

VALUE-FRAMING OF ISSUES IN THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
BY AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS IN RUSSIAN

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

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ABSTRACT

Which election issues of the 2004 presidential campaign received the most coverage in American newspapers for Russian-American readers? Were the arguments supporting issue stances framed in terms of human rights and values, or in terms of financial value and practicality? These were the questions this study researched.

The sample of four American newspapers in Russian published between the end of July (the beginning of Democratic convention) till November 13, 2004 (the end of the week following Election Day) was content analyzed for this study: *New Russian Word* daily, *V Novom Svete* tabloid weekly, *Russky Golos* advocacy weekly, and *Our Texas* entertainment bi-monthly.

The data that the content analysis provided showed that election issues received quite a substantial coverage in the newspapers chosen.

Findings of this study showed that national security, economy, morality/values, health care, and social security were the most covered election issues.

This study also evaluated political discourse during the 2004 election campaign through the prism of human values. The content analysis demonstrated that an ethical frame was most dominant in the discourse about national security/foreign policy issues. A material frame dominated in the discussion of issues of economy, health care, and

social security. Ambiguous statements were more likely to be used in the discourse concerning morality/values.

Three theories involving values and voting were used: (1) Postmaterialist values and the 2005 World Values Survey by Inglehart and colleagues; (2) ethical and material framing by Shah and colleagues; (3) ideological and economic voting by Basinger and Lavine. The results were also compared to the findings of the 2004 Russian-Jewish survey, and the National Annenberg Election Survey.

The results showed that the choice of election issues for coverage in American newspapers in Russian would be more relevant for those inclined toward George Bush. Framing of election issues and issue stances encouraged voting decisions when positive evaluations on several criteria could not offset negative evaluations.

Discussion includes suggestions for future research of the 2008 presidential campaign issues and makes arguments for modifying the coding process and putting newspapers in Russian into the context of American newspapers.

Chapter One

Introduction

More than a million immigrants from Russia and the former USSR lived in the United States in 2004.¹ The majority of them came to the U.S. before 1996 and were able to vote in the 2004 presidential elections. Interestingly, immigrants from the USSR have already begun to make political careers.² In 2010, Russian-speaking community in New York may try to delegate its own representative to Congress.³

Although Russian-speaking immigrants are becoming a distinct political minority in the U.S., media targeting them, diaspora newspapers in Russian, are scarcely studied due to the language barrier. These newspapers are a part of the U.S. media landscape and shouldn't be left out of researchers' attention. Studying values covered in newspapers for Americans of ex-USSR origin can add to the picture of political agenda setting and framing.

This thesis researched how American newspapers in Russian covered values stated by presidential candidates in their 2004 campaigns. It measured the amount of coverage of campaign issues and the nature of arguments paired with the covered issue stances: ethical arguments, grounded in a sense of right or wrong, human rights and values, and religious morals; and material arguments, grounded in financial terms, and reasoning of costs and practicality.

¹ "The majority of 'Russian Americans' are going to vote for Bush," *New Russian Word*, Sept. 28, 2004: 4.

² For instance, 18 Americans of Armenian origin were running for different positions during the 2004 elections; one of them, Aida Aloian, gained 35% of votes running for State Assembly in Pennsylvania.

³ "So, who are we for?" *New Russian Word*, Oct. 15, 2004: 20.

Studying political argumentation is important because such argumentation is an essential component of a democratic society “where the necessity of stating and defending – or attacking – a claim or stand is essential to participatory democracy.”⁴ According to the notion of intentional audience that is “composed of all those individuals whom the author believes ought to be persuaded by her argument,”⁵ reporters and their sources might be specifically shaping their argumentation to be more relevant to their readers or to persuade them. Studying arguments can provide information on how editors and reporters see their Russian-speaking audience and how they understand its political views.

The predominance of either ethical or material frames of arguments might be connected to either ideological or economical voting, respectively, employed by voters on Election Day. In political science, ideological voting stands for the choice between the candidates according to their views on issues of policy. Voters who employ this type of voting are more likely to think about far-going implications of a president’s policy. Economical voting involves deciding for which candidate to vote relying on the “easier-to-use, retrospective criterion of government performance.”⁶ Basinger and Lavine note that the possibility of voters making economical choice increases in a situation when the President runs for the second term in office. In this case it would be interesting to see if the coverage of the 2004 presidential campaign was emphasizing either ideological values or economical values.

⁴ Richard E. Crable, *Argumentation as communication: Reasoning with receivers* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company. A Bell & Howell Company, 1976): 3.

⁵ Mark Vorobej, *A theory of argument* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 4.

⁶ Scott Basinger and Howard Lavine, “Ambivalence, information, and electoral choice,” *American Political Science Review*, 99 (2, 2005): 181.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This literature review starts with a summary of main areas of campaign coverage research, then proceeds to a description of the most commonly used lists of election issues and issue stances, followed by examples of studies of political argumentation, and concludes with the main points of issue-framing and value-framing theories.

Coverage of presidential campaigns

One of the aspects of campaign coverage, preferential treatment, becomes apparent by measuring the degree of coverage received by candidates and the quality of the coverage – positive, neutral, or negative. Westley et al., and Evarts and Stempel focused on preferential treatment of candidates during the 1960 campaign in three news magazines, and during the 1972 campaign in television networks, newspapers and news magazines, respectively, and found a slight pro-Republican coverage in both cases.⁷ King discovered that *The New York Times* and *USA Today* gave slightly more coverage to Democrats on their front pages in the 1988 campaign.⁸ Studying frames employed for coverage of politicians complements this type of campaign coverage research. For

⁷ Bruce Westley, Charles Higbie, Timothy Burke, David Lippert, Leonard Maurer, and Vernon Stone, “The news magazines and the 1960 conventions,” *Journalism Quarterly* 40 (1963): 525-531; Dru Evarts and Guido Stempel, “Coverage of the 1972 campaign by TV, news magazines and major newspapers,” *Journalism Quarterly* 51, (1974): 646-648.

⁸ Erica King, “Thematic Coverage of the 1998 presidential primaries: A comparison of USA Today and the New York Times,” *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (1990, 1): 83-87.

example, Winfield and Friedman discovered the presence of five established frames used in covering the candidates' wives before the election during the 2000 presidential campaign: as an escort, in a protocol role, in a noblesse oblige role, as a policy adviser, and in the anti-Hillary role.⁹

Another aspect of studying campaign coverage is comparing the degree of “horse-race coverage” – who is ahead and who is behind and by how much – against the amount of issues coverage. Summarizing the findings of a research devoted to campaigns held from 1968 to 1980, Graber wrote that “the media devoted the bulk of their stories to campaign hoopla and the horserace aspects of the contests.... They [newspeople] rarely attempted systematic coverage of all important issues. The issue portions of vice-presidential candidates remained virtually unexplored.”¹⁰ Findings of research of the 1988 campaign coverage conducted by Popovich et al. support this tendency with the results of horse-race issues dominating newsmagazines' election stories by 55% in *Time*, 76% in *U.S. News and World Report*, and 77% in *Newsweek*.¹¹

One more dimension of campaign coverage research is comparing the amount of media attention to substantive issues of a campaign. Popovich et al. found that *Time* magazine focused on economic issues during the 1988 campaign, while *U.S. News* had foreign policy as the most covered topic, and *Newsweek* focused on domestic issues.¹² Apart from defining the most covered issues, researchers also attempt to determine

⁹ Berry Winfield and Barbara Friedman, “Gender politics: News coverage of the candidates' wives in campaign 2000,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 80 (2003, 3): 548-566.

¹⁰ Doris Graber, *Mass media and American politics* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984). Quoted in: Mark Popovich, Sandra Moriarty, and Beverly Pitts, “News magazine coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign,” *Mass Comm Review* 20 (1993, 1 and 2): 99.

¹¹ Mark Popovich, Sandra Moriarty, and Beverly Pitts, “News magazine coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign,” *Mass Comm Review* 20 (1993, 1 and 2): 99-110.

¹² *Ibid.*, 107-108.

distinctive features in media coverage of single issues of political campaign, as Howard and Hoffman did analyzing youth policy-making rhetoric in the 2004 election.¹³

Studying rhetoric of political campaign as it is reflected in mass media, researchers can look into the usage of particular words in election stories. For example, Jarvis et al. examined the quantity and quality of usage of the words *vote*, *voter* and *voting* in print newspaper coverage of the American presidential elections in 1948-2004.¹⁴ Another approach to studying rhetoric is sorting political messages into groups according to their purpose. Benoit et al. examined persuasive discourse about the 1996 presidential campaign registering campaign messages that have an aim “of acclaiming (self-praising), attacking (criticisms of their opponent), and defending (responding to criticisms).”¹⁵

Issues of political campaign

Kiousis suggests using not more than nine different election issues for research, because the public is unable to pay attention to more. For testing his theoretical model of media salience, Kiousis chose to study *The New York Times*' coverage of eight issues during the 2000 U.S. presidential election: economy, education, crime/violence, health care, taxes, morality/values, social security, and defense (with a military focus).¹⁶ Yet in an earlier study devoted to the 1988 presidential campaign, researchers used 14

¹³ Alison Howard and Donna Hoffman, “Policy-Making Rhetoric and Youth Issues in the 2004 Presidential Campaign,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50 (2007, 9): 1264-1272.

¹⁴ Sharon Jarvis, Soo-Hye Han, and Nicole Laster, *Casting the Ballot: Vote, Voter and Voting in U.S. Newspapers, 1948-2004*; Conference Papers – International Communication Association, 2007 Annual Meeting.

¹⁵ Rebecca A. Carrier. Campaign 96: A functional analysis of acclaiming, attacking, and defending. Review on research by William Benoit; Joseph Blaney; and P. M. Pier Praeger. Retrieved in Jan. 28, 2008 at <http://acjournal.org/holdings/vol2/Iss1/reviews/carrier.htm>.

¹⁶ Spiro Kiousis, “Explicating media salience: A factor analysis of *New York Times* issue coverage during the 2000 U.S. presidential election,” *Journal of Communication*, 54 (1, 2004): 77.

categories to code the coverage of topics. The coverage of campaign (or horse-race) issues were coded along with issues significant to political campaign of that year; economic, domestic, foreign policy, patriotism, education, national defense, women, abortion, environment, farm, nuclear defense, labor, and miscellaneous category.¹⁷

Benoit analyzed the content of Democratic and Republican television advertisements during the 2008 presidential primaries using 11 categories for specific issues discussed in those ads: war in Iraq, health care, education, environment, Social Security, economy/jobs, immigration, taxes, terrorism, abortion, and crime.¹⁸

Some dispute can be caused by naming the policy issue and defining its content, as happened with the 2004 exit poll done by Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International (a partnership in exit polling conducting surveys for major American TV networks). The key question they asked voters was what they believed was “the most important issue facing the nation.”¹⁹ Response categories included taxes, education, Iraq, terrorism, economy/jobs, moral values, health care. The results showed that “22% of exit poll respondents believed moral values was the most important issue, and 80% of these voters cast ballots for Bush.”²⁰ Based on those results media came to a conclusion that moral values (same-sex marriage and abortion) decided the outcome of elections. Social scientists pointed out that values-voters interpretation has limitations. Firstly, it is unclear

¹⁷ Popovich, Moriarty, and Pitts, *News magazine coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign*: 107.

¹⁸ MU Communication Professor says that Presidential Candidates’ Ads are More Positive than Predecessors. Retrieved on Jan. 28, 2008 at <http://munews.missouri.edu/news-releases/2008/0123-primary-ads.php>.

¹⁹ D. Sunshine Hillygus and Todd Shields, “Moral issues and voter decision making in the 2004 presidential election,” *Political Science and Politics*, 38 (2, 2005): 201.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 201.

“what do moral values as a ‘national problem’ mean?”²¹ And secondly, academics pointed out the ambiguity of the term “moral values” as a response category in comparison to the concreteness of other response categories. Voters could have understood “moral values” in their own various ways: that is why it is impossible to conclude what they really meant when they selected this option as an important issue.

Grouping of topics into policy areas also varies in different studies. Pomper lists nine policy areas with federal fiscal policy and taxes included in a larger category of Economic Policy, explaining that these nine areas “roughly correspond to the functions grouped in cabinet departments before 1964 and the groupings used in legislative analysis by *Congressional Quarterly*.”²² Later studies²³ separate the national economy and taxes into different policy categories.

To solve some of these problems, it could be useful to look at how newspapers in the present study’s sample group election issues. In *New Russian Word*, issues of presidential programs that might at least remotely affect Russia and post-Soviet countries are summarized: [relations with] United Nations, defense, trade, energy, environment, AIDS, Iraq, Iran, Palestinian-Israeli conflict, North Korea, immigration, space, technology, human cloning.²⁴ An interview with President Bush covers such policy issues as social security, economy, jobs, taxes, education, visa requirements for entering the U.S. on business purposes, NATO-Russia relations, Georgia-Russia relations (fighting terrorists

²¹ Ibid., 202.

²² Gerald M. Pomper, *Elections in America: Control and influence in Democratic Politics*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Longman, 1980): 237.

²³ See, for example, Spiro Kiouisis, “Explicating media salience: A factor analysis of *New York Times* issue coverage during the 2000 U.S. presidential election,” *Journal of Communication*, 54 (2004, 1): 71-87; “MU communication professor says that presidential candidates’ ads are more positive than predecessors”. Report on research by William Benoit retrieved on Jan. 28, 2008 at <http://munews.missouri.edu/news-releases/2008/0123-primary-ads.php>.

²⁴ “Bush versus Kerry: Platform versus platform,” *New Russian Word*, Aug. 5, 2004: 9.

on Georgia's territory), Israel-U.S. relations, military (the possibility of draft), the Middle East, and homeland security.²⁵ The reporter's question to President Bush and Bush's answer contain issues of economy, budget deficit and taxes as a sole unit of problems. At the same time, economy and jobs also seem to be perceived as a unit of issues in communication research and economics (stronger economy allows for more jobs in the market). That is why it could be useful to combine economy/jobs/taxes into one category. A question about offshoring lead President Bush to explain not only the situation of the American job market, but to start his answer with addressing major problems of the economy and the need of a policy of lower taxes.

Political argumentation

Scholars treat argumentation as a communication process between the arguer and their audience. As Tindale notes, "[t]he argument is co-authored by the arguer and addressee."²⁶ Although in print media readers cannot argue with reasons listed in the newspaper's story (reader's comments are typical for blogging), authors of the arguments in print predict possible arguments against their stance, and shape their discussion to answer these silent statements of the audience. Crable defines argumentation "as communication where the symbolic transaction is aimed at presenting reasons for claims and/or examining reasons for claims,"²⁷ and claims as "stands, positions, or statements"²⁸ that are challenged or examined. He also examines six functions that language performs

²⁵ "Russian-speaking community is an example of American Dream," interview with President George W. Bush, *New Russian Word*, Oct. 26, 2004: 2-3.

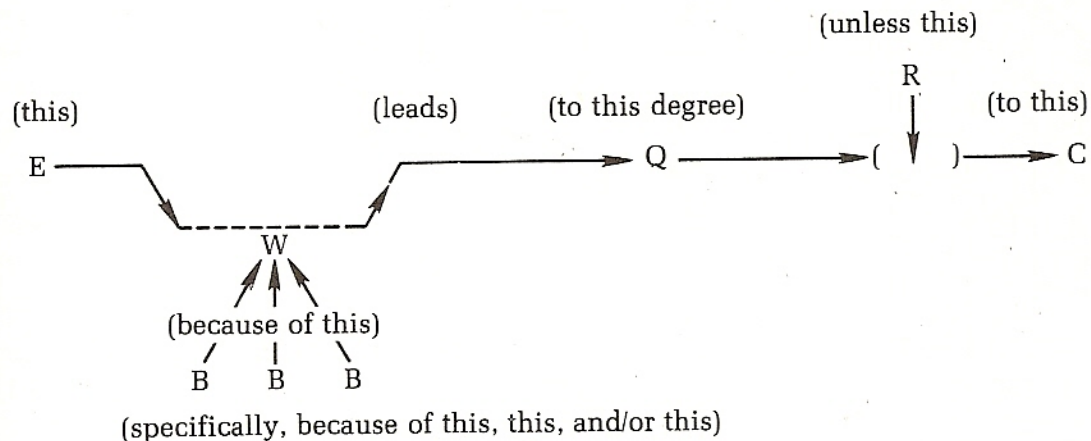
²⁶ Christopher Tindale, *Rhetorical argumentation: Principles of theory and practice* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2004): 12.

²⁷ Crable, *Argumentation as communication*: 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

in argumentation – the functions that compose the structure of the argument, studying which helped this research to identify arguments in the process of coding: claim, evidence, warrant, backing, qualifier, and reservation.²⁹

Figure 1. Visual representation of argumentative functions (Richard Crable, *Argumentation as communication: Reasoning with receivers* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company. A Bell & Howell Company, 1976): 71).



According to Crable, a *claim* is a phrase that contains a statement the author wants to be accepted and the others challenge. *Evidence* is a phrase expressing an idea already acceptable or obvious to the addressees. *Warrant* “shows how something that is already evident (evidence) helps make a less acceptable idea (claim) more acceptable.”³⁰ *Backing* provides examples of events in support for the warrant. *Qualifier* is a phrase that reveals how confident the author is in the claim. *Reservation* is a phrase demonstrating what events might make the author retract the claim.

In an attempt to classify political/campaign messages, Pomper developed a method of coding each sentence of campaign speech into three categories: rhetoric and fact (factual statements without policy content), evaluation of the parties’ records and party

²⁹ Ibid., 68.

³⁰ Ibid., 69.

performance (approval or criticism referring to past actions), and statements of future policies (statements that promise to maintain or change present governmental policy, stated intentions to achieve a particular goal, statements explaining in detail how the goal will be achieved).³¹ This method allows to determine the direction of a statement (approval or criticism of the party, its leaders and their policy) and to identify policy-making rhetoric. A detailed description of pledges within the category of statements of future policies might be helpful for identifying statements with policy content and to sort pledges according to the topic they are devoted to into nine policy areas.³² Benoit and colleagues use different categories for coding campaign messages: acclaiming, attacking, and defending.³³ Reinemann and Maurer classified statements in the second televised debate in the 2002 German national election into two large groups of the most unifying and most polarizing statements.³⁴ They identified two common rhetorical strategies for making statements gaining unanimous support: acclaims (“statements, in which candidates tried to portray themselves positively”³⁵), and commonplaces (“statements that are rather abstract, ambiguous, or vague, formulating general goals in such a way that nearly everybody can agree”³⁶). Statements polarizing the audience were either attacks (when candidates criticized opinions of their opponent), and evidence (facts supporting the attack on the opponent’s policies). Although each of these classifications fit well into communication research, depending on the aim of the study, the purpose of

³¹ Pomper, *Elections in America*: 235-237.

³² *Ibid.*, 236-238.

³³ Rebecca Carrier. Campaign 96: A functional analysis of acclaiming, attacking, and defending. Review on research by William Benoit; Joseph Blaney; and P. M. Pier Praeger.

³⁴ Carsten Reinemann and Marcus Maurer, “Unifying or polarizing? Short-term effects and postdebate consequences in different rhetorical strategies in televised debates,” *Journal of Communication* 55 (2005, 4): 775-794.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 783.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 784.

the current study is registering policy issues raised in news stories and exposing how they are backed-up by ethical and material values. That is why the current study does not employ any of those methods of coding political messages.

