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### 2000 Presidential Campaign Election

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This starred paper submitted by Auralie R. Peterson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science at St. Cloud State University is hereby approved by the final evaluation committee.

1900 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ELECTION

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# 2000 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ELECTION

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## INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

### ABSTRACT

This study of press coverage of the 2000 presidential election campaign will examine whether or not news quality and quantity varied with regards to the size of the communities served by selected newspapers. The majority of the data for this research was collected from secondary sources. In addition, a content analysis of three newspapers published in a small community, a medium-sized community, and a metropolitan community was conducted to compare the agenda setting role of the press in three upper mid-west communities. The results of the research determined whether or not there were any notable differences in quality or quantity of coverage on the 2000 presidential campaign among the three newspapers.

## INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” These are the timeless words from the United States Constitution that established American citizens’ rights to free speech and press. The media are an extremely important tool, that allow us to protect and use these First Amendment rights. It is especially important for us to have access to these rights during a presidential campaign. After all, it is the future of America that is largely affected by the outcome of such an important election. The campaign coverage can significantly affect voter participation and voter attitudes, for the media are a major source of news, facts, and commentary during the electoral process. Because the public has access to various media such as television, radio, print, and the Internet, the influence of media on voters can be vast. The electorate depends on the media to report the facts on the candidates. Although the news media are expected to be impartial and objective, that is not always the case, especially when it comes to covering presidential elections. According to Max Kapelman, “Traditionally in our democracy the nation’s political agenda was the prerogative of the politician seeking and elected to public office. Now the media are [also] assuming that role” (Patterson, 7).

The theory of agenda-setting conforms with the idea that news media are not always objective when reporting the news on political events. The theory of agenda-setting was established by two researchers, Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs.



They designed a panel study that focused on media presentation of political issues and voter perceptions of the significance of such issues. The study focused on political news that had significance to the candidates of the 1968 presidential campaign. The study concentrated on candidate issues that were presented by television, newspapers, and newsmagazines over a 24-day period in the fall of 1968 (Lowery and DeFleur, 330). The authors believed that the most appropriate strategy for the accumulation of scientific knowledge in a field was programmatic research (333). Their study, with its particular objectives, research strategies, modes of analysis, and findings, was the first effort to develop extensive and systematic research on the agenda-setting hypothesis.

The purpose of this research is to compare the agenda-setting role of the press in three different communities in the upper mid-west in the United States during the 2000 presidential campaign. If history repeats recent trends, more than likely the news media will play a very crucial role influencing voters' perceptions and choices in the election of the new president of the United States. Yet, it is reasonable to expect that the agenda-setting role of news media will vary according to size and complexity of the communities served by the newspaper.

The following research questions will guide this investigation: **(1) *Did the quantity of news coverage of the 2000 presidential election vary according to the size of the community served by the newspapers?*** **(2) *Did the quality of the news coverage of the 2000 presidential election vary according to the size of the community served by the newspapers?*** The three newspapers will be compared on four aspects: (a) Whether there was more negative or positive news coverage on Bush or Gore; (b) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on the front page; (c) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on the opinion page; and (d) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on other pages of the newspaper?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Today the American people are more than ever dependent upon the press to bring them the news. The American people are bombarded by radio, newspapers, television, and Internet messages every day. In addition, political candidates are also becoming more and more dependent on the press. In today's society, political candidates are aware of the importance of getting their messages out to the public. And what would be a better channel than the press to carry the politicians' messages. Politicians have become more and more dependent on the press, while the press has become more independent. According to Richard Davis, "While institutions and leaders of the American political system have grown increasingly dependent on the news media, the press itself has emerged as a more and more autonomous force, driven by its own needs and imperatives."(Davis, 8).

The idea of the press as an autonomous force was not always in existence. In fact decades ago, members of the press were extremely dependent on politicians for their news stories. According to Davis, "In the early days of the republic, the American press was typically financially dependent on the resources of political leaders who provided patronage to editors and publishers, start-up loans for newspapers, and continued funds for operation as well, often, as guaranteed readerships and news material itself."(9).

While news media are no longer heavily dependent on political leaders or the government, they do rely on the competitive marketplace. As a result, the media are more powerful and active in deciding what messages will be conveyed to the public. Although the news organizations are more responsible for what coverage will be given to

certain politicians and political events, such coverage decisions are also formed by public relations lobbyists and agenda-setting material. Davis points out that such decisions reflect the efforts of public relations lobbyists and the availability of material—forms of agenda-setting engaged in by those who “make” news—but only rarely, as in the case of an issue affecting national security, does the press respond to direct intervention from government leaders or institutions (9).

The following factors have enhanced the press’s role as a bridge between the people and the government: the weakening and decentralization of the major political parties, the increasing significance of the national government, and the rise of the modern presidency. Due to these three factors, the people have become more interested in political news coverage. As a result, the media have become the linking factor between the people and the government. In addition, the new party rules regarding primaries, instituted after the 1964 and 1968 presidential nominating conventions, have affected political party influences. For example, the new party rules left party leaders with less power and control over the presidential nominating process. As a result, outsiders such as Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were brought into the political arena. Another way party leaders lost control was through the new campaign finance laws which limit the amount of direct funding that a party can provide to its own nominees. Also, as voters become less loyal to their party, they are no longer voting a straight ballot. The result of all of these changes has been political candidates no longer relying solely on their parties; instead they are looking for support from the press. According to Davis, “If the governed rely on the news media as a credible and accessible source of information, those who govern also depend on the press, both in electoral politics and in the process of governance” (4).

The political press has continued to grow in size over the decades to accommodate the government and people’s needs. The number of journalists in

Washington has tripled since the end of World War II to more than 10,000. The number of reporters accredited by the congressional press galleries grew from 1,300 in 1957 to 5,000 in the early 1980s. The White House provides credentials for over 1,500 journalists; this is three times the number in 1960. One hundred journalists cover the White House on a full-time basis, while one hundred journalists accompany the president on his travels (5).

Due to the public's reliance on the press, the press expects more time and contact from the politicians and public officials. As a result, politicians are positively responding to the press's requests for more interview time. In fact, presidential candidates have developed new skills to respond to the press. Candidates are also making greater efforts to grab the press's attention, so that they can enhance their public recognition, and favorable image, and acquire public support (5). According to a press secretary for one 1988 campaign candidate, "Over one-third of each day was spent in direct contact with the press...It's not just news conferences, but one-on-one interviews, hotel room briefings, radio and TV shows, editorial board discussions, back-of-the-car interviews and conversations" (5). This was just one example of how politicians are cooperating with the press, because politicians are more aware than ever that good coverage can equal positive results for their campaigns. Politicians are aware that news coverage and the use of agenda-setting can greatly contribute to making or breaking a campaign.

Now that we are a little more familiar with the relationship between politicians and the press, we can move on to another aspect of news coverage: presidential debates. In order for this study to elaborate on the significance of print coverage on the 2000 presidential campaign election and content-analysis, let's first take a closer look at past television coverage of previous presidential campaign elections to get a better understanding of how television can also influence voters.



The presidential debates have been around for decades. Their influence on the electorate has not only been significant for the voters, but also for a candidate to reveal his personal character. However, televised presidential debates have become increasingly popular and noteworthy among the electorate more than print material. The debates have become a major communication event for the candidates and the electorate. According to Kathleen Jamieson and David Birdsell, "Debate has become a buzzword for 'serious politics'...When debates are announced, movement in the polls slows; in anticipation, the electorate suspends its willingness to be swayed by ads and news" (Hellweg, xxi). Although televised presidential debates have become increasingly popular over the years, it is still important to note that print coverage is just as important, if not more, when delivering the facts to the public. While television highlights certain political issues, newspapers concentrate more on the details and related information of the political issues.

Hellweg, Pfau, and Brydon disagree with the statement that debates are a major communication event. Instead, they prefer labeling debates as *uniquely television events*. The debates are broadcast to a mass audience, who view them in the privacy of their own homes. In recent years, the televised political debates have matured into what Susan Drucker refers to as "electorate public space," and because each debate changes in context and nature, it has produced "a new form of debate" (xxi).

Although television has become one of the largest mediums for delivering modern debates, it has been greatly ignored and overlooked in terms of its true value. Political commentator George J. Church states, "Debates offer an imperfect but valuable chance for a mass audience to try to distinguish reality from reality" (1). In other words, debates can offer an opportunity for spectators to observe first-hand how candidly a candidate will respond to an issue. As a result, voters may be influenced by such debates.

Several media professionals and academics have continued the long-standing tradition, stemming from the Greeks and Romans, of stressing the content of debates. In other words, the primary emphasis or focus of the debates is placed on what the candidates say during the debates. Newspapers also play an important role in emphasizing certain issues and ideas stated by the candidates with agenda-setting. Reporters and editors use more agenda-setting tactics when covering political campaigns, than with other events. Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth, authors of *The Impact of Campaign Agendas on Perceptions of Issues in the 1980 Campaign*, found stronger agenda-setting effects when issues specifically were framed as components of an electoral campaign rather than without the crucial frame (Salmon, 289).

Although what the candidates say is important, the American people must also remember that television has altered the very nature of presidential debates in a profound fashion. The audiences have not adjusted to what Susan Drucker referred to as this “new form of debate.” Sidney Kraus states, “Despite the growing influence of television [we have] failed to seriously investigate the role of the media in electoral politics” (xxii). There are six elements that are essential to the phases of every presidential campaign: the strategic environment or context; the organization, both internal and external; finance and fund-raising; public opinion polls; candidate image; and finally, the mass media (Denton, 9).

The following section will include a review of the past presidential debates, beginning with the first-ever televised debate and leading up to the current 2000 presidential election campaign.

