in order to add to the body of media effects studies. If journalists are made more aware of their engagement in framing

and the audience is made more aware of their susceptibility to framing, then the possibility of a more balanced and objective presentation of the news may be realized. Public opinion could again become a possession of the active online public, not just a creation of the media.

Issue Environment

There are many factors emerging that help to influence and shape public opinion. However, the most influential of the potential factors has been that of the news media. It is this Fourth Estate that has thus far dominated the role as the central driving force behind the opinions of the American public.

It is through the mass “news” media that Americans gain much of their knowledge of current political issues and events. The mass media serve as the major link between all parties engaged in the public opinion process. The news media “...have largely replaced the political parties as the ‘principle intermediary between the public and its leaders’” (Orren, 1986, p. 12).

The Media

As the primary link in the public opinion process, the media affect the process in numerous ways. Effects include things such as agenda-setting where the quantity of press coverage equals the importance attributed to said issue and the spiral of silence effect where the media’s attribution of a viewpoint to the majority or minority of the public will affect an individual’s willingness to share their personal conviction.

However, no act of the media is more rudimentary yet potentially powerful as that of framing.

Unlike effects such as agenda-setting where the media influence what issues the public is thinking about, framing actually addresses the way in which the public thinks about and perceives an issue. Framing, as defined by Bonnie Riechert (1996), is an act of selectively defining or representing an event, issue or idea (p. 5). Goffman, a renowned expert in the phenomenon of framing, says that frames are the definitions of situations. Frames relate to "...individual intentions, cultural and historical understandings and natural forces" (Putnam and Roloff, 1992, pp. 145-146, citing Goffman, 1974). They embody the past and present.

The media develop and translate these frames, intentionally and unintentionally, through the inclusion or omission of certain words, the use of stereotypes, attributed sources, camera angles, story placement, etc... (Riechert, 1996, p. 6). The news media engage in framing on a daily basis.

The media, in essence, control the frame of our daily informational references and knowledge. "As frames, news stories offer definitions of social reality" (Tuchman, 1976, p. 94). Of course, Riechert (1996) points out that the media rely on sources for their information and, in fact, it is those sources which provide the actual frame, not the news organizations or the individual reporters. Regardless of the frame originator, the press still reports the advice and opinions of adulated experts without regard to the opinions, advice or understanding of the "immobilized and demobilized" public (Carey, 1995, p. 391).

In fact, the public, itself, also engages in framing on a daily basis. It is commonplace for one to refer to a "frame of reference" or "frame of mind" (Riechert, 1996, p. 6).

Erving Goffman (1974) suggests that the public develops frames to help them understand their experiences. It is through these shared frames and "organizations of experience" that the public comes into being. But today, the public is said to exist in the abstract (Carey, 1995); their frame of reference has been altered, manipulated, dare say, replaced by the all powerful media.

In today's world, the press has evolved into independent, nationally-based, centralized and powerful news organizations. This Fourth Estate watches over those that supposedly can not watch out for their own interests (Carey, 1995). The all-powerful press is capable of mobilizing, defining, *framing* and commenting on events. With this omnipotence, the press has become a conveyor of the abstract truth and an abstract public opinion (Carey, 1995). The public opinion process appears in danger of becoming a homogenous result of the controlling media and the manipulative device of framing.

The Public

But what is meant by the public? Is it so vital that the audience be defined and their opinions heard? Declarations of the "public" are made by a variety of groups: those who claim to be the public themselves, those that measure the public's opinion and those claiming to represent the public. But what is the basic premise of the public and public opinion? The concept of public opinion has been defined by numerous scholars throughout the centuries. Some definitions concur; others conflict, gravitating between

the ideological and factual, between public sentiment and judgment and a method of political action (Glasser and Salmon, 1995).

According to James Carey, the *modern* concept of public opinion, though rooted and influenced by Greek and Roman cultures and republican political theory, evolved from the taverns and public houses of colonial America where citizens received news and information from travelers. These travelers brought news from their journeys, news which the audiences or a *publican*, publisher, collected into log books, usually placed at the end of the bar. Tavern patrons could read these logs and, of course, word about what was printed in the logs circulated in the community. "In other words, the content of the press was by and large the spoken word, the things being said by public men in public places" (Carey, 1995, p. 380). Hence, colonial journalism reflected a continuous conversation.

During this period of time, the public was not an abstraction (an invisible group of people monitoring the various media or the results of an opinion poll) but a concrete group of people, "often strangers," assembled in taverns to talk, read and hear the news, dispute the events and join in political action (Carey, 1995).

But in order for the public to exist it had to have a place to gather and had to have a medium such as pamphlets, newspapers and log books to provide a common focus/frame of discussion and action (Carey, 1995). "The public, then, was a society of conversationalists or disputants, dependent upon printing for the dissemination of their ideas" (Carey, 1995, p. 381).

The original function of the press, then, was to reflect and focus the public's conversations. However, with the advent of modern media, the original innovation of a concrete, conversational public independent of an organized press and government, has evaporated. No longer do we see the press in this role as dispensers of public opinion; rather we view the press as a watchdog or publicity vehicle. "The value of the press was predicated on the existence of the public and not the reverse" (Carey, 1995, p. 382).

Scientists and distinguished political columnists such as Walter Lippman furthered this development with the ideal of a "sumuri" class, a group of experts and interest groups on which everyone could rely. In effect, Lippman as well as other scholars and journalists alike "...took the public out of politics and politics out of public life, depoliticizing the public sphere" (Carey, 1995, p. 390). As the National Alliance (1997) asserts, "All of the controlled media, [...], speak with a single voice, each reinforcing the other. Despite the appearance of variety, there is no real dissent, no alternative source of facts or ideas accessible to the great mass of people which might allow them to form opinions at odds with those of the media masters" (p. 2).

The public's reliance on these "respected" experts and the press for the majority of their political knowledge and a "frame on social [political] reality" increases as the power of the media grows. As advances in technology further the media's reach and influence to control our "frame of reference," we are "...denied the opportunity to be seen or heard, [and we] abandon the possibility of public joy [service] and satisfy ourselves with private pleasures. Only when we can speak and act as citizens and have some

promise that others will see, hear, and remember what we say will an interest in public life grow and persist" (Carey, 1995, p. 383).

It seems that the public is doomed to remain at the mercy of the Fourth Estate, forever under its control. However, there is hope that the public now has access to a resource which will again help to regain some control over their opinion, the power to *actively* control their own "frames of social reality." And it all started with the computer.

The Internet

Since their inception in the 20th century, computers have positively impacted on the lives of all Americans. Whether in the realm of work, school or play, the computer has changed our world. Once thought to be the toys of the rich and scholarly, computers have made their way into millions of middle-class households. In fact, according to a March 11, 1998, Wall Street Journal article, 45 percent of all U.S. households own a personal computer and in 1997, five million homes purchased a PC (NUA, 1998). But more than mere word processing and calculation functions, the computer has opened up the world to us through the invention of the Internet, a.k.a. the Net.

First introduced in the 1950s, the Net began as a military network. The U.S. Pentagon designed the communications network as a means of establishing communications in the event of a nuclear attack. The decentralized network could route around bombed (destroyed/broken) parts without a central control site (Rothman, 1997). During the 1950s the National Science Foundation ran the "backbone connections" for the network. At that time, bureaucrats came out with restrictive policies for its use. Only the military,

scientific/corporate research facilities and other scholarly entities were granted permission to use the Net (Rothman, 1997).

Though established by the government, the Internet has always lacked a central managing authority. All activities are voluntary with the exception of technical standards which are set by the Internet Society. Funding for the network has been provided by the federal government, universities, corporations, etc... (Swett, 1995).

With the help of these various entities, the Net has grown in its reach, enabling data to be shared among all computers. This expansion eventually led to the act of commercial outfits plugging the general public into the emerging technology (Rothman, 1997).

Today the Internet is global in scope, reaching millions of users through these interconnecting computer networks. From the Winter of 1994 to June of 1995, subscriptions to computer on-line services jumped from five million to 12 million people. An additional two million connect to the Internet directly, bypassing any on-line service (Hill and Hughes, 1997). Current figures for Internet use range from 40 million to 47 million U.S. users (CyberAtlas, 1998). And the numbers are expected to grow even higher:

Presently, Nua, one of Europe's leading online consultancies and developers, estimates the number of Internet users world wide to be 100.5 million. By the end of the year 2000, analysts predict that that number will jump to 200 million. Although 1997 saw a sharp decline in the rate of new Netizens coming online, there will be a continued growth rate of 30% for 1998, according to a Computer Intelligence report (Nua, 1998).

These millions are visiting and creating more sites each year. According to a Washington Post article by Hilzenrath (1997), electronic domains are rapidly growing:

<i>(In thousands)</i>	<i>January 1994 --</i>	<i>14,802</i>
	<i>October 1996 --</i>	<i>724,862</i>

And according to CyberAtlas (1998) there are 100 million Internet documents with 800 million domains expected to arrive by the year 2000.

From the comfort of home, millions of people can visit these sites as well as access and perform a variety of functions (Swett, 1995):

- * News Groups (Usenet)
- * Electronic Mail (e-mail), List Servs and Mailing Lists
- * Internet Relay Chat (IRC)
- * Telnet
- * Gopher
- * Download and upload files from distant sites (FTP)
- * Visit databases and World Wide Web Sites
- * Hypertext
- * Wide Area Information Service (WAIS)

With seemingly limitless capabilities, the Internet is a powerful instrument for a multitude of functions. Yet, its greatest and most significant potential seems to reside in its use as a political tool. "The potential for the Internet to become the political tool of the next century is phenomenal" (Rothman, 1997, p. 1).

What other means than the Internet can provide the public an opportunity to reclaim itself as a "public" with control over its own space, members, discussion, activism and opinion? With increased control over content, the public can create, change, even manipulate the frame of the vast amounts of available knowledge. The power shifts in favor of the public and the colonial tavern emerges again in cyberspace. Implications of

the power of framing and control over information distribution and retrieval have, according to Entman (1993), "important implications for political communication" (p. 55). Framing appears to be a "central power in the democratic process" (Entman, 1993, p. 57). Hence, "The relevance of media framing to the various stakeholders in the process of democracy, the development of public policy, and the practice of journalism cannot be overstated" (Riechert, 1996, p. 10).

Organization of Chapters

This thesis is presented in five chapters each arranged in a framework from which the study logically evolves. The study analyzed the frames presented by the media in the Clinton sex scandals and those presented by the public (as they exist online) while comparing the frames offered by both groups.

Chapter I is the introduction of the study. The issue of framing and public opinion is addressed. Also offered is the purpose for the study and research questions.

Chapter II is a review of the literature related to the conceptual history of framing and modern research findings. Information is also offered to support the connection between framing and the public opinion process.

Chapter III details the methods used to content analyze the media and public frames presented on the Clinton administration's current and ongoing sex scandal.

Chapter IV presents the research findings of the content analysis dividing them into small sections for analysis of media generated frames and public generated frames.

Chapter V contains interpretation of the results, conclusions, limitations of the study and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

To better comprehend the impact of framing and the Internet on the public opinion process, an examination of framing across its many disciplines must occur. First, there is a cursory review of historical and conceptual framing studies to better acquaint the reader with framing and its impact on audiences. In this first section of literature, definitions of framing are provided as well as a review and analysis of conceptual framing studies in the various disciplines.

Section two of the literature review is a cursory inspection of framing in the area of communication both electronic and print with an emphasis on the written word and how it is presented. Framing devices are classified and their effects on the audience examined.

Section three is an examination of framing in political news and how "news discourse" impacts on public opinion, policy and the democratic process itself.

Finally, in section four, the Internet's power to frame issues and, in turn, public opinion is broached.

Framing

When a person frames a picture, they are attempting to present the image in a definite light. By using particular colors or specific matting shapes or frames, certain

values/attributes of the picture are highlighted or diminished. In turn, observers of the picture, may change their opinion of or attitude toward the image dependent upon the way the picture is shown. Everyone can relate to a picture frame, almost everyone has seen one and used one. In the same sense, everyone has used the process of framing to organize their daily experiences and, in fact, entire lives. However, as common as framing is, it is very difficult to pinpoint an acceptable definition of framing.

This "frame" metaphor has been considerably utilized in all the disciplines to the extent that no summary definition is viable (Trumbo, 1995). As Entman (1993) observes:

Despite its omnipresence across the social sciences and humanities, nowhere is there a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking (p. 51).

Of course dozens of definitions for framing in both noun and verb form can be found in various dictionaries as well as numerous definitions in available framing research. See Table 1 for a list of definitions. In the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1978) framing is defined as "to formulate or conceive; to arrange or adjust for a purpose; to put into words; and to rig evidence or events so as to incriminate falsely" (p. 521).

As defined by Bateson "frames are classes or sets of messages deemed as meaningful actions (Putnam and Roloff, 1992, p. 144). Goffman says that frames are the definitions of situations. "They relate to individual intentions, cultural and historical understandings and natural forces." Frames embody the past and present (Putnam and Roloff, 1992, pp. 145-146).

Table 1. Various Definitions of Framing

Research Study	Definition
Goffman (1974, p. 11)	"the organization of experience"
Tuchman (1976, p. 1066)	"identification of some facts but not others"
Gitlin (1980, pp. 6-7)	"Frames are the principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of tacit little theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters."
Gamson (1989, p. 157)	"a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue"
Tankard et al (1991, pp. 4-5)	"A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration."
Entman (1993, pp. 52-53)	"The text contains frames, which are manifest by the presence or absence of keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments."
Riechert (1996, p. 5)	"the selective definition or representation of an event, issue, or idea"

More definitions exist; however, at its core, framing involves selection or emphasis of one specific over other aspects (Riechert, 1996, p. 5). As defined by Bonnie Riechert (1996), "framing is the selective definition or representation of an event, issue, or idea" (p. 5).

Regardless of the chosen definition of framing such ambiguity can be viewed as a virtue according to Gamson (1985). The flexibility of the concept of framing can bridge itself between the analysis levels of cognition and culture (Gamson, 1985). The process of framing is dynamic among all the disciplines. As Gamson (1985) points out, the process of framing is active, subject to transformation as is evident in years of research. Hence, the next section will discuss the development of framing as it relates to the various disciplines in which it exists and yields its power.

Conceptual Framing Studies

The concept of framing dates back to scholars such as William James (1889), Alfred Schutz (1945) and Gregory Bateson (1955) who were intrigued by questions of reality and how past experiences of the individual help to define current experiences.

William James first studied phenomenological questions pertaining to reality and perception. James questioned the circumstances under which reality existed (Goffman, 1974). He proposed the notion of principles of convincingness, assuming that reality was not enough; it had to be proven (Goffman, 1974).

Alfred Schutz furthered the writings of James by developing the notion of symbol typification. This is best stated by Schutz (1962), "Meaning...is not a quality in certain experiences...but the results of an interpretation of a past experience..." (p. 210). For example, as expressed by Natanson (1962) in a collection of works by Schutz: "As Sartre

puts it: for the Romans, Carthage was conquered, but for the Carthaginians, Carthage was enslaved" (Riechert, 1996, p. 13).

In a 1953 sociology study by Lang and Lang, a comparison was made between the perceptions of television audiences to the actual audiences of a 1951 parade honoring General Douglas MacArthur. Similar to the comments made by Natanson in regards to interpretations of reality, the Langs found that the perceptions of the actual parade audience varied greatly from the perceptions of the television audience.

Next, Gregory Bateson was the first to use the term *frame* in explanation of the studied phenomenon (Riechert, 1996, p. 11). Bateson discussed framing in the context of psychological concepts, using the often cited analogy of the picture frame and the mathematical set. He explained that the frame helps to organize the mind's understanding of messages by processing relevant messages within the frame and eliminating or ignoring those messages outside the frame (Bateson, 1972). For each person has a frame of reference that helps them to construct meaning of situations.

According to these experts, each individual, having unique experiences, will define present experiences differently. Goffman (1974) synthesized the thoughts of these scholars into a new perspective of framing analysis as it relates to news content and the mass media's impact on democracy. He uses the analogy of a camera to explain how an event can be focused to depict reality (1974). According to Goffman, frames are "schemata" that an audience uses to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" (1974). Gamson (1985) goes so far as to compare Goffman's work to a legacy that is useful to the

understanding of how the news media frame the “news” and, in turn, help define political reality for the audience (p. 615).

The first researcher to specifically study framing as it relates to news was Tuchman (1976). Based on Goffman’s framing definition, Tuchman asked the question, “What is News?” in a 1976 issue of the Journal of Communication. Based on her field observations at New York’s City Hall and a large, daily paper, Tuchman suggested that news stories provide a selective reality, existing from within (1976). She reported that journalists seek themes and conflicts in their stories, thus journalists may exclude some events because they do not meet their reporting needs (1976).

In additional research, Tuchman (1978) added to the body of framing knowledge with her thesis that “news is a window on the world” (p. 1). She states that the news process creates frames that produce and limit meaning (1978). This process occurs in the act of editing and reporting. Editors decide what to report and journalists decide how to report it.

This control and power of content lends itself to societal implications (Tuchman, 1978):

It [news] not only defines and redefines, constitutes and reconstitutes social meanings; it also defines and redefines, constitutes and reconstitutes ways of doing things--existing process in existing institutions (p. 196).

In 1979 Gans’ book, Deciding What’s News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, and Time, framing research advanced the notion expressed by Tuchman that journalists interpret reality for the millions of Americans watching and reading the

news. He explained that journalists "translate information into news, they frame it in a national context, and thereby bring the nation into being" (Gans, 1979, p. 298). Gans work further advanced the research of phenomenological researchers like Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Molotch and Lester (1974). These researchers just as sociologists before them showed how perception of external events construct reality for an audience directly or indirectly experiencing the events.

In 1983 Williams, Shapiro and Cutbirth were the first to link framing with agenda setting. They discovered that news discourse with a strong political frame had a greater agenda-setting effect than did stories lacking a political frame (Maher, 1995).

Hence, framing is studied as both "internal structures of the mind" and "devices embedded in political discourse" (Kinder and Sanders, 1990, p. 74); however, as Pan and Kosicki suggest studying framing as a cyclical process with text centrally located among the multiple players (including, journalists, sources/elites and the audience) is the best approach (1993). Domke (1997) explains that language is the "...primary medium of interchange between humans and reality, [and that it] serves a constitutive role in shaping how individuals understand their social worlds" (Domke, p. 5).

Framing Functions and Devices

In order to better understand framing and its ability to construct reality for audiences, an examination of integrated psychological and sociological structures in news discourse and framing devices should be made. For it is not merely the news text that provides a frame but also the meaning constructed by the audience (Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

Frames exist in four areas of the communication process: the sender (communicator), the text (medium), the receiver (audience) and the culture (society), according to Entman

(1993). Framing does not exist in a vacuum. The process of framing penetrates the whole of the communication process.

Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location--such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel--to that consciousness (Entman, 1993, pp. 51-52).

In each area of the communication process framing judgments depend upon inclusion or exclusion, selection and salience. In the case of the communicator, framing judgments may be conscious or unconscious. In the case of the text, framing is manifest by the presence or absence of information/key text. As for the receiver, framing may or may not reflect content of the text or intention of the receiver. And finally, in regards to culture, framing is invoked by commonly accepted frames which vary according to the culture under study (Entman, 1993).

In essence, frames perform four functions in the communication process: definition of problems, diagnosis of causes, moral judgments and remedy suggestion (Entman, 1993). Entman uses the "cold war" frame as an example. In certain "cold war" news coverage, civil conflicts were defined as the *problem*, their *sources/causes* were communist rebels, the *moral judgment* was atheistic aggression and U.S. support for the other side was offered as the *solution*. He explains that all four framing functions may exist within one sentence, although a sentence may not contain a single one (Entman, 1993).

Besides assigning value judgments throughout the four stages of the communication process, framing can be classified into four categories of news discourse. According to researchers, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki (1993), framing devices include syntactical structures, script structures, thematic structures and rhetorical structures.

Device one is syntactical structures which refers to arrangements of words and phrases as well as attribution. As an example Entman points to the inverted pyramid style of most newspapers. In the inverted pyramid style, the headline triggers the initial semantical concepts in the reader's mind. As for attribution and quotations, these devices claim validity of information (Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

Goffman (1974) gives an example of how quotations are used as a subtle framing device. He uses the story of a rape to make his case. The story may refer to a rape which is an obvious crime or it may refer to a "rape" which as presented in quotation marks questions, even reduces, the credibility of the claim.

The second of the news discourse structures is script. In essence, every news story is like a storybook tale or novel. The popular five Ws and one H make for what appears to be an independent story containing a beginning, climax and end (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). This framing device helps to link the audiences with the event/issue/environment.

The third structure of news discourse is the theme. The theme of a news story often provides a "hypothesis-testing" feature since journalism lends itself to a knowledge-acquiring discipline (Gans, 1979). Van Kijk states that "many factual reports often make causal representations of a news story implicitly by simply presenting actions in a context in which one may be seen as an antecedent and another consequence (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 67). Pan and Kosicki give an example in the Newsweek headline: "The No Bull Campaign." Such a headline hypothesizes the voter sentiment of the 1990s and how that related to 1992's presidential campaign style (1993).

The last of the news discourse structures is rhetorical. The rhetorical structure accounts for stylistic choices of the journalist. According to Gamson (1989) the five rhetorical framing devices include visual images, catchphrases, exemplars, depictions and metaphors. Journalists use these devices to prove the salience of their stories or their

facticity (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). In the aforementioned "No Bull Campaign" headline the writer chose the catchphrase to effectively prove his point.