Values

A value is an “enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.”³⁷ Rokeach distinguishes between instrumental and terminal values saying that instrumental values concern desirable ways of behaving, and terminal values concern end-states of existence. He outlines two kinds of instrumental values (moral and competence) and two kinds of terminal values (personal and social). For value measurement, the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) asks respondents to rank 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values.³⁸ Schwartz challenged Rokeach’s distinction between terminal and instrumental values proving statistically in the cross-national context that there was no evidence for the distinction in the structure of values. Instead, he suggested using 10 types of values³⁹ and indexes rather than single values.

Shah et al. offered a different approach to divide values into subcategories arguing that “there are two overreaching sets of values used by political elites to justify their

³⁷ Milton Rokeach, *The nature of human values* (New York: The Free Press, 1973): 5.

³⁸ The list of terminal values includes: a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world of peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, and wisdom. Instrumental values include: ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible, and self-controlled (Rokeach, *The nature of human values*; 357-361).

³⁹ Those types of values include: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security (Shalom Schwartz, “Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values?” *Journal of Social Issues*, 50 (4, 1994): 33).

policy stands: *ethical values* which often become most explicitly apparent in discourse about rights, morals, and basic principles; and *material values*, which are often manifest in discussions of economics, pragmatics and practicality.”⁴⁰ They argue that journalists in turn “construct policy debates in (a) the language of rights and morals, (b) the language of economics and pragmatics, or (c) both, to simplify news production and ease the dissemination of information to the broader public.”⁴¹ As for the audience, those individuals “who assign an *ethical interpretation* to an issue understand the issue in terms of their sense of right and wrong grounded in beliefs about human rights, civil rights, religious morals, or personal principles. Individuals who assign a *material interpretation* to an issue understand the issue in terms of tangible concerns grounded in economics, expedience, practicality, and personal self-interest.”⁴²

Such approach to studying value-framing could be connected to research of voting in political science. Basinger and Lavine found out that “[i]ndividuals holding ambivalent partisan attitudes that both lack political knowledge and are presented with little campaign stimulus are more likely to engage in economic voting. Individuals holding ambivalent partisan attitudes who either are knowledgeable about politics or are presented with stimulating campaigns are more likely to engage in ideological voting.”⁴³ Scholars note that “an increase in either campaign intensity or personal political knowledge dramatically increases the importance of ideology in the voter’s decision-

⁴⁰ Dhavan Shah, David Domke, and Daniel Wackman, “The effects of value-framing on political judgment and reasoning” in *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, ed. Stephen D. Reese et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 2001): 228.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 232.

⁴³ Basinger and Lavine, *Ambivalence, information, and electoral choice*: 169.

making process.”⁴⁴ This suggests that ideological voting is more desired because it is a better-informed choice.

Studying human values in countries around the world, Inglehart et al. define a Postmodern shift in values in a society that is not under threat of hunger or economic insecurity and where the majority of the population is not poor, and therefore, unlike in Modern societies, “[e]mphasis on economic achievement as the top priority is now giving way to an increasing emphasis on the quality of life.”⁴⁵

In a major part of the world, the disciplined, self-denying and achievement-oriented norms of industrial society are yielding to increasingly broad latitude for individual choice of lifestyles and individual self-expression. The shift from “Materialist” values, emphasizing economic and physical security, to “Postmaterialist” values, emphasizing individual self-expression and quality life concerns, is the most amply documented aspect of this change.⁴⁶

Inglehart et al. draw attention to the shift in issues that underlie political behavior in Postmodern society: economic growth at any cost is shifting toward concerns for its environmental price; economic conflicts tend to remain important, but such issues as abortion, ethnic conflicts, gay and lesbian emancipation gain attention. The understanding of the traditional Right-Left conflict also gets modified:

Historically, the left was based on the working class and the Right on the middle upper class. Today increasingly, support for the Left comes from middle class Postmaterialists, while a new Right draws support from less secure segments of working class. A new Postmodern political cleavage pits culturally conservative, often xenophobic parties, disproportionately supported by Materialists; against change-oriented parties, often emphasizing environmental protection, and disproportionately supported by Postmaterialists.⁴⁷

In the World Value Survey coordinated by Inglehart, selected countries of the world are distributed on the cultural map depending on the place they take in two detentions of values: (1) Traditional Authority (obedience to traditional, usually religious,

⁴⁴ Ibid., 181.

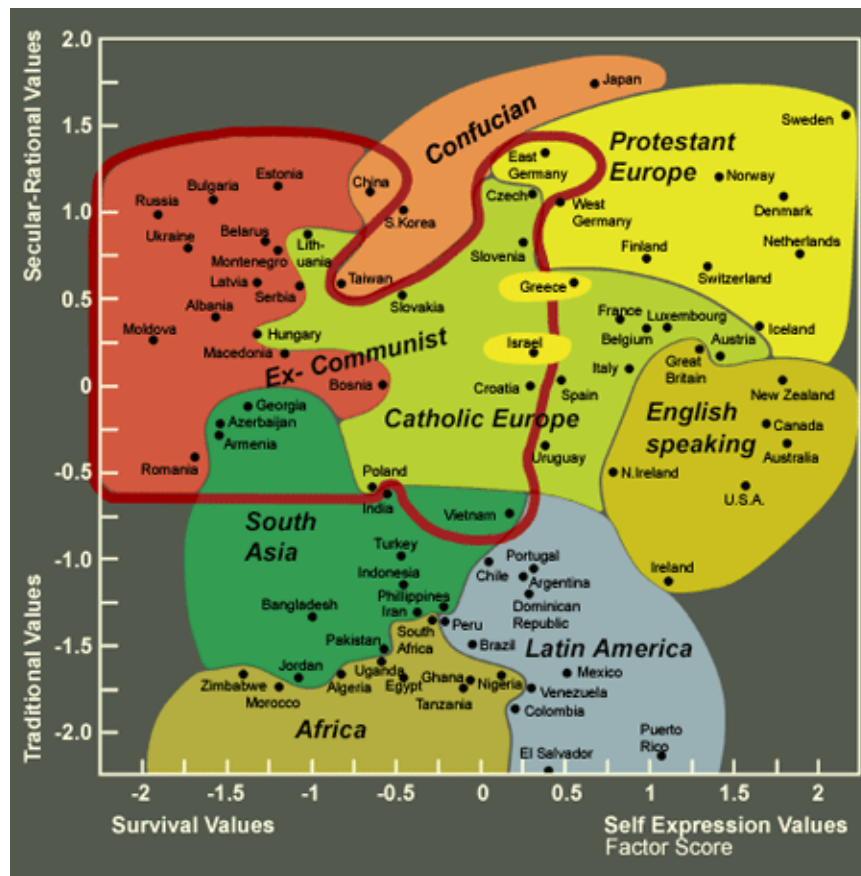
⁴⁵ Ronald Inglehart, Miguel Basanes, and Alejandro Moreno, *Human Values and Beliefs: A cross-cultural sourcebook*. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1998): 10.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13.

authority; adherence to family and communal obligations) vs. Secular-Rational authority (which “is legitimated by rational-legal norms, linked with an emphasis on economic accumulation and individual achievement”⁴⁸); (2) Survival values (hard work and self-denial) vs. Well-being values (quality of life and self-expression). The closest parallel to the 2004 presidential election in the U.S. World Value Survey was conducted in 2005. According to the survey results, the United States lean to the “Traditional – Self-expression” set of values, whereas Russia (as well as Ukraine and Belarus) leans to the “Secular-Rational – Survival” values. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2. Cultural map of the world
(Retrieved from <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/> on April 5, 2008).



⁴⁸ Ibid., 13.

Issue-framing

Frames are defined as “cognitive structures that guide both the perception and the representation of the reality.”⁴⁹ Among aspects that shape framing are: the amount and placement of coverage, repetition of information, material’s linkage to familiar symbols, word choice, script structures (for instance, storyline build into five “W” and one “H” elements).⁵⁰ Pan and Kosicki classify framing devices into four categories “representing four structural dimensions of news discourse: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure.”⁵¹ Other approaches to classifying framing devices exist. For instance, in connection to objects of framing, forms that are thought to affect value priorities through framing include: policy categorization and labeling, goal ranking, and institutional role assignment.⁵²

As every issue is discussed by various social groups that strive to prove that their definition of reality is right, the media discourse is perceived as a set of media packages that interpret the meaning of a given issue. Examining construction of media frames (or frame-building) for issues, Bicket uses signature matrix to describe media packages and reporting on the Scottish parliament. Each signature matrix consists of core frames and core positions for each media package and describes framing devices (dominant

⁴⁹ Jennings Bryant and Dorina Miron, “Theory and research in mass communication,” *Journal of Communication*, 54 (4, 2004): 693.

⁵⁰ Cathy Bullock, “Framing domestic violence fatalities: Coverage by Utah newspapers,” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 30 (2007, 1): 40.

⁵¹ Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki, “Framing Analysis: An approach to news discourse,” *Political Communication*, 10 (1993): 59.

⁵² Thomas Nelson and Elaine Willey, “Issue frames that strike a value balance: A political psychology perspective” in *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, ed. Stephen D. Reese et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 2001): 252-255.

metaphor(s), dominant depiction(s), representative catchphrases and dominant exemplars) and reasoning devices (root cause, consequences and appeals to principle).⁵³

Nelson and Willey name issue frames along with collective action frames, decision frames, and news frames as the most politically relevant species of frames. They distinguish between news and issue frames because issue frames apart from reporting impose meaning out of medium's organizational habit or marketplace demand.⁵⁴

Integrative complexity can serve as one of the characteristics of issue frames. Hoffman and Slater define it as the measure that "assesses how successful writers are at evaluating an issue with multiple perspectives and making connections among them."⁵⁵ Integrative complexity consists of two components: differentiation stands for the awareness that different perspectives on the issue exist, or perspective taking when describing the issue; integration stands for connectivity among perspectives within the issue.⁵⁶

Value-framing

Shah et al. add a dimension of human values to their analysis of issue frames. They posit that voters interpret issues based on the activation of one of the two different sets of values: either beliefs about human and civil rights, religious morals, or personal principles; or understanding of expedience, practicality, and self-interest. Researchers

⁵³ Douglas Bicket, "A new song or the same old tune? Press constructions of Scotland's emerging political identity," *Journalism and Communication Monographs* 7 (2006, 4): 146-187.

⁵⁴ Thomas Nelson and Elaine Willey, "Issue frames that strike a value balance: A political psychology perspective," in *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, ed. Stephen D. Reese et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 2001): 247.

⁵⁵ Lindsay Hoffman and Michael Slater, "Evaluating public discourse in newspaper opinion articles: Values-framing and integrative complexity in substance and health policy issues," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 84 (2007, 1): 61.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

experimentally trace the influence of frames on individuals' issue interpretations and vote-choice process.⁵⁷ In the experiment with two subpopulations, they used newspaper articles that contained views of three congressional candidates on four issues of which one, health care, was value-framed in ethical terms in one experimental condition (equality and compassion in access to medical treatment was confronted against personal responsibility to provide for one's self) and in material terms in the second experimental condition (free market values were confronted against the need for government to control costs). Participants of the experiment receiving health care stories with an ethical frame were more likely to use a *noncompensatory* strategy of decision-making (when positive evaluations on several criteria cannot offset negative evaluations) than participants who received the same issue framed in a material approach and were more likely to use *compensatory* model (when "individuals can make tradeoffs among valued attributes to determine which alternative has the greatest overall worth"⁵⁸).

In concord with research by Shah et al., several authors link political discourse or issue discourse with value-framing.⁵⁹ Among others, Shen and Edwards studied the impact that news humanitarianism and economic individualism frames of welfare reform and individual values produced on individual's thoughts and attitudes toward the reform.

⁵⁷ Shah, Domke, and Wackman, *The effects of value-framing*: 237-243.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁵⁹ S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Gerard J. Power, K. Kendall Guthrie, and H. Ross. Waring, "Value-framing abortion in the United States: An application of media system dependency theory," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 2 (1990, 3): 249-273; Lindsay Hoffman and Michael Slater, "Evaluating public discourse in newspaper opinion articles: Values-framing and integrative complexity in substance and health policy issues," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 84 (2007, 1): 58-74; Thomas Nelson and Elaine Willey, "Issue frames that strike a value balance: A political psychology perspective," in *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, ed. Stephen D. Reese et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 2001): 245-266; Phillip Tetlock, Randall Peterson, and Jennifer Lerner, "Revising the value pluralism model: Incorporating social content and context postulates," in *The Psychology of Values: The Ontario Symposium*, Volume 8, (1996) ed. Clive Seligman, James M. Olson, and Mark P. Zanna, 25-51.

Researchers found that “media frames had a significant impact on individual’s frame-relevant issue thoughts and their subsequent attitudes toward welfare program,”⁶⁰ and “individual values of humanitarianism and individualism interacted with media frames in affecting audience responses.”⁶¹ Nelson and Willey⁶² studied the influence of value-framing in stories on pizza delivery “redlining” on opinion toward redlining in an experiment with convenience sample of political science undergraduate students. Two stories on pizza delivery “redlining” used in the experiment varied in terms of their headline, lead paragraph, quote, and accompanying photo to represent either “crime” frame, or “racism” frame. Findings yielded a statistically significant effect of frames on opinion towards pizza delivery “redlining.”

Data of the experiments cited above support the importance of studying value-frames in political discourse employing other methods of social science research. Based on results of content analysis one can hypothesize what impact media stories about election campaign could have on readers’ voting decisions.

Research questions

Building upon the theory and research of value-framing, two research questions were suggested for this study:

RQ1. What aspects of the 2004 election campaign were covered in articles and op-ed commentaries of Russian-speaking diaspora newspapers?

⁶⁰ Shen and Edwards, *Economic individualism, humanitarianism, and welfare reform*: 803.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 803.

⁶² Thomas Nelson and Elaine Willey, “Issue frames that strike a value balance: A political psychology perspective,” in *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, ed. Stephen D. Reese et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 2001): 245-266;

RQ2. How were presidential candidates' campaigns covered in newspapers targeting Russian and the former USSR community in the U.S. during the 2004 election campaign?

Specifically:

- a. what election issues were covered most often?
- b. were their issue stances framed in the language of ethical or material values?

Chapter Three

Methodology

As this study aimed to analyze a relatively large amount of data to determine how frequently statements of ethical and material values appeared in the text, quantitative content analysis of manifest (apparent) content was used. To compensate against the limitations of the method (among those, extensive emphasis on comparative frequency different symbols appear in the text and failure to analyze content with connotative meaning⁶³), the sample was studied with the help of textual analysis to focus on repeating themes in the coverage of the campaign's key features and typical arguments paired with issue stances. Thus, deductive and inductive framing analysis, between which Semetko and Valkenburg⁶⁴ make a distinction, were employed to complement each other.

Sample

This study content-analyzed all news and analysis stories devoted to the 2004 presidential campaign that appeared from the week of Democratic convention (begun on July 26) to the end of the week following the Election Day in four newspapers published in the Russian language:

⁶³ Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Frederic Fico. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2005): 36-38.

⁶⁴ Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, "Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news," *Journal of Communication* 50 (2000, 2): 93-109.

1. *New Russian Word (Novoye Russkoye Slovo)* published daily in New York and distributed all over the U.S.; the newspaper was started 1910 and has a circulation of 40,000 copies on weekdays and 64,000 copies on weekends. *New Russian Word* is supposed to be a newspaper translating pro-American point of view. Although demographics of its readers was not available neither through open sources, nor through *New Russian Word's* subscription department, the presence of a “Jewish Emphasis” («Еврейский акцент») section and clear statements of support for the Republican party due to its stance on relations with Israel suggest that the majority of *New Russian Word's* readers are Russian-speaking middle-aged and elder Jews who already became American citizens.

2. *Our Texas (Nash Tekhas)* published bimonthly for Russian immigrants in Texas since 2000 and distributed free of charge; the newspaper focuses mainly on Texan cultural life and manifests being independent from political stances. The analysis of its political content suggested a pro-Republican leaning and appeal for Russian-speaking Jewish readership.

3. *V Novom Svete* (the newspaper's name could be translated into English either as *In the New World* or *In the New Light*; the paper doesn't list its preferred title in English), a tabloid weekly published in partnership with Russian publishing house Moskovsky Komsomolets since 1995, is distributed around the United States with a circulation of 30,000-40,000 copies and free of charge on various airlines with a circulation of 3,000-4,000 copies; the newspaper emphasizes the absence of political orientation in the newspaper. The analysis of its political content showed a relatively neutral approach to

the 2004 election campaign coverage and recorded a larger number of references to Russia's interests and Russian sources than in *New Russian Word* or *Our Texas*.

4. *Rusky Golos* (*Russian Voice*; the paper didn't translate its title into English) was published weekly by Rusky Golos Publishing Corporation in 1917-2004. The newspaper had a socialist stance and published propagandistic materials about Belarus and Ukraine. It was distributed by subscription in numbers limited to hundreds copies every week.

As the content was sampled from the week of the 2004 Democratic National Convention⁶⁵ to the end of the week that followed the one of Election Day, the *New Russian Word* daily's sample started with the weekend edition of July 24-25 and ended with the weekend edition of November 13-14; the *Rusky Golos* weekly's sample started with July 22-28 edition and ended with November 11-17 edition; the *V Novom Svete* weekly's sample started with July 23-29 edition and ended with November 12-18 edition; and the *Our Texas* bimonthly's sample started with July 23-August 7 edition and ended with November 12-25 edition.

As two newspapers in the sample (*Rusky Golos* and *V Novom Svete*) were only available as hard copies, one newspaper (*New Russian Word*) was available in microfilm, and only *Our Texas* has an online archive, all editions in the sample were searched manually to select articles suitable for coding. Stories were chosen for the sample if they were published in the elections beat of the newspaper and/or had elections-related words in the head, subhead, lead and the first paragraph or had an elections-related image

⁶⁵ The week of the 2004 Democratic National Convention where John Kerry's nomination as the candidate for President and John Edwards's nomination as the candidate for Vice President were confirmed, was chosen to begin the sample because convention could be the first large event there candidates could manifest their issue stances. The study period concluded with the week that followed the week of Election Day to allow in the sample possible campaign analysis stories.

(candidates, campaign posters). A story about George W. Bush was identified as devoted to elections if it referred to President Bush as a presidential candidate. Mentioning of names of Democratic candidates also qualified the story for coding.

Although several sources were engaged in obtaining the sample of *New Russian Word*, issues of the newspaper from October 25 to October 27 could not be found. The only story published in this period that could be obtained was an exclusive two-page interview President Bush gave for the October 26 issue of the *New Russian Word*.

Overall, the sample for this study totaled 462 stories. The daily *New Russian Word* accounted for 429 of those stories; the weekly *V Novom Svete*, 26; the bimonthly *Our Texas*, 4; and the weekly *Russky Golos*, 3.

Coding scheme

Each of the two research questions had a separate unit of analysis. When coding for the topic of news and analytical stories, the unit of analysis was a story. The unit of analysis for coding policy issues and arguments was an issue. Each issue was coded for two categories: election issue, and nature of arguments supporting stances on the issue.