Before the time of television, radio played an important part in covering the presidential debates. On May 17, 1948, in Portland, Oregon, Republican Thomas Dewey and Republican Harold Stassen had a one-hour debate. The debate included a 20-minute

opening statement from each candidate and an eight-and-a-half-minute rebuttal from each candidate. The whole focus of the debate centered around the issue of outlawing communism in the United States. Stassen took the affirmative stance, while Dewey took the negative. The nationally broadcast debate reached an audience of 40 to 80 million listeners (1).

On May 1, 1952, the first televised debate, located at the Taft Auditorium in Cincinnati, was broadcast by NBC with the assistance of Life magazine and the League of Women Voters. The politicians included Democrats Averill Harriman, Robert Kerr, and Estes Kefauver, and Republicans Harold Stassen and Paul Hoffman. The two questions asked dealt with preventing government dishonesty and inefficiency and whether or not to increase or decrease foreign economic aid (2).

On May 21, 1956, the first nationally televised debate was broadcast in Miami by ABC. The candidates were Democrats Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson, who participated in a one-hour debate. The televised event took place exactly eight days before the Florida primary.

In past candidate coverage, there existed an equal time provision that allowed for all candidates to receive equal amounts of time coverage. This was established to make the debates fair among the candidates. However, it was soon discovered that not all candidates needed or wanted the same time coverage. As a result from past equal candidate coverage that was clearly not needed during certain debates, Congress modified Section 315 of the Communications Act (the "equal time" provision) in 1959, so that broadcasters would not be required to give all political candidates the same amount of

time as long as four conditions would be met: (1) it was a “bonafide newscast”; (2) it was a “bonafide news interview”; (3) it was a “bonafide news documentary”; (4) it represented “on-the-spot coverage of bonafide news events” (2).

On May 4, 1960, Democrat Hubert Humphrey and Democrat John F. Kennedy participated in the only televised debate for the 1960 primary season. WCHS-TV, a Virginia television station, broadcast the event without an audience present.

During the 1960 presidential campaign, Democrat John F. Kennedy and Republican Richard Nixon engaged in four nationally broadcast debates. CBS and NBC sponsored one of the events each, while ABC sponsored the other two. According to research on both radio and television debates, the audience responds differently to candidates on television. Nixon, who refused to wear makeup, had a pale complexion and wore a gray suit on television, while Kennedy looked youthful and athletic. The results from the radio and television polls regarding the debates varied greatly. Nixon scored high on the radio polls, but he scored low on the television polls, while Kennedy, who scored lower on the radio polls, scored extremely high on the television polls. As a result, Nixon was not as appealing as Kennedy was to the television audience. However, on the radio polls Nixon received higher ratings than Kennedy. Obviously, one can conclude that television appearances can easily sway an audience to favor or disfavor a candidate (3). In other words, visual effects can greatly sway an audience to favor or disfavor a candidate simply by his appearance, while personality and voice tone are more effective on broadcast radio.



In 1964, no presidential debate was needed, due to Lyndon Johnson's lead over Barry Goldwater. In addition, 1964 was the only presidential campaign year since 1956 that didn't conduct a single debate (3).

In 1968, ABC sponsored, as part of its series "Issues and Answers," a Democratic primary debate between Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy in San Francisco. The debate issued no time limits and allowed the two candidates to interrupt one another. Later in 1968, Nixon decided not to engage in a debate with Hubert Humphrey, due to Nixon's outstanding poll numbers (4).

In 1972, the idea of news series became increasingly popular. "Face the Nation" (CBS) was the broadcast vehicle between Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. "Meet the Press" (NBC) also engaged in a broadcast debate between Humphrey and McGovern. Finally, "Issues and Answers" (ABC) conducted a debate session including Humphrey, McGovern, Shirley Chisholm, Sam Yorty, and a representative for George Wallace (4).

Once again Nixon, in 1972, decided there was no need to debate his opponent, Democrat George McGovern, simply because McGovern was politically wounded by his own missteps (4).

In 1975, the Aspen Institute, a committee of leaders of diverse disciplines who address critical societal and political issues, made a decision that extremely changed the role of broadcasters in their coverage of debates. This would greatly affect the sponsorship of the 1976 debates. The Aspen Institute disclosed that broadcasters could be exempt from equal time provisions for debates if the following five criteria were met:

(1) that they were set up by a third party (not affiliated with a broadcaster), on the assumption that in this way they would not be both making and covering the news; (2) that the events would take place outside of a broadcasting studio; (3) that they would be covered live, so as to safeguard their newsworthiness; (4) that they be covered in their entirety, so as to preclude the potential for biased editing; and (5) that they be centered around “good faith journalistic judgment of the newsworthiness of the event” and not be inclined toward the political interests of any single candidate (5). These five conditions were developed to ensure that the media, primarily television, would not be able to edit or decide what was newsworthy on their own. In other words, the debates would be as unbiased as possible for the viewers to watch, and the ground rules of the televised debates would prevent a particular network from favoring a candidate.

In 1976, due to the new Aspen Institute decision, the League of Women Voters once again stepped into the role of sponsoring the debates. It sponsored four nationally televised Democratic presidential debates. These debates involved Birch Bayh, Jimmy Carter, Fred Harris, Henry Jackson, Milton Shapp, Sargent Shriver, and Morris Udall. Each debate carried a specific theme such as employment, inflation, social security, and welfare. Instead of the debates being held at a network studio, they were all held in community locations. Finally, 16 years after the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the general election presidential debates were resumed, with three 90-minute presidential debates highlighting Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Gerald Ford. Likewise, one 75-minute vice-presidential encounter involving Democrat Walter Mondale and Republican Robert Dole was included (5). This was a similar format used in the 1992 election.

The 1980 presidential campaign included five televised Republican primary debates between the months of January and April. Three of the five debates were sponsored by the League of Women Voters, another by the University of South Carolina and the *Columbia Record*, and another by the *Des Moines Register*. The most important factor that occurred from a media perspective was the Reagan “control of the microphone” incident. Reagan was able to get his point across to the majority of the audience before allowing another candidate to respond. The incident was highly covered by the media, who declared Reagan as a “commanding candidate” (7).

In 1981, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruled to allow debates to be televised and broadcast from television studios to ensure technical convenience as long as the debate was sponsored by another party.

In the 1984 pre-primary and primary season, 14 Democratic debates were nationally, regionally, and locally televised. While CBS and NBC each sponsored one debate, ABC sponsored none. Television news anchors were often used as the moderators for the debates. The two presidential debates were 100 minutes and 90 minutes in length. There was also a 90-minute vice presidential debate, which focused on domestic and foreign issues (9).

The 1988 presidential campaign had an overwhelming response from debate sponsors and nearly tripled the number of debates that occurred in 1984. The first debate was televised on July 1, 1987. This was much earlier than any other previous presidential debate. NBC was the only national network that sponsored a debate. The debate was moderated by Tom Brokaw (9). The two presidential candidates were Republican

George Bush and Democrat Michael Dukakis. One reason there were so many televised debates was that there was no incumbent in the race. In order for both candidates to convey their messages to the voters, Democrats and Republicans participated in several televised debates. Since neither candidates were incumbents, they were on equal ground and had to pave a way into the political minds of the voters.

During the 1988 presidential debates, the debates' coverage became controversial. Some began to argue about whether or not the campaign debates were too censored. On October 3, 1988, Nancy Neuman, president of the League of Women Voters, argued against the debate format. She stated, "the campaigns had determined what the television cameras could take pictures of...had determined how they would select those who would pose questions to their candidates...had determined that the press would be relegated to the last two rows of supporters...had determined the format" (11).

The League of Women Voters eventually withdrew from its sponsorship of any presidential campaign debates. A year after the 1988 election, the League of Women Voters stated the following to the Speech Communication Association convention, "Our refusal last year to sponsor a debate should not be seen as a decision to end once and for all involvement in political debates or our concern for their future visibility...The League has no vested interest in debates, other than that they meet our institutional goal of promoting an informed electorate" (12).

The results of the 1988 presidential campaign debates would definitely affect the 1992 presidential debates. While Tom Brokaw argued that networks' news divisions had no ideological drum to beat and that journalism is the common forum for making choices,

Douglass Cater, political analyst, disagreed. Cater replied, "Sponsorship by the networks would confuse their role as reporters rather than managers of political events and would create incentives to exploit the debates for maximum entertainment value"(13).

The 1992 presidential debates were highly emphasized by the media. The debates were a major part of the campaign process, unlike the debates of the 2000 presidential campaign. The effect the 1992 debates had on the electorate was positive, while the effect the debates had on the 2000 electorate was negative.

The three main candidates in the 1992 presidential campaign were Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican George Bush (incumbent), and Independent Ross Perot. With regards to the new "media roles" in the presidential campaigns, Dan Rather stated that he would "prefer to report on the process than participate in it" (12). Some of the new media roles were for news anchors to become more involved with the political process, such as hosting in-depth interviews with political candidates. Other forms of the new media roles involved the type of political coverage. For example, in the 1992 presidential campaign the use of "new news" was incorporated into candidate coverage. *Rolling Stone* writer Jon Katz, introduced the term "new news." It refers to the appearances of political candidates on talk shows, on MTV, and in extended interviews on network television such as *The Today Show* (Severin and Tankard, 9). The "new news" is useful in that it gets the candidate in contact with the public without the mediation of journalists.

The 1992 presidential election has been referred to as the Democratic talk-show. According to Anderson, "the pseudo-self realization and mock therapy of talk shows had become fully incorporated into political discourse...Copying these thematic strategies,



Clinton was propelled into the position of front runner throughout the race” (Anderson, 225). Overall, Ross Perot had the largest impact on voters; however, several of the voters didn’t agree with his running mate, Admiral James Stockdale. In general, the voters believed Bill Clinton was the most comfortable in the three televised campaign debates. Bush and Perot were too busy scrutinizing one another to appear as professional as Bill Clinton did.

The 1996 debates didn’t have as large of an impact on the electorate as the 1992 debates. In the 1996 presidential election controversy over President Bill Clinton’s character became a major issue. Opponent Republican Bob Dole constantly criticized President Clinton’s character and morals. According to Stephen J. Wayne, “The Dole campaign did revive the character issue for those who yearned for a saintly presidency” (Stephens, 773). In the end, Clinton was able to overcome his failures and improve his standing with the American voters.

