THE LAST LAP:

How the Press Covered the Final Stages of the Presidential Campaign

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In the culminating weeks of the 2000 presidential race, the press coverage has been strikingly negative, and Vice President Al Gore has gotten the worst of it, according to a new study released today by the Committee of Concerned Journalists.

Gore's coverage was decidedly more negative, more focused on the internal politics of campaigning and had less to do with citizens than did his Republican rival.

In contrast, George W. Bush was twice as likely as Gore to get coverage that was positive in tone. Coverage of the governor was also more issue-oriented and more likely to be directly connected to citizens.

These are some of the key findings of a major new study of press coverage in newspapers, television and on the Internet during key weeks in September and October.

Overall, nearly a quarter of all Bush dominated stories were clearly positive in nature, while that was true of only 13% of Gore stories, according to the study. Bush was also less likely to receive negative coverage than Gore.

Tone of Coverage for Gore & Bush	Gore	Bush
Positive	13%	24%
Neutral	31	27
Negative	56	49
Total	100%	100%

One reason for the hard time for Gore may be the penchant of the press to focus coverage around strategy and tactics.

The study, produced for the Committee by the Project for Excellence in Journalism and Princeton Survey Research Associates, examined 1,149 stories from 17 news publications, programs and websites.

The study captured a time that some observers consider one of the most substantive moments of the campaign, the period of the debates. Yet the press assessed the debates not on the basis of where the candidates stood or their character but overwhelmingly through a tactical lens—especially as performances. Roughly seven-in-ten debate stories were about performance (53%) or strategy (12%). As the debates went on, coverage of political themes increased and coverage of issues and character declined.

In particular, stories assessing the debates tended to focus on performance (53%) and strategy (12%) rather than on the philosophical differences between the candidates. Fewer than one-in-ten were about the their policy differences, perhaps fueling the perceptions among voters that there is little difference between them.

This may have particularly hurt Gore, the more experienced debater and the one expected to get the best of the encounters. In short, the data makes clear the press was playing the expectations game.

The study examined the weeks of September 23-29, October 7-13 and October 14-20, which included the run up to the first debate and coverage before, during and after the second and third debates. It also included some assessments of the vice presidential face off.

Among other key findings:

- Neutrality has gone by the wayside in coverage of Campaign 2000. Less than a third of all stories were neutral in tone. The majority (51%) was negative, and the press was almost three times more likely to be negative than positive.[1]

- The press did write stories in a way that showed how the topic would affect citizens a good deal more than it did during the primary season. In all, 27% of stories were written in a way that made the connection to citizens clear, compared with 17% during an earlier study this year. That number, however, may still strike the electorate as frustratingly low.

- For all the talk of health care & elderly and taxes as deciding issues of the campaign, these two themes made up only 11% of all the stories studied.

- There was remarkably little coverage of the character of the candidates—only 13%--even though polling research suggests that these were one of the reasons

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[1] These tallies do not include roughly 30% of the stories, which were strictly factual accounts of breaking news with little or no thematic thread.

so many voters were either undecided or soft in their support of Gore and Bush.

- Internet stories, especially those produced just for web, tended to be far less neutral—and much more negative—than traditional broadcast or print news organizations.

The Major Stories

This study, our fourth of the campaign, focused on those stories that were recurring or major themes during the period from the last week of September until the third week of October. It deliberately captured any story that appeared twice or more in an attempt to identify the major story threads in these critical days.

Out of the more than 1,100 stories studied, we found 61 recurring themes. These were then grouped into 11 broad categories to identify the nature of the coverage.

As was true in our first study this year, the coverage was overwhelmingly (57%) about internal politics of campaigning.[2]

Just one in three (29%) dealt with issues and 13% dealt with the candidates' character and record.

The four most popular themes were all related to the politics of campaigning: the most popular (22%) was assessments of the debates, both before and after those events. Second was coverage of battleground states

Major Story Themes	
Debate Analysis	22%
Battleground States	15
Campaign Strategy	12
Momentum & Media	8
Bush's Character	7
Foreign Policy	7
Gore's Character	6
Health Care & Elderly	6
Other Domestic Issues	6
Taxes	5
Energy	5
Other	1
Total	100%

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[2] The three earlier campaign 2000 studies produced by the Committee were as follows:

-In the Public Interest: A Content Study of Early Press coverage of the 2000 Presidential Campaign, February 3, 2000.