The topic categories identified the most significant aspects of the 2004 election campaign, and each article was coded as devoted to the topic either if it had at least two paragraphs discussing the aspect of campaign, or if it had the aspect stated in the headline and at least one paragraph discussing it. Topics were united into the following 14 categories: election results and the aftermath, electoral system, election predictions, celebrity support, Russia's favorite candidate, TV debates, smear campaign, election

issues and issue stances, national conventions, election funding, campaign logistics, historical references, candidates' biographies, and miscellaneous.

Every instance of mentioning an issue of the political campaign in the sample was recorded as a separate unit of analysis on a separate coding sheet. The election issue suitable for coding could be stated either by presidential candidates and their supporters, independent experts, citizens commenting on issues stances, or by authors of stories. Election issues could be coded into 13 categories: economy/jobs/taxes, education, crime/violence/illegal drugs, health care, morality/values, social security, national security/foreign policy, death penalty, gun control, environment, immigration, basic research, and other. Each issue was then assigned an argument unless a lack of arguments was recorded. For the purpose of this study, an argument was perceived as a clause, sentence, or a group of sentences containing a justification or explanation of a candidate's stance on a policy issue. Each issue stance or election issue was assigned the type of value that the argument accompanying it cited as evidence: *ethical interpretation* of an issue was assigned to arguments that portrayed the issue in terms of its sense of right and wrong, human and civil rights, religious morals, and personal principles (as in a statement, "in 18 months of American occupation, Iraqis' death-rate was 100,000 higher than in the same pre-war period"⁶⁶); *material interpretation* was assigned to an argument that interpreted the issue in terms of concerns grounded in economics, expedience, practicality, and self-interest (for example, "Democrats are never tired of reminding about the growing cost of war [in Iraq],"⁶⁷ followed by the sentence listing sums spent on military operations since 2001 and informing how much funding President Bush plans to

⁶⁶ "'Bad news' haunt Bush," *New Russian Word*, Oct. 30-31, 2004: 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

ask Congress to provide for the ongoing operations). When an issue stance was present without providing any explanation for this stance (for instance, a candidate stating that he is against the war in Iraq but giving no reasons for his position), or if the argument couldn't be assigned to either of the two groups due to its ambiguity (for example, citing results of an electorate's survey that "[s]ix out of ten persuadables think sending troops to Iraq was a mistake"⁶⁸), it was coded into the third category of *ambiguous statements*. Mere mentioning of election issues without stances or arguments were coded into fourth category of *issues without arguments*. The fifth category included issue stances that were supported by two arguments at the same time: one framed ethically, and the other framed in a material manner (for example, "[Bush] says immigration problems should be solved from the point of view of two issues: economical interests of the USA and the state of national security"⁶⁹). This category was developed to record the presence of both arguments and at the same time to ensure that coding does not alter the number of issue stances that actually appeared in stories. For the coding protocol, please see Appendix 1 on page 66.

Inter-coder reliability

Coding for this study was done by a researcher who is a native Russian speaker and who read all 462 stories. To test the reliability of the coding process, in the beginning of the study an independent coder, also a native Russian speaker and a graduate student, coded 51 randomly selected articles that represented 11% of the sample. Inter-coder

⁶⁸ "How to persuade persuadables?" *New Russian Word*, Oct. 5, 2004: 3.

⁶⁹ "Bush versus Kerry: Platform versus platform," *New Russian Word*, Aug. 5, 2004: 9.

reliability statistics (Cohen's *kappa*) for the variable of *story topic* coded by both coders showed acceptable agreement (.77 to 1.0) across coding decisions.

Table 1. Inter-coder reliability statistics (Cohen's *kappa*) for the variable of *story topic*.

Story topic	<i>kappa</i>
electoral system	1.0
election predictions	1.0
celebrity support	.91
Russia's favorite candidate	1.0
smear campaign	1.0
election issues and issue stances	.77
national conventions	1.0
election funding	1.0
campaign logistics	.85
historical references	1.0
biography	1.0

According to Olswang et al., *kappa* statistics greater than .75 is excellent agreement.⁷⁰ Coding election issues and arguments supporting issue stances, independent coder identified 210 election issues paired to 210 arguments suitable for coding, and the secondary coder identified only 202 election issues. Thus inter-coder reliability for the variable of election issues and arguments was determined by the use of Cohen's *kappa* performed on the 404 coding decisions on which both coders agreed as suitable for coding (level of agreement for the variable of *election issue* equaled to .96, for the variable of *argument*, .81). To evaluate inter-coder agreement that takes into account the eight cases the secondary coder missed, Holsti's coefficient of reliability was used; inter-coder reliability for the variable of *election issue* was 0.95, for the variable of *argument*, 0.85.

⁷⁰ Lesley Olswang, Liselotte Svensson, Truman Coggins, Jill Beilinson, and Amy Donaldson. "Reliability Issues and Solutions for Coding Social Communication Performance in Classroom Settings," *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 2006 (49): 1066.

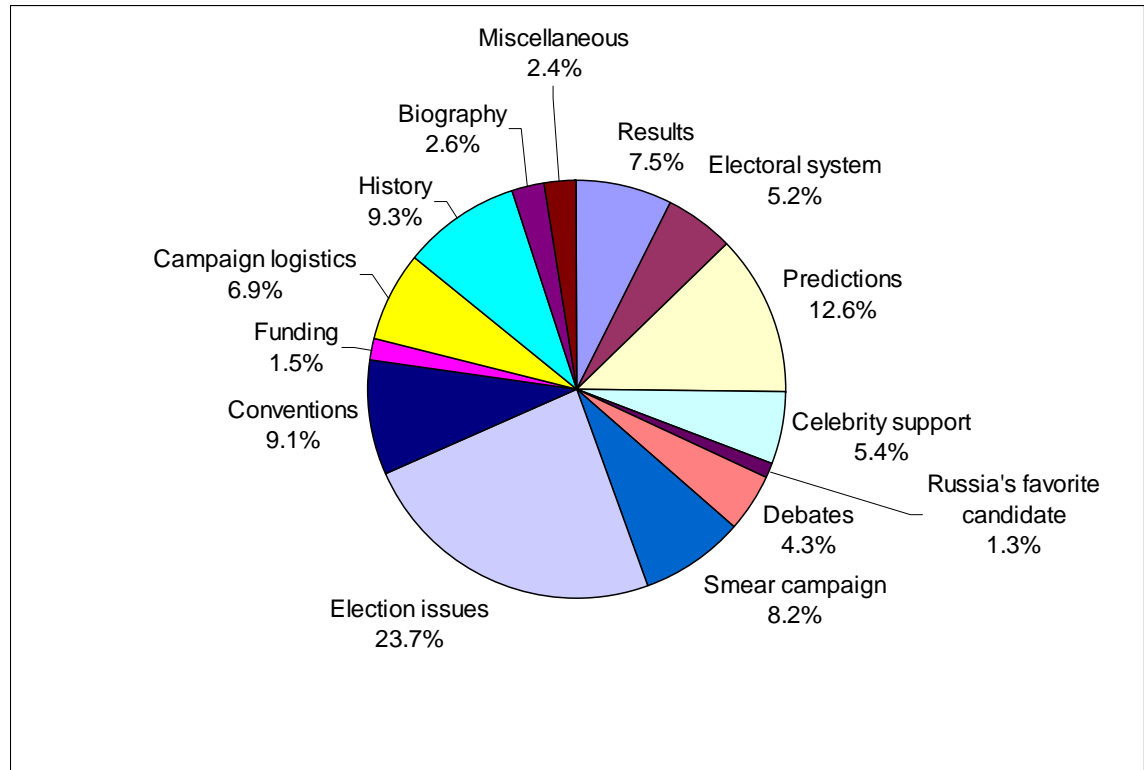
Chapter Four

Results

Coverage of election campaign's aspects

The first research question was concerned with the amount of coverage different aspects of the 2004 election campaign received in the period from the Democratic convention to the end of the week that followed the one of the Election Day. Campaign aspects included the following 14 categories: election results and the aftermath, electoral system, election predictions, celebrity support, Russia's favorite candidate, TV debates, smear campaign, election issues and issue stances, national conventions, election funding, campaign logistics, historical references, candidates' biographies, and miscellaneous. A story was coded as devoted to an aspect of the campaign when it had the aspect stated in the headline and at least one paragraph of the story, or when a story discussed the aspect of the campaign for the length of at least two paragraphs. A typical paragraph in the story was 3-4 sentences long, and some paragraphs in opinion pieces were 7-9 sentences long. As the majority of the stories were devoted to more than one topic, the number of times the topics were mentioned (N=958) exceeded the number of stories in the sample (N=462).

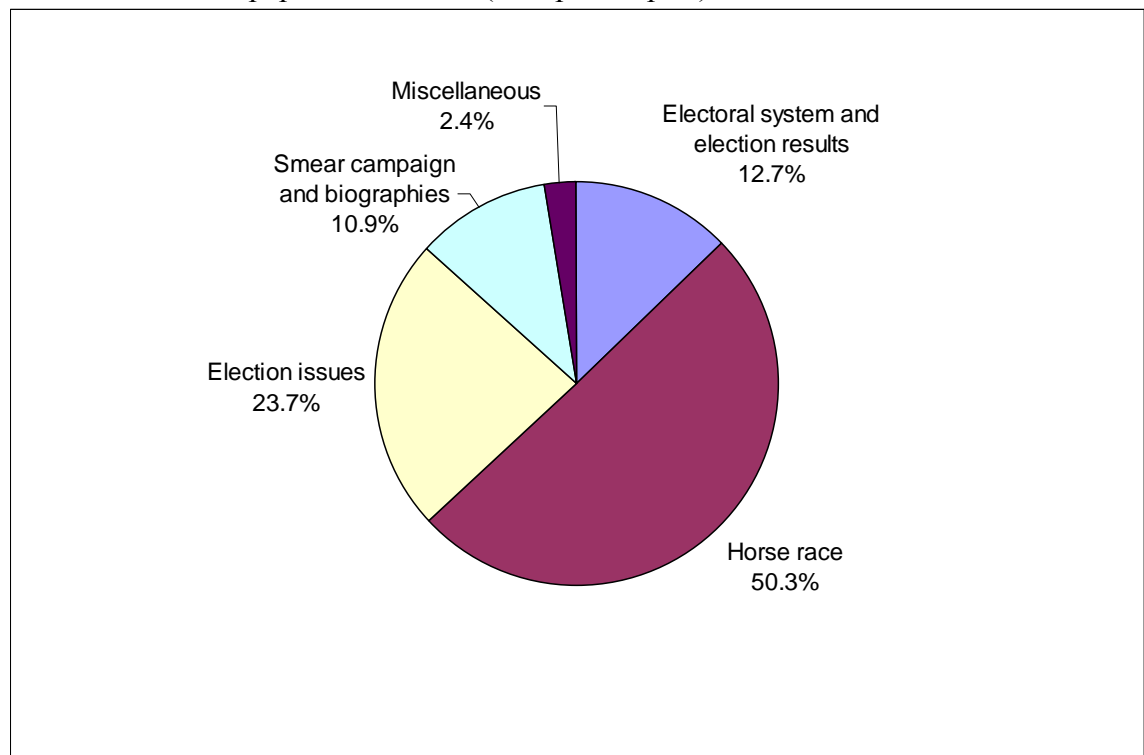
Figure 3. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four American newspapers in Russian.



In the overall sample of four newspapers, election issues and issue stances were discussed at the length of at least two paragraphs or were stated in the headline and one paragraph of the story in 23.7% (N=227; M=.49, $p<.001$) of cases when the aspect of the campaign was present in the story. Predictions of any kind, including opinion polls, were the second most popular aspect of the campaign (12.6%; N=121; M=.26, $p<.001$). References to previous elections constituted the third most-covered feature of the campaign with 9.3% (N=89; M=.19, $p<.001$) of cases. National conventions got almost the same amount of coverage in the Russian-language newspapers with 9.1% (N=87; M=.19, $p<.001$) of cases.

Due to small cell sizes, 14 categories of topics were also merged into five larger theme categories for the overall tests of difference. The five new thematic categories included: (1) election system and election results that united stories about the organization of the election system, events of Election Day and election results; (2) horse-race issues that united such aspects as predictions, celebrity support, Russia's favorite candidate, television debates, national conventions, election funding, campaign logistics and news from campaign headquarters, and historical references to previous elections; (3) issue stances and election issues; (4) "personal" aspects that united smear campaign and candidates' biographies; and (5) miscellaneous topics.

Figure 4. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four American newspapers in Russian (collapsed topics).



In the overall sample of four newspapers, horse-race issues accounted for 50.3% (N=482) of all the topics raised in the studied stories; election issues, for 23.7% (N=227);

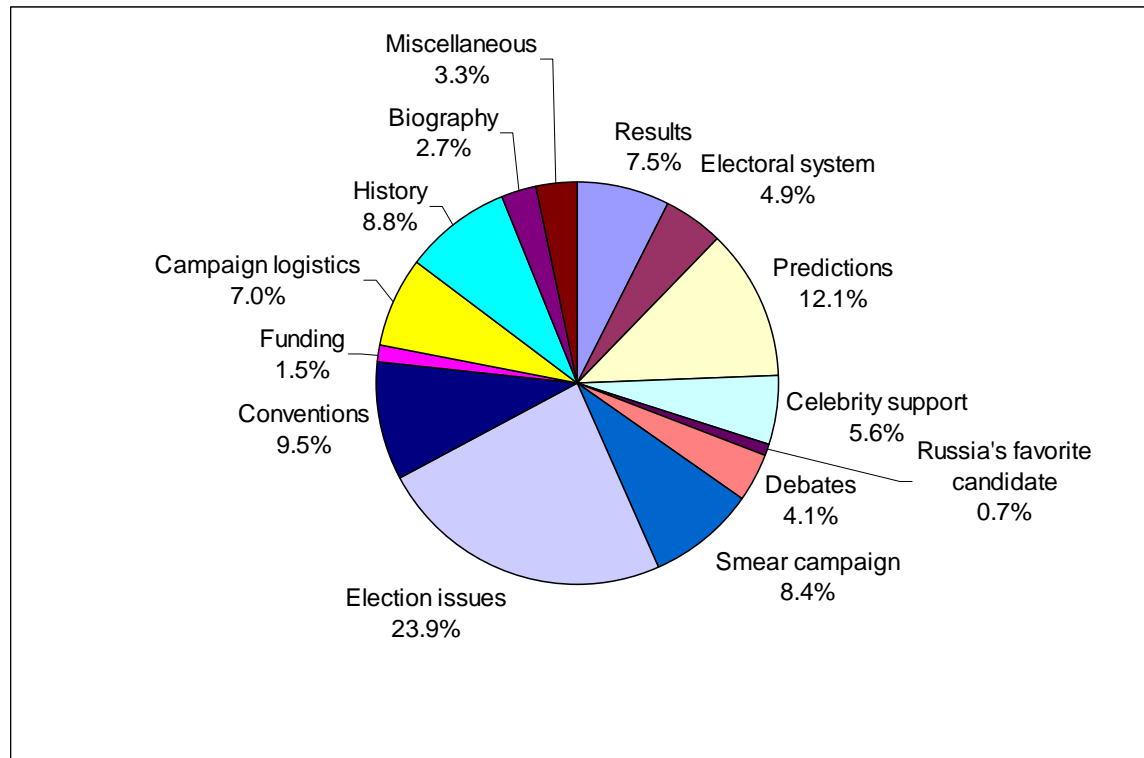
organization of the election system and election results, for 12.7% (N=122); smear campaign and biographies, for 10.9% (N=104); miscellaneous topics, for 2.4 (N=23).

All four newspapers were more likely to devote stories to horse race than to election issues and issue stances (M=1.04 for horse race, M=0.49 for election issues, $p<.001$). Election issues were more likely to get coverage than personal information about candidates emphasized in smear campaign and neutral biographies (M=.49 for election issues, M=.23 for smear campaign and biographies, $p<.001$). Overall, apart from miscellaneous topics (M=.07, $p<.001$), personal information about candidates was less likely to be covered in comparison to horse race, election issues, and organization of the electoral system (M=.26, $p<.001$).

Among the sample's newspapers, only *New Russian Word* and *V Novom Svete* provided statistically significant results on the campaign aspects to which stories were devoted. Data from the other two newspapers were insufficient for statistical analysis.

Coverage of campaign aspects in New Russian Word. In *New Russian Word*, **issue areas and stances** were most likely to get attention (M=.49, $p<.001$), followed, in terms of frequency of coverage, by predictions on the election outcomes (M=.25, $p<.001$).

Figure 5. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *New Russian Word*.



Stories hypothesizing on the **election outcomes** reported results of opinion polls on the newspaper front page, as in a one-paragraph tidbit on opinion poll reprinted from the *Economist* that broke down how voters of different sex and age planend to vote (“Statistics,” *New Russian Word*, Aug. 26, 2008: 1); or as in the story “Kerry leads in several key states” (Aug. 14-15: 1) summarizing a poll conducted after Democratic convention. Stories also reported on how different social groups tend to vote according to current opinion polls or trends of previous elections, as in such stories as “Kerry stakes on the Black” (July 24: 2); “Kerry persuades Latinos and Indians” (Aug 10: 1); “Drug addicts vote Kerry,” (Aug. 23: 2); “Bush is firefighters’ choice” (Sept. 3: 1).

A feature specific to *New Russian Word* in stories predicting the outcome of the election was their attention to how Russian Jews might or should vote, as in stories

arguing that Russian Jews should and would support Bush: “So, who are we for?” (Oct. 15: 20); “Jews-Republicans gathered in Plaza” (Sept. 6); “Jews, vote ‘for ...’” (Mark Vicher, Sept. 6). An opinion piece entitled “The Jewish vote for the Democrat” notices that the Jews, Arabs and *Negroes* (emphasis supplied) usually vote for Democrats; the article plays upon this fact trying to persuade readers that the Jews shouldn’t vote as the Arabs do, and that they shouldn’t support the party of John Kerry and Jimmy Carter, especially when the former was against the right of Israel for Jerusalem.⁷¹ In the story “Russian-speaking Cleveland supports Bush” (Nov. 2: 3) about the meeting of Russian-American committee for re-election of Bush mentions several times the name of its participant from New York, *New Russian Word’s* Editor-in-Chief Valery Vainberg. Several stories took into account other nationalities of “Russian” immigrants: Russian social scientist Olga Makhovskaya mentioned Ukrainians who left Ukraine for religious reasons; these Ukrainians do not speak Russian and tend to vote for Bush.⁷² A piece by Russian American Nika Dubrovskaya explains regretfully that Democrats’ idea of a “state that takes care of its citizens”⁷³ doesn’t appeal to Russians who remember how the Russian State “robbed, humiliated and even wiped out its own citizens”⁷⁴ for several generations.

National conventions was the third campaign aspect to get covered (M=.20, p.<.001) with stories devoted to events of both conventions (“Democrats gathered in Boston,” July 27: 1; Alexander Lazarev, “Israel’s hater is Boston Convention’s hero,” July31-Aug. 1: 8;

⁷¹ Alexander Lazarev, “The Jewish vote for the Democrat,” *New Russian Word*, Aug. 28-29, 2004: 8.

⁷² “The majority of ‘Russian Americans’ are going to vote for Bush,” *New Russian Word*, Sept. 28, 2004: 4.

