

# MEDIA COVERAGE OF HEALTH CARE REFORM A FINAL REPORT

## A CONTENT ANALYSIS

The Kaiser Health Care Media Monitoring Report: A Joint Project for the Kaiser Family Foundation, Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press, and *Columbia Journalism Review*

Research and analysis by the Times Mirror Center in association with the Kaiser Family Foundation and *Columbia Journalism Review*

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### HEALTH CARE REFORM: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRESS COVERAGE

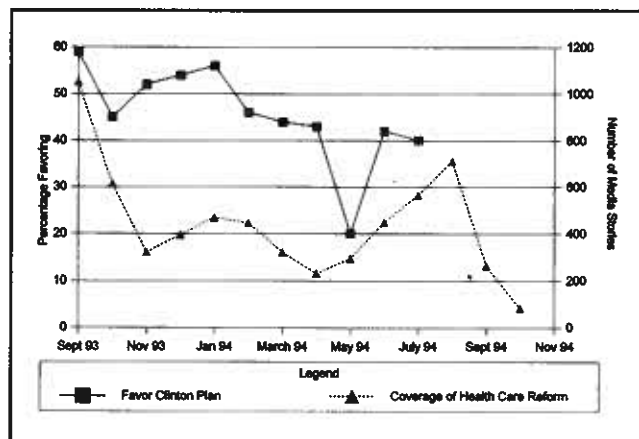
Health Care Reform was resurrected briefly as a major story in the American print and broadcast media from July through August 1994, as Congressional consideration of the issue came to a head. The amount of coverage rivalled the record levels of space and time devoted to the subject a year earlier when President Clinton unveiled his reform proposal. But coverage plummeted as reform began its death throes in September after Congress recessed without voting on the issue and Democrats admitted health care was dead for the session at least. The issue was virtually invisible in the mid-term election campaign, both on the political stumps and in the media.

During the third and final period of the Times Mirror content analysis of media coverage of the health care issue — five and a half months from July through mid-November 1994 — the stories increasingly followed trends that were identified from the outset of this work a year earlier. Most striking was that the politics of reform dominated in the coverage, while stories about the potential impact of reform on individuals and their families got ever-decreasing attention. Coverage also was concentrated increasingly on Congress rather than the White House, and on individual Congressmen rather than the President or Hillary Rodham Clinton, as alternative reform measures were introduced, debated, and ultimately discarded.

Public support for health care reform fell off gradually but steadily from its high water mark of 59% in favor (33% opposed) after the Clinton plan was presented. It dropped to 40% in favor (56% opposed) in mid-1994, despite the dramatic rise in coverage at the time of the Congressional debate. Gallup polls show that majority support turned to majority opposition between January and February 1994, following Clinton's State of the Union address. There was little correlation between the amount of coverage of the reform issue and support for the Clinton plan — coverage rose sharply as support eroded noticeably — reflecting the fact that most of the

coverage dealt with alternative proposals that implicitly rejected the Clinton formula.

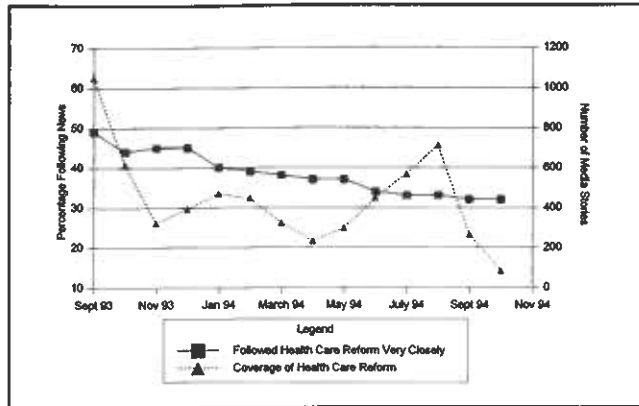
HEALTH CARE REFORM: FAVORABILITY VS. COVERAGE



### PUBLIC REMAINS ATTENTIVE

But while support decreased over the year by about one-third, that level was nonetheless substantial. Moreover, close attention continued to be given to news about the issue by the public. This attentiveness decreases in parallel with support for the Clinton plan but was seemingly unrelated to the amount of media coverage to the issue. Some 32% of the public said it was following news reports about reform "very closely" in September and October when coverage had taken a dive into its post-mortem stage. The issue thus appeared to remain alive into the campaign season even if it was not politically viable in the strategy of Democratic candidates. Despite the threats and promises a year earlier by voters to punish or reward their Congressional candidates according to their position on the issue, less than 1% of more than 2,000 stories analyzed in the almost half year leading up to the election linked any politician's electoral prospects to the outcome of the health care reform debate.

## HEALTH CARE REFORM: FOLLOWED CLOSELY VS. COVERAGE



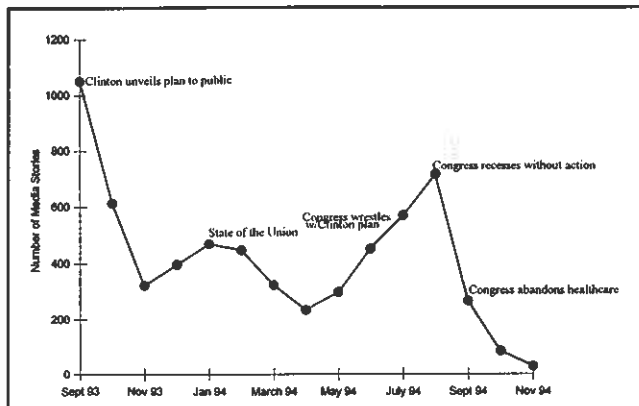
At the same time, however, the public's knowledge about key aspects of the reform package, such as whether it promised health care for all Americans, was decreasing over the course of the entire study period as coverage decreased and public dissatisfaction with that coverage rose. In an August 1994 Harris poll, only 32% of the public rated the media as excellent or good (5% said excellent) on health care coverage, down markedly from a year earlier when 44% said the coverage was excellent or good (7% said excellent) in a September 1993 PSRA/Harvard poll.

