

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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**Okvirjanje novic na primeru zdravstvene reforme v Združenih
državah Amerike**

**News Framing in the case of Health Care Reform in the United
States of America**

Magistrsko delo

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“On Capitol Hill, decorating the Christmas tree is always in season“

(Katherine Q. Seelye).

Thanks to professor Gary Aguiar for mentoring, guidance and support during the past year. And it's been a great year!

News Framing in the case of Health Care Reform in the United States of America

Everybody should have the access to basic health care. The higher the development of a country (economically, culturally and other development) the higher is the development of a medical system—or at least that is what we expect. United States of America faced the problems of higher medical care costs, compared to the health of a nation. In March 2010, president Barack Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, which reorganizes health care system. With this Act the state becomes more involved in providing health care to the vulnerable and employers should provide insurance to their employees or face penalties. In this historical breakthrough, the media closely reported on all aspects of this issue and on all involved. The never-ending debates about the cost–effect affected minorities and the greedy insurance companies attracted media attention. What I brought to light in this Master's thesis is the question on media's coverage of health care reform. The key question is how media present the news to the reader—frame the news. Research shows that objectivity is quite impossible, from the perspective of focal points, emphasized to identify frames, or from the perspective of reader's favorability. These results show us that numerous factors need to be considered when defining news frames and an expanded research is a must for a more comprehensive analysis.

Key words: Health care, media, news framing, United States of America

Okvirjanje novic na primeru zdravstvene reforme v Združenih državah Amerike

Dostop do osnovne zdravstvene oskrbe naj bi bil omogočen vsakomur. Višja razvitost države (ekonomska, kulturna in ostalo) pomeni višja pričakovanja glede razvitosti zdravstvenega sistema. V Združenih državah Amerike (v nadaljevanju ZDA) predstavlja ureditev zdravstvenega sistema velik problem. Razkorak med naraščajočimi stroški zdravstvene oskrbe in stopnjo kakovosti zdravstva je bil vseskozi velik. Marca 2010 je predsednik Barack Obama podpisal zakon, s katerim je reformiral zdravstveni sistem v ZDA. Z novim zakonom postane država vpletena v zdravstvo posameznika, hkrati pa delodajalcem nalaga kazni, če ne plačujejo obveznega zdravstvenega zavarovanja svojih zaposlenih. Mediji so budno spremljali in poročali o dogodkih glede zdravstvene reforme. Burne razprave, nasprotujoča si mnenja, visoke številke na računih zdravstvenih zavarovalnic in prizadete manjšine/skupine so bile v središču medijske pozornosti. V magistrski nalogi predstavljam tematiko okvirjanja novic v procesu sprejemanja zakona zdravstvene reforme v ZDA. Ključno vprašanje je, ali mediji (in kako) okvirjajo novice. Rezultati so pokazali, da je objektivnost skoraj nemogoča. Upoštevati moramo mnogo dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na objektivnost/subjektivnost napisane novice in zajeti širši družbeni kontekst, da lahko podamo celovite rezultate analize.

Ključne besede: zdravstvena reforma, mediji, okvirjanje novic, Združene države Amerike

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List of Abbreviations

AALL–American Association for Labor Legislation

ABC–American Broadcasting Company

AM–Amplitude Modulation

AMA–The American Medical Association

CBS–Columbia Broadcasting System

CNN–Cable News Network

COBRA–Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act

CRS–The Congressional Research Service

FAIR–Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting

FCC–Federal Communications Commission

FM–Frequency Modulation

HBO–Home Box Office

HCERA–Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act

HHS–Health and Human Services

MMA–The Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and modernization Act

MTV–Music Television

NBC–National Broadcasting Company

NPR–National Public Radio

NYT–The New York Times

OAA–The Old Age Assistance

OAI–The Old Age Insurance

PBS–Public Broadcasting Service

PC–Personal Computer

PDP–Prescription Drug Plan

PHS–Public Health Service

PPACA–The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act

SSA–The Social Security Act

USA–United States of America

VOA–Voice of America

1 Introduction

Health care policy in the United States of America (USA from now on) has created a 1, 5 trillion dollar worth industry that includes public and nonprofit institutions (for example, hospitals, nursing homes and other institutions) and large private corporations. Expressed in dollars, the USA health system consumption is second after production sector and at the same time world's eighth largest economy (Sultz and Young 2006, xiv).

There have been many health care reform attempts in the USA history (Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1935; Harry Truman in 1946 and 1949; Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965; Richard M. Nixon in 1974, Ronald Reagan in 1985 and George W. Bush from 2001 to 2009). One of the most promising attempts was Bill Clinton's National Health Security Act in 1993. Opposite interest groups persistently pressured policy makers and the public, therefore the bill was not reported out of committee (Sultz and Young 2006, xiv). The failure of previous attempts was also due to the media coverage of proposals (Sultz and Young 2006, 265).

After decades of different attempts, health care reform was finally adopted in 2010. President Barack Obama presented the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act that passed the House of Representatives on March 21, 2010, and became law on March 23, 2010. Later also Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act became law.

When it comes to comprehensive policies the truth is not an easy thing to find. The USA health care and insurance pressure groups have little interest in the truth, also the media is not interested in its complexity (Drache and Sullivan 1999, 268). Therefore previous attempts of health care reform in the USA gained negative metaphors such as "*Patient Dumping*" (Ronald Reagan's attempt in 1985) and "*Quicker and Sicker*" (George Bush's attempt in 2008). The truth and the news are not two words for one and the same thing (Lippmann 1999, 225). The function of the news is to warn people about something, while the function of the truth is to expose hidden facts and to create an objective image of reality on which people can influence. The quantity of exact knowledge when reporting is not of a great size and requires

no special skills, the rest is up to journalist's subjective judgment. The sooner the journalist admits his weaknesses, the sooner he will realize his subjective reporting, based on his stereotypes and interests (Lippmann 1999, 226). Erjavec and Poler Kovačič (2007, 138) drew a similar conclusion: "Journals communication process is a construct of media reality and the media construction of reality is a construction of images that reflect as news//..." Journalistic text is a media construct and a message of different reality images. Journalistic writing means collecting, selecting and shaping the information about the facts and opinion so journalists should be objective in doing it (Poler Kovačič 2002, 768). When objectivity is not employed, framing occurs, where journalists subjectively decide how to report the news (Shah and others 1998, 212).

Lechler and de Vreese (2009, 3), Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007, 11) define framing as "...//the extent to what the media affect citizen's understanding of politics//..." The frame affects the individual by presenting him or her with certain aspects of the reality and pushes other aspects in the background—this is a selective function (Lechler in de Vreese 2009, 3; Graber 2010, 140–141). How to identify the frames?

Entman (in de Vreese 2005, 54) explains that news frames can be identified by "...//the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments//..." Tankard (2003, 101) presented the most comprehensive empirical approach towards defining frames; he presented eleven focal points that identify and measure news frames. These points are: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts and concluding statements and paragraphs.

Based on Tankard's presentation of measuring news frames, I will undertake a research of news frames in the case of health care reform in the USA. In order to do that I will analyze articles from the online version of the New York Times (NYT from now on) during the one-year period before the Congress passed the Act.

1.1 Research problem and goal

The research problem refers to the question of *existence, frequency and types of news frames* that occur when reporting president Obama's health care reform proposal.

The research goal is to analyze articles in an online edition of NYT in one-year period before the bill became law (March 23, 2009 to March 23, 2010) and identify the various types of frames employed.

1.2 Importance of the research

Health care reform has been the subject of political debates since the early years of twentieth century. Since the first day of his administration, president Obama announced health care reform as his top priority. After several months of no progress, the critics started pouring in. The Pew Research Center conducted a survey from July 31 to August 3, 2009 among 1,013 adults, and the results were as following: 47 percent of Americans followed the news about health care reform very closely and 37 percent of questioned said that news organizations have done a poor job explaining the effects of the proposal on people. Today, we live in a society that depends on information we receive (mainly) from media and other sources. Based on the information we get, we create our beliefs, decisions and values. Undertaking research of news framing is in today's media era a very appropriate assignment.

1.3 Research method

The online edition of NYT offers a custom news search feature. In the custom date range (March 23, 2009 to March 23, 2010), I analyzed articles that are produced from the key word search: "*health care reform.*"

Analyzing units are five focal points in a randomly selected article and the method is framing. The frames will be identified on the basis of presence/absence of defined characteristics of focal points, set by Tankard (2003, 11).

Selling news today is like window-shopping. For a successful sale of the news the one who writes it must add photography, videos, graphs and other things (Vargas). I selected five points to identify the frames: headline, photography, photography caption, quotes and statistics and charts. A quick

look at the NYT archive shows there are 7.745 articles in the selected one-year period that include keyword "*health care reform.*"

The online edition of the NYT is the most popular American online newspaper, receiving more than 30 million visitors per month. It has been present online since 1996 (George 2004, 3). With such a great number of daily visits, it is more likely that other journalists will copy the frames, set by the NYT.

Out of 7.745 published articles, a sample pool for analyzing will be assembled using the following method. Neuman (2003, 218–229) defines Nonprobability and Probability sampling. For the first stage of research I am going to use a Systematic sampling (Probability sampling). With the use of sampling interval, I am going to select elements (articles) for the analysis from a sampling pool.

Sampling interval is calculated by dividing population size by the sample size (Whittington and Delaney 2011, 227).

In the case of my research, the sampling interval is 25 (7.745 divided by 300). Result 25 means that every twenty-fifth article is selected for the analysis. The first article will be selected randomly. The advantage of this method is that in the online edition of the NYT, search feature presents all articles numerically arranged by time. The size of the sample was based on the Neuman's (2003, 232) theory: "The larger the population, the smaller the sample." For example, if the population is large—10.000 elements, the sample pool should be around 10 percent. The optimal number for this analysis is 300 articles.

If some of the sampled articles do not cover president Obama's health care reform proposal (for example, if they cover previous health care reforms or anything other), the articles sampling will continue until reaching number 300. Articles not including president Obama's health care reform proposal will not be analyzed or included in the sample pool. If the analysis of 300 articles will show continuous appearing of the same frames—based on identified key points characteristics, I will additionally use the method of Purposive or Judgment sampling to identify other frames. The research goal is to determine existence, frequency and types of news frames used to cover president Obama's health care reform proposal.

The frames will be typed on the basis of the de Vreese (2005, 54) and Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000, 93) theory.

Additional to presented, other methods will be used: secondary evaluation of the articles, texts, publications and other relevant sources, systematic collecting and arrangement of data.

1.4 Research questions

In an online edition of the NYT, from March 23, 2009 to March 23, 2010, when reporting on president Obama's health care reform proposal:

- Can news frames be identified as present?
- If news frames can be identified, what is their frequency? and
- What type of news frames can be identified?

1.5 Paper layout

- Theoretical part: Health care system in the USA, health care reforms, communication process, media and framing;
- Analytical part: Analysis of 300 articles in an online edition of the NYT and
- Conclusion: Presentation of results.

2 Health care

2.1 Health

"Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization). Many authors (Jonas and others 2007, 3) agree that: "...//definition of health has enlarged in the second half of the twentieth century beyond morbidity, mortality and disability including sense of well-being, ability to adapt to change and social functioning." This is the theory; in practice health guides the provision of health services, and efforts to improve health status.

Health is determined by many factors: genetic inheritance, the physical (natural and built) and social environment. These factors influence both, individual and population health.

Genetic Inheritance

Is determined by environmental and genetic factors, which interact, "...//and individuals with a particular set of genes may be either more or less likely, if exposed, to be at risk of developing a particular disease//..." (Pencheon in Jonas and others 2007, 3).

Physical Environment

These factors include health threats from exposure to toxins and unsafe conditions that arise mainly from occupational and residential settings (for example, farm workers are exposed to injuries from farm machinery; people exposed to tobacco smoke and other exposure in sealed office buildings and people exposed to pollutants from nearby industrial facilities).

Social Environment

Race, ethnicity and socioeconomic status have an influence on the social environment. A lot of literature demonstrates the relationship between low socioeconomic status and poor health; especially among racial and ethnic groups in the USA. There is a higher percentage of diseases such as diabetes, asthma, cancer and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) among African Americans, Hispanic/Latinos, Native Americans and Pacific Islanders. The work environment, the threat of or the actual job also loss have a negative influence on health (Jonas and others 2007, 3–5).

2.2 Health care

The main focus of health care is to restore health or prevent exacerbation of health problems. As described before, health is the product of different factors, among which are genetic inheritances, physical environment, social environment, and individual's response to them. Individuals often turn to the health care system after the determinants of health had an impact on their health status (Jonas and others 2007, 6).

Fos and Fine (in Jonas and others 2007, 6) categorize health care in terms of its relationship to prevention: *primary, secondary and tertiary*.

Primary prevention means preventing development of disease or injury before it occurs in individuals or population (for example, the use of automobile seat

belts, and skin protection from ultraviolet light). *Secondary prevention* means the reduction of already existing disease after its development. It is the identification of a disease in an early stage.

Tertiary prevention means optimum treatment of clinically and clearly identified disease to prevent exacerbation, stabilize conditions and minimize future complications.

Health care is primarily focused on secondary and tertiary prevention, while having the smallest impact on primary prevention.

2.3 Health care system

All health care systems have five major components:

- The facilities where health care is provided;
- The workforce that provides health care services;
- The providers of health care;
- The education and research institutions that train the health care workforce and produce knowledge for improvement, and
- Financing mechanisms.

The proportion and form of each component is dependent on national systems. All listed components also need to be managed. System management includes four major activities:

1. Administration (different types of health services face different types of administrative problems);
2. Planning (set goals and objectives, design a program, allocate resources for implementing the program);
3. Regulation (usually takes place as reactive process, for example, after serious financial problem), and
4. Evaluation (academic program evaluation) (Jonas and others 2007, 8).

2.4 USA health care system

“When you’ve seen the US health care system, you’ve seen the US health care system” (Odier 2010, 283).

USA health care system is highly decentralized and fragmented (Odier 2010,

283).

In the perspective of five components of health care system, USA's has:

Health care facilities: In 2003 there were 5.764 acute care hospitals. Facilities differ by ownership: government (federal, state and local), not-for-profit and private (for profit);

Health care workforce: In 2004 around 13.8 million people in the USA worked in health care system;

Suppliers of therapeutics: Equipment produced by hospitals and manufacturers (gauze pads, sterile needles, laboratory chemicals and others);

Knowledge: Applying best experience from the past into health maintenance and disease treatment;

Financing: In 2003 USA spent over 1,679 trillion dollar on health services, which is close to 15.3 percent of the USA gross domestic product (Jonas and others 2007, 8–12).

The USA health care system has subsystems for different populations:

- *The private sector* (in the USA private health insurance is strictly voluntary);
- *The public sector* (*Medicare* is a basic coverage for elderly of 65 years and older; *Medicaid* is an insurance for people with low income/resources and has Part A for covering hospital expenses to a limited period of time, Part B for covering medically necessary services, Part C combines Part A and Part B and is provided through private insurance companies, Part D is for covering drug expenses) (Odier 2010, 283–285 and Medicare Consumer Guide).

All three levels of government: federal, state and local operate health service programs.

The main health care agency of the USA federal government is the Department of Health and Human Services. It is the USA's principal agency for protecting the health of all Americans and providing essential human services. It represents almost a quarter of all federal outlays, and administers more grant dollars than all other federal agencies combined. It is also

responsible for the federal social security program, the federal role in the state-run public assistance programs and the main federal programs in biomedical research, regulation, financing and public health (Jonas and others 2007, 13).

All 50 states have a major health agency that is a part of the state government.

On the local level there are counties, cities and districts that also have health care agencies. Third are non-health-caring government agencies (for example, the Department of Agriculture, which sets national nutrition standards in cooperation with the Department of Health and Human Services).

Non-governmental agencies also play an important role. They are known as *voluntary agencies*; among them are the Red Cross, Visiting Nurse Association and others. They are not-for-profit (or nonprofit) and their income is mainly through memberships, subscriptions and fees, occasionally grants and contracts (Jonas and others 2007, 14).

2.5 USA health care system history

The first involvement of the government in the provision of medical care began in 1798 with the Marine Hospital Service Act. It was established to provide temporary relief and maintenance of sick and/or disabled seamen. It was financed by a charge of 20 cents per month on all seamen and it was managed by the Treasury Department. It meant "...//a compulsory contributory national health insurance program for a particular category of employees//..." In 1870 the payment increased to 40 cents per month but the services also expanded. In 1902 the Marine Hospital Service became the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service and later, in 1912, the Public Health Service (PHS). PHS remained in the Treasury Department until 1939, when it was transferred to the Federal Security Agency and then in 1953 it became a part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Falk 1977, 162).

In 1854, activist Dorothea Lynde Dix presented a moving appeal for federal aid to the states in making provision for the indigent insane to the USA

Congress. She asked for a land grant that would assist the states to provide humane and curative treatment care for the insane, blind and deaf. The federal government would grant lands to the states. It is known as the Bill for the Benefit of the Indigent Insane. Both houses of Congress passed it, but president Franklin Pierce vetoed it. He argued that federal government should not commit itself to social welfare, as that was the responsibility of the states (Trattner 1988, 351–352).

The first major campaign in the USA for the enactment of government-sponsored health insurance was in the years from 1912 to 1920. John B. Andrews and others from American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL) introduced state-by-state programs, providing corresponding protection against non-work connected risks, services, and costs. The campaign ended due to the retraction of support by the American Medical Association, business groups, insurance companies and labor organizations. They also blocked further action in the legislature of sixteen states that were considering legislation (Falk 1977, 163).

The beginning of the twentieth century (1932) was also the time of the first written study of health care system in the USA:

The problem of providing satisfactory medical service to all the people of the United States at costs which they can meet is pressing one. At the present time, many persons do not receive service that is adequate either in quantity or quality, and the costs of service are unequally distributed. The result is a tremendous amount of preventable physical pain and mental anguish, needless deaths, economic inefficiency, and social waste. Furthermore, these conditions are largely unnecessary. The United States has the economic resources, the organizing ability, and the technical experience to solve this problem (Jonas and others 2007, 24).

Since then, reports have been issued and changes have been called for (Medicare and Medicaid) (Jonas and others 2007, 24).

In the years of great depression, Francis E. Townsend introduced his plan of seeking pensions for the aged. He suggested that the government should pay 200 dollars per month for Americans, aged sixty and older, who do not work

and will spend the money right away. In the days of the Great Depression this action would free jobs, provide help to elderly and end the depression. Congress did not pass the “Townsend plan“ and offered less generous plans through restricted benefits associated with the Social Security Act (SSA) (Amenta 2006, 1). Franklin D. Roosevelt’s SSA of 1935 represents the beginning of the welfare state in the USA. It was: “A conservative measure that tied the social insurance benefits to labor force and left administration of its public assistance programs to the states” (Quadagno 1984, 632).