Now that one has a basic background of past televised presidential debates and political coverage, one can move on to the 2000 presidential campaign. The two major candidates in the 2000 presidential campaign were Democrat Vice President Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush. As America elected a new president to lead the nation, it seemed as though the members of the public were not as interested in the political coverage as in past years. According to Paul Taylor, executive director of the Alliance for Better Campaigns, “It’s true less people are voting and there seems to be less interest in politics. But one of the reasons is that the biggest dose of politics the audience gets is a nightly bombardment of advertising. It’s a classic chicken-and-egg situation”

(Broadcasting and Cable, 4). It seems that networks are falling into a pattern of presenting only a minute of substantive candidate coverage, while the remaining coverage is devoted to what Taylor refers to as the horse-race aspect of the campaign. The media are becoming too involved in the “race” aspects of the campaign, instead of the “issue” aspects of the campaign. This is yet another example of how the media use agenda setting to report only a selected area of the news or story.

According to sociologist Gladys Lang, “The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of public figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about” (Lowery and DeFleur, 329).

Philosophers have long been studying how communication can help shape ideas and beliefs since before the seventeenth century. In the 1920s, Walter Lippmann pointed out that the members of the press often choose what is considered important news, since the people have limited opportunities to observe important events themselves. Lippmann believed that the role of the press was to provide us with outside views. However, he also understood that there was a distortion and gap between the versions of the press and the actual events. Researchers Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw found this to be true with political coverage also.

Although the theory of agenda-setting has been around since the early 1970s, this function of the news media can be traced to the birth of the press. Newspapers provide their readers stories about issues that reflect the criteria of newsworthiness of those who manage the media. According to Lowery and DeFleur, “The idea that the news media

powerfully controlled people's attitudes, beliefs, and behavior might not hold water, but the press obviously brings to their attention a selected agenda of topics and issues to respond to and think about" (328).

In 1968, McCombs and Shaw designed a study to focus on the effects of agenda setting in the political coverage. The study concentrated on the 1968 presidential campaign involving candidates Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon (330). The study focused on political news that had significance to the candidates in the 1968 presidential campaign, concentrating on candidate issues that were presented by television, newspapers, and newsmagazines over a 24-day period in the fall of 1968 (330). The news data included in the study for television consisted of a major story that aired for at least 45 seconds or more, or one of the three lead stories in a single broadcast. A major story for newspapers was defined as a story that was featured on the front page or under a three-column headline in which at least a third of the story was related to political news. A major story for newsmagazines had to be more than one column or any item that appeared at the beginning of the news section (331). The results of McCombs and Shaw's study showed that the majority of the media stories had little to do with the presidential campaign issues. Instead, the majority of the stories covered by the media focused on the candidates themselves and who would win or not. McCombs and Shaw also found a correlation of +.976 between relative media emphasis and voters' beliefs about the importance of the same list of issues (331). They concluded their research with the following statement: "In short, the data suggest a very strong relationship between



the emphasis placed on different campaign issues by the media and the judgments of the voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics” (331).

According to Lowery and DeFleur, the agenda-setting hypothesis predicts that exposure to the news will bring some degree of correspondence between the levels of importance assigned to the issues during the campaign by voters and the levels of emphasis given to those issues of the media (342). Although the media do not indicate what the voters should think about the issues, the media emphasize which issues are to be thought about and which were given the greatest importance by the candidates. As a result, the media have a considerable amount of influence on the people and the political candidates. This makes sense considering that the media are our vehicles to the political ring. Without the media, the majority of voters would have little information on political issues or the candidates. According to McCombs and Shaw, “...the political arena—all those issues and persons about whom we hold opinions and knowledge—is second-hand reality. Our knowledge comes primarily from the mass media. For the most part, we know only those aspects of national politics considered newsworthy enough for transmission through the mass media”(338).

The political role of agenda-setting is in some ways essential in determining (or shaping) the way voters become more familiar with the candidates and political issues at hand. Since the study conducted by McCombs and Shaw, agenda-setting has been closely linked to the political contexts of election campaigns, voting, and mass media reports of political issues. McCombs and Shaw concluded that the mass media and the news industries share a role in shaping the political activities of the United States.

According to Lowery and DeFleur, "This means that the mass media are the major artisans of our popular political culture, of what the masses perceive to be political reality and the political concerns of the day. It also means that the mass media are major shapers of our elite political culture..."(348). The mass media set our agendas. In other words, the mass media are ceded this role by society to choose which political concerns and issues will be relevant for the people.

The analysis of the three newspaper organizations' coverage will be conducted to explore whether quantity and quality of the presidential election coverage varies among the three communities. In addition, the agenda-setting theory will also be considered in the final discussion findings in correlation with the victor in the 2000 presidential campaign. The type of research that will be necessary to complete this study will be elaborated on in the following section.

## METHODS

Content analysis on three newspapers was conducted to determine whether quality and quantity of presidential election coverage varies among three Mid-Western newspapers. The newspapers and selected communities are: *The Jamestown Sun* from Jamestown, North Dakota (population 17,000 with newspaper circulation of 8,500); *The St. Cloud Times* from St. Cloud, Minnesota (area population 150,000 with newspaper circulation of 28,200); and *The Pioneer Press* from St. Paul, Minnesota (area population 1,000,000 with newspaper circulation of 204,000).

*The Pioneer Press* is generally considered a more “conservative” newspaper. According to one of its readers, R. Scheidler, “No one has ever said *The Pioneer Press* was unbiased...It’s very apparent the paper’s politics are so far to the right, they’re out of sight to most of us in middle America” (The Pioneer Press, November 4, 2000, 13A). However, *The Pioneer Press* was selected for this study over *The Star Tribune*, a Minneapolis-based newspaper, because, *The Pioneer Press*, a metropolitan daily newspaper with a statewide circulation, is generally considered to cover campaign elections more than *The Star Tribune*. The other two newspapers were chosen to represent a mid-size community and a small community. St. Cloud will represent the mid-size community, while Jamestown will represent a small community.

The method selected was content analysis, a systematic method of analyzing message content and examining communications that have been produced at times and places of his or her own choosing (Severin, 36).

The following research questions will guide this investigation: (1) Did the quantity of news coverage of the 2000 presidential election vary according to the size of the community served by the newspapers? (2) Did the quality of the news coverage of the 2000 presidential election vary according to the size of the community served by the newspapers? The three newspapers will be compared on four aspects: (a) Whether there was more negative or positive news coverage on Bush or Gore. Negative coverage being that of a newspaper portraying Bush or Gore in a fatalistic light, unethical manner, or a biased article. Positive coverage being that of a newspaper portraying Bush or Gore in a favorable light, objective manner, or positive spin; (b) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on the front page; (c) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on the opinion page; and (d) How many articles on the presidential election were printed on other pages of the newspaper? The content analysis will focus on presidential coverage from September 30 to November 10, 2000.

## RESULTS

The content analysis results of the three newspapers determining whether quality or quantity of presidential election coverage varies among three midwestern newspapers will be discussed and answered in this section.

The three newspapers were compared on the four aspects discussed above in the methods section. First we'll discuss the results of the overall campaign coverage between the three newspapers. (See Appendixes A, B, and C.)

### Newspaper Coverage 2000

According to newspaper coverage data gathered between September 30 and November 10, 2000, *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest coverage in quantity for the following three categories: front page coverage, opinion page coverage, and alternative page coverage. Alternative page coverage was defined as any presidential campaign coverage on any other page of the newspaper besides the front page or opinion page. *The St. Cloud Times* had the second greatest amount of coverage on the presidential campaign, while *The Jamestown Sun* had the least amount of presidential campaign coverage. *The Jamestown Sun* and *The St. Cloud Times* each had 13 articles about the presidential election that appeared on the front pages of their newspapers, while *The Pioneer Press* had 18 articles that appeared on its front pages. In addition, *The Pioneer Press* had 27 articles that appeared on its opinion pages, while *The Jamestown Sun* had

21. *The St. Cloud Times* had only 14 articles that appeared on its opinion pages. Finally, *The Pioneer Press* had 39 articles that appeared on its alternative pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* had 32 articles that appeared on its alternative pages. *The Jamestown Sun*, on the other hand, only had 20 articles that appeared on its alternative pages. (See Figure 1.)

The quantity coverage among the three mid-western newspapers corresponds with the populations of the three cities. It was expected that the larger city St. Paul would have more presidential coverage in its newspaper *The Pioneer Press*. The same is true with respect to St. Cloud and Jamestown. More coverage of the presidential election was in *The St. Cloud Times* than in *The Jamestown Sun*. This is in relation to the size of the city once again. St. Cloud is a larger community than Jamestown.