⁷³ Nika Dubrovskaya, “Why Russians vote for Bush,” *New Russian Word*, Sept. 9, 2004: 4. The article was first published in the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

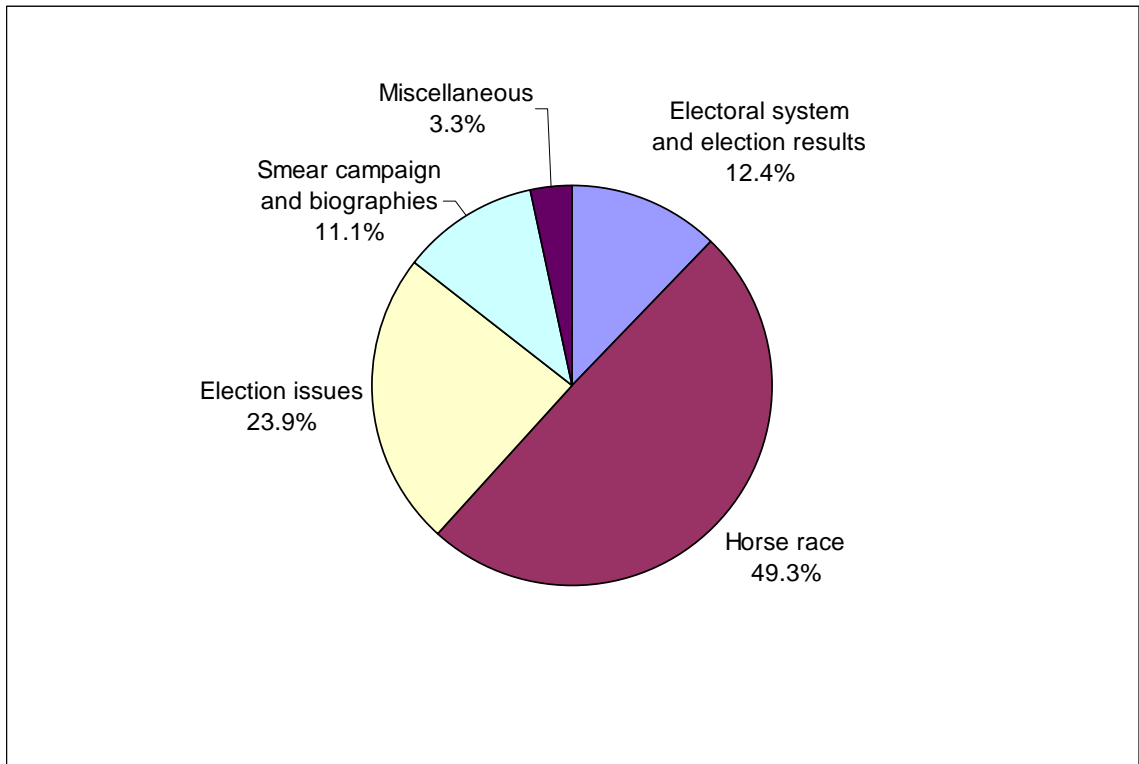
Yevgeny Bai, “First persons on Bush’s team won’t come to Republican convention,” Aug. 16: 4:) as well as to activities of protesters and security measures during conventions (“Where could a fighter for peace spend a night?” July 28: A1; G. Lyarovsky, “Trouble-makers wrapped in cotton wool: Radicals and the police are getting ready for a resolute fight during Republican convention,” Aug. 17: A2).

Significant attention was given to the **historical aspect of the elections** in the U.S. ($M=.18$, $p<.001$). Examples of historical references used in the sample of *New Russian Word* include drawing an analogy between George Bush and Presidents Lincoln and Roosevelt (Alexander Lazarev, “America made the right choice,” Nov. 13-14: 11); or between John Kerry and Benedict Arnold (Alexander Lazarev, “Benedict Arnold for president?” Aug. 7-8: 8) and John Kennedy (“Two JFKs,” Sept. 11-12: 8). *New Russian Word* also had page-long accounts on the history of development of notions such as national Republican and Democratic conventions (Alexander Lazarev, “National Convent: Then and now,” July. 24-25, 2004: 8), TV debates (Alexander Lazarev, “One-two, debates went on,” Oct. 9-10: 8), the Electoral College (Alexander Lazarev, “Who and what for needs the Electoral College,” Sept. 4-5, 2004: 8).

Smear campaign stories ($M=.17$, $p<.001$) discussed mostly the candidates’ military experience: investigation of how Bush spent his draft during war in Vietnam in “Bush is demanded the ‘missing’ documents” (Sept. 8: 3) and in “Who will find Pentagon’s archives, or Shadowy past of the nation’s leader” (Vadim Nikolksy, Sept. 23: 4); or debate over the heroism of Kerry’s actions in Vietnam War as in “Decorations’ origin will be checked” (Sept. 8: 3) and in “Kerry dishonored us” (Oct. 13: 3). Some stories were devoted to negative sides of the candidates’ family members, for example, to Jenna

Bush’s reputation in “Tongue-gifted President’s daughter” (July 23: 3), or to Teresa Heinz-Kerry in “Teresa Heinz-Kerry helped extremists?” (Aug. 12: 3), describing the allegations against Heinz Endowment in funding Tides organization that allegedly supported radical groups. One of the stories was devoted to Kerry’s sponsor allegedly connected to mafia boss (“Kerry’s sponsor connected with mafia?” July 31-Aug. 1: 3). Kerry also was accused in pretending to be a fan of American football (Aleksy Orlov, “On how Senator Kerry decided to pretend to be a fan,” Nov. 1: A4).

Figure 6. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *New Russian Word* (collapsed topics).

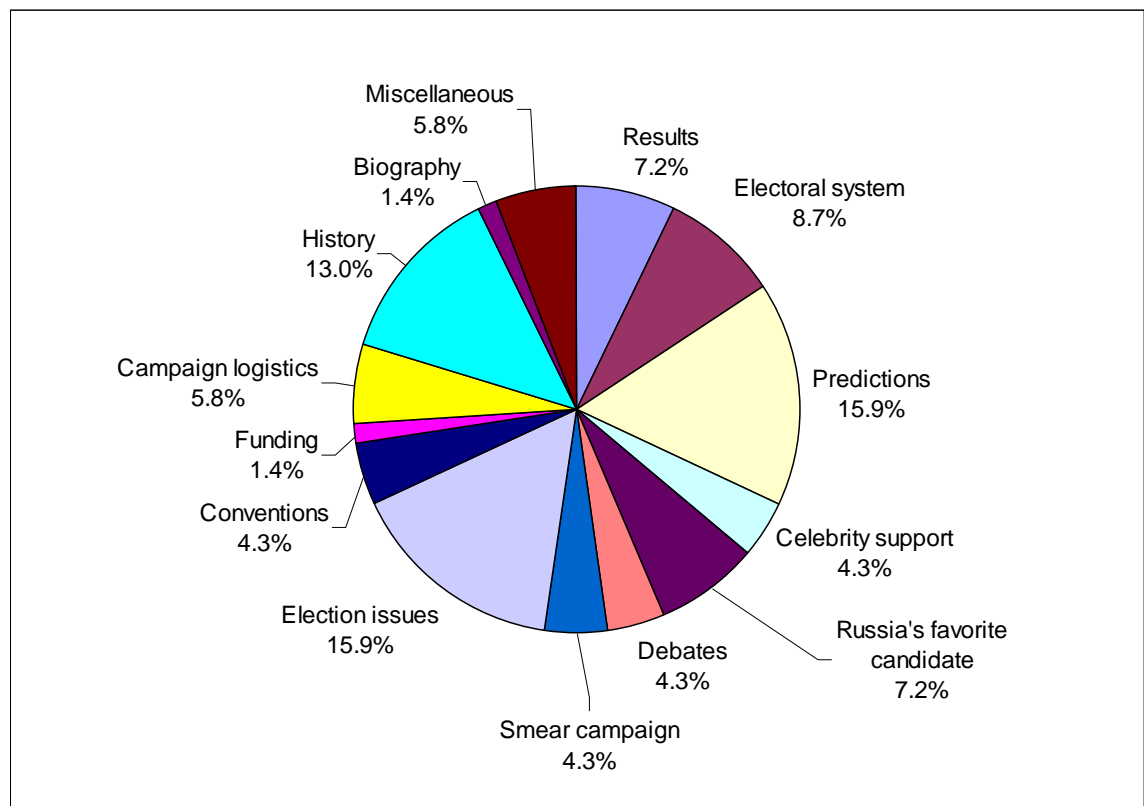


As the overall test of significance of collapsed topic categories showed, In *New Russian Word*, horse-race theme was most likely to get covered ($M=1.01$, $p<.001$), followed by election issues and issue stances ($M=.49$, $p<.001$). Smear campaign and

candidates' biographical information ($M=.23$, $p<.001$) were likely to get covered almost equally to themes of organization of the electoral system and election results ($M=.25$, $p<.001$).

Coverage of campaign aspects in V Novom Svete. Election issues and issue stances were slightly less likely to get covered in *V Novom Svete* than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.42$, for *V Novom Svete*; $M=.49$, for *New Russian Word*; $p<.001$).

Figure 7. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *V Novom Svete*.



Hypothesizing on the **possible outcome of elections** was as likely to get covered in *V Novom Svete* as issue stances and areas ($M=.42$, $p<.001$ for predictions). Examples include a story “Epaulet-reading” by Mark Steinberg (Oct. 1-7: 10) devoted to

Republican stances of the majority of the military. A differently edited version of Steinberg's story appeared in *New Russian Word* later under the title "For whom soldiers will cast votes," (Mark Steinberg, Oct. 28: 4). In *V Novom Svete*, the story was shorter, and its tone was more conversational. Opinion polls never appeared in the separate story; their results were incorporated into stories together with other aspects of elections. Less scientific methods of predictions based on a correlation between the candidates' height, weight and appearance, and their success in winning elections in the past were used in Alexander Grant's "Big and small: Some judge by clothes, others, by wisdom,"⁷⁵ (Oct. 15-21: 20) or a prediction of the winner based on the number of sold Halloween masks of Bush and Kerry in "By the mask score: Bush is ahead of Kerry" (Oct. 1-7: 11).

Although **historical aspects** of the presidential campaign were more likely to be mentioned in *V Novom Svete* ($M=.35$, $p=.001$) than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.18$, $p<.001$), those references were not as deep and well-researched as in *New Russian Word*; they mostly went to previous elections, especially the 2000 election campaign.

An explanation how **the U.S. electoral system** works was more likely to get covered in *V Novom Svete* than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.23$, $p=.011$ for *V Novom Svete*; $M=.10$, $p<.001$, for *New Russian Word*). Examples include a story "The map says the truth: When we'll learn the name of our president?" where several topics were addressed: methods of voting and the work of the Electoral College, recounting of Florida presidential ballots in 2000 and its impact on the way elections are carried out, and information on how key states tend to vote – Democrat or Republican.

⁷⁵ The idiom in this headline is modified. The meaning of the original remotely corresponds with "Actions speak louder than words" and can be literally translated as "They meet judging by clothes, they see off judging by wit."

Russia's favorite candidate was more likely to get covered in *V Novom Svete* than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.19$, $p=.022$ for *V Novom Svete*; $M=.01$, $p=.014$, for *New Russian Word*). Examples include an interview with Russian former Foreign Minister and former Prime-Minister Yevgeny Primakov who concluded: "Usually, Democrats are involved in the human rights movement, often lacking the understanding what is it in other countries. To bring the matrix of West-European or American democracy to, for instance, Iraq is ridiculous and won't work. (...) If Kerry enters upon the office, he at the end will understand Russia's significance in the world arena. (...) Yet Russians always dealt easier with Republican administration which is less dependent on the part of American public that is more prone to the influence of opposition in Russia."⁷⁶ Russian politician and scholar Gavriil Popov in his opinion piece published beside the interview with Primakov, explained that he supported Kerry because Kerry wouldn't approve of the latest changes in the Russian administration: "President-Democrat hardly will understand the transition to picking governors from the Kremlin's list [instead of direct vote], hardly will understand a system where government controls the media."⁷⁷ *V Novom Svete* also devoted a page-and-a-half for the analysis of advantages and disadvantages both presidential candidates have from the Russian point of view. The story concludes: "Only Russia can solve its own problems. Neither Bush nor Kerry will do that for it."⁷⁸ While *V Novom Svete* investigated which candidate is more preferable for Russia, that is, it looked at elections "from Russia," *New Russian Word* raised the topic of Russia talking how

⁷⁶ "Titan's confession," interview with Yevgeny Primakov, *V Novom Svete*, November 5-11, 2004: 15.

⁷⁷ Gavriil Popov, "I am an accomplice of terrorism: So are millions of Americans," *V Novom Svete*, Nov. 5-11, 2004: 15.

⁷⁸ Mikhail Rostovsky, "President for others: What White House's owner will benefit Kremlin?" *V Novom Svete*, Oct. 15-21, 2004: 11

American president should build relations with Russia, that is, it analyzed the situation from American perspective. Edward Goldberg, an American Jewish businessman and American-Russian relations analyst, evaluated relations between the U.S and Russia in his interview praising Vladimir Putin for his offer of help after Sept. 11, 2001: “[Putin] understood that one of the problems America faced was a fatal dependency on Arab oil. We were paying people who were killing us.”⁷⁹ Goldberg characterized the lack of cooperation on the Bush’s administration’s side on the oil problem as “ignoring interests of American people.”⁸⁰ He concluded that Bush’s administration didn’t treat Russia as an equal partner and that Russian community and Russian-American relations would benefit from the election of Kerry. Ronald Asmus who served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in 1997-2000 stated the need for an American president to take into account new political circumstances in Russia. “A problem that will face the new president is: to which extent the policy [towards Russia] should be based on Euro-Atlantic democratic values, and to which extent, on tough ‘realpolitik.’ Should we go strong on democratic values and human rights or continue to cooperate with Russia in fighting terrorism, pretending we don’t notice the country’s slipping down to authoritarianism?”⁸¹ Asmus said Bush’s friendly relations with Russian President were losing support of other people in American government including the Congress. The first USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview assessing Bush’s victory said, “... the United States also should get rid of Cold War fears, and in the first place, of the fear

⁷⁹ “We were paying those who were killing us,” interview with Edward Goldberg, *New Russian Word*, Oct. 22, 2004: 14.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸¹ Ronald Asmus, “How the new president should build the relations with Russia,” *New Russian Word*, Oct. 28, 2004: 2.

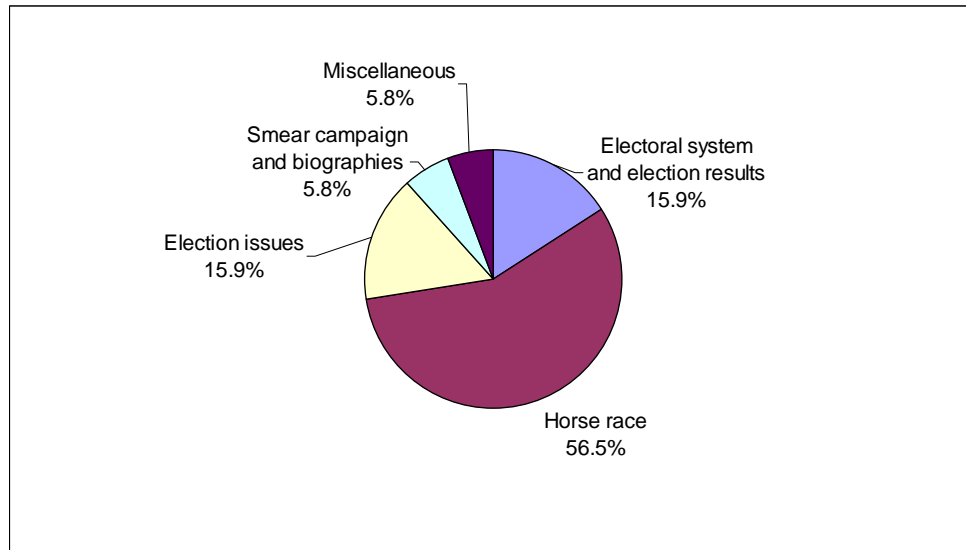
of the rebirth of the Russian Empire. Our [Russian] president doesn't give occasions for that. In Russia's becoming more independent and leading international affairs more confidently, I see a logical normal process, not a somewhat fundamental change of priorities and values."⁸²

Election results were as popular as Russia's favorite candidate in *V Novom Svete*, and were slightly more likely to get covered than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.19$, $p=.022$ for *V Novom Svete*; $M=.15$, $p<.001$, for *New Russian Word*). *V Novom Svete* weekly covered immediate election results describing the events of Election Day and analyzing the 2004 presidential campaign at large in Alexander Grant's "All the best: Never swap elephant for donkey when crossing the stream"⁸³ (Nov. 5-11; 10, 13). At the same time, *New Russian Word* devoted stories to early voting, possible changes in the Cabinet and possible presidential candidates in the 2008 campaign, for example, "Election has started" (Oct. 19: 1); "Voting for America" (Nov. 3: 1-2 in the issue titled "The day between the past and the future"); "Rudy versus Hillary. Second Round" (Nov. 8: A1); and "What we will face in the coming four years?" by Henry Kissinger (Nov. 8: 4; Nov. 9: 4).

⁸² "Mikhail Gorbachev: 'Changes in the USA's policy will necessarily happen'," *New Russian Word*, Nov. 9, 2004: 2.

⁸³ The headline is a modified idiom "Never swap horses while crossing the stream." This catchphrase appeared in several op-ed comments by *New Russian Word*'s writer Vladimir Kozlovsky. His piece that appeared after Election Day had a headline "Swapping of horses didn't happen" (Sept. 6-7: 2) meaning that the United States decided against choosing Kerry when the country is at war. Kozlovsky immigrated from the Soviet Union to the West in 1974.

Figure 8. Percentage of topics coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *V Novom Svete* (collapsed topics).



Overall, in *V Novom Svete* horse-race theme was also more likely to get covered than election issues ($M=1.5$ for horse race, $M=0.42$ for election issues, $p<.001$). Organization of the electoral system and election results were more likely to get covered than in *New Russian Word* ($M=.42$ for *V Novom Svete*, $p=.005$; $M=.25$ for *New Russian Word*, $p<.001$).

Coverage of campaign aspects in *Our Texas* and *Rusky Golos*. Due to small cell sizes, *Our Texas* and *Rusky Golos* did not provide statistically significant results. Out of four *Our Texas*'s stories, two were devoted to the candidates' issue stances, one was celebrating Bush's re-election⁸⁴ (all three broadcasted pro-Republican stance and contained a negative attitude and hate-speech toward Arab countries), and one story was devoted to the process of voting in Houston and some issues related to it (computer voting; lack of Hispanic-speaking and Vietnamese-speaking interpreters).