The SSA included three major parts/measures:

- *The Old Age Assistance (OAA)* was for channeling federal funds to the states for old age pensions, for those in need and over the age of 65;
- *The Old Age Insurance (OAI)* was financed in whole from regressive payroll taxation and the governmental did not contribute anything, farm workers, domestic servants, employed in religious, charitable and educational organizations and self-employed (nearly half of the working population) were excluded;
- *The Unemployment Insurance* involved payroll contributions; the criteria for eligibility were left to the states (Quadagno 1984, 634; Smith and Moore 2008, 7).

Many authors criticized the SSA.

Linda Gordon (in Davies and Derthick 1997, 218) argued it as an Act that excluded the most needy groups from all its programs. She argued that exclusions were racially motivated, because the Congress was at the time dominated by the wealthy southern Democrats. They blocked “...//the possibility of a welfare system allowing blacks freedom to reject extremely low-wage and exploit jobs as agricultural laborers and domestic servants//...”

Lieberman and Quadagno (in Davies and Derthick 1997, 219) said: “Roosevelt’s administration favored racially-inclusive system of social supports. Congress chose to exclude agricultural and domestic workers, thereby depriving most African Americans of coverage.”

Ten years later, in 1945, president Harry Truman made four recommendations devoted exclusively to health care in his speech:

- Establishment of a nationwide system of health insurance;
- Federal aid for medical education;
- Increased federal aid for the construction of hospitals, and
- Increased federal aid for public health and maternal and child health services.

Congress passed only minor proposals: grants for hospital construction (the Hill–Burton Act of 1946), increased federal funding for medical research and public health services. In mid–term elections in 1946, Republicans gained a majority in both the House and the Senate, which prevented major proposals. After his reelection in 1949, president Truman once again called upon Congress to enact a compulsory health insurance program. He was the first president to use his annual address to the nation to demand national health insurance. He had a speech: “In a nation as rich as our, it is a shocking fact that tens of millions lack adequate medical care. We need—and we must have without further delay—a system of prepaid medical insurance.” Despite his optimism and the optimism of his supporters, the American Medical Association (AMA) and other opposition interest groups preserved the status quo. They argued that governmental involvement would risk damaging the high quality of American health care system. This was an official statement; unofficially organization’s desire was to maintain sovereignty and autonomy (Mayes 2004, 36–37).

On July 30, 1965, president Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Medicare legislation into law. The Medicare program provides basic health insurance coverage for people sixty-five and over. It also pays half of the costs for a voluntary supplementary medical insurance plan that covers physician’s services and some other benefits (Davis 1975, 450). Along with Medicare, Medicaid was enacted into law. It is a state and federal revenue funded program for low–income households–nation’s indigent and disabled population. States have different eligibility requirements and range of

available health services (Daniels 1998, 1–3).

President Richard M. Nixon proposed the second national health insurance model in 1974. His model for the Comprehensive Health Insurance Act was also a model for president Jimmy Carter’s Phase I National Health Plan proposal in 1979.

President Nixon’s plan was to establish a three–part national program that would include:

- An employee health–benefits plan meeting certain standards. The plan would require employers to offer full-time employees standardized health–benefits, including hospital, medical and preventive services. It would be implemented through private health insurance and financed through employer and employee contributions;
- State–operated health care program providing coverage for low–income families, high–risk families and employment groups. Availability of health insurance to all persons that are otherwise not insured;
- Federal health care program for the aged–expanded Medicare (Enthoven 2002, 167).

The proposal did not pass.

In 1985, the Congress enacted the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (COBRA), “...//providing a vital health plan bridge for qualified workers and their spouses and dependent children who might otherwise lose their health insurance coverage//...” (Northrop and others 2007, 79). COBRA enables employees to continue their health care insurance after they leave employer for a definite period of time.

President Bill Clinton’s major concern during his presidency was health care reform. In September 1993, he sent his Health Security Act proposal to Congress. The plan was to provide a minimum package covering hospital, emergency, clinical preventive, mental health and substance abuse, family planning, pregnancy–related, hospice, home health care, extended care, outpatient laboratory, vision, hearing, and dental services, among others.

Despite having a popular slogan: “The health care plan that is always there”, it did not attract majority support; it was also highly criticized and attacked by opposition interest groups and the Republicans (Patel and Rushefsky 2006, 53–54).

The presidency of George W. Bush was highly influenced by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Jacobson 2003, 701). As political focus had been on the foreign policy (Al–Qaeda, Iraq and Afghanistan War), the domestic policy (economy, education, health care, environment, immigration and other policies) was put aside. In the field of health care, president George W. Bush on December 3, 2003, signed a 678–page legislation, called the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act (MMA) into law. The MMA provides relief to the vulnerable, older Americans who struggled with increased prescription drug costs (Bakk 2009, 59) and created a new component to the Medicare, Part D. Part D covers Medicare’s outpatient prescription drugs and is available to nearly all citizens (Agostinho 2009, 186). Before passing the MMA, the Medicare program had three parts: Part A, B and C (Rabecs 2006, 730–731).

The legislation "...//creates a government subsidized prescription drug benefit as part of Medicare and opens the program to price competition through a premium support model for the current 40 million Medicare recipients//..." Seniors still have an option to obtain coverage through the traditional Medicare fee–for–service system. All in all, the new law enables seniors to buy more drugs for the same money as they spent before the enactment of the law due to the establishment of trial, partially privatized Medicare system that offered pre–tax medical savings accounts and raised certain fees for wealthier senior citizens (Moini 2010, 65).

The MMA adopts a "laissez–faire approach" to drug pricing. Under the Medicaid, the government negotiated the drug prices and under Part D the negotiating power transferred to prescription drug plans (PDP’s), private entities that then negotiate drug costs directly with pharmaceutical companies. MMA expressly prohibits the Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS) from negotiating prescription drug prices behalf of Medicare enrollees. The

Congressional Research Service (CRS) found that while in theory, the federal government is able to leverage its market share to negotiate lower prices but the non-interference clause prevents the government from seeking lower prices.

The House of Representatives recognized this problem and so they passed the Medicare Prescription Drug Price Negotiation Act in January 2007 (Agostinho 2009, 194–195). Bakk (2009, 60) expressed doubt, indicating that strong racial differences may exist in treatment and access outcomes under private health care plans.

In October 2008, president Obama proposed health care system reform with top three objectives:

- Compulsory coverage for all Americans (extended Medicare for people unable to afford private coverage and make private insurance more competitive, affordable and transparent);
- No worsening of the deficit (cost savings in Medicaid and Medicare programs, imposing specific tax on insurers and people with incomes over 200,000 dollars per year), and
- An increased role for preventive medicine (enhance the role of general practitioners) (Odier 2010, 292).

On March 23, 2010, president Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) into law, and this law is the most sweeping federal entitlement legislation in almost half a century (since the passage of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965) (Joyce 2011, 179). The PPACA addresses consumer protections, the pivotal role of employer-provided insurance coverage and government's role in providing health care access for the most vulnerable populations (Sultz and Young 2011, 60). PPACA was followed by the Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010 (HCERA).

2.6 The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA)

Summary of the Act:

- *For consumers*—The Act removes financial barriers to preventive care, bars insurance policy rejections due to pre-existing conditions and prohibits lifetime insurance coverage limits and coverage cancellations due to serious illness;
- *For employers*—The Act authorizes tax credits of up to 35 percent of premiums to make employee coverage more affordable and authorizes a temporary reinsurance program to offset the costs of expensive health claims for employers that provide health benefits for retirees fifty-five to sixty-four years of age;
- *For the most vulnerable population*—The Act expands Medicaid coverage to all non-Medicare eligible individuals under sixty-five years of age with incomes up to 133 percent of the federal poverty level.

Major PPACA objectives:

- Require that all individuals have health insurance by 2014 with some exceptions;
- Expand public programs eligibility including Medicaid, Children's Health Insurance and payment increases to primary care physicians for Medicaid services to equal Medicare payments;
- States creation of Health Benefit Exchanges for individuals and small employers to provide consumers with information that enables their choosing among alternative health insurance policies;
- Insurance market regulations that prevent insurers from denying coverage for any reason, and from charging higher premiums based on health status and gender;
- Assessment of 2,000 dollars per employee fee to employers of more than 50 employees if they do not offer health insurance coverage and if they have at least one employee receiving a premium credit through an exchange. Additional rules apply for employers who do not offer health insurance.

The net cost of the PPACA as estimated by the Congressional Budget Office is 938 billion dollars, based on a predicted decrease of 32 million uninsured individuals by 2019 with a concomitant reduction of 124 billion dollars in the federal deficit. The costs of the PPACA will be borne by a combination of savings from the Medicare and Medicaid, also from new taxes and fees (including an excise tax on high-cost insurance) (Sultz and Young 2011, 60–61).

3 Communication process and media

3.1 Communication process

Communication is defined as limited control over what listeners, readers and other types of receivers hear, read or receive other type of sources and what do they do with that (Smith 1984, 1).

According to Fisher (in Smith 1984, 1), there are two perspectives of communication:

- *Mechanistic view*: The source predetermines what the receiver will access and how is he going to respond (also known as the bullet theory: the message will have the desired effect if it hits the targeted audience);
- *Psychological view*: The receiver is able to respond (based on his/her values, beliefs and attitudes from past experience) in several ways, depending on the situation (the receiver is not as passive as in Mechanistic view).

Pioneer in communication research, American political scientist Harold Dwight Lasswell, began communication research based on both World Wars propaganda messages. In 1948 he set up the means of an act of communication:

"A convenient way to describe an act of communication is to answer the following questions:

- *Who*– Refers to the sender or source, the one who begins the communication act;
- *Says What*– Refers to the sent message;

- *In Which Channel*– Refers to the method of delivery (spoken word, microphone, a television set);
- *To Whom It May Concern*– Refers to the receiver, who then becomes a respondent;
- *With What Effect*– What kind of effect the message had on the receiver" (Lasswell and Huff in Huff 2008, 29–30).

Lasswell (in Huff 2008, 30) also defined communication as a three-part function in the society:

- To survey the environment to discover the dangers and opportunities in one's surroundings;
- To correlate responses to those challenges and dangers, and
- To transmit "*social inheritance*" or culture.

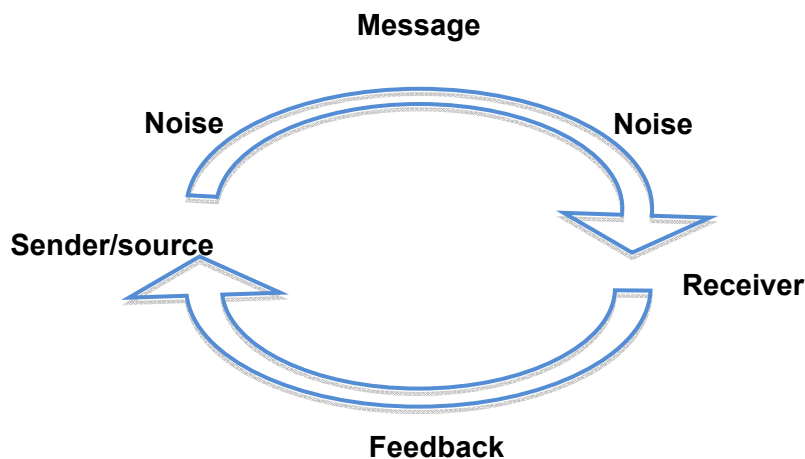
Rogers (in Huff 2008, 30) argued that later communication scholars added the fourth function:

- Entertainment.

What are the elements of communication? Biagi (2007, 9) explains:

A *sender* (source) puts a message on a channel (medium) that delivers the message to the *receiver*. *Feedback* is when the receiver responds, and that response changes subsequent messages from the source. *Noise* is an interruption that can change the message during the transmission (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: "Elements of mass communication"



Source: Biagi (2007, 9)

Biagi (2007, 9) defines communication as a process that takes place in magazines, recordings, radio, movies, television and Internet–media.

Joseph Schumpeter (in Stöber 2004, 486) in 1997 presented his invention and innovation theory in which he described the economic and social acceptance of new products. The emergence of new media is the result of invention and innovation. In the phase of invention, the new technology improves something old (for example, electrical telegraphy improved optical telegraphy).

The history of inventions:

- Johannes Gutenberg: printing press in 1440;
- Samuel Thomas von Soemmering: electrochemical telegraph in 1809;
- Johann Philipp Reis: telephone in 1861;
- The Lumiere and the Soemmering brothers: film in 1895;
- Reginald Fessenden: radio in 1906;
- Campbell Swinton: electronic television in 1908;
- Konrad Zuse: computer in 1941;
- Lawrence Roberts: the Internet in 1968.

The end of invention phase means the beginning of innovation:

- Gutenberg's printing used for present–day information in broadsheets, leaflets and news–sheets;
- Telegraphy is the innovation of news agencies;
- Telephone wires sent music and news programs;
- Innovation in film meant the emergence of motion pictures–movies;
- Radio was the development of broadcasting information and entertainment for a mass audience;
- Television as a combination of broadcasting and cinema;
- Computers started serving as media when people began writing documents on personal computers (PCs) and use them for multimedia purposes and the early use of the Internet for military purpose was a start of a multi use worldwide web (Stöber 2004, 491).

3.2 Ethics in communications

In communication process, ethics play a significant role. Ethics involve moral principles or rules of conduct. Ethics are concerned with philosophical issues of what is right and what is wrong (Huff 2008, 31). Johannesen (in Japp and others 2007, 2) sets up a simple definition of ethics in the process of communication: "Matters of ethics, of degrees of rightness and wrongness, virtue and vice, and more obligation, I believe, are inherent in the human communication process." Based on his definition we can argue that all instances of communication (from interpersonal to mediated) are subject to ethical inquiry. He continues: "...//the human communication process is a paradigm of human behavior that inherently involves matters of ethics, no matter how we resolve them or even whether we face them, even if we are unaware of them." Lubbe (in Japp and others 2007, 9) also presents an overview of ethics in communication: "The morality of media usage now belongs to the most important cultural competences on which the individual is reliant for providing practical guidance in her/his daily life."

3.3 Media

Each day people are confronted with various types of communication through radio, television, newspapers, magazines, movies, personal discussions and other (Wimmer and Dominick 2006, 19). Biagi (2007, 9) lists several types of media: magazines, recordings, radio, movies, television and the Internet. In the USA history, books, newspapers and magazines have been the only mass media for 250 years (after publishing first book in 1640). In the twentieth century four new media were developed: recordings, radio, movies and television (TV). In the late twentieth century the Internet developed (Biagi 2007, 9).

3.3.1 Books

The history of books began in 1459 with the invention of the printing with movable types (Aldis and others 1941, 1). The rapid expansion of the printed book in the next centuries was due to the humanist emphasis on education, combined with population growth (Bland 2010, 15).

Today, in the USA, over 40.000 books are published each year (including reprints and new editions of old titles). Retail bookstores in the USA account for one third of all money earned from book sales, the rest comes from book clubs, college stores, libraries and school districts. Although book publishing is the oldest media industry, it is the most static one, with the least growth potential (Biagi 2007, 9).

3.3.2 Newspapers

The starting point for newspaper history is year 1621. In that year the first publication, that meets the definition of a newspaper (described by Eric W. Allen), was published. Allen sets forth these elements of a true newspaper: it must be periodic, mechanically reproduced, and available to all who pay for it; additionally it must be varied, general, timely, and organized (Martin in Martin and Copeland 2003, 2). Today, there are approximately 1.555 daily newspapers in the USA. They are divided between morning (proportionally, these are growing in numbers) and afternoon/evening delivery (these are shrinking in numbers). Weekly newspapers are in decline. Advertising in newspapers makes up to two-thirds of the printed space in daily newspapers. In the last twenty years, newspapers brought out their online editions for reaching more audience and for cutting down the costs (Biagi 2007, 9).

3.3.3 Magazines

The history of magazines in the USA dates back in 1850, when *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* was founded, and influenced the development of the American general magazine. In 1850, there were approximately 685 periodicals issued, but the number decreased in the next decade to 575. The average life of these publications was about four years (Mott 1970, 3–4). Today, there are around 15.000 magazines published in the USA, but this number is, also in decline. Like newspapers, magazines get most of their income through advertising, and to reduce expenses they too started online editions (Biagi 2007, 10).

3.3.4 Recordings

In history, the turning point was in 1877, when Thomas Alva Edison discovered how sound could be stored. He invented the phonograph, which later developed into the gramophone. These two became primarily a music box, whereas the other applications of sound recording were eventually transferred to a competing invention– the tape recorder (Gronow and Saunio 1999, 1–2).

In 2003 a new trend, concerning recordings, emerged. Younger population started downloading singles from the Internet (Hull 2004, 257). Those aged 25 and over are the most common buyers of recordings today, those, aged under 25, download music, movies and other forms from the internet (legally and illegally). Almost all recording industry income comes from compact discs (CDs). Much less revenue comes from music videos. The recording industry is declining rapidly, since consumers share music over the Internet and do not pay for it (Biagi 2007, 10).

3.3.5 Radio

The first words ever transmitted, using radio waves, were made by Reginald Fessenden in 1900: “One, Two, Three, Four,—Is it snowing where you are Mr. Thiessen? If it is telegraph back to me!” In 1906 his voice transmitter made a voice broadcast that was heard over the North Atlantic Ocean (Andrews 2010, 12). There were 950 radio stations in 1945 and that number almost doubled in three years (up to 2000) (Andrews 2010, 13). Today, there are about 13.000 radio stations broadcasting in the USA, evenly divided between Amplitude Modulation (AM) and Frequency Modulation (FM) (Biagi 2007, 10). At first, radio broadcasts were concentrated in the evening, when the largest audiences were available, but soon expanded to daytime, known as the “women’s’ hours.” The first daytime programming was primarily informational and was known as “non–fiction features of Good Housekeeping” (Butsch 2000, 200). Out of 13.000 radio stations, 2.100 are public, most of them FM. In recent years satellite radio has gained more and more listeners, one reason is that it is a broadcast without commercials. The result is that over–the–air broadcast radio is declining because costs cannot be covered by paid ads as audience share declines (Biagi 2007, 10).

