NO.4

Assessing the Quality of Campaign Discourse — 1960, 1980, 1988, and 199

A Report of the Campaign Discourse Mapping Project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania under the Direction of Kathleen Hall Jamieson and funded by The Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New You 22 July 1996

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The Campaign Discourse Mapping Project

he Campaign Discourse Mapping Project (CDMP) collected and analyzed the extant speeches, ads, debates and much of the broadcast and print coverage of the 1960, 1980, 1988 and 1992 presidential general election campaigns.

The project was directed by Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Roderick P. Hart. Jamieson is Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication of the University of Pennsylvania and Director of its Annenberg Public Policy Center. She is the author of *Packaging the Presidency, Eloquence in An Electronic Age, Dirty Politics, Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership,* and co-author of *Deeds Done in Words, Presidential Debates, Interplay of Influence* and of the forthcoming *Spirals of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good.*

Hart is the Liddell Professor of Communication at the University of Texas and author of *The Political Pulpit, The Sound of Leadership, Verbal Style and the Presidency, Modern Rhetorical Criticism,* and *Seducing America.*

Why the 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992 Campaigns?

Funding from The Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation made it possible for us to examine four presidential campaigns. Because it was the first to include presidential debates and because it marked the high point of voter turn-out, 1960 was a natural choice. As the most recent election, so too was 1992.

The other two elections were selected because they met a number of key criteria. Having selected 1960 in part because voter turnout was high, it made sense to also select the year in which turnout reached its low point, 1988. Since an incumbent president was defending his record in 1992, we sought a second election with an incumbent, a criterion that turned us to 1980.

These four elections, 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992, provided us with pairs of campaigns, two with and two without an incumbent. Two were won by Democrats, two by Republicans. Also of interest to us was a parallel in voting behavior. In 1980, as in 1992, a significant "no" vote was registered against the incumbent. In each of these years, 2 in 5 said they voted mainly "against the other choices."

This selection also provided us with years judged very differently in retrospect. By a number of measures 1960 and 1980 were "good campaigns", 1988 a poor one, and 1992 an improvement on 1988. So, for example, voter turnout peaked in 1960 and hit its post-war low point in 1988. There was an upturn in 1992.

The American National Election Studies (ANES) and media exit polls suggest that on a number of key measures, the electorate was more engaged in 1980 and 1992 than in 1988.

	1960	1980	1988	1992
Following of campaign Source: ANES (% "very interested")		29.8%	27.8%	38.8%
Attention to politics ANES		26.4%	22.4%	26.5%
Paid a lot of attention to campaign CBS/N.Y. TIMES		54%	43%	70%
Use of media to follow campaign ANES television radio newspaper		85.9% 46.9% 70.7%	NA 31.2% 63.6%	88.9% 36.7% 65.4%
Political efficacy ANES ("caring what people like me think/have say about what government does") ¹	64%	39%	38%	40%
Voter satisfaction with choice of candidates CBS/N.Y. TIMES, OCTOBER		50%	34%	49%
Voter Turnout	63 %	59%	50%	55%

Other polling data confirm the public perception that 1992 was an improvement over 1988. According to a 1992 Times Mirror poll conducted the weekend after the election of 1992, 59% thought that the 1992 campaign was more policy oriented than the campaign of 1988. Where in 1988 48% found the debates helpful in deciding for whom to vote, in 1992 that number had jumped to 70%.

Research Questions

We assume that one of the factors to which the public responds in evaluating campaigns is the quality of candidate and press discourse. If that is indeed the case, then we should see changes from 1988 to 1992. To locate such changes, if in fact they exist, and to provide an historical baseline from which to assess the candidate and press discourse of the 1996 general election, we developed two coding structures.

The first, completed by Jamieson's research team at the Annenberg School focused on the structure and arguments of the discourse, assessing the foci of press coverage and candidate discourse as well as their quality. At its core, this analysis examined the argument, engagement, and accountability of the messages.

Our questions included, How much of the discourse advocated the candidate's position? How much compared positions, biography, or philosophy? How much indicted, that is made the case against the opponent without making the case for the speaker? And how much simply attacked? Did press

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coverage accurately convey the substance and tenor of the candidate discourse? How has press behavior in debates and coverage of ads, debates, and speeches changed over the course of the four campaigns? (For a detailed description of the coding procedure, see Appendix 2.)

The second study, completed by Hart's team at the University of Texas, examined patterns of language to assess the optimism, realism, activity and certainty of the press and candidates.

As part of this process, the data from 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992 were collected, computerized, and analyzed. We gathered 601 candidate speeches, 373 televised ads, 13 debates, over 600 print articles drawn from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the wire services. We also collected all of the campaign stories broadcast from September 1 through election eve in 1980, 1988, and 1992 from CBS, NBC, ABC, The MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, and, in 1992, CNN. We examined 341 of them in detail.

This report contains the preliminary conclusions of the Annenberg team.