The functions and devices of frames explained in the above paragraphs all elevate or diminish the salience of the text's subject. By increasing the salience of a subject, the probability that the audience will perceive and retain the information is increased (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). Thus, the public's opinion in regards to the presented topic can be greatly affected by the frame provided. As Entman (1993) explains:

...the frame determines whether most people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it. The notion of framing thus implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience... (p. 54).

In a study by Kahneman and Tversky (1984) the power of framing through selection, highlighting and omission is seen. Experimental subjects were asked to choose between alternative plans to combat a disease, expected to kill 600 people. The scientific estimates for both plans were as follows: Plan A would save 200 people. Plan B had a one-third probability that 600 people would be saved and a two-third probability that no people would be saved. Subjects were asked to choose one plan. An overwhelming percentage (72%) of the test subjects chose Plan A.

In the second test, the plan options were identical except that the choices were framed in terms of likely deaths opposed to likely lives saved. In this experiment, the percentages flipped exactly.

Again, the power of inclusion and omission in framing is seen in the subject of AIDS:

...a majority of the public supports the rights of persons with AIDS when the issue is framed to accentuate civil liberties considerations--and supports...mandatory testing when the issue is framed to accentuate public health considerations (Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock, 1991, p. 52).

In the topic of civil liberties, frames have the ability to shape individual opinion by emphasizing specific features of a controversial issue. Regarding a KKK rally, labeling the rally as a "free speech controversy" encourages tolerance of the rally in terms of civil liberties, while labeling the rally as "violent and disruptive" lowers tolerance. Such selection/labeling reduces a complex issue down to limited, central aspects (Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997).

Thus, frames give a "kaleidoscope" view of the social world. A view where depending on one turn the entire scenery may change to reveal a different reality (Edelman, 1993). The central mechanism in this "kaleidoscope" metaphor is the media.

Framing in Political News Discourse and the Impact on Public Opinion

Within the public opinion process, the media provide a link between the public and the actual policymakers (Kennamer, 1994). See Figure 1 for a media-centered public opinion process model. The media provide this linkage in three ways: agenda-setting, information exchange/surveillance for political leaders and the watchdog role/interpreters of information (Kennamer, 1994). It is through this role as interpreters and purveyors of information that the greatest impact is achieved.

However, Kennamer points out that journalists do not operate in a social vacuum; they reflect the culture in which they operate (1994). Hence, the frames provided are "...consistent with the standards and expectations of the dominant culture" (Kennamer, 1994, p. 8). It appears that the media and the public feed off of each other.

Therefore, frames do not come into focus or have meaning outside the audience, it is the medium of print and electronic news media through which framing has its impact on all parties involved in the process. By impact it is assumed that the way in which the

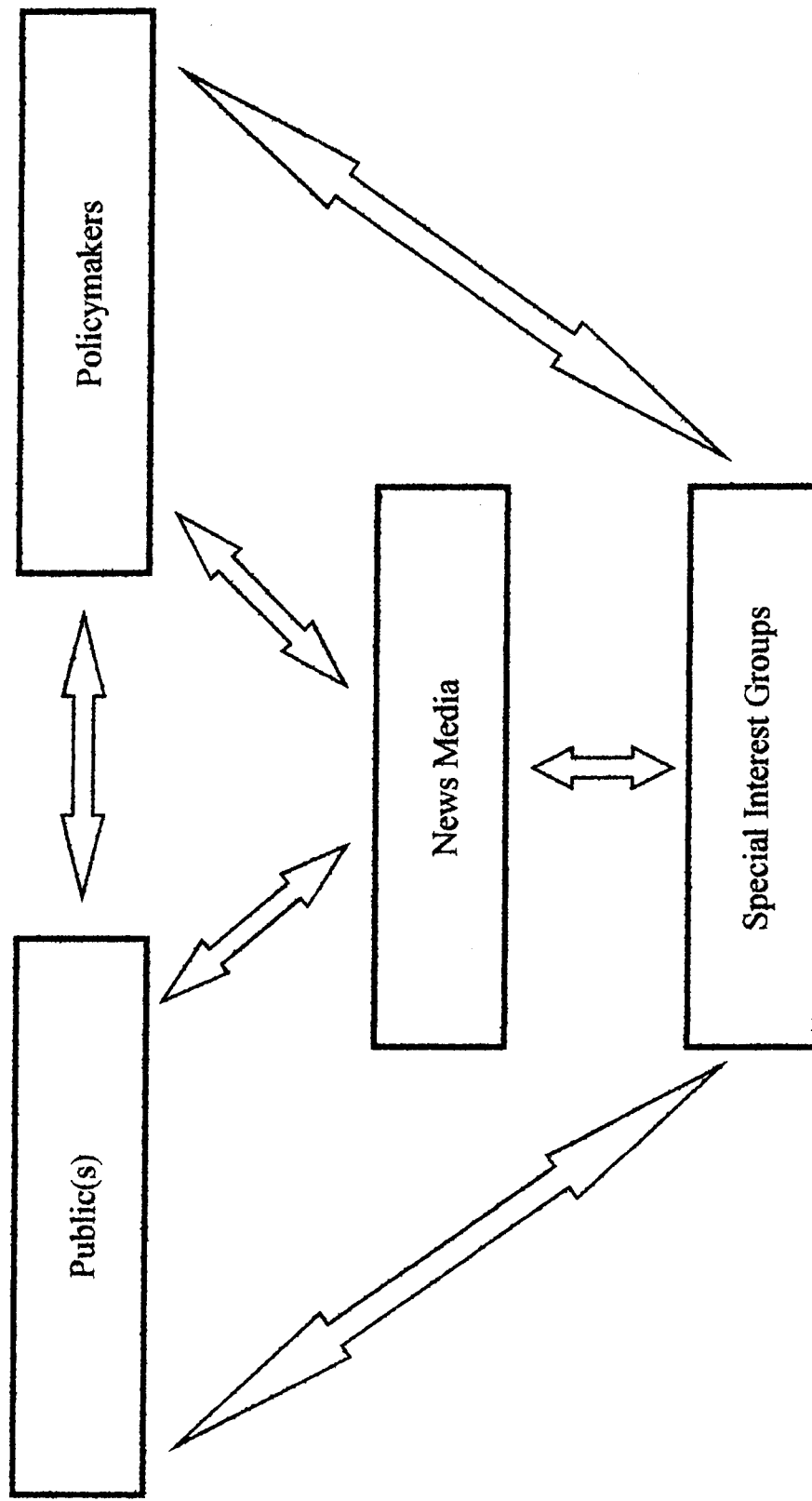


Figure 1
Media-Centered Pressure Groups Model of Political Linkage
Kennamer, 1994

media frame a given issue or event can directly and indirectly affect the public opinion process. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) explain that the media reflect and contribute to public opinion by giving meaning to an issue.

Within this section of the literature review, framing's impact on audience understanding and opinion formation will be examined as well as how the media's framing of an issue impacts on corresponding policy for said issue.

The media serve as the arena for various symbolic contests amongst players in the public opinion process, an arena where competition rages to define the issue. In this arena sponsors/sources of information compete for meaning (Trumbo, 1995). As stated by Gamson and fellow researchers Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson, participants in symbolic contests measure their victories or defeats by how well their selected meanings and interpretations are performing in various media arenas (1992). It is not so much how much the audience is reading or viewing the amount of coverage but how the story is presented. Sponsors of competing frames monitor political media discourse to see how well their stories are told (Gamson et al., 1992). In turn, the media mold their coverage "...to suggest positive response from news consumers..." (Entman, 1991, p. 7, citing Gamson, 1989).

This cycle of framing and its influences on all parties in the process is documented in numerous research studies. Such research shows how framing entrenches itself into the public opinion process with the media serving as the axis in the wheel's mechanism.

In America, national and local news organizations have been and continue to be the major source of information/news for the public. For years the media have served as

watchdogs in all levels of politics and society. Protected by the First Amendment, they have provided a valuable source of news. However, Entman suggests that the news media deliberately use their size, the law, their economic power and manipulative story frames to gain positive acceptance of the stories from the audience as well as the political elites who are the primary subjects of and sponsors for the news events (Entman, 1991).

The media have the ability to frame an event to such a degree of importance that it can "penetrate the consciousness of a mass public" or shrink it so that the public is unaffected by the news (Entman, 1991, p. 9). Yet, in dealing with public opinion and policy, it is only necessary that the frame influence the political elite in order for it to impact on policy (Entman, 1991).

"The way the press frames the issue is as important as whether or not it is covered at all. If the press characterizes a policy option one way early on in the decision-making process, it is very difficult for officials to turn that image around to their preferred perspective. Policymakers are often faced with the nearly impossible task of catching up with the first story" (Linsky, 1986 p. 94).

Linsky provided a relevant example in the Washington Post's initial coverage of the neutron bomb during the Carter Administration. The Post first described the bomb as one that could kill people without destroying buildings. This original frame presented to the public became the dominant view on this weapon. Even though the neutron bomb could have been described as a weapon that could reduce blast damage to civilian lives and property while killing the enemy soldiers in their tanks, the public was still overpowered by the image of the original frame. Public reaction and political discourse,

thus policy, were based on the media's frame not the military who developed the device nor the politicians who make the final decisions concerning military actions (Linsky, 1986, p. 220).

The media can not only operate as a hindrance to government but also an ally. Entman (1993) gives an example of how the media and U.S., political elites limited the available options regarding policy toward Iraq during the Persian Gulf Crisis. Media frames were limited to two choices, either immediate war or later sanctions:

During the pre-war debate, any critique transcending the remedies inside the frame...breached the bounds of acceptable discourse, hence was unlikely to influence policy. By conventional journalistic standards, such views were not newsworthy. Unpublicized, the views could gain few adherents and generate little perceived or actual effect on public opinion, which meant elites felt no pressure to expand the frame so it included other treatments for Iraqi aggression, such as negotiation (p. 55).

Thus, politicians as well as journalists compete for the news frame. As they highlight and obscure certain elements they affect audience reaction, opinion and policy.

In a study by Reese and Buckalew (1995), they discovered a clear link between the media's presentation of Gulf War coverage and public opinion. In their study, they cite The Propaganda War by Doug Kellener. Kellener claims that the military misinformed and manipulated the public into acceptance of the war.

Reese and Buckalew explained that the media linked the elite to the audience. The linkage occurred by giving consensual meaning to events and translating the war into local idioms for the audience. This is termed the "spiral of amplification" (1995).

In their coverage of the war the media used three types of frames all based heavily upon military information, hence framework: conflict frame, control frame and consensus frame.

The conflict frame presents the most drama for the audience, thus hiking ratings and, in turn, economic prosperity for the station. In the conflict frame, the media helped to minimize the anti-war position and reinforce the patriotic/pro-war side (Reese and Buckalew, 1995).

The control frame is based on the relationship of media to law enforcement. The media rely on the law for a great amount of story information, hence they wish to maintain a good relationship with a major source. This control frame presents anti-war activities/support in conjunction with criminal activity. Law and order must be obtained (Reese and Buckalew, 1995).

Finally, in the consensus frame, the media are highly involved in the community in which they operate. Thus local stations, in particular, chose to engage in supportive activities such as blood drives and care packages to the troops. Gulf War issues and policy options were then buried "under an avalanche of warm feelings" (Reese and Buckalew, 1995, p. 48).

All three types of framing helped to support the federal administration's policy toward the Persian Gulf. As it has been theorized by many, the press's selection and framing of news, language, opinion and perceptions "conveys and abets a social reality that legitimates the practices and ideas of the dominant social class..." (Domke, 1997, p. 3). In this scenario, the dominant social class can be viewed as the political elite at the federal government level.

In addition to these three media generated frames, the media often present frames under the general category of thematic or episodic. Episodic themes "...depict public issues in the terms of concrete instances or specific events..." i.e., a victim of a crime, the winner of a sporting event, a natural disaster or an employed person. "The thematic news frame, by contrast, places public issues in some general or abstract context" (Bennett and Paletz, 1994, p. 171). Thematic news frames cover such topics as the grievances of

special interest groups, changes in a federal policy, foreign policy, etc.. These reports feature "talking heads" as opposed to the "good picture" reports associated with episodic coverage (Bennett and Paletz, 1994, p. 171). Episodic framing tends to lead viewers to focus on individuals and group characteristics, looking at the issue in terms of cause and treatment. Whereas in thematic framing issues are viewed with a responsibility factor to the general society and actions or inactions of public officials (p. 181).

For example in Bennett and Paletz's (1994) study of the media's coverage during the Gulf War, research results suggested that "episodic" framing "...inducted individuals to express greater support for a military as opposed to diplomatic resolution of the crisis" (p. 168).

Another example of episodic framing can be examined in the incidences of the KAL and Iran Air airliners being shot down. Media frames of both incidences impacted on public opinion and policy in very different ways for such similar events.

In the KAL incident (1983), a Korean Air Lines Flight was shot down by a Soviet fighter plane, killing all passengers and crew aboard. In the Iran Air Flight incident (1988), the U.S. Navy also shot down and killed all aboard the flight (Entman, 1991). Both planes were deemed hostile military targets thus justifying the forceful actions. However, the U.S. media framed the downing of the Iran Air Flight as a technical problem while framing the downing of the Korean Flight as a moral outrage. Dramatically different portrayals for strikingly similar events (Entman, 1991).

For instance, of the 44 adjectives or adverbs located in the text of stories appearing in Time and Newsweek regarding the KAL Flight, all but three implied Soviet guilt. These descriptors contained such adjectives as wanton and barbaric. While in the case of the Iran Air Flight, only six of the 22 adjectives and adverbs used implied guilt. Among the descriptors were words like fatal, tragic and understandable (Entman, 1991, p. 19).

In analysis of the coverage of KAL and Iran Air, the U.S. audience accepted the initial information and frames provided by the media so that even when additional contradictory information was released -- de-emphasized as it was -- it was more difficult for the audience to accept and understand. "The [initial] frame thus makes opposing information more difficult for the typical, inexperienced audience member to discern and employ in developing an independent interpretation" (Entman, 1991, p. 8).

Though it is possible for the audience to be autonomous in reaching their own decisions based on their own knowledge or historical, cultural frames of reference, various researchers suggest that "...on most matters of social or political interest, people are not generally so well-informed and cognitively active, and that framing therefore heavily influences their responses to communications..." (Entman, 1993, p. 56). Hence, the initial, dominant frame will have the most affect on policy and other political outcomes (Entman, 1991).

The United States House of Representatives and the Senate both unanimously voted to denounce the Soviet action against the KAL Flight. Additionally, Congress sent strong messages to the Soviets by authorizing production of nerve gas and the MX missile (Entman, 1991). Also, the initiatives for a nuclear freeze screeched to a halt in the halls of the Senate due primarily to the "hostile" actions of the Soviet military (Entman, 1991).

In the event of the Iran Air shootdown, media framing actually helped to increase support for U.S. Gulf policy instead of deteriorating support for America's presence in the Gulf.

Not only do the media affect the public's opinion on specific events but they also "...define the public significance of movement events, or, by blanking them out, actively deprive them of larger significance" (Gitlin, 1980, pp. 2-3). Media frames whether generated by the political elite and sponsoring sources or self-generated by the media, can help determine a movement's fate.

In his analysis of the Students for a Democratic Society movement, Gitlin (1980) indicates that the coverage of public protests of the Vietnam War shifted during 1965 from respectful to denigrating. This was accomplished through use of government information, marginalization, trivialization and other numerous framing devices.

Gitlin concludes his analysis with the statement that if the values of political elites and the media closely coincide with the values of the particular social movement, then the more inclined the media will be to incorporate those values into the dominant news frame (1980).

Nelson, Clawson and Oxley offer a value driven model for the audience, known as the expectancy-value model, a psychological response to news frames (1997):

We suggest that media frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts, or other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame (p. 569).

Especially when opinions are ambivalent, the media frames may have a stronger influence on opinion by "...shaping the values and other considerations individuals draw on when formulating their own views..." (Nelson et al., 1997, p. 570).

Research results on the KKK rallies showed public support of civil liberties predicted tolerance for the KKK's right to marches and rallies when the public was exposed to the free speech frame/value as opposed to a frame indicting violence (Nelson et al., 1997).

Another example is the welfare debate. The welfare policy may be framed as a morally degenerating "cycle of poverty" or as a sympathetic, "golden-rule" inspired "helping hand" frame (Nelson et al., 1997). Support for a welfare policy, or any other policy, will hinge on what values are associated with it.

In the abortion issue, Swenson's study shows that the media frame the issue of abortion as it has been framed by the opposing sides in the issue: as a civil rights issue for

women verses an issue of morality for mankind (1990). During the 1980s media coverage of the abortion movement clearly shifted toward a "pro-choice" oriented frame due, in part, to the episodic media coverage of numerous abortion clinic bombings and the end of the Reagan administration which was a powerful, legitimizing supporter for the "pro-life" movement (Swenson, 1990).

In research of the population-environment connection, findings indicate that the emphasis that the news media placed on the issue gradually shifted the frame from scientific causes and problems, which were the real issue at hand, toward a political debate and solution frame, which focused on effects (Trumbo, 1995). The public opinion tracked media framing rather than expert framing showing that the media are more successful than scientists and other experts in telling the public how to think about environmental issues (Trumbo, 1995).

Again in another environmental movement, Nicodemus studied the shift in framing of the wetlands policy of the Bush administration from one which advocated environmental goals to one that assaulted them. Use of credible sources shifted from scientists to administrative officials thus the issue was reframed as a property rights issue opposed to the original issue of environmental values (Riechert, 1996, citing Nicodemus, 1995).

Depending on which way an issue is framed may lead the public toward or away from support of a particular policy. In the case of race, equality and risk, the researchers found that

...there is considerable evidence to suggest that there is in fact racial discrimination in the delivery of health care, just as there is in the administration of justice. The fact that journalists, or their editors, tend to avoid the assignment of that frame to these stories has important consequences for social perceptions that inform policy references (Gandy, Kopp, Hands, Frazer and Phillips, 1997, p. 178).

Again, framing by the media affects public opinion in the area of affirmative action. Citizens presented with the "unfair advantage" frame for affirmative action, endorsed the value of fairness and principle of equal opportunity afforded by affirmative action laws. However, when presented with a "reverse discrimination" frame, the public was inclined towards opposition of affirmative action laws (Kinder and Sanders, 1990).

In the case of affirmative action, the *white* public's response to "reverse discrimination" frames seems unmarked by racial prejudice. This result appears to be a deliberate intention of white elites who framed the opposition to be immune from charges of racism (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

Framing, regardless of the issue, has a powerful affect on political outcomes. Claiming a value in a news frame helps to influence or move the direction of the public's opinion. "If partisans can effectively claim ownership of a specific value while asserting its special significance or high priority, then they are in a strong position to capture public favor" (Nelson et al., 1997, p. 578).

According to Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1996) reporters and political elites construct issues into value-based frames as a "heuristic" for the public, which due to the complexity of many matters often understand issues based only on value choices.

Shah, Domke and Wackman (1996) conducted a study where evangelical Christians and undergraduates were presented simulated, newspaper articles regarding an election and asked to chose a candidate. Of the four issues presented in the articles, one was manipulated for presentation as an ethical frame and one as a textual frame to an experimental group in each population. It was assumed that the groups would vary in their values.

The results showed that value-based frames in a news story influenced *both* groups to interpret the issue in an ethical fashion. And that these ethical interpretations may subsequently influence voters' decision making strategies (Shah et al., 1996).

Not only does the process of framing impact policy choices but also the election results for those running for office.

Looking at how the voter is influenced in political discourse, Miller, Andsager and Riechert (1996) researched political primaries. They contend in their study of presidential primaries that the news media frame issues and positions of primary candidates in less distinct ways than the candidates define themselves. As Asher (1987) states, the media play a vital role in the presidential primaries by their ability to determine the visibility of the candidates, frame the issues/positions, interpret results and pronounce winners and losers (Miller et al., 1996 citing Asher, 1987). Also, the media are better able to control the frame of primaries than general elections since information is less available to the public in the primary process and not as well defined (Miller, 1996, citing Polsby and Wildavsky, 1988).

June Woong Rhee's (1997) research results also suggest that frames within a news story (both strategy and issue frames) affect the public's interpretation of the campaign thus affecting opinion and possibly election outcomes.

Another study by Williams, Shapiro and Cutbirth (1982) supports the centralized importance of framing in the public opinion process. Their research shows that "...voters most susceptible to the media agenda [...] have agendas most similar to media agendas of issues which receive a campaign frame or context when compared to agendas not receiving such a frame" (p. 10).

Framing then appears to be the central mechanism in the public opinion process. Whether viewed in a sociological context evolved from the structure of the news organization or considered in the psychological context of the individual's mind, framing is a major, controlling ingredient of public opinion.

But what is meant precisely by public opinion? As V.O. Key (1961) stated, "to speak with precision of public opinion is a task not unlike coming to grips with the Holy Ghost"

(p. 8). Public opinion can be framed in such numerous and diverse ways by all the players in the process that it is futile to determine which presented frame of which player (media, elite or sponsor) most closely matches the public's real sentiment. As Zaller (1992) indicates, media frames, survey evidence and voting can all indicate a different public opinion, hence raising questions about the democratic process itself.

In the last section of the literature review, a new player in the process is examined. This newest player, the Internet, is unique in that it is both an interpersonal medium and simultaneously a form of mass media. The process of framing in this new technology will be broached as well as how the Internet may change the models of the entire public opinion process.