3.3.6 Movies

Around 30.000 screens exist in the USA each year. The major and independent studios together produce about 400 pictures a year. As costs increased here as well, ticket prices have increased rapidly in recent years, resulting in a concomitant decline in attendance. Moreover, an increasing number of consumers watch movies at home and not in theaters or cinemas. The major income from the movie industry in the USA comes from DVDs sold and from selling movies overseas (Biagi 2007, 10).

3.3.7 Television

Campbell Swinton was the first person to suggest an all-electronic television system in 1908 (Burns 1998, 123), but its first development was in 1927 (Andrews 2010, 6). With the development of lines of resolution (from 50 in 1929 to 525 in 1941), networks started to appear in 1940s (NBC, ABC, CBS) (Andrews 2010, 6). By 1953, there were 108 TV stations in the USA (Andrews 2010, 6). Today, there are around 1.600 TV stations operating in the USA—one out of four is a public station. Many stations are affiliated with a network: National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and Fox Broadcasting, and there is a small number of the "independents" that do not affiliate with any network. About 90 percent of homes in the USA are wired for cable or satellite delivery. To differ from the network TV, cable and satellite are now combined together under the term "subscription television." TV network's income is also in decline. Until recently, cable and satellite TV income has grown rapidly. The industry together is expected to grow steadily in the next decade (Biagi 2007, 10).

3.3.8 The Internet

Internet is the newest media and at the same time, the fastest growing. About 75 percent of all consumers are online and related to that. Money spent for the Internet advertising rose from 16.9 billion dollars in 2006 to 37.5 billion dollars in 2010 (Rainie and Purcell 2010). Internet media have become the new mass medium as well as an integral delivery for traditional print, audio and video media (Biagi 2007, 11).

3.4 Media ownership

Despite the large number of available media, its ownership is rather restricted. Ownership of important channels of communication in the USA is private, except the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR), which survive on governmental support and private donations. Compared to commercial media; the annual public broadcasting budget is less than 2 percent of the annual amount spent for advertising by commercial media (Biagi 2007, 11). The USA government ownership and control over media has been limited, however it is growing on the local level since more local governments own cable television systems or operate channels on privately owned systems. The federal government is most heavily involved in broadcasting with local governments in second place, and through the American Forces Radio and Television Service controls the broadcast to U.S. military. It is a part of the Department of Defense. It also owns foreign propaganda outlets like the broadcast system Voice of America (VOA), which has more than 1.200 affiliate stations and communicates in forty-five languages. It broadcasts more than 1.500 hours of programs weekly to a foreign audience of 134 million through radio, television, and the Internet (Graber 2010, 29).

The public broadcasting system, created through the Public Broadcasting Act in 1967, is a mixture of public and private financing, programming and operation of both radio and television stations. Public broadcasting system supports educational and public service television stations attracts a tiny audience. In 2009 members of the public broadcasting system included 356 non-commercial television stations, operated by community organizations and colleges and universities and more than 860 non-commercial radio stations, linked together as the independently financed NPR (Graber 2010, 30).

The ownership of some media conglomerates today is the same, or even contracting, as compared to 1950s (five major movie studios then and now). The reason for contraction is that large companies cluster together, so that fewer companies own more types of media business (Biagi 2007, 11).

In 1975, Federal Communications Commission (FCC) created the newspaper/broadcast cross-ownership ban. This ban meant that joint ownership of newspapers and television or radio stations in the same market were prohibited, except for those created before 1975. In 2003, FCC began limiting some ownership in certain situations and not banning it altogether (Robinson 2010, 10). In 2008 the ban has been relaxed in the top 20 markets (Napoli 2009, 14). The goal of the ban was to encourage competition, diversity and localism. Among these three, competition is economic in nature while diversity and localism are non-economic. Economic and non-economic policy goals can sometimes conflict (Napoli 2009, 14).

A small number of companies controls most aspects of the media business via concentration of ownership. Concentration of ownership appears in five different forms:

- *Chains* (Benjamin Franklin was the first to establish newspaper chain in 1700s when publishing his own newspaper "Pennsylvania Gazette" and at the same time sponsoring one-third of the costs (and collecting one-third of its profit) of publishing "South Carolina Gazette");
- *Broadcast networks* are a collection of radio and television stations, offering programs during designated program time. There are four major networks ABC, NBC, CBS and Fox Broadcasting. NBC is the oldest network, founded in 1920s, and Fox Broadcasting is the newest, founded in 1986. ABC, NBC and CBS serve both, radio and television, while Fox Broadcasting serves only television;
- *Cross media ownership* means that a company owns more than one type of media property: newspapers, magazines, radio and TV stations, for example, Viacom owns CBS, Music Television (MTV), the radio group Infinity Broadcasting and Clack Entertainment Television);
- *Conglomerates* means that company owns media companies as well as units unrelated to the media business;
- *Vertical integration* is a one-company attempt to control several related aspects of the media business at once, with each part of the company helping the others. For example, Time Warner publishes magazines,

operated America Online (*no longer*), owns Home Box Office–HBO, Warner Brother’s studios and various cable TV systems throughout the USA including Cable News Network–CNN (Biagi 2007, 11–12).

Today, the media ownership regulations limit radio station ownership within local markets to eight stations (depending on the size of the market) but not on the national level. Similarly, regulations limit national television station ownership (locally one entity can own up to two television stations–depending on the size of the market). Mergers among “top four” broadcast networks are also prohibited (Napoli 2009, 14). Barnett (2004, 8) argues that deregulated ownership policies was needed, due to the *globalization* (wider choice for capital investment, 24–hour presence of global markets, the rise of transnational corporations and communications technology), *technology* (new, one–to–many broadcasting, digital technology) and *convergence* (trying to remove traditional structures in electronic media, but most people still do not watch TV on their computer, nor download newspapers from the Internet).

3.5 Partisanship and media

Journalists rely on elites who meet journalistic norms for source selection. Elites satisfy two criteria: (1) they are geographically close and socially similar to working journalists and (2) they have the power and resources necessary to attract and sometimes command journalistic attention. Elites occupy power positions within organizations and are more likely to meet the standard definition of reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness. The consequence is that news media favor high prestige sources since those with economic or political power are more likely to influence news reports than those who lack the power (Karen and Johnson–Cartee 2005, 220).

The issue of media partisan bias has been present for a long time, ever since the media claimed to be nonpartisan. The most common definition of partisan bias is: "When a member from one party is treated differently from the member of another party" (Mackay 2007, 36). "News makers, such as government officials, are individuals who are the legitimate focus of the news. News makers are distinguishable from news shapers, who provide

background or analysis for viewers, but are not the focus of the news" (Soley 1992, 14). News shapers differ from newsmakers. Newsmakers include criminals and victims, government officials, candidates for office, military leaders, terrorists and their hostages, foreign dignitaries. News stories reports what these individuals have said or done. News shapers, on the contrary, are presented as analysts. Networks describe their news shapers as political scientists, experts, or scholars. They are presented as non-partisan, even if they have a long history of partisanship. Some news shapers are former government officials or former politicians, despite that they are described with titles such as specialist, journalist or economist (Soley 1992, 2).

The media have always been criticized for being politically biased. Soley (1992, 7) argues that the news media were giving the American people a highly selected and often biased news presentation.

Several researches showed that network television news shapers significantly affect public opinion.

Soley (1992, 17) states there are systematic biases journalist's source selection and substantiating his statement with the following findings:

- Government officials statements are used more frequently than any other type of source in print and broadcast news reports;
- Women rarely appear as sources in network television news stories;
- Representatives of civil rights, human rights and labor groups are underrepresented as sources;
- White males in association with elite institutions are most frequently used sources in studies conducted by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR).

Despite claims of objectivity, many studies showed that news reports do not simply mirror the whole society (Soley 1992, 17).

Publications since 1789 to the time of the Civil War were sponsored by political factions, parties, or individual leaders through a system of loyalties, contracts and partisan patronage. "The dark ages of American journalism"

that was at the peak of the party press era meant that politicians organized a network of partisan newspapers to advocate their candidacies and their policies. Data from 1850 suggest that only 83 out of 2,526 newspapers in USA were listed as politically independent or neutral. American newspapers through nineteenth century were politically sponsored in one or another way and constituted the dominant economic and ideological base. The decline of political sponsorship of the press started with the launch of the penny press, which relied on entertaining stories about urban life.

There was emergence of a new media (advertising-supported newspapers and magazines) late in the nineteenth century, less connected to the polity than the old media. Joseph Pulitzer was one of many who praised advertising revenue for liberating newspapers from the stranglehold of party controls. The decline of partisanship in the news was accompanied by the decline in the loyalty of editors to the political patrons. Political parties after the Civil War had been weakened by a succession of liberal reforms movement. As a consequence, some newspapers became uninterested in political topics, unless they could be sensationalized to draw more readers. Independent news also meant less reliable press in conveying appropriate political information to the public (independent publishers did not want to support presidents, unless news was sensational). Years after 1895 and the World War I years were the time of expansion of the press-president's relations. During and after war years, Washington became the great propaganda generator. White House management of the news media to influence opinion has been regarded as central to modern executive governance (Ponder 1998, vii-xi).

Start (in Sloan and Parcell 2002, 171-178) defines three stages in the presidential-press relationship:

- *Emergence of the presidential-press relationship, 1789 to 1833*; The emergence of two parties, Federalist and Republican, meant that many newspaper publishers at first professed their nonpartisanship, but soon assumed a position in support of one of two parties. The consequence

was the emergence of the political party press that determined the nature of presidential–press relations;

- *Changes in presidential–press relationship, 1833–1890s;* Time before and after the Civil War meant the transformation of political culture. This was the time of the administrative newspaper decline and the emergence of the penny press. Penny press meant smaller, cheaper, brighter, and more sensational than larger metropolitan predecessors. They were popular and independent from political parties but still retained an interest in politics.
- *The modern presidential–press relationship, 1900–today;* Both institutions became more involved with one another and new media gave presidents a greater presence in the public mind than ever before. Nevertheless, the news media were also responsible for the decline of credibility in their relations with the president (investigative reporting, "Infotainment" in television news, media's fascination with polls, ratings, scandals and on breathing a story to death).

3.6 Media coverage and the presidency

The relationship between the media and presidency in the first years of the USA independency was rampant collusion and conflict. President George Washington tried to project the presidency as a sedate ministerial position, but as soon as the presidency began, media coverage followed. Political parties and interest groups controlled the press until the Civil War (1861–1865). That meant, if the president wanted a speech printed word for word with no critical commentary, his partisan press would oblige and the opposition would strongly attack his words (Genovese 2010, 336).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, penny press and other independent newspapers emerged. The partisan relationship between the media and presidents ended. Technology improved and this meant that thousands of copies were sold for a profit. The presidency was also weakened after the Civil War, so the presidents did not try to influence media coverage.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, media coverage of presidency changed. Powerful newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer attacked president Franklin D. Roosevelt as being unfit to run the presidency. President Roosevelt fought back. He began running regular press conferences, to which only sympathetic members of the press were invited. He started the trend toward “personal presidency” inviting press to many occasions, including his personal vacations. He realized his popularity was dependent on good press coverage. Later, president Roosevelt publicizes his New Deal through the radio and brought the presidency to every American home.

With the emergence of the television, new media coverage of the presidency was born. The presidency became the nation’s center of attention. John F. Kennedy and his family, with the help of the television, caught the imagination of the nation with televised press conferences of his children greeting his father as arriving on Air Force One.

Cordial relationship between the media and the president ended with the Vietnam War and the Watergate affair. Television coverage showed that both the Lyndon Johnson’s and Richard Nixon’s administration lied about the progress of the war. This difficult time for relations was then followed by the Watergate scandal. The media then took over a new role, leading an investigative expose on presidential misdeeds.

Post–Watergate era brought the relationship into a new era of cynicism between the presidency and the media. The latter questioned almost every official statement coming from presidential administration. On one hand, presidents need the media to communicate with citizens. On the other, they do not want the intense scrutiny that came along in the post–Watergate era. Negative media coverage occurred, such as the drug abuse by president Jimmy Carter’s adviser, the Iran–Contra scandal during president Ronald Reagan’s years, the Whitewater and the Lewinsky affair during president Bill Clinton’s presidency.

“In order to combat negative press coverage, presidential administration relied heavily on their ability to frame media coverage of the president.” In the time

of Richard Nixon's presidency, Office of Communications was established to complement his press secretary. Its primary function was getting his message across to the media and the public. President Nixon heavily invested in attempts to manage the press. President Reagan tried to control the media coverage by having a theme of the day that network news shows could easily convert into sound bites and good visuals.

President Clinton presented a new way of bypassing the obstructive "old media" of news and reaching to the public through a more cooperative "new media" of broadcast talk and entertainment shows (Ponder 1998, vii).

In 1992 elections president Clinton bypassed traditional press outlets by appearing on national talk shows like Larry King Live and gave extensive time to local news, since they were less negative than national news programs.

Diversification of communication outlets (24-hour cable news shows, internet web sites, political talk shows on the radio) brought opportunities and challenges for the presidents. With so many outlets it is difficult for presidential communicators to frame issues. Today, every step of the president and his family is covered extensively. Media coverage of the president today is so pervasive, that the media often ignores Congress and the Supreme Court! This means that the presidency can control the policy-making agenda. Contrarily, intense negative media coverage of the institution can destroy presidencies (Genovese 2010, 336–337).

Paletz and Entman (1980, 416–417): "The president is the news: who he is, what he thinks, what he says (which may have little connection with what he thinks), where he goes, what he does." The president is the only nationally elected policy-maker in the American government and he participates in traditional, picturesque rituals and ceremonies. Therefore he can produce news of his own devising, knowing the media will cover him.

3.7 Media coverage of health care reforms

Media coverage of health care reform was almost nonexistent during the

1980s. For example, during 1980s and 1990s, three of the most widely read national newspapers: The Christian Science, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal, together ran a total of forty stories on health care reform or national health insurance. Moreover, in 1981, 1984, 1985, and 1987, there was no coverage of the issue whatsoever. These figures are in contrast to the last year of reform activity, year 1979, where a total of almost seventy articles appeared in these three newspapers. The number of stories slightly rose in the latter half of the 1980s, but the real jump took place in year 1991 when the total number of the articles rose from five to thirty-five and later in year 1992 when the number of articles reached ninety-three (Hacker 1997, 20–21). In the year 1993 the number of newspaper articles involving health care reform jumped to 432 stories, in 1994, there were 508 health care reform stories reported (Rushefsky and Patel, 1998, 192). In the year 1994, together newspapers and the five television networks had devoted a total of 5.600 stories on health care reform. A total of 32 percent asked in the year 1994 said that they follow media coverage of health care reform "very closely."

None of the previous presidents who undertook similar health care initiatives (Harry S. Truman, Richard Nixon, and Jimmy Carter) succeeded in generating anywhere near as much public interest in and media coverage of national health insurance as president Clinton did (Laham 1996, 142).

Media coverage of health care reform jumped just before the election (Hacker 1997, 31).

The frequency of presidential speeches and the number of health-related stories on major network television and newspaper appear to coincide. The public's perception of health care as the most important issue facing the nation is likely related to the frequency of presidential speeches and the intensity of the media's news coverage (Rushefsky and Patel, 1998, 192).

At the time of the president Clinton proposal, the press attention grew more negative and more politically oriented. After his opening speech, half of newspaper and television stories were neutral of its passage, unbalanced coverage was more than twice as likely to be negative, and the ratio increased between September and December. Negative editorials also

outweighed positive editorials during this period, by a margin of 3 to 2. In step with the shifting pattern of media coverage, the public's perception of the Clinton proposal grew increasingly negative (Hacker 1997, 146).

3.8 Functions of mass media

Steinberg (2006, 130) states that the functions of mass media became an important field of research during 1940s and 1950s (that is also the period of rapid and extensive development in the mass media). Early researchers (particularly from the USA) were interested in gaining insight into the effects of mass media messages on people and society and its contribution towards restoring societies balance. This early approach of the mass media studies is called functionalism. Functionalism provides researchers with a theoretical framework in which to investigate the social consequences of mass communication and the mass media, specially their contribution to maintaining social order.

Lasswell and Wright (in Steinberg 2006, 130) identified four basic functions of mass communication:

- Surveillance;
- Correlation;
- Cultural transmission, and
- Entertainment (Steinberg 2006, 130).

Surveillance can be divided into “public surveillance”, when it serves the collective needs of the public and “private surveillance”, when it serves the needs of individual citizens.

In the case of public surveillance, news people determine what is news—which political happening will be reported and which ignored, also the way the news will be reported. Media surveillance can be good or bad. Politicians know this, since the media forces them to respond to situations on which they otherwise would not. For example, dubious stories impugning the safety of bioengineered foods caused millions of dollars of losses in the affected industries; president Clinton always publicly apologized, after being proved of

undeniable charges; Martin Luther King Jr. became national figure for the African American civil rights (Graber 2010, 5–6). This is also known as the media’s agenda–setting power. Lang and Lang (in McCombs and Shaw 1972, 177): “Mass Media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about.”

Private surveillance informs people about the weather, sports, jobs, fashion, economic conditions, social and cultural events, health and science and the public and private lives of famous people. People stay informed and that makes people feel secure. The other functions of private surveillance are entertainment, companionship, tension relief and a way to pass time with minimum physical or mental exertion (Graber 2010, 5–11).

The Correlation function refers to the interpretation of event’s meanings, puts them into context and speculates about their consequences. For example, abortions before 1962 were considered murder. Sherri Finkbine found out she would give birth to a severely malformed baby and instead decided to terminate her pregnancy. Media and journalists abandoned the usage of negative connotations when reporting about abortion, and in a way framed the story. Journalist’s inclination framed the news. Media also has the power to shape opinions without explicitly telling audiences which views seem right or wrong.

Cultural Transmission refers to the media’s ability to communicate norms, rules and values of a society. It is a learning function, learning basic values that prepare individuals to fit into society. Before 1970s this role belonged to the parents and the school. Today young people get information through social web sites such as Facebook and MySpace. These media present specific facts and general values; they also teach young people which elements produce desirable outcomes.

Entertainment is media’s ability to present messages that provide escapism

and relaxation. Media provides relief from boredom, stimulates our emotions, helps fill our leisure time, keeps us company and puts us in a place where we could not be.

Graber (2010, 11) states the same first three functions of mass media as Lasswell and Wright, but differs from the fourth function of mass media as following:

Manipulation

Many journalists stand out of the pool of political bystanders in a way of becoming investigators. Investigative stories are very popular and so major media enterprises set up their own investigative units. The purpose of investigations is to muckrake. Muckraking means investigating corruption and wrongdoing and stimulating the government to “clean up.” Muckraking today can also mean sensational news that attract large media audience or affect politics in line with the journalist’s political preferences (Graber 2010, 132–136).