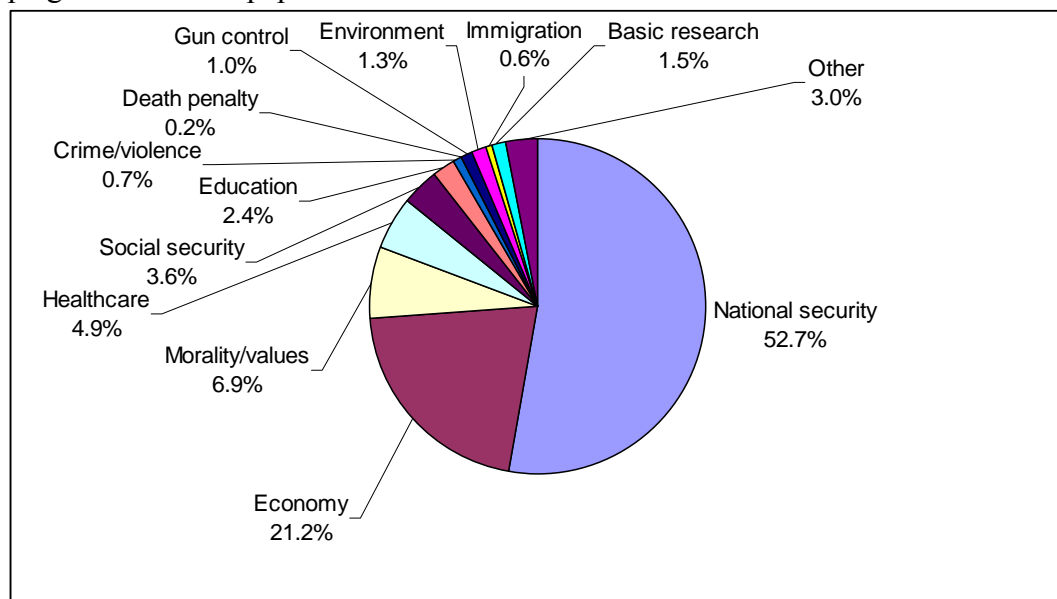
⁸⁴ The story's name "Let's rage?" (Anatoly Gerzhgorin, *Our Texas*, Nov. 12, 2004), plays upon the similarity between the stem of the Russian word "to rage" and Bush's surname. This makes the story's headline sound as an invitation to celebrate Bush's second term in the office.

In three stories in *Russky Golos* themes of issue stances were mostly covered. One of them touched upon the preferences of Russia when Professor Tony Judt stated that, although he didn't believe Kerry would win, Kerry's style in relations with Middle East, European Union and Russia would be more cooperating and open.⁸⁵ One story was devoted to the presidential debates and was reported by the Russian news agency RIA Novosti.⁸⁶ The newsroom revealed its negative assessment of both candidates in the headline "They make a pair" about candidates issue stances.⁸⁷

Framing of issue areas and stances

The second research question dealt with the coverage of political platforms and issue stances in the 2004 presidential campaign.

Figure 9. Percentage of election issues coverage during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four newspapers in Russian.



⁸⁵ "The USA on the eve of presidential election. Versions of the outcome," *Russky Golos*, Sept. 2, 2004: 2.

⁸⁶ "The completed TV debates could decide the USA's election's outcome," *Russky Golos*, Oct. 21, 2004: 2.

⁸⁷ B. Lvov, "They make a pair," *Russky Golos*, Oct. 7, 2004: 2. Russian idiom "They make a pair" literally sounds as "Two boots are a pair," and is usually used to describe to people, usually friends, who share the same negative trait(s) of character, such as laziness.

In total, all four newspapers had 2,346 mentions of issue stances or election issues. 89.9% of those appeared in *New Russian Word* (N=2,109), 6.4% in *V Novom Svete* (N=150), 2.3% in *Our Texas* (N=53), and 1.4% in *Russky Golos* (N=34). Overall, **foreign policy/national security** that included such aspects as wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, terrorism, relations with Europe, Iranian and N. Korean nuclear threat, Palestine-Israel conflict was the most covered issue area in four newspapers together. National security accounted for 52.7% (N=1,237) of issues mentioned during the studied period. The second most popular issue area, **economy/jobs/taxes**, was mentioned in 21.2% (N=498) of cases. **Morality/values** addressing mostly abortions and same-sex marriage were the third most popular issue, yet it was significantly behind the previous two election issues in terms of the amount of coverage (6.9% of issues coverage with 162 cases of mentioning). “Newspaper – Election Issue” cross tabulation is listed in Table 2 on page 75.

The top three election issues did not change when each newspaper was individually analyzed for the most covered issue. The proportion of national security, economic and morality/values issues coverage was, respectively: *New Russian Word*, 50.7%, 22.0% and 6.9%; *V Novom Svete*, 65.3%, 13.3% and 8.0%; and *Our Texas*, 69.6%, 22.6% and 5.7%. As the result of a small number of items, the analysis of *Russky Golos* proved to be statistically insignificant.

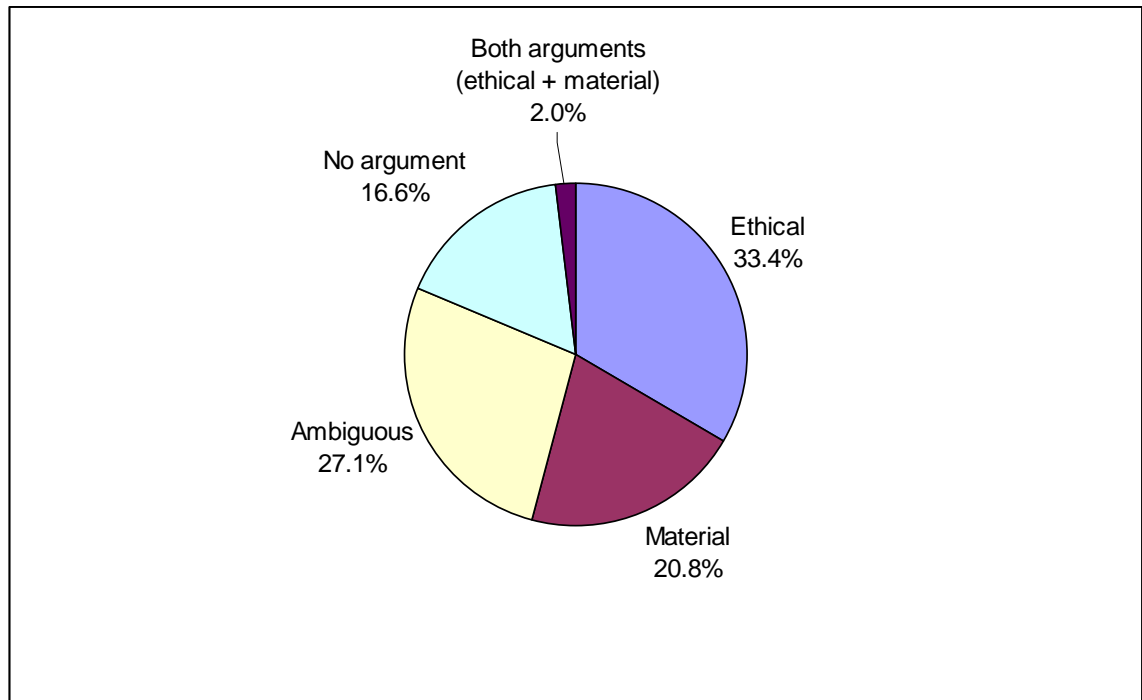
Observed frequencies of *New Russian Word*'s coverage of national security issue were slightly lower than expected frequencies. Observed frequencies for economic issues were slightly higher than expected, and observed frequencies for issues of morality and values equaled the expected frequencies. *V Novom Svete* covered national security more

often than expected, but paid attention to the economy less often than expected. *Our Texas* covered national security issues more often than expected, and its coverage of the economy and morality/values did not differ from the expected observation. “Newspaper – Argument” cross tabulation is listed in Table 3 on page 77.

As each issue stance was assigned its argument, the number of identified arguments in all newspapers equaled the number of issue stances (N=2,346). An analysis of most dominant frames used for the arguments supporting issue stances showed that 83.4% (N=1,956) of all policy issues had arguments and, therefore, could be treated as issue stances supported by ethical, material, ambiguous, or both ethical and material arguments. The rest of the cases included different problems dealing with issues, but not supported by any argument (as in the statement, “Developing National Missile Defense is a part of the President’s current campaign platform”⁸⁸).

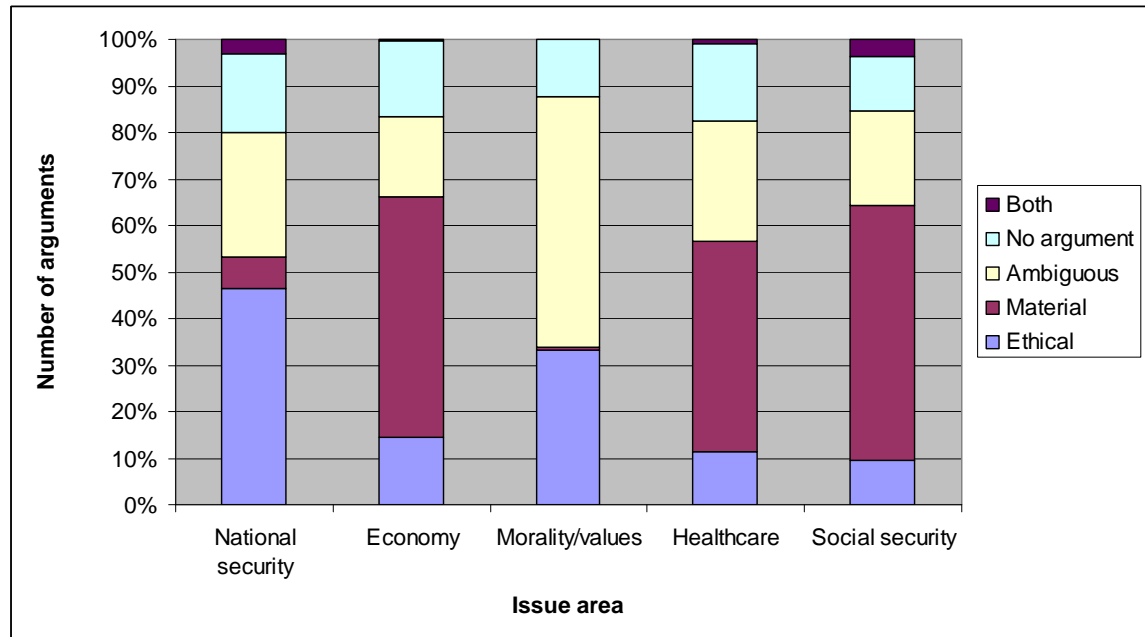
⁸⁸ Vladimir Kozlovsky, “Bush will soon open NMD, and Kerry will shut it down,” *New Russian Word*, Oct. 4, 2004: 2. This op-ed commentary quotes retired General Eugene Habiger, United States Strategic Command’s former commander in chief as saying about the new American NMD effectiveness: “I cannot remember any type of missiles that would be deployed in such *Makar*.” Russian idiom “such *Makar*” literary means “such manner”; *Makar* is a traditional Russian name which became rare nowadays. It’s doubtful that the American USSTRATCOM commander would use the Russian idiom verbatim.

Figure 10. Percentages of the nature of arguments in four newspapers.



Across the sample, issue stances that were supported by arguments were framed ethically in 33.4% of cases and materially in 20.8% of cases (X^2 (df=12, N=2346) = 36.416, $p < .001$). Also, 27.1% of all recorded arguments were ambiguous, and 2.0% of issues were supported by both ethically and materially framed arguments. *Russky Golos* had the largest proportion of ambiguous arguments (32.4%), yet findings on that newspaper yielded to be statistically insignificant (X^2 (df=6, N=34) = 4.443, $p = .617$). *New Russian Word* was more likely to leave platform issue without argumentation (17.3% of all cases within newspaper). *Our Texas* was the least likely to leave policy issues unexplained (5.7% of all cases within newspaper). *V Novom Svete* had lacking arguments in 7.3% of its cases.

Figure 11. Value-framing of most dominant election issues during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four newspapers in Russian (X^2 (df=48, N=2,346) = 777.780, $p < .001$).



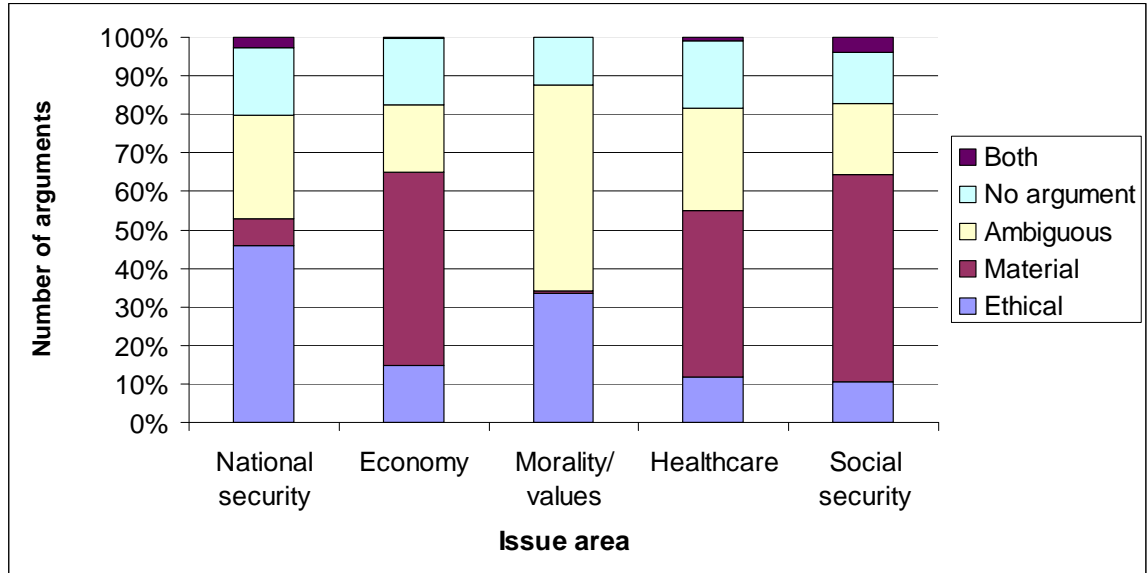
In the sample, national security was more likely to be framed ethically (46.4% of cases the issue was mentioned), issues of economy were more likely to be framed materially (51.8%), and morality/values were more likely to be supported by ambiguous statements (53.7%). Health care and social security were mostly materially-framed in 45.2% and in 54.8%, respectively.

Issue-framing in *New Russian Word*

New Russian Word accounted for the majority of the sample's issue stances paired with arguments or lacking them (89.9%, N=2,109). **Ethical arguments** were most often employed in the newspaper, totaling in 32.8% of arguments in all five categories (X^2 (df=48, N=2,109) = 671.079, $p < .001$). **Ambiguous arguments** were the second most likely type of arguments to be used (27.2%). **Material arguments** accounted for 20.9% of issue stances; 17.3% of election issues had **no arguments**, and 1.8% (N=39) of issue

stances were supported by **both ethical and material arguments**. “Election Issue – Argument” cross tabulation for *New Russian Word* is listed in Table 4 on page 78.

Figure 12. Value-framing of most dominant election issues during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *New Russian Word* (X^2 (df=48, N=2,109) = 671.079, $p < .001$).



Value-framing of national security. The most frequently covered campaign issue, national security/foreign policy, was framed in **ethical terms** in 46% (N=492) of all cases when that issue was mentioned (N=1,070). That is 40.3% more frequently than expected (N=350.6). This means that when covering policy issues such as war on terror, nuclear threat, relations with Israel, *New Russian World* was significantly more often employing arguments, that appealed to a sense of right or wrong, human rights and values, as reflected in the news story, “[e]arlier, giving a speech in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Cheney confronted Kerry’s issue stances... with Bush’s who kept on insisting that decision to overthrow Saddam Hussein’s regime was right notwithstanding the

unpopularity of this war, ongoing violence in Iraq and growing American soldiers death toll.”⁸⁹

At the same time, **arguments appealing to self-interest and rational behavior** and describing problems of national security/foreign policy issues in terms of their cost, such as in the statement “[t]raditional two years of military service is simply not enough to train a fresh draftee into a professional fighter,”⁹⁰ were employed in 6.8% (N=73) of all cases, which was less often than expected (N=223.7). An example of the argument grounded in economics comes from the exclusive interview President Bush gave to the newspaper in October: “We want the borders in the Middle East be crossed with commercial purposes, not for killing and war”⁹¹). The number of ambiguous arguments and election issues not supported by arguments did not differ from the expected numbers and constituted, respectively, 27% and 17.5% of all the arguments assigned to the issue of national security. Issue stances supported by both ethical and material arguments at the same time, as in the statement “...[o]rganization [People against the Draft] is as if it were non-party, yet it advocates... against war in Iraq pushing the idea of peaceful, rational foreign policy,”⁹² exceeded the expected number and constituted 2.7% of all arguments.

Value-framing of economy, jobs, and taxes. Describing the economy/jobs/taxes issue area, *New Russian Word* was more likely to use **material arguments** in reporting financial numbers or using the language of inflation rates or taxes increase or decrease, workforce being cheap or expensive (50.1% of all arguments assigned to that issue,

⁸⁹ “Cheney criticizes Kerry,” *New Russian Word*, Aug. 18-19, 2004: 2.

⁹⁰ “Is Rather grafted or stupid?” *New Russian Word*, Oct. 5, 2004: 4.

⁹¹ “Russian-speaking community is an example of American Dream,” interview with President George W. Bush, *New Russian Word*, Oct. 26, 2004: 2-3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 4.

N=233). This exceeded expected observations for that value (N=97.2). **Ethically-framed** economical issues accounted for 14.8% of all issues on economy that was 1.71 times less often than expected. The following sentence illustrates an ethical argument on economic issue: "...taxes in the USA are progressive, and some consider this to be unfair."⁹³ Ambiguous arguments stating attitudes but not supporting them with reasons accounted for 17.6% of all cases. Cases lacking arguments equaled ambiguous arguments in quantity, reaching 17.0% of arguments on economic issues. Also, cases lacking arguments equaled expected frequencies. Arguments framed in both ethical and material terms represented .4% of arguments only.

Value-framing of morality/values issues. The majority of cases (53.4%, N=78) morality/values were mentioned in *New Russian Word*, they were accompanied by **ambiguous arguments** usually saying whether the candidates or sources support same-sex marriage and abortion ban. Observed values for this type of argument were twice as high as expected values (N=39.7). A quarter of all cases represented mere mentioning of morality/values issues of the election campaign. 33.6% of morality/values issues were **framed ethically**, for instance, giving religious reasons. Only one case (.7%) was **framed materially**. The sentence where the case emerged was discussing stances of the Democrats and Republicans on the issue of abortions, and provided a rational argument from the Democrats' side and an ethical argument from the Republicans' side: "The former [Democrats] say, that to avoid a teenage girl getting pregnant, she should be

⁹³ Vladimir Kozlovsky, "Fact-checking," *New Russian Word*, Oct. 16-17, 2004: 2.

taught to use birth control methods. The latter [Republicans], that a teenager girl should be taught to value virginity.”⁹⁴

Value-framing of healthcare and social security. Two more issues that received attention in *New Russian Word*, healthcare and social security, were framed by usage of **material arguments** in 43.1% (N=47) and 53.9% (N=41), respectively, significantly outnumbering the expected values (N=22.8 for healthcare, N=15.9 for social security). Observed values were lower for ethically-framed stances on those issues, 35.7% for healthcare, and 10.5% for social security. Healthcare issues were framed in ambiguous arguments in 26.6%, social security – in 18.4% of cases. Observed values for ambiguous arguments, both ethical and material arguments, and the lack of arguments were equal to or differed insignificantly from the observed values. Overall, the findings show that healthcare issues were more likely to be discussed in the following manner: “Kerry stressed he wants to (...), reduce the cost of healthcare,”⁹⁵ or “Healthcare cost has never been so high,”⁹⁶ rather than framing healthcare in terms of rights and other nonmaterial values, as in the following example: “Bush repeated many of his suggestions including ... granting people more rights in handling their medical insurance.”⁹⁷ Social security issues were more likely to be covered as in the following example, “... Kerry proposed making amendments to a newly past law about Medicare’s reform to give the government the opportunity to negotiate wholesale purchase of medicines at discount rates,”⁹⁸ or “Bush’s proposal [to allow transferring part of the social security funds to private bank accounts]

⁹⁴ Vladimir Abarinov, “The heat calmed down,” *New Russian Word*, Nov. 5, 2004: 2.