Analyzing Candidate Discourse

In its most basic form, an argument consists of a claim and evidence or reasoning supporting that claim. Claims are defined as an arguable statement advanced by the speaker. Not all claims were coded. We did not code claims that were simply epideictic (e.g. "I am pleased to be in California, the orange-producing capital of the world."). The five basic forms of argumentation we examined are:

- Simple Argument A claim followed by evidence or reasoning. Example: "The United States should recognize Taiwan (*claim*) because we must support every nation's right to self-rule (*evi-dence or reasoning*)."
- **Point-Counterpoint** A presentation of the candidate's view followed by the opponent's view, with evidence for neither. Example: "Should public school teachers be required to lead our children in the pledge of allegiance? My opponent says no but I say yes."
- Indictment A claim about the opponent's position, followed by evidence critical of the opponent. Example: "Mr. Bush says everything's fine; not to worry; this is as good as it gets (*opponent's claim*). A quarter of a million family farms lost during the last 7 years. That's more than all the farms in Missouri and Illinois combined. Hospitals shutting down in rural communities. Storefronts boarded up on Main Street. Communities fighting to survive (*evidence critical of opponent*)."
- Engagement A claim plus evidence for the speaker's position and either a claim of the opponent's or a claim plus evidence of the opponent's where the evidence is critical of the opponent. Example: "Governor Reagan says that nonproliferation is none of our business (*other's claim*). It is our business (*speaker's claim*). You think for a few moments about what it would mean if Libya or Iraq had atomic bombs. The threat of terrorism is enormous. And those are the kinds of issues that will affect your life, your safety, and the quality of existence of those you love in the years ahead (*speaker's evidence*).

■ Inoculation - The highest form of argumentation. Here the speaker presents a claim plus evidence for his position and his opponent's, and he presents his opponent's own evidence or reasoning. Example: "Mr. Nixon says our prestige has never been higher (*other's claim*), and he points to our prosperity here at home (*other's evidence*). I say that we are going to have to do better if we are going to meet the threats and challenges that face us (*speaker's claim*) because the world has become more dangerous in places such as Indochina and Latin America (*speaker's evidence*)."

In addition, we coded claims that "attacked" the opponent and recorded instances of namecalling. Attacks are claims critical of the opponent for which the candidate provides no evidence. Namecalling is the use of a pejorative to characterize the opponent or the opponent's positions.

- Attack "We can't have as president someone who sees education as an election year strategy." (*claim critical of opponent that is unsupported by evidence*.)
- Name-calling "My dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than these bozos."

Arguments were then coded for the accountability of their evidence:

- Verifiable Evidence Presents facts that can be verified. Example: "We exported \$43 billion worth of farm products the year before the Republicans took over. Last year we exported \$15 billion less."
- Sourced Evidence Cites a source for the facts presented. Example: "According to a report by the General Accounting Office, the Defense Department spent billions of dollars on unnecessary equipment last year."

For a more detailed discussion of the coding rules, see Appendix 2.

Analyzing News Coverage

In addition to analyzing discourse emanating from candidates, the project also evaluated news coverage. Stories were coded for primary and secondary structure to ascertain changes over time in levels of strategy and issue coverage, use of polls, and discussion of candidate advertising. A story's primary structure is defined by the lead and the bulk of the story. A secondary structure was only coded if a substantial portion of the story had a structure different from the primary structure. We also coded all quotations in news stories. The source categories were Candidate, Running Mate, Surrogate or Announcer in Ad, Candidate's Staff, Expert, Advocacy Group Representative, Journalist, Politician or Government Official, and Average Citizen. The quotes of candidates, running mates, and surrogates or announcers in ads were coded for argumentation. The quotes of other sources were coded for their focus, either Strategy, Issue, Both, or Other.

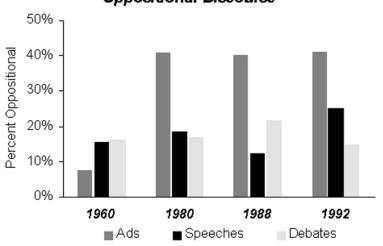
The print and broadcast portions of the database also contain a coding for Pass-Through, which specifies the source of a candidate quote. This measure enables us to compare the differences between, for example, candidate speeches and the reporting of those speeches, or candidate debates and stories about debates.

Findings

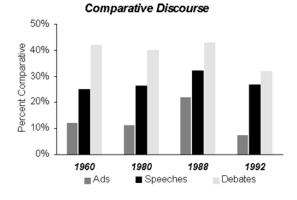
- 1. When candidates speak of themselves, as they do in speeches and debates, and as they did in the ads of 1960, they are less likely to attack, more likely to advocate, more likely to assume accountability for their statements, and more likely to be civil.
- 2. The press gives the public a distorted sense of candidate rhetoric. Campaign discourse is more positive than press coverage suggests.

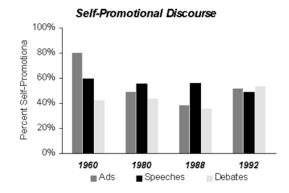
BY A NUMBER OF MEASURES THE OVERALL QUALITY OF CANDIDATE DISCOURSE IS HIGH.

- 2a. Candidate discourse in speeches, debates, and ads is more often positive than negative. In speeches, ads, and debates, candidates are significantly more likely to advocate their own positions or compare and contrast their positions to those of their opponents than to indict or attack.
- 2b. Proportionately, ads contain more indictment and attack, and debates contain more comparison. Speeches contain consistently high levels of self-promotion (advocacy).