Framing, On-line Communication and Public Opinion

Through the development of journalism, the media have vindicated themselves in the name of the "public" but in which the public is a mere audience not an active participant (Carey, 1995). Holding immense power, the media are able to frame the world for its audience. The media present depictions of issues or events, stressing certain aspects or ignoring others. "Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it, and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports (Gitlin, 1980, pp. 6-7).

No longer does the public openly exchange ideas/discussions creating their unique yet collective frames on the events and issues affecting them as it existed in the taverns of colonial America. The public's opinion is now shaped by the media who link them to other players in the public opinion/policy process. And it is through the framing of issues

that the media are able to control and manipulate the public's opinion whether that control is intentional or not.

The unavailability of varying information and ease of control is due to the journalists' heavy reliance on sources for their news stories. It is the eyewitness or company spokesperson who gives the journalist the story in most instances (Hough, 1988). Bonnie Riechert furthers this line of thinking in her research on the wetlands debate. According to Riechert (1996) "Significant relationships are found among the use of specific stakeholders as news sources and the relative prominence of their particular frame in the news articles" (xii). Many times journalists simply repeat the information provided by their "overused" sources.

But with the advent of the Internet, a vehicle is now available for Americans to potentially reclaim a dominant voice/opinion. According to Charles Swett (1995), at the Office of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict, the Internet is beginning to affect the pre-existing social processes. The audience/public control a communication medium where opinions can be openly exchanged, where frames are actively controlled by the participants.

The Internet has a growing user base who from the comfort of their own homes is reducing the potentially powerful, controlling and dangerous influence of network newscasts, elitist newspapers and all the limited sources behind the "news." According to David Rotham (1997), author of the Electronic Citizen, the growth of the electronic media and large print-media empires have resulted in the loss of control over the written word which is detrimental to the growth of knowledge and expression in our society.

The written word brings much more weight and understanding than the frequently provided electronic soundbite. "Choices of words and their organization into news stories are not trivial matters. They hold great power in setting the context for debate, defining issues under consideration, summoning a variety of mental representations, and providing the basic tools to discuss the issues at hand" (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). What the computer and the Internet have done is allow those citizens comprising the online-public more access to manage the written word and control the available information. No longer is it necessary for citizens to solely rely on traditional media, limiting sources and gatekeepers for their knowledge and, in turn, power.

In recent years polls have begun to show a dramatic decline in the level of confidence and approval that the public has in the media. The media are viewed as a "...hindrance to rather than avenue of politics..." (Glasser and Salmon, 1995, p. 393). While television and newspapers have attempted to provide the public with in-depth news coverage and different news formats, it lacks a vehicle for the public's opinion. Though television has tried it cannot give the audience the feedback it desires (Ripley, 1994).

With the rise in Internet use, the public has realized that they don't need to rely so heavily on the "gatekeepers" for their information any longer (Swett, 1995). Citizens can receive information through bulletin boards, e-mail, mass mailings, the 20,000 plus news groups (Rothman), etc... They may also access various databases and government web sites.

As more people surf the Net, the media have begun to realize that the public's desires for and uses of traditional media are changing. In fact, many media offer online

versions of their own national networks and publications (Hilzenrath, 1996):

- * AllPolitics --CNN and *Time Magazine*
- * MSNBC --NBC and Microsoft Corporation
- * Campaign '96 --CBS
- * Politics Now --*Washington Post*, ABC and the *National Journal*

Ironically, the national news media scooped themselves on the Internet when CBS posted Kentucky senatorial election results online before anchorman Dan Rather made the announcement on the television broadcast (Hilzenrath, 1996). And the Internet gave one California voter the election results she needed 25 minutes prior to any television announcement (Hilzenrath, 1996). Television appears to have a weakness in providing desired information to some members of the public who are beginning to actively seek out information instead of passively receiving it. One election night surfer expressed many online users' sentiments in favor of the Internet when he stated, "I think that it's much better because it's objective. I get to find out the information that I want without the opinions, without somebody telling me what to think" (Hilzenrath, 1996, p. 2).

In Time magazine one cover story read, "Most journalism is top down flowing from a handful of writers to the masses of readers. But on the Net, news is gathered from the bottom up--the many speaking to the many--and it bears the seeds of revolutionary change" (Rothman, 1997, p. 10). The old models of communications and opinion processes seem to be changing.

Some experts believe that "The 'many to many' model is going to eat the 'few to many' model alive" (Swett, 1995, p. 7). No longer are citizens relying on reporters and gatekeepers. Nor are they relying on the reported advice and opinions of media appointed experts. Rather, the experts, instead of having the media as their only outlet

for information to the public, are offering their opinions in open, online forums (Rothman, 1997). They are providing information directly to the public without the obstacle of media filters.

With the public relying more on themselves for information and less on the media and their heavily dependent, expert sources, the potential for various media effects must be altered.

According to the pressure group model of linkage in the public opinion process, the media are the "principle intermediary between the public and its leaders" (Orren, 1986, p. 12). Within this media centered linkage model of the public opinion process, the diagram must eventually be redrawn as the Internet and public grow larger and gain more control. In the future, there may not be a central influence in the political policymaking process. Rather the future may see a more balanced model. See Figure 2 for the balanced pressure groups model.

While the public reclaims itself and gains greater control, we must bear in mind that the Internet can not replace the press "which often has much more resources for reporting than individuals do" (Rothman, 1997, p. 11). Influencing policy will take more than online debate and encouraging action by an audience, it will have to incorporate some form of media strategy and contact with politicians themselves.

But more than transforming the way that citizens can communicate, the Internet has created an actual, if not physical, "public sphere" in which opinions can be shared. Just as in the real world, an Internet public, instead of being well-defined as a distinct public, may actually consist of several sub-set publics depending upon the particular interest of the group (Grolier Online, 1997). Many publics are issue oriented, whether the issue is abortion, welfare, crime, drugs or homosexuality. No matter the issue, what is of real importance for a public is its ability to influence policy; for their opinion to be discussed and actualized through their activities.

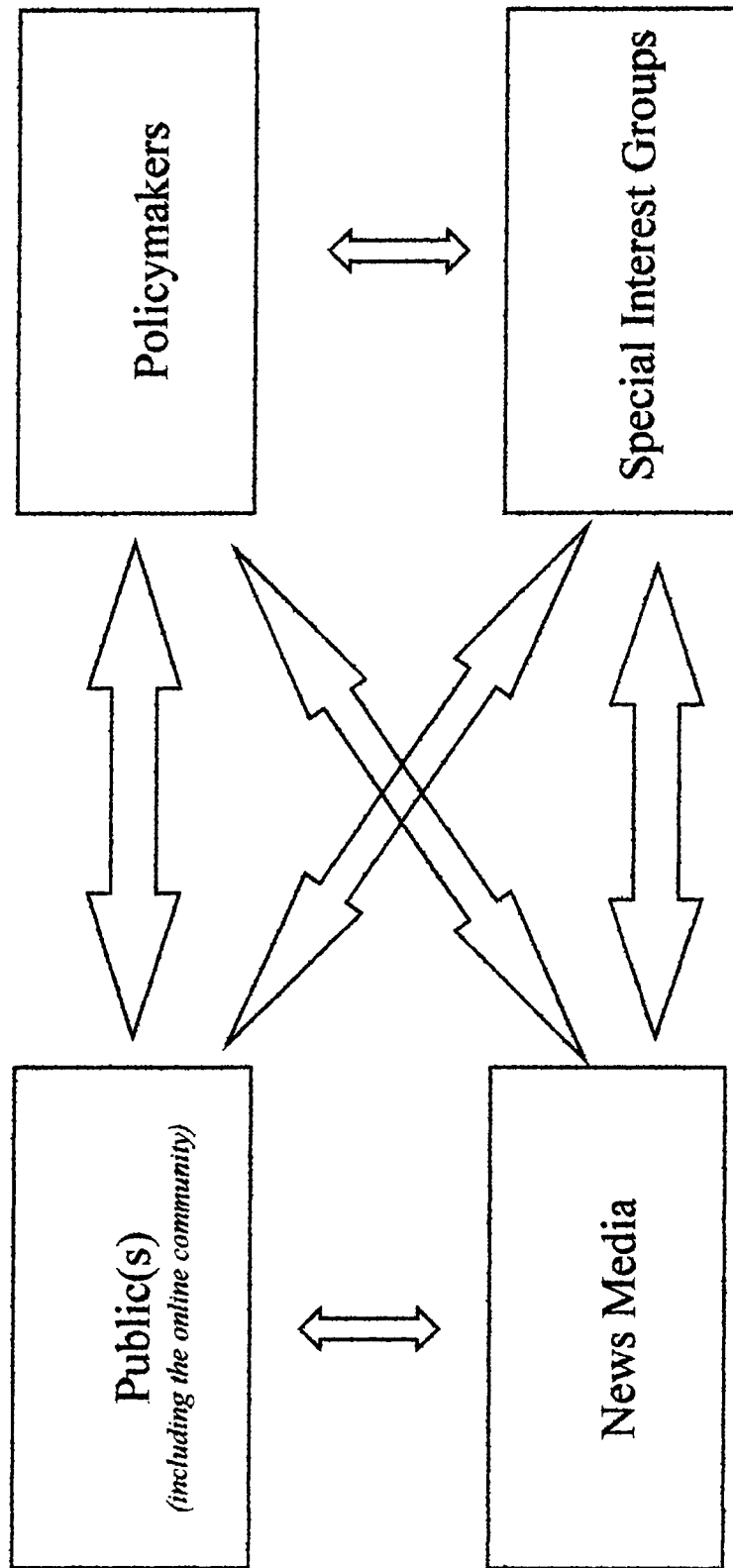


Figure 2
Balanced Pressure Groups Model of Political Linkage

As Entman (1991) posits, "The necessary condition for media influence on policy or politics is not that everyone interpret a story alike; it seems necessary only that significant majorities are thought to do so" (p. 8). Therefore, the same postulate exists online in that a small group of "activists" can appear to represent a majority and thus place pressure on the political elite.

The public's desire to influence and impact issue-oriented policies has met a new ally in the Internet. All players in the public opinion process are being impacted by this new technology. From the public to the "linking" media to special interest groups to the policymakers themselves, the power of the Internet is being felt throughout the world.

Since in any democracy, politics is comprised largely of communicating, the Internet, which is a communications network, is radically changing the process of political communications and involvement for millions of Americans (Economist, 1995). What the Internet is able to do is help the public develop and control the frame of shared information/knowledge as well as actualize these frames of shared experience and thought through their activism.

The Internet seems to have been custom-built for acquiring knowledge (Economist, 1995). Millions of informative sites can be accessed on the Internet. Thousands of government agencies, corporations, universities, special interest groups and individuals offer web sites. This information is a plethora of power.

According to a 1995 interview with Michael Nelson, Director of White House Information Technology, there are 100,000 administrative documents available on-line (Economist, 1995). Nelson points out that most of these documents would have eventually been printed on paper in the "pre-Internet" days, but today documents find their way to the Net more quickly. And the Net is easier to use. For example, American environmentalists can "...consult the Toxic Release Inventory (which lists some of the

nasty air emissions that chemical plants give off), search through it by zip code and pick out the nearest plant" (Economist, 1995, p. 21).

Legislation was also passed in 1996 enabling the public access to not only paper records but electronic records as well. The amendment to the Freedom of Information Act makes more information (provided on paper or computer tapes/diskettes) available to the public than ever before (Bivins, 1996).

Also accessible to the public is up to the minute political information. With a click of the mouse, millions of citizens searched and found election results from the 1996 races. CNN estimated that their web-site took 50 million hits on election night. That was in comparison to the previous combined record of 18 million hits taken on the night that Hurricane Fran hit land and the U.S. attacked Iraq. CBS reported 10 million hits and MSNBC and PoliticsNow claimed five times their normal traffic (Hilzenrath and Chandrasekaran, 1996). Bear in mind that a "hit" does not equal a person. One visit to an Internet site may tally-up several hits. However, the increased volume of hits on election night indicates that the Internet is a highly used source of information retrieval. It is important to also note that potentially thousands more were unable to access the Internet on election night due to technical problems (Hilzenrath and Chandrasekaran, 1996). But again, the slow-downs and traffic jams on-line that evening further indicate the desire for communications via the Internet.

And the information available on the Net was not merely announcements of who won or lost. The updates were continuous and detailed. A surfer could find out the ethnic percentage of voters, their income level, their ages, etc... (Hilzenrath, 1996).

The inquisitive and concerned do more than simply access the available information on-line but they also provide and create their own information: newsletters, on-line magazines, BBS postings, e-mail transmissions (singular or mass) etc... And remember

that websites and other Internet information such as e-mail can be printed out and shared with those who do not have access to the Net (Rothman, 1997).

Via regular on-line activity, a Net surfer can build a great pool of contacts, acquire message files and assemble saved conversations and bulletin board postings into an archive (Rothman, 1997). The on-line community can keep their "public" constantly updated. The exchange of information is on-going.

The spread and exchange of information is a vital part of maintaining a unified public; however, the main goal of an interested public is in fulfilling its opinion objectives or impacting on a policy in the political arena. As one Internet expert points out, "Few problems are solved by providing more information" (Rothman, 1997, p. 12).

Empower those thousands, even millions, of the public to take action. Of course, prompting people to action takes the right information, a strategic plan and a certain level of passion/commitment.

For example, in 1993, Jim Warren, a computer expert, used the Internet for direct political action. Warren assisted Debra Bowen, a Democrat in the California State Legislature, in passing legislation that would require the state to post all legislation online.

For the past eight years, the state had been computerizing all its legislative records. Senator Bowen couldn't understand why the public could not electronically gain access to them.

According to Warren somebody faxed him a copy of the proposed legislation, which he used as an idea for his MicroTimes column. In turn, Warren faxed a copy of his column to Bowen's office. Within an hour, Bowen's office contacted Warren extending thanks for the support but indicated that the proposed bill would cost millions and would thus be defeated. Warren offered his suggestions for how the California Legislative Data Center could affordably offer the computerized information through the Internet.

Warren quickly got online and sent a message to 400 addresses asking for support. In the next three days, the required number of faxes and letters arrived. As the bill made its way through the legislative process, Warren kept up the Internet activism. He would send out Net messages to the online supporters asking them to continue their show of support and offering them detailed information on how. Warren would pass on knowledge about certain legislators: "This member is adamantly opposed to the bill, and he's totally irrational..." or "This member is supportive of the bill but doesn't have any backbone at all, so prop him up" (Rothman, 1997, p. 17).

The online campaign was very successful. Today, citizens can access California legislative information online and it's free.

Of course, Internet activism does not always produce the desired results, but it offers itself as a valuable aid in spreading the message and encouraging the formation of groups/publics and inciting activism.

Another example of Internet activism, which though proving organizationally successful did not impact on policy, was a reaction to the 1995 Contract With America. University-based student organizations across the country (more than 100) organized mass demonstrations against the contract. Organizational efforts were handled online. The students were contacted directly through e-mail. "Organizers believe that the ease and speed with which the protests were planned and the broad coalitions of student groups involved suggest that computer networking through the Internet has dramatically changed the way students can communicate with one another" (Rimmerman, 1997, p. 94).

Not only are members of certain online publics attempting to influence certain politicians, thus policy, but politicians themselves are beginning to understand and engage the power of the Internet.

It is believed that the Internet and other forms of "new media" could have four broad implications for our political process (Berger, 1989):

- * Political Campaigns
- * Governmental Communications
- * International Communications
- * Public Telecommunications

In the past, policymakers in both the executive and legislative branches have used the press to "sell" policies to each other or "directly to the public" (Kennamer, 1994, p. 10). Today, many politicians can "sell" their policies over the Internet.

Inside the walls of Congress, members benefit from the content of web sites such as the Legislative Information System, which allows members of Congress to "...access legislative information without having to compete with the public" (Davis, Owen and Strickler, 1997, p. 21). Congress also benefits from non-public, confidential "party" sites. These "member services" areas require passwords for admittance. Once inside the sites, members gain access to valuable communication tools such as chat forums, links, internal publications, etc... (Davis et al., 1997).

Venturing outside the walls, both Congress and the White House utilize e-mail. At the White House, the Clinton Administration uses the Internet as a direct political communication tool with constituents (Swett, 1995). Close to 5,000 electronic messages a week reach the executive branch. These messages are read and tallied by issue. Responses are then returned, whether through regular "snail mail" or e-mail (Swett, 1995). The White House views e-mail as a "...full-blown forum for conducting the country's political affairs" (Swett, 1995).

Congress began its use of external e-mail in 1993 (Davis et al., 1997). Today, all members of the House of Representatives have assigned e-mail addresses though not all members use their e-mail (Davis et al., 1997). Though the Internet provides a new means for the politician to communicate directly with the voter, hence eliminating the urge to engage in pluralistic ignorance (Kennamer, 1994), only 27 percent of Congress members use e-mail (Davis et al., 1997). Without the Internet, politicians can directly link up with voters without needing to rely on unwarranted assumptions (many times which have been based on media coverage).

The public is able to make great use of the ease at which they can send their electronic opinions but it has also caused a headache for many members of Congress, who are deluged with e-mail about a variety of issues and from e-mail that doesn't even come from their voting constituency (Davis et al., 1997). More than 175 e-mail messages come into the offices of some members of Congress on a weekly basis. And that number is growing. According to a study by Richard Davis, Brigham Young University, more than one-half of the e-mail comes from non-constituents (Davis et al., 1997). This is an obvious ineffective use of online activism; Rothman's suggestions of knowing your audience are being ignored. Davis' study of Congressional use of the Internet concludes that Congress is not effectively using their e-mail component of the Net to communicate with their constituency; however, 56 percent of Congressional members are successfully using their Internet web sites to communicate with the public (1997). Though many web sites lack substantive data for the individual voter, the potential still exists for more enriching and greater use of the Net (Davis et al, 1997).

It appears that while use of the Internet is growing at the national level, improvements in using Internet functions can be made. Despite the need for improvements, there are highly successful examples of local governments implementing this new technology.

In Santa Monica, California the city government has created, funds and operates a Public Electronic Network (PEN). This system consists of 13 public terminals and can be accessed by any home computer. Through the system, the public may send e-mail to city hall or any government employees/department and receive responses. Research indicates that the PEN system has increased the citizens' political activity (Groper, 1996).

This escalation into political activism carried out by a more empowered public shows the potential force of the Internet.

The Internet is truly reforming the public opinion process in America. New publics are generated through this networked community. These online surfers "...utilize the medium not [just] as travelers but as citizens who generate controversies with other members of a far-flung 'imagined community' about matters of power and principle" (Keane, 1995, p. 15).

Several studies and various research projects have been undertaken to uncover the power of these Internet publics. In a published 1997 study by Kevin Hill and John Hughes, many political communities/publics were found online whose main purpose is political dialogue. These communities demonstrate the similar, behavioral characteristics of a "socially cohesive group."

However, these groups do not form in all instances for the mere purpose of discussion. As examples show, many groups and individuals at both the local and national levels have utilized the medium of the Internet to advance their opinion. Through online discussion and debate, opinions can be formed, even changed. And coordinated online efforts can actually mobilize people into organized groups who, in some instances, have influenced policy.

Some scholars believe that "Through sophisticated communications technology [such as the Internet], everyone can share in the decision-making process and finally achieve in practice the popular democracy long heralded in theory" (Berger, 1989, p. 167). They

foresee greater political participation in the form of electronic referendums and online elections. Yet others foresee the dangerous implications of electronic democracy and majority rule, supporting the more stable, less volatile implications of a representative democracy.

Of course, the Internet is not without its detractors. According to a recent survey (May 1, 1998) by Lou Harris and Baruch College, "30 percent of the US population are online, effectively 58 million people" (NUA, 1998). However, the percentage does not represent a wide enough spectrum of society. The study reports that though rural areas make up 22% of the population, only 14% are represented online. Seniors over 60 account for just 6% of netizens. And men still outnumber women by 54%. In California the typical Internet user is "...white, male, highly educated, well-off and 29 years old; not very different from the minority of Californians who cast votes in elections" (Economist, 1995, p. 22).

And even with its ease of use, the Internet can be difficult to navigate for the average citizen. Courses are offered to train individuals to locate and access web sites. Also, the Internet is not a guaranteed, **credible** source. The Internet is filled with as much fraudulent as it is useful information. Surfers must be on constant guard against possible rumors, half-truths and lies.

Whether one views the Internet as an asset or a liability to our democratic processes, the changes are beginning; the models of the public opinion process are shifting from the traditional 'few to many' model to the technologically aided and more balanced 'many to many' model.

These changes are slowly taking shape in the nascent world of the Internet. But as more bureaucracies and more of the public go online, the Internet will entrench itself as a major player in the public opinion process. Time and additional research of the Internet

will further prove the power of this audience controlled medium in affecting not only opinion but actual policies.

Of course, a major ingredient to this powerful new medium is the process of framing. With its growing reach into more and more households in this country the Internet has the potential to make the public opinion process more interactive. Today public opinion is measured by surveys and is also shaped by them. "...what appears to be real shifts in opinion can be produced by ostensibly innocuous alterations in question wording, format, and placement (Kinders and Sanders, 1990, p. 74). However, the Internet can allow the public more control over various aspects of the process.

As Gans (1983) suggests, "Newsmakers among the poor, the powerless, and the ideologically marginal are discriminated against by the news media and the rules of news judgment; as a result, news by, about, and for these Americans is scarce" (p. 182). He suggests that the audience is not able to properly mobilize against the "evils" of mass media access and control. However, the Internet is changing the public opinion process and therefore more attention must be paid to the integration of psychological and sociological components of framing the news.

CHAPTER III.