Figure 1

Newspaper Coverage 2008

Newspaper Coverage 2008  
 The Pioneer Press: 39 Total Pages, 14 Opinion pages, 32 Alternative pages  
 The St. Cloud Times: 32 Total Pages, 14 Opinion pages, 20 Alternative pages  
 The Jamestown Sun: 20 Total Pages, 14 Opinion pages, 20 Alternative pages



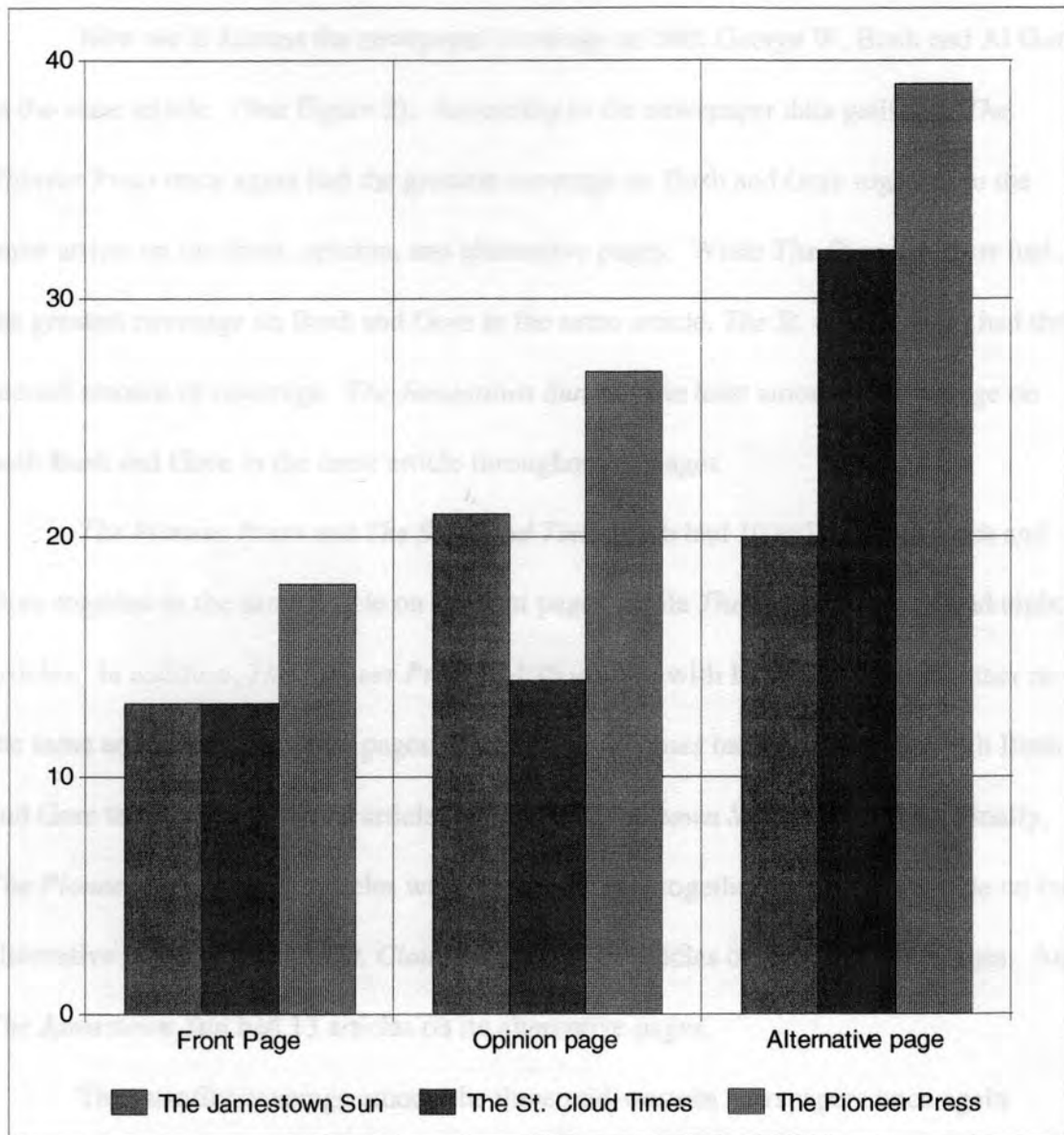


Figure 1

Newspaper Coverage 2000

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

### Bush and Gore Coverage in Same Article

Now we'll discuss the newspaper coverage on both George W. Bush and Al Gore in the same article. (See Figure 2). According to the newspaper data gathered, *The Pioneer Press* once again had the greatest coverage on Bush and Gore together in the same article on the front, opinion, and alternative pages. While *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest coverage on Bush and Gore in the same article, *The St. Cloud Times* had the second amount of coverage. *The Jamestown Sun* had the least amount of coverage on both Bush and Gore in the same article throughout its pages.

*The Pioneer Press* and *The St. Cloud Times* each had 10 articles with Bush and Gore together in the same article on its front pages, while *The Jamestown Sun* had eight articles. In addition, *The Pioneer Press* had 15 articles with Bush and Gore together in the same article on its opinion pages. *The St. Cloud Times* had seven articles with Bush and Gore together in the same article, while *The Jamestown Sun* had only six. Finally, *The Pioneer Press* had 21 articles with Bush and Gore together in the same article on its alternative pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* had 19 articles on its alternative pages. And *The Jamestown Sun* had 13 articles on its alternative pages.

The quantity coverage among the three mid-western newspapers once again reflected the population of the city's newspaper. Coverage on the two presidential candidates together in the same article occurred more frequently in the larger community's newspaper than the smaller communities' newspapers.



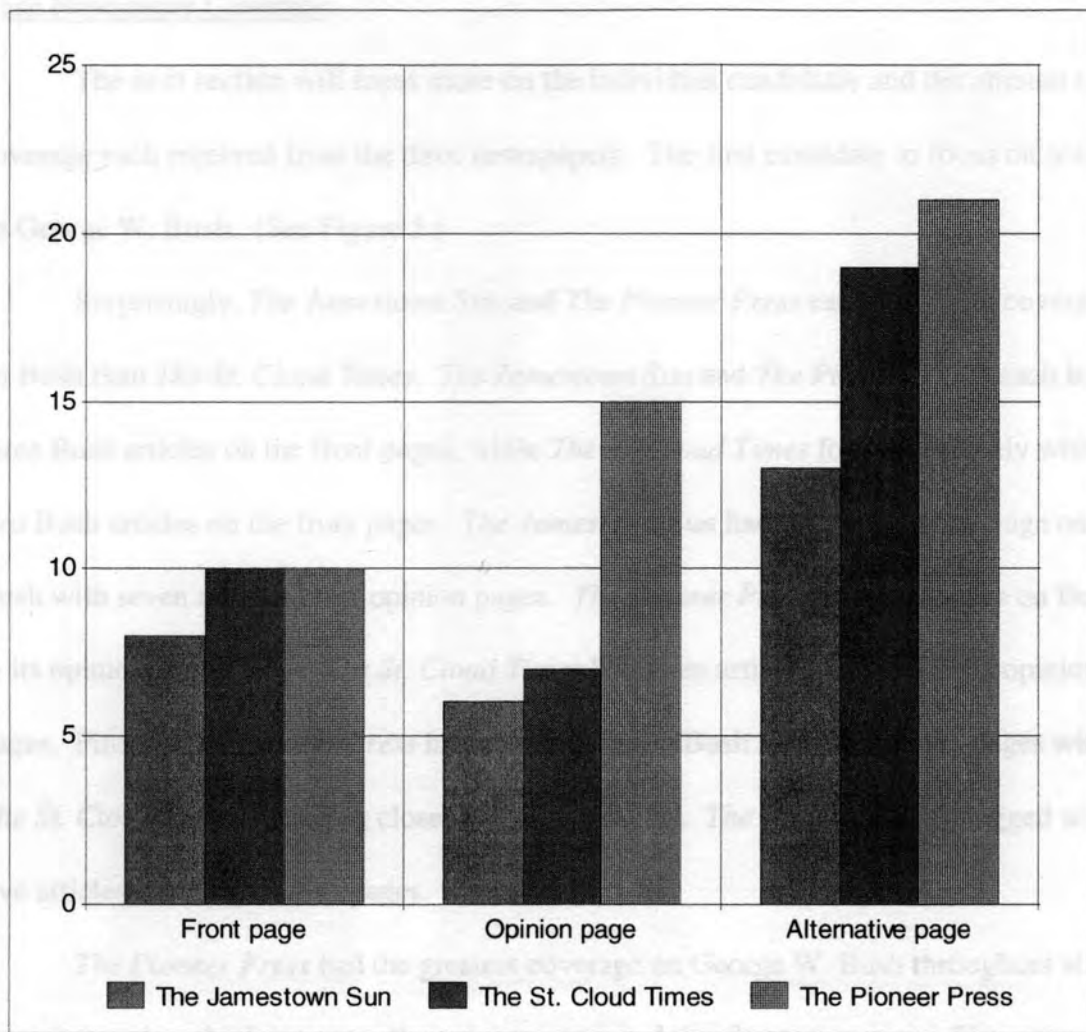


Figure 2

Bush and Gore Coverage in Same Article

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

### Bush Newspaper Coverage

The next section will focus more on the individual candidates and the amount of coverage each received from the three newspapers. The first candidate to focus on will be George W. Bush. (See Figure 3.)

Surprisingly, *The Jamestown Sun* and *The Pioneer Press* each had more coverage on Bush than *The St. Cloud Times*. *The Jamestown Sun* and *The Pioneer Press* each had three Bush articles on the front pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* followed closely with two Bush articles on the front pages. *The Jamestown Sun* had the greatest coverage on Bush with seven articles in its opinion pages. *The Pioneer Press* had six articles on Bush in its opinion pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* had three articles on Bush in its opinion pages. Finally, *The Pioneer Press* had nine articles on Bush in its alternative pages with *The St. Cloud Times* following close with eight articles. *The Jamestown Sun* lagged with five articles in its alternative pages.

*The Pioneer Press* had the greatest coverage on George W. Bush throughout all three categories: the front page, the opinion page, and the alternative page. *The Jamestown Sun* had the second greatest amount of coverage on George W. Bush, while *The St. Cloud Times* had the least.