For the American press, health care reform was a challenging story with both social and political dimensions. It chose to concentrate on the political aspects, which was understandable but also the easier road to travel. The proposal had to become law before it would have any effect, so political infighting, counter proposals, and lobbying activities were necessarily important aspects of the issue. But stories that highlight conflict also attract wider audiences than those which seek to explain the intricacies of financing and providing health care to Americans (who, except for South Africans, are the only citizens of a western Democracy without universal coverage). Judging by the public's response, however, the media flunked the job.

## RANGE OF STUDY

This report both summarizes the third and final phase of the content analysis study of media coverage and provides a summation of the entire effort which was conducted by the Times Mirror Center, under the sponsorship of the Kaiser Family Foundation in conjunction with the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Previous reports covered September through November, 1993 (Period I), and January 15 through May 31, 1994 (Period II). The last period extended five and a half months, from June 1 through November 13, 1994 (Period III).

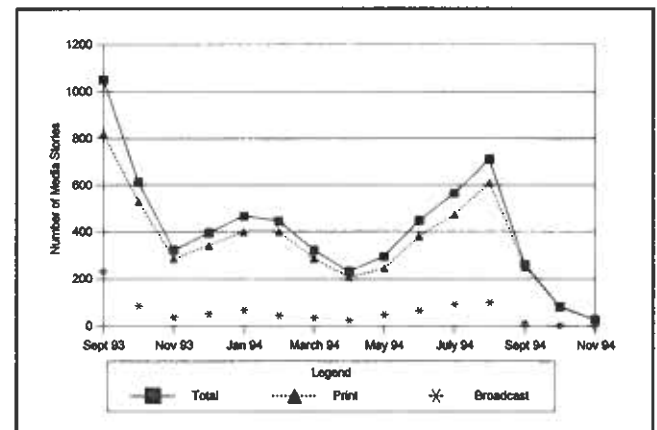
## MEDIA COVERAGE AT KEY TIMES



Data was compiled by reviewing and coding stories that appeared in national and regional newspapers and national news broadcasts. During the first period, 1,987 stories were coded; during the second period, 1,529 stories; and during the final period, 2,084 stories. In addition to the total number of stories published and broadcast during the period, the stories were categorized according to straight news, backgrounders, interviews, editorials, and commentary or "op-ed" pieces. Excluded were broadcast panel discussions and print letters-to-the-editor.

In the final period, stories on health care reform were plentiful initially, averaging about 500 a month in June and July and topping 700 in August. Coverage plunged by more than half in September, by another two-thirds in October, and averaged merely one a day for the first half of November. The print media stayed with the health care story much longer than television. In September, out of 263 total print and broadcast pieces on the issue, television provided less than 5% (12 pieces); in October, only 3 of 83 total pieces were on broadcast media; and in the first half of November, when total coverage on health care dropped to merely one-a-day, broadcast coverage disappeared; no stories on the issue were broadcast.

## HEALTH CARE REFORM COVERAGE: TOTAL VS. PRINT VS. BROADCAST



## THE CLINTONS AND THEIR PLAN

Not surprisingly, the focus was on Capitol Hill during the final period of analysis. Health care news was being made at least three times more often by Congressional figures than Administration officials. President Clinton remained the top individual news maker over the course of the entire period studied, but specific members of Congress challenged and sometimes surpassed him at various points, particularly at the height of Congressional activity on the issue. Among these were two Democrats, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan of New York and Sen. George Mitchell of Maine, and Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kansas), the minority leader.

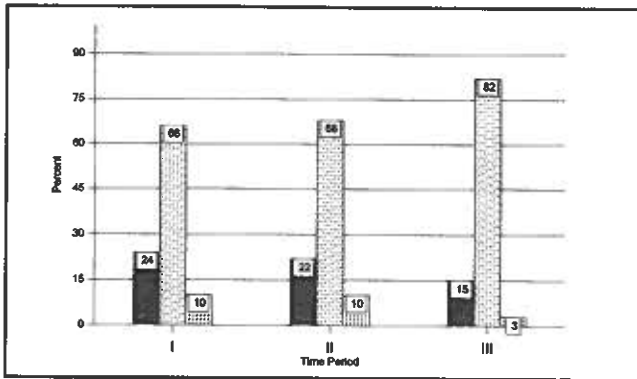
Hillary Rodham Clinton's coverage remained virtually unchanged throughout the second and third periods, although it was half of the attention she enjoyed in the initial (Fall 1993) period when she was most actively campaigning for the reform proposal. She was, however, featured prominently in the obituaries and post-mortems on the Clinton plan, at times eclipsing all other newsmakers — her husband and the various senators — combined.