3.9 Media effects

Scheufele (2000, 298) states three possible media effects:

- Agenda–setting;
- Priming, and
- Framing

Priming is a direct extension or outcome of agenda–setting and therefore these two are based on the same assumptions or premises. Framing is based on different premises than the first two.

3.9.1 Agenda–setting

Agenda–setting is a theory on the transfer of salience from the mass media’s pictures of the world to those in our heads. According to Lippman the core idea is that elements prominent in the media’s pictures become prominent in the audience’s picture. Metaphorically the media’s agenda sets the public’s agenda. In practice, many authors have failed in developing a comprehensive

theory that would explain the exact process on how development of issue priorities is influenced by the mass media. Instead researchers have focused on association between media content and response (McCombs and Ghanem in Reese and others 2008, 67).

Early agenda-setting studies adopted a limited media effects model after finding only weak correlations between increased issue salience as a result of more media exposure and changes in political behavior. When limiting agenda-setting effects on audience cognition to changes in issue salience, researchers often ignored effects the media might have on links between political cognition and attitude formation (Willnat in McCombs and others 1997, 51).

McCombs was the first to empirically examine the relationship between the media agenda as the independent variable and the audience agenda as the dependent variable. Their work was based on the earlier work by Cohen, who argued that mass media "...//may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (Scheufele 2000, 304). They conducted a cross-section survey in the 1968 presidential campaign. Their conclusion was that media appears to have a considerable impact on voter's judgments of what they considered the major issue of the campaign.

Recent agenda-setting studies tried to include behavioral measures as dependent variables, but no theoretical explanation of this process has been made (Willnat in McCombs and others 1997, 51).

As McCombs and Ghanem (in Reese and others 2001, 67) put it: agenda-setting emerged on two levels; the first one is the transmission of object salience and the second level is the transmission of attribute salience.

One of the critics of the agenda-setting research is its traditional bias toward aggregate-level analysis of public opinion. Critics argue that individuals are not passive consumers of media messages, but interpret, elaborate on, and evaluate information within an existing network of knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and personal experience. Individual differences and information

processing are crucial factors for the perception of media messages (Willnat in McCombs and others 1997, 51–52).

3.9.2 Priming

“By making some issues more salient than others, mass media influence the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged” (Scheufele 2000, 305). When referring to the priming effects we have in mind the media’s influence on the standards by which the public evaluates political figures. Iyengar and Kinder (in Cappella and Jamieson 1997, 52), in their studies, found out that political issues received more news attention and were afforded greater weight in people’s judgments of political actors who had direct responsibility over the issues. They hypothesized that the salience of certain issues as portrayed in mass media influences individual’s perceptions of the president because respondents will use issues that they perceive as more salient as standards for evaluating the president (Scheufele 2000, 306).

Numerous political communication researchers linked the agenda–setting hypothesis and cognitive priming theory to analyze news coverage effects on people’s evaluations and opinions of political leaders. Media priming studies found strong empirical support for the priming hypothesis that television news coverage heightens viewer cognizance of certain issues and its effects on the criteria on which political leaders are judged by. However, there is still considerable disagreement about how the priming theory is related to studies of agenda–setting. Relying on issue salience or accessibility as a major dependent variable is what these two approaches have in common, and this is probably why some researchers see media priming as an extension of agenda–setting.

Exact relationship of the two still remains unclear in the present literature. Researchers today are unanimous that a better understanding of how and when priming can be applied to the traditional agenda–setting approach is needed (Willnat in McCombs and others 1997, 52–53). The question whether this theory can be applied to a wider range of public affairs issues, or whether this particular media effect is confined to its traditional application in

appraisals of presidents and political leaders remains open (Willnat in McCombs and others 1997, 64).

3.9.3 Frames and framing

Citizens turn to news media daily, and “the media” is a cornerstone of every democracy. Media have the influence of shaping public opinion by framing events and issues in particular way. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue (de Vreese 2005, 51).

The terms framing and frames are not necessarily synonymous.

“A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is, through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Johnson–Cartee 2005, 24).

Gamson and Modigliani (1989, 3) define frames as “Interpretative packages that give meaning to an issue. A package has an internal structure. At its core is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue.”

“A frame provides a way to understand an event or issues; it activates knowledge, stimulate stocks of cultural morals and values, and create contexts. They (frames) define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies” (Chappella and Jamieson 1997, 46–47).

Two concepts of frames need to be specified: *media frames and audience frames*.

Media frames are a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue. Media and news frames serve as the working routines for journalists, allowing them to quickly identify and classify information and “to pack it for efficient relay to their audiences” (Scheufele 2000, 306).

Gitlin (1980, 7) defines media frames as: “...//persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by

which symbol–handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.” They enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: “To recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences.” They are unavoidable and journalism is organized to regulate their production.

News frames affect an individual’s personal concerns, issue preferences, or even voting decisions. Especially when news consumer has no prior strong belief or attitude towards an issue, news framing can have a stronger influence on the individual’s decision making. When news consumers face cross–pressures and are confused/ambivalent about competing different issue solutions, then news frames can have a strong influence on individual’s decision making (Johnson–Cartee 2005, 26).

Media framing examines how news content influences and affects news consumers. “By framing social and political issues in specific ways, news organizations declare the underlying causes and likely consequences of a problem and establish criteria for evaluating potential remedies of the problem” (Johnson–Cartee 2005, 26).

Audience frames are mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information (Scheufele 2000, 306).

Frames may have an agenda–setting function by privileging certain topics and their related subtopics and forcing others into the background (Cappella and Jamieson 1997, 45).

Entman (in D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010, 84) defines framing as following: “To select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.”

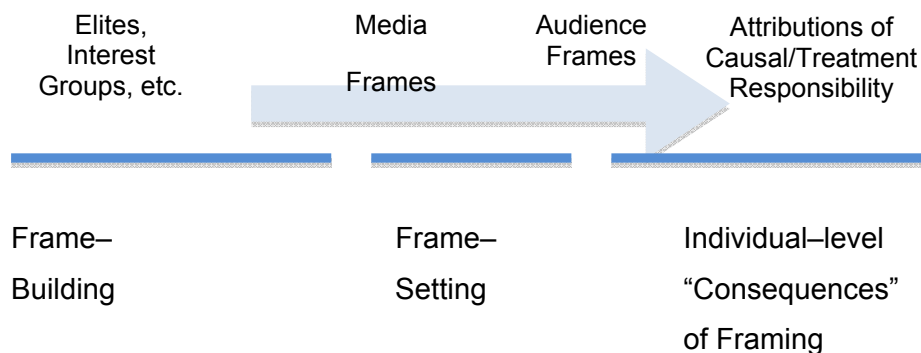
Saliency and selection means that framing includes not only what is made prominent but also what is left out, of secondary or tertiary meaning or even less (Cappella and Jamieson 1997, 45).

Johnson–Cartee (2005, 24) defines framing as “...//the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization (or a political leader, public relations officer, political advertising consultant, or news consumer), defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy//...”

As Entman (in Cappella an Jamieson 1997, 45–46) puts it, framing is more than agenda–setting; it is a way to think about events.

Framing commonly examines one of the three distinct processes: frame–building, frame–setting and individual–level outcomes of framing (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: "An overview of framing research"



Source: Scheufele (2000, 307)

Frame–building refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. When journalists and news organizations frame news, they do so, by factors internal to journalism. Also important are factors external to journalism. The frame–building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists, elites and social movements. Frame–building process outcomes are the frames manifested in the text.

Frame-setting means an interaction between media frames and individual's prior knowledge and predispositions. This part of the framing process has been the most interesting for investigators, since it shows the extent to which and how audiences reflect and mirror frames made available to them.

Individual-level "consequence" can be explained as attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames (Scheufele 2000, 307).

Scheufele (2000, 307–308) and Entman (in de Vreese 2005, 51–52) presented these three processes in a similar way, while Entman (in de Vreese 2005, 51–52) added the fourth part of the process:

Societal level consequence means that frames shape social level processes like political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions.

The four levels, where framing process occurs:

- In the culture;
- In the minds of elites and professional political communicators;
- In the texts of communications, and
- In the minds of every individual (Entman in Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch 2009, 176).

It is important to understand that frames are an interpretation, a sum of individual's stereotypes used to understand and respond to actions. Individuals develop their physical understanding of events through biological and cultural influences from the environment they live in (family, school, friends, other environments). People develop mental filters to understand the world. The choice an individual makes is the consequence of the frame one develops over a period of time. This is similar to framing. Framing is used in the mass media (or other organizations) as a social construction of a process when individual's perception of the meanings is expressed in words or phrases. Certain words can be interpreted or put forward to deemphasize others. Defining objectivity in framing is another subjective approach, defined by authors. In the field of media, framing defines how the mass media shape public opinion. The outcome is the public's behavioral pattern. It turns out that subjective news understanding for somebody is an objective news

understanding for others. So I ask myself: Am I (the reader) the one, who decides whether the news is framed or not, or is the newsman the one, who decides whether the news will be framed or not?

3.10 Identifying and types of frames

Each frame has its own vocabulary; identifying adjectives, adverbs, verb tenses, and nouns used in the text can induce frames (Reese and others 2003, 148).

There are two approaches to identifying frames: *inductive and deductive* (De Vreese 2005, 53).

Inductive approach refrains from analyzing news stories with a priori defined news frames in mind, but they occur during the course of analysis. Critics say that inductive approach relies on a too small sample and it is difficult to replicate the result.

In *deductive approach*, frames are defined and operationalized before the investigation.

Cappella and Jamieson (1997, 47) state three criteria that a frame must meet:

- Identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics;
- It should be commonly observed in journalistic practice;
- Frames should be reliably distinguished from other frames.

Entman (in de Vreese 2005, 54) identifies news frames by "...//the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments//..."

Tankard (in de Vreese 2005, 54) suggests a list of eleven focal points for identifying news frames:

- Headlines
- Subheads
- Photos
- Photo captions
- Leads
- Source selection
- Quotes selection
- Pull quotes

- Logos
- Statistics and charts and
- Concluding statements and paragraphs.

De Vreese (2005, 54) concludes that frames are specific textual and visual elements or “framing devices.”

Authors distinguish different types of frames.

De Vreese (2005, 54) suggests *issue-specific and generic frames*.

Issue-specific frames are highly specific and detailed to the event or issue and therefore lack generalization and comparison (for example, women’s movement, labor disputes and others).

Generic frames can be related to different topics in different time and different cultural context (for example, election campaigns and others).

Semetko and Valkenburg (in Wahl–Jorgensen and Hanitzsch 2009, 176) suggested five *generic frames*: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility.

Entman (2004, 5–6) states two classes of frames: *substantive and procedural*.

Substantive frames perform at least two of the following functions:

- *Defining effects or conditions as problematic*—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;
- *Identifying causes*—identify the forces creating the problem;
- *Conveying a moral judgment*—evaluate causal agents and their effects and
- *Endorsing remedies or improvements*—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.

Briefly, this means that framing provides a way to understand a set of events.

Procedural frames suggest evaluations of political actor’s legitimacy, based on their technique, success, and representativeness. This kind of procedural framing occupies much of the news.

4 Analysis

4.1 Analysis background

As presented in the introduction, my analysis is based on data that I personally collected and interpreted about the use of frames in the online edition of NYT articles in a specific period of time.

Journalists are expected to be as objective as possible when relaying information. The reason for this is that the reader forms his own opinion and conclusion about events that take place around us. When a hard-news reporter (not designated opinion writer or columnist) radically interprets an issue in a way accentuating its negative or positive characteristics he takes away the reader's ability to decide about their idea about the given topic.

This is not necessarily so, because frames can also be neutral, which is called an objective frame. "An objective frame relays to the audience the ideas that the subjects (the people, the story is about) are putting forward, as they intend those ideas to be understood." Subject's ideas are not interpreted or filtered by the reporter according to his personal worldview. But this should not be applied in a strict manner. For example, if an interviewer does not provide the reporter with an objective answer, or presents him wrong or misleading information and the reporter can still provide objective, empirical data, he should do so. A neutral news frame will always provide relevant background and will always allow those who are criticized to respond fully to the accusations of their critics. An opinion in a neutral frame will always be an opinion. It is also important to highlight the fact that reporting on a negative situation is not the same thing as framing a situation negatively. Accidents, killings, stealing and lies are terrible things, but the reporter is required to report on them neutrally (Haskell 2009, 101–102).

For determining frames I have chosen five focal points (determined by Tankard):

- Headline,
- Photography itself,
- Photography Caption,
- Quotes Selection
- Statistics and Charts.

I also added one focal point, which is not determined by Tankard, but is still very useful for the Analysis:

- The article itself.

Other data have also been collected, including the reporter's name, the page number in the printed NYT, date of an online publication and section in an online edition.

In order to determine what kind of a frame (objective, positive or negative) is used in the chosen six determinants, a *grounded theory method* will be used. "A grounded theory method consists of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories "grounded" in the data themselves." It means collecting data to develop theoretical analysis from the beginning of a project. All in all, it shows us what to expect at the beginning (Charmaz 2006, 1–2).

Grounded theory method was used in as a pretest of 10 randomly selected articles from Washington Post including keyword: health care reform (with random dates) provided to three highly educated coders. The goal was to achieve an agreement on what are objective, positive or negative frames in the selected six determinants.

This is called intercoding reliability, or more specifically intercoder agreement. It shows to what extent different coders agree on the coding of the same text. The problem is reliability, so therefore the texts are usually assigned to multiple coders. The purpose of doing so is that the researcher can determine

whether the constructs being investigated are shared and whether multiple coders can reliably apply the same codes (Klenke 2008, 99–100).

Intercoding reliability is developed, when human coders are used in content analysis. "Content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessary from an authors' or users' perspective" (Krippendorff 2004, 3).

According to Neuendorf (in Klenke 2008, 100): "Given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least intersubjective) characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount; without establishment of reliability content analysis measures are useless." "The importance of reliability rests on the assurance it provides that data are obtained independent of the measuring event, instrument or person. Reliable data, by definition, are data that remain constant throughout variations in the measuring process" (Krippendorff 2004, 211). According to that, a research procedure is reliable when it responds to the same phenomena in the same way, regardless of the circumstances of its implementation (Krippendorff 2004, 211).

Intercoding reliability method in pretest showed the following results: All three coders agreed on approximately 95 percent of the cases. The other five percent presented differences when determining if the focal points were positive, negative or objective. The conclusion was that the differences appear due to subjectivity. For example, if someone on the photo holds a poster with negative propaganda against the Reform, one would say that is negative (because he is in favor of the Reform) and the other would say it is positive (because he is not in favor of the Reform); other focal points had the same result. In the analysis of articles from NYT the key thing was to be as objective as possible.

Also, important cultural differences appeared when determining frame types. Great examples are articles no.: 605, 1567, 1778 and 1787. Their headline included word "lobby". In Slovenia there is still discomfort with this word and concept because of a stigmatized perception and understanding of the

lobbyist's work (Fink–Hafner 1998, 287). While in the USA lobbyists are among the most experienced, astute and strategic actors in American everyday policymaking (Hall and Deardorff 2006, 70). And with the absence of the so-called "super lobbyist" and convicted felon, Jack Abramoff, the USA public perception of lobbyists would be even higher (Diggs–Brown 2012, 379).

Freedom of speech

The freedom of speech or protesting is the right of every citizen, however, over the years there has been slight change upon the population that protests. Usually we think that the protestors are those, who will benefit the least from the new policy, and are primarily from the margins of society and are irrational, or at best naive. The recent study shows that protest participants are strategic actors, embedded in dense social networks. Usually they are affiliated with numerous organizations (to help poor and needy people, religious organizations, local community organizations, not affiliated with a religious organizations and others) (McVeigh and Smith 1999, 686 and 691). In some articles analyzed, a photo is included, for example, where a protest participant is holding a sign. The whole idea of protesting itself has a negative connotation, as it is a group of people going public to be heard. On the other hand, having the right to freedom of speech is positive (see Picture 4.1).

Picture 4.1: "Expressing the freedom of speech"



Source: Pear and Harris (2009)

When starting the analysis I came across a reduced number of articles in an online edition of NYT. From the initially published 7.745 articles (in spring 2011), the number decreased to 2.063 (in spring 2012) due to an unknown reason.

When determining the sample size, the following formula needs to be applied:

$$S_s = \frac{NV + [Se^2(1 - P)]}{NSe + [V^2P(1 - P)]}$$

- S_s stand for sample size;
- N , the population;
- V , for value (2.58) of 1 percent level of probability with 0.99 reliability level;
- Se , sampling error (0.01) and
- P , the largest possible proportion (0,50) (Paler–Calmorin and Calmorin 2008, 98).

Using this formula and the predisposition that the number of articles in sampling pool decreased to 2.063, the optimal number of analyzed articles would be 239.

$$S_s = \frac{2063 \times 2.58 + [0.01^2 \times (1 - 0.5)]}{2063 \times 0.01 + [2.58^2 \times 0.5(1 - 0.5)]} = 238.8$$

All together 300 articles were analyzed for the analysis (as initially planned from the sampling pool of 7.745 articles) with sampling interval 25. Out of 300 analyzed articles 154 are useful for the analysis.

Selected data from the articles are presented in Table: "The Articles Analysis" (Appendix).

As presented in the introduction, the research method is quantitative (Systematic sampling), but the actual analysis also includes a qualitative method (i.e., the grounded theory method).

Figure 4.1: "Qualitative/Quantitative data analysis"

| Analysis | Data | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Qualitative</i> | <i>Quantitative</i> |
| <i>Qualitative</i> | A | B |
| <i>Quantitative</i> | C | D |

Source: Bernard (2000, 419)

As Bernard (2000, 418–419) presents it: a quantitative analyst always processes his work. That means, after collecting data (cell D) its qualitative interpretation (cell B) is kind of necessary. Without cell B, D studies would be sterile and vacuous (see Figure 4.1).

Following Bernard (2000, 418–419) the quantitative analysis in this paper is followed by qualitative analysis for a more comprehensive and full analysis.

4.2 Data collected

As presented in the Appendix "The Articles Analysis" 300 articles of an online edition of the NYT from March 23, 2009 to March 23, 2010 have been analyzed. Out of 300 analyzed articles, 51 percent (154) are included in the final analysis; therefore 49 percent (146) of the articles have been excluded from the analysis. These excluded articles are colored in blue and have NO (Analysis YES/NO) in the first column (Table: "The Articles Analysis", Appendix).