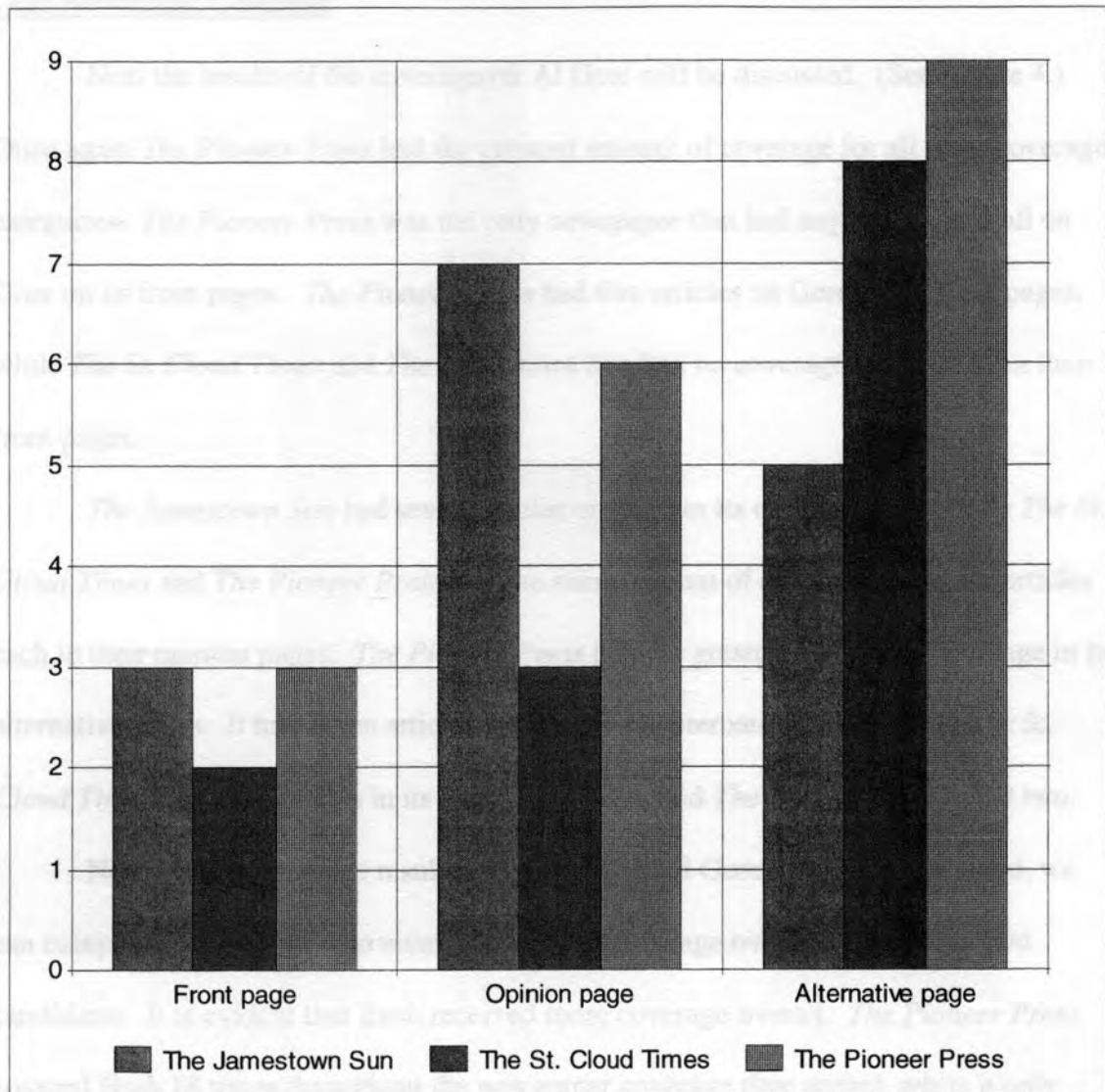


Figure 3

### Bush Newspaper Coverage

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

### Gore Newspaper Coverage

Next the results of the coverage on Al Gore will be discussed. (See Figure 4.) Once again *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest amount of coverage for all three coverage categories. *The Pioneer Press* was the only newspaper that had any coverage at all on Gore on its front pages. *The Pioneer Press* had five articles on Gore on its front pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* and *The Jamestown Sun* had no coverage of Al Gore on their front pages.

*The Jamestown Sun* had seven articles on Gore in its opinion pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* and *The Pioneer Press* had the same amount of coverage with four articles each in their opinion pages. *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest amount of coverage in its alternative pages. It had seven articles on Gore in its alternative pages, while *The St. Cloud Times* had four articles in its alternative pages and *The Jamestown Sun* had two.

Now that the coverage results for both Bush and Gore have been discussed, we can compare and contrast who received the most coverage overall between the two candidates. It is evident that Bush received more coverage overall. *The Pioneer Press* covered Bush 18 times throughout the newspaper coverage time period, while it only covered Gore 16 times. *The Jamestown Sun* covered Bush 15 times, while it only covered Gore nine times. And finally, *The St. Cloud Times* covered Bush 13 times, while it only covered Gore eight times.

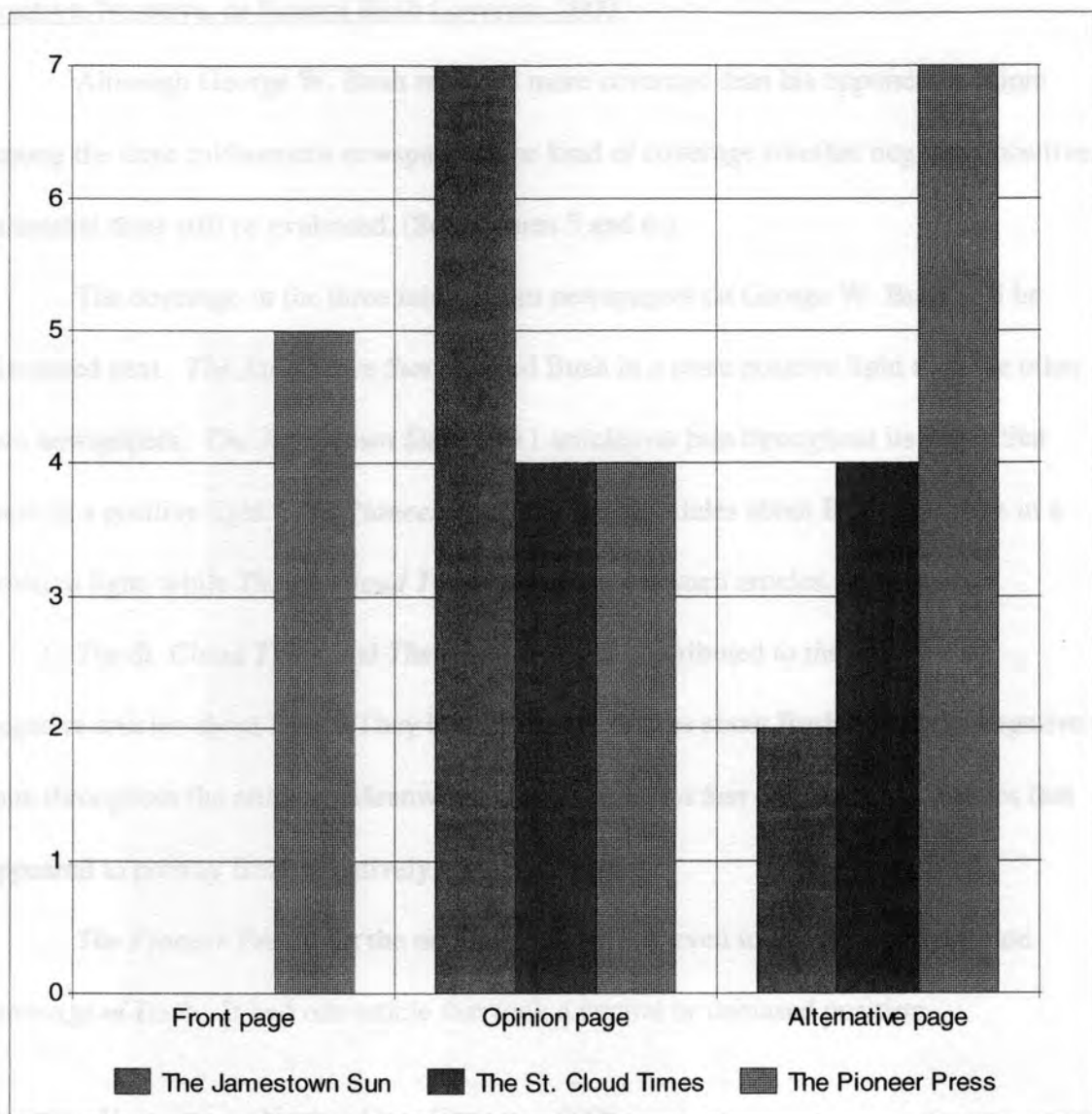


Figure 4

## Gore Newspaper Coverage

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

### Positive, Negative, or Neutral Bush Coverage 2000

Although George W. Bush received more coverage than his opponent Al Gore among the three midwestern newspapers, the kind of coverage whether negative, positive, or neutral must still be evaluated. (See Figures 5 and 6.)

The coverage in the three midwestern newspapers on George W. Bush will be discussed next. *The Jamestown Sun* covered Bush in a more positive light than the other two newspapers. *The Jamestown Sun* had 11 articles on him throughout its pages that were in a positive light. *The Pioneer Press* had eight articles about Bush that were in a positive light, while *The St. Cloud Times* only had four such articles.

*The St. Cloud Times* and *The Pioneer Press* contributed to the majority of negative articles about Bush. They both had nine articles about Bush that had a negative tone throughout the articles. Meanwhile, *The Jamestown Sun* only had four articles that appeared to portray Bush negatively.

*The Pioneer Press* was the only newspaper that even took a neutral stance on coverage of Bush. It had one article that took a neutral or unbiased position.

### Positive, Negative, or Neutral Gore Coverage 2000

The coverage on Al Gore will also be discussed. *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* each had three positive articles on Gore. This is not completely surprising, considering both of these newspapers gave more positive coverage to George W. Bush. On the other hand, *The St. Cloud Times* had four positive articles on Gore. Basically, all three newspapers did not give a great deal of positive coverage to Al Gore; instead, more positive coverage was given to Bush.