METHOD

Frame Mapping

In order to study the comparisons and differences in framing by competing and/or concurring stakeholder groups, a content analysis employing the Frame Mapping concept was used in this study.

Frame Mapping addressed the research questions of how the public and the media define a complex political issue and if there are similarities and/or differences in how the issue is discussed by both parties.

The Frame Mapping Method is based on Concept Mapping, which "... is a multidimensional scaling procedure developed for use in computer-assisted analysis of natural language text..." (Riechert, 1996, p. 78). Concept mapping allows themes to emerge from the actual text as opposed to being developed by the researcher's typology. Spatial representations are derived "...from the co-occurrence of terms by generating term frequencies and a matrix of cosine coefficients based on the terms used" (Riechert, 1996, p. 78). The terms which occur in proximity throughout the examined text may be visually mapped to indicate where terms cluster together to create a theme or where they do not occur (Riechert, 1996).

Based on identical mathematical principles, Frame Mapping furthers the intent of Concept Mapping by inserting code terms which aid in identifying sources within the

text. The location of the identifier codes experientially indicate the exclusive occurrence of substantive terms, hence themes, in the text of each group (Riechert, 1996).

An innovative computerized software program (VBPro) designed by Dr. Mark Miller performs the quantitative content analysis of text. The analytic methods employed by the software reduces the reliance on researcher and coder subjectivity and increases the reliability of the research results.

In the following sections of this chapter, the methodological procedures involved in the frame mapping process used to investigate the issue definitions by their relevant stakeholders on the topic of "Sexgate" are presented.

Step One - Planning

At the beginning of a Frame Mapping study, the researcher must first decide upon a "policy" issue for analysis. There are no specific criteria for topic selection except that the issue should be of a complex nature and of interest to both the researcher and the audience.

For this study, the topic of President Clinton's alleged sexual misconduct and related, illegal activities was selected. Referred to as "Sexgate" throughout the course of this research, the topic was chosen for its political nature. It was assumed that such political and ensuing policy discussions associated with the scandals would reflect elements of the public opinion process. Because of its controversial and complex nature "Sexgate" would guarantee the interest of numerous stakeholders involved in the issue.

As Kennamer (1992) explains, the policy process involves "selection and definition of issues" by *all* the competing pressure groups. It has been documented in numerous studies that the main-stream, news media have served as a strong, central party in the policy process. However, with the rise in the Internet's use as a political tool, the public is also becoming an important stakeholder in issue formation and policy outcome. Hence, the mass media and the public were chosen as the stakeholders in this issue arena.

Once the issue and its stakeholder groups were decided upon, adequate resources for analyzing each group's frames were needed. The resources for analysis required content available in ASCII text.

First, it was determined that news articles of major newspapers would serve as the representative sample for the media stakeholder groups and that the public would be represented by Usenet postings via the Internet. To determine the availability of "Sexgate" materials in each universe under examination, a preliminary search was conducted in each medium.

An initial search of the Newsbank computerized database proved the availability of news articles pertaining to "Sexgate" as well as produced an exploratory search string of key terms to assist in locating the appropriate text for analysis. It was first assumed that the terms *Clinton* and *sex* would yield the desired articles; however, these terms were deemed irrelevant. *Clinton* and *sex* as "search" terms refer to numerous subjects such as same-sex marriages and homosexuals in the military, subjects not relating to "Sexgate." Instead, more detailed search terms were used. These terms are discussed in the following section.

Next, a preliminary search of the Usenet newsgroups totaling more than 20,000 were searched: national, state, and city. National newsgroups were selected for their wider representation of the American public. Groups focusing on politics were reviewed for their discussion of President Clinton. Several appropriate newsgroups devoted to the discussion of Clinton and "Sexgate" were found with ample postings that were available for download.

Step Two - Obtaining and Preparing Text

Once the issue for analysis is determined, the stakeholders identified and the availability of appropriate database materials verified, stage two in the Frame Mapping Procedure, which is data procurement and preparation, can begin.

First the necessary database materials were gathered and downloaded in ASCII text files onto 3.5 inch diskettes. For the purposes of the newspaper articles, the University of Tennessee's Hodges Library Database Search Services department was used. The off-campus services librarian performed a database search on the Lexis/Nexis computerized database which consists of 70 major newspapers representing both national and international publications. A listing of the newspapers appears in Appendix A. Using the original terms from the Newsbank database inquiry, the Lexis/Nexis search produced the necessary results:

- Clinton and sexual misconduct
- Clinton and Lewinsky
- Clinton and Lewinsky and ethics
- Clinton and perjury
- Clinton and Jones and sexual misconduct

Clinton and Jones and ethics
Clinton and Jones and perjury

Though the search string of *Clinton and Jones* produced a list of more than 1,000 articles, the Lexis-Nexis database would not show that large a list, therefore the search was furthered modified as indicted above.

In total, more than 500 articles varying in length from 501 to 8,616 words were downloaded. The articles also met the added date criterion of April 1998. Articles used for the research appear in Appendix B.

To obtain the necessary Usenet newsgroup postings, a further examination of national newsgroup charters was conducted. The newsgroup *alt.politics.clinton* was chosen for its focus and attention towards the Clinton administration and discussion of current sexual and legal scandals. Another important element was that this newsgroup was unmoderated, hence providing a more open exchange of ideas. The only obstacle of choosing an unmoderated newsgroup was the abundance of junk mail and spam that was encountered. Headers with the following key words were identified and marked for retrieval:

Jones	Lewinsky
Sex	Harassment
Clinton	Starr
Tripp	Morals/Ethics
Liar	Scumbag

These key words as well as headers including derogative adjectives along with the term "Clinton" were also chosen for retrieval.

Newsgroup postings from *alt.politics.clinton* in April 1998 were saved and downloaded daily onto floppy diskettes. The downloaded postings totaled more than 2,500 and varied in length from as few as four words to as many as 1,700. The download was conducted by the researcher on a personal home computer.

After the database files and Usenet postings were obtained, it was necessary to identify the pertinent samples from each stakeholder group.

All text files from each stakeholder group were viewed in the Microsoft Word 7.0 word processing program. All news articles and Usenet postings were scanned for "Sexgate" content. Those articles and postings not pertaining directly to the subject matter were deleted.

An attempt to avoid duplication was also handled by spot reading the entire contents of the downloads. Duplicate and reprint newspaper articles appearing in another edition of that day's paper or in another publication were eliminated from the sample. Reappearance of the same article was not considered a unique news story unless the story was *moderately to substantially* changed for use in another publication; otherwise, it was discarded.

A decision was also reached to exclude editorials, letters to the editor, op-ed pieces and columns from the newspaper sample. The decision was based upon the belief that these types of materials reflected more of the journalist's "personal" opinion than a representation of the "news" media. Inclusion of columns and similar content would have blurred the comparison being made between media and public frames of the "Sexgate" scandal.

As for Usenet postings, duplication was avoided by eliminating all reposts of an article. A sample of Usenet posts used in the research is provided in Appendix C.

After these identification procedures were employed, sample size from the media totaled 199 newspaper articles and 783 posts from the Usenet newsgroups.

Once all the appropriate samples were obtained, the job of text preparation for the VBPro and VBMap programs began.

To properly clean the data for analysis several steps were taken:

1) The VBPro software was obtained in a compressed floppy disk file from Dr. Miller. The program along with User's Guide for VBPro: A Program for Analyzing Verbatim Text are available free of charge: url: <http://excellent.com.utk.edu/~mmmiller>.

2) All newspaper articles and Usenet postings were assigned an individual case identification number. These distinct ids must begin with a pound sign so that VBPro will recognize them as unique cases; therefore, it was necessary to eliminate any additional pound signs occurring in all the samples. The case identifier can be any combination of numbers or letters, up to 60 characters and without any spaces. In the newspaper samples, cases were identified by date and publication: #NP_NYT_4/15/98. In the newsgroup postings, samples were identified by the date and a post number: #Usenetpost4/15-1.

Additionally, code identifier terms were inserted into the text of each case. This process allows not only relationships among the terms to emerge but it also establishes the association of specific terms and term clusters to the stakeholder. The code terms "newspaper" and "posting" preceded by dollar signs were inserted after the case

identifiers to guarantee identification of the stakeholder. The dollar sign assured that the identifiers were distinctive words, not just normal text.

3) VBPro uses brackets, i.e, [], to ignore extraneous material. Hence brackets were used in newspaper articles to eliminate data such as headlines, bylines, copyright information, database information, etc... And in Usenet posts brackets helped to exclude such material as copied material from the original post, header information and signature information. The same search that was conducted for the pound sign, "#," was also performed for the brackets in order to avoid text formatting problems in VBPro.

4) Another type of extraneous material that was omitted from the text were ellipses. Even though VBPro is able to read ellipses in solid form as opposed to ellipses with spaces between the periods, it was deemed more efficient and convenient to completely eliminate them from the samples.

5) Spell checking the samples required more than an assurance of proper spelling. During the spell check it was necessary to eliminate hyphens from certain compound words since the VBPro program does not recognize hyphenated material. For example, the term right-wing refers to the Republican Party. By viewing the term as two distinct words, "right" could be misread as a term of confirmation or direction, and "wing" could be read as the particular part of a building or anatomy of a bird.

Within the Usenet posts it also became necessary to uniformly change the spelling of certain names, i.e., Kathleen Willey. Many Usenet posters chose to spell "Slick Willie," a term used to refer to President Clinton, as "Willy" or "Willey," hence a decision was made to spell names distinctly and uniformly in order to avoid confusion in the later

analysis.

It is also important to note that the task of cleaning the text of Usenet posts is tedious. Posters are not concerned with proper spelling and grammar the same way that journalists are concerned.

6) With the data cleaned, the files were saved as MSDOS text files in the VBPro directory.

7) The VBPro formatting procedure was used to finalize the text for further procedures in the study.

Step Three - Generating Data

After the text is formatted in the VBPro program and saved in its directory, the process of generating data for analysis begins. First is the alphabetizing phase. The text in the formatted files was alphabetized along with the frequency of occurrence for all words. In this step it is important to note that the possessive and plural of words will appear as separate terms.

Next a frequency list (absolute and relative) of all occurring terms was generated. The frequency file contains a report on the types and tokens (distinct and total terms) in each stakeholder's text. The frequency list provides the terms used by the competing groups in the overall discussion of the issue.

Most frequency reports by the VBPro program will produce lists with a high number of articles, conjunctions and prepositions, i.e., *the, in, of, but, by, and*, etc... These words were disregarded because they lacked substantive meaning in determining the

issue frames of each group. From the remaining text, a search of terms of substantive meaning or interpretable interest was performed. VBPro provides a procedure for tagging terms for more detailed analysis in order to understand in what context the term is being used and to help eliminate ambiguous terms.

After alphabetized and frequency files were generated in the VBPro program, the Select program in the VB Pak of programs was run. The Select program took the two alphabetized lists created from the text of the media and Usenet groups and based on a chi-square criterion found the terms which discriminated maximally between the groups. From these lists of 200 terms per group, 61 search terms based on substantive meaning and interest criteria were selected from each to create a search file. This search list of 122 terms along with the formatted texts were then entered into the coding procedure of VBPro. The coding procedure produces numeric data showing the frequency of occurrence of each search term for all id cases.

Next, the coded files in *.MAP* extension and the search file were applied to the VBMap program to generate the term vectors or the three dimension coordinates that represent in "...a multidimensional space the relationship of the terms by co-occurrence" (Riechert, 1996, p. 124).

The eigenvectors in a *.UNS* extension file from the VBMap program were run through an SPSS statistical package. The data in the SPSS package had four variables specified: one as term, a string variable, and V1, V2, V3, numeric variables. Within the SPSS program, the classify statistics procedure along with the hierarchical cluster analysis, dendrogram plot and cosine method were chosen.

The dendrogram tree produced was then analyzed for meaningful clusters of terms which were then frame mapped to provide a better visual representation of the terms in relationship to one another and to the stakeholder group.

To review, the methodology of the Frame Mapping Process involves several steps:

1) Step One - Planning

- a. issue selection
- b. stakeholder identification
- c. text availability

2) Step Two - Obtaining and Preparing Text

- a. downloading text
- b. identifying sample
- c. cleaning text
- d. formatting text

3) Step Three - Generating Data

- a. alphabetizing
- b. frequency
- c. list of maximal differentiated terms
- d. tag term search
- e. basic search file
- f. numeric code file
- g. term vectors
- h. SPSS analysis
- i. dendrograms and frame maps

The described steps in this multi-step process helped to produce data that is presented in chapter four.

CHAPTER IV.

RESULTS

This study looked at frames that emerged in the text of two of the participants in the public opinion process regarding the issue of "Sexgate." The stakeholder groups under investigation were the mass media and the public. Concept and Frame Mapping procedures were employed to determine the exclusivity and frequency of substantive terms co-occurring in the text of each stakeholder group in order to ascertain how the group's discussions of "Sexgate" are being formed, thus framed.

The following sections present in chronological order the data produced by each procedure within the Concept and Frame Mapping Method software. Presentation of the data in small sections will be made to present a detailed picture of how each group frames this controversial, complex issue.

Alphabetization

The alphabetization process of the VBPro program produced separate and alphabetized lists for the 199 newspaper articles and 783 Usenet postings. The created files were 212 pages long for the news articles and 165 pages in length for the postings. In addition to alphabetizing the terms, the frequency of occurrence of each word was output. This information enabled the next step in the mapping procedure to take place.

Frequency Sorting

The frequency list produced of the stakeholder texts created files numbering in exact page length to those of the alphabetized files.

The media list produced a file with a total number of 199,484 terms (tokens) and 11,433 unique terms (types). The type/token ratio was .0573 with a following rate of occurrence for the tokens:

Occurrence Rates of Tokens

2,493 occurred 8 or more times
248 occurred 7 times
326 occurred 6 times
429 occurred 5 times
651 occurred 4 times
984 occurred 3 times
1,850 occurred 2 times
4,439 occurred 1 time

Of course, as mentioned earlier in chapter three, grammatical function terms occurred most frequently, i.e., the term "the" occurred 11,383 times, with the lowest occurrence of one belonging to terms such as "polling," "viewpoint," and "voting."

The first substantive word occurring in the list was "Clinton," occurring at a raw frequency of 1,568 times and at a relative frequency of 0.786. Other substantive terms included, *Jones*, occurring 1,207 times; *Starr*, 956; *Lewinsky*, 806; *sexual*, 626; and *investigation*, occurring 489 times.

The Usenet postings created a frequency file containing a total of 87,961 tokens and 8,868 types. The type/token ratio was .1008 with a following rate of occurrence for the tokens:

Occurrence Rates of Tokens

1348	occurred	8 or more times
171	occurred	7 times
220	occurred	6 times
308	occurred	5 times
412	occurred	4 times
717	occurred	3 times
1435	occurred	2 times
4245	occurred	1 time

The frequencies ranged from 1 to 4,485. Occurrences for the term "the" were the largest. Words with an occurrence of only one contained terms such as "whitewashed," "zippers" and "wrongdoings."

The first substantive word occurring in the Usenet frequency list was "Clinton," occurring at a raw frequency of 701 times and at a relative frequency of 0.797. Other substantive terms included, *President*, occurring 337 times; *Starr*, 220; *Lewinsky*, 806; *sex*, 119; and *true*, occurring 66 times.

The appearance of "Clinton" as the first substantive term in each stakeholder group was expected since the president and his alleged sexual activities are the issue under investigation.

Selection of the Prominent, Differential Terms

The Select program was fed the alphabetized files of each stakeholder's text to produce a listing of the percentages of 200 terms in each file as they discriminated maximally between one another.

Within the newspaper articles there was a difference of term occurrence from the Usenet postings ranging from 0.015 percent to 0.891 percent. Within this list of 200 terms the newspaper articles contained a total of 24 terms not contained within the Usenet posts. Some terms occurring exclusively in the media were *spokesman*, *controversy*, *capitol* and *analysts* along with some notable names of figures involved in "Sexgate."

Percentage difference of term occurrence for those words occurring most often in the Usenet newsgroup compared to that of the media ranged from -0.010 to -0.902. In total 35 terms occurred exclusively within the Usenet posts. These terms included *Jesus*, *cult*, *smooth*, *religion* and *fool*.

Search List Creation and Term Tagging

Creating a substantive search list, shown in Table 2, required selection of 60 relatively high frequency terms from each stakeholder text which produced a list of 120 terms. These terms were selected for their discrimination value and to avoid ambiguity.

In selecting the appropriate terms for the search list, several seemingly substantive, high frequency words or terms holding interest to the researcher were tagged for closer examination, i.e., a search file for the word "right" was created and run through the

Table 2. Search List Derived of Maximally Differential Terms from Newspaper and Usenet Texts

Terms	Chi-Square	Media	Usenet	Percentage of Difference in Term Occurrence
\$Newspaper	87.808	0.100	0.000	0.100
Lewinsky	203.016	0.404	0.085	0.319
Jones	163.551	0.605	0.242	0.363
Jury	94.944	0.176	0.033	0.143
Starr's	89.357	0.206	0.053	0.153
Lawyers	83.633	0.187	0.047	0.140
Investigation	80.950	0.245	0.084	0.161
Starr	78.654	0.479	0.250	0.229
Judge	75.460	0.260	0.099	0.161
Court	72.450	0.223	0.077	0.145
Inquiry	71.993	0.087	0.002	0.085
Relationship	66.412	0.105	0.014	0.009
Sexual	65.107	0.314	0.147	0.167
Case	56.659	0.401	0.222	0.179
Privilege	56.429	0.096	0.015	0.081
Plaintiff	48.586	0.063	0.003	0.060
Conversations	42.786	0.049	0.000	0.049
Legal	42.229	0.181	0.080	0.102
Intern	40.424	0.066	0.009	0.057
Appeal	38.797	0.079	0.017	0.062
Willey	38.629	0.047	0.001	0.045
Alleged	38.443	0.123	0.044	0.079
News	38.274	0.121	0.043	0.078
Percent	38.087	0.061	0.008	0.053
Attorney	35.165	0.074	0.017	0.057
Appeals	34.746	0.052	0.006	0.046
Rock	33.706	0.064	0.013	0.052
Allegations	33.082	0.126	0.051	0.075
Lawyer	33.052	0.100	0.034	0.066
Misconduct	39.782	0.049	0.007	0.042
Impeachment	29.778	0.086	0.028	0.058
Immunity	29.435	0.044	0.005	0.039
President	26.574	0.528	0.383	0.145
Probe	25.418	0.032	0.001	0.030
Conduct	23.706	0.065	0.020	0.045
Whitewater	23.519	0.079	0.030	0.050
Witnesses	22.164	0.056	0.016	0.040
Harassment	20.679	0.125	0.065	0.060
Wright	20.249	0.115	0.058	0.057
Testify	19.791	0.051	0.015	0.036
Trial	19.766	0.074	0.030	0.044
Offensive	18.399	0.026	0.002	0.024
Claim	18.227	0.088	0.041	0.047
Secret	18.190	0.081	0.036	0.045
Civil	17.406	0.062	0.024	0.038

Table 2. (continued)

Terms	Chi-Square	Media	Usenet	Percentage of Difference in Term Occurrence
Job	16.905	0.110	0.059	0.051
Lewinsky's	56.930	0.073	0.003	0.069
Aides	45.516	0.060	0.003	0.056
Lawsuit	48.037	0.110	0.028	0.082
President's	24.658	0.096	0.040	0.056
Testimony	27.023	0.088	0.032	0.056
Proceeding	17.587	0.036	0.008	0.028
Agents	19.397	0.034	0.006	0.028
Motion	17.097	0.025	0.002	0.022
Arkansas	22.152	0.112	0.053	0.058
Judge's	16.780	0.035	0.008	0.027
Employment	16.230	0.024	0.002	0.021
Journalists	13.671	0.016	0.000	0.016
Judiciary	14.785	0.031	0.007	0.024
Decision	89.981	0.170	0.033	0.137
Dismissal	61.918	0.091	0.009	0.082
\$Posting	1780.592	0.000	0.890	-0.890
Jesus	81.653	0.000	0.041	-0.041
Scumbag	75.367	0.002	0.045	-0.043
Billy	74.848	0.000	0.038	-0.038
Bill	73.939	0.058	0.163	-0.104
N.O.W.	72.629	0.007	0.058	-0.051
Cult	72.580	0.000	0.036	-0.036
Government	56.359	0.024	0.086	-0.063
Male	54.421	0.003	0.036	-0.034
Rightwing	52.545	0.018	0.073	-0.055
Spin	50.147	0.004	0.039	-0.035
Harassers	48.093	0.001	0.026	-0.026
Thomas	50.023	0.007	0.047	-0.040
Christians	45.834	0.001	0.025	-0.025
People	44.599	0.144	0.258	-0.114
Good	44.497	0.047	0.117	-0.070
Liberal	42.308	0.004	0.033	-0.029
Anita	41.434	0.005	0.035	-0.031
Liberals	40.824	0.000	0.020	-0.020
Laws	40.206	0.009	0.045	-0.036
Communist	39.060	0.001	0.022	-0.021
Liar	39.060	0.001	0.022	-0.021
Innocent	37.883	0.002	0.026	-0.024
Leftwing	36.804	0.001	0.020	-0.020
Wrong	35.879	0.017	0.058	-0.041
Money	35.302	0.039	0.095	-0.057
Decency	34.550	0.001	0.019	-0.019
Truth	34.365	0.030	0.081	-0.051

Table 2. (continued)

Terms	Chi-Square	Media	Usenet	Percentage of Difference in Term Occurrence
Country	34.060	0.035	0.089	-0.054
Rape	33.570	0.002	0.024	-0.022
Defend	32.917	0.003	0.025	-0.023
Reagan	32.900	0.008	0.038	-0.030
Bad	32.288	0.012	0.047	-0.035
Smooth	31.752	0.000	0.016	-0.016
God	31.065	0.007	0.034	-0.028
Lying	30.469	0.012	0.044	-0.033
Hitler	29.484	0.000	0.015	-0.015
Guilty	29.404	0.008	0.036	-0.028
Respect	29.323	0.008	0.035	-0.028
War	28.860	0.012	0.043	-0.032
Jail	28.798	0.001	0.018	-0.017
America	28.181	0.019	0.056	-0.037
Jews	27.871	0.002	0.019	-0.018
Fool	27.216	0.000	0.014	-0.014
Whores	27.216	0.000	0.014	-0.014
Sleaze	26.592	0.001	0.017	-0.016
Armey	26.202	0.013	0.043	-0.031
Corruption	24.948	0.000	0.013	-0.013
Evil	24.948	0.000	0.013	-0.013
Nazi	24.948	0.000	0.013	-0.013
Rightwingers	24.948	0.000	0.013	-0.013
True	24.911	0.032	0.075	-0.043
Hate	24.603	0.003	0.020	-0.018
Smear	24.603	0.003	0.020	-0.018
Lies	22.802	0.009	0.033	-0.024
Fact	22.481	0.048	0.095	-0.048
Morality	22.280	0.003	0.020	-0.017
Trailer	21.441	0.002	0.016	-0.014
Pervert	21.072	0.001	0.013	-0.012
Example	20.903	0.014	0.041	-0.027
Devil	20.411	0.000	0.010	-0.010

Note.