Along with the decline in stories of reform featuring the Clintons, the coverage became less favorable toward them in the final period studied. Only 3% of the stories about the President had a positive spin, down from 10% in each of the previous periods. Mrs. Clinton's favorable coverage dropped even more precipitously: from 31%

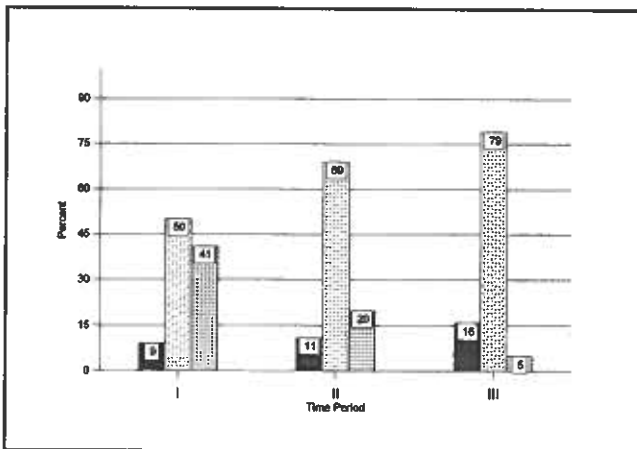
positive in the first period, through 17% in the second period (early 1994), to only 4% in the last period. Negative coverage of President Clinton also dropped over the course of the study, from 22% in both of the earlier periods to 18% at the end. But Hillary Clinton's negative coverage increased by about half, to 13% of stories with negative spin in the final period. Overall, however, the stories about both Clinton's were remarkably balanced — a story was judged in balance or neutral when fewer than twice the comments, quotes, citations, or innuendoes were negative vs. positive or vice versa — over the course of the study: over 60% in the first period, rising through the second period to more than 80% in the final period.

**BALANCE IN COVERAGE — PRINT**

**PRESIDENT CLINTON**

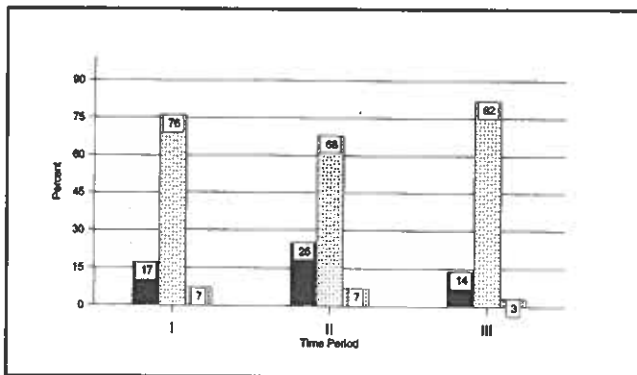


**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**

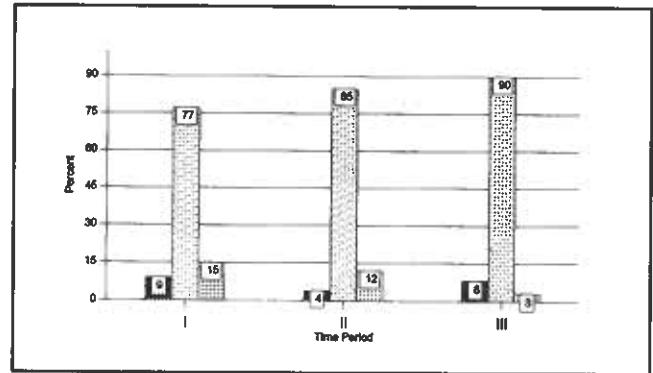


**BALANCE IN COVERAGE — BROADCAST**

**PRESIDENT CLINTON**



**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**



Somewhat less balance was found in stories in the third period about prospects for passage of some kind of health care reform plan. Nonetheless, it was considerable, with 65% of pieces judged neutral. By this time, the media had largely given up on the Clinton plan for reform, and more than half of the stories about prospects for reform legislation dealt with alternatives to his proposal. The domination of the health care story by politics was most apparent in this period: fully 62% of all pieces in all the media gave odds for or against enactment of some reform law. More than half of them handicapped alternative plans, of which 37% were neutral, 11% pessimistic, and 7% optimistic. Relatively little attention had been given to alternative plans in the earlier two periods under study, with almost all the focus on Clinton's proposal. In late 1993, 66% of all stories were neutral about prospects for Clinton's plan, with 16% pessimistic and 9% optimistic. In the second period, in early 1994, neutrality dropped to 47%, pessimism rose to 21% and optimism slid to 6%. In the final period, only one in three stories (32%) assessed prospects for the Clinton plan; with 20% neutral, 10% pessimistic about passage, and 2% optimistic.

**DIFFERENCES IN THE MEDIA**

For all media, the monthly averages of total number of stories were highest in Period I, dipped substantially in Period II, and rebounded in Period III before the final decline. Television news never accounted for more than 16% of the total coverage, but was usually above 10% until the last three months of the study when the issue largely disappeared. National papers ran about twice as many stories on the issues as the regional papers studied. Of the national papers, most stories were carried by *The Washington Post* (804) and *The New York Times* (743), followed by *USA Today* (575), the *Los Angeles Times* (552), and *The Wall Street Journal* (444). Less differences appeared in the television news, which was led by CNN (169 pieces) and ABC (166), then CBS (149), NBC (138), and MacNeil/Lehrer (126). The newsweeklies, finally, did not return to the story significantly in the final period of study; and while initially each had cover-related major stories about health care reform, they dealt with the death of the reform effort only in passing. *Time*, in particular, ran a 75-word obituary in its "Chronicle" section, which was well below the 100-word minimum for inclusion in this study. Among other differences found by the study was that broadcast news became more political in time, compared to the print medium. In the initial period, about three in ten stories in both media dealt with the impact on politics of the health care issue, but in the second and third periods under review, politics weighed much more heavily in broadcast than in print pieces: 78% and 85% for broadcast in the respective periods, compared to 59% and 70% for print. Broadcast also tended, over time, to feature a newsmaker to tell the story more than print, particularly in the final period of the study. Almost two-thirds (63%) of broadcast pieces in Period III focused on news made by Congress, compared to less than half (48%) of print stories.