⁹⁵ “Kerry in New York,” *New Russian Word*, Aug. 25, 2004; 1.

⁹⁶ Al Gore’s speech is published in “How to debate with George Bush,” *New Russian Word*, Sept. 30, 2004: 2.

⁹⁷ “Bush promises America more optimism,” *New Russian Word*, Sept. 4-5, 2004: 2.

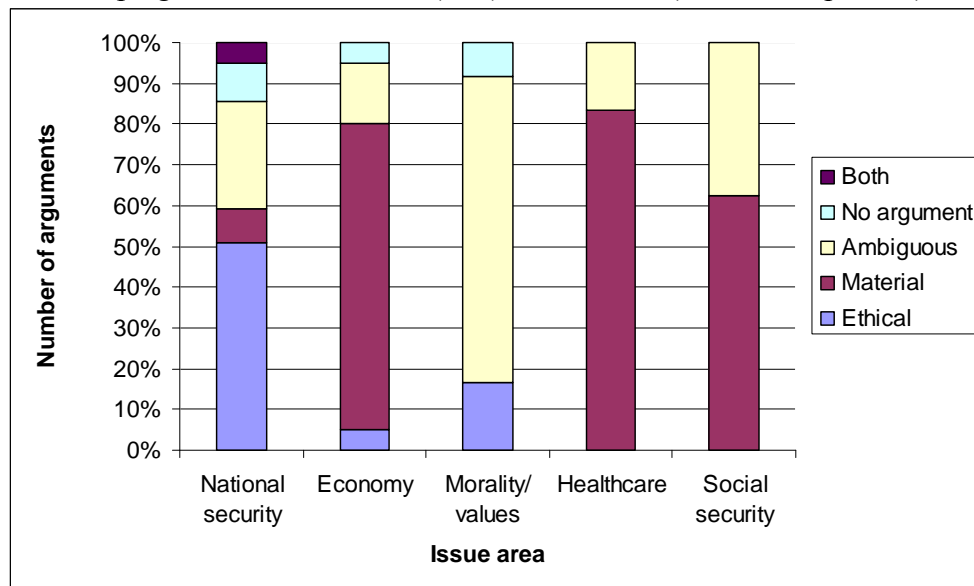
⁹⁸ Kerry’s speech in Palm Beech, Fla. is quoted in “This is not a plan – this is a robbery: Kerry criticizes Bush’s social security plan,” *New Russian Word*, Sept. 23, 2004: 1.

will hit our elderly by cutting down their pensions and benefits,”⁹⁹ instead of “The truth is, that only ‘special interest’ groups will benefit from fulfillment of George Bush’s plan [on social security].”¹⁰⁰

Issue-framing in *V Novom Svete*

V Novom Svete contained 6.8% (N=150) of the sample’s issue stances paired with arguments or lacking them. Arguments that qualified for the category of **ethical arguments** were used most often in this newspaper, with their share reaching 36.7% of arguments in all five categories (X^2 (df=32, N=150) = 93.865, $p < .001$). **Ambiguous statements** were used as arguments in 29.3% of cases. **Material arguments** constituted 23.3% of arguments; 7.3% of election issues were **lacking arguments**; and 3.3% (N=5) of issue stances were **framed both ethically and materially**. “Election Issue – Argument” cross tabulation for *V Novom Svete* is listed in Table 5 on page 80.

Figure 13. Value-framing of most dominant election issues during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *V Novom Svete* (X^2 (df=32, N=150) = 93.865, $p < .001$).



⁹⁹ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1.

Value-framing of national security. As in *New Russian Word*, national security/foreign policy was the most frequently covered campaign issue (65.3% of all cases when election issues were mentioned, N=98), and, also as in *New Russian Word*, national security was **framed** mostly **ethically**: 51% (N=50) of cases the issue had arguments grounded in discourse about human rights and freedoms, combating terrorism, stopping nuclear threat, etc., as in the sentence, “The Kremlin’s attempts to help Bush with Putin’s statements that he, it turns out, also had intelligence on Saddam’s prohibited weapons, make even Republicans perplexed.”¹⁰¹ Covering national security issue stances in ethical terms, *V Novom Svete* coincided with *New Russian Word* in the scale of exceeding the expected values for the “issue stance - argument” variable pairs (39.3% more often than expected for *V Novom Svete*; 40.3%, for *New Russian Word*). Material framing of national security arguments was employed significantly less often than ethical frame: only 8.2% (N=8) cases were supported by material arguments such as, “Most likely, both Bush and Kerry will urge the Kremlin to build oil pipeline from Siberia to deepwater port Murmansk: in this case, Russia could become a real competitor to Arab countries in the business of oil supplies of the USA.”¹⁰² As in the case with ethically-framed arguments in *New Russian Word*, *V Novom Svete* had the same range of difference between the observed and expected values (65.1% less than expected for *V Novom Svete*; 67.4.%, for *New Russian Word*). Ambiguous statements were used in 26.5% (N=26) of cases, the number that didn’t significantly differ from the expected count.

¹⁰¹ Mikhail Rostovsky, “President for others: What White House’s owner will benefit Kremlin?” *V Novom Svete*, Oct. 15-21, 2004: 11.

¹⁰² Rostovsky, *President for others*: 11.

Value-framing of economy, jobs, and taxes. Covering the economy/jobs/taxes election issues, *V Novom Svete* used only one ethical argument, that constituted 5% of all arguments in the category of economy: “A roadside church minister who happened to be near at the counter [in Cleveland bar] disagreed [with a statement that Americans made an unwise choice re-electing Bush] and noted that America was choosing between morals and economics because ‘it’s time to defend in what we trust’.”¹⁰³ The newspaper was more likely to frame economy with **material arguments** typical of the discussion of inflation, income and taxes (75% of all arguments assigned to that issue, N=15), which 3.2 times exceeded the expected observations for that value (N=4.7). The following quote of Director of the Institute of USA and Canada Sergey Rogov illustrates a material argument on economic issue: “Next generation of Americans will pay for the beautiful life today. Apart from budget deficit, there is a trade deficit of about \$600 billion.”¹⁰⁴ Ambiguous arguments accounted for 15% (N=3) of all the cases. Only one case had no argument and just mentioned an election issue: “[Kerry’s camp believes that Kerry won debates because he] ...used to reply with facts and numbers demonstrating profound knowledge of politics and economy.”¹⁰⁵

Value-framing of morality/values issues. Morality/values issues were mentioned in 8% (N=12) of all cases in *V Novom Svete*. As in *New Russian Word*, the majority of them (75%, N=9) were **stating the support or lack of** it in questions of morality/values issues, as in the story written by a former foreign editor and correspondent for the newspaper

¹⁰³ Yury Aleksandrov, “So, in what we trust? The country is flooded with neurasthenia,” *V Novom Svete*, Nov. 12-18, 2004, 18.

¹⁰⁴ “Robin Hood Vice Versa. Sergey Rogov: ‘Bush is doing what Republicans used to blame for Democrats’,” *V Novom Svete*, Aug. 6-12, 2004: 2.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander Grant, “Big and small: Some judge by clothes, others, by wisdom,” *V Novom Svete*, Oct. 15-21, 2004: 20.

Izvestia Melor Sturua: “Elections 2004 proved: the party that stands up for abortion, supports homosexuals in their demand for legal marriage, and scientific society for using human embryos in medical experiments, currently cannot govern the United States.”¹⁰⁶ Observed values for this type of argument outnumbered the expected values (N=3.5). Two cases of morality/values issues framed ethically were recorded, as in the sentence, “Bush’s supporters pressed on ‘moral values,’ refuting (...) unlimited right to have abortions and other attributes of democracy.”¹⁰⁷ One case only constituted a mentioning of morality/values issue. None were framed in terms of practicality.

Value-framing of healthcare and social security. Healthcare and social security issues were mentioned in 4.0% (N=6) and 5.3% (N=8), respectively. Out of six cases of mentioning healthcare issues, one had an ambiguous argument accompanying it, and five had **material arguments** associated with them as in the sentence where two aspects of healthcare, insurance and medicines, are mentioned: “Many are convinced that medical insurance will become unaffordable for the majority of us, and it’s hard to earn enough for medicines.”¹⁰⁸ Out of the eight times that social security issues were mentioned in *V Novom Svete*, the newspaper did not provide a specific argument with the issue in three cases and five times gave a materially-framed argument, as in the sentence: “Kerry and Edwards suggested that they don’t like when a working American (...) hasn’t got a chance to get pension.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Melor Sturua, “The Reds took over the White House, and the Blues surrendered towards morning,” *V Novom Svete*, Nov. 5-11, 2004: 10 (3, 10).

¹⁰⁷ Yury Aleksandrov, “So, in what we trust? The country is flooded with neurasthenia,” *V Novom Svete*, Nov. 12-18, 2004: 18.

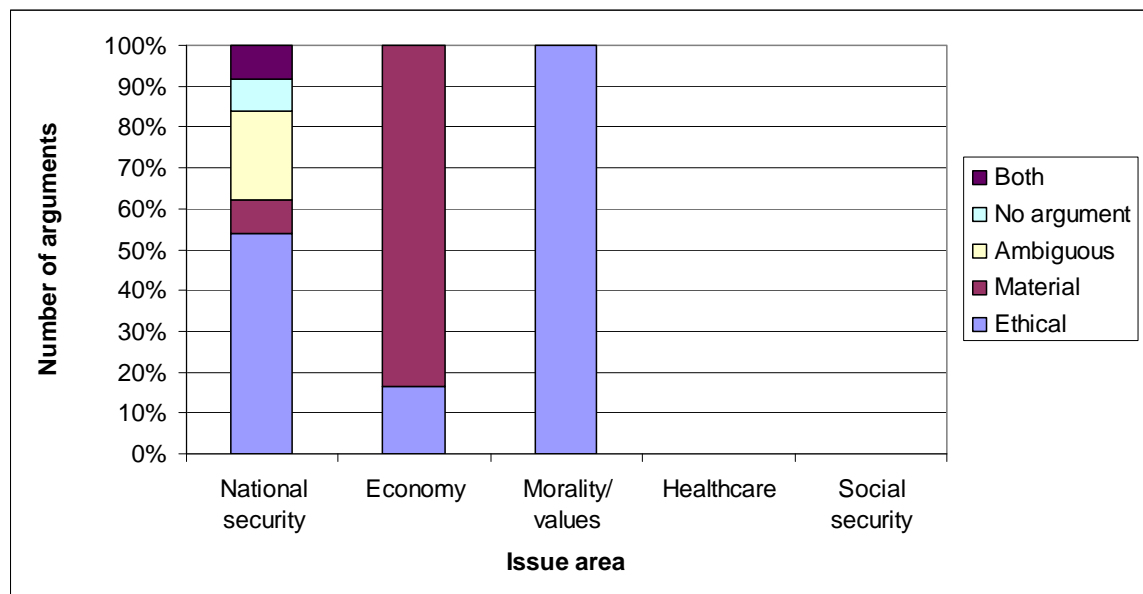
¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

Issue-framing in *Our Texas*

Our Texas accounted for 2.3% (N=53) of the entire sample's issue stances. **Ethically-framed** arguments were most often paired with issue stances in this newspaper, with 47.2% (N=25) of arguments in all five categories (X^2 (df=12, N=53) = 36.621, $p=.002$). **Material arguments** were paired with issue stances in 24.5% (N=13) of cases. **Ambiguous statements** constituted 17.0% (N=9) of arguments; issue stances **lacking arguments** or framed both ethically and materially, were recorded in 5.7% (N=3) cases each. "Election Issue – Argument" cross tabulation for *Our Texas* is listed in Table 6 on page 81.

Figure 14. Value-framing of most dominant election issues during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *Our Texas* (X^2 (df=12, N=53) = 36.621, $p=.002$).



Value-framing of national security. As in the case of *New Russian Word* and *V Novom Svete*, national security/foreign policy was the most covered campaign issue (69.8%; N=37), and it was mostly **framed in ethical terms** with 54.1% (N=20) of all the cases supported with arguments avoiding financial vocabulary. This could be illustrated

by the following example: "...Kerry criticizes Bush not for the sheepish approach to jihad, but for making decisions in one-sided manner, without consulting our former allies in Europe and other countries and organizations not interested in our victory."¹¹⁰

Material arguments, such as in noting that Kerry voted "against apportionment of money for that war [with Iraq],"¹¹¹ constituted 8.1% (N=3) of arguments; the same number of issue areas (N=3) were **lacking arguments** or were **framed both ethically and materially**. The latter can be illustrated by the following sentence written in connection with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: "America, having gathered under its banners 'countless' coalition for combating terrorism, found oneself no whit the better. Having paid with its own money and soldiers' blood for somebody else's well-being."¹¹²

Value-framing of economy, jobs, and taxes. Out of 12 references to the economy/jobs/taxes issue stances that constituted 22.6% of all issue stances in *Our Texas*, the newspaper used 10 **materially-framed** arguments and two **ethically-framed** ones. The following criticism of Kerry's 'economic superstition' can serve as an example of a material argument: "The more money people spend, the healthier economy. The more taxes you have to pay, the less money you have left to spend. Hence, taxes only harm economy."¹¹³ The following can serve as an argument incorporating ideas of right or wrong: "Unfortunately, government's demagogues of any party's affiliation forget to add [to the argument that taxes are used for creation of new jobs] that all jobs that government creates on the money taken away from us, are obtained by senseless

¹¹⁰ Sagamori, *Figure-head*.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Anatoly Gerzhgorin, "Let's rage?" *Our Texas*, Nov. 12, 2004. Retrieved from <http://www.ourtx.com/?a=1210> on March 15, 2008.

¹¹³ Sagamori, *Figure-head*.

government clerks who senselessly put senseless papers from one senseless heap to another while senselessly following senseless rules.”¹¹⁴

Value-framing of morality/values issues. Morality/values issues were **framed ethically** in all cases 5.7% (N=3) when they were mentioned in *Our Texas*, as in the example: “Recently, John Kerry’s picture adorned the cover of *Advocate* magazine. It’s one of the leading publications for gays whose rights, as Kerry reveals in the interview, he has been defending for 35 years.”¹¹⁵

Value-framing of healthcare and social security. Healthcare and social security issues were not mentioned in *Our Texas*.

Issue-framing in *Russky Golos*

Russky Golos’s sample provided statistically insignificant results. The newspaper accounted for 1.4% (N=34) of the entire sample’s issue stances. The ethical frame was most likely to be employed in 35.3% (N=12) of all cases in the newspaper. No arguments were cited in 32.4% (N=11) of cases. Issue stances had ambiguous arguments in 29.4% (N=10) of cases. In one case (2.9%) an issue stance had both ethically and materially-framed argument.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Anatoly Gerzhgorin, “You go here,” *Our Texas*, Oct. 29, 2004. Retrieved from <http://www.ourtx.com/?a=1178> on March 15, 2008.

Chapter Five

Discussion

Discussion of findings

This study examined the degree of coverage the 2004 presidential election campaign received in four American newspapers in the Russian language. The study also focused on one of the campaign's key features, the coverage of election issues and ideological stances, by measuring the amount of coverage each election issue received, and the nature of arguments, - ethical, material, or ambiguous, - with which candidates' issue stances were supported.

Regarding the nature of the coverage, findings on reliance of American newspapers in Russian on coverage of horse-race issues are consistent with results of studies of the American press in previous campaigns.¹¹⁶ However, the amount of the 2004 campaign horse-race coverage in four American newspapers in Russian was lower than, for instance, horse-race coverage of the 1998 election campaign in any of the three American newsmagazines (50.3% of overall coverage in "Russian" newspapers in 2004; 69.5% average coverage for American newsmagazines in 1998¹¹⁷). Moreover, the amount of attention substantive aspects of the campaign received, such as candidates' issue stances

¹¹⁶ Thomas Patterson, *The mass media election: How Americans choose their president* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1980); Doris Graber, *Mass media and American politics*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984); Mark Popovich, Sandra Moriarty, and Beverly Pitts, "News magazine coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign," *Mass Comm Review* 20 (1993, 1 and 2): 99-110.

¹¹⁷ Popovich, Moriarty, and Pitts, *News magazine coverage of the 1988 presidential campaign*: 107.

and explanation of how the electoral system in the U.S. works, was quite significant reaching a total of 36.4%. This conclusion is also supported by data demonstrating how much attention election issues received in comparison to smear campaign in two major newspapers that provided statistically significant results, *New Russian Word* and *V Novom Svete*. Interestingly enough, a tabloid newspaper *V Novom Svete* did not pay much attention to smear campaign (4.3%), and managed to cover election issues relatively substantially (15.9%), though overall it covered elections in a more easy-to-read style in comparison to the *New Russian Word* daily. Findings on significant coverage of election issues might be explained by high level of education of newspapers' audiences. According to the 2004 Russian-Jewish Opinion Survey¹¹⁸ conducted by Research Institute for New Americans among 789 Russian American individuals who are believed to be representative of the New York metro area's Russian-speaking immigrant community, 59% of them had Bachelor's degree, and 7%, graduate degree. Also, the bulk of the sample was constituted by the daily *New Russian Word*, which might have more space to cover aspects of campaign such as campaign logistics and TV debates that are connected to the topic of election issues. The newspaper also devoted its space to opinion pieces that were often discussing election issues and issue stances.

Interests of readers might explain findings that Russia's favorite between the candidates was more likely to be discussed in *V Novom Svete* published in the partnership with a Russian publishing house. The predominantly Jewish Russian-speaking audience of *New Russian Word* might be more concerned with interests of Israel, while readership of *V Novom Svete* might consist of more conventional Russians. Also, for *V Novom*

¹¹⁸ Retrieved from American Jewish Committee Web site www.ajc.org on March 25, 2008.

Svete's publisher, reaching Russian analysts to acquire their opinion might be easier, and these Russian sources bring a Russian outsiders' perspective to the discussion.

Results of the study concerning the coverage of election issues as well as issue stances and arguments supporting them were analyzed with the help of three theories involving values and voting: (1) Postmaterialist values and the World Values Survey 2005 by Inglehart et al.; (2) ethical and material framing in media by Shah and et al.; and (3) ideological and economic voting by Basinger and Lavine. Results on the most covered election issues were also compared to the results of two opinion polls conducted at the time of the 2004 presidential campaign: (1) the National Annenberg Election Survey that determined the election issue Americans believed to be the nation's biggest problem, and (2) the Russian-Jewish Opinion Survey that determined stances on national issues Russian immigrants, mostly Jewish originating from the former USSR, held in the end of summer 2004.