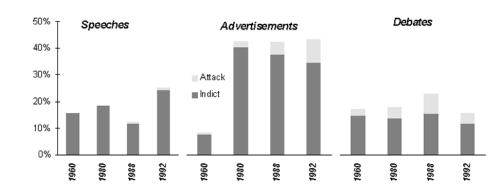


Oppositional Discourse

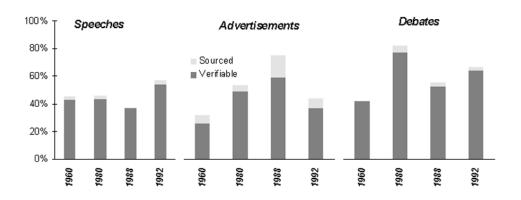




2c. Although the percent of attack (negative assertion without evidence) has risen in ads since 1960, it remains a very small percent of the total content of ads. Negative assertion without evidence also rarely occurs in speeches and debates. Opposition in discourse is usually in the form of indictment.



2d. Evidence offered by candidates is usually (over 90% of the time) relevant to their claims.2e. Evidence offered by candidates is usually verifiable.



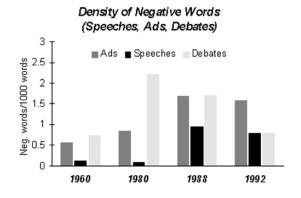
2f. Ads routinely have policy issue content. (Researcher: Jeffrey Stanger)

Mean Issue References (per Advertisement)	
2.34	
2.18	
2.67	

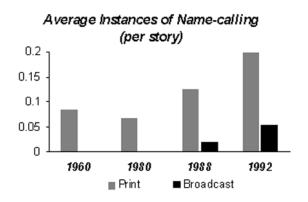
WAYS IN WHICH THE PRESS MAGNIFIES THE NEGATIVE

Name-Calling vs. Coverage of Name-Calling

2g. Name-calling decreased slightly in 1992. Overall, the candidates used a higher proportion of negative words in 1988 than in other years. Use of negative words (e.g., liar, despicable, immature, bozo, ozone man, etc.) in ads has increased since 1960, with a slight decrease in 1992. Negative words are used infrequently in the speeches of 1960 and 1980, increased in 1988, and dropped somewhat in 1992. Negative words in debates rose markedly between 1960 and 1980, but tailed off in 1988 and in 1992 returned to the level of 1960.

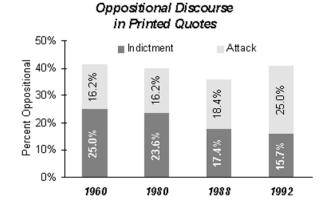


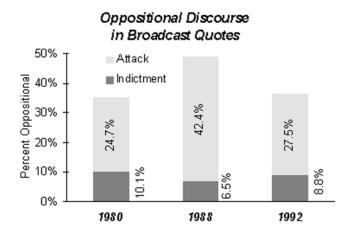
2h. Print stories that included quotes containing name-calling decreased from 1960 to 1980 and increased in subsequent years. No broadcast stories in 1980 were found that included quotes containing name-calling (recall, broadcast stories for 1960 were unavailable). The number rose from 1988 to 1992.



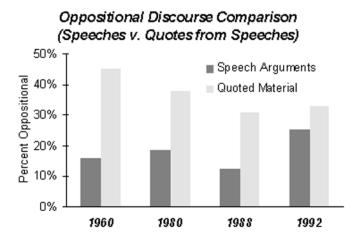
Attack vs. Coverage of Attack

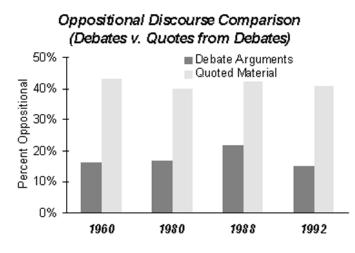
2i. Both broadcast and print press coverage suggest that discourse contains more attack than is in fact the case. The news process may have the effect of removing evidence from candidate arguments, thus converting indictments (oppositional claims with supportive evidence) into attacks (negative assertions without evidence).





Note: The following figures show the level of opposition (indictment and attack) contained in quotes draw directly from actual speeches and debates, not all quoted or paraphrased material as in the previous figures. Note that because our broadcast sample did not contain a sufficient number of quotes derived from speech and debates to permit comparisons, these figures use only data from print news, which we have seen is sor what less oppositional than broadcast news. The first graph displays the level of opposition in speeches alongside the level of opposition in news quotes from speeches. The second graph performs the same com parison for debates.