Chi-square test and fequency occurrence listed in decimals of one percent.

VBPro program. Because of this word's potential ambiguity, it was selected for analysis.

Tables 3 and 4 show examples of the term's occurrence within the text of the Media and Usenet. The figures indicate that the term "right" appears in a variety of context. For example, the word appears in respect to privilege and privacy rights, affirmation of statements, connotations to time and location and use as political ideology.

Tables 3 and 4 show that both groups use the term "right" in a variety of connotations, hence its ambiguity would not have been beneficial for analysis. The search summaries for the tagged term appear in Table 5.

File Coding

Once the search file was created it was inserted into the VBPro program for numeric coding. This data file shows the frequency of occurrence for each of the selected terms as it occurs within all identified cases:

#NP_St.Louis_4/01/98, 1, 7, 11, 7, 3, 3, 4, 3, 3, 3, 0, 0, 3, 3, 0, 0, 0,
1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 2, 4, 2, 1, 1, 0, 0, 3, 0, 0, 3, 1, 1, 4, 1, 5,
0, 0, 0, 2, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 3, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
2, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 1,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0

#Usenetpost4/4-4, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 3, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 4,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 4, 0, 0, 0, 0, 2, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
4, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0,
0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0

Table 3. Examples of Tagged Term Search for the Term "right" from Newspaper Articles on "Sexgate"

Stakeholder Group	Case #	Key Term In Context
Media	#NP_Houston_4/2/98	Robert Bennett, who represented Clinton in the Jones case, said: " Judge Wright should be complimented on her courage to make the > right < decision, notwithstanding all the political atmosphere surrounding this case. She is > right < on the law, and she is > right < on the facts. "
Media	#NP_WashPost_4/5/98	Even among Starr supporters, a third said there should be a time limit and 4 percent say it should end > right < away. " I think it should stop > right < now, " said Robert Deware, 75, a military retiree who lives in Sanford, Florida. Also, 55 percent of those surveyed said the country is going in the > right < direction, compared with 41 percent who said it is off track.
Media	#NP_WashPost_4/12/98	Mostly, there are contradictions: Her case has become a rallying cry for the > right <, yet her advisers portray her as naively apolitical.
Media	#NP_StLouis_4/22/98	Allegations of a White House scandal have focused executive secretaries' attention on the issue of what's > right < and what's wrong around the office.
Media	#NP_NYT_4/02/98	Ms. Lewinsky's first lawyer, Francis Carter, will be required to comply with a subpoena directing him to turn over material from his representation of Ms. Lewinsky, except for any matters that may violate Ms. Lewinsky's Fifth Amendment > right < against compelled self-incrimination, lawyers said.
Media	#NP_NYT_4/04/98	" She's not been charged with anything, " one of Ms. Lewinsky's lawyers, Nathaniel Speights, said, asserting that his client " has the > right < to have her privacy protected by this court. "
Media	#NP_SanDiego_4/15/98	" The party must speak up about the message being sent > right < now -- that adultery is the norm and fidelity is out of fashion, " said conservative activist Gary Bauer, a potential candidate for the 2000 Republican presidential nomination.

Note. The term "right" was a high frequency-occurring term in the text of both the media and public stakeholder groups. Examination of term usage within context indicates that a variety of meaning is applied to the word, thus confirming a relative ambiguity.

Table 4. Examples of Tagged Term Search for the Term "right" from Usenet Postings on "Sexgate"

Stakeholder Group	Case #	Key Term in Context
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/2-32	<i>If it's purpose was only to damage Clinton , then you are > right < . A person can be a victim by being the recipient of frivolous lawsuits , which the Jones lawsuit appears to be > right < now . Both opinions can be > right < considering how you spin it which is what my post openly addressed .</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/9-18	<i>In Anita Hill's story , nothing that Clarence Thomas was supposed to have said or done ever happened on a specific day , nor even " > right < after Christmas " or " just before Labor Day " or at any other time that could be pinned down and checked out .</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/7-16	<i>You want to give the government the > right < to intrude into private lives and to create yet more laws to control and restrict your behavior that's not even of a criminal nature or anyone else's business while you gloat in some political skewering of someone else .</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/15-7	<i>I have no idea how the > Right < has come to cling to the misguided notion that Judge Wright somehow confirmed Jones ' story .</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/25-44	<i>For a man with nothing to hide it is rather strange that Honest Bill hasn't followed his promise > right < after the Monica story broke to tell all the facts soon than later .</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/25-24	<i>For the past five years , Grand Inquisitor Starr has been unable to answer the frustrated squeals from his flailing constituents on the rabid > right < : " WHERE'S THE BEEF ? "</i>
Usenet	#Usenetpost4/30-16	<i>Unfortunately , it is inappropriate to assume a guilt because a person has asserted their 5th Amendment > right < (not privilege , no matter what you lawyers say .</i>

Note. The term "right" was a high frequency-occurring term in the text of both the media and public stakeholder groups. Examination of term usage within context indicates that a variety of meaning is applied to the word, thus confirming a relative ambiguity.

Table 5. Search Summaries for Tagged Term "Right" in Media and Public Stakeholder Groups

Stakeholder	Total Term Frequency	Total Cases	Cases containing search term	Percentage of Search Terms per Case
Media	110	199	73	36.87
Usenet	130	783	102	13.03

In the examples provided above, several key search terms appear in each case. Within the newspaper articles, the key term of *Lewinsky* appears 7 times; *Jones*, 11; and *jury*, 7; continuing throughout the remaining terms.

Within the Usenet posts, the key terms of *Jones* appears 1 time; *liar*, 4; *country*, 2; *leftwing*, 4; *liberal*, 4; *harassers*, 1; and *president* 33 times.

Term Vectors

Next the coded numeric file was run through VBMap to generate three dimension term coordinates (vectors) in a .MAP extension file. See Table 6. Again, these eigenvectors represent a multidimensional space representation in the relationship between the co-occurring terms.

The term values in Coordinate 1 range from -0.22 for *Christians* to 0.57 for *sexual*, indicating an infrequency of co-occurrence for these terms in the analyzed text. Other terms in Coordinate 1 that are located in close proximity to the values of other terms, are

Table 6. Term Vectors for 122 Selected Search Terms in Newspaper and Usenet Group Texts

Terms	Coordinate 1	Coordinate 2	Coordinate 3
\$Newspaper	0.54	-0.32	-0.07
Lewinsky	0.43	-0.47	-0.14
Jones	0.50	-0.14	0.06
Jury	0.46	-0.42	-0.11
Starr's	0.42	-0.43	-0.10
Lawyers	0.43	-0.33	-0.07
Investigation	0.47	-0.41	-0.02
Starr	0.43	-0.45	-0.06
Judge	0.53	-0.17	0.00
Court	0.56	0.50	-0.09
Inquiry	0.36	-0.32	-0.08
Relationship	0.40	-0.38	-0.13
Sexual	0.57	0.49	-0.07
Case	0.55	-0.03	0.00
Privilege	0.21	-0.20	-0.12
Plaintiff	0.36	0.81	-0.09
Conversations	0.26	-0.32	-0.12
Legal	0.50	-0.18	0.01
Intern	0.45	-0.32	-0.05
Appeal	0.34	-0.10	0.06
Wiley	0.18	-0.10	-0.02
Alleged	0.51	0.64	-0.07
News	0.25	-0.19	-0.01
Percent	0.10	-0.08	0.01
Attorney	0.37	-0.26	-0.06
Appeals	0.34	-0.17	0.01
Rock	0.47	-0.06	0.00
Allegations	0.50	0.13	-0.03
Lawyer	0.29	-0.26	-0.06
Misconduct	0.32	-0.17	0.00
Impeachment	0.27	-0.26	-0.02
Immunity	0.26	-0.28	-0.13
President	0.48	-0.10	-0.09
Probe	0.25	-0.26	-0.05
Conduct	0.45	0.72	-0.08
Whitewater	0.35	-0.33	-0.08
Witnesses	0.32	-0.36	-0.12
Harassment	0.49	0.63	-0.07
Wright	0.44	0.04	0.08
Testify	0.27	-0.35	-0.18
Trial	0.44	0.08	0.03
Offensive	0.49	0.66	-0.04
Claim	0.44	0.75	-0.08
Secret	0.13	-0.18	-0.13
Civil	0.44	0.04	0.00

Table 6. (continued)

Terms	Coordinate 1	Coordinate 2	Coordinate 3
Job	0.42	0.67	-0.10
Lewinsky's	0.30	-0.35	-0.14
Aides	0.29	-0.31	-0.07
Lawsuit	0.56	-0.03	-0.02
President's	0.43	0.20	-0.05
Testimony	0.41	-0.23	-0.16
Proceeding	0.25	-0.25	-0.03
Agents	0.06	-0.10	-0.11
Motion	0.40	0.50	-0.15
Arkansas	0.52	0.28	-0.03
Judge's	0.29	-0.18	0.01
Employment	0.39	0.79	-0.09
Journalists	0.07	-0.07	-0.01
Judiciary	0.16	-0.14	0.00
Decision	0.51	-0.20	0.01
Dismissal	0.41	-0.21	0.00
\$Posting	-0.11	0.02	-0.05
Jesus	-0.21	0.02	0.82
Scumbag	-0.04	0.00	-0.05
Billy	-0.06	0.00	-0.06
Bill	0.16	-0.07	-0.08
N.O.W.	-0.01	0.01	-0.09
Cult	-0.21	0.01	0.82
Government	0.04	-0.10	-0.08
Male	0.01	0.12	-0.08
Rightwing	0.01	-0.03	-0.01
Spin	-0.04	-0.03	-0.11
Harassers	-0.01	0.04	-0.04
Thomas	-0.06	0.02	-0.17
Christians	-0.22	0.02	0.84
People	0.10	-0.15	0.03
Good	0.12	0.13	0.02
Liberal	-0.03	0.00	-0.10
Anita	-0.07	0.01	-0.16
Liberals	-0.08	0.01	-0.09
Laws	0.18	0.35	-0.09
Communist	-0.04	0.00	-0.05
Liar	-0.04	0.01	-0.06
Innocent	-0.03	0.00	-0.04
Leftwing	-0.05	0.01	-0.06
Wrong	0.01	-0.05	0.27
Money	0.04	-0.07	0.04
Decency	0.03	0.19	-0.05
Truth	0.09	-0.10	-0.07
Country	0.06	-0.10	0.04

Table 6. (continued)

Terms	Coordinate 1	Coordinate 2	Coordinate 3
Rape	-0.07	0.01	0.25
Defend	-0.04	0.01	-0.09
Reagan	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03
Bad	-0.01	-0.04	-0.04
Smooth	-0.02	0.01	-0.02
God	-0.10	0.00	0.33
Lying	0.08	-0.06	-0.07
Hitler	-0.09	0.01	0.20
Guilty	0.03	-0.07	-0.05
Respect	0.16	0.33	-0.07
War	-0.07	0.00	0.39
Jail	0.00	-0.04	-0.04
America	0.00	-0.04	0.15
Jews	-0.15	0.01	0.54
Fool	-0.06	0.00	-0.08
Whores	-0.06	0.00	-0.05
Sleaze	-0.04	0.00	-0.05
Arney	0.00	-0.01	-0.03
Corruption	-0.05	0.01	-0.01
Evil	-0.04	0.02	0.00
Nazi	-0.04	0.01	-0.05
Rightwingers	-0.06	0.01	-0.08
True	0.23	0.30	0.17
Hate	-0.10	0.00	0.35
Smear	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06
Lies	0.00	-0.06	0.19
Fact	0.34	0.33	-0.07
Morality	-0.03	0.00	-0.04
Trailer	-0.02	0.00	-0.05
Pervert	-0.01	-0.01	0.00
Example	0.00	-0.05	0.02
Devil	-0.21	0.01	0.83

Note.

The VBMap procedure was specified for three dimensions.

Eigenvalues: 10.3039 8.6321 4.2804

Percentage Total Variance Per Factor: 10 8 4

Cumulative Percentage Total Variance: 10 18 22

Percentage Extracted Variance Per Factor: 44 37 18

Cumulative Percentage Extracted Variance: 44 82 100

words such as *offensive* with a value of 0.49; *harassment*, 0.49; and *allegations*, 0.50. Thus, these words are co-occurring at a high rate of frequency indicating that they are being used together as a way to describe "Sexgate."

As for the inserted code identifier terms, *\$newspaper* and *\$posting*, the term vectors are widely divergent with coordinate values of (.54, -.32, -.07) and (-.11, .02, .82) respectively. In fact, these distinctive terms never occur together in the same text/case.

The term vectors for the selected individual terms and the code identifier terms were also output into a *.UNS* extension which is designated by the division of commas between coordinates and run through an SPSS package, as described in chapter three, in order to generate a visual representation of how the selected terms relate by their co-occurrence.

Dendrograms and Frame Maps

The dendrogram tree produced by SPSS (hierarchical cluster analysis) visually shows how terms co-occur together to form clusters of terms. A single line connecting terms only one point away from the origin indicate a strong relationship while increasing distances of connection from the origin indicates decreasing similarity. The range in the dendrogram hierarchical cluster tree is 1 to 25. The dendrogram tree in Figure 3 (shown in portions) and Figure 4 (shown in entirety) reveals some interesting term co-occurrence patterns.

Dendrogram

* * * * * 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)

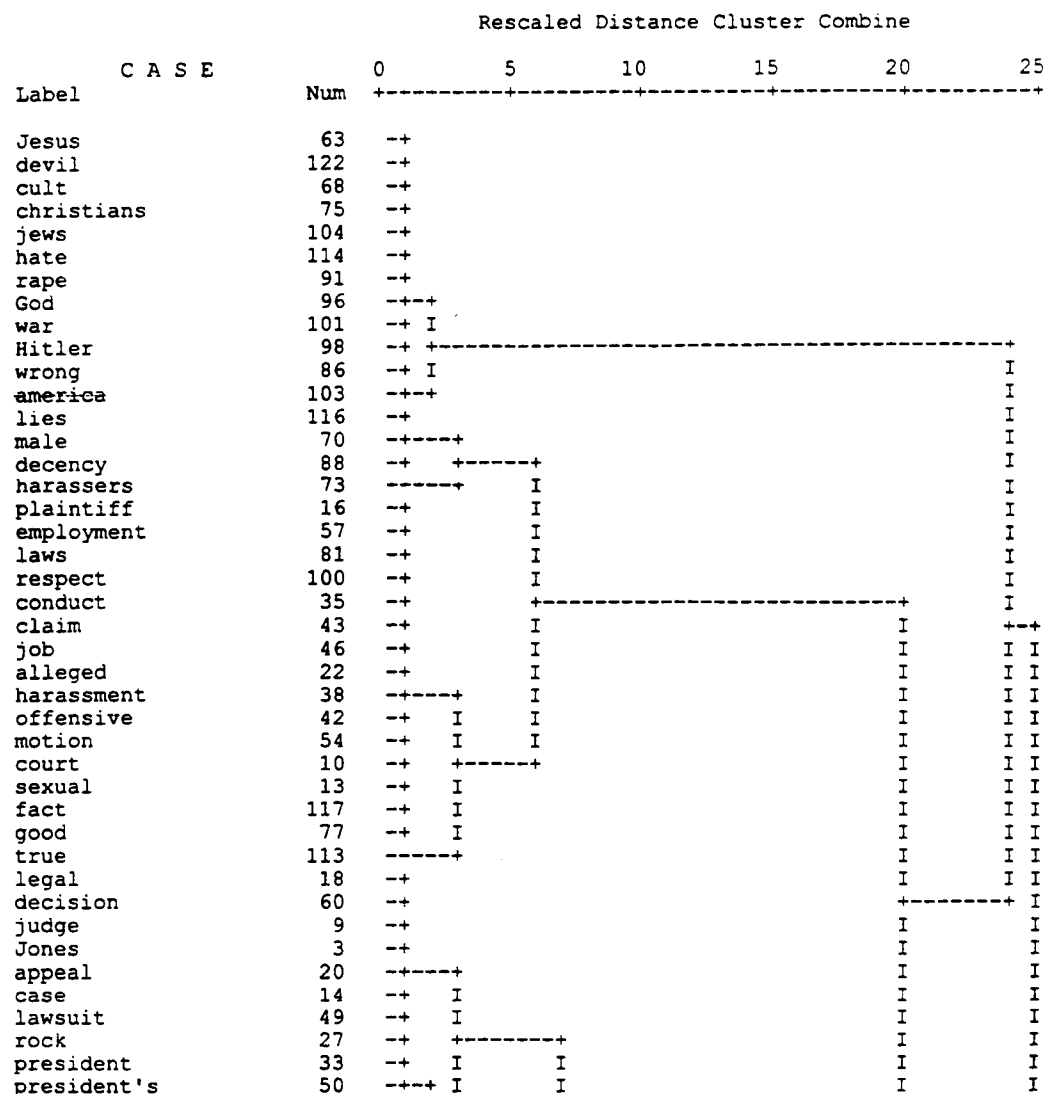


Figure 3. Partial View Clustering Dendrogram for 122 Substantive Terms in Media and Usenet Texts

* * * * * 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 * * * * *

C A S E		0	5	10	15	20	25
Label	Num	+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----					
arkansas	55	--+ I I	I			I	I
trial	41	--+ +--+	I			I	I
civil	45	--+ I	I			I	I
wright	39	--++	I			I	I
allegations	28	--+	+-----+				I
money	87	--+	I				I
country	90	-----+	I				I
people	76	--+ +-----+	I				I
example	121	-----+	I I				I
government	69	--+	I I				I
guilty	99	--+	I I				I
secret	44	-----+	++				I
agents	53	--+ +-----+	I				I
rightwing	71	-----+	I I				I
testimony	51	--+	I I				I
bill	66	-----+	I I				I
lying	97	--+ I +-----+					I
privilege	15	--+ I I					I
truth	89	--+ I I					I
Lewinsky	2	--+ I I					I
witnesses	37	--+ I I					I
conversations	17	--+ +-----+					I
lewinsky's	47	--+ I					I
immunity	32	--+ I					I
testify	40	--+ I					I
misconduct	30	--+ I					I
dismissal	61	--+ I					I
appeals	26	-----+					I
judge's	56	--+					I
\$Newspaper	1	--+					I
willey	21	--+					I
intern	19	--+					I
attorney	25	--+					I
Lawyers	6	--+					I
news	23	--+					I
impeachment	31	--+					I
proceeding	52	--+					I
investigation	7	--+					I
judiciary	59	--+					I
Starr's	5	--+					I
aides	48	--+					I
probe	34	--+					I
journalists	58	--+					I
Starr	8	--+					I
inquiry	11	--+					I

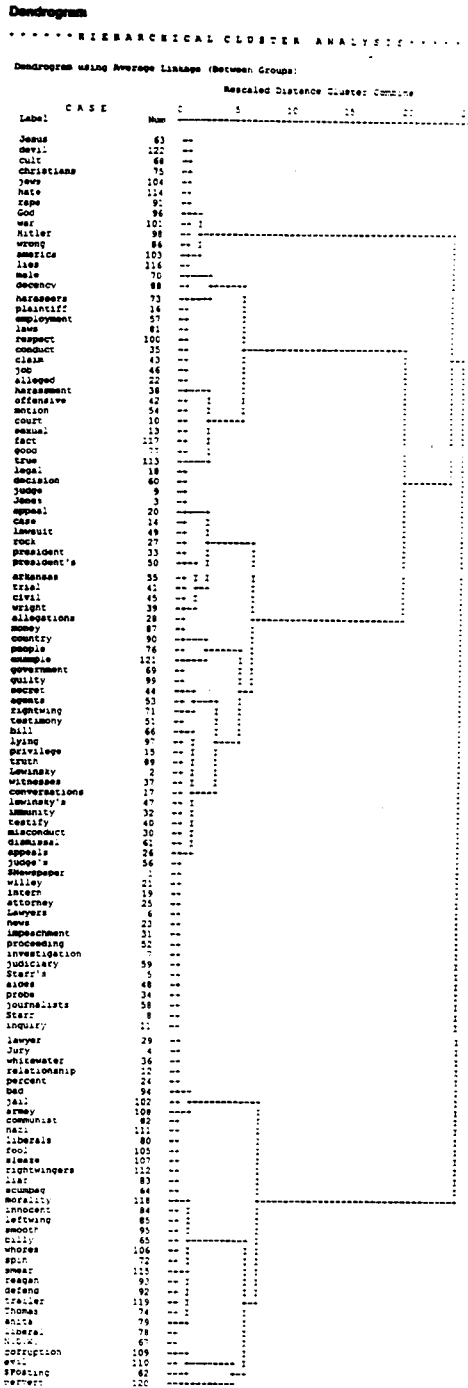
Figure 3. (continued)

*****HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS*****

C A S E		0	5	10	15	20	25
Label	Num	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+
lawyer	29	--+					
Jury	4	--+					
whitewater	36	--+					
relationship	12	--+					
percent	24	--+					
bad	94	---+					
jail	102	--+ +-----+					
armey	108	---+		I			
communist	82	--+		I			
nazi	111	--+		I			
liberals	80	--+		I			
fool	105	--+		I			
sleaze	107	--+		I			
rightwingers	112	--+		I			
liar	83	--+		I			
scumbag	64	--+		I			
morality	118	---+		+-----+			
innocent	84	--+ I		I			
leftwing	85	--+ I		I			
smooth	95	--+ I		I			
billy	65	--+ +-----+		I			
whores	106	--+ I		I I			
spin	72	--+ I		I I			
smear	115	---+		I I			
reagan	93	--+ I		I I			
defend	92	--+ I		I I			
trailer	119	--+ I		+--+			
Thomas	74	--+ I		I			
anita	79	---+		I			
liberal	78	--+		I			
N.O.W.	67	--+		I			
corruption	109	---+		I			
evil	110	--+ +-----+		I			
\$Posting	62	---+		+--+			
pervert	120	-----+					

Figure 3. (continued)

Figure 4. Full View Clustering Dendrogram for 122 Substantive Terms in Media and Usenet Texts



In total, six distinct clusters formed from the 122 selected search terms of the media and Usenet groups. The largest of the clusters includes 45 terms and the smallest is comprised of three terms.