These articles were excluded due to different facts:

- Articles that have no connection to health care reform (for example, list of NYT contents);
- Articles that could be a result of an error in the NYT search mechanism;
- Articles briefly referring to president Obama's health care reform proposal in one or two sentences;

- Articles referring to other health care reforms (for example, president Clinton's reform proposal);
- Other.

The following table (Table 4.1: "Percentage of frame characteristics in analyzed articles") consists of six focal points (in columns) and news frames characteristics (in rows). The table consists of percentage for each characteristic and each focal point.

Table 4.1: “Percentage of frame characteristics in analyzed articles”

| Focal points/frame characteristics | Article itself | Headline | Photography itself | Photography caption | Quotes selection | Statistics and Charts |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Objective | 39 | 21 | 40 | 32 | 18 | 13 |
| Positive | 18 | 24 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 13 |
| Negative | 31 | 55 | 9 | 9 | 21 | 23 |
| Positive and negative | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 20 |
| Not Applicable (n/a) | 0 | 0 | 45 | 51 | 12 | 31 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: 154 NYT articles collected and analyzed by the author (2012). See text for details on selection methods

4.3 The results

Metadata

In 27 percent of the analyzed articles, the author was, alone or in cooperation with another NYT reporter, Robert Pear, and in 20 percent the author was, alone or in cooperation with another NYT reporter, David M. Herszenhorn. Other authors of the articles contributed less than 10 percent to the total of 154 articles.

16 percent of the analyzed articles have been published on the front page–A1 of the printed version of the NYT and additional 37 percent have been published in an A section (A10–A47) of the printed version of the NYT. Together, out of 86 articles, published in A section, 38 percent were the work of the reporter Robert Pear (alone or in association) and 26 percent were the work of the reporter David M. Herszenhorn (alone or in cooperation).

Monthly numbers of an online articles published are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: “Monthly number of articles, published in time period from March 2009 to March 2010“

| Month, Year | Number of articles |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| March 2009 | 2 |
| April 2009 | 3 |
| May 2009 | 5 |
| June 2009 | 7 |
| July 2009 | 11 |
| August 2009 | 14 |
| September 2009 | 15 |
| October 2009 | 18 |
| November 2009 | 17 |
| December 2009 | 19 |
| January 2010 | 15 |
| February 2010 | 15 |
| March 2010 | 13 |
| Total | 154 |

Source: Collected and analyzed by the author (2012)

The numbers presented in table 4.2 are not surprising. Slight decrease in the monthly number of articles in the last three months (January, February and March 2010) reflect the major work and negotiations about the health care reform were accomplished in the early months of Obama's presidency.

Articles have been published in different sections of an online edition of the NYT. Vast majority, 47 percent, has been published in the section Health, followed by the section U.S (18 percent) and Opinion (16 percent).

As already mentioned in chapter 4.1, there are numerous factors explaining quantitative results from Table 4.1.

4.3.1 Objectivity

As presented in Table 4.1, 39 percent of the analyzed articles have been rated objective. "Objectivity" is a main value of American journalism and it is a norm. It is a moral idea, a set of reporting and editing practices, and an observable pattern of news writing. The objectivity norm defines reporting, without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way (Schudson 2001, 149–150). Of those defined as objective, Robert Pear wrote 27 percent of articles and David M. Herszenhorn wrote 22 percent of articles (either alone or in cooperation).

Objectivity in reporting can also be referred to as identifying bias and not having problems removing it from the story. The problem occurs if we cannot identify the bias. Bias can be recognized as a failure to achieve objectivity, but only when the preposition is that we understand what objectivity is and if we can recognize it when we see it.

This view is often attacked, since many argue that it is unrealistic and naive to think, that anyone knows what objectivity is. There is no such thing as objective reporting because all reporting is necessarily subjective and by that, it reflects the values and biases of the reporters, authors of the story.

Following these critics we can conclude that there is no such thing as objective reporting and consequently there is no sense in criticizing the media for biased reporting (Hughes, Lavery and Doran 2010, 316).

4.3.2 Partisanship

As presented in Table 4.1, 37 percent of quotes could not be categorized clearly, therefore they have been put in the category “Positive and negative“. This could be explained with the use of *framing effects theory* (D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010, 161). It is clearly presented, that the authors wanted to preserve the right of choice to the reader; therefore they included both positive and negative quotes. The quotes were usually presented as following: Democrats for and Republicans against the health care reform, so the author did not want to present partisan frames. The consequence is that this *non-partisan frames* (presenting pros and cons) allow the reader to (individually) make his own opinion about the matter.

Robert Pear wrote 37 percent of the articles coded both positive and negative; David M. Herszenhorn wrote 33 percent.

How to differ “positive, negative“ and objective? When determining positive and negative I relied on the partisanship theory of D’Angelo and Kuypers so the articles that contained two or more different political aspects of the health care reform were categorized as positive and negative. As objective, I categorized articles that did not contain partisanship views and data presentation, and articles still containing different views but in a proportionate way and not referring to any of it.

4.3.3 Costs

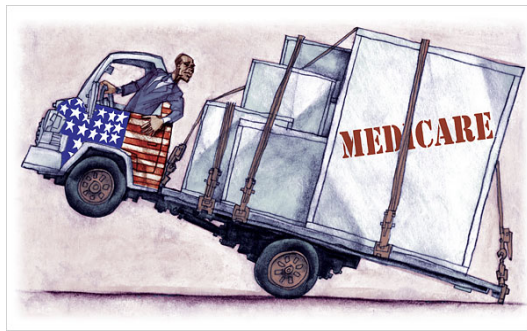
Almost one-third of the articles analyzed did not include any statistics or charts—31 percent, still the numbers were presented in words and pictures (see Picture 4.2 and 4.3):

“...//higher—spending regions//...“ (Pear 2010).

“...//if we can’t realize significant savings in health care costs now, don’t expect savings in the future, either//...“ (Cowen 2009b).

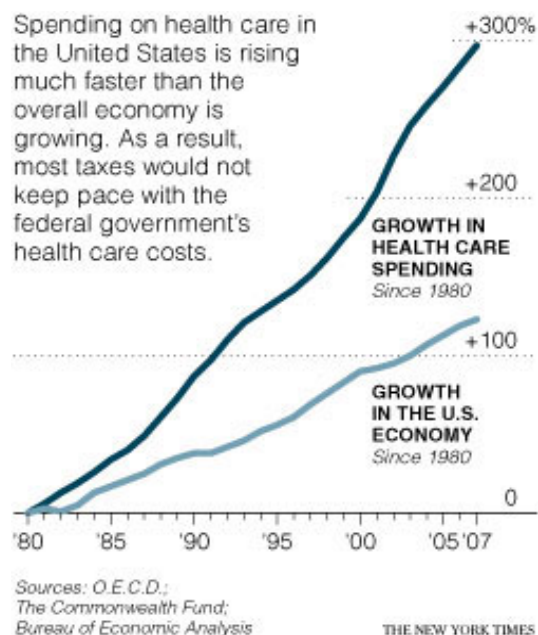
“...//the government will spend more on health care today, promise to realize savings tomorrow and never succeed in lowering costs//...“ (Cowen 2009b).

Picture 4.2: "Heavy cargo"



Source: Cowen (2009b)

Picture 4.3: "Health care costs versus economy rise"



Source: Leonhardt (2009)

Presenting statistics and charts is highly related to the next point—Bad news attracts the audience.

4.3.4 **Bad news attracts the audience**

Table 4.1 shows a large gap between the “negative” headline and the “negative” article itself. The “negative” headline is present in 55 percents of the articles and a “negative” article itself is present in 31 percents. When explaining this gap I can refer to *prospect theory*. Schuck and de Vreese (2012, 58–59) present observation that “negative” is stronger than “positive”; “negative” also has stronger impact on subsequent attitudes and evaluations. In the matter of political campaigns, statistics have shown that negative

messages have a greater effect on behavior, compared to positive attitudes. In general, prospect theory explains that: "...//people are more likely to get mobilized in order to avoid risks rather than to achieve potential gains//..." "In the case of information that frames future prospects as potential risks has been shown to be more mobilizing than information that is framed in terms of potential gain" (Schuck and de Vreese 2012, 59).

This same theory can be applied when explaining the usage of negative statistics. There is a high number of articles that include negative statistics and charts—23 percents.

4.3.5 The Past

Several articles indicate strong connections between President Obama's health care reform and President Clinton's 1993 and 1994 health care reform. Like Obama, Clinton in 1993 and 1994 presented an idea for: "...//a "managed competition" scheme, privileged "efficiency" for consumers and the market, who would bargain with insurance companies via large cooperatives//..." (Foote)

And just like president Clinton in 1993, president Obama in 2009 encountered the opposition's fear about the reform, including a "million dollar bureaucracy" and the maintenance of individual's choice (Foote).

Learning from the past, president Obama confronted some of the obstacles that reformers had erected to president Clinton's attempt a health reform. For this reason, president Obama gained success, where others before him failed (Teitelbaum and Wilensky 2012,167).

In the analyzed articles, this is seen as presenting old, not realized efforts that will not occur or will be upgraded in president Obama's health care reform; therefore negative past examples are analyzed as positive proposals in the future.

4.3.6 Sarcasm

In some articles, there has been sarcastic reporting. Sarcasm can be explained as irony with an attitude. In sarcasm, there is always a victim, someone who is a target of the remark, particular individual (Pishwa 2009, 326).

The difference between sarcasm and irony is that sarcasm is a variety of irony, it has caustic element in its usage and is, not like irony in general, directed towards a specific victim. When analyzing sarcastic statements, people perceive characters, that use statements sarcastically, as more verbally aggressive, and more humorous, compared to characters that use the same statements literally. Sarcastic message is also understood as more insincere, impolite, noninstructional and ambiguous compared to literal statement (Katz, Blasko and Kazmerski 2004, 186–187). According to this I defined articles with sarcastic headline or contents as negative.

In the analyzed articles, sarcastic statements were included in the articles:

“Recently we were uplifted when the president informed//...” (referring to president Obama).

“Just last week, we were enthralled to see a group of auto executives//...” (referring to auto executives).

“...//except that he was blinking “Save Me! Save Me!” in Morse code to his shareholders“ (referring to one hospital executive) (Brooks 2009).

“The many-headed Hydra, with breath poisonous enough to kill, is one of the more gruesome beasts in Greek mythology” (many-headed Hydra referring to Congress’s efforts to pay for health care reform) (Leonhardt 2009).

4.3.7 Visualization

Photos used in the articles are framed so they focus “...//on what is the most relevant, compelling, and interesting//...” (Kolodzy 2006, 111). Visual images have a strong influence on public opinion and can say more than a thousand words. However, critics say, that a picture should not affect public opinion, for example, pictures of scared and vulnerable Americans after September 11, 2001 provoked a fight response. These are simplistic emotional responses to pictures and must not drive policy (any, not just foreign). Relying on words is more informed and thoughtful (Entman 2004, 104–105).

Photos (or images) are a strong and powerful framing tool because they are less intrusive than words. Their (photo’s) power is in the strong emotions they cause; photos are also the first impression of a story. Photos have three main characteristics: *The analogical quality of images* (meaning that association between images and their meaning is similar, analog); *the indexicality of*

images (meaning that a photographer is not questionable, but this can be misleading and to an unacknowledged viewer manipulative) and *the lack of an explicit propositional syntax in images* (meaning that there cannot be a full explanation to the story with one photo–cause and effect relationship) (Rodriguez and Dimitrova 2011, 50–52).

Forty-five percent of analyzed articles did not include photos. In 40 percent, photos were rated objective. There was a higher percentage of negative rated photos (9 percent) than positive rated photos (6 percent).

Since photo was absent from the analyzed articles in 45 percent, there was consequently no photography caption in most articles–51 percent. In 32 percent photography caption was rated objective, negative in 8 percent and positive in 9 percent.

All three visual characteristics mentioned above (by Rodriguez and Dimitrova) could be analyzed in articles. As for some examples it was easy to predict what the text is about on the basis of looking at the photo (for example, article: “How an Insurance Mandate Could Leave Many Worse Off” by Cowen, Tyler 2009a) (see Picture 4.4).

Picture 4.4: “A carrot and a stick”



Source: Cowen (2009a)

A vast majority of the analyzed articles could be categorized according to the characteristic: *The lack of an explicit propositional syntax in images*; this would be mainly used for photos defined as “objective“, since we cannot know what the story is about when looking at a photo of president Obama giving a

speech (for example, article: “Obama Calls for “Up or Down Vote“ on Health Care Bill“ by Sherly Gay Stolberg and Robert Pear 2010) (see Picture 4.5).

Picture 4.5: “The speech“



Source: Stolber and Pear (2010)

An example of present characteristic *The indexicality of images* is article: “Opinion Polling: A Question of What to Ask by Sussman Dalia (2010). In this article, the photo itself includes negative words (bad, really bad and totally despicable), whereas the content of an article is objective, presenting problems of poll questions, set by pollsters (see Picture 4.6).

Picture 4.6: “The choice of an answer“

- Q. Is health care reform**
a. a bad idea
b. a really bad idea
c. a totally despicable idea
- a.** **b.** **c.**

Source: Sussman (2010)

5 Conclusion

This Master's Thesis presents one perspective out of many possible aspects of news framing analysis. This analysis readily lends itself to additional analysis, including comparative work, frame effects, different frame measurements and many more. This paper is limited to the basic questions of *existence, frequency* and *types* of news frames in the case of health care reform in the United States of America from March 23, 2009 to March 23, 2010. The time period was carefully chosen to coincide with the bulk of the policy debate, which usually occur 12 to 18 months before enactment of the act. In this particular case, the debates started even earlier, that is with the president Obama's announcement of candidacy for the president of the USA in February 2007. Allegations and speculations about the reform were present from the first day president Obama declared his program, since effective health care system has been an issue in the USA for decades.

In this paper I analyzed, as initially planned, three hundred articles and defined news frames with the use of five (six) focal points. The results show the first problem: subjectivity/objectivity. Depending on the newsreader's view and the reporter's presentation, an article is read and written differently. It would be interesting to know the two leading reporters' (R. Pear and D. M. Herszenhorn) favorability towards health care reform. Sadly, many attempts (mailing and following) to contact them were not successful.

Emphasizing partisanship views in news formation/reading was also indicated.

Despite the New York Times reputation as an objective newspaper, many of the articles analyzed indicate opposition towards health care reform (which could also mean reporters' favoring the Republican Party).

Turning back the time and comparing previous health care reforms (or attempts) with the present one had a strong influence on the objectivity of the story. Many previous attempts of health care system reform failed. The articles analyzed here replayed or mentioned those historical failures and

compared changes to present reform. As we know bad news attracts more audience.

Communication process is a circular process (see Figure 3.1), a feedback cannot always be measured appropriately and comparable. Especially in cases where different types of media use different poll wordings—in those cases the “noise” influences the outcome, deliberately or non–deliberately. Many reporters also turn to various visual effects to attract attention, as well as using negative wording that has a stronger impact. The line between reporting and manipulation is relatively thick and evident in the articles analysis.

The frames identified with the use of focal points opened new questions about the health care reform: *Is health care really that much of a problem of the USA society?; Does health care reform have more negative consequences than positive—and for who?; Has president Obama presented better or worse health care reform proposal than previous presidents?* Using other or more than five (six) focal points when identifying frames would probably give other results, also sampling size and time period would affect the outcome.

The main research question has been partly confirmed. The evidence presented here demonstrate the existence of news frames in selected topic and time period, but because only five (six) focal points have been used for identifying news frames the result could not be complete. I have also used only one type of possible method of identifying frames among many. More reliable answers would obtain by employing an alternate method of identifying frames of the same sample of articles from the same time period.

Secondly, the frequency of news framing through the use of photography and photography caption is very low, since the results of the analysis have shown the highest percentage of “not applicable” use of these two focal points. The highest frequency of news framing occurred in headlines (55 percent).

Third, types of news frames have been defined through the five (six) focal points and determining their characteristic. Three focal points (photography itself, photography caption and statistics and charts) were not present in the majority of analyzed articles, which indicates to objectivity—leaving the choice of decision to the reader. Objectivity predominates in the sampled articles in the online edition of New York Times and confirms the theory about objective frames.

Because different news frames could be identified there was no need for additional use of Purposive/Judgment sampling as initially proposed.

News presentation of certain issue or policy can affect individual's perception of it and consequently affect voting decision. In midterm elections in November 2010, Republicans gained seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. The defeat of Democrats is surely a combination of many factors—many critics said that America debated over a year about health care reform while the economy crisis rose. And in the end nobody really understood how 1.000 pages would affect their lives.

Policy networks consist of interest groups, lobbies, policymakers, elites, policyholders and others, trying to influence policy agenda. After enactment of the act in 2010, jointly twenty-six states, business associations and other opponents of the law challenged its constituency by filing a lawsuit. In some way this could apply to societal level consequence of framing.

The main reason for the lawsuit was that federal government could not force states into accepting the overall and unaffordable medical coverage and especially not taxing those who do not want it.

The Supreme Court in June 2012 upheld health care law, but also implied the Congress had reached the limit of its authority in this area.

6 Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku

Zdravstveni sistem v Združenih državah Amerike (v nadaljevanju ZDA) predstavlja kompleksen sistem javnih ustanov in privatnih korporacij. Glede na porabo ga lahko umestimo na osmo mesto v merilu svetovnih gospodarstev. Z vidika pravne ureditve je bil zdravstveni sistem v ZDA do sedaj prepuščen delovanju trga. Zavarovalne družbe ponujajo različne vrste zavarovanj po različnih premijah, kar pomeni, da si bogatejši lahko privoščijo več, medtem ko nekateri niso imeli urejenega niti osnovnega zdravstvenega zavarovanja (zaradi visokih stroškov, neobveznega delodajalčevega plačevanja zdravstvenega varstva delavca in drugih vzrokov). Predsednik Barack Obama je s predlogom zdravstvene reforme predstavil obvezni sistem osnovnega zdravstvenega zavarovanja. Zakon zdravstvene reforme zahteva, da imajo vsi Američani osnovno zdravstveno zavarovanje, če ga nimajo, plačajo davčno kazen. Na osnovi tega zahtevka se financira celotna zdravstvena reforma, ki bo v naslednjih desetih letih državo stala skoraj 1.000 milijard dolarjev.

23. marca 2010 je Predstavniški dom ZDA potrdil reformo z 219 glasovi za in 212 proti (Sultz in Young 2006, xiv ter Joyce 2011, 179).