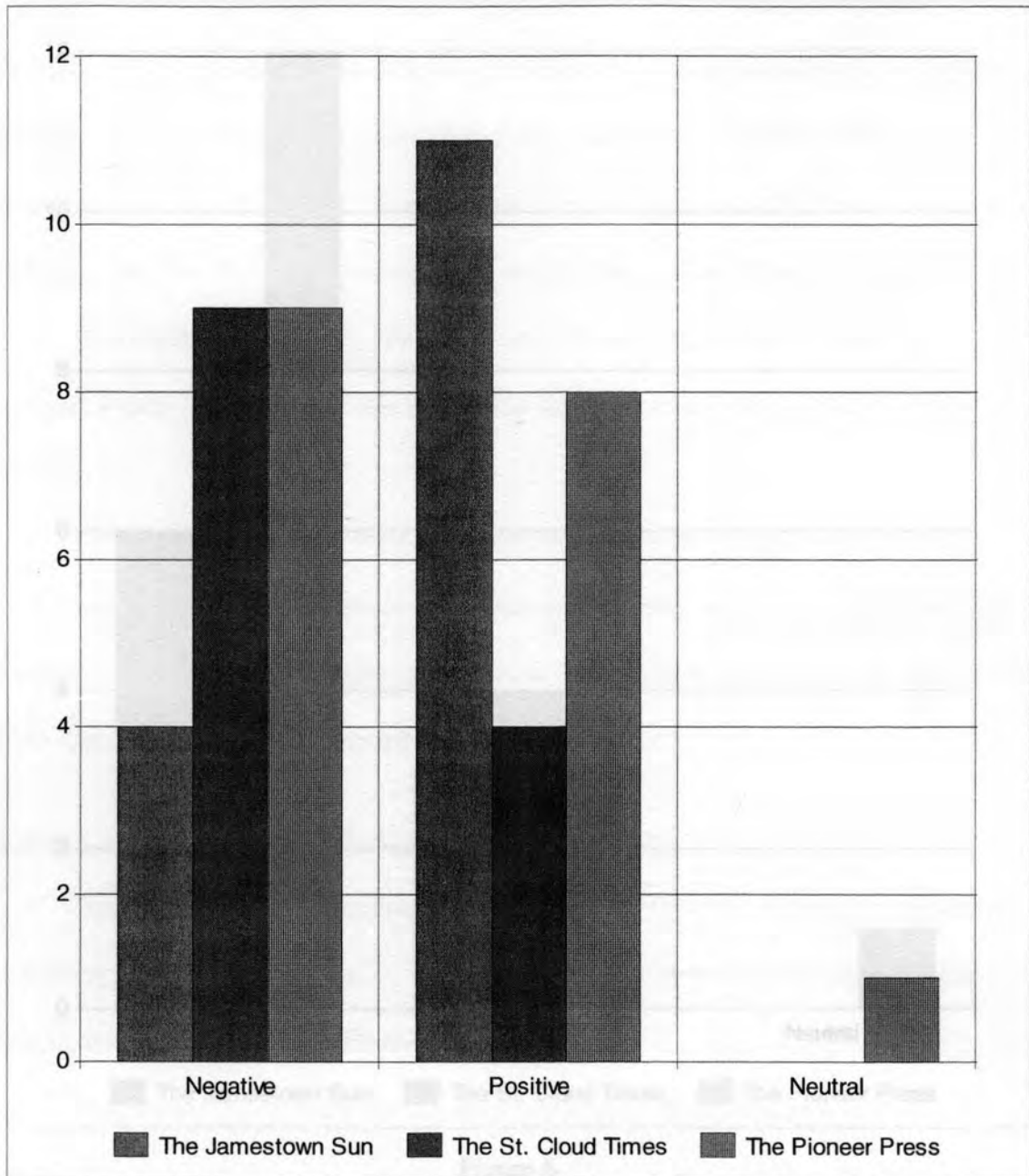


Figure 5

## Bush Coverage 2000

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

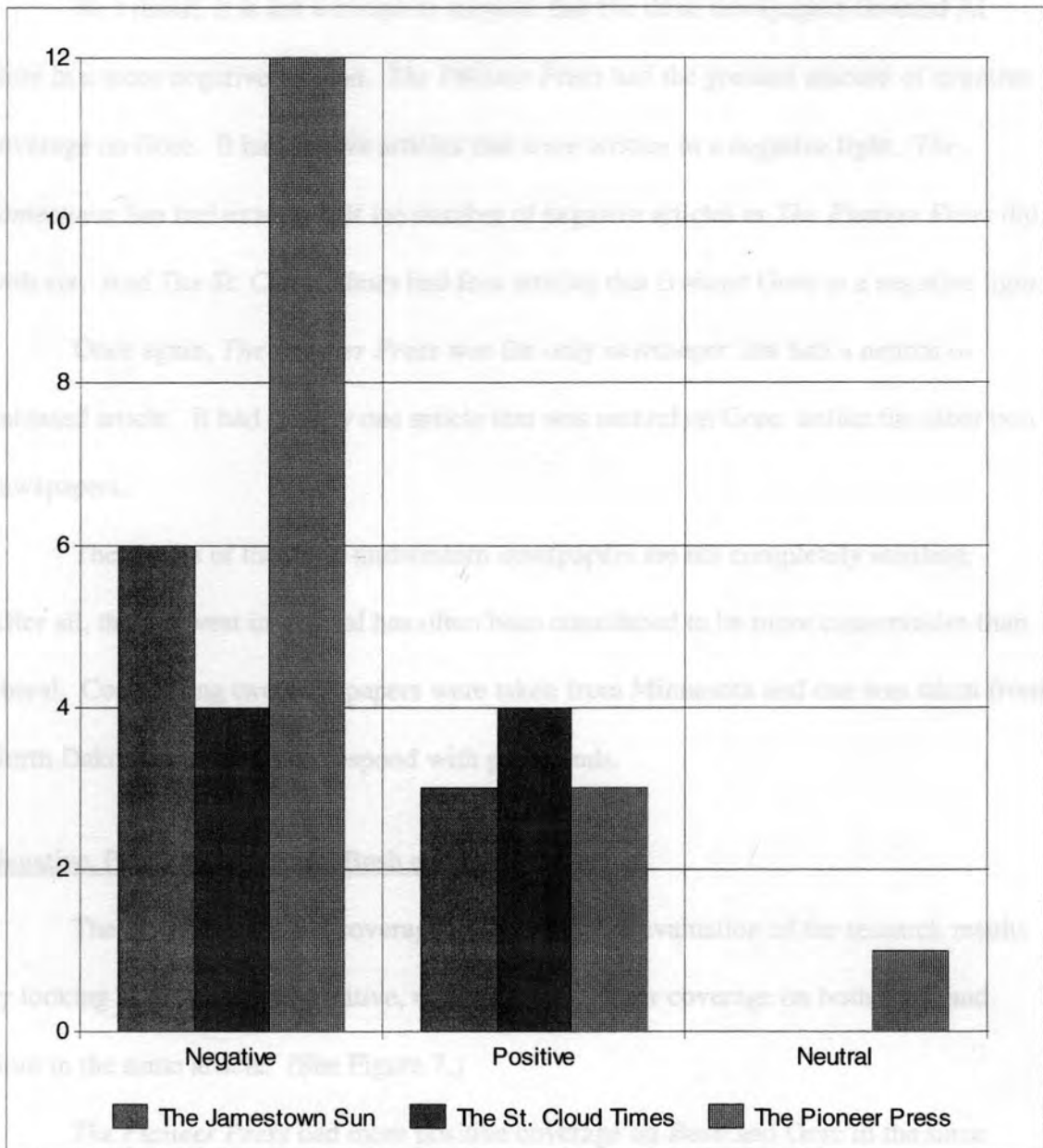


Figure 6

## Gore Coverage 2000

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000



As a result, it is not a complete surprise that the three newspapers covered Al Gore in a more negative fashion. *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest amount of negative coverage on Gore. It had twelve articles that were written in a negative light. *The Jamestown Sun* had exactly half the number of negative articles as *The Pioneer Press* did with six. And *The St. Cloud Times* had four articles that covered Gore in a negative light.

Once again, *The Pioneer Press* was the only newspaper that had a neutral or unbiased article. It had exactly one article that was neutral on Gore, unlike the other two newspapers.

The results of the three midwestern newspapers are not completely startling. After all, the midwest in general has often been considered to be more conservative than liberal. Considering two newspapers were taken from Minnesota and one was taken from North Dakota, the results correspond with past trends.

#### Negative, Positive, or Neutral Bush and Gore Coverage

The conclusion of the coverage will discuss the evaluation of the research results by looking at the negative, positive, or neutral newspaper coverage on both Bush and Gore in the same article. (See Figure 7.)

*The Pioneer Press* had more positive coverage on Bush and Gore in the same article with seven articles. *The Jamestown Sun* had four positive articles on Bush and Gore in the same article, while *The St. Cloud Times* had the least amount of favorable coverage on Bush and Gore in the same article with three articles.

*The St. Cloud Times* had the greatest number of negative articles on Bush and Gore in the same article with 19. *The Pioneer Press* had 13 negative articles, while *The Jamestown Sun* had eight negative articles.