For example, cluster one, titled the **inquiry** cluster, consists of 45 terms including words such as *Lewinsky, jury, privilege, appeal, lawyer, testify, relationship* and *inquiry*. These terms connect at the first line from the point of origin, thus are closely related and co-occur with great frequency when describing "Sexgate."

Another example of a cluster forming one point away from the point of origin is the smallest cluster titled **jail**. The words *Armey, bad* and *jail* comprise this cluster. Thus these terms are closely related in discussions of the scandal.

The agglomeration process forces all selected terms to connect in the diagram tree showing the occurrence or in some instances, non-occurrence of term clusters. For instance, the term cluster of **lawsuit** with coordinate values of (.48, -.012, .002) is greatly divergent from the **religion** term cluster of *Jesus, cult, Christians, wrong, rape, God, Hitler, war, America, Jews, hate, lies and devil*, with coordinate values of (-.11, -.003, .46).

In the dendrogram tree these clusters do not connect until the 25th point of origin indicating their dissimilarity. Table 7 represents the term clusters by the mean of each vector/coordinate field.

In addition to the dendrogram tree representing the relationship of terms to one another, the frame maps in Figures 5 and 6 show the relationship of the inserted code identifier terms of *\$Newspaper* and *\$Posting* to individual terms as well as term clusters.

Table 7. Cluster Term Coordinates in Media and Usenet
Groups from Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of 122 Selected Terms

Cluster	Term	Map Coordinates
(1) Inquiry	\$Newspaper	(.2537, -.2280, -5.88 E-02)
	Lewinsky	
	Jury	
	Starr's	
	Lawyers	
	Investigation	
	Starr	
	Inquiry	
	Relationship	
	Privilege	
	Conversations	
	Intern	
	Willey	
	News	
	Percent	
	Attorney	
	Appeals	
	Lawyer	
	Misconduct	
	Impeachment	
	Immunity	
	Probe	
	Whitewater	
	Witnesses	
	Testify	
	Secret	
	Lewinsky's	
	Aides	
	Testimony	
	Proceeding	
	Agents	
	Judge's	
	Journalists	
	Judiciary	
	Dismissal	
	Bill	
	Government	
	Rightwing	
	Truth	
	Lying	
	Guilty	
	People	
	Money	
	Country	
	Example	

Table 7. (continued)

Cluster	Term	Map Coordinates
(2) lawsuit	Jones Judge Case Legal Appeal Rock Allegations President Wright Trial Civil Lawsuit President's Arkansas Decision	(.4794, -1.61 E-02, 2.133 E-03)
(3) harassment	Court Sexual Plaintiff Alleged Conduct Harassment Offensive Claim Job Motion Employment Good Laws Respect True Fact Male Harassers Decency	(.3226, .4715, -5.93 E-02)
(4) Scumbag	\$Posting Corruption Evil Pervert Scumbag Billy N.O.W.	(-4.34 E-02, 2.33 E-03, -6.30 E-02)

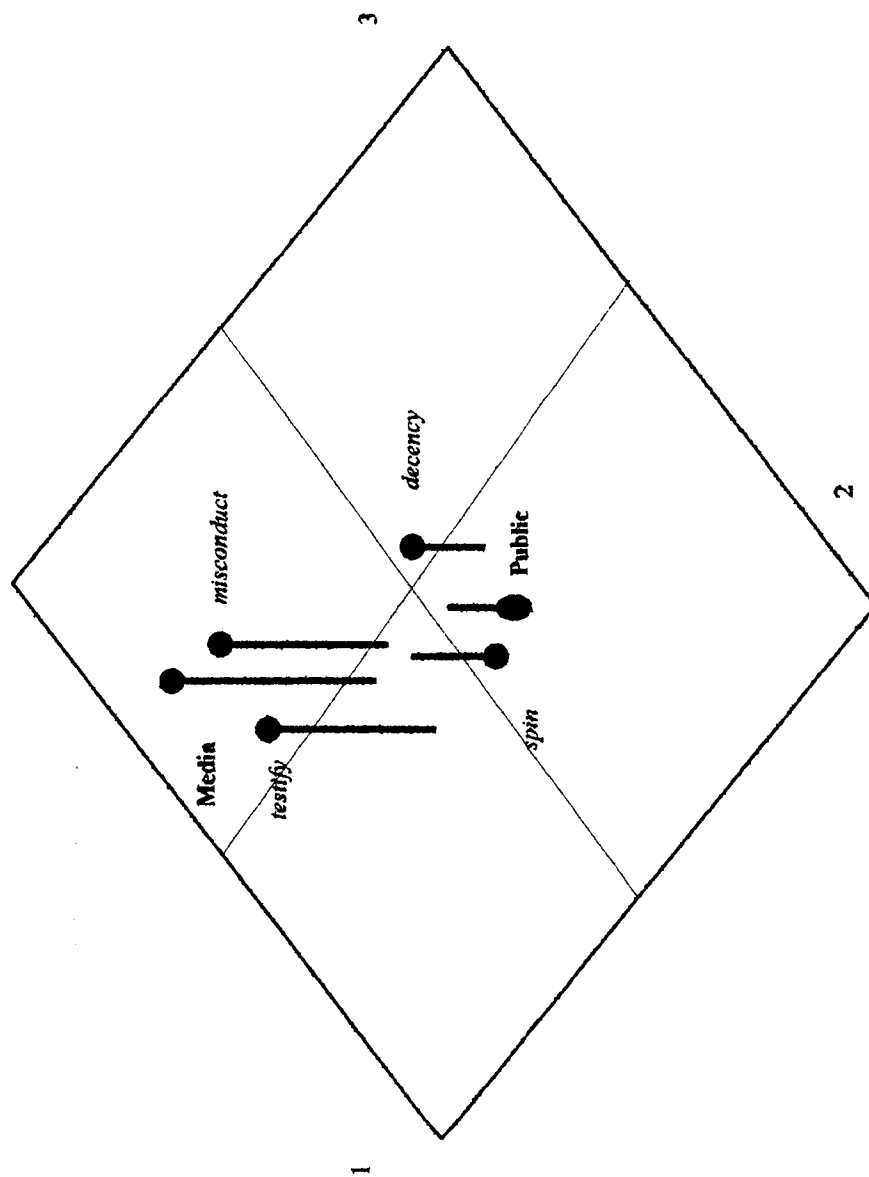
Table 7. (continued)

Cluster	Term	Map Coordinates
	Spin	
	Thomas	
	Liberal	
	Anita	
	Liberals	
	Communist	
	Liar	
	Innocent	
	Leftwing	
	Defend	
	Reagan	
	Smooth	
	Fool	
	Whores	
	Sleaze	
	Nazi	
	Rightwingers	
	Smear	
	Morality	
	Trailer	
(5) Religion	Jesus	(-.1080, -3.46 E-03, .4609)
	Cult	
	Christians	
	Wrong	
	Rape	
	God	
	Hitler	
	War	
	America	
	Jews	
	Hate	
	Lies	
	Devil	
(6) Jail	Bad	(-3.33 E-03, -2.93 E-02, -3.63 E-02)
	Jail	
	Armev	

Note.

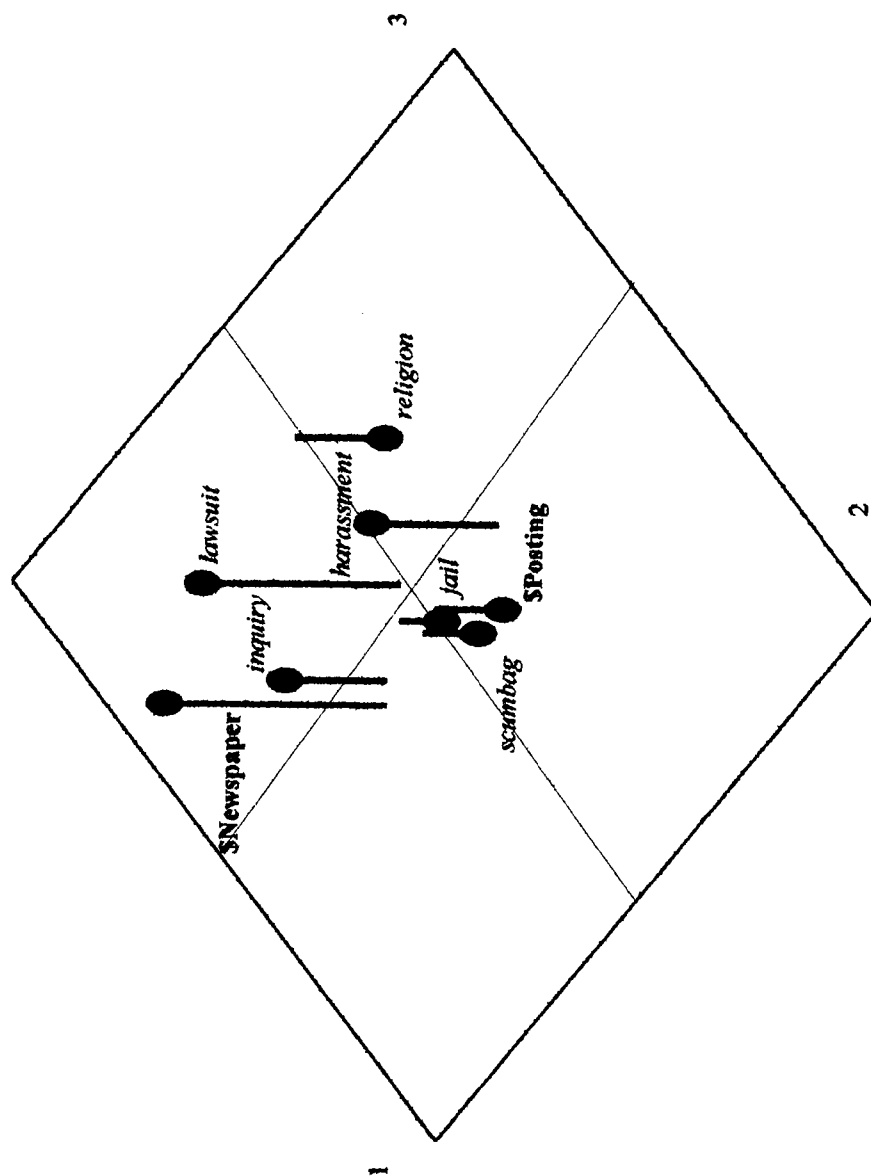
Term clusters were based on hierarchical cluster analysis.

Three dimensions specified in VBPro and VBMap programs.



Three-dimensional configuration of individual high-frequency terms from the text of media and Usenet stakeholder groups. Code source identifier terms are shown in solid point, bold; key terms are shown in italics. The numerals in the figure indicate the coordinate dimensions.

Figure 5. Frame Map of Key Terms within the Media and Usenet Texts



Three-dimensional configuration of 6 clusters of high-frequency terms from the text of media and Usenet stakeholder groups. Code source identifier terms are shown in solid point, bold; term clusters are shown in italics. The numerals in the figure indicate the coordinate dimensions.

Figure 6. Frame Map of Term Clusters within the Media and Usenet Texts

The mapped coordinates visually show which terms occur within the discussions of which stakeholder group.

Examination of an individual word within the term clusters shows coordinate values for the *newspaper* identifier term (0.54, -0.32, -0.07) are similar to those of the key word *misconduct* (0.32, -0.17, 0.00). This is an indication of a strong use of the term *misconduct* within those text belonging to the media.

And in Figure 6 the locations of meaningful *clusters* of terms are plotted in relation to the code identifier terms showing that the three clusters of **inquiry**, **lawsuit** and **harassment** are more affiliated to the media and the three clusters of **scumbag**, **jail** and **religion** are more associated with the public.

The clustering patterns represented on the frame map support the existence of divergent issue frames in regards to "Sexgate" by the two stakeholder groups under study.

Terms clustering around the code identifier of "newspaper" are words representing a legal interpretation of the Paula Jones sexual harassment case and the Lewinsky perjury investigation. Also, falling in proximity to the newspaper group are terms of political connotation.

In contrast, terms clustering around the code identifier of "posting" are words depicting a greater moralistic analysis of the issue than is presented by the media.

CHAPTER V.

DISCUSSION

"A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson, 1989, p. 157). As discussed in chapters two and three, the media have served as the central player in the public opinion process, providing the majority of the public's "news" information and, hence, providing the dominant frames in the public's point of reference about many issues.

As researchers have pointed out, framing affects the perception of reality. This perception can "snowball" into the formation of opinion, in turn, influencing policy/legislation.

However, with the increasing use of the Internet by the public, the media's reign on the public's frame of reference may be diminished. More and more Americans are turning to alternate sources of news, including the Internet. According to Pew Research Center, one in five Internet users access online news sources at least once a week ("Internet News," 1998). And though these cyberspace citizens claim to merely supplement the traditional news sources, the continued growth in online usage could eventually shift the dominance of the media's control on their audience's "frame of mind."

Understanding the effect of framing on the intended audience is relevant to a modern democratic society. This study addressed the influence of news framing on the audience by looking at the frames presented by the media in comparison to those created by the public.

Review

The study asked three research questions. The first was to determine how the mainstream media framed the issue of "Sexgate." The second was to determine how the public framed the issue of "Sexgate." And the third was a question of comparison between the two stakeholders.

Question 1: What frames do the mainstream media present to the public in the alleged sexual/criminal scandals of President Clinton?

Analysis of the Frame Mapping data indicates that the mainstream media, as represented by major newspapers, frame the issue of "Sexgate" along the legal principles and conventions involved in the scandal.

The first indication in the data of the different terminology used in the text of media and Usenet groups was seen in the percentage range of term occurrence (Table 2). Several terms appearing in the newspaper appeared in low occurrence, sometimes never, within Usenet postings. These terms included such words as *employment*, *aides*, *proceeding and dismissal*.

In the hierarchical cluster analysis performed on the newspaper and media text, these terms along with others clustered together to form three distinctly media associated clusters, clusters which focus on legal and political aspects of the scandal. See Table 7 and Figure 6.

Cluster number one, the largest of the six clusters with 44 terms and a code identifier, was titled the **inquiry** cluster. Within this cluster numerous terminology pertaining to the Paula Jones' case and Starr's investigation of Lewinsky and Clinton appears.

Terminology falling into this cluster is related to the legality (facts) and politics of the scandal.

Examples of cluster number one's terms (or derivatives) are highlighted in bold in the following example:

Dallas Morning News – April 3, 1998

*"She is reviewing allegations of benefits for a **witness**," the aide said. "We don't know if it's **true** or not. "In another development Thursday, The Associated Press reported that the White House has asked a federal **appeals** court to end the **secrecy** of legal **proceedings** involving Mr. Clinton's decision to invoke executive **privilege** in the **Lewinsky investigation**. The legal brief was filed in **secret** Wednesday but described by **lawyers** familiar with the pleading.*

Ten of the terms from cluster one appear in this paragraph describing the secrecy of the investigation, concentrating on the legality of the situation.

In another example, the news coverage focuses on the political aspects of the inquiry:

Los Angeles Times – April 8, 1998

*Begala, who helped manage Clinton's first campaign for the presidency, added: "He Armeý just comes up with these goofy notions and it's just a partisan attempt, I think, from the **rightwing** Republicans to form an alliance with Ken **Starr** in a very partisan **investigation**."*

*The rhetorical sparring ensued as the White House and House Republican leaders jockey for advantage in anticipation of a report from **Starr**. The independent counsel is **investigating** whether Clinton **lied** under oath about his dealings with **Lewinsky** or **Willey** or encouraged others to provide false **testimony**.*

In total, the two paragraphs contain seven of the terms from cluster one. These terms describe the investigation in its political environment as one party pitted against another.

In cluster two, which consists of 15 terms, the core idea of legal principles and politics as expressed in cluster one continues. Cluster two is titled the **lawsuit** cluster. Within the newspaper text, these terms cluster together to describe the court case and civil lawsuit against Clinton:

The Baltimore Sun – April 3, 1998

*The American public is not likely to care about the specific **legalisms** separating the **Jones civil suit** from a broader investigation of the **president**, conceded South Carolina Republican Rep. Lindsay Graham, another Judiciary Committee member.*

Five terms and their derivatives appear in this one paragraph which aptly shows the cluster's legal core.

And again, the second cluster of terms also indicates a political core to the discussion/coverage of the scandal:

The Baltimore Sun – April 17, 1998

*The **president**, traveling in Chile yesterday, said the **Jones case** was part of a "very unusual political environment. I'm just not going to let the politics get in my way."*

And finally, cluster three, titled the **harassment** cluster, though not in as close proximity to the newspaper clusters of **inquiry** and **lawsuit**, still continues to describe the scandal in legalistic and political terms:

The New York Times – April 2, 1998

*While the **court** will certainly agree that **plaintiff's** allegations describe **offensive conduct**, the **court**, as previously noted, has found that the Governor's **alleged conduct** does not constitute **sexual** assault. Rather, the **conduct** as **alleged** by **plaintiff** describes a mere **sexual** proposition or*

encounter, albeit an odious one, that was relatively brief in duration, did not involve any coercion or threats of reprisal, and was abandoned as soon as plaintiff made clear that the advance was not welcome. The court is not aware of any authority holding that such a sexual encounter or proposition of the type alleged in this case, without more, gives rise to a claim of outrage.

In fact, the previous example was a direct quote from the order of Judge Wright in the Paula Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit as printed by the New York Times. And as for political gist in coverage, this cluster of terms is amply stocked:

St. Louis Post-Dispatch – April 2, 1998

"I think Judge Wright should be complimented on her courage," Bennett said. "She is right on the law, and she is right on the facts."

The president's attorneys had said that even if Clinton, then governor of Arkansas, had asked Jones for sex during their encounter on May 8, 1991, in a room in the Excelsior Hotel in Little Rock, the case against him was "veneer-thin" because there was no proof that she suffered in her state job, as she alleged. They also had argued that Jones' case was motivated by partisan vitriol and based on sensational claims whose legal merits were "garbage."

In her ruling Wednesday, Wright said she had concluded that, even if Clinton did what Jones said he did, she had suffered no damages under federal laws that are designed to protect underlings from sexual harassment by their bosses.

In total, 19 terms comprise the harassment cluster in its discussions of sexual harassment and alleged conduct sustaining the earlier core coverage of politics and legalities.

Clusters one, two and three and their adoption of a legalist/political frame created and reported by the news media is possibly explained by the restrictions and parameters of the journalism field. It is the goal of journalism to report the news/facts with objectivity.

As a “watchdog” for the public, journalists report about events, and in this case, the event involves a legal battle and investigation. Hence, the framework for the newspaper stories would be legal and political. And though the field of journalism is protected by the “free speech” clause of the First Amendment, the protection is not absolute. The dangers of libel necessitate the careful selection of words and use of attribution. It would be risky for a journalist to use some of the legally explosive words frequenting the Usenet posting, i.e., *adultery, corruption, scumbag, evil and liar*. Hence, frames within the media are restricted to discussions of executive privilege, obstruction of justice (perjury), attorney/client privilege, etc... rarely broaching the discussion of the “alleged” scandal’s ethical/moral considerations.

Question 2: What frames do the public via Usenet groups present in the alleged sexual/criminal scandals of President Clinton?