## METHODOLOGY

The following 17 news outlets were monitored for the period of June 1, 1994 through November 13, 1994.

National newspapers were selected on the basis of circulation, distribution, size of Washington D.C. bureau, and audience. Geographic distribution and diversity of parent corporation were factors in regional selections.

Broadcast news was taped in Washington, D.C., according to published television timetables. Thus, this study was subject to preemption by local affiliates, a common occurrence on weekends devoted to college and professional sports.

**NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS** The *Los Angeles Times* (daily), *The New York Times* (daily), *The Wall Street Journal* (M-F), *The Washington Post* (daily), *USA Today* (M-F)

**REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS** *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Des Moines Register*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Seattle Times* (all dailies)

**NEWSWEEKLIES** (beginning with issues dated after May 31, 1994) *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*

**BROADCAST NEWS** ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News, CNN Evening Prime, NBC Nightly News (all daily broadcasts), PBS MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour (M-F broadcast)

## SCREENING AND INCLUSION

All newspapers, magazines, and broadcasts were reviewed in their entirety. If one-third, or more, of a news story was related to health care reform, it was included in this study, with some exceptions:

- 1) For print, only articles of 100 words or longer were studied;
- 2) For broadcast, all references were coded, but anchor lead-ins of less than 35 seconds were considered part of the upcoming report unless it was clear that the lead-in was intended to stand alone;
- 3) For broadcast, only the *produced* pieces, reported by a correspondent, were included; discussions among experts and/or partisans, moderated by an anchor or correspondent, were not.

The one-third rule for inclusion is accepted practice in content analysis. The exceptions noted insure that those stories that are too brief to be meaningful, or are not truly the product of a news organization, are not part of the final analysis.

## INTERCODER RELIABILITY

Intercoder reliability measures the extent to which coders, operating autonomously, code or classify the same story the same way. Intercoder reliability tests were performed throughout this study, and no significant differences were found to exist on a recurring basis.

## COMPARATIVE RESULTS

### HEALTH CARE REFORM NEWS CONTENT ANALYSIS

- I. September 1-November 30, 1993 N=1,987 News Stories  
 II. January 15-May 31, 1994 N=1,529 News Stories  
 III. June 1-November 13, 1994 N=2,084 News Stories

**1. NEWS SOURCE** Designates the newspaper, magazine, or broadcast in which the story appeared. *El Diario* and *Amsterdam News* were part of the analysis for Period I only. Figures represent the total number of stories for each entry.

## PRINT

| NATIONAL                       | I   | II  | III |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>Los Angeles Times</i>       | 233 | 134 | 185 |
| <i>The New York Times</i>      | 228 | 163 | 352 |
| <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> | 163 | 147 | 134 |
| <i>The Washington Post</i>     | 270 | 258 | 276 |
| <i>USA Today</i>               | 194 | 170 | 211 |

| REGIONAL                            | I   | II  | III |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>The Dallas Morning News</i>      | 124 | 122 | 179 |
| <i>The Des Moines Register</i>      | 120 | 109 | 142 |
| <i>The Miami Herald</i>             | 124 | 106 | 148 |
| <i>The Seattle Times</i>            | 107 | 81  | 125 |
| <i>El Diario</i>                    | 14  | —   | —   |
| <i>Amsterdam News</i>               | —   | —   | —   |
| NEWSWEEKLIES                        | I   | II  | III |
| <i>Newsweek</i>                     | 26  | 16  | 25  |
| <i>Time</i>                         | 15  | 10  | 18  |
| <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> | 16  | 23  | 18  |

**BROADCAST** For Period I only, one morning show was monitored per week on a rotating basis.

| EVENING NEWS             | I  | II | III |
|--------------------------|----|----|-----|
| ABC World News Tonight   | 51 | 39 | 76  |
| CBS Evening News         | 74 | 37 | 38  |
| CNN Prime News           | 70 | 46 | 53  |
| NBC Nightly News         | 60 | 32 | 46  |
| PBS MacNeil/Lehrer       | 34 | 34 | 58  |
| MORNING SHOWS            | I  | II | III |
| ABC Good Morning America | 36 | —  | —   |
| CBS Morning Show         | 22 | —  | —   |
| NBC Today Show           | —  | —  | —   |
| NPR Morning Edition      | 6  | —  | —   |

**2. DATE** Designates the month and year of publication or broadcast. Figures represent the total number of stories for each entry.

|                         | I    | II  | III |
|-------------------------|------|-----|-----|
| I. September 1993       | 1051 | 820 | 231 |
| October 1993            | 614  | 529 | 85  |
| November 1993           | 322  | 285 | 37  |
| II. January 15-31, 1994 | 234  | 200 | 34  |
| February 1994           | 446  | 401 | 45  |
| March 1994              | 322  | 287 | 35  |
| April 1994              | 232  | 207 | 25  |
| May 1994                | 295  | 246 | 49  |
| III. June 1994          | 448  | 382 | 66  |
| July 1994               | 565  | 475 | 90  |
| August 1994             | 711  | 611 | 100 |
| September 1994          | 263  | 251 | 12  |
| October 1994            | 83   | 80  | 3   |
| November 1-13, 1994     | 14   | 14  | —   |