-ePolitics: A Study of the 2000 Presidential Campaign on the Internet, April 9, 2000.

-A Question of Character: How the Media Have Handled the Issue and How the Public has Reacted, July 27, 2000.

The studies can be found on our website: www.journalism.org/concern.

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(15%). Next came campaign strategies (12%), followed by momentum and media (8%).

Only then did we find themes relating to policy or character. Foreign policy, driven by the crisis in the Middle East, and Bush's character (especially as it related to his record in Texas) each accounted for 7% of stories.

The next three themes were also character or policy related, comprising 6% each of stories: Gore's character, health care & elderly and various domestic issues.

These were followed by the themes of taxes and energy, both of which made up 5% of stories.

The Debate

The number one story during these critical weeks was the debates. Seven-in-ten stories assessing the debates focused on political matters, rather than where the candidates differed on issues, where they proposed to take the country, or questions of character, record and veracity.

In particular, the majority of the pre-and-post-debate analysis (53%) was framed around the candidates' performance. Another 12% were framed as tactics and strategy.

Fewer than one-in-ten of these stories considered policy differences between the two candidates; 3% were framed around the veracity of a campaign and a mere 1% focused on where the candidate would take the country.

Interestingly, just 14% of these pre-and-post debate stories were straight news accounts, outlining what the candidates said.

What is the result of framing the coverage this way? The vast majority of the debate stories (74%) were written in a way that mostly impacted candidates and their campaigns. Interestingly, they were twice as likely to impact Gore's candidacy as they were to impact Bush's.

Citizens were left out. Only 15% of the debate stories were written in ways that made clear the impact on citizens.

Frames of Debate Analysis		
Political Internals		69%
cand. Performance	*53%*	
tactics & strategy	*12*	
campaign veracity	*3*	
other	*1*	
Policy Explained		11
policy diff's	*9%*	
ideological priorities	*1*	
relations w/ world leaders	*1*	
Meta Issues		4
Cand. Fitness		2
Straight News		14
Total		100%

When the press decided to write debate stories mostly about one candidate or another, that candidate was usually Gore. In all, 20% of debate stories were Gore-dominated pieces, versus 9% for Bush. Either Gore's performance, or the higher expectations of his abilities, led the press to give him increased scrutiny.

Negative Versus Positive

What also emerged, in debate coverage and elsewhere, was a clear predilection toward negativity. More than half of all stories contained at least twice as many negative assertions as positive. This finding stands out especially because during this election cycle, citizens have repeatedly told the media they are tired of the negative nature of campaigns. Further, studies of press coverage in general rarely find such great disparity between positive and negative coverage.

For a story to be considered anything but neutral, the positive or negative statements within it must outnumber each other by at least two-to-one. For example, in a story assessing how a candidate performed in a debate, there would have to be eight negative statements for every four positive for the story to be considered negative.

For this study, the 29% of stories considered straight news accounts of the candidates' actions or statements were not measured for tone, though a sample test suggested that they, too, were not particularly neutral. Nevertheless, even if all of these straight news stories were added to the neutral column, the number of negative stories would still be extraordinarily high and outweigh positive by nearly three to one.

Interestingly, the negative coverage did not simply occur because both candidates have struggled to pull ahead. The press was actually more negative when covering the candidates' character (77% negative) and policy issues (51%) than when covering campaign internals (45%).

Perhaps one reason is that this study, unlike many in the past, includes the Internet—which accounted for nearly a third of the stories--and many web sites are far harsher in their coverage than traditional print and broadcast outlets. For instance, the three Internet sites studied that include mostly web-only content--National Review Online, Slate and Salon--were notably more negative than average. At least six-in-ten of

their stories carried a negative tone (63% for Slate, 61% for the National Review, 60% for Salon). Contrast that to 41% for televisions and 53% for newspapers.