Though the public engages in the use of some of the legal terminology employed by the media in discussing “Sexgate,” the variety of language used by the public is vastly greater in scope, more colorful and filled with emotions.

In reviewing Table 2, fourteen key terms (including code identifier) occurred exclusively within the text of the Usenet group. Exclusive term usage included such terms as *Jesus, liberals, cult, Billy, evil and smooth*.

In the hierarchical cluster analysis, words formed two distinct clusters titled **scumbag** and **jail** that locate in close proximity to the public/Usenet group code identifier in Table 7 and on the Frame Map in Figure 6.

In contrast to the legal and political controversy framework presented in the media, the public discusses the issue of "Sexgate" in a distinctly obvious, moralistic framework. In their postings the public discusses the implications of Clinton's *wrong-doings* on *children* and his duty to be an *honest and good leader/role-model*. In the **scumbag** cluster 27 terms help to focus on the moralistic aspects of the sexual scandal:

#Usenetpost4/24-9

Also note that **Billy Clinton** has served as the greatest "Bad Example" since Nero. Because of him ,

1. The election process will be cleaned up.
2. Men can hit a little harder on the chicks and not worry about it.
3. People will take a harder look at liars and adulterers.
4. People have become more conscious of spin and logical fallacies.
5. Future politicians will have to be more honest and of a higher moral character .
6. Americans will be more alert to politicians selling out America's interests for money (Chinese) and votes (Allowing millions of people to be naturalized., etc.)
7. The Justice System will not be able to question relatives of people who have allegedly committed crimes.
8. People who don't want to testify before Grand Juries can simply refuse to do so.
9. If a person is being prosecuted by law enforcement , they can smear and demonize law enforcement personnel in order to sway public opinion and potential juries.

Actual , **Billy Clinton** has done far more good for society by being a "Bad Example" than anyone could have done if they were squeaky clean, and as Buddy Green pointed out , Billy Clinton has provided America with billions of dollars worth of entertainment , and this no doubt is also reflected in the economy.

In this post, four of the 27 terms of the **scumbag** cluster were used to point out the ethical implications of Clinton's sexual scandal. But more than discussing the scandal in terms of morals, Internet discussions of "Sexgate" employ a more historical perspective drawing on wider analogies than allowed by reporters. For example, comparisons to John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt and their extramarital affairs are presented in the postings. Analogies to the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment hearing are also discussed:

#Usenetpost4/4-3

When Anita Hill made her charges , N.O.W. was in the forefront demanding a Senate hearing , protesting in Washington , lobbying their apologists on the Hill , and in general making a " rush to judgment " in favor of Anita Hill. They crucified Clarence Thomas at every turn , and made it clear, that despite the lack of evidence, despite many female witnesses who defended Thomas , despite the fact that Hill followed Thomas from job to job for several years AFTER the alleged sexual harassment, that Thomas was the liar and guilty party, and Hill the injured party .

*Contrast this to N.O.W.'s reaction to the Jones case .
Their virtual silence on the issue has been deafening .*

This posting used five terms of the **scumbag** cluster to dialogue about the scandal. In explaining the historical perspective in the Usenet posts, a suggestion of *validation* is offered. Unlike the media, the Usenet posters cannot properly attribute their posts to another source. They don't conduct interviews or do research for their stories, simply they post their opinions. Using a proven historical event to back up an argument helps to validate the poster's position on the moral implications of the scandal.

And the moralistic framework continues into the **jail** cluster comprised of three terms two of which are found in this example:

#Usenetpost4/25-26

*It is interesting to see that Clinton spin masters have been able to dupe so many people .
As Lincoln said, " you can fool some of the people all of the time. "*

The fact of the matter is that several of Clinton's closest associates are in jail due to Starr's efforts , and if the economy was bad, even Bill and Hillary would be wearing stripes.

And if Billy and Hillary had simply cooperated with the Independent Counsel , as all other presidents have, rather than hide information, stall, spin the wheels of the IC with appeals, etc. the cost of the investigation would be FAR, FAR less.

Besides the moralistic framework furthered by the historical perspective used by much of the public, analysis and speculation also appear as dominant aspects of the public's free, vibrant and, at times, obscene conversations. Many of the discussions flow without

the restrictions of time/space and libel laws, simulating an actual conversation between two friends/enemies in a coffee house:

#Usenetpost4/24-23

*I guess a definition of morality is calling those with opposing views "scum bags."
Nice to know that some people can only hide their true colors for so long.
Eventually, as frustration over the inability to bring about a provable case in a court of law
against Bill Clinton, we'll see more and more Republicans revert to what they do best: play dirty!*

#Usenetpost4/24-24

*I don't think that you get it.
Scum bag is not a reference to an opposing view which is held by Clinton.
It is a reference to his behavior. Not a philosophical view, but rather overt behavior devoid of
moral value, respect for others, decency, character, or integrity.*

Glad I could help.

Finally the religion cluster which is comprised of 13 terms also frames the discussions of "Sexgate." However, this particular cluster falls much farther from the other two clusters of **scumbag** and **jail** associated with the Usenet postings. This is due, in part, to the dominance of these terms within a few select postings which do not accurately represent the overall discussions of the Usenet newsgroup; yet, this cluster does display the dramatic difference in frameworks between the media and public:

#Usenetpost4/9-14

Does anyone really care? President Clinton has become a mirror, reflecting what people think about everything from war to politics to family values, moral, ethics, etc. Very few people actually take the time to realize he is just a flawed human being like every single one of the rest of us. (Oh, and folks, please don't bother replying to tell me that you are righteous and perfect.) He has done some things we do not approve of, and is accused of other things no - one can prove. The same can be said of not only every politician, but every human being with the exception of Jesus Christ, and a few other enlightened and remarkable souls.

President Clinton is not Hitler; he is not Nixon; he is not pure evil, the antichrist, or any of that other nonsense. By the way, many people thought Ronald Wilson Reagan was the antichrist too because the letters in his first, middle, and last name number 666.

Question 3: Do political Usenet groups on the Internet frame issues deemed “news” in a similar fashion to the frames provided in the main stream media or do they generate their own framework for discussion?

By using the Concept and Frame Mapping analysis, some differential framing of the complex “Sexgate” issue was detected in the text of the media and public stakeholder groups.

As Bonnie Riechert indicates in her 1996 dissertation on framing in the wetlands issue,

“It is expected that in discussing an issue of common interest, divergent groups will describe and define the issue quite differently. By implication, as stakeholders diverge in their points of view related to an issue they will focus on separate themes and concepts – even using different terms in communicating, for themes are expressed in the emphasis and recurrence of key terms, and the themes together reflect frames” (p. 96)

Though there is differential framing of “Sexgate” in texts of the media and public as viewed in the dendrogram and frame maps in chapter four, the differential range between term clusters is not as great as originally expected. This is explained by the design of the research.

Frame Mapping has been used in past research for analyzing the relative prominence of issue frames between competing groups; however, in the case of the media and the public a distinct “competition” does not exist. Unlike issues such as pro-life and pro-choice where ideologies are clearly drawn between the two camps and then relayed to audiences, the ideological camps in the issue of “Sexgate” are not as clearly defined. Within the public camp, various opinions surface not in unison against the media frames but amongst members within the Usenet group. The study was designed to determine

how certain segments of the public frame the issue and to what degree their issue frame corresponds or contradicts that of the media.

Studying the relative position of the six term clusters, it is apparent that the public also views the political and legal aspects of "Sexgate;" however, unlike the media the public underscores the moral and ethical aspects of the scandal:

Usenetpost4/5-24

All of the evidence appears to point to some sort of cover - up, originating with Clinton or his proxies. When there is a cover - up, it is reasonable to assume that there is something to be covered up. Although guilt beyond reasonable doubt has not been proven, a preponderance of evidence of impeachable acts exists , and should be offered to the Congress for appropriate action. I am sure he will get a fair trial in the Senate , and if the liberal senators could come up with 48 people who believed Anita Hill , they can come up with 34 that believe Bill Clinton. So don't worry.

And why are you obsessed with the sexual nature of these incidents? No one is suggesting that Clinton be impeached for getting a blow job. Interfering with the investigatory process , as well as a host of other things which predate the sexual allegations, are the issue. Of course . The current administration illustrates just how high the standards of ethics of liberal Democrats are . Now , just how many people associated with Clinton are in prison? How many are dead? ...

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that while the Usenet posters refer to several mass media outlets such as the New York Times, Newsweek and Time Magazine as credible sources of knowledge, they also express a contempt and mistrust of the press:

#Usenetpost4/25-9

The WHITE HOUSE admitted those leaks emanated from within . If you remember correctly, the spin mesters concocted this as a " damage control " tactic, in order to make Starr look bad. Try not watching so much TV. You will learn to take an objective approach to these things .

#Usenetpost4/28-9

The remarkable thing is not that these events occurred. If you had access to and read the insider political gossip rags of the time , especially those written by enemies of Kennedy on both his leftwing and the rightwing , you could have gotten wind of them about the same time they

happened. But , the great unwashed WE weren't given a hint of a glimpse into what was really occurring. Instead , we were fed a constant diet of blatant propaganda by our media , whitewashing our role as a country , but mostly simply covering up the reckless and perverted behavior of our leaders .

The complexities in the "Sexgate" issue are illuminated by both the striking similarities and opposing frameworks presented by the media and the Internet public. The public while taking some cues from the issue framework provided by the media have managed to develop their own unique frames for discussion of the "Sexgate" issue.

Conclusions

As Gitlin (1980) states, "...Mass media define the public significance of movement events, or by blanking them out, actively deprive them of larger significance" (p. 2). The media through the design of issue frameworks are largely responsible for the fate of many policies. However, it is because of the media's dominance of news outlets that the variety of frameworks for policy discussions is limited, limited to the restrictions of the news organizations and over-reliance on "sumari" news sources.

Entman (1991) also indicates that the audience may be able to reach decisions autonomous of a media generated frame; however, due to a lack of knowledge and activity concerning political and social issues, media framing heavily influences their responses and opinion to the issue.

However, the results of the frame mapping of the "Sexgate" issue begin to dispute the observations of Gitlin, Entman and others regarding the media's dominance. Though the

legal and political frameworks of the media are referenced by the Usenet posters, the online public developed moralistic issue frames uniquely distinct from those of the press.

One way that a growing portion of the public is escaping the influence of the media is with their use of the Internet. The Internet is giving those active Usenet publics an opportunity to regain the framework of those issues affecting their lives. Increasing numbers of people are turning to new outlets of "news" information. For example, in the 1997 trial of Au Pair Louise Woodward, the trial verdict was scheduled for release on the Internet. Due to a power outage, the verdict was unable for release online, but Internet Access services such as America Online reported major traffic from people trying to read the decision on the various websites (Allbritton, 1997, p. A9). Instead of buying the paper or turning on the television, many citizens were pointing and clicking for their information.

As one Internet poster describes, "...[the media] ... are just now waking up to the fact that the very interactivity of the net makes such [media] control impossible" (Rivero, p. 3). Certain segments of the public are actively regaining control of information and being exposed to more sources of data. This variety of exposure enables a richer framework for discussing policy and political issues such as "Sexgate."

The results of the Frame Mapping of "Sexgate" indicate that the public via the Internet is capable of generating divergent issue frames other than what the media present. Though still reliant on traditional outlets of news, the public is beginning to slowly shift the balance of control in the public opinion process. In time, the public will no longer rely on the media to serve as the *central* linkage between them and

policymakers. Americans' voices will be heard without a media filter/translator and, in time the public could reframe the entire public opinion and policy-making process.

Limitations of the Study

This content analysis did not address how media generated issue frames were perceived by the public in order to gain an understanding of framing effects on the audience. It was only designed to describe and compare the media and Usenet content regarding the issue under study. From this study, analysis of the data was made and speculations made as to the media's influence on the public.

In regards to the issue of "Sexgate," limitations of time and availability also surfaced. Already mentioned was the lack of analysis of two truly competing stakeholder groups. No group completely pro Clinton/Anti-Clinton were found concerning the topic of "Sexgate." Oddly enough, Usenet newsgroups devoted to competing ideologies, such as pro-life and pro-choice lacked the activity of abundant postings available for retrieval.

Also, the limited availability of time prevented a "before and after" content analysis study of the issue under scrutiny. It would have proved interesting to note any changes in the issue being framed as it emerged and progressed through the political/public opinion arena.

And unlike prior research where stakeholder frames have been compared to news frames on the same issue, Usenet postings generally do not attribute a source to their discussions/postings. Therefore, no Usenet postings/frames could be coded for the number of occurrences of news sources/stories.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study focused on "Sexgate" and the issue frames of two of the parties in the public opinion process. It revealed that the online public is capable of framing issues divergent from the ones provided by the media. The research discussed the growing importance of cybercitizens as they regain control over issue/policy frames.

As Zaller (1992) indicates, media generated frames and survey results can indicate various public opinion on the same issue under investigation. However, through study of online public discussions, researchers can determine a more accurate opinion of the public as expressed in their own words. Studies of survey research on a policy issue can be compared in future research to determine if those results coincide with what is being said online and what is depicted in the media. Are they "reading off the same sheet music" so to speak?

Also, because there are more participants in the public opinion process than the media and the public, further studies of controversial, complex political issues are suggested to include all parties in the policy process: media, public(s), special interest groups and policymakers.

In addition, as the "Sexgate" scandal continues to unfold, another content analysis utilizing the Frame Mapping concept would prove interesting. Will the public continue to frame the issue as one of morality and will the media continue to present a legalistic frame? And would any disclosures or revelations in the story change the issue frame for both stakeholder groups? More Frame Mapping studies are suggested to assist in a better understanding of framing's impact on public opinion and, in turn, the political process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Lexis/Nexis Major Newspaper Article Source Materials

- Arizona Republic, The
- Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly, abstracts
- Atlanta Journals and Constitution
- Baltimore Sun
- Boston Globe, The
- Boston Herald, The
- Buffalo News, The
- Business Times
- Chicago Sun-Times
- Chicago Tribune
- Christian Science Monitor, The
- Columbus Dispatch
- Courier-Journal, The
- Daily Yomiuri, The
- Daily/Sunday Telegraph
- Dallas Morning News
- Denver Post, The
- Detroit News, The
- Dominion, The (Wellington)
- Evening Post (Wellington)
- Financial Times
- Gazette Mercantil Online
- Gazette (Montreal), The
- Guardian, The
- Hartford (Glasgow), The
- Herald (Glasgow), The
- Houston Chronicle, The
- Independent, The
- Indianapolis Star/News
- Irish Times, The
- Jerusalem Post, The
- Journal of Commerce
- Kansas City Star, The
- Los Angeles Times
- Miami Herald Abstracts
- Minneapolis Star Tribune
- News Straits Times
- New York Daily News
- New York Times, The
- Newsday
- Omaha World-herald
- Orange County Register, Santa Ana, CA
- Orlando Sentinel

- Ottawa Citizen, The
- Philadelphia Inquirer Abstracts, Philadelphia Inquirer
- Phoenix Gazette, The
- Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
- Plain Dealer
- Rocky Mountain News
- Sacramento Bee
- San Diego Union Tribute
- San Francisco Chronicle
- Scotsman & Scotland on Sunday, The
- Seattle Times, The
- Singapore Business Times
- South China Morning Post
- St. Louis Post Dispatch
- St. Petersburg Times
- Star Tribune
- Straits Times, The
- Sun Sentinel
- Tampa Tribune
- Times-Picayune
- Times/Sunday Times (London), The
- Toronto Star, The
- Toronto Sun
- USA Today
- USA Weekend
- Wall Street Journal Abstracts
- Washington Post, The

APPENDIX B

Newspaper Articles

1. The New York Times, April 30, 1998, Thursday, Late Edition - Final Section A; Page 1; Column 6; National Desk, 1144 words, NO IMMUNITY DEAL GIVEN TO LEWINSKY, JUDGE SAID TO FIND, By STEPHEN LABATON, WASHINGTON
2. Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), April 30, 1998, Metro Edition, Pg. 1A, 1179 words, Lewinsky's claim of immunity is rejected, Washington, D.C.
3. Los Angeles Times, April 2, 1998, Thursday, Home Edition, Part A; Page 1; National Desk, 1270 words, THE PAULA JONES CASE; STARR EXPECTED TO KEEP PRESSING CRIMINAL CASE, By DAVID WILLMAN, TIMES STAFF WRITER
4. The New York Times, April 23, 1998, Thursday, Late Edition - Final Correction Appended, Section A; Page 20; Column 1; National Desk, 1005 words, NOW Won't Back Appeal Of Jones Lawsuit Dismissal, By JOHN M. BRODER, WASHINGTON, April 22
5. Chicago Tribune, April 23, 1998 Thursday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 15; ZONE: N, 875 words, CHICAGO'S BUDDING REPORTERS GET TASTE OF CAPITAL'S TOP LEVEL; PUBLIC HOUSING TEENS COME ARMED WITH TOUGH QUESTIONS, By Roger Simon, Washington Bureau., WASHINGTON
6. The New York Times, April 22, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 18; Column 1; National Desk, 1105 words, Administration Tries to Bar Testimony by Secret Service, By DAVID JOHNSTON, WASHINGTON, April 21
7. Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), April 22, 1998, Metro Edition, Pg. 6A, 686 words, Justice brief seeks to limit Starr's inquiry; The Justice Department maintains that the Secret Service is entitled to make a privilege claim to avoid testimony about the president., Washington, D.C.
8. Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), April 19, 1998, Metro Edition, Pg. 26A, 1256 words, Panetta's advice rankles White House; Former top aide continues call for Clinton to come forward, Peter Baker, Washington, D.C.
9. The New York Times, April 17, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 1; Column 5; National Desk, 1096 words, Starr Foresees No Quick End To His Inquiry, By STEPHEN LABATON, WASHINGTON, April 16
10. The New York Times, April 15, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 20; Column 1; National Desk, 795 words, Starr Seek to Force Clinton's Secret Service Agents to Testify, By DON VAN NATTA Jr., WASHINGTON, April 14
11. The New York Times, April 8, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 14; Column 4; National Desk, 708 words, Starr's Aides Compiling Evidence for Report, By STEPHEN LABATON, WASHINGTON, April 7
12. The New York Times, April 8, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 14; Column 1;

National Desk, 705 words, Jury Hears of a Conversation Between Volunteer and Willey, By DON VAN NATTA Jr., WASHINGTON, April 7

13. The New York Times, April 5, 1998, Sunday, Late Edition - Final, Section 1; Page 28; Column 1; National Desk, 1133 words, For News Media, Some Introspection, By DOREEN CARVAJAL

14. The New York Times, April 5, 1998, Sunday, Late Edition - Final, Section 1; Page 1; Column 3; National Desk, 1399 words, DISMISSAL OF SUIT PUTS CLINTON BACK ON CENTER STAGE, By JOHN M. BRODER, WASHINGTON, April 4

15. The New York Times, April 4, 1998, Saturday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 8; Column 3; National Desk, 902 words, Lewinsky's Mother Questioned Again, but Not Before Jury, By DAVID STOUT, WASHINGTON, April 3

16. The New York Times, April 3, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 22; Column 5; National Desk, 1111 words, TESTING OF A PRESIDENT: THE INVESTIGATION; Starr Won't Be Swayed From the Criminal Inquiry, By DON VAN NATTA Jr., WASHINGTON, April 2

17. St. Petersburg Times, April 22, 1998, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition, NATIONAL; Pg. 6A, 563 words, Justice Department files privilege brief for agents, WASHINGTON

18. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 22, 1998, Wednesday, FIVE STAR LIFT EDITION, BUSINESS, Pg. C1, 690 words, LEWINSKY CASE PUTS FOCUS ON OFFICE ETHICS, Repps Hudson; Of The Post-Dispatch

19. The Plain Dealer, April 21, 1998 Tuesday, FINAL / ALL, EVERYWOMAN; Pg. 2F, 1243 words, OH, WHAT TALES OHIO QUILTING WOMEN CAN TELL, By JILL SELL

20. The Washington Post, April 21, 1998, Tuesday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A07, 724 words, Officer Details Clinton-Lewinsky Meeting; Ex-Secret Serviceman Says Aide, President Were Alone 40 Minutes With Door Closed, George Lardner Jr., Washington Post Staff Writer

21. The Seattle Times, April 17, 1998, Friday, Final Edition, SCENE;, Pg. E1, 930 words, STEINEM FIRES BACK - THE FEMINIST ICON REPLIES TO CRITICISM OF HER REMARKS REGARDING THE PRESIDENT, MONICA, PAULA AND OTHERS, BARBARA A. SERRANO; SEATTLE TIMES STAFF REPORTER

22. USA TODAY, April 16, 1998, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS;, Pg. 6A, 950 words, Privacy watchers criticize Starr Say tactics will have repercussions for others, Gary Fields, WASHINGTON

23. The San Diego Union-Tribune, April 15, 1998, Wednesday, NEWS Pg. A-2, 772 words, Clinton's alleged indiscretions create rift within GOP, Amy Bayer WASHINGTON

24. The Washington Post, April 15, 1998, Wednesday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A07, 955 words, Justice Department to Fight Starr On Forcing Secret Service to Talk, Roberto Suro, Washington Post Staff Writer

25. The Baltimore Sun, April 14, 1998, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, Pg. 1A, 1551 words, For one Tripp attorney, an unusually low profile; Baltimore lawyer avoids media glare in Clinton sex scandal, Tom Bowman, SUN NATIONAL STAFF

26. Daily News (New York), April 12, 1998, Sunday, News; Pg. 38, 597 words, PREZ' PIT BULLS STILL BITE BENNETT, By THOMAS M. DEFRANK

27. THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, April 2, 1998, Thursday, HOME FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 1A, 1620 words, Jones' suit against Clinton dismissed Possibly boorish' behavior doesn't merit trial, judge says, By George Rodrigue, Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News
28. Los Angeles Times, April 2, 1998, Thursday, Home Edition, Life & Style; Part E; Page 1; View Desk, 2222 words, MONICA'S MOM, THE RELUCTANT STARR WITNESS; CONTROVERSY: MARCIA LEWIS IS POSITIONED TO KNOW WHAT REALLY HAPPENED BETWEEN HER DAUGHTER, MONICA S. LEWINSKY, AND THE PRESIDENT. KENNETH STARR WANTS TO KNOW TOO--SO THE PRESSURE IS ON., By RICHARD T. COOPER MARIA LA GANGA and JACK NELSON, TIMES STAFF WRITERS
29. The New York Times, April 3, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 23; Column 1; National Desk, 732 words, TESTING OF A PRESIDENT: THE CAPITAL; On the Morning After, Springtime Inside the Beltway, By FRANCIS X. CLINES
30. Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), April 8, 1998, Metro Edition, Pg. 12A, 638 words, Former White House volunteer testifies before the grand jury, Harolyn Cardozo, daughter of Democratic fund-raiser Nathan Landow, apparently was questioned about Kathleen Willey. News Services
31. The New York Times, April 12, 1998, Sunday, Late Edition - Final, Section 1; Page 22; Column 1; National Desk, 889 words, Telephone Talk, By JILL ABRAMSON, WASHINGTON, April 11
32. The Courier-Journal (Louisville, KY.), April 11, 1998, Saturday MET:METRO, SCENE ON THE TUBE, Pg. 21S, 1227 words, 'Clinton's Angels' is a real waste, VINCE STATEN, Special to The Courier-Journal
33. The Houston Chronicle, April 11, 1998, Saturday, 3 STAR EDITION, A., Pg. 9, 591 words, Judge rules that Starr can't see list of books Lewinsky purchased, JOHN C. HENRY, WASHINGTON
34. The Christian Science Monitor, April 10, 1998, Friday, UNITED STATES; TALK OF THE WHITE HOUSE; Pg. 3, 696 words, Pros and Cons of Clearing the Air on Lewinsky Allegations, James N. Thurman, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor, WASHINGTON
35. USA TODAY, April 10, 1998, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS;, Pg. 10A, 1796 words, Why Clinton's bad news is good news, Susan Page, RICHMOND, VA.
36. The Baltimore Sun, April 9, 1998, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, Pg. 3A, 935 words, Clinton turns to setting U.S. agenda; Policy issues move to the forefront after dismissal of Jones case, Carl M. Cannon, SUN NATIONAL STAFF
37. The Baltimore Sun, April 9, 1998, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, Pg. 1A, 996 words, Lewinsky books a privacy issue; Law: A judge will decide whether inquiries about book purchases violate First Amendment rights or are simply the equivalent of checking hardware store records., Susan Baer, SUN NATIONAL STAFF
38. The Buffalo News, April 9, 1998, Thursday, CITY EDITION, NEWS, Pg. 8A, 514 words, STARR DENIES DECISION ON REPORT, Washington Post, WASHINGTON
39. Daily News (New York), April 09, 1998, Thursday, Thursday; Pg. 63, 1046 words, I'M A FEMINIST BUT . . . LIBIDO NOW RULES WHERE LIBERATION ONCE REIGNED, By Sherry Connelly Daily News Staff Writer

40. THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, April 9, 1998, Thursday, HOME FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 5A, 648 words, Starr says decision hasn't been made on impeachment report, David Jackson, Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News, WASHINGTON
41. Los Angeles Times, April 9, 1998, Thursday, Home Edition, Page 16, 948 words, SECRECY URGED FOR HEARINGS ON STARR PROBE; INQUIRY: CLINTON, LEWINSKY LAWYERS ARGUE TO KEEP PROCEEDINGS CONFIDENTIAL. APPEALS COURT SESSION IS ONE OF THE RARE TIMES PUBLIC IS ALLOWED IN., DAVID WILLMAN and RONALD J. OSTROW, TIMES STAFF WRITERS, WASHINGTON
42. Newsday (New York, NY), April 9, 1998, Thursday, ALL EDITIONS, Page A19, 528 words, STARR MOVING QUICKLY ON SEX, PERJURY PROBE, COMBINED NEWS SERVICES, Washington
43. Sacramento Bee, April 9, 1998, METRO FINAL, SCENE; Pg. 1101 words, FULL-COURT PRESS FOR LEWINSKY, Martha T. Moore, Gannett News Service.
44. The Washington Post, April 09, 1998, Thursday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A20, 1005 words, Clinton, Lewinsky Lawyers Want Closed Court, Bill Miller; Susan Schmidt, Washington Post Staff Writers
45. The Washington Post, April 09, 1998, Thursday, Final Edition, STYLE; Pg. B01, 1234 words, Having a Bland Old Time Outside the Starr Jury, Lena H. Sun, Washington Post Staff Writer
46. The Boston Globe, April 8, 1998, Wednesday, City Edition, NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. A1, 730 words, Democrats weathering sex scandal; Poll standing, fund-raising are on the rise, By John Aloysius Farrell, Globe Staff, WASHINGTON
47. The Buffalo News, April 8, 1998, Wednesday, CITY EDITION, NEWS, Pg. 7A, 799 words, DRAFTS REPORT POTENTIAL IMPEACHMENT OFFENSES, SUSAN SCHMIDT; Washington Post, WASHINGTON
48. Los Angeles Times, April 8, 1998, Wednesday, Home Edition, Page 12, 664 words, MEDIA CHAFES AT SECRECY OF STARR'S GRAND JURY PROBE; COURTS: LAWYERS FOR NEWS OUTLETS SEEK TO OPEN HEARINGS LIKE THEY WERE DURING WATERGATE DAYS., DAVID G. SAVAGE, TIMES STAFF WRITER, WASHINGTON
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167. THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, April 3, 1998, Friday, HOME FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 1A, 1189 words, Administration officials increase pressure on Starr; Counsel says issue is whether crimes were committed, By David Jackson, George Rodrigue, Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

168. The Washington Post, April 02, 1998, Thursday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A16, 1296 words Response to Dismissal Has Partisan Flavor, By Thomas B. Edsall; Terry M. Neal, Washington Post Staff Writers

169. The New York Times, April 3, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 23; Column 1; National Desk, 1137 words, TESTING OF A PRESIDENT: THE REACTION; Many Say They Tuned Out Coverage Long Before Dismissal of Jones Case, By JANNY SCOTT

170. The New York Times, April 3, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 1; Column 4; National Desk, 1227 words, TESTING OF A PRESIDENT: THE OVERVIEW; Democrats Raise Pressure on Starr To End Investigation of Clinton, By RICHARD L. BERKE

171. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 3, 1998, Friday, SOONER EDITION, NATIONAL, Pg. A-1, 1112 words, HEAT ON STARR TURNS UP, By JONATHAN WEISMAN, THE BALTIMORE SUN

172. Chicago Tribune, April 3, 1998 Friday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: N 1190 words, WORKPLACE ON EDGE OVER HARASSMENT, By Bonnie Miller Rubin and Judy Peres, Tribune Staff Writers. Tribune staff writers Julie Deardorff, Terry Wilson and Carol Kleiman contributed to this report.

173. The Baltimore Sun, April 2, 1998, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, TELEGRAPH (NEWS), Pg. 1A, 1506 words, Paula Jones case dismissed; Judge rules she failed to show case worthy of being sent to jury; Stunning victory for Clinton; Appeal is expected; president still faces other legal battles, By : Susan Baer, SUN NATIONAL STAFF

174. THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, April 2, 1998, Thursday, STATE EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 1A, 1432 words, Jones' suit against Clinton dismissed Possibly boorish' behavior doesn't merit trial, judge says, By George Rodrigue, Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

175. The Washington Post, April 03, 1998, Friday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A01, 1875 words, Starr Vows Vigorous Pursuit Despite Jones Suit Dismissal, By Peter Baker; Susan Schmidt, Washington Post Staff Writers
176. The New York Times, April 2, 1998, Thursday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 1; Column 6; National Desk, 1727 words, TESTING OF A PRESIDENT: THE OVERVIEW; PAULA JONES CASE IS DISMISSED; JUDGE SAYS EVEN IF TALE IS TRUE, INCIDENT WAS NOT HARASSMENT, By FRANCIS X. CLINES
177. Newsday (New York, NY), April 2, 1998, Thursday, ALL EDITIONS, NEWS; Page A04, 1471 words JONES CASE: DISMISSED / HARASSMENT SUIT AGAINST CLINTON IS WITHOUT MERIT, By John Riley and Shirley E. Perlman. STAFF WRITERS
178. Sacramento Bee, April 2, 1998, METRO FINAL, MAIN NEWS; Pg. A1, 1225 words, JUDGE TOSSES OUT JONES' LAWSUIT, By Bee News Services
179. Newsday (New York, NY), April 30, 1998, Thursday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION, NEWS; Page A03, 1807 words, PATRIOT OR GADFLY? / CLINTON THORN PUTS HIS MONEY WHERE HIS POLITICS ARE, By Ken Fireman and William Douglas. WASHINGTON BUREAU
180. The Baltimore Sun, April 17, 1998, Friday, FINAL EDITION, TELEGRAPH (NEWS), Pg. 1A, 1196 words Jones to appeal Clinton suit; Ex-Ark. employee pursues misconduct case against president; Confident of court victory; Appeal chances slim under current law; Starr to continue probe, By Lyle Denniston and Susan Baer, SUN NATIONAL STAFF
181. The Washington Post, April 30, 1998, Thursday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A01, 1596 words Judge Says Lewinsky Has No Immunity Deal, By Susan Schmidt; Amy Goldstein, Washington Post Staff Writers
182. The Christian Science Monitor, April 29, 1998, Wednesday, UNITED STATES; Pg. 4, 1294 words Has Presidency Slid From Statescraft to Celebrity?, by Sara Terry Gabrels, Special to The Christian Science Monitor
183. Los Angeles Times, April 26, 1998, Sunday, Home Edition, Part A; Page 1; National Desk, 1444 words REP. HYDE SET FOR TOUGH CALL ON STARR'S REPORT; POLITICS: THE COOL-HEADED CHAIRMAN OF THE JUDICIARY PANEL CALLS FOR RESTRAINT UNTIL ALL FACTS ON LEWINSKY MATTER ARE KNOWN., By MARC LACEY, TIMES STAFF WRITER
184. The New York Times, April 29, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 21; Column 1; National Desk, 1169 words, Hillary Clinton Declines to Answer Some of Starr's Questions, By JOHN M. BRODER
185. THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER, April 26, 1998 Sunday MORNING EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A11, 1099 words, Oregon warming up to ex-senator; POLITICS: Bob Packwood says he's delighted, but wont be seeking a comeback soon. But there are clear signs of reconciliation., By BARBARA A. SERRANO, The Seattle Times
186. The Washington Post, April 26, 1998, Sunday, Final Edition, OUTLOOK; Pg. C01, 1647 words, Follow The Wording, By Jeff Leen; Lorraine Adams

187. The Washington Post, April 26, 1998, Sunday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A01, 1211 words, Prosecutors Question First Lady At Length; Starr Prepares to End Ark. Phase of Probe, By Peter Baker, Susan Schmidt, Washington Post Staff Writers
188. The Dallas Morning News, April 17, 1998, Friday HOME FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 1A, 1308 words Emotional Jones vows to pursue 'day in court' against Clinton, Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News, By Carolyn Barta
189. Chicago Tribune, April 26, 1998 Sunday, CHICAGOLAND FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. 3; ZONE: C, 1143 words, BODYGUARDS COVER PRESIDENT 'LIKE A SUIT'; SECRET SERVICE AGENTS OFTEN TOO CLOSE FOR COMFORT, By Roger Simon, Washington Bureau.
190. The New York Times, April 25, 1998, Saturday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 8; Column 1; National Desk, 1192 words, Political Memo; Inquiry by Starr Has All the Signs of a Long Run, By JAMES BENNET
191. The New York Times, April 17, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 25; Column 1; National Desk, 1022 words, In Tears, Paula Jones Says She'll Press On With Misconduct Suit, By MELINDA HENNEBERGER
192. The Seattle Times, April 16, 1998, Thursday Final Edition, LOCAL NEWS; Pg. B1, 1118 words, ONCE REVEILED, PACKWOOD SHEDS HIS PARIAH IMAGE, By BARBARA A. SERRANO; SEATTLE TIMES STAFF REPORTER
193. The Washington Post, April 08, 1998, Wednesday, Final Edition, A SECTION; Pg. A01, 1767 words Starr Report Underway; Document for House Said to Detail Lewinsky Matter, By Susan Schmidt, Washington Post Staff Writer
194. USA TODAY, April 6, 1998, Monday, FINAL EDITION, LIFE; Pg. 1D, 1134 words, Getting to the heart, stomach of the story Media press their pursuit of Lewinsky interview, By Martha T. Moore
195. Los Angeles Times, April 10, 1998, Friday, Home Edition, Part A; Page 23; National Desk, 710 words, 2ND WHITE HOUSE STEWARD APPEARS BEFORE GRAND JURY; INQUIRY: STARR SEEKS INFORMATION ON CLINTON TIES TO EX-INTERN. PROSECUTOR IS URGED TO STUDY CHARGES THAT CASH, OTHER GRATUITIES WERE GIVEN TO WHITEWATER FIGURE., By DAVID WILLMAN and RONALD J. OSTROW, TIMES STAFF WRITERS
196. The Gazette (Montreal), April 4, 1998, Saturday, FINAL EDITION, THE REVIEW; Pg. B1 / BREAK, 1330 words, Hurricane Paula leaves presidency in tatters: Despite the dismissal of Paula Jones's civil suit, Bill Clinton's reputation as predator-in-chief outshines his ambitions as commander-in-chief., By GIL TROY; FREELANCE
197. The Washington Post, April 12, 1998, Sunday, Final Edition, PAULA CORBIN JONES, A SECTION; Pg. A01, 2612 words, Exiting Center Stage, Jones Weighs Appeal; Clinton Accuser an Enigmatic Figure, By Lois Romano, Washington Post Staff Writer
198. The Washington Post, April 03, 1998, Friday, Final Edition, STYLE; Pg. F01, 1378 words, Privacy Between The Covers? Stores Have Defenders and Skeptics In Their Bind Over Starr's Subpoenas, By David Streitfeld; Ann Gerhart, Washington Post Staff Writers
199. The Washington Post, April 03, 1998, Friday, Final Edition, STYLE; Pg. F01, 1134 words, The One That Got Away: Press Ponders Life After Jones, By Howard Kurtz

APPENDIX C

Examples of Usenet postings from alt.politics.clinton

From prcrotty@no.spam Thu Apr 30 18:24:58 1998
Newsgroups: alt.politics.clinton
Path:Supernews70!Supernews73!supernews.com!howland.erols.net!vixen.cso.u
iuc.edu!uchinews!not-for-mail
From: prcrotty@no.spam
Subject: The economy's doing well, so stop criticizing the President!
X-Nntp-Posting-Host: howard-nfs.uchicago.edu
Message-ID: <Es8zLM.9I2@midway.uchicago.edu>
Originator: prcrotty@midway.uchicago.edu (patrick randolph crotty)
Sender: news@midway.uchicago.edu (News Administrator)
Organization: The University of Chicago
Date: Thu, 30 Apr 1998 22:24:58 GMT
Lines: 20
Xref: Supernews70 alt.politics.clinton:501263

Or at least that's the bogus argument I hear a lot these days. Really, are some people's respect for democracy and morality so far gone that they would replace the rule of law with the rule of the Dow? I can respect people who defend Clinton based on concerns of whether or not Kenneth Starr has abused his powers, even if I don't agree; but I have nothing but contempt for those who conceive of Clinton as some sort of benevolent demigod who by force of will makes the country run, and who we ought to appease in order to keep our own lives good. People who have such a basic misunderstanding of the role of chief executive -- and there are a lot of them -- drag down our democracy through their ignorance. It makes no difference whether we live in an economic golden age, or the blackest depths of a depression: the President, like everyone else, must obey the law.

Patrick Crotty
e-mail: prcrotty at midway.uchicago.edu
home page: <http://student-www.uchicago.edu/users/prcrotty>

From vroman@ibm.net Thu Apr 30 20:41:18 1998
Message-ID: <35491A2E.F583DB5C@ibm.net>
Date: Thu, 30 Apr 1998 17:41:18 -0700
From: Tribune VL <vroman@ibm.net>
X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.03 [en]C-DIAL (Win95; U)
MIME-Version: 1.0
Newsgroups: alt.politics.clinton
Subject: Honest Bill takes the Fifth
Content-Type: text/plain; charset=us-ascii
Content-Transfer-Encoding: 7bit
NNTP-Posting-Host: 32.100.197.238
X-Trace: 1 May 1998 01:39:31 GMT, 32.100.197.238
Organization: IBM.NET
Lines: 4
X-Notice: Items posted that violate the IBM.NET Acceptable Use Policy
X-Notice: or otherwise violate the IBM.NET Terms of Service
X-Notice: should be forwarded in their entirety to postmaster@ibm.net
Path:
Supernews70!Supernews73!supernews.com!WCG!ais.net!newsm.ibm.net!ibm.net!
news1.ibm.net!32.100.197.238
Xref: Supernews70 alt.politics.clinton:501311

Clinton has to remain silent because the truth won't set him free. I
guess it better he hide behind "the children" and his Spin Team then
tell us more lies. What a poor excuse for a leader and a man.

APPENDIX D

Definitions

Article (see post)

Bulletin Board System -- computer software that allows users to post, read and reply to messages on a variety of topics.

Charter -- the official description of a newsgroup

Electronic Mail -- messages sent through a computerized network.

Expired Article -- A deleted article, no longer available to be read. Deleted due to time and space limitations.

Flame (also flame bait and flame war) -- a posting that incites anger by attacking someone or something. Such postings invite responses, usually with provocative language.

Header -- a headline/title to a post. Helps the reader to see what the post regards, including date and time of post.

Hierarchy -- newsgroup categories. i.e. news. (newsgroups)

Hit -- the number of times a particular web site is viewed/accessed by a person. Web sites can sustain several hits by the same person who is searching through various links.

Lurk -- to read postings without replying or posting your own messages.

Mark Read -- a Usenet command that enable you to mark all articles that have been reviewed.

Moderated Newsgroup -- a newsgroup where all posts are reviewed by a "gatekeeper" prior to posting. The moderator helps to eliminate spam a.k.a. junk postings.

Net -- an abbreviated term for the Internet.

Newsgroups -- Areas on the Internet assigned to specific, topical discussions and debate.

Newsreader -- the software that allows you to post and read articles.

Post -- a message left "posted" in a newsgroup by an individual.

Quote -- quoted text from a previous post usually used as part of a reply. Helps the reader to follow the discussion/thread.

Reply -- a post made in response to a post. Most replies contain text from the original post to allow those reading the messages to better understand the reply.

Signal to Noise Ratio -- the amount of useful verses useless information/postings in a newsgroup.

Repost -- duplicate postings of the same article. Sometimes done to ensure attention to the original post.

Signature -- names and e-mail address or various information added to the bottom of a postings to help identify the poster.

Spam -- junk postings or "junk mail" sent to thousands of Usenet groups or e-mail addresses.

Subscribe -- the process of joining or adding a newsgroup to your personal list of various discussion groups.

Surfer -- an Internet term used to describe someone who is online hitting a variety of sites, sometime simply for the purpose of seeing what is out there.

Test -- a message posted by a first time poster as a test message, not intended to be read by newsgroup members.

Thread -- a string of postings that form an on-going discussion related to an original post/message.

Usenet -- a service that can be accessed through the Internet and various online services, which provides news groups on various topics.

Internet Slang:	BTW	By the Way
	TIA	Thanks in Advance
	IMO	In my opinion
	IMHO	In my humble opinion
	AFAIK	As far as I know
	LOL	Laughing Out Loud
	ROFLOL	Rolling over from laughing out loud
	MMF	Make Money Fast

VITA

Mary Ruth Thompson was born in Johnstown, Pennsylvania on Monday, June 22, 1970. The only child of Margie D. and Chester R. Thompson, she now resides in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Thompson graduated from East Ridge High School where she was an honor student and an active leader in the student council and various service clubs.

Thompson went on to attend college at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga. At UTC she gained a B.A. in Communications with minors in English and political science. She graduated magna cum laude in December 1992. During her academic studies, Thompson gained membership into several honor societies including the National Golden Key Honor Society and Kappa Tau Alpha.

Since graduation, Thompson's job experiences have included positions as a producer at WUTC FM, a promotions assistant at WJTT FM and the Marketing Assistant for the UTC Arena, a sports and entertainment complex.

Currently she is employed as the Public Relations and Volunteer Coordinator for the Chattanooga Community Kitchen, a non-profit agency serving the city's homeless and hungry. In this capacity she has garnered her agency and its volunteers several prestigious awards, including the Jefferson Service Award, J.C. Penney Golden Rule Award and the Parisian "You're Somebody Special Award."

Thompson's active memberships include the Lookout Chapter of the Public Relations Society of America as well as DOVIA, Directors of Volunteers in Agencies. Through these memberships, Thompson has completed numerous workshops and has been certified as a Volunteer Manager with the Center for Non-Profit Management.

In her personal life, Thompson is an avid fan of poetry and has written numerous poems, some of which have been recognized by national and local organizations.