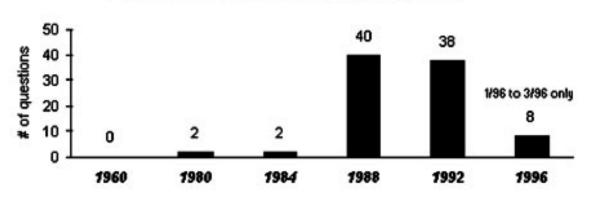




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Focus on the Negative in Polls

2j. The number of poll questions asked about the negativity of campaigns increased dramatically in 1988 and persisted in 1992. (Jennifer Khoury)

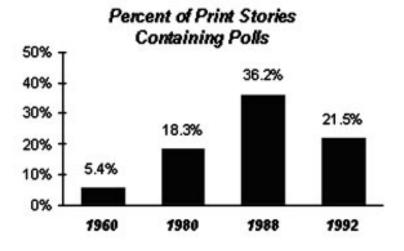


Poll Questions about Campaign "Negativity"

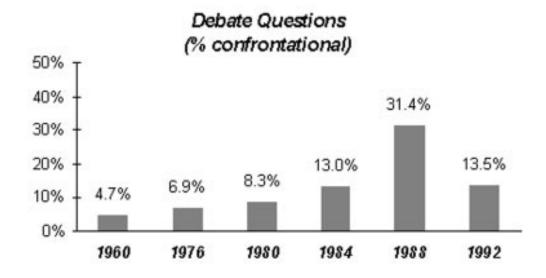
3. There were improvments in both press practice and candidate discourse in 1992.

PRESS PRACTICE

3a. After increasing sharply to a peak in 1988 when over 36% of the stories were devoted in whole c part to polls, use of polls in stories dropped in 1992.



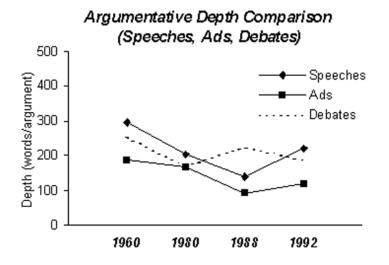
3b. In 1960 and 1980 journalists tended to be courteous and non-confrontational in their questions in debates. In 1988 the proportion of confrontational questions and those setting a trap for the candidates increased significantly. That tendency was less pronounced in 1992. (Paul Waldman)



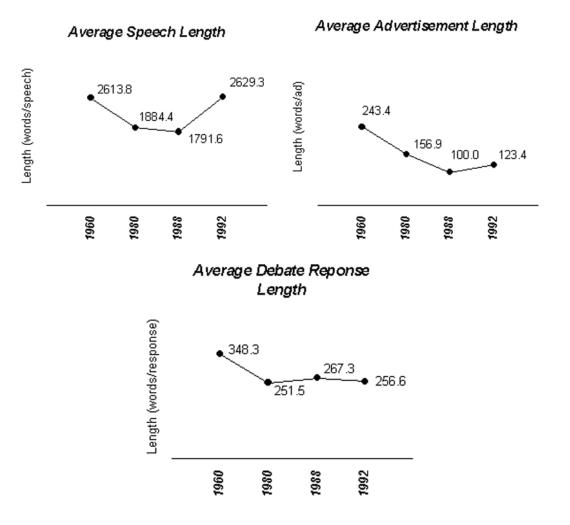
Example of a trap question. "My question is, why should a woman who discovers through amniocenteses that her baby will be born with Tay-Sachs disease, for instance, that the baby will live at most two years and those two years in incredible pain – be forced to carry the fetus to term?" (asked of George Bush, 1988)

CANDIDATE DISCOURSE

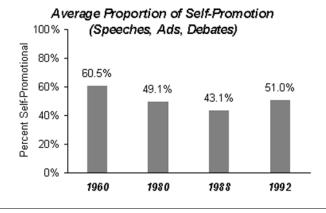
3c. After dropping from 1960 to 1980 and from 1980 to 1988, in 1992 the argumentative depth of the speeches and ads, but not debates increased.



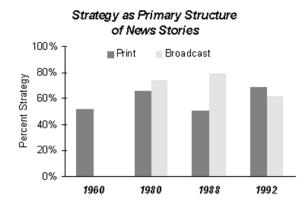
3d. After dropping from 1960 to 1980 and from 1980 to 1988, the average length of candidate ads and speeches increased in 1992. Debate response length has remained fairly consisten following a decrease after 1960.



3e. The average proportion of ads, speeches, and debates devoted to advocacy (self-promotion) decreased between 1960 and 1988, followed by an increase in 1992.

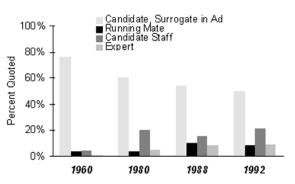


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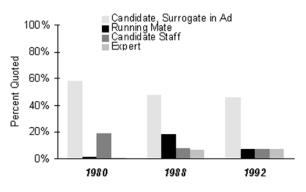
4. Strategy or "Horse Race" coverage remains the prevailing press structure.

5. The percent of talk by candidates in news is down and talk by others is up. Where news relied almost exclusively on the candidates themselves as a source of quoted information in 1960, staff, running mates and experts have been quoted more often recently. While the candidate is still the source most likely to be quoted, staff, running mates, and experts are being quoted more often now than in previous years.

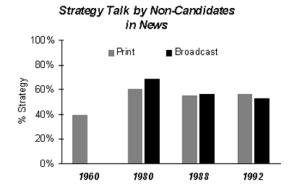


Who is Quoted in Print News?