Bush v. Gore

Bush and Gore received roughly the same amount of coverage, with Bush dominating 24% of the stories and Gore 29%. Another 47% were equally about both candidates. This was true across print, television and the Internet.

But the parity ends quickly. As we found in two of the earlier studies, Bush continues to benefit more than Gore from press coverage. As outlined above, 24% of Bush stories were positive, nearly double the 13% for Gore.

In contrast, the coverage of Gore was more negative. A full 56% of the Gore stories had a negative tone, compared to 49% for Bush. The remaining stories were neutral.

Stories that focused equally on both candidates were more neutral in tone, but the critical treatment of Gore still emerged. Twelve percent were negative toward Gore, while only 8% were negative toward Bush.

In addition, while the numbers are small, Bush was twice as likely to enjoy positive coverage in these comparative stories, 7% versus 3% for Gore.

These findings are consistent with patterns we found earlier in the campaign. In a study of primary coverage leading up to the conventions, we found the press far more likely to cover the subjects Bush wanted to run on—such as the idea that he was a different kind of Republican—than it was to cover the subjects that Gore wanted to run on—such as his knowledge and experience.

There were differences this time, too, in the major themes devoted to each candidate.

Bush stories were more likely to be issue related (37% versus only 28% for Gore.)

Gore stories were more likely to be about the internal politics of his campaign--such as strategies for winning the battleground states. In all, 50% of Gore stories were political matters versus 44% for Bush. Given that Gore was failing to pull ahead, these stories were not particularly helpful to the Vice President.

Specifically, three themes made up half of all the Bush stories: The battleground states (18%), his record and command of the facts (17%) and domestic issues other than health care & elderly and taxes (15%).

3 Most Common Bush Themes	
Battleground states	18%
Character record	17
Other domestic issues	15
Total	50%

3 Most Common Gore Themes	
Campaign strategy	18%
Debate assessment	15
Battleground states	14
Total	47%

For Gore, on the other hand, the three most popular themes were all campaign related. Most, 18%, related to strategy, 150% were pre-and -post-debate analysis (compared with only 9% of Bush stores), and 14% focused on the battleground states.

The one issue that Gore seemed to dominate was health care & elderly, which made up about one-in-ten Gore stories (9%) compared to only one-in-thirty-three Bush stories. But as we will see later, coverage of health care & elderly was extremely negative in tone.

During the monitored times frames, the candidate's tax and economic plans had clearly lost steam, at least in journalists' eyes. This theme made up only 4% of Bush stories and 3% of Gore stories.

As was true in a Committee study conducted on the eve of the conventions, Gore's coverage was more than twice as likely to be about his problems with the truth or with campaign fundraising (10%) than Bush's was to be about his record and lack of knowledge (4%).

Comparative Stories

In the second and third weeks—as the debates began to dominate coverage--journalists tended to write more stories that looked at the two candidates comparatively rather than writing stories that were predominantly about Gore or Bush alone. These comparative stories eventually made up nearly half of all the coverage.

Interestingly, these pieces, often editorials or columns, were more likely than news stories to make clear how the subject matter actually impacted citizens (30% versus 21% of Gore dominated stories and 27% of Bush stories). Even then, seven-in-ten of

these comparative stories were about politics rather than policy or character. Only 5% of them were character related, and 26% policy related.

Comparative stories were also much more likely than single-candidate stories to be written around broader concepts such as the nature of the electorate (18% versus 4% of Bush stories and 6% of Gore stories).

Differences in Medium

Whether a citizen gets his or her news from the newspaper, the Internet or television, this study suggests, could have a great influence on the views they form about the candidates and the election as a whole.

Television tended to cover campaign themes more than any other medium--68% compared with 56% on the Internet and 53% in newspapers. Television was especially inclined to produce pre-and-post-debate analysis (32% versus 22% overall), suggesting that the made-for-TV event makes easy TV news. Television was much *less* inclined than other mediums to produce stories about the candidates' characters (5% versus 16% of Internet and 15% of print).