**3. POSITION** Designates the placement of the story within the publication or newscast. Figures are percentages.

| NEWSPAPERS  | I    | II   | III  |
|---|------|------|------|
| Page One Story                                    | 16   | 11   | 16   |
| National/International Section                    | 46   | 53   | 52   |
| Editorial Pages/Section                           | 18   | 23   | 21   |
| Business Section                                  | 10   | 5    | 2    |
| Metro/Local/Regional Section                      | 4    | 5    | 3    |
| Style/Life Section                                | 1    | 1    | *    |
| Special Section (Magazine, Science, Health, etc.) | 5    | 2    | 6    |
| Other   | *    | *    | *    |
|   | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| MAGAZINES   | I    | II   | III  |
| Cover Associated Story                            | 40   | —    | —    |
| Outside line                                      | 14   | 8    | 7    |
| No cover appearance                               | 46   | 92   | 93   |
|   | 100% | 100% | 100% |

| BROADCASTS        | I    | II   | III  |
|-------------------|------|------|------|
| First story       | 11   | 10   | 11   |
| Second story      | 10   | 11   | 15   |
| Third story       | 10   | 13   | 8    |
| Fourth story      | 10   | 14   | 13   |
| Story 5 to 9      | 28   | 38   | 39   |
| Story 10 to 14    | 17   | 13   | 13   |
| Story 15 to 19    | 7    | 1    | 1    |
| Story 20 to 24    | 3    | *    | *    |
| Story 25 to 29    | 2    | *    | *    |
| Story 30 or later | 2    | *    | *    |
|                   | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**4. STORY LENGTH** Designates story length as measured by number of words or by number of minutes or seconds in each story. Figures are percentages.

| NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES | I    | II   | III  |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|
| Less than 300            | 9    | 14   | 10   |
| 300-499                  | 18   | 22   | 19   |
| 500-999                  | 45   | 42   | 43   |
| 1,000-1,499              | 20   | 17   | 20   |
| 1,500-2,499              | 7    | 5    | 7    |
| 2,500 or more            | 1    | *    | 1    |
|                          | 100% | 100% | 100% |

| BROADCASTS           | I    | II   | III  |
|----------------------|------|------|------|
| Less than 30 seconds | 6    | 2    | —    |
| :30-:59              | 5    | 11   | 6    |
| 1:00-1:29            | 9    | 11   | 11   |
| 1:30-1:59            | 9    | 21   | 10   |
| 2:00-2:29            | 36   | 34   | 43   |
| 2:30-2:59            | 10   | 7    | 7    |
| 3:00-3:59            | 10   | 6    | 10   |
| 4:00-4:59            | 5    | 2    | 5    |
| 5:00 and over        | 10   | 6    | 8    |
|                      | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**5. WIRE SERVICE** Designates whether the story was filed by a staff reporter, drawn from wire services, or was a Commentary/Op-ed piece written by a non-staff/guest columnist or a story without a byline. Figures are percentages.

| NEWSPAPERS ONLY             | I    | II   | III  |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|
| Staff Writer                | 70   | 67   | 68   |
| Associated Press            | 5    | 6    | 5    |
| Chicago Tribune Service     | *    | *    | *    |
| Gannett                     | *    | *    | *    |
| Knight-Ridder               | 2    | 1    | 1    |
| L.A. Times Wire Service     | 1    | 2    | 3    |
| N.Y. Times Wire Service     | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Reuters                     | *    | *    | *    |
| Washington Post Service     | 2    | 2    | 2    |
| Commentary/Op-ed: Non-staff | 13   | 17   | 14   |
| Other wire service          | 3    | 3    | 3    |
| Don't know/can't tell       | 3    | 1    | 1    |
|                             | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**6. DATELINE** Designates location from which story was filed. Figures are percentages. T=total, P=print, and B=broadcast.

|                          | I    | II   | III            |
|--------------------------|------|------|----------------|
|                          | T    | T    | T P B          |
| Washington, D.C.         | 66   | 68   | 74 72 85       |
| New York City            | 8    | 6    | 6 7 1          |
| Other U.S./International | 21   | 25   | 20 21 14       |
| Unknown                  | 5    | 1    | * * *          |
|                          | 100% | 100% | 100% 100% 100% |

**7. STORY TYPE** Figures are percentages. Categorizes the story as:

|                       | I    | II   | III            |
|-----------------------|------|------|----------------|
|                       | T    | T    | T P B          |
| Lengthy interview     | 3    | *    | * * *          |
| News                  | 27   | 43   | 39 36 61       |
| Backgrounder          | 50   | 34   | 34 34 39       |
| Commentary/Op-ed      | 12   | 14   | 14 16 *        |
| Editorial             | 4    | 7    | 8 9 *          |
| Informational Sidebar | 4    | 2    | 5 5 *          |
|                       | 100% | 100% | 100% 100% 100% |

**8. USE OF GRAPHICS** (print only) Identifies the use of graphics within each story. Figures are percentages.

|                   | I    | II   | III  |
|-------------------|------|------|------|
| Graphics used     | 14   | 7    | 9    |
| Graphics not used | 86   | 93   | 91   |
|                   | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**9. LEVEL OF IMPACT — FOCUS OF STORY** Identifies the manner in which the story examines the impact of health care reform. Figures are percentages.