5a. An increasing source of strategy discussion has been quotes from campaign staffers, government officials, and political experts.



- 5b. There has been an increase in the amount of space and time given to experts in particular since 1960, when fewer than 1% of the quotes were attributed to them. In 1992, 9.1% of all quoted and paraphrased material in print news and 7.1% in broadcast news were from political experts.
- 6. Coverage of ads
 - 6a. In 1980, ads that were controversial, adversarial, or misleading received the most press attention. (Elaine Casey)
 - 6b. In 1988, press coverage of ads focused largely on their strategic intent and effect. (Kiersten Stewart)
 - 6c. In 1992, some wire service analyses of the accuracy of ads were dropped because they were placed at the end of the story. (Christopher Adasiewicz)

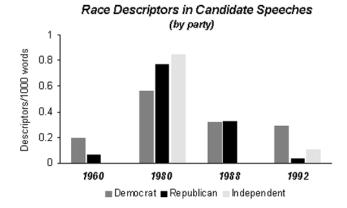
Other Illustrative Uses of the Database

The candidates' issue agendas in the speeches and debates of a given year tend to align. (Jeffrey Stanger)

Rank Order	1992 Speech Agenda	1992 Debate Agenda	1988 Speech Agenda	1988 Debate Agenda
1	social welfare	social welfare	social welfare	social welfare
2	economy	economy	public order	public order
3	gov't functioning	public order	economy	economy
4	public order	gov't functioning	foreign affairs	foreign affairs
5	labor issues	foreign affairs	gov't functioning	agriculture
6	natural resources	racial issues	natural resources	gov't functioning
7	foreign affairs	labor issues	labor issues	natural resources
8	agriculture	natural resources	agriculture	labor issues
9	racial issues	agriculture	racial issues	racial issues

* Pearson correlation between 1992 agendas: .9819 (p<.0001); 1988 agendas: .9748 (p<.0001)

Words explicitly referring to race rarely appear in presidential campaign discourse. (Benjamin De Guzman)

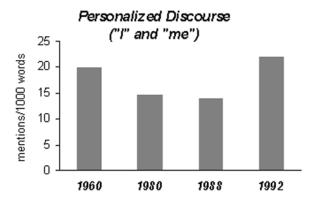


Race Descriptors: African American, Black, Negro, Asian American, Oriental, White (eliminating references such as White House), Anglo, Caucasian, Latino, Hispanic, Native American, and American Indian.

Democrates tend to invoke past presidents more often in their speeches than republicans. Democrats most frequently recall FDR and Republicans mention Truman the most. (Paul Waldman)

	<i>Democrat</i> (1293 total reference	% es)	Republican (436 total references)	%
1	FDR (345)	26.7%	Truman (96)	22.0%
2	JFK (274)	21.2	Reagan (76)	17.4
3	Truman (274)	21.2	Carter (56)	12.8
4	Lincoln (89)	6.9	JFK (26)	6.0
5	Wilson (85)	6.6	FDR (20)	4.6

The discourse of the 1960 and 1992 campaigns was more personal than that of the 1980 and 1988 campaigns. (Kiersten Stewart



In 1992 Clinton's ad agenda was more closely aligned with that of the public than Bush's or Perot's. (Jeffrey Stanger)

1992 Candidate	Ad Agenda Alignment with Public Agenda (Pearson correlation)
Clinton	.9217 (p<.001)
Bush	.8737 (p<.01)
Perot	.8816 (p<.01)

Debates may increase voter knowledge because they address topics featured in candidate speeches but overlooked in news coverage. (Christopher Adasiewicz)

Appendix 1

Equalizing Candidate Discourse Lengths for Purposes of Calculating Argumentative Depth, Engagement, and Accountability

he Campaign Discourse Mapping Project utilized a rating of total words per coded argument as a measure of the depth of candidates' argumentation. The calculation of this rating for individual candidates was straightforward. The function was simply the total length of coded discourse (of a particular communication form, e.g., speeches) divided by the number of discrete arguments made by the candidate. For any given candidate (*n*), argumentative depth (AD)...

$$AD_n = \frac{t_n}{a_n}$$

The calculation of argumentative depth for *multiple* candidates (e.g., the argumentative depth in a particular discourse genre for the 1960 election year as a whole, or perhaps in the discourse of all Democratic candidates in the four election years presented in this report) is somewhat more complex. The complexity arises from the fact that candidates engage in various amounts of discourse, thus their total discourse lengths can be very different. For instance, in 1960, Democrat John F. Kennedy's general election campaign aired 99 advertisements totaling 26946 words in length, while Republican Richard Nixon's camp aired only 23 totaling 2744 words. To compute the argumentative depth in advertisements for the entire 1960 election based simply on these total word counts would result in an average skewed severely toward Kennedy's argumentative depth rating, as his advertisements account for nearly ten times the number of words as Nixon's. Conceptually, this would be the equivalent of arguing that the electorate was exposed to ten times more advertisement discourse for Kennedy as for Nixon. In reality, Kennedy's 99 ads and 26946 words were aired about as frequently as Nixon's 23 and 2744 words. Thus, a method for equalizing multiple candidates with varying total lengths of discourse was necessary. The following equation was developed to negotiate the varying lengths of candidate communication. The equation functions by first equalizing the length of discourse for each candidate by finding a common denominator of total words (the product $t_1 \bullet t_2 \bullet \dots \bullet t_n$), second computing the expected number of arguments for each candidate given this equalized discourse length, and finally producing the argumentative depth for the group of candidates (e.g., all candidates in one election year) based on these calculations. The developed equation appears as follows...