When it came to who television covered, it was much more likely than average to cover both candidates equally within a story (63% versus 47% overall). This suggests that the ever-increasing pressure to make stories shorter and to cut hard news time, leads journalists to squeeze coverage of both candidates into one short piece. Perhaps as a result of the minimal coverage, their stories were more likely than print or Internet to be neutral in tone (38% for TV versus 32% for Internet and 28% for print).

But when it came to how stories were framed and who they impacted, television fell into the same old trap of covering politics over policy. It was the most likely medium to frame stories around internal politics (50% versus 36% for print and 43% for Internet) and was the least likely to produce news that impacted citizens (20% versus 32% for print and 23% for Internet.)

Who Each Medium Impacted			
	Print	TV	Internet
Citizens	32%	20%	23%
Politicians	59	70	68
Interest Groups	6	4	6
No Impact	3	6	3
Total	100%	100%	100%

Newspapers, on the other hand, stood out as the medium most likely to write stories that

impacted citizens (32%), though nearly six-in-ten print stories still mainly impacted politicians. Interestingly, a big reason is because editorials and Op-ed columns were more likely than other news accounts to connect the campaign directly to their impact on citizens.

In the newspaper coverage studied, stories about Gore were about twice as likely as those about Bush to make it on page one (14% for Gore versus 8% for Bush), though the two did receive roughly equal treatment in the editorial and op-ed pages (about a fifth each).

One interesting difference between national and regional papers was in their coverage of character themes. Regional papers were almost three times less likely than the nationals to cover Bush's character (4% versus 11% in national papers.)

Regional papers were much more likely than nationals to write stories that compared the two candidates (51% versus 39%) and were less likely to be negative in tone (43% versus 58%), with a quarter of their stories offering a positive tone. Finally, a third of all regional stories impacted citizens, compared with only a quarter of national print stories.

The Internet stood out in that it seemed to be more driven by stories that came from campaign operatives (12% versus 8% of television and 7% of print). Perhaps the Internet still sees itself as speaking to a more targeted audience, the "political junkie," and therefore provides more of an insider view.

Other Story Themes

The Battleground States

The press was quick to recognize the crucial importance of key battleground states in deciding the election. News organizations covered key states early and revisited them often. While predictably framed around political internals such as tactics and strategy, (47% of the time) there was also a great deal of focus on broad issues such as the state of the electorate (24%). Only 1% of battleground stories, or two stories in all, mostly considered policy differences between the candidates, and not a single story looked mostly at where the candidate would take that particular state or the country.

In addition, these stories were much more evenly divided between Bush (29%) and Gore (26%). Again, these stories were most often initiated by the press (55%), and were highly analytical.

More than any theme studied other than momentum stories, these battleground stories were written in a way that impacted politicians (77%). Only 21% dealt with matters impacting citizens in those states, with 18% specially focusing on one state or demographic group and 3% focusing on citizens in general.

Campaign Strategies

The third most common theme, accounting for 12% of stories, was the strategies inside each of the two campaigns, such as reaching undecided voters or campaign advertising. Nearly half of it (48%) occurred in the first week of the study.

Interestingly, through most of October and late September, it was Gore strategy, not Bush, that attracted the press. More than four-in-ten (44%) of these stories concerned Al Gore and his campaign, compared with only slightly more than two-in-ten (24%) about George Bush. Those numbers might have been different earlier in September, when Bush's campaign was perceived to be in disarray.

Momentum & Medium

The momentum and media treatment of the candidates was the fourth most common story theme in October, again ahead of any policy or character theme. These stories were more likely to touch on broad themes about the nature of politics and the press. They were nine times as likely as the average story to consider the nature of the press (18% versus 2% overall) and were twice as likely written around the nature of politics (7% versus 4%).

Policy Issues

Ironically as the debates kicked in, coverage of policy themes declined drastically, from 48% in Week One leading up to the first debate to 30% in Week Three.

As the election got closer, the press favored the "race" over the issues.

In all, about three-in-ten of the stories studied related to policy themes. While the press still initiated most (47%) of these stories, they were much more likely than average to come from the candidates themselves (43% versus 28% overall). This would suggest a chance to commend the candidates, except that roughly half of that initiation was by way of accusatory statements from one or both.