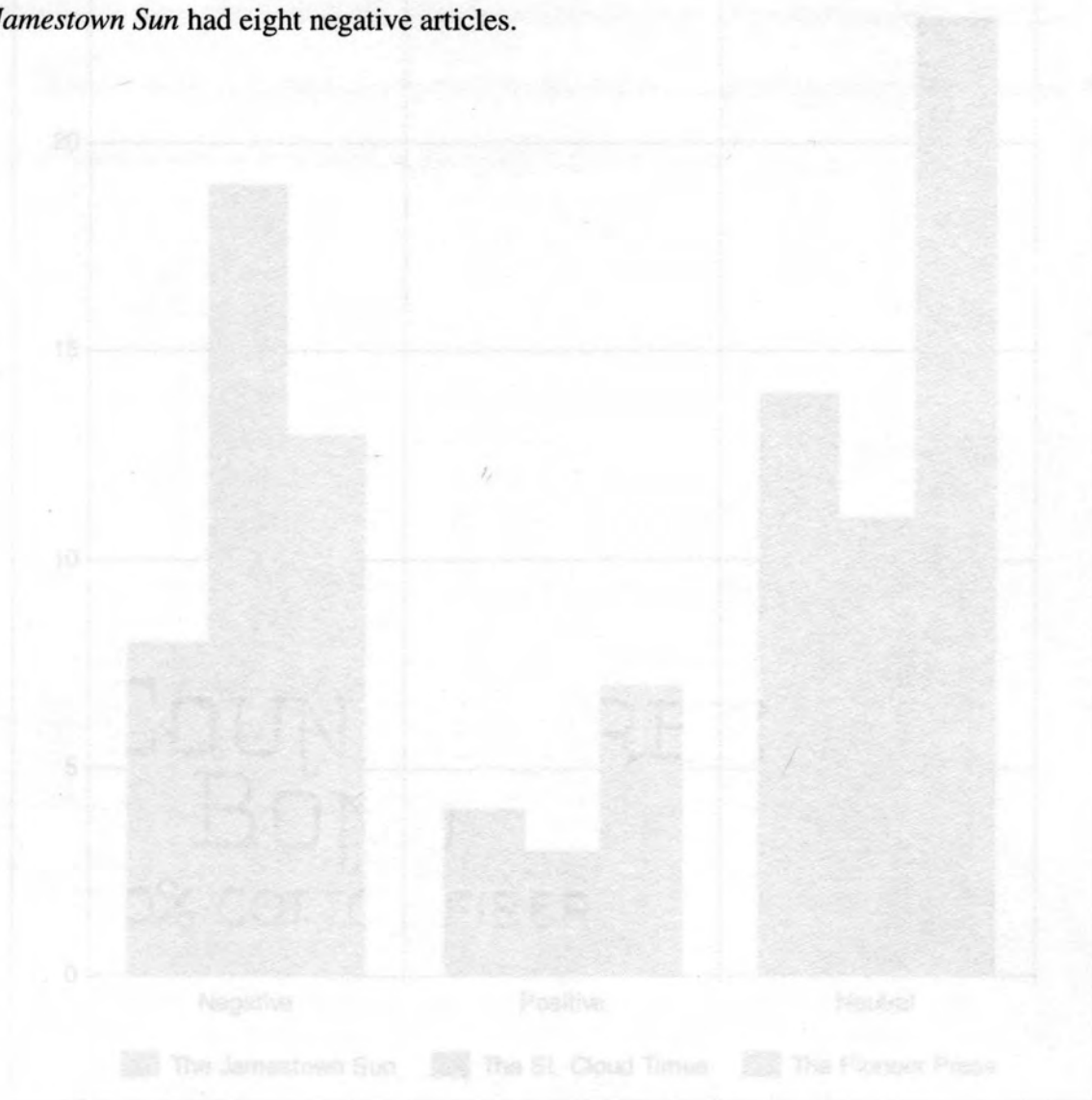


Figure 7

Bush and Gore Coverage

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

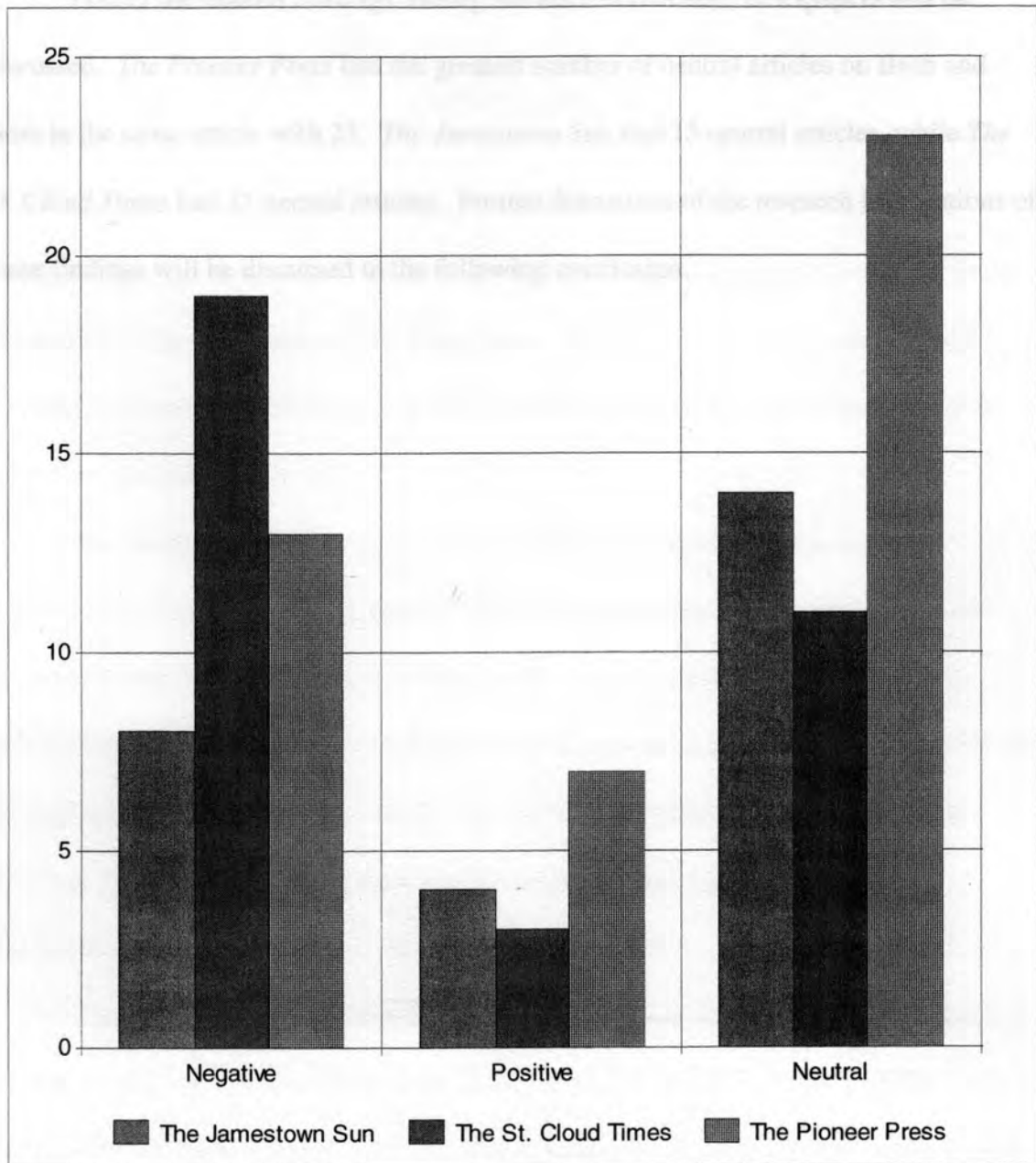


Figure 7

## Bush and Gore Coverage

Newspaper coverage occurred between September 30 and November 10, 2000

Finally the neutral coverage among the three midwestern newspapers will be discussed. *The Pioneer Press* had the greatest number of neutral articles on Bush and Gore in the same article with 23. *The Jamestown Sun* had 13 neutral articles, while *The St. Cloud Times* had 11 neutral articles. Further discussion of the research implications of these findings will be discussed in the following conclusion.

#### CONCLUSION

The three midwestern newspapers: *The Pioneer Press*, *The St. Cloud Times*, and *The Jamestown Sun* were used to evaluate differences in news coverage among three different communities.

The results of the study indicated that there was a notable difference in the quantity of newspaper coverage among the three communities. There was more news coverage in the 2000 presidential election in the larger community's newspaper *The Pioneer Press*, than the other two community newspapers. Although the coverage for the St. Paul community was more in depth and vast than the other two communities, the coverage in the Jamestown and St. Cloud communities was fairly comparable in standards of quantity.

The results of the study also indicated that there was some degree of difference in the quality of coverage among the three newspapers. *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* tended to give more positive coverage to George W. Bush, while *The St. Cloud Times* gave more positive coverage to Al Gore. This is a reasonable finding because *The Pioneer Press* in the past has been referred to as a more "conservative" newspaper compared to *The Star Tribune*. Although *The Pioneer Press* generally tends

## CONCLUSION

The study of the press coverage on the 2000 presidential election campaign examined whether or not news quantity and quality varied with regards to the size of the community. The three midwestern newspapers: *The Pioneer Press*, *The St. Cloud Times*, and *The Jamestown Sun* were used to evaluate differences in news coverage among three different communities.

The results of the study indicated that there was a notable difference in the quantity of newspaper coverage among the three communities. There was more news coverage on the 2000 presidential election in the larger community's newspaper *The Pioneer Press*, than the other two community newspapers. Although the coverage for the St. Paul community was more in-depth and vast than the other two communities, the coverage in the Jamestown and St. Cloud communities was fairly comparable in standards of quantity.

The results of the study also indicated that there was some degree of difference in the quality of coverage among the three newspapers. *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* tended to give more positive coverage to George W. Bush, while *The St. Cloud Times* gave more positive coverage to Al Gore. This is a reasonable finding because *The Pioneer Press* in the past has been referred to as a more "conservative" newspaper compared to *The Star Tribune*. Although *The Pioneer Press* generally tends

to be more conservative, it was chosen for the study because it tends to cover political events more thoroughly than its competitor *The Star Tribune*. In addition, it is feasible to expect *The Jamestown Sun* to be a little more conservative, considering Jamestown is a smaller community in North Dakota. It is therefore not startling that both *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* tended to cover Bush more often and in a more positive light than Gore.

It was interesting that Al Gore did not make it on the front page by himself in *The Jamestown Sun* or *The St. Cloud Times*, unlike *The Pioneer Press* where he was on the front page five times. However, Bush was on the front page by himself on all three of the newspapers. In addition, it is interesting that the outcome of the race ended with George W. Bush finally succeeding after an unusual election.