$$AD_{1,2,\ldots,n} = \frac{n \cdot (t_1 \cdot t_2 \cdot \ldots \cdot t_n)}{\left(a_1 \cdot \frac{t_1 \cdot t_2 \cdot \ldots \cdot t_n}{t_1}\right) + \left(a_2 \cdot \frac{t_1 \cdot t_2 \cdot \ldots \cdot t_n}{t_2}\right) + \cdots + \left(a_n \cdot \frac{t_1 \cdot t_2 \cdot \ldots \cdot t_n}{t_n}\right)}$$

...where n is the number of candidates in question. The equation yields a figure that represents the argumentative depth *as if all candidates' discourse lengths were equal*. In a two-candidate election, the equation can be simplified to...

$$AD_{1,2} = \frac{2(t_1 \cdot t_2)}{(a_1 \cdot t_2) + (a_2 \cdot t_1)}$$

...where a_1 and a_2 are the number of coded arguments for Candidate 1 and Candidate 2 respectively, and t_1 and t_2 are the total coded discourse lengths (in words) for the candidates. To use the 1960 example noted earlier, the equation would calculate the argumentative depth treating Nixon's 2744 advertisement words as equal to Kennedy's 26946 words. In the 1960 material, 109 separate claims (arguments) were counted for Kennedy and 18 for Nixon. The computation of the argumentative depth in all 1960 advertisements appears as follows...

$$AD_{1960} = \frac{2(26946 \cdot 2744)}{(109 \cdot 2744) + (18 \cdot 26946)} = 188.59$$

In 1960, the actual coded arguments in advertisements total 127, and the length totals 29690 words. Without equalizing discourse lengths for the two candidates, the resulting argumentative depth for 1960 appears much higher at 233.78 (29690 words÷127 arguments). This figure is much closer to Kennedy's individual rating than to Nixon's because of the greater number of words available for Kennedy. To avoid these substantively incorrect assessments of argumentative depth, discourse lengths were equalized before analysis of entire election years.

The engagement and accountability measures for a given candidate were simply the number of each type of argument (e.g., indictments, simple arguments, etc.) as a percentage of the total number of existing arguments for a given candidate (n)...

$$\mathscr{V}_n = \frac{b_n}{a_n}$$

...where b_n is the number of arguments of a particular type (indictments, simple arguments, etc.) and a_n is the total number of existing arguments for the candidate. Much like the calculation of argumentative depth, it was necessary to equalize discourse lengths in order to derive a conceptually accurate measure of the engagement and accountability for multiple candidates. Recall from earlier how discourse lengths were

equalized by finding a common denominator of words among the group of candidates (or pair as the case may be). Given this common length of discourse, the expected number of total arguments was computed. A similar procedure was used here. First we computed the expected number of total arguments for the group of candidates given equal discourse lengths. Secondly, we calculated the expected number of arguments of a particular type (simple, indictments, etc.) also based on this equalized length of discourse. Thus, in a simple two-candidate race, the percentage, assuming equal discourse length appears as follows...

$$\mathscr{V}_{\mathbf{0}1,2} = \frac{b_1 t_2 + b_2 t_1}{a_1 t_2 + a_2 t_1}$$

In 1960, Kennedy's advertisements contained a total of 109 separate arguments (in 99 ads and 26936 words), of which 12 were coded as either an indictment or an attack, yielding a percentage of 11.0% oppositional discourse. Nixon had only one instance of oppositional argumentation in 18 arguments (in 23 ads and 2744 words) or 5.6%. Without accounting for differences in total discourse length, one would find that the total oppositional discourse in 1960 advertisements was 10.2% (13 instances (127 total arguments between the two candidates). Much like the un-equalized argumentative depth measure, this percentage is highly skewed toward Kennedy's level because the differential discourse length (and the resulting higher number of total arguments for Kennedy). Using the above equation which equalizes Kennedy's 26936 words with Nixon's 2744, we can obtain a different, but substantively more accurate picture of the level of oppositional discourse in the 1960 presidential general election campaign advertisements...

$$\%_{1960} = \frac{(12)(2744) + (1)(26946)}{(109)(2744) + (18)(26946)} = 7.6\%$$

The procedures described in this section, for both argumentative depth rating and engagement and accountability percentages, were used in all cases in which a group or pair of candidates, most often one election year, was described. Differing lengths of discourse were equalized in order to produce what is considered a more accurate assessment of argumentation, engagement, and accountability than would be obtained had these lengths been maintained in their original state.