Timing of Story Themes		
	Policy Issues	Campaign Internals
Week 1	48%	24%
Week 2	22	31
Week 3	30	45
Total	100%	100%

Again, Bush had an edge over Gore on the issues. These stories were more likely than average to be mostly about George Bush (31% versus 28% overall).

As would be expected, issue related themes were most often written around policy explanation (32%). The policy related frames of these stories lead directly to a dominate impact on citizens or stakeholders (59% versus 32% overall).

Nevertheless, even the issue related themes did not escape the negative tendencies of the press in this election period. More than half of the issue themes carried a negative tone.

Foreign Policy

The policy issue that received the most coverage was foreign affairs (7% of all themes), driven by the crisis in the Middle East and the bombing of the USS. Cole.

Much more so than any other theme studied, foreign policy stories were written with citizens in mind. Nearly two-thirds (63%) were written in a way that showed how the topic impacted or the nation as whole—three times the average.

In particular, these stories examined the candidates' relations with world leaders (29%).   Both the press and the candidates seemed to treat these tragic events delicately. Nevertheless, voters may well have gained some important knowledge from the resulting stories.

The Internet and television shied away from the issue of foreign policy. In particular, the New York Times accounted for a quarter of all foreign policy stories, compared with only 16% of all the coverage. Much more often than average, foreign policy themes were found on the op-ed and editorial pages (43% versus 25% overall).

<u>Energy</u>

Stories about tapping the nation's oil reserve and the candidates' connections to oil were the next most common issue story, comprising 5% of all stories studied—mostly in the first week of the study. They were more likely to appear in print (53% versus 45% of all stories) and less likely to appear on television (12% versus 20% overall.)

Cross accusations made by the candidates comprised a full third (34%) of all the oil stories, compared with 10% overall.

Nearly half (46%) of all the oil stories were straight news accounts and only one-in-seven were framed around internal politics.

<u>Health care & elderly and Taxes</u>

For all the talk of health care & elderly and taxes as being the deciding issues of the campaign, these two themes made up only 11% of all the themes studied. Only three-in-fifty stories studied (6%) covered the issue of health care & elderly, most of which fell in the first week of the study. When the press did address the issue, it had a strong tendency to do so with a negative tone, as nearly two-thirds of these stories were negative. Add to that the fact that Al Gore and his campaign were the subject of more than 40% of these stories compared with only 11% about Bush, and one can assume that the health care issue has not worked out well for Al Gore.

The issue of taxes & economics, on the other hand, which picked up steam in the final week of our study, was mostly covered by comparing the two candidates (59%); otherwise these stories focused on Bush and Gore in equal amounts.

Character Issues

Even before the two major party candidates had been determined, the 2000 presidential election was referred to as one that rested on character and record. But, in the final month of the campaign, only 13% of the major themes were about character (7% about Bush's character and 6% about Gore's). Television, in particular tended to avoid this issue. Only 8% of all the character stories appeared in television, compared with 20% of coverage as whole.

The most noteworthy elements of these two themes were how each tended to be framed. The bulk of both Bush and Gore character stories focused on internal politics (36% each) and straight news (30% Gore vs. 26% Bush). These stories tended much more than the average story to be framed around the candidate's fitness for office (24% Bush, 30% Gore and 6% overall). But 12% of stories on Bush's character examined policy, while not a single Gore story carried this focus.

It appears that Gore did have some success in raising questions about Bush's record in Texas after the second debate. The vast majority (75%) of stories about Bush's character and record fell in weeks two and three. Stories on Gore's record and character, on the other hand, dropped off significantly /in the final week studied.

What Makes News

The study identified what "triggered" something to become a story—was it a campaign event? Newsroom initiative? An accusation by a candidate? Or something from outside the campaign?

The answer is journalists, for the most part, decide what is news in campaigns. More than half of all stories, 56%, were initiated by journalists deciding to pursue a certain subject. For newspapers, four-in-ten of these pieces were editorial and op-ed columns, but the bulk was still news coverage.

Candidates and their campaigns succeeded in triggering a little more than a third (37%) of the stories.