|                            | I    | II   | III            |
|----------------------------|------|------|----------------|
| IMPACT ON:                 | T    | T    | T P B          |
| Individuals and families   | 17   | 8    | 4 4 3          |
| Health care profession     | 6    | 2    | 1 1 1          |
| Overall health care system | 21   | 16   | 17 19 6        |
| Politics                   | 31   | 62   | 72 70 85       |
| The economy                | 12   | 8    | 4 4 4          |
| The nation (non-political) | 13   | 4    | 2 2 1          |
|                            | 100% | 100% | 100% 100% 100% |

**10. RECURRING STORY LEADS** Designates the specific story lead or "big story," measuring ad hoc issues and events of major proportion. Figures are percentages.

| I. SEPTEMBER 1-NOVEMBER 30, 1993            | T    | P    | B    |
|---|------|------|------|
| Discussion/Analysis of actual Clinton Plan  | 23   | 26   | 9    |
| Pre-release analysis of Clinton Plan        | 11   | 11   | 13   |
| Presenting the Clinton Plan/Public Outreach | 10   | 10   | 12   |
| Clinton speech to Congress/Nation           | 6    | 5    | 10   |
| Hillary testifies before Congress           | 4    | 3    | 7    |
| Clinton bill sent to Congress               | 3    | 2    | 5    |
| Leak of Clinton's reform plan               | 2    | 2    | 4    |
| Plans other than Clinton's                  | 2    | 2    | 2    |
| Clintons attack insurance industry ads      | 2    | 1    | 3    |
| Republicans propose alternative plan        | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Republican response to plan/Speech          | 1    | 1    | 1    |
| Delay in Clinton's delivery to Congress     | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Complexity of reform issue                  | 1    | 1    | —    |
| Abortion and reform package                 | 1    | 1    | *    |
| State/Local reforms to-date                 | *    | *    | *    |
| Other                                       | *    | *    | *    |
| Not a big story                             | 32   | 33   | 30   |
|   | 100% | 100% | 100% |

| II. JANUARY 15-MAY 31, 1994                       | T    | P    | B    |
|---|------|------|------|
| Presenting the Clinton Plan/Public Outreach       | 17   | 15   | 27   |
| Discussion/Analysis of Clinton Plan               | 10   | 11   | 4    |
| Clinton's State of the Union Address              | 5    | 5    | 8    |
| House/Senate Committee Action/Votes               | 5    | 5    | 1    |
| Alternatives to Clinton Plan                      | 4    | 4    | 3    |
| State/Local Reforms to-date                       | 3    | 3    | 1    |
| Hill Hearings RE: Health Care Reform              | 3    | 3    | 6    |
| Business Groups Anti-Clinton Plan                 | 3    | 3    | 5    |
| Cooper Plan in Spotlight                          | 3    | 3    | 2    |
| Harry & Louise Saga Continues                     | 3    | 2    | 5    |
| Republican Response to State of the Union Speech  | 2    | 2    | 1    |
| Kennedy Senate Initiatives Re: Health Care Reform | 2    | 2    | 1    |
| Rostenkowski's Rush to Enact Reform               | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Complexity of Reform Issue                        | 1    | 1    | —    |
| Abortion and Health Care Reform                   | *    | *    | —    |
| George Mitchell's Senate Initiatives Re: Reform   | *    | *    | —    |
| Other   | 2    | 3    | 9    |
| Not a Big Story                                   | 36   | 38   | 27   |
|   | 100% | 100% | 100% |

| III. JUNE 1-NOVEMBER 13, 1994                            | T    | P    | B    |
|--|------|------|------|
| House/Senate Floor Action                                | 7    | 6    | 14   |
| Presenting the Clinton Plan/Public Outreach              | 6    | 5    | 11   |
| Congressional Committee Action                           | 6    | 5    | 7    |
| Health Care Reform - Dead or Alive?                      | 5    | 4    | 7    |
| State/Local Reforms to-date                              | 4    | 5    | 2    |
| Bipartisan Congressional Coalition                       | 4    | 4    | 4    |
| George Mitchell Senate Initiatives re:Health Care Reform | 4    | 3    | 7    |
| Post-Mortems on Health Care Reform                       | 3    | 3    | 1    |
| Clinton backtracks re: Universal Coverage                | 3    | 2    | 4    |
| Health Care Reform & Special Interest Advertising        | 2    | 2    | 3    |
| Proposed options/alternative plans                       | 2    | 2    | 2    |
| Congressional August recess over                         |      |      |      |
| — Health Care Reform Debate returns                      | 2    | 2    | 1    |
| House Democrats/Gephardt Last-Ditch Bill                 | 2    | 2    | 1    |
| 1995 — What Happens to HCR?                              | 2    | 2    | —    |
| Democrats Say: Let's Start Over in '95                   | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Moynihan — Saviour of Health Care Reform                 | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Catholics/Abortion/Health Care Reform                    | 1    | 1    | 1    |
| August Delay in Congressional Vote                       | 1    | 1    | —    |
| Discussion/Analysis of Actual Clinton Plan               | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Congressional Floor Action                               | 1    | 1    | 2    |
| Other  | 5    | 8    | 8    |
| Not a Big Story  | 37   | 39   | 19   |
|  | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**11. PRINCIPAL NEWS SUBJECT** Identifies the principal news subject in each story. Figures are percentages.