Among the election issues and ideological stances, national security/foreign policy issues received maximum coverage in the pages of American newspapers in Russian. According to the National Annenberg Election Survey,¹¹⁹ the war on terror was perceived as the nation's biggest problem by Bush's backers nationwide during the 2004 election campaign. Economic issues perceived as the most important by Kerry's backers were second on the agenda for three newspapers in Russian providing statistically significant data (*New Russian Word* daily, *V Novom Svete* tabloid weekly, and *Our Texas*

¹¹⁹ Survey "Terrorism seen as most important problem by Bush backers; Kerry's worry most about economy, Annenberg data show" was retrieved from the Annenberg Public Policy Center Web site on March 25, 2008.

entertainment bimonthly). This suggests that the choice of topics for discussion of campaign issues was more attractive to the readers more inclined toward Bush.

The top three most covered election issues included national security and moral values, on which Bush's campaign focused. Only one issue on newspapers' agendas, the state of the economy, was Kerry's top priority. Apart from that, across the sample, the number of foreign policy ideological stances supported or challenged by arguments incorporating a sense of right or wrong, human rights and values, and religious values, was higher than the total number of references to economic issues, regardless of the arguments. The predominance of ethical discourse about national security could be explained by priorities of the Russian-speaking immigrant community, 91% of which, according to the 2004 Russian-Jewish Opinion Survey considered themselves Jewish.¹²⁰ As the survey's choice of questions and respondent's answers show, Russian-Jewish readers who are believed to compose the majority audience of *New Russian Word* and *Our Texas* either agreed with Bush's issue stances on some issues (national security/foreign policy, state of the economy, same-sex marriage)¹²¹ or had a definite

¹²⁰ According to the survey, 55% of Russian-speaking community approved of war with Iraq; 45% believed the threat of terrorism against the United States increased as a result of war with Iraq, and 30% believed that it stayed the same; 73% agreed that Americans should be willing to give up some of their personal freedoms in order to make the country safe from possible terrorist attacks. 88% of them agreed with the statement that "Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew;" 83% agreed with the statement that "The goal of the Arabs is the destruction of Israel, not merely the return of occupied territories," and 51% opposed the establishment of a Palestinian state. In the realm of moral values, 81% would favor making same-sex marriages unconstitutional; 66% said abortions should be legal under any circumstances. At the same time, 38% approved how Bush's administration handled the economy, 24% disapproved, and 38% were not sure of their attitude.

¹²¹ Notwithstanding the lack of demographic information about readership of American newspapers in Russian, it is possible to hypothesize that audiences of the other two newspapers in the sample, *V Novom Svete* and *Russky Golos*, had a larger proportion of non-Jewish Russian immigrants from the former USSR and Russia proper. For example, editorial of *V Novom Svete*, produced in cooperation with a Russian publishing house, was more tolerant towards the Arabs; *Russky Golos* was less interested in American affairs, and its data on elections was insufficient for statistically significant results.

opinion on the others (abortion) that could suggest a certain level of salience of those issues in their perceptions.

It is worth noting that among the survey's participants, 56% of registered voters were going to vote for Bush, 18% for Kerry, and 22% hadn't decided on their preferences at the time of the survey (July 20 – August 25, 2004). This suggests that Russian newspapers in America mirrored political interests of the majority of the Russian-speaking community in the U.S.

According to Inglehart's et al. theory of Postmodernist/Postmaterialist values, Postmaterialist societies including the U.S., face changing religious orientations, gender roles, and sexual norms. This cultural transformation is a result of a shifting emphasis from the concern about economic and physical safety of Materialism to the quality of life and self-expression of Postmaterialism. The predominance of national security and economic issues over morality/values, death penalty and environment in American newspapers in Russian can be explained by the predominance of those issues in the political discourse and by interests of the newspapers' audience in those issues. In both cases, the reliance on issues of physical safety (the war against terrorism, the war in Iraq, Iran's nuclear threat) could suggest that the 2004 election campaign and/or its coverage in American newspapers in Russian were based on Modernist/Materialist values instead of Postmodernist/Postmaterialist ones.

Inglehart et al. posit that “those who support the Left are motivated by concerns for environmental protection, gender equality, the emancipation of sexual minorities and ethnic minorities.”¹²² The choice of topics for political discourse during the 2004 election

¹²² Inglehart, Basanes, and Moreno, *Human Values and Beliefs: A cross-cultural sourcebook*: 14.

campaign shows that those topics were less relevant to the readers and voters who support the Left.

The results of this study concerning ethical and material frames used in the media and political discourse can be analyzed with the help of research on compensatory and noncompensatory voting in political science. As Basinger and Lavine discovered, voters who are politically knowledgeable or presented with an intense campaign “are capable of increasing reliance on the highly diagnostic, prospective criterion of ideology.”¹²³ They are more likely to think about far-reaching implications of a president’s policy. The results of the current study suggest that Russian-speaking readers got a substantial coverage of campaign issues, especially in the *New Russian Word* daily; furthermore, the most covered election issue, American national security/foreign policy, was framed in far-reaching ideological terms. If Russian-speaking readers were more likely to be informed about ideological reasoning behind foreign policy issues, they were probably more likely to use a noncompensatory strategy of decision-making in voting.¹²⁴ This means that in defining their attitude toward candidates’ proposed solutions for national security issues, Russian-speaking readers might be encouraged by media to pick one criterion which, in their opinion, had only positive evaluations, and make their choice on whom to support using that sole criterion. In contrast, less informed voters would be more likely to rely on the “easier-to-use, retrospective criterion of government performance”¹²⁵ that in Shah and colleagues’ experiment was associated with material issue-framing and compensatory model of decision making when positive evaluations on

¹²³ Basinger and Lavine, *Ambivalence, information, and electoral choice*: 181.

¹²⁴ Shah, Domke, and Wackman, *The effects of value-framing*: 231.

¹²⁵ Basinger and Lavine, *Ambivalence, information, and electoral choice*: 181.

several criteria of the issue can offset the negative ones in determining “which alternative has the greatest overall worth.”¹²⁶ Material issue-framing was less dominant in American newspapers in Russian.

Explaining predominance of ethical arguments over material arguments with Inglehart’s et al. theory of Materialism/Postmaterialism is difficult because coding was conducted in compliance with research by Shah et al. According to Inglehart et al., physical safety is a Materialist value, while building upon Shah and colleagues’ theory, arguments in support of war for the sake of protection against terrorism and arguments against war because of the growing death toll were coded as ethical in this study.

Among the most dominant election issues, morality/values received the biggest proportion of ambiguous statements. This could probably be a result of the presidential candidates’ strategy in addressing the issue. Pomper explains possible options of discussing issues:

(a) The party would specifically accept any policy known to be intensively favored by a majority of voters. (b) The party would specifically accept any policy favored by a minority of voters and not opposed by a substantial minority. (c) Where voter preferences are uncertain or politically unimportant, the party position would tend to be vague. (d) Where opposing positions on the issue are held by two or more minorities of voters, the party position would tend to be vague. (e) In certain cases, despite the foregoing propositions, the party might specifically accept a minority position on the issue. This action would occur if the party were attempting to enlist the support of a “passionate minority” (i.e., a minority for which support on the particular issue was more important than the party’s stands on all other issues).¹²⁷

Morality/values might have fallen into the category of issue areas where voter preferences were uncertain, and candidates were afraid to repeat their precise stances often.

¹²⁶ Shah, Domke, and Wackman, *The effects of value-framing*: 231.

¹²⁷ Pomper, *Elections in America*: 131.

Healthcare was framed in material terms that doesn't fit into the general perception of healthcare as a public safety issue. This could be possibly explained by the fact that Russian American citizens struggle with financial challenges and do not think about healthcare of the entire society but only consider their personal trouble to cover medical bills.

One theoretical value of this research lies in its content analysis methodology that incorporates ethical and material issue-framing theory previously used in experiments tracing the effects this type of framing has. The findings of this paper, limited as they are to a few American newspapers in Russian, could add to the picture of media coverage of the 2004 presidential elections by reflecting agenda-setting in the Russian and Russian-Jewish diaspora media whose audience is gradually acquiring a right to vote and could be considered a growing political minority in future elections. Future research could use the list of election issues and wording of issue stances as a framework for interviews with readers to find out if they share with the newsrooms the same level of interest in election issues and the same values behind election issues.

From the practical standpoint, the results of this study could be used by American politicians to understand the political agenda in the Russian-speaking community not only to appeal to this group of immigrants by framing their political campaign, but also to advocate their interests after elections.

Limitations of this study

For further quantitative studies measuring the nature of arguments in favor or against political stances, researchers should keep in mind that stances on how the economy

should be handled tend to be covered in the language of practicality and material costs. Similarly, morality/values issues by the nature of their discourse tend to be framed ethically. That is why results on framing of these two issues seem predictable, not adding much to the body of research. Issues such as national security/foreign policy, health care, social security, and education seem more prone to be discussed both in terms of the greatest good for the greatest number, or from a strictly practical and financial perspective. The predictable framing typical of arguments on the economy and morality/values might have influenced the overall results the sample provided.

This study's coding scheme could also have influenced the results. A coding scheme based on questionnaires of the decennial World Value Survey conducted by Inglehart et al. dividing values into Materialist and Postmaterialist instead of the division of values into ethical and material as Shah et al. offer, would probably have yielded different results. The current study aimed to employ theories on voting and political science, which is why it used Shah and colleagues' method that could be linked to ideological and economic voting. Inglehart and colleagues' method should be used for developing a code book for a more profound cultural and anthropological analysis.

Coding scheme also failed to distinguish between arguments against and for the way of handling national policy issues; neither did it distinguish between different groups within the election issue. For example, coding only recorded the category of the issue stance and the nature of the argument accompanying it – ethical, material, both of these, ambiguous, or none – without specifying the stance. Instead, election issues could have been broken into groups, such as “the war in Iraq,” “Israel's right for Jerusalem,” “the war on terror,” etc., within the national security/foreign policy election issues. The most

popular stances on those issues (such as “for” and “against”) could be recorded together with the nature of argument.

Another way to achieve the same level of precision could be completing a more profound qualitative analysis for issue stances and arguments. For example, Bicket’s approach to media constructions could be used to analyze news stories and editorials devoted to presidential campaign. In his qualitative study of Scotland’s emerging political identity, Bicket researched persuasion techniques such as newspapers’ core positions, dominant metaphors and representative catchphrases, dominant depictions and exemplars, and display type of stories.¹²⁸

One more limitation of the coding scheme is the lack of means to distinguish between election issues and issue stances mentioned in connection to the events of the day (such as quoting candidates during TV debates, national conventions, tours around the country) and election issues and issue stances brought to the agenda by the newspapers themselves (unattributed issue stances and the ones raised in opinion columns).

Although this study attempts to compare the results to public opinion surveys, additional methods of research should be used to make the results more meaningful and explanatory. For example, a sample of mainstream American newspapers in English could be used for comparison to American newspapers in Russian to see if newspapers in Russian covered the elections differently. This could help to determine whether the diaspora media for Russians provides different information or gives different perspectives by the choice of topics and the nature of arguments.

¹²⁸ Douglas Bicket, “A new song or the same old tune? Press constructions of Scotland’s emerging political identity,” *Journalism and Communication Monographs* 7 (2006, 4): 146-187.

Notwithstanding the possibilities for improvement, the research design of this study incorporates such a classification of values in messages which allows connecting findings to theories on how voting decisions are made.

Suggestions for future research

Replication of this study on the sample of stories devoted to the 2008 presidential election could be useful to identify the nature of the campaign's coverage and to record the nature of framing of its most significant issues. Sources of the issue stance (presidential candidates, opinion writers, other stakeholders, or unattributed issue stances) should be recorded to understand who is setting the agenda and framing issue stances in ethical or material terms. Such a distinction between attributed and unattributed issue stances could allow tracing whether newspapers are merely echoing the political discourse or are setting their own agenda by emphasizing certain issues and issue frames in editorial comments. Analysis of limitations of the current study could be used for improving the coding scheme and placing American newspapers in Russian into the context of the mainstream American press.

Code book

Articles should be chosen for the sample if they are published in the elections beat of the newspaper and/or have elections-related words in the head, subhead, lead and the first paragraph. A news story about George W. Bush is identified as devoted to elections if it refers to President Bush as presidential candidate. Mentioning of names of Democratic candidates also qualifies the story for coding.

For the purpose of this study, each of the two research questions has a separate unit of analysis. When coding for the topic of the article, the unit of analysis is a news story. The unit of analysis for coding policy issues and arguments is an issue. Each issue is coded for two categories: election issue, and nature of arguments supporting stances on the issue.

I. Coding topics of articles

Topic of the article is an aspect of presidential elections to which the article is devoted.

This study distinguishes the following topics for coding:

- 1 – “Election results” – Election results and events of the Election Day, early elections, consequences of elections (what’s after them?);
- 2 – “Organization of the electoral system” – Current issues in the U.S. electoral system such as touch-screen machines for voting); how it works, how votes are counted;
- 3 – “Election predictions” – Predictions on the way states, different groups (the youth, blacks, Catholics, Latinos, American Indians, etc.) will vote. Any types of prediction from opinion polls and ratings and outcomes of past elections to discussing how the height of the candidate influences his success, how masks depicting candidates are sold and what this means for the candidates);
- 4 – “Celebrity support” – What candidate famous people including other politicians will support. Names of those people should appear in the paragraph so that it could be coded as the one devoted to the support of celebrities.
- 5 – “Russia’s favorite candidate” – Whose victory is more preferable for Russia; how election results will affect Russia, if they will.
- 6 – “TV debates” – Presidential candidates TV debates including candidates’ preparations for debates; importance of the candidate’s image and appearance; their strategies to answer questions;
- 7 – “Smear campaign” – Accusations about candidates’ past and present life (pitfalls while serving in the army, unsuccessful marriages); black PR for candidates’ families (Jenna Bush’s behavior; Michael Moore’s Fahrenheit 9/11 if it is clearly stated in the head, subhead or first paragraph that he aims Bush’s failure in elections; Kerry’s wife being rude with a journalist; negative information about people who support candidates (Al Sharpton).

- 8 – “Election issues and issue stances” – Election issues and candidates’ issue stances;
- 9 – “National conventions” – Democratic and Republican National Conventions and nomination of candidates as well as safety measures and protests;
- 10 – “Election funding” - Candidates’ funding; the cost of the presidential election campaign.
- 11 – “Campaign logistics” – Candidates’ trips around the country, news from campaign headquarters;
- 12 – “Historical references” – Any mentions of previous elections and historical references to early days of American democracy;
- 13 – “Candidates’ biographies” – Candidates’ biographies and family ties in neutral articles; their image and appearance, personality.
- 14 – “Miscellaneous” – this category is used when it is hard to say what is the paragraph about. For instance, praise Bush addresses to immigrants from the former USSR for being persistent in reaching American Dream).

Each article is coded as devoted to a topic if at least two paragraphs in it are devoted to this topic. One story can be coded as devoted to several topics, and the same paragraphs can be devoted to different topics (for instance, paragraphs can be devoted to explanation of the electoral college, that is – to the U.S. electoral system, and at the same time to statistics on candidates of which party different states tend to support).

Articles are also coded as devoted to a topic when they have the topic in the headline and in at least one paragraph.

Historical references about previous election campaigns are coded in 12 (“historical references”) category if they mention a year of the elections or names of presidential candidates other than current ones.

“TV debates” and “Election issues and issue stances” are coded as a topic of the story, but instances of mentioning exact policy issues discussed during debates are coded as issues on the second coding sheet.

Issues are coded as topic of the story if at least one issue is named precisely.

II. Coding election issues and issue stances

Issues are the country’s most significant problems solutions for which presidential candidates offer in their campaigns.

This study identifies 12 issues significant for the 2004 presidential campaign and one category for “other issues:”

- 1 – Economy/jobs/taxes;
- 2 – Education;
- 3 – Crime/violence/illegal drugs;
- 4 – Health care;

- 5 – Morality/values;
- 6 – Social security;
- 7 – National security/foreign policy;
- 8 – Death penalty;
- 9 – Gun control;
- 10 – Environment;
- 11 – Immigration;
- 12 – Basic research;
- 13 – Other.

Sometimes issue can be contained in a claim – a statement expressing author’s opinion about how the issue should be handled. For instance, newspapers transmit candidate’s claim about the need to have a stricter gun control. In this case “gun control” should be coded as an issue.

In some cases, issues come in claims or phrases as key words only. For example, the author might summarize stances of candidates as follows: “Kerry and Edwards suggested that they don’t like when a working American has nothing to eat and no means to undergo medical treatment, when he hasn’t got a chance to get pension, and his son or daughter, possibly, won’t come back alive from the war lead by good-for-noting commander-in-chief.”¹²⁹ In cases similar to this, issues raised are identified by key words and phrases “nothing to eat” (economy/jobs/taxes), “medical treatment” (health care), “pension” (social security), “war” (national security/foreign policy).

In some cases, different aspects of the same issue can be raised. For instance, an article might mention relations with Russia and possible war with Iran. Both those aspects of foreign policy should be coded separately as an instance of national security/foreign policy issue. Yet if the phrase “Russian-American relations” are repeated in the same paragraph twice or more, they are not coded for the second time to eliminate the influence of the story’s flow on results of the study.

Yet if the same issue is raised by different candidates, it is coded once for each candidate separately.

When coding issues, we do not differentiate between claims in support or against certain treatment of an issue (for example, we don’t make difference between claims in support of or against raising taxes).

Don’t code just mentions of “domestic/internal policy” (“внутренняя политика”) because this term unites several other issues in our coding protocol, but do code mentions of “foreign policy” (“внешняя политика”) as it’s the only category in the coding sheet.

Key words for coding issues are:

¹²⁹ Yury Aleksandrov, “So, in what we trust? The country is flooded with neurasthenia,” *V Novom Svete*, Nov. 12-18, 2004: 18.