These numbers, incidentally, are virtually identical to what we found in the primaries.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY

Sample Design

Seventeen media outlets -- 3 newspapers, 8 broadcasts, and 5 Internet sites--were monitored for twenty-one days. The first monitoring period was seven days long, and began Saturday, September 23, 2000 and continued through the inclusion of Friday, September 29, 2000. The second monitoring period began Saturday, October 7, 2000,

and continued through the inclusion of Friday, October 13, 2000. The third and final monitoring period began Saturday, October 14, 2000, and continued through the inclusion of Friday, October 20, 2000.

Newspapers were selected to develop a sample of coverage provided by both national press (New York Times, Washington Post) and regional publications (Portland Oregonian, Orlando Sentinel), representing both geographic and demographic diversity. Broadcast sources included both the flagship program and the morning news show from the three major over-the-air networks; the Newshour to represent public broadcasting; and CNN's The World Today as a sample of content on cable all-news networks.

Five Internet news sites were selected to develop a sample of that election coverage. The New York Times on the web and MSNBC were chosen as the two most visited political news sites according to Media Metrix. Slate is a popular web-only news site. Salon is a more liberal news site and the National Review more conservative.

Inclusion and Screening

Both print and broadcast sources were monitored via the use of the LEXIS-NEXIS advanced search tool. Search criteria was designed to cast the widest net possible. Any appearance of the names *Bush* or *Gore* qualified a story for inclusion in the original sample.

Internet sources were monitored twice a day, at 9:30 AM and again at 4:30 PM. We monitored the political front-pages of each web site, defined as the first "click" to political news from the home page. All national campaign stories highlighted on that page were captured the first time they appeared.

These criteria insured the inclusion of all pertinent stories; yet also produced an initial sample of several thousand articles or broadcast segments. The sample was next refined by eliminating duplicate stories, photo captions, letters to the editor and unedited transcripts of candidate debates or speeches.

Stories were then screened for agreement with the project's inclusions rules. Stories less than 75 words long (newspapers and internet) or shorter than 20 seconds (television) were excluded from the sample. Those stories that met the length requirement were next screened to identify cases where any designated Recurring Theme was referenced in the headline, subhead, or 3 lead paragraphs AND 1/3 or more of the text of the article was tied to any of the four major candidates or campaigns; OR any designated Recurring Theme constituted 50% or more of the story in a way that made direct reference to any of the four major candidates or campaigns.

The resulting project sample consisted of 1,149 stories, all of which were fully coded and are included in the final data analysis. In some limited cases, the LEXIS-NEXIS database will not deliver stories written by unaffiliated news services. However, all stories under the editorial control of the newspaper are included. All stories written by

staff reporters, OpEd pieces, and "specials to the news publication" are part of this analysis.

Coding Process

Researchers worked with a detailed, standardized coding scheme. All stories were first coded for basic inventory variables -- source, dateline, length, etc. Then, the project director coded for content variables -- recurring themes, dominant candidate -- and intent variables -- story trigger, frame, tone, and impact. In all cases, coders worked with a defined set of rules per variable. Of particular note:

Tone: The 2 to 1 Rule

When calculating Tone, coders must quantify all the pertinent text that is positive for the Dominant Candidate, as well as all pertinent text that is negative for the Dominant Candidate. Additional weight is given to text within the headline of the story. In any case where the ratio between positive:negative equals or exceeds 2:1, the story is coded as positive tone for the Dominant Figure. Likewise, when the ratio between positive:negative equals or exceeds 1:2 the story is coded as negative tone for the Dominant Figure. All other stories are coded as neutral. In this study, stories determined to be straight news accounts were not coded for Tone.

Story Impact: The One-Half Rule

When calculating Story Impact, coders identify all text that implies which individuals or group's interests are at stake/affected by the events in the story. Only if 50% or more of the text makes this connection is the story considered for impact; all other stories are coded as "No impact implied at 50% or more."

Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability measures the extent to which individual coders, operating independently of one another, reach the same coding decision. Tests were performed throughout the project: no systematic errors were found. As previously stated, the project director made all final decisions on both the content and intent variables.