Raziskovalno vprašanje in metode raziskovanja

Tema magistrske naloge z naslovom *Okvirjanje novic na primeru zdravstvene reforme v Združenih državah Amerike* predstavlja raziskavo novičarskega okvirjanja novic ameriškega spletnega časnika New York Times. Raziskovalno vprašanje se nanaša na *prisotnost, pogostost uporabe in tipe okvirov* pri poročanju o predlogu zdravstvene reforme v ZDA. Kot časovni razmak je določeno enoletno obdobje pred sprejemom zakona, od 23. marca 2009 do 23. marca 2010. Pri raziskavi se kot primarna raziskovalna metoda uporablja kvantitativna metoda – sistematično zbiranje podatkov na določeni velikosti populacije (števila člankov). Dodatno je uporabljena kvalitativna metoda – teoretična predstavitev kvantitativno pridobljenih rezultatov.

Velikost populacije je 2.063 člankov v spletni ediciji NYT. Iz analize so bili izključeni članki, ki vsebinsko niso zajemali predloga zdravstvene reforme

predsednika Obame. V prilogi so v stolpcu "Article Title" obarvani modro. Velikost vzorca analize se določi po formuli:

$$S_s = \frac{NV + [Se^2(1-p)]}{NSe + [V^2p(1-p)]}$$

S_s , velikost vzorca (stand for sample size);

N , velikost populacije (the population);

V , vrednost (2,58) enoodstotne stopnje verjetnosti z 0,99 stopnjo zanesljivosti (for value (2,58) of 1 percent level of probability with 0,99 reliability level);

Se , vzorčni šum (sampling error) (0,01) ter

P , najvišje dovoljeno odstopanje (the largest possible proportion) (0,50) (Paler–Calmorin in Calmorin 2008, 98).

Dobljeni rezultat je 239, kar pomeni, da je optimalna velikost vzorca glede na velikost populacije 239 člankov. V nalogi je bilo analiziranih 300 člankov, kar se je izkazalo za potrebno zaradi velikega odstotka neuporabnih člankov (47 odstotkov analiziranih člankov).

Katere članke se uporabi v analizi in katere ne nam določa vzorčni interval, ki se izračuna kot količnik velikosti populacije z velikostjo vzorca (Whittington and Delaney 2011, 227). V raziskovalnem primeru to pomeni količnik deljenca (2.063) in delitelja (239). Rezultat je število 7. Rezultat nam pove, da se za analizo upošteva vsak sedmi članek. Prvi članek analize se določi naključno.

V nalogi je bil uporabljen vzorčni interval 25 zaradi prvotne velikosti populacije (7.745 člankov), ki se je v enoletnem obdobju zmanjšala na 2.063 člankov iz neznanih razlogov. Vzorčni interval je v nekaterih primerih večkrat določil isti članek za analizo. Takšen članek je bil uporabljen v analizi le enkrat. Če je vzorčni interval določil že analizirani članek, se v analizi uporabi prvi naslednji. V tabeli priloge je to razvidno v neskladju števil glede na vzorčni interval (stolpec "Number of the Article in NYT").

Zgodovina zdravstvenega sistema v ZDA

Zdravstveni sistem v ZDA upravlja ministrstvo za zdravje in socialne zadeve (*Department of Health and Human Services*) in deluje na treh ravneh: zvezni, državni in lokalni (Jonas in drugi 2007, 13).

Predhodnik današnjega sistema javnega zdravstva v ZDA je bil zakon iz leta 1798, ki je ustanovil zvezni sistem bolnišnic za oskrbo mornarjev (*Marine Hospital Service Act*). Kasneje so na področju zdravstvene zakonodaje v ZDA najodmevnejši sledeči zakoni: *Social Security Act* iz leta 1935 (zakon je zveznim državam omogočal veliko mero samostojnosti pri odločanju komu bodo sredstva namenjena in je bil zato pogosto kritiziran); *Medicare* (osnovno brezplačno zavarovanje za starejše od 65 let) in *Medicaid* (program za posameznike in družine s podpovprečnimi prihodki) iz leta 1965; *COBRA* iz leta 1985 (ohranitev zdravstvenega zavarovanja za delavce in najbližje družinske člane tudi po končanem delovnem razmerju za določen čas), *Health Security Act* iz leta 1993 (neuspeli poizkus uvedbe obveznega osnovnega zdravstvenega zavarovanja predsednika Billa Clintona) in *Medicare Modernization Act* iz leta 2003 (dodatno ustanovi Del D v programu *Medicare*, ki znižuje stroške zdravil vsem vključenim v ta program) (Falk 1977, 162; Quadango 1984, 634; Smith in Moore 2008, 7; Davis 1975, 450; Patel in Rushefsky 2006, 53–54; Bakk 2009, 59; Agostinho 2009, 186 ter Moini 2010, 65).

23. marca 2010 je predsednik Barack Obama podpisal zakon zdravstvene reforme – *Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act*, s katerim so ZDA dobile obvezno osnovno zdravstveno zavarovanje za celotno prebivalstvo. Zakon poudarja pravice zavarovancev, pomembno vlogo delodajalca kot plačnika obveznega zdravstvenega zavarovanja delavcev in izpostavljeno vlogo vlade pri zagotavljanju dostopa do zdravstvenega zavarovanja socialno najbolj ogroženim (Joyce 2011, 179; Sultz in Young 2011, 60).

Proces komunikacije in mediji

Proces komunikacije pomeni imeti nadzor nad tem, kaj bodo poslušalci, bralci in ostali prejemniki novic slišali, brali ali bili obveščeni (Smith 1984, 1). Proces komunikacije poteka sledeče: oddajnik/pošiljatelj preko vmesnika (medija) pošilja sporočilo/novico sprejemniku/prejemniku. Odziv prejemnika (*Feedback*)

lahko vpliva na prvotno in nadaljnje sporočilo pošiljatelja (Figure 3.1). V kateremkoli delu tega procesa lahko nastane šum, ki ima različni izvor (iz okolja, nerazumljivo dojetje sporočila, predsodki, odnos pošiljatelj-prejemnik in ostali) (Biagi 2007, 9).

Posameznik je vsakodnevno izpostavljen procesu komunikacije preko različnih medijev: knjige, dnevni časopisi, filmi, radio, televizija, pogovor z drugo osebo in drugih medijev (Wimmer in Dominick 2006, 19).

Razvoj medijev v ZDA je bil najizrazitejši v zadnjih 250 letih. V 20. stoletju so se razvili štiri novi mediji: posnetek, radio, filmi in televizija, konec istega stoletja se razvije še internet (Biagi 2007, 9).

Lastništvo nad mediji je v ZDA razdeljeno na javno in zasebno. Javni mediji prevladujejo na lokalni ravni in so bili ustanovljeni s *Public Broadcasting Act* leta 1967. Letni proračun javnih medijev znaša manj kot dva odstotka letnih sredstev, ki jih zasebni mediji namenijo za oglaševanje. Na ravni zveznih držav prevladujejo združeni zasebni mediji. Štirim največjim medijskim hišam ABC, NBC, CBS in Fox je združevanje zakonsko prepovedano (Biagi 2007, 11; Graber 2010, 30 in Napoli 2009, 14).

Mediji imajo štiri osnovne funkcije: *informacijska/nadzorna funkcija*, ki prejemniku določa, kaj novica je in kaj ni, *nadzorna/korelacijska funkcija*, ki dogodkom določa pomen, *funkcija socializacije*, ki daje medijem vzgojno vlogo in *zabavna funkcija*, ki sprosti in zabava občinstvo (Lasswell in Wright v Steinberg 2006, 130). Graber (2010, 11) *zabavno funkcijo* nadomesti s *funkcijo manipulacije*.

Novejše raziskave medijev se bolj kot na funkcije osredotočajo na učinke medijev (Biagi 2007, 256).

Učinki medijev se (po Scheufele 2010, 298) delijo na:

– *oblikovanje dnevnega reda* oziroma *funkcijo prednostnega tematiziranja* (Luthar in Jontes 2012, 13), kar pomeni, da mediji z izbiro in izpostavljanjem vsakodnevnih dogodkov/problemov ustvarjajo medijski dnevni red in pomembnost novic namesto izražanja stališča do tega dogodka/problema;

- *priming*, ki ga mnogi avtorji predstavljajo kot odvisno spremenljivko do *funkcije prednostnega tematiziranja* in se nanaša na izpostavljenost in medijsko prikazovanje posameznikov/političnih oseb, ki so povezane z medijskim ustvarjanjem pomembnosti novic in
- *okvirjanje novic*, ki predpostavlja, da ima (ne)predstavljanje novic v medijih vpliv na prejemnike/občinstvo in njihovo razumevanje dogodkov (Entman v Chappella in Jamieson 1997,45–46; Schuefele 2000, 305 ter McCombs in Ghanem v Reese in drugi 2008, 67).

Identifikacija okvirov

Razlikujemo med induktivno in deduktivno metodo identifikacije novičarskih okvirov. Induktivna metoda se uporablja, kadar imamo v mislih vnaprej zastavljene novičarske okvire, ki jih želimo identificirati. Pri induktivni metodi se novičarski okviri identificirajo v samem procesu analize. Deduktivna metoda pomeni raziskovanje že prej določenih novičarskih okvirov (De Vreese 2005, 53). Za identifikacijo okvirov uporabimo deduktivno metodo z uporabo petih (šestih) točk za identifikacijo okvirov po Tankardu (Tankard v de Vreese 2005, 54). Tankard (v de Vreese 2005, 54) za identifikacijo okvirov predstavi seznam enajstih ključnih točk: naslov, podnaslov, fotografija, opis fotografije, uvodnik, izbira virov, izbira citatov, izbira poudarjenih citatov (v okvirčkih), logotipi, statistike, grafi in končne izjave ter odstavki.

Od enajstih točk v nalogi uporabimo naslednje: naslov, fotografija, opis fotografije, izbira citatov, statistike in grafi ter dodatno (izven seznama) članek kot celota. Izbranim točkam se v analizi določa lastnost: pozitivnost, negativnost ali objektivnost. Lastnosti se točkam določajo na podlagi predhodno izvedene analize, v kateri izbrani bralci člankov soglasno določijo lastnost pozitivno, negativno in objektivno (prisotnost ali odsotnost določene besede ali besedne fraze). V primerih, kjer ni mogoče določiti lastnosti objektivnosti, se uporabi lastnost pozitivno in negativno skupaj. Pozitivno in negativno skupaj se od lastnosti objektivno loči. Pozitivna in negativna lastnost skupaj vključujeta članke, kjer sta bili predstavljeni najmanj dve nasprotujoči si mnenji (najpogosteje politično motivirani) dveh oseb (najpogosteje politični osebi). Lastnost objektivno se uporabi za članke, ki dopuščajo bralcu možnost lastne presoje.

Zaključek

Izmed 300 prebranih člankov jih je bilo 154 uporabnih za analizo, 146 člankov je bilo izključenih iz analize in so v tabeli priloge v stolpcu "Article Title" obarvani modro. Izključeni članki iz analize imajo neuporabno vsebino za analizo, torej se ne nanašajo (ali le bežno) na predlog zdravstvene reforme predsednika Obame, na druge (predhodne) predloge zdravstvenih reform v ZDA ali za njihovo neuporabnost obstajajo drugi vzroki.

Prebrani in analizirani članki so združeni v tabeli 4.2. "Percentage of frame characteristics in analyzed articles."

Zaključki analize so sledeči:

- Pri ugotavljanju obstoja in določanju tipa novičarskega okvira ima pomembno vlogo *subjektivnost* bralca in novinarja. V predtestu, ki se je izvedel s pomočjo metode kodiranja (vključeni trije bralci člankov), se je izkazalo, da posamezniki drugače interpretirajo/ocenjujejo isto novico, vzroki za to so lahko osebno stališče, odnos in priljubljenost do politike/politika in ostali.
- *Kulturne/socialne razlike* med državo, kjer so bili članki objavljeni in državo raziskovalca so pokazale, da je lahko ista stvar obravnavana drugače (v Sloveniji ima beseda *lobij* negativen prizvok, medtem ko so *lobisti* v ZDA zelo spoštovani).
- Večina, 39 odstotkov analiziranih člankov (analiza članka kot celote), ima lastnost objektivnosti. Objektivnost je osnovna vrednota ameriškega novinarstva. Mnogi kritiki objektivnost v novičarstvu označujejo kot nemogočo, zato je tudi razpravljanje o nepristranskem poročanju medijev nesmiselno.
- Odražanje *strankarskih nazorov* v člankih se kaže v rezultatu (tabela 4.2., stolpec "Quotes selection") analize kot opredelitev citatov pozitivno in negativno hkrati. Predstavljanje dveh nasprotujočih si stališč/mnenj onemogoča uvrstitev članka v samo eno lastnost okvira. Razlika med objektivno in pozitivno ter negativno lastnostjo okvira je v dopuščanju možnosti lastne presoje.

- Ker *slabe novice pritegnejo občinstvo*, jih novinarji pogosto vključijo že v naslove člankov (55 odstotkov naslovov člankov ima lastnost negativno, od tega je imelo 31 odstotkov člankov tudi negativno vsebino). V povezavi s tem se v člankih najpogosteje (v 31 odstotkih) uporabljajo *negativni statistični podatki* (prikazi/izračuni stroškov, davki in ostalo).
- Negativni *poizkusi zdravstvene reforme predhodnih predsednikov* (predvsem primerjava s predsednikom Clintonom) so v člankih predstavljeni kot primeri praks, ki se v prihodnosti ne smejo ponoviti, zato imajo pozitivno lastnost.
- Analizirani članki so imeli tudi lastnosti *sarkastičnega poročanja* in so bili zaradi svoje vsebine določeni kot negativna lastnost.
- *Vizualni elementi (fotografije)* v novicah so zelo učinkovito orodje novinarjev, saj z uporabo le-teh pri občinstvu izzovejo močna čustva, hkrati so tudi prvi stik občinstva z novico. V analiziranih člankih je bila fotografija v 45 odstotkih odsotna, v 40 odstotkih pa opredeljena kot objektivna.

Osnovno raziskovalno vprašanje magistrske naloge je bil *obstoj, pogostost uporabe in vrsta novičarskih okvirov* časnika New York Times v določenem časovnem obdobju. Glede na izvedeno analizo potrdimo *obstoj* novičarskih okvirov v spletnem časniku NYT. V tabeli 4.2. to potrjujejo lastnosti okvirov vseh izbranih (6) ključnih točk. Obstoj okvira določa tudi izključenost določene točke v novici (primer: neuporaba fotografije). *Pogostost uporabe okvirov* se v analizi potrdi v najpogostejši uporabi/odsotnosti ključnih točk. V primeru ključne točke: opis fotografije je pogostost uporabe okvirov najnižja, saj ta točka v večini analiziranih člankov (51 odstotkih) ni prisotna. Nasprotno je pogostost uporabe okvirov najpogostejša v primeru ključne točke: naslov članka, ki je v večini primerov (55 odstotkov) prisotna. Identifikacija okvirov je bila predhodno določena z *vrstami okvirov*, ki jih želimo raziskovati. Uporabili smo deduktivni pristop raziskave. V primeru neidentifikacije okvirov bi analizo nadgradili z uporabo metode namenskega zbiranja podatkov ali induktivnim pristopom raziskave, kar ni bilo potrebno.

Razvoj dogodkov po podpisu zakona 23. marca 2010 (vložitve tožbe o neustavnosti zakona in izguba večine sedežev demokratov v Predstavniškem domu v času vmesnih volitev, novembra 2010) lahko nakazuje eno izmed najpogostejše omenjenih posledic novičarskega okvirjanja: vpliv na posameznikovo razumevanje/sprejemanje resničnosti in posledično vpliv na njegove odločitve.

Vrhovno sodišče ZDA je junija 2012 potrdilo ustavnost zakona zdravstvene reforme in hkrati potrdilo prekoračitev pristojnosti parlamenta (Kongresa).