| GENERAL CATEGORIES              | I    |      | II   |      | III  |  |  |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|
|                                 | T    | T    | T    | P    | B    |  |  |
| Cost of Proposal                | 3    | 5    | 1    | 1    | 1    |  |  |
| Government's role               | 6    | 6    | 2    | 2    | 2    |  |  |
| Who's covered                   | 7    | 6    | 8    | 8    | 11   |  |  |
| What's covered                  | 8    | 5    | 5    | 5    | 4    |  |  |
| Who pays                        | 11   | 8    | 7    | 8    | 5    |  |  |
| Reform: approaches and features | 16   | 13   | 12   | 12   | 10   |  |  |
| Impact on quality               | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | —    |  |  |
| Restrictions on choice          | 1    | 1    | *    | *    | *    |  |  |
| Portability                     | *    | *    | *    | *    | —    |  |  |
| Primary practice emphasis       | 3    | 1    | 2    | 2    | 1    |  |  |
| Economic factors                | 6    | 4    | 2    | 2    | 1    |  |  |
| Impact on existing programs     | 3    | 1    | 1    | 1    | —    |  |  |
| Politics of health care reform  | 28   | 46   | 57   | 56   | 65   |  |  |
| Other/Miscellaneous             | 7    | 3    | 2    | 2    | *    |  |  |
|                                 | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |  |  |

**SPECIFIC TOPICS** Figures represent the total number of stories for each entry.

| COST OF PROPOSAL                        | I  |    | II  |     | III |  |  |
|---|----|----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|
|   | T  | T  | T   | P   | B   |  |  |
| Overall price tag                       | 13 | 7  | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| Impact on federal budget deficit        | 7  | 24 | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Cost of proposal/Other                  | 41 | 39 | 21  | 18  | 3   |  |  |
| GOVERNMENT ROLE                         | I  |    | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Price controls on fees/rates/etc.       | 18 | 17 | 6   | 6   | —   |  |  |
| Set spending caps                       | 12 | 3  | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Established uniform benefits            | 3  | 1  | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Set uniform standards for plans         | 1  | 2  | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Certification of health plans           | 3  | 2  | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Compiles individual citizen records     | —  | 2  | 1   | —   | 1   |  |  |
| Other                                   | 90 | 60 | 40  | 6   | 4   |  |  |
| WHO'S COVERED                           | I  |    | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Timetable for coverage to take effect   | 8  | 1  | 6   | 5   | 1   |  |  |
| Percent of population covered           | 1  | 8  | 20  | 14  | 6   |  |  |
| Coverage of rural populations           | 4  | 6  | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Coverage of current uninsured           | 24 | 9  | 11  | 10  | 1   |  |  |
| Coverage of disabled                    | 1  | 6  | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Opt-outs                                | —  | 1  | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Coverage/Other                          | 89 | 68 | 128 | 106 | 22  |  |  |
| WHAT'S COVERED                          | I  |    | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Coverage of "ordinary & necessary" care | 13 | 2  | 9   | 7   | 2   |  |  |
| Coverage of long-term care              | 15 | 5  | 7   | 7   | —   |  |  |
| Coverage of mental health services      | 11 | 8  | 5   | 5   | —   |  |  |
| Coverage of abortion                    | 30 | 16 | 36  | 31  | 5   |  |  |
| Benefits for current uninsured          | 12 | 2  | 4   | 4   | —   |  |  |
| Comprehensiveness/Other                 | 75 | 38 | 41  | 38  | 3   |  |  |

| WHO PAYS                               | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|
|  | T   | T   | T   | P   | B   |  |  |
| Federal income tax                     | 3   | 6   | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Cigarette/Liquor tax                   | 42  | 11  | 19  | 17  | 2   |  |  |
| Tax insurance benefits                 | 1   | 2   | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| Value-added tax                        | —   | 2   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Tax on hospital windfalls              | —   | 1   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Employer mandates                      | 16  | 55  | 76  | 65  | 11  |  |  |
| "Fairness" of financing                | 7   | 2   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Consumer costs                         | 18  | 1   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Paying for reform/Other                | 139 | 43  | 57  | 55  | 2   |  |  |
| REFORM — APPROACHES AND FEATURES       | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| HIPCs                                  | 9   | 8   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Health plans or provider networks      | 32  | 8   | 6   | 6   | —   |  |  |
| Payment of doctors                     | 1   | 1   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Medical malpractice                    | 10  | 1   | 6   | 5   | 1   |  |  |
| Health security cards                  | 1   | —   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Continued role of insurance companies  | 15  | 5   | 7   | 7   | —   |  |  |
| Administrative cost of running system  | 8   | 1   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Alternate approach to new system       | 29  | 79  | 153 | 130 | 23  |  |  |
| Regional Health Alliances              | —   | 23  | 4   | 4   | —   |  |  |
| Establishment of National Health Board | —   | 1   | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Organization/Components and Other      | 211 | 78  | 62  | 60  | 2   |  |  |
| IMPACT ON QUALITY                      | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Present insured get same quality care  | 9   | 6   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Delays for appointment, office waits   | 1   | —   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Quality of health care/Other           | 14  | 14  | 12  | 12  | —   |  |  |
| RESTRICTIONS ON CHOICE                 | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Patient free to choose provider        | 18  | 7   | 3   | 2   | 1   |  |  |
| Doctors free to choose treatment       | 3   | 4   | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| Freedom of choice/Other                | 5   | 7   | 5   | 5   | —   |  |  |
| PORTABILITY                            | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Coverage moves with individual         | 6   | 3   | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| PRIMARY PRACTICE EMPHASIS              | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Shift doctors to family/primary care   | 12  | 3   | 5   | 5   | —   |  |  |
| Reorganize medical practice/Other      | 40  | 15  | 29  | 27  | 2   |  |  |
| ECONOMIC FACTORS                       | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Reform's impact on jobs                | 17  | 5   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Reform's impact on small business      | 35  | 11  | 7   | 6   | 1   |  |  |
| Reform's impact on big business        | —   | 7   | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| Economy and reform/Other               | 67  | 30  | 22  | 21  | 1   |  |  |
| IMPACT ON EXISTING PROGRAMS            | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Medicare system/benefits               | 12  | 11  | 12  | 12  | —   |  |  |
| Abolishing Medicaid                    | 6   | 1   | 2   | 2   | —   |  |  |
| Worker's compensation                  | 3   | —   | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Auto-accident injuries                 | 1   | —   | —   | —   | —   |  |  |
| Existing programs/Other                | 32  | 4   | 9   | 9   | —   |  |  |
| POLITICS OF HEALTH CARE REFORM         | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
| Role of Clinton Administration         | 67  | 84  | 128 | 97  | 31  |  |  |
| Health Care Reform Task Force          | 20  | 4   | 25  | 25  | —   |  |  |
| HHS/Bureaucratic role                  | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   | —   |  |  |
| Congressional role                     | 100 | 197 | 554 | 458 | 96  |  |  |
| Special interest role                  | 60  | 96  | 93  | 81  | 12  |  |  |
| State/Local role                       | 17  | 21  | 44  | 42  | 2   |  |  |
| Federal/State/Local relationship       | —   | 14  | 10  | 10  | —   |  |  |
| Politics/Other                         | 283 | 282 | 334 | 298 | 36  |  |  |
| OTHER/MISCELLANEOUS                    | I   |     | II  |     | III |  |  |
|  | 131 | 46  | 47  | 47  | —   |  |  |