FINAL TOPLINE

Total N = 1149
518 All Newspapers
    344 All Natl. Papers
    174 All Regional Papers
227 All Television
    125 All AM Shows
    102 All PM Shows
<u>404</u> All Internet
1,149

1.   SOURCE

Total %	All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
45 All Newspapers	100	0	0
30 All Natl. Papers	66	0	0
15 All Regional Papers	34	0	0
20 All Television	0	100	0
11 All AM Shows	0	55	0
9 All PM Shows	0	45	0
35 All Internet	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
100	100	100	100

2.   DATE

Total %	All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
30 Week 1	31	29	30
30 Week 2	32	30	27
40 Week 3	<u>37</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>43</u>
100	100	100	100

3. STORY LENGTH

Total%		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
7	75 - 150 words	6	11	4
8	151 - 300 words	7	15	4
39	301 - 750 words	38	49	36
46	More than 750 words	49	25	56
100		100	100	100

4. PLACEMENT (Newspaper only)

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
14	Page One	14	0	0
52	National/International	52	0	0
24	Editorial/OP ED	24	0	0
1	Business	1	0	0
3	Metro/Local/Regional	3	0	0
4	Style/Life	4	0	0
1	Sunday - Week in Review	1	0	0
1	Sunday Magazine	1	0	0
0	Not applicable (Internet/TV)	0	100	100
100		100	100	100

5. WIRE SERVICE

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
76	Staff Reporters/Writers	77	100	63
5	AP	6	0	5
*	Hearst	*	0	0
*	Knight-Ridder	*	0	0
*	Reuters	*	0	1
*	Scripps-Howard	*	0	1
9	Other Newspaper or Newspaper Service	8	0	14
3	Combo – Staff/News Service	3	0	6
6	OP/ED – Non-Staff	5	*	9
1	Other Wire Service	1	0	1
100		100	100	100

6. DATELINE

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
18	Washington, D.C.	33	12	0
8	Florida	14	8	0
2	Michigan	4	1	0
3	Missouri	3	6	0
16	New York	16	45	0
2	North Carolina	2	8	0
4	Oregon	9	1	0
2	Texas	4	3	0
45	All Others	15	16	100
100		100	100	100

7. RECURRING LEAD

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
29	Super A: Issues	31	26	28
6	Health and Elderly	6	8	5
5	Taxes	4	5	5
6	Other Domestic	7	5	7
5	Energy	6	3	6
7	Foreign Policy	8	5	5
57	Super B: Campaign Internals	53	68	56
22	Debates	20	32	20
15	Battleground States	15	13	16
12	Campaign Strategy	11	13	12
8	Momentum and Media	7	10	8
13	Super C: Character and Record	15	5	16
7	Bush Record and Facts	8	3	9
6	Gore Record and Truth	7	2	7
1	Other	1	1	*
100		100	100	100

8. DOMINANT CANDIDATE/CANDIDACY

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
29	All Gore	31	22	31
24	All Bush	25	15	27
47	All Gore/Bush Interwoven	43	63	42
*	All Nader	1	*	*
0	All Candidates	0	0	0
100		100	100	100

9. STORY TRIGGER

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
28	All Candidate Driven	29	31	25
9	All Campaign Driven	7	8	12
4	All Observer Driven	4	4	3
56	All Press Driven	55	56	57
*	Independent Polling	*	*	1
3	Other	5	1	2
100		100	100	100

10. STORY FRAME/ANGLE

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
13	Policy Explained	15	11	12
6	Candidate Fitness	5	4	8
41	Political Internals	36	50	43
11	Meta Issues	12	9	12
29	Straight News	32	26	25
100		100	100	100

11. CANDIDATE TONE

Based on stories that are not straight news stories; n=821

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
18	All Positive	19	21	15
31	All Neutral	28	38	32
51	All Negative	53	41	53
100		100	100	100

12. STORY IMPACT

Total %		All Newspapers	All Television	All Internet
27	Citizens	32	20	23
64	Politicians	59	70	68
5	Interest Groups	6	4	6
4	No Impact Implied	3	6	3
100		100	100	100