The equalization formulas were developed by Jeffrey Stanger

Appendix 2

The Annenberg Campaign Discourse Archive

he archive contains materials from five campaign discourse genres: debates, speeches, advertisements, broadcast news, and print news. The debate archive consists of transcripts of all debates in the four years studied:

1960	Kennedy-Nixon	September 26, 1960
	Kennedy-Nixon	October 7, 1960
	Kennedy-Nixon	October 13, 1960
	Kennedy-Nixon	October 21, 1960
1980	Reagan-Anderson	September 21, 1980
	Reagan-Carter	October 28, 1980
<i>1988</i>	Bush-Dukakis	September 25, 1988
	Bush-Dukakis	October 13, 1988
	Quayle-Bentsen	October 5, 1988
<i>1992</i>	Bush-Clinton-Perot	October 11, 1992
	Bush-Clinton-Perot	October 15, 1992
	Bush-Clinton-Perot	October 19, 1992
	Quayle-Gore-Stockdale	October 13, 1992

The speech archive contains all speeches given between September 1 and election day for which transcripts could be obtained, plus all nomination acceptance speeches. In addition, speeches were sampled for analysis (refer to the Methodology section of this report for an explanation of the sampling technique).

Candidate	Number of speeches
Kennedy	70
Nixon	30
Carter	89
Reagan	70
Anderson	32
Bush '88	39
Dukakis	65
Clinton	74
Bush '92	120
Perot	12
Total:	601

The ad archive contains general election advertisements from the four years studied. We were unable to obtain ads for John Anderson.

Candidate	Number of ads
Kennedy	99
Nixon	23
Carter	89
Reagan	17
Dukakis	46
Bush '88	37
Clinton	29
Bush '92	21
Perot	12
Total:	373

The broadcast news archive contains all campaign stories aired weeknights between September 1 and election day, plus convention coverage, on CBS, NBC, ABC, and the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour in 1980, 1988, and 1992; plus CNN coverage in 1992.

The print news archive contains a sample of articles taken from the following sources: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and various wire services. These sources were selected in an effort to obtain a cross-section of news coverage that would include national papers, regional papers, and wires.

Sampling

For the speech sample, we selected the nomination speech given at the convention, the first speech given on each Wednesday between Sept. 1 and the election, all broadcast speeches, and the election eve speech. If there was no speech given on a Wednesday, we evaluated the first speech delivered on the day before; if no speeches were given on Tuesday, we went to Thursday and so on. If no speech was given in a week, there would be one less speech in the sample.

Sampling for broadcast and print news was driven by the speech sample. For print news, one story from each of the seven sources on the day after each sample speech was selected. The broadcast sample consisted of stories from the day of each sample speech. Any campaign story from two networks, selected on a rotating basis, was included. In addition, the day after each debate was included as a sample day in order to capture debate coverage. Six hundred and five print stories and three hundred and forty-one broadcast stories in total were coded.

Coding

The speech, debate, and advertising portions of the database used a common coding structure. This structure was carried over to the broadcast and print news sections for candidate arguments. However, evidence presented in news was not evaluated for verifiability and sourcing.

The Campaign Discourse Mapping Codebook

I. Simple Arguments

The first task of the coders is to identify **simple arguments**. For this study, Simple Arguments will consist of a **claim** by the Speaker which he supports through the use of **evidence or reasoning**. Occasionally, the claim will be implied through the use of sufficient evidence; however, the evidence can never be implied from a claim.

Definitions and Examples

Claims - Claims announce a statement which the Speaker believes is true, but which is nonetheless an arguable position for which there can be contrary evidence. Not all claims will be coded. We are interested in ones that deal with policy, issues, attacks or events (future, current or past). We are not concerned with statements that are platitudinous or unarguable.

Examples:	America's prestige is low (An arguable claim). We lack the policy to control nuclear missiles (arguable). I like strawberry ice-cream (Statement of personal taste for which there are no sharable grounds of support.) I believe that the U.S. should recognize Taiwan. (Arguable; not personal belief, but rather a policy statement; issue is never whether the Speaker actually holds this view).
Claims we code:	America should recognize Taiwan. We need more soldiers in Korea. Our country will fall apart if we do not have a health plan. We should have interceded in WWII earlier than Dec. 1941.
Claims we do not code:	We stand for moral and spiritual strength. It is shameful when Americans go to bed hungry. Minnesota is a fine state. The people of this country want no more Willie Hortons. I love America.

Once coders have identified the Speaker's Claim, they should look for the Evidence which supports that Claim. Evidence may precede the Claim or follow it. Coders should look first to the paragraph from which the Claim is made for Evidence, but Evidence may also be offered in preceding and succeeding paragraphs. Words which may signal an argument (claim+evidence) are because, for, so, so that, therefore, since. However, these words can be implied through the juxtaposition of two parts of the

argument. If these words are not present, coders should ask whether information given prior to or after an arguable claim answer questions such as:

"Does this information give reasons for the Claim?" "Does this information answer the questions How does (did) this Claim operate or What will it (did) it entail or Why will (was) it being done?"

Following are some definitions and examples of simple arguments and their structures:

Explicit Arguments

Examples:	Claim Evidence	Americans are good because they care about the environment.
	Claim Evidence	America's prestige is low because the international poll indicated that people around the world view Russia as stronger than the U.S.
	Claim Evidence	I know that we are lacking in our policy to control missiles, for in the entire U.S. government, only 3 people are working on this problem.