No.	Issue	Key words
1	Economy/jobs/taxes	<p>Economy (экономика); Americans' prosperity (благополучие американцев); jobs (работа, рабочие места), joblessness and cognate words (безработица и однокоренные слова); free trade zone (зона свободной торговли); NASDAQ, Dow Jones, increasing state expenses (увеличение государственных расходов), budgeted deficit (дефицит бюджета), trade agreements (торговые соглашения), energy (энергетика), trade (торговля), labor (труд); pensions and insurance secured by employers (пенсии и страховки выдаваемые компаниями- работодателями); minimal wages (минимальная зарплата), economy's dynamics (динамика), wellbeing (процветание), businesses (бизнесы, предпринимательство), big businesses' activity (деятельность крупных компаний), small businesses support (поддержка мелкого бизнеса), job market (рынок труда), jobs flow-out abroad (отток рабочих мест за границу), Professional training for Americans who want to occupy new jobs (повышение квалификации и профессиональная подготовка для американцев, стремящихся занять создаваемые рабочие места), professional training for the employed (образование для работников), External economic activity (внешнеэкономическая деятельность компаний), entry visa regulations for business trips to the U.S. (визовый режим для деловых поездок в США); Taxes (налоги), Income taxes (налог на доходы) Payroll taxes (налоги, отчисляемые из зарплаты) fiscal policy (фискальная политика), tax stability (налоговая стабильность)</p>
2	Education (schools and colleges)	<p>Higher education (высшее образование), college education,(образование в колледже)</p>

		tuition (плата за обучение), help to pay for school (помощь в оплате образования), No Child Left Behind program (программа для школ «Не оставить ни одного ребенка без внимания»), Funding of education (финансирование системы образования).
3	Crime/violence/illegal drugs	Crime (преступность), Violence (насилие) Illegal drugs (незаконный оборот наркотиков).
4	Health care	Medical insurance when mentioned in no connection to Medicaid or Medicare programs (медицинская страховка); drugs (лекарства); to endure treatment (лечиться); health (здоровье); fighting AIDS when talking about people living in the U.S (борьба со СПИДом у проживающих в США), scientific research and programs of help for patients (научные исследования и программы помощи больным), cost of medicines (цены на лекарства); insurance (страховки).
5	Morality/values	Moral values (моральные ценности); same-sex marriage (однополоые браки); (unlimited) right for abortion ((беспредельное) право на аборт); faith and cognate words (вера и однокоренные слова).
6	Social security	Elderly (старики); pension paid by government (пенсия, которая выплачивается государством); benefits for elderly (льготы пенсионерам), social scheme (социальная программа), medical treatment low-income citizens (медицинское обслуживание небогатых слоев населения), social insurance (социальное страхование), Medicaid (Медикейд) , Medicare (Медикер), Medicare's drug coverage (оплата лекарств по Медикеру), health of children from low-income families (здоровье детей из семей с низкими доходами), budget's expenses of social nature (расходы бюджета социального характера).
7	National security/ foreign policy	Внешняя политика (foreign policy); war (on terror, in Iraq, in Afghanistan) (война (с терроризмом, в Ираке, в Афганистане));

		<p>terror and cognate words (террор и однокоренные слова); Muslim extremism (мусульманский экстремизм), the Patriot Act (Закон о патриотизме), Project BioShield (проект BioShield), Saddam (Саддам), Al Qaeda (Аль-Кайда); country's defense (оборона страны); military and intelligence provisions (ассигнования на военные и разведывательные цели); military solutions for conflicts (военное решение конфликтов); weapons of mass disruption (оружие массового поражения); international alliances (международные альянсы); national/homeland security (национальная безопасность); power accumulation (накопление силы); 'imperial policy' ("имперская политика"); relations with Europe (отношения с Европой); the Old and the New World (Старый и Новый Свет); names of countries (названия других стран); draft (военная повинность); lobby of other countries (лобби других стран); special service (спецслужбы), intelligence forces (разведывательный аппарат), nuclear armaments (программы ядерного вооружения), National Missile Defense (программа Национальной противоракетной обороны), AIDS when talking about help to other countries in fighting it (СПИД, когда речь идет о помощи другим странам в борьбе с ним).</p>
8	Death penalty	Death penalty (смертная казнь)
9	Gun control	Gun control (контроль над продажей огнестрельного оружия).
10	Environment	Alternative fuel (альтернативные виды топлива), preservation of the environment (охрана окружающей среды).
11	Immigration	Visa (виза), visa regulations (визовый режим), Illegal immigrants (нелегальные иммигранты), Terms of receiving citizenship (условия получения/предоставления гражданства), US-VISIT,

12	Basic research	All research results of which cannot be applied immediately (фундаментальные исследования, результаты которых нельзя применять непосредственно); Human cloning (клонирование человека); Stem cell research (исследование стволовых клеток); Space exploration (космические исследования); Technology in general sense not connected to the army or economy (технологии в общем смысле вне связи с армией и экономикой); Nanotechnology (нанотехнологии); Internet research and development (исследования в области интернета).
13	other	Policy issues that don't fit into any of above categories.

III. Coding arguments for ethical/material values

Arguments usually contain reasons supporting a claim about an issue of political campaign. Argument answers questions readers might ask after they learn the stance of the author on the issue: “What makes you think so?” or “Why should I believe that” or “How do you know?”

Comments about the way current government handles these problems as well as candidates’ explanation of their past policy actions (voting in Senate, decisions President George W. Bush made in 2000-2004) are also counted as arguments. The nature of measures that are done or should be done to solve the issue are also coded if they can be identified as ethical/material.

The purpose of this study is to sort human values that back up the arguments. According to the value they contain, arguments are coded into three categories:

- 1 – ethical;
- 2 – material;
- 3 – ambiguous statement (a phrase that follows a clearly identified issue, but uses argumentation that cannot be identified as ethical or material. For instance, “Bush, in case of winning, is more likely to leave Iraq than Kerry. It’s excusable for Bush with his reputation, but they won’t forgive taking to a flight to a Democrat.”¹³⁰). Definition of somebody’s policy as ineffective is also treated as ambiguous because it’s unclear what is meant here: the usage of resources or achievement of a result;
- 4 – no argument supporting the issue stance;
- 5 – both ethical and material argument support the issue stance.

¹³⁰ “Robin Hood Vice Versa. Sergey Rogov: ‘Bush is doing what Republicans used to blame for Democrats,’” *V Novom Svete*, Aug. 6-12, 2004: 2.

There are several kinds of sentences that are treated as arguments and therefore should be coded for ethical or material values they reflect:

Claim is a statement giving the perspective on how one of the issues of political campaign should be handled. It's usually the least acceptable idea in the whole sentence or paragraph because the opponent of presidential candidate from the other party usually has an opposite point of view on the issue.

Evidence expresses an acceptable or obvious idea to prove the claim is true.

Warrant is a bridge between evidence and claim. It's a general conclusion about the relationship between the claim and the evidence.

Backing is examples of events that support the warrant.

Qualifier reveals how confident the author is in the claim and is expressed in statistical terms ("The chance of this happening is 70 percent") or in words such as "probably," "likely," "unlikely," "possibly," etc.

Reservation lists circumstances in which the author might retract the claim and often begin with "unless" and "until."

So, the most complete argument can look like that:

"This (evidence) because of this (warrant) and, specifically, because of this, this and/or this (backing), leads to this degree of confidence (qualifier) in this (claim) unless this (reservation) happens."

At the same time, articles might have sentences that contain only claims, but be still eligible for coding for issues of political campaign and for values that back up the argument. For example, in the claim "War will lead to more deaths," "war" is a word that indicates an issue of campaign – national security/foreign policy, – and "deaths" indicates ethical value that support this anti-war, in its connotative meaning, statement.

Sometimes arguments appear as cited from books and other media. They should be coded, too.

Figures of speech are coded as arguments if they aim to persuade and make the stance of their author clear to readers.

Argument always has to go in pair with the issue. If the issue area of the issue cannot be identified, the argument is not coded.

Argument is coded as being ethical if it is framed in terms of its sense of right and wrong grounded in beliefs about human rights, civil rights, religious morals, or personal principles, if it cares about the greatest not material good for the whole nation or other

nations. Ethical arguments correspond well with Kennedy's statement "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."¹³¹

Key words for that category are:

Democracy (демократия);
Human rights (защита прав человека);
World leadership of the USA (утверждение мирового лидерства США);
Fighting genocide policy against ethnic minorities in independent states (борьба с политикой геноцида против этнических меньшинств в суверенных странах);
Employees' rights (права наемных рабочих);
Preservation of the environment (охрана окружающей среды);
Creation of new jobs (создание новых рабочих мест);
Research and development of new sources of energy (исследование и создание новых энергетических технологий);
Solutions that will make companies use less energy (решения, которые обяжут компании расходовать меньше энергии);
Fighting AIDS (борьба со СПИДом);
Safety (безопасность);
Scientific purposes (for instance, allowing cloning for such a purpose) (научные цели (например, разрешение клонирования для таких целей));
Geopolitical doctrine (геополитическая доктрина);
Against violence (против насилия)
Immoral (аморально);
Unfair (нечестно);
(Community) service (служение) обществу);
Volunteering (бесплатная общественная деятельность);
Serve one's country (служение своей стране);
Fighting for privilege of voting for people in Iraq (борьба за право голосовать для народа Ирака);
Stop expansion of nuclear arms (предотвращение распространения ядерного оружия);
Devotion to freedom (приверженность к свободе);
Religious beliefs (религиозные убеждения);
Priority of right (верховенство права);
Peace (мир);
Protection (защита),
Equality (равенство),

Argument is coded as being material if it understands the issue in terms of tangible concerns grounded in economics, expedience, practicality, and self-interest.

Key words for that category are:

Economic interests (экономические интересы);

¹³¹ Howard and Hoffman, Policy-making rhetoric and youth issues in the 2004 presidential campaign: 1268.

Decrease/rise of cost of services ((снижение/повышение) стоимости услуг);
Affordable (in financial sense) (доступный – в экономическом смысле);
Market economy as an ideal economy (рыночная экономика как идеал экономики);
With commercial purposes (for instance, crossing borders in the Middle
East with commercial purposes¹³²) (для экономических целей (например, пересечение
границ на Ближнем Востоке для коммерческих целей);
Economic growth (экономический рост);

¹³² “Russian-speaking community is an example of American Dream,” interview with President George W. Bush, *New Russian Word*, Oct. 26, 2004: 2-3.

Table 2. Coverage of election issues during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four Russian-language newspapers in the U.S. (X^2 (df=36, N=2,346) = 58.225, $p < .05$).

			Newspaper				
			New Russian Word	V Novom Svete	Rusky Golos	Our Texas	Total
Issue	Economy jobs/taxes	Count	465	20	1	12	498
		% within Issue	93.4%	4.0%	.2%	2.4%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	22.0%	13.3%	2.9%	22.6%	21.2%
	Education	Count	54	2	0	0	56
		% within Issue	96.4%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	2.6%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	2.4%
	Crime/violence/drugs	Count	16	0	0	0	16
		% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%
	Healthcare	Count	109	6	0	0	115
		% within Issue	94.8%	5.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	5.2%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	4.9%
	Morality/values	Count	146	12	1	3	162
		% within Issue	90.1%	7.4%	.6%	1.9%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	6.9%	8.0%	2.9%	5.7%	6.9%
	Social security	Count	76	8	0	0	84
		% within Issue	90.5%	9.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	3.6%	5.3%	.0%	.0%	3.6%
	National security	Count	1070	98	32	37	1237
		% within Issue	86.5%	7.9%	2.6%	3.0%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	50.7%	65.3%	94.1%	69.8%	52.7%

Table 2 continued

Death penalty	Count	4	0	0	0	4
	% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
Gun control	Count	22	1	0	0	23
	% within Issue	95.7%	4.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	1.0%	.7%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Environment	Count	31	0	0	0	31
	% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.3%
Immigration	Count	15	0	0	0	15
	% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.6%
Basic research	Count	33	2	0	0	35
	% within Issue	94.3%	5.7%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	1.6%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
Other	Count	68	1	0	1	70
	% within Issue	97.1%	1.4%	.0%	1.4%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	3.2%	.7%	.0%	1.9%	3.0%
Total	Count	2109	150	34	53	2346
	% within Issue	89.9%	6.4%	1.4%	2.3%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3. Usage of arguments for issue stances during the 2004 presidential election campaign in four Russian-language newspapers in the U.S. (X^2 (df=12, N=2,346) = 36.416, p=.001).

			Newspaper				
			New Russian Word	V Novom Svete	Rusky Golos	Our Texas	Total
Argument	Ethical	Count	691	55	12	25	783
		% within Argument	88.3%	7.0%	1.5%	3.2%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	32.8%	36.7%	35.3%	47.2%	33.4%
	Material	Count	441	35	0	13	489
		% within Argument	90.2%	7.2%	.0%	2.7%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	20.9%	23.3%	.0%	24.5%	20.8%
	Ambiguous	Count	573	44	10	9	636
		% within Argument	90.1%	6.9%	1.6%	1.4%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	27.2%	29.3%	29.4%	17.0%	27.1%
	No argument	Count	365	11	11	3	390
		% within Argument	93.6%	2.8%	2.8%	.8%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	17.3%	7.3%	32.4%	5.7%	16.6%
	Both arguments	Count	39	5	1	3	48
		% within Argument	81.3%	10.4%	2.1%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	1.8%	3.3%	2.9%	5.7%	2.0%
Total		Count	2109	150	34	53	2346
		% within Argument	89.9%	6.4%	1.4%	2.3%	100.0%
		% within Newspaper	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4. Usage of arguments for issue stances during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *New Russian Word* (X^2 (df=48, N=2,109) = 671.079, $p < .001$).

			Argument					
			Ethical	Material	Amb.	No	Both	Total
Election issue	Economy	Count	69	233	82	79	2	465
		Expected Count	152.4	97.2	126.3	80.5	8.6	465.0
		% within Issue	14.8%	50.1%	17.6%	17.0%	.4%	100.0%
		% within Argument	10.0%	52.8%	14.3%	21.6%	5.1%	22.0%
	Education	Count	11	20	6	15	2	54
		Expected Count	17.7	11.3	14.7	9.3	1.0	54.0
		% within Issue	20.4%	37.0%	11.1%	27.8%	3.7%	100.0%
		% within Argument	1.6%	4.5%	1.0%	4.1%	5.1%	2.6%
	Crime	Count	2	2	9	3	0	16
		Expected Count	5.2	3.3	4.3	2.8	.3	16.0
		% within Issue	12.5%	12.5%	56.3%	18.8%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	.3%	.5%	1.6%	.8%	.0%	.8%
	Healthcare	Count	13	47	29	19	1	109
		Expected Count	35.7	22.8	29.6	18.9	2.0	109.0
		% within Issue	11.9%	43.1%	26.6%	17.4%	.9%	100.0%
		% within Argument	1.9%	10.7%	5.1%	5.2%	2.6%	5.2%
	Morality/values	Count	49	1	78	18	0	146
		Expected Count	47.8	30.5	39.7	25.3	2.7	146.0
		% within Issue	33.6%	.7%	53.4%	12.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	7.1%	.2%	13.6%	4.9%	.0%	6.9%
	Social security	Count	8	41	14	10	3	76
		Expected Count	24.9	15.9	20.6	13.2	1.4	76.0
		% within Issue	10.5%	53.9%	18.4%	13.2%	3.9%	100.0%
		% within Argument	1.2%	9.3%	2.4%	2.7%	7.7%	3.6%

Table 4 continued

National security	Count	492	73	289	187	29	1070
	Expected Count	350.6	223.7	290.7	185.2	19.8	1070.0
	% within Issue	46.0%	6.8%	27.0%	17.5%	2.7%	100.0%
	% within Argument	71.2%	16.6%	50.4%	51.2%	74.4%	50.7%
Death penalty	Count	0	0	3	1	0	4
	Expected Count	1.3	.8	1.1	.7	.1	4.0
	% within Issue	.0%	.0%	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	.0%	.0%	.5%	.3%	.0%	.2%
Gun control	Count	9	0	11	2	0	22
	Expected Count	7.2	4.6	6.0	3.8	.4	22.0
	% within Issue	40.9%	.0%	50.0%	9.1%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	1.3%	.0%	1.9%	.5%	.0%	1.0%
Environment	Count	5	7	14	5	0	31
	Expected Count	10.2	6.5	8.4	5.4	.6	31.0
	% within Issue	16.1%	22.6%	45.2%	16.1%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	.7%	1.6%	2.4%	1.4%	.0%	1.5%
Immigration	Count	4	1	3	6	1	15
	Expected Count	4.9	3.1	4.1	2.6	.3	15.0
	% within Issue	26.7%	6.7%	20.0%	40.0%	6.7%	100.0%
	% within Argument	.6%	.2%	.5%	1.6%	2.6%	.7%
Basic research	Count	10	13	5	4	1	33
	Expected Count	10.8	6.9	9.0	5.7	.6	33.0
	% within Issue	30.3%	39.4%	15.2%	12.1%	3.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	1.4%	2.9%	.9%	1.1%	2.6%	1.6%
Other	Count	19	3	30	16	0	68
	Expected Count	22.3	14.2	18.5	11.8	1.3	68.0
	% within Issue	27.9%	4.4%	44.1%	23.5%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	2.7%	.7%	5.2%	4.4%	.0%	3.2%

Table 4 continued

Total	Count	691	441	573	365	39	2109
	Expected Count	691.0	441.0	573.0	365.0	39.0	2109.0
	% within Issue	32.8%	20.9%	27.2%	17.3%	1.8%	100.0%
	% within Argument	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. Usage of arguments for issue stances during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *V Novom Svete* (X^2 (df=32, N=150) = 93.865, $p < .001$).

			Argument					
			Ethical	Material	Amb.	No	Both	Total
Election issue	Economy	Count	1	15	3	1	0	20
		Expected Count	7.3	4.7	5.9	1.5	.7	20.0
		% within Issue	5.0%	75.0%	15.0%	5.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	1.8%	42.9%	6.8%	9.1%	.0%	13.3%
	Education	Count	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Expected Count	.7	.5	.6	.1	.1	2.0
		% within Issue	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	.0%	5.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.3%
	Health care	Count	0	5	1	0	0	6
		Expected Count	2.2	1.4	1.8	.4	.2	6.0
		% within Issue	.0%	83.3%	16.7%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	.0%	14.3%	2.3%	.0%	.0%	4.0%
	Morality/values	Count	2	0	9	1	0	12
		Expected Count	4.4	2.8	3.5	.9	.4	12.0
		% within Issue	16.7%	.0%	75.0%	8.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	3.6%	.0%	20.5%	9.1%	.0%	8.0%
	Social security	Count	0	5	3	0	0	8
		Expected Count	2.9	1.9	2.3	.6	.3	8.0
		% within Issue	.0%	62.5%	37.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	.0%	14.3%	6.8%	.0%	.0%	5.3%
	National security	Count	50	8	26	9	5	98
		Expected Count	35.9	22.9	28.7	7.2	3.3	98.0
		% within Issue	51.0%	8.2%	26.5%	9.2%	5.1%	100.0%
		% within Argument	90.9%	22.9%	59.1%	81.8%	100.0%	65.3%

Table 5 continued

Gun control	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.4	.2	.3	.1	.0	1.0
	% within Issue	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	.0%	.0%	2.3%	.0%	.0%	.7%
Basic research	Count	1	0	1	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.7	.5	.6	.1	.1	2.0
	% within Issue	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	1.8%	.0%	2.3%	.0%	.0%	1.3%
Other	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.4	.2	.3	.1	.0	1.0
	% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Argument	1.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%
Total	Count	55	35	44	11	5	150
	Expected Count	55.0	35.0	44.0	11.0	5.0	150.0
	% within Issue	36.7%	23.3%	29.3%	7.3%	3.3%	100.0%
	% within Argument	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. Usage of arguments for issue stances during the 2004 presidential election campaign in *Our Texas* (X^2 (df=12, N=53) = 36.621, p=.002).

			Argument					
			Ethical	Material	Amb.	No	Both	Total
Issue Area	Economy	Count	2	10	0	0	0	12
		Expected Count	5.7	2.9	2.0	.7	.7	12.0
		% within Issue	16.7%	83.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	8.0%	76.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	22.6%
	Morality/ values	Count	3	0	0	0	0	3
		Expected Count	1.4	.7	.5	.2	.2	3.0
		% within Issue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	12.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.7%
	National security	Count	20	3	8	3	3	37
		Expected Count	17.5	9.1	6.3	2.1	2.1	37.0
		% within Issue	54.1%	8.1%	21.6%	8.1%	8.1%	100.0%
		% within Argument	80.0%	23.1%	88.9%	100.0%	100.0%	69.8%
	Other	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.5	.2	.2	.1	.1	1.0
		% within Issue	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Argument	.0%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	1.9%
Total	Count	25	13	9	3	3	53	
		Expected Count	25.0	13.0	9.0	3.0	3.0	53.0
		% within Issue	47.2%	24.5%	17.0%	5.7%	5.7%	100.0%
		% within Argument	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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