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Appendix

Table: "The Articles Analysis"

| Anal ysis (YE S/N O) | No. | Article Title | Name of the Reporter | Number of the Article in NYT | Page Number in the printed NYT | Date of an online publish | Publish Section in an online edition | Article itself (Objective/ Positive/Ne gative) | Headline (Objective/ Positive/Ne gative) | Photogra phy itself (Objective /Positive/ Negative) | Photography caption (Objective/Po sitive/Negativ e) | Quotes Selection (Objective /Positive/ Negative) | Statistics and Charts (Objectiv e/Positiv e/Negativ e) |
|----------------------------------|-----|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|
| YES | 1 | Democrats Agree on a Health Plan; Now Comes the Hard Part | Robert Pear | 8 | A19 | March 31, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive | Positive | Negative |
| YES | 2 | Schumer Offers Middle Ground on Health Care | Robert Pear | 33 | A20 | May 5, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Negative |
| NO | 3 | Questions for Frank Luntz - The Wordsmith - Interview (Not relevant for Analysis) | Deborah Solomon | 58 | | May 21, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 4 | And the Angels Rejoice | David Brooks | 59 | A19 | May 25, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 5 | Something's Got to Give in Medicare Spending | Tyler Cowen | 84 | BU4 | June 13, 2009 | Business, Economy | Negative | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 6 | Federal Saving From Lowering of Drug Prices Is Unclear | Robert Pear | 109 | A15 | June 22, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 7 | Financing Health Care Reform | n.g. | 134 | A22 | July 6, 2009 | Opinion, Editorial | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Objective |
| YES | 8 | House Committee Approves Health Care Bill | Robert Pear | 159 | n.g. | July 16, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 9 | No Complaints Here (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Marc Perkel | 184 | | July 23, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|----|---|--------------------------------------|-----|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| NO | 10 | Getting Good Value in Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Pauline W. Chen | 185 | | July 23, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 11 | Obama Moves to Reclaim the Debate on Health Care | Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Jeff Zeleny | 186 | A1 | July 22, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 12 | Health Care Reform and the Unpopular T-Word | David Leonhardt | 211 | B1 | July 28, 2009 | Business, Economy | Negative | Negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 13 | Senators Hear Concerns Over Costs of Health Proposal | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 236 | A11 | August 6, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 14 | Republican Death Trip (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Paul Krugman | 261 | | August 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 15 | Alternate Plan as Health Option Muddies Debate | Robert Pear and Gardiner Harris | 286 | A1 | August 17, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Objective |
| NO | 16 | Dentist and Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader John s. Findley | 311 | | August 23, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 17 | Don't Let the Stimulus Lose its Spark (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Robert H. Frank | 312 | | August 22, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 18 | Daschle Has Ear of White House and Industry (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David D. Kirkpatrick | 313 | | August 22, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 19 | Lieberman Suggests Health Care Reform May Have to Wait | Joseph Berger and Derrick Henry | 314 | n.g. | August 24, 2009 | U.S. | Positive and negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 20 | Majority Rule on Health Care Reform | n.g. | 339 | WK7 | August 29, 2009 | Opinion, Editorial | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Objective |
| NO | 21 | America's Health Care Debate (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Alex Lamb | 364 | | September 4, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|----|---|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| YES | 22 | Health Care Idea Has Public Plan Only as Backup | Robert Pear and Jackie Calmes | 365 | A14 | September 3, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive | Positive |
| NO | 23 | Aim of Obama Health Speech: Reigniting a Presidency (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Adam Nagourney | 390 | | September 9, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 24 | On Brink, Obama Is Resolute and Clear (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Alessandra Stanley | 391 | | September 10, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 25 | In Lawmaker's Outburst, a Rare Breach of Protocol (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Carl Hulse | 392 | | September 9, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 26 | Obama, Armed With Details, Says Health Plan Is Necessary | Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Jeff Zeleny | 393 | A1 | September 9, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Positive and negative | Positive | Positive | Positive | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 27 | Politics and the Age Gap (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Adam Nagourney | 418 | | September 12, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 28 | Where Politics Don't Belong (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Tyler Cowen | 419 | | September 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 29 | Nonprofit Groups Upset at Exclusion From Health Bills | Stephanie Strom | 420 | A12 | September 13, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 30 | Small Business and Health (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader John C. Arensmeyer | 445 | | September 21, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 31 | Considering a Tax on That Can of Soda (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Beth Kelly | 446 | | September 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 32 | For President, Five Programs, One Message (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Alessandra Stanley | 447 | | September 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|----|---|--------------------------------------|-----|------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| YES | 33 | Key Senator Says He Will Alter Health Proposal | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 448 | n.g. | September 21, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Positive |
| NO | 34 | Stuck in the Shallows (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Garrison Keillor | 473 | | September 30, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 35 | Ephemeral Comfort of Conservatism (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Charles M. Blow | 474 | | October 2, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 36 | A Call to Change the N.C.A.A.'s Direction (Not Relevant for Analysis) | William C. Rhoden | 475 | | October 4, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 37 | What's On Sunday (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Kathryn Shattuck | 476 | | February 14, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 38 | Panel Finishes Work on Health Bill Amendments | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 477 | A16 | October 2009 3. | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive |
| NO | 39 | A Nation at Odds Over Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Kathleen Lewton) | 502 | | October 2009 6, | | | | | | | |
| NO | 40 | How Iago Explains the World (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Lee Siegel | 503 | | October 2009 10, | | | | | | | |
| YES | 41 | Soaring Costs Remain a Bugaboo In Experts' Eyes | David M. Herszenhorn | 504 | n.g. | October 2009 12. | Health | Positive and negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 42 | Obama Invokes Kennedy for Health Cause | Susan Jo Keller | 529 | n.g. | October 2009 14, | U.S., Politics | Positive | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | n.g. |
| YES | 43 | How an Insurance Mandate Could Leave Many Worse Off | Tyler Cowen | 554 | BU4 | October 2009 24, | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 44 | Making Health Care Better (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Leonhardt | 579 | | November 2009 3, | | | | | | | |
| YES | 45 | For Abortion Foes, a Victory in Health Care Vote | David D. Kirkpatrick and | 580 | A1 | November 2009 8. | U.S., Politics | Positive | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive | Positive |

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|-----|----|--|--------------------------------------|-----|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | Robert Pear | | | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 46 | In House, Many Spoke With One Voice: Lobbyists' | Robert Pear | 605 | A1 | November 14, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Negative | Positive | Positive | Objective | n.g. |
| YES | 47 | Senator Cements Role at Heart of Debate | Carl Hulse | 630 | A28 | November 21, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Negative | Negative | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 48 | Are We Going to Let John Die? (Not Relevant for Amalysis) Opinion, Op-Ed Columnist | Nicholas D. Kristof | 655 | | November 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 49 | Memo Tells how to Derail Senate Health Bill | David M. Herszenhorn | 656 | n.g. | December 2, 2009 | Health | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 50 | Finding the Nerve to Cut Health Costs | David Leonhardt | 681 | B1 | December 8, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 51 | A State's Lower Smoking Rate Draws Attention (Not Relevant for Analysis) Talk about lower smoking percentage among poor people | Abby Goodnough | 706 | | December 17, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 52 | Senators Add the Ornaments and Trimmings | Katharine Q. Seelye | 707 | A36 | December 20, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | ng.g. | n.g. | Negative |
| YES | 53 | For Reid, a Hard Climb to the Pinnacle | David M. Herszenhorn | 732 | A20 | December 24, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| YES | 54 | Unions Rally to Oppose a Tax on Health Insurance | Steven Greenhouse | 757 | B1 | January 8, 2010 | Business | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 55 | The Pragmatic Leviathan (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Brooks | 782 | | January 18, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 56 | Democrats Put Lower Priority on Health Bill | David M. Herszenhorn and Robert Pear | 807 | A17 | January 26, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |

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|-----|----|--|--|-----|-----|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|----------|
| YES | 57 | On Health Bill, G.O.P.'s Road Is a New Map | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 832 | A1 | February 8, 2010 | Health, Money Policy & | Positive and negative | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive |
| NO | 58 | I Cost More, but I'm a Specialist (Not Relevant for Analysis) Column | Nicholas D. Kristof | 857 | | February 20, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 59 | Up Next! On Live TV! A Battle Over ... Health Care? | David M. Herszenhorn and Sheryl Gay Stolberg | 858 | A15 | February 20, 2010 | Health, Money Policy & | Positive | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive | Positive |
| YES | 60 | Opinion Polling: A Question of What to Ask | Dalia Sussman | 883 | WK5 | February 27, 2010 | Week in review | Positive | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Objective | n.g. |
| NO | 61 | Biologics Boondoggle (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Anthony D. So and Samuel L. Katz | 908 | | March 7, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 62 | Obama Turns Up the Volume in Health Care Bid | Helen Cooper and David M. Herszenhorn | 909 | A1 | March 8, 2010 | Health, Money Policy & | Positive | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive | Negative |
| YES | 63 | Running for Obama's Old Seat, and Set on Derailing His Plans | Katharine Q. Seelye | 934 | A21 | March 17, 2010 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 64 | Nurses' Role in the Future of Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 959 | | November 18, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 65 | At Rally, Call for Urgency on Immigration Reform (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Julia Preston | 960 | | March 21, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 66 | Obama, Lehman and 'The Dragon Tattoo' (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Frank Rich | 961 | | March 20, 2010 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|----|--|--------------------------------------|------|------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| YES | 67 | Obama Hails Vote on Health Care as Answering 'the Call of History' | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 962 | A1 | March 21, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 68 | The 4 percent solution (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Paul Krugman | 987 | | September 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 69 | Health Care Overhaul and Mandatory Coverage Stir States' Rights Claims | Monica Davey | 988 | A25 | September 28, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | Objective | Positive | Positive | n.g. |
| YES | 70 | A Heated Debate Is Dividing Generations in AARP | Gardiner Harris | 1015 | A22 | October 3, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive |
| NO | 71 | Making Congress Go Uninsured (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Nicholas D. Kristof | 1040 | | October 7, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 72 | Commenting on Costs (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1042 | | October 8, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 73 | Fighting for the Right to Drink Soda (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Richard Bernstein | 1044 | | October 7, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 74 | Is health on the way? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Paul Krugman | 1045 | | October 8, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 75 | Health Care Bill Gets Green Light In Cost Analysis | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1046 | A26 | October 9, 2009 | Health | Positive and negative | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 76 | Insurance Industry Assails Health Care Legislation | Robert Pear | 1072 | A16 | October 12, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 77 | In Saying No, G.O.P. Sees More Pros Than Cons | Jackie Calmes | 1097 | n.g. | October 16, 2009 | Health | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 78 | Debate Is Good for Your Health (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1122 | | October 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 79 | Health Care Exchanges (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Howard D. Larkin | 1123 | | October 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|----|--|--------------------------------------|------|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| NO | 80 | Payments to Doctors (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Jim Oglethorpe | 1124 | | October 20, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 81 | Protesting Insurers | Katharine Q. Seelye | 1125 | n.g. | October 21, 2009 | Health | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. | |
| NO | 82 | A Culture of Business as Usual (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Albert R. Hunt | 1150 | | October 25, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 83 | The Fatal Conceit (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Brooks | 1151 | | October 26, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 84 | Costly Toll of Swine Flu (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Alexandra Olins | 1152 | | October 27, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 85 | Public Option Push in Senate Comes With Escape Hatch | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1153 | A1 | October 26, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | n.g. | |
| YES | 86 | Supply-Side Ideas, Turned Upside Down | Gregory N. Mankiw | 1178 | BU4 | October 31, 2009 | Business, Economy | Negative | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Negative | Negative | |
| NO | 87 | Best Health Care in the World? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Nicholas D. Kristof | 1203 | | August 25, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 88 | Health Care History 101 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Leonhardt | 1204 | | November 5, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 89 | House Haggles Over Abortion in Health Care Bill | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1205 | A22 | November 4, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Positive | Negative | Positive and negative | Positive and negative | |
| NO | 90 | The Night They Drove the Tea Partiers Down (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Frank Rich | 1230 | | November 7, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 91 | Medical Industry Grumbles, but It Stands to Gain | Duff Wilson and Reed Abelson | 1231 | B1 | November 8, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative | |
| YES | 92 | Trading Women's Rights for Political Power | Kate Michelman and | 1256 | A35 | November 11, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Negative | n.g. | |

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|-----|-----|---|---------------------|------|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | Frances Kissling | | | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 93 | The 18 Million | Ross Douthat | 1281 | n.g. | November 17, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Negative |
| YES | 94 | Hospital Falters as Refuge for Illegal Immigrants | Kevin Sack | 1306 | A1 | November 20, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | Negative | Negative | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 95 | The Values Question | David Brooks | 1331 | A33 | November 23, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 96 | In Rain, in Snow, but Not on Saturdays? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Editors | 1356 | | November 29, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 97 | Inside the Times, November 29, 2009 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1357 | | November 29, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 98 | The Drug Industry, Health Care and Congress (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Stuart Davis | 1359 | | November 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 99 | A Modest Public Plan | n.g. | 1361 | WK7 | November 28, 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Positive and negative |
| NO | 100 | In Quest of Christmas (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Garrison Keillor | 1386 | | December 2, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 101 | The Job Summit (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1387 | | December 2, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 102 | The Long Hot Winter (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Gail Collins | 1388 | | December 2, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 103 | Does Tiger Woods Have a Right to Privacy? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1389 | | December 3, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 104 | Jobs and the Economy (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Maria Newman | 1390 | | December 3, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 105 | Legislature Passes Measures on Budget and Pensions, but Critics See Only Half | Danny Hakim | 1391 | A41 | December 2, 2009 | N.Y/Region | Positive | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive |

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| | | Steps | | | | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 106 | What My Amendment Won't Do | Bart Stupak | 1416 | A43 | December 8, 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. |
| NO | 107 | Summers Predicts Job Growth by Spring (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Joseph Berger | 1441 | | December 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 108 | Tilting Rightward At Journal (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Carr | 1442 | | December 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 109 | Obama Says Afghan Buildup Must Show Results (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Derrick Henry | 1444 | | December 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 110 | Long-Term Care Stirs Health Care Debate | Robert Pear | 1445 | A21 | December 13, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Negative | Positive | Positive | Positive and negative | Positive |
| YES | 111 | Sorry, Senator Kerry | Gail Collins | 1470 | A47 | December 16, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | n.g. |
| NO | 112 | End to the Abstinence-Only Fantasy (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1495 | | December 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 113 | The insincere center | Paul Krugman | 1496 | n.g. | December 19, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. |
| NO | 114 | What We're Reading ... (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Catherine Rampell | 1521 | | January 19, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 115 | What's On Today (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Kathryn Shattuck | 1522 | | August 31, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 116 | Delayed Vacation for President (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Helene Cooper | 1523 | | December 23, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 117 | Weighing Medical Costs of End-of-Life Care | Reed Abelson | 1524 | A1 | December 22, 2009 | Health | Negative | Negative | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | Negative |
| NO | 118 | The Gift of Health, and Doctors' Plight (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Paul M. Wortman | 1549 | | December 25, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 119 | Catholic Group Supports Senate on Abortion Aid | David D. Kirkpatrick | 1550 | A1 | December 25, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | n.g. |

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|-----|-----|--|---------------------------------|------|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| NO | 120 | What's a Bailed-Out Banker Really Worth? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Steven Brill | 1575 | | January 3, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 121 | No-Commoner Obama (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Matt Bai | 1577 | | December 30, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 122 | Decline Is Relative (Not Relevant for Analysis) | | 1578 | | January 3, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 123 | In Health Bill for Everyone, Provisions for a Few | Robert Pear | 1579 | A10 | January 3, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 124 | Health Reform, the States and Medicaid | n.g. | 1604 | WK9 | January 9, 2010 | Opinion, Editorial | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Positive and negative |
| YES | 125 | Daschle Handicaps the Final Health Bill | Andrew Pollack | 1629 | n.g. | January 15, 2010 | U.S. | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 126 | What the Results in Massachusetts Mean | David Brooks and Gail Collins | 1654 | | January 20, 2010 | Opinion | Negative | Objective | Positive | Objective | n.g. | Negative |
| NO | 127 | Health Reform, After Massachusetts (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Steve Blank | 1679 | | January 22, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 128 | Politics in the Age of Distrust | David Brooks | 1680 | A31 | January 21, 2010 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. |
| NO | 129 | Obama's Credibility Gap (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Bob Herbert | 1705 | | January 25, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 130 | Both Sides Making an Issue of Issue Ad on Super Bowl (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Stuart Elliott | 1706 | | January 26, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 131 | Stampede Toward Democracy (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Jan Witold Barn | 1707 | | January 25, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 132 | What Readers Want to Hear Tonight (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Kate Phillips | 1708 | | January 27, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 133 | Democrats in Congress Put Lower Priority on Health Care Bill After G.O.P. | David M. Herszenhorn and Robert | 1709 | n.g. | January 27, 2010 | Health | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Objective and negative | n.g. |

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| | | Victory | Pear | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 134 | Tampering at Landrieu Office Called a 'Stunt' (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Campbell Robertson and Bernie Becker | 1734 | | January 28, 2010 | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 135 | A Troubling Uptick (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1735 | | January 29, 2010 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 136 | Searching for Some Light Amid the Heat | David M. Herszenhorn | 1736 | A13 | January 29, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative | |
| YES | 137 | Democrats Ask, Can Health Care Bill Be Saved? | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1761 | A9 | February 5, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | n.g. | |
| NO | 138 | Poll Finds Edge for Obama Over G.O.P. Among the Public (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Adam Nagourney and Megan Thee - Brennan | 1786 | | February 11, 2010 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 139 | One Grand Deal Too Many Costs Lobbyist His Job | David D. Kirkpatrick and Duff Wilson | 1787 | B1 | February 12, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Positive and negative | Negative | |
| YES | 140 | Health Care Experts Must Face What Politicians Won't | James Warren | 1812 | n.g. | February 19, 2010 | Health | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. | |
| NO | 141 | How the G.O.P. Can Fix Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1837 | | February 21, 2010 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 142 | Can Obama Bypass Republicans on Health? | n.g. | 1838 | n.g. | February 22, 2010 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Negative | n.g. | |
| YES | 143 | Obama Defends His Policies to C.E.O.'s | Peter Baker | 1863 | B2 | February 24, 2010 | Business | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | Negative | |
| YES | 144 | Senator Pushes His Plan to Overhaul Health Care | Daniel Weintraub | 1888 | A27B | February 27, 2010 | U.S. | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive | |

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|-----|-----|---|--------------------------------------|------|------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| YES | 145 | Obama Wiends Analysis of Insurers in Health Battle | David M. Herszenhorn | 1914 | A24 | March 6. 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Positive |
| NO | 146 | On the Leadership of the President (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1939 | | March 11. 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 147 | An Old Essay Used to Explain a New Movement (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Richard Bernstein | 1940 | | March 10, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 148 | Obama Gets Tough on Health Care Fraud | Helene Cooper and Robert Pear | 1941 | n.g. | March 11. 2010 | Health | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Negative |
| YES | 149 | The Future of the Deficit | David Leonhardt | 1966 | n.g. | March 16. 2010 | n.g. | Objective | Objective | Negative | Objective | n.g. | Negative |
| NO | 150 | The Health Debate: Crunch Time (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Jill Blair | 1991 | | March 17, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 151 | Sex Scandals to Learn By (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Gail Collins | 1992 | | March 17. 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 152 | Democrats Say Health Bill Will Pay for Itself in the Long Run | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1993 | A1 | March 18. 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Objective |
| YES | 153 | Highlights From the Saturday Debate | Ben Werschulsk | 2018 | n.g. | March 20. 2010 | Health | Positive and negative | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| NO | 154 | Inside the Times, March 21. 2010 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 2019 | | March 21. 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 155 | Laugh Lines (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 2020 | | April 5, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 156 | Procedural Maneuvering and Public Opinion | Adam Nagourney | 2021 | WK1 | March 20. 2010 | n.g. | Objective | Objective | Negative | n.g. | Objective | n.g. |
| NO | 157 | 'Calling It Armageddon' (Not Relevnt for Analysis) | Alan Lee | 2046 | | March 23, 2010 | | | | | | | |