Perhaps the use of agenda-setting or framing could account for some of the voter turn-out. However, it is interesting that the victor of the race was the same candidate that received more ample news coverage among the three newspapers.

In summation, there were some quality and quantity differences among the three newspapers. While *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* tended to focus more on issues dealing with George W. Bush, *The St. Cloud Times* focused more on Al Gore. The idea of agenda-setting was a clear and present reality when reading the article titles and headings. As a result, readers of *The Pioneer Press* and *The Jamestown Sun* were more likely to develop a positive image of Bush and a negative image of Gore due to the type of news coverage given to Bush and Gore. In contrast, the readers of *The St. Cloud Times* were more likely to develop a more positive image of Al Gore than George Bush



from its news coverage of the two candidates. It is important to remember that the readers of these newspapers not only developed their opinions about the candidates from the newspapers, but also from other news sources such as television, radio, and the Internet. In addition, this research is only intended to represent a small area of the United States population and the results of this research are not intended to represent all of those in the coverage research area.

Finally, the differences in salience of the presidential candidates in the news coverage varied from article to article. However, George W. Bush was razzed several times about his DUI accounts and the fact that his father was a former president. This was where the majority of negative press coverage came from for him. On the other hand, Al Gore was often criticized for not allowing former president Bill Clinton to speak on his behalf and for coming off as an aloof fellow. These were the main criticisms that both candidates faced on a daily basis right up to the final election count. The agenda-setting impact helped to channel these negative images and ideas to the public.

The 2000 presidential election was one of unusual circumstances from the beginning to the end. Many believed that Al Gore should have won the presidency, while others claimed that George W. Bush should have won from the beginning. It is always easier to look back on events in retrospect and see what changes could have been made to change history as we know it. However, the results of this election and presidency will only truly be known years after the final ballots were counted.

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APPENDIXES

*The Jamestown Site*





## The Jamestown Sun- Jamestown, ND

Date	Front page	Opinion	Altern.page	Candidate	Coverage
September 30			7	B & G	neutral
September 30	x			B & G	neutral
October 02	x			B & G	neutral
October 02			3	B & G	neutral
October 03	x			B & G	B+ & G-
October 03			17	B & G	positive
October 03		x		G	negative
October 04	x			B & G	neutral
October 05		x		B	positive
October 06	x			V. Pres can	neutral
October 06			3	G	negative
October 07		x		B & G	negative
October 09		x		G	positive
October 10		x		G	negative
October 10		x		B	positive
October 11			13	B & G	positive
October 12			3	B & G	neutral
October 14			13	B & G	positive
October 18	x			B & G	negative
October 18		x		B	negative
October 18		x		B & G	negative
October 23	x			B & G	neutral
October 23		x		B	neg
October 23		x		B & G	neg
October 23			x	B & G	neg
October 24			x	B & G	B+ & G-
October 24		x		G	pos
October 24		x		B	pos
October 25			x	B & G	neutral
October 27		x		B & G	neutral
October 27			x	G	neg
October 27			x	B	pos
October 28			x	B	pos
October 28		x		B & G	neg
October 30	x			Dem	neg
October 30			x	B	pos
October 31		x		G	neg
October 31		x		G	neg
October 31	x			B & G	neutral

The Jamestown Sun – Jamestown, ND  
(continued)

Date	Front page	Opinion	Altern.page	Candidate	Coverage
November 01			x	B & G	neg
November 02			x	B & G	neutral
November 04		x		Dem	pos
November 04			x	B	pos
November 04			x	B	neg
November 06			x	B & G	neutral
November 06		x		B	pos
November 06	x			B & G	pos
November 07			x	B & G	neutral
November 08		x		G	pos
November 08		x		B & G	neg
November 08	x			B	pos
November 09	x			B	pos
November 09		x		B	pos
November 10	x			B	neg

The St. Cloud Times - St. Cloud, Minn.

Date	Page	Section	Headline	Text	Category
1948-01-01	1	1			neutral
1948-01-02	1	1			negative
1948-01-03	1	1			neutral
1948-01-04	1	1			negative
1948-01-05	1	1			negative
1948-01-06	1	1			neutral
1948-01-07	1	1			neutral
1948-01-08	1	1			negative
1948-01-09	1	1			negative
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1948-01-17	1	1			negative
1948-01-18	1	1			neutral
1948-01-19	1	1			negative
1948-01-20	1	1			neutral
1948-01-21	1	1			negative
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1948-03-15	1	1			negative
1948-03-16	1	1			neutral
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1948-03-19	1	1			negative
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1948-03-21	1	1			negative
1948-03-22	1	1			neutral
1948-03-23	1	1			negative
1948-03-24	1	1			neutral
1948-03-25	1	1			negative
1948-03-26	1	1			neutral
1948-03-27	1	1			negative
1948-03-28	1	1			neutral
1948-03-29	1	1			negative
1948-03-30	1	1			neutral
1948-03-31	1	1			negative

APPENDIX B

The St. Cloud Times

## The St. Cloud Times – St. Cloud, Minn.

Date	Front page	Opinion	Altern.page	Candidate	Coverage
October 01			3a	B & G	positive
October 02		x		B & G	negative
October 04	x			B & G	neutral
October 04			3a	B & G	negative
October 05			3a	B & G	negative
October 05	x			B & G	negative
October 05		x		B & G	negative
October 06			6a	B & G	neutral
October 06	x			V.P cand	neutral
October 07		x		B & G	negative
October 07			3a	B & G	negative
October 08			8c	B	positive
October 08			7a	B	negative
October 08		x		B & G	negative
October 09		x		B	negative
October 10	x			B & G	negative
October 10		x		B	negative
October 11		x		B & G	negative
October 11			3a	B & G	neutral
October 12	x			B & G	positive
October 12			6a	B & G	negative
October 13			7b	B	negative
October 13			3a	B	negative
October 14			3a	B & G	neutral
October 15			3a	B & G	negative
October 16			7b	G	negative
October 17		x		G	negative
October 17			3a	B & G	negative
October 18	x			B & G	negative
October 20		x		B & G	negative
October 22		x		G	negative
October 22			8a	B	positive
October 23		x		B & G	negative
October 24		x		B	positive
October 25			3a	B & G	pos & neg
October 26			8a	B & G	neutral
October 26			3a	B & G	neutral
October 27			3a	V.P. cand	neutral
October 28			3a	B & G	negative
October 29			6a	G	positive
October 29			5a	G	positive
October 30			5a	B	negative
October 31	x			B & G	G-

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(continued)

Date	Front page	Opinion	Altern.page	Candidate	Coverage
November 02			5a	B & G	neutral
November 03			3a	B & G	negative
November 03			4a	B	negative
November 04	x			B	negative
November 04			3a	B	negative
November 05			3a	G	negative
November 05		x		G	positive
November 05	x			B & G	positive
November 05		x		G	positive
November 06	x			B & G	negative
November 06			8a	B & G	neutral
November 06			3a	B & G	neutral
November 07	x			B & G	neutral
November 07			3a	B & G	neutral
November 08	x			B	positive
November 09	x			B & G	G-





## The Pioneer Press - St. Paul, Minn.

Date	Front page	Opinion pg	Altern pg	Candidate	Coverage
October 01		x		B & G	negative
October 01		x		B & G	positive
October 01	x			B & G	neutral
October 01			12a	B & G	neutral
October 01			13a	B & G	neutral
October 03	x			B & G	neutral
October 03		x		B & G	neutral
October 03		x		B & G	neutral
October 04			8a	B & G	neutral
October 04	x			B & G	neutral
October 05			8a	B & G	b+ g-
October 05			9a	V.P. cand	negative
October 05	x			B & G	neutral
October 05		x		G	negative
October 05		x		Nader	positive
October 06			15a	V.P. cand	positive
October 07			11a	B & G	b+ g-
October 07		x		Nader	positive
October 08		x		B & G	b- g+
October 08			2a	G	negative
October 08			2a	B	positive
October 08			5a	G	negative
October 08			10a	B & G	neutral
October 09		x		B & G	neutral
October 10		x		B & G	negative
October 11	x			B	positive
October 12	x			B & G	neutral
October 13		x		B & G	negative
October 14			5a	B & G	negative
October 14		x		B & G	negative
October 15		x		B	positive
October 15			7a	B & G	neutral
October 18	x			B & G	positive
October 18			12a	B & G	positive
October 18			14a	B & G	negative
October 19			2a	B & G	neutral
October 21			2a	B & G	positive
October 22		x		B & G	neutral
October 22		x		B	positive
October 22	x			G	negative
October 22	x			B & G	negative
October 23		x		G	negative
October 23		x		B & G	neg & pos
October 23		x		G	negative

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(continued)

Date	Front page	Opinion pg	Altern pg	Candidate	Coverage
October 25			5a	G	negative
October 25	x			B & G	neutral
October 25			3a	B & G	neutral
October 26	x			G	negative
October 26			11a	G	neutral
October 26			12a	B & G	neutral
October 26		x		B	positive
October 27		x		B	negative
October 27			9a	B & G	negative
October 28		x		B	negative
October 29			19a	B	positive
October 29	x			G	positive
October 29			11a	B	negative
October 30			6a	B & G	neutral
November 01	x			G	negative
November 01			5a	B & G	negative
November 01		x		B & G	negative
November 02	x			B	positive
November 02			13a	G	negative
November 02		x		B & G	negative
November 03			4a	B	negative
November 03			5a	B & G	negative
November 03		x		B & G	neutral
November 04	x			B	negative
November 04			6a	B	negative
November 04			7a	B & G	positive
November 04			8a	B	negative
November 04			9a	B	negative
November 04		x		B & G	negative
November 05			2a	B & G	neutral
November 08	x			B & G	positive
November 08			4a	G	positive
November 08			4a	B & G	positive
November 08		x		B	neutral
November 09	x			B & G	neutral
November 09			5a	B	positive
November 09			6a	B	negative
November 10	x			G	negative
November 10			21a	G	negative