Implied Claim, based on Sufficient Evidence creating an Argument

Examples:	Evidence Claim	The U.S. economy grew at 4.5 percent under Truman. The U.S. economy grew only at 2.5 percent under Eisenhower. Democratic presidents are better for the economy than Republicans.
	Evidence	Kennedy: "In 1952, my opponent voted against ending the war in Korea. In 1954, he proposed that we get enmeshed in a hopeless colonial war in Vietnam. In 1958, he practically caused a riot when he visited South America."
	Claim	Implied, not stated: Nixon doesn't know how to handle foreign policy.

II. Other Claims

- Attack is a negative assertion about the opponent with no supporting evidence. This category also incorporates most instances of Name-Calling, the use of demeaning pejoratives.
- **Point-Counterpoint** occurs when a candidate presents his view and his opponent's view on an issue but does not present evidence for either.
- Indictment occurs when the speaker presents a claim of his opponent's and a claim of his own but only presents evidence that criticizes his opponent.
- Engagement occurs when the speaker presents a claim + evidence for himself and either a claim of his opponent or a claim + evidence of his opponent where the evidence is critical of the opponent.
- **Inoculation** is the highest form of argumentation we are coding. Here the speaker presents a claim + evidence for both himself and his opponent, but he also presents his opponent's own evidence or reasoning.

Examples

Attack

Dukakis: We can't have as president someone who sees education as an election year strategy. *(Negative assertion about opponent with no evidence)*

Point-Counterpoint

Bush: Should public school teachers be required to lead our children in the pledge of allegiance? My opponent says no – but I say yes *(Statement of each's claim but no evidence for either)*

Bush: Take the subject of regulation. My opponents want to take the world's safest food supply, tie it up with more regulation, and make it more expensive for the consumer (Other's claim). We want to work to make our food supply safe and affordable without extremism. *(Speaker's claim with no evidence)*

Indictment

Bush: Look what my opponent has done. In the past, he has called for cancellations of the MX, and he continues to oppose deployment of the mobile MX and Midgetman. He has, in the past, said he couldn't commit to deployment of the stealth bomber; although this may be changing. He has called for the cancellation of two carrier task forces. I favor these elements of the modernization program.

Engagement

Carter: Governor Reagan says that nonproliferation is none of our business. *(Other's claim)* It is our business. *(Speaker's claim)* You think for a few moments about what it would mean if Libya or Iraq had atomic bombs. The threat of terrorism is enormous. And those are the kinds of issues that will affect your life, your safety, and the quality of existence of those you love in the years ahead. *(Speaker's evidence)*

Reagan: For example, Mr. Carter says he supports the volunteer army *(Opponent's claim)*, but he lets military pay and benefits slip so low that many of our enlisted personnel are actually eligible for food stamps *(Evidence about opponent's claim that supports speaker's view)*.

I'll tell you where I stand. I do not favor a peacetime draft or registration *(speaker's claim)*, but I do favor pay and benefit levels that will attract and keep highly motivated men and women in our volunteer forces and an active reserve trained and ready for an instant call in case of an emergency. *(Evidence/Reasoning for speaker's claim)*

Inoculation

Kennedy: "Mr. Nixon says our prestige has never been higher *(Other's claim)*, and he points to our prosperity here at home *(Other's evidence)*. I say that we are going to have to do better if we are going to meet the threats and challenges that face us *(Speaker's counter-claim)* because the world has become more dangerous in places such as Indochina and Latin America *(Speaker's evidence)*."

III. Qualities of Evidence - Accountability

Accountability is measured by the relevance of the evidence presented to the claim being made and its verifiability. Sourced information cites reports, studies, statistics or authorities. Verifiable evidence does not cite a source, but can be confirmed.

IV. Coding News Stories

Structure

Identify a Primary Structure and Secondary Structure for each story. The categories are as follows:

Strategy - The story is concerned with who is winning and losing. Candidate statements and actions are interpreted with regard to their strategic intent.

Strategy with Poll - A strategy story that uses poll results as its primary focus.

Issue - A story about the candidates' issue positions and statements.

Ad analysis - A story analyzing candidate advertising. Other

The story's Primary Structure can almost always be found in the opening two to three paragraphs. Only code a Secondary Structure different from the Primary Structure if the Secondary Structure makes up a significant portion of the story.

Speakers

Identify the speaker in any quote or paraphrase in the story. The categories are:

Candidate Running Mate Surrogate in Ad Candidate's Staff Expert Advocacy Group Representative Journalist as Expert Politician or Government Official Average Citizen Other

Arguments

For candidates, running mates, and surrogates (e.g. announcers) in ads quoted in the story, identify the argument, using the same criteria as in the other campaign genres.

Focus

For other speakers, identify only the focus of their comments. The categories are:

Strategy Issue Other

Pass-Through

For coded arguments, identify the source of the quote. The categories are:

Speech Debate Ad Other

Reliability tests with coders using these instructions obtained Krippendorff Alphas between .62 and .97, with most between .7 and .9 (Krippendorff reliability requires separate tests for each variable coded).

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