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| NO | 158 | Health Care Links (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Ross Douthat | 2047 | | March 2010 | 21. | | | | | | | |
| YES | 159 | Health Measure's Opponents Plan Legal Challenges | John Schwartz | 2048 | A20 | March 2010 | 22. | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |
| YES | 160 | Date Set for Health Nominee's Confirmation Hearing | David M. Herszenhorn | 12 | n.g. | March 2009 | 26. | U.S., Politics | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. |
| NO | 161 | Even Rick Wagoner's Firing Got Lousy Mileage (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Frank Rich | 37 | | April 4, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 162 | Policy Agenda Poses Test for Rusty Legislative Machinery | Carl Hulse | 38 | A20 | April 4, 2009 | | U.S., Politics | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Positive | Positive and negative |
| NO | 163 | Taliban Exploit Class Rifts in Pakistan (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Jane Perlez and Pir Zubair Shah | 63 | | April 16, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| NO | 164 | Inside the Times, April 17, 2009 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 64 | | April 17, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 165 | A Hard-Charging Doctor on Obama's Team | Robert Pear | 65 | A14 | April 17, 2009 | | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive | n.g. |
| NO | 166 | Dueling Endorsements in Race for Mayor (Note Relevant for Analysis) | Michael Barbaro and David W. Chen | 90 | | April 30, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 167 | Personal Experience Weighs on Obama in Health Policy Debate | Peter Baker | 91 | n.g. | April 30, 2009 | | U.S., Politics | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| YES | 168 | Universal Health Care, via Cost Cutting | David Leonhardt | 116 | n.g. | May 13, 2009 | | Business Day | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Positive |
| NO | 169 | Bill Changing Credit Card Rules Is Sent to Obama With Gun Measure Included (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Carl Hulse | 141 | | May 20, 2009 | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 170 | Tax Proposals Draw Critics in Talks on Financing Health Insurance | Robert Pear | 142 | A18 | May 20, 2009 | | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |

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| NO | 171 | Sotomayor Would Be Sixth Catholic Justice, but the Pigeonholing Ends There (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Laurie Goodstein | 167 | | May 31. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 172 | Bingeing on Celebrity Weight Battles (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Jan Hoffman | 168 | | May 29, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 173 | Paring Plans on Health Care in California Prisons (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Solomon Moore | 169 | | May 31. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 174 | Congress Returns to a Full Plate | Carl Hulse | 170 | A12 | May 31. 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. |
| YES | 175 | Health Care Spending Disparities Stir a Fight | Robert Pear | 195 | A17 | June 8. 2009 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Negative |
| NO | 176 | Inside The Times February 13. 2010 (Note Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 220 | | February 13. 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 177 | Following the Money in the Health Care Debate | Reed Abelson | 221 | WK1 | June 13. 2009 | Week in review | Objective | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Positive and negative | Objective |
| NO | 178 | Obama's Fly Move (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Maureen Dowd | 246 | | June 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 179 | A Public Health Plan | Opinion, Editorial | 247 | WK7 | June 20. 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Objective |
| YES | 180 | The Only Public Health Plan We Need | David Riemer and Alain Enthoven | 272 | A23 | June 24. 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Objective | Positive |
| YES | 181 | Reader Response: Can We Afford Health Reform? | Uwe E. Reinhardt | 297 | n.g. | June 29. 2009 | Business Day | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Objective |
| NO | 182 | Getting to Know Our Elderly Patients (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Robert L. Dickman | 322 | | July 7, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 183 | In Health Reform, a Cancer Offers an Acid Test | David Leonhardt | 323 | A1 | July 7. 2009 | Business, Economy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective |

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|-----|-----|--|---|-----|------|----------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| NO | 184 | Health Care for the Elderly (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Stephanie Lederman | 348 | | July 12. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 185 | For Doctors in Congress, Little Harmony on Health Care | Andrea Fuller | 349 | A22 | July 11. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| YES | 186 | Health Care Vote Illustrates Partisan Divide | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 374 | n.g. | July 15. 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 187 | Governors Fear Medicaid Costs in Health Plan | Kevin Sack and Robert Pear | 399 | A1 | July 19. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 188 | Concerns on Plan Show Clashing Goals | David M. Herszenhorn and Robert Pear | 424 | A20 | July 22 .2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 189 | A Cliffhanger to See if a G.M. Turnaround Succeeds (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Micheline Maynard and Michael J. De la Merced | 449 | | July 26. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 190 | Health Care Reform and You | n.g. | 450 | WK9 | July 25, 2009 | Opinion, Editorial | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Objective |
| YES | 191 | New Poll Finds Growing Unease on Health Plan | Adam Nagourney and Megan Thee - Brenan | 475 | A1 | July 29. 2009 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 192 | President Gives Senate Democrats a Pep Talk | Robert Pear | 500 | n.g. | August 4. 2009 | U.S., Politics | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive | Positive | n.g. |
| NO | 193 | Merck And Schering-Plough Shareholders Back Merger (Not Relevant for Analysis) | The Associated Press | 525 | | August 8, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|-----|---|---------------------------------|-----|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| YES | 194 | Drug Industry to Run Ads Favoring White House Plan | David D. Kirkpatrick | 526 | A13 | August 8, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Objective |
| NO | 195 | Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Influential Founder of Special Olympics, Dies at 88 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Carla Baranauck as | 551 | | August 11, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 196 | As Health Care Debate Rages, Obama Takes to the Stump | Jim Rutenberg and Jackie Calmes | 552 | n.g. | August 11, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive | n.g. |
| YES | 197 | Obama Says Insurers Are Trying to Block Change | Sherly Gay Stolberg | 577 | A12 | August 14, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| YES | 198 | The Swiss Menace | Paul Krugman | 602 | A19 | August 16, 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. |
| NO | 199 | Priority Test: Health Care or Prisons? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Nicolas D. Kristof | 627 | | August 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 200 | Plain English Is the Best Policy | John Aloysius Cogan Jr. | 628 | A27 | August 19, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. |
| YES | 201 | Daschle Has Ear of White House and Industry | David D. Kirkpatrick | 653 | A1 | August 22, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. |
| YES | 202 | Showing Support for Overhaul | Katharine Q. Seelye | 678 | n.g. | August 26, 2009 | Health | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | n.g. |
| YES | 203 | Bullish on Bipartisanship | Duff Wilson | 703 | n.g. | August 29, 2009 | Health | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Positive |
| YES | 204 | Stronger Prospects for the President on a Health Care Bill | John Harwood | 728 | A12 | August 30, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Objective |
| NO | 205 | Kennedy Memoir Doesn't Ignore Lows (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Carl Hulse and John M. Broder | 753 | | September 2, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 206 | Let's Get Fundamental | David Brooks | 754 | A21 | September 3, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Negative |
| YES | 207 | A More Perfect Death | Ross Douthat | 779 | n.g. | September 6, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |

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|-----|-----|--|--------------------------------------|-----|------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| NO | 208 | A Big Day on the Health Care Front (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Michael J. Grady | 804 | | September 9, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 209 | Health Care and the Courts (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Richard Binko | 805 | | November 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 210 | Obama in '09 vs. Clinton in '93 | Catherine Rampell | 806 | n.g. | September 9, 2009 | Business Day | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. |
| YES | 211 | Obama Keeps Up Health Care Push, Citing Uninsured | Sherly Gay Stolberg and Jeff Zeleny | 831 | n.g. | September 10, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 212 | Politics and the Age Gap | Adam Nagourney | 856 | WK1 | September 12, 2009 | Week in review | Objective | Objective | Objective | Negative | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| NO | 213 | Health Care Roundup: The Baucus Plan (Not Relevant for Analysis) | R. M. Schneiderman | 881 | | September 16, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 214 | Senate Health Bill Draws Fire on Both Sides | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 882 | A20 | September 15, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Negative |
| NO | 215 | Health Insurance? Here's a Paradox (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Roger Ebert | 907 | | September 18, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 216 | Even Glenn Beck Is Right Twice a Day (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Frank Rich | 908 | | September 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 217 | 'Don't Let Dead Cats Stand on Your Porch' | n.g. | 909 | WK5 | September 19, 2009 | Week in Review | Positive | Positive | Positive | n.g. | Positive | Positive |
| YES | 218 | In Health Care Premiums, Who Gets a Subsidy? | Catherine Rampell | 934 | n.g. | September 22, 2009 | Business Day | Negative | Negative | Negative | n.g. | Positive and negative | Negative |
| NO | 219 | Inside the Times January 23, 2010 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 959 | | January 23, 2010 | | | | | | | |

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| NO | 220 | Win Prize. Give It Away. Where's the Gratitude? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Michael Barbaro, Sam Roberts, Kareem Fahim and David W. Chen | 960 | | September 26. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 221 | Democrats Preserve Essence of Health Proposal | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 961 | A12 | September 25. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | Objective | Positive and Negative | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| YES | 222 | Abortion Fight Complicates Debate on Health Care | David D. Kirkpatrick | 986 | A1 | September 28. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. |
| NO | 223 | Science and Lobbying at the F.D.A. (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1012 | | October 3. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 224 | Health Overhaul Is Drawing Close to Floor Debate | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1013 | A1 | October 3. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. |
| NO | 225 | Partisan Economics In Action (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Leonhardt | 1038 | | October 6. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 226 | Republicans Turn Up Heat on Union Ally of Acorn (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Steven Greenhouse | 1039 | | October 6. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 227 | Making Congress Go Uninsured | Nicholas D. Kristof | 1040 | n.g. | October 7. 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Negative |
| NO | 228 | In a Changing Era, a Reminder of AIDS (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Michael Winerip | 1065 | | October 8. 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 229 | The Baucus Bill | n.g. | 1066 | WK9 | October 10. 2009 | Opinion, Editorial | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Positive |
| YES | 230 | Public Option Is Next Big Hurdle in Health Debate | Sherly Gay Stolberg | 1091 | A1 | October 14. 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Positive |

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| YES | 231 | Running the Health Care Gantlet | Albert R. Hunt | 1116 | n.g. | October 18, 2009 | U.S. | Positive and negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 232 | State of Distress (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Matt Bai | 1141 | | October 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 233 | The City: Fight for Staten Island (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Raymond Hernandez | 1142 | | October 25, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 234 | Other Voices: The Right to Know (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Clark Hoyt | 1143 | | October 24, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 235 | The Sunday Word: Afghanistan and the Flu (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Ashley Southall | 1144 | | October 25, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 236 | Merkel Picks Team to Govern in Germany (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Judy Dempsey | 1145 | | October 24, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 237 | Democrats See a Positive in a Bad Economy | Robert Pear | 1147 | A22 | October 24, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| NO | 238 | 'More Than 70 Percent' (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Alan Lee | 1172 | | October 30, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 239 | Buoyant Democrats Unveil Health Care Legislation | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1173 | A20 | October 29, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Objective |
| YES | 240 | Democrats to Use Election to Push Agenda in Congress | Carl Hulse | 1198 | A25 | November 4, 2009 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Positive |
| NO | 241 | Heavier Americans Push Back on Health Debate (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Susan Saulny | 1223 | | November 7, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 242 | Sweeping Health Care Plan Passes House | Carl Hulse and Robert Pear | 1224 | A1 | November 7, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Positive | Positive | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive |
| YES | 243 | 'Opt-Out' Proposal Puts State Leaders to | Kevin Sack | 1249 | A22 | November 10, 2009 | Health, Money & | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | n.g. |

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| | | the Test | | | | | Policy | | | | | | |
| NO | 244 | Memoir as Payback: Palin Vents About the McCain Campaign (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Michiko Kakutani | 1274 | | November 16, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 245 | Senate's Counting And Recounting Add Up to Delay | David M. Herszenhorn | 1275 | n.g. | November 16, 2009 | Health | Objective | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |
| NO | 246 | Breast Cancer Screening Policy Won't Change, U.S. Officials Say (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Kevin Sack and Gina Kolata | 1300 | | November 18, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 247 | The Controversy Over Mammograms (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Editorial | 1301 | | November 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 248 | Mammogram Debate Took Group by Surprise (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Gina Kolata | 1302 | | November 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 249 | Guidelines Push Back Age for Cervical Cancer Tests (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Denise Grady | 1303 | | November 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 250 | Christian Leaders Unite on Political Issues (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Laurie Goodstein | 1304 | | November 20, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 251 | A Bipartisan Message | Sherly Gay Stolberg | 1305 | n.g. | November 21, 2009 | Health | Positive | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | Positive and negative |
| YES | 252 | Centrist Senators Say They Oppose Health Care Bill | Joseph Berger | 1330 | n.g. | November 23, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 253 | Reducing Obesity Rates (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Karen Reznik Dolins | 1355 | | November 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 254 | Do Health Care Savings Start in the Cafeteria? (Not | Melanie Warner | 1358 | | November 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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| | | Relevant for Analysis) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| YES | 255 | Are We Going to Let John Die? | Nicholas D. Kristof | 1359 | WK9 | November 28, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | Negative |
| YES | 256 | Senators Pitch to Women and Elderly on Health Bill | Robert Pear and David M. Herszenhorn | 1384 | A24 | December 2, 2009 | Health | Objective | Positive | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 257 | Abortion Rights and Health Reform (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Barbara Russakov | 1409 | | December 6, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 258 | Does Parenting Make You Stupid? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Lisa Belkin | 1410 | | December 8, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 259 | Rockefeller: The Economists' Man in the Senate? | David Leonhardt | 1411 | n.g. | December 8, 2009 | Business Day | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | n.g. | Objective |
| NO | 260 | Inside the Times December 13, 2009 (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1436 | | December 13, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 261 | Can We Afford It? | Editorial | 1437 | WK8 | December 12, 2009 | Opinion | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative |
| NO | 262 | 'Reform Before Christmas' (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Jimmy Fallon | 1462 | | December 17, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 263 | Illusions and bitterness | Paul Krugman | 1463 | n.g. | December 16, 2009 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |
| NO | 264 | Gauging the Odds (and the Costs) in Health Screening (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Richard H. Thaler | 1488 | | December 19, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 265 | Louisiana Has Much at Stake in Health Care Debate | Campbell Robertson | 1489 | A26 | December 19, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive | Negative | Objective | Negative | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 266 | Making Compromises on Health Care (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Sandra R. Halberstam | 1514 | | December 22, 2009 | | | | | | | |

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| NO | 267 | Grant, Lee, and me (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Paul Krugman | 1515 | | December 22, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 268 | A Bill Well Worth Passing | Editorial | 1516 | A40 | December 21, 2009 | Opinion | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Positive |
| YES | 269 | Senate Passes Health Care Overhaul on Party-Line Vote | Robert Pear | 1541 | A1 | December 25, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Positive and negative | Objective | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 270 | Getting the Details Right on Health (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Kenneth Croen | 1566 | | December 28, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 271 | At State Level, Health Lobby Fights Change | David D. Kirkpatrick | 1567 | A1 | December 28, 2009 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | Objective |
| YES | 272 | Obama Urges Excise Tax on High-Cost Insurance | David M. Herszenhorn | 1592 | A21 | January 6, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective |
| NO | 273 | Interview With Harold Ford Jr. (Not Relevant for Analysis) | n.g. | 1617 | | January 12, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 274 | Moynihan Letters to Be Published (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Dave Izkoff | 1618 | | January 13, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 275 | Lack of Medicare Chief Is a Strike Against Reform | David Leonhardt | 1619 | B1 | January 12, 2010 | Economy, Business | Negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective |
| YES | 276 | Democrats Push to Salvage a Flailing Candidacy | Jeff Zeleny | 1644 | A13 | January 17, 2010 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| NO | 277 | The Advantages of Incrementalism (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Ross Douthat | 1669 | | January 21, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 278 | He Wasn't The One We've Been Waiting For | Paul Krugman | 1670 | n.g. | January 20, 2010 | Opinion | Negative | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Negative | n.g. |
| NO | 279 | In a Kennedy Hometown, Warm Feelings Don't Necessarily Mean Votes (Not Relevant for Analysis) | A.G. Sulzberger | 1695 | | January 23, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 280 | Reid Faces Battles in Washington and at Home | Adam Nagourney | 1696 | MM26 | January 12, 2010 | Magazine | Positive and negative | Negative | Objective | Objective | Positive and negative | n.g. |

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| NO | 281 | Trying to Prove He's the Same Old Obama (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Alessandra Stanley | 1721 | | January 27, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 282 | Struggling, and Seeking Hope in President's Words | Michaelo Luo | 1722 | A21 | January 28, 2010 | U.S., Politics | Negative | Negative | Objective | Negative | Negative | n.g. |
| NO | 283 | An Advocacy Ad Stirs a National Debate (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Stuart Elliott | 1747 | | February 1, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 284 | Extra Money for Science in Obama's Budget (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Donald G. McNeil Jr. | 1748 | | February 1, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 285 | Mr. Obama's New Budget (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Editorial | 1749 | | July 23, 2009 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 286 | Paul Ryan's Moment (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Ross Douthat | 1750 | | February 3, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 287 | Stumping for Jobs Plan, Obama Pushes Health Bill | Peter Baker | 1751 | A17 | February 2, 2010 | U.S., Politics | Positive and negative | Positive | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 288 | The House of Tranquillity (Not Relevant for Analysis) | David Brooks | 1776 | | February 8, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| NO | 289 | Obama Urges Setting Aside 'Petty Politics' (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Jeff Zeleny and Helene Cooper | 1777 | | February 9, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 290 | Health Reform in Limbo, Top Drug Lobbyist Quits | Duff Wilson and David Kirkpatrick | 1778 | n.g. | February 11, 2010 | U.S., Politics | Objective | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative |
| YES | 291 | Do We Really Want the Status Quo on Health Care? | Nicholas D.Kristof | 1803 | A27 | February 18, 2010 | Opinion | Positive | Negative | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Negative |
| NO | 292 | Why I'm Leaving the Senate (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Evan Bayh | 1828 | | February 21, 2010 | | | | | | | |

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|-----|-----|--|--|------|------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| YES | 293 | Obama lays out his Health Plan | Sheryl Gay Stolberg and David M. Herszenhorn | 1829 | n.g. | February 23, 2010 | Health | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Positive and negative | Positive and negative |
| NO | 294 | Getting Rid of Bad Teachers (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Editorial | 1854 | | February 24, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 295 | Big Questions Still Linger on Eve of Health Care Meeting | David Leonhardt | 1855 | A1 | February 23, 2010 | Economy, Business | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective |
| YES | 296 | Health Executive Defends Premiums | Robert Pear | 1880 | n.g. | February 24, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | n.g. | n.g. | Objective | Objective |
| YES | 297 | Showdown near, health Overhaul gains two votes | David M. Herszenhorn and Robert Pear | 1905 | n.g. | March 18, 2010 | Health | Positive | Positive | n.g. | n.g. | Positive | n.g. |
| YES | 298 | Partisanship's Influence On Health Bill's Future | John Harwood | 1930 | n.g. | March 1, 2010 | Health | Negative | Negative | Objective | Positive | Positive and negative | n.g. |
| NO | 299 | A Final Showdown on Health Care? (Not Relevant for Analysis) | Reader Bruce Neuman | 1955 | | March 4, 2010 | | | | | | | |
| YES | 300 | Obama Calls for 'Up or Down Vote' on Health Care Bill | Sherly Gay Stolberg and Robert Pear | 1956 | A1 | March 3, 2010 | Health, Money & Policy | Objective | Objective | Objective | Objective | Positive and Negative | Objective |