**12. PRINCIPAL AND SECONDARY NEWS SUBJECT** Identifies the prominent health care reform topics in each story. Figures are percentages.

| GENERAL CATEGORIES              | I  |    | II |    | III |  |  |
|---------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|--|--|
|                                 | T  | T  | T  | P  | B   |  |  |
| Cost of Proposal                | 5  | 6  | 2  | 2  | 2   |  |  |
| Government's role               | 10 | 8  | 5  | 5  | 3   |  |  |
| Who's covered                   | 10 | 9  | 13 | 12 | 17  |  |  |
| What's covered                  | 10 | 6  | 6  | 7  | 5   |  |  |
| Who pays                        | 17 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 11  |  |  |
| Reform: approaches and features | 23 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 16  |  |  |
| Impact on Quality               | 2  | 2  | 1  | 2  | —   |  |  |
| Restrictions on Choice          | 2  | 2  | 1  | 1  | 1   |  |  |
| Portability                     | 1  | 1  | *  | *  | —   |  |  |
| Primary practice emphasis       | 4  | 1  | 2  | 2  | 2   |  |  |

| GENERAL CATEGORIES (CONT'D)    | I  |    | II |    | III |   |
|--------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|---|
|                                | T  | P  | T  | P  | T   | P |
| Economic factors               | 8  | 5  | 2  | 2  | 1   | — |
| Impact on existing programs    | 5  | 2  | 2  | 2  | —   | — |
| Politics of health care reform | 36 | 55 | 66 | 65 | 78  | — |

**SPECIFIC TOPICS** Figures represent the total number of stories for each entry.

| COST OF PROPOSAL                          | I   |     | II  |     | III |   |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
|   | T   | P   | T   | P   | T   | P |
| Overall price tag                         | 18  | 13  | 3   | 3   | —   | — |
| Impact on federal budget deficit          | 9   | 31  | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Cost of proposal/Other                    | 64  | 58  | 34  | 30  | 4   | — |
| GOVERNMENT ROLE                           |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Price controls on fees/rates/etc.         | 29  | 18  | 12  | 12  | —   | — |
| Set spending caps                         | 14  | 4   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Established uniform benefits              | 3   | —   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Set uniform standards for plans           | 3   | 1   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Certification of health plans             | 3   | —   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Assessment of new and existing technology | —   | 2   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Gov't compiles individual citizen records | —   | 2   | 1   | —   | 1   | — |
| Government role/Other                     | 146 | 95  | 89  | 82  | 7   | — |
| WHO'S COVERED                             |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Timetable for coverage to take effect     | 9   | 2   | 9   | 7   | 2   | — |
| Percent of population covered             | 2   | 9   | 28  | 21  | 7   | — |
| Coverage of rural populations             | 7   | 6   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Coverage of current uninsured             | 35  | 13  | 13  | 12  | 1   | — |
| Coverage of disabled                      | 3   | 6   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Opt-outs                                  | —   | 1   | 3   | 3   | —   | — |
| Coverage/Other                            | 134 | 104 | 215 | 178 | 37  | — |
| WHAT'S COVERED                            |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Coverage of "ordinary and necessary" care | 20  | 2   | 12  | 10  | 2   | — |
| Coverage of long-term care                | 20  | 7   | 8   | 8   | —   | — |
| Coverage of mental health services        | 13  | 9   | 5   | 5   | —   | — |
| Coverage of abortion                      | 32  | 17  | 44  | 37  | 7   | — |
| Benefits for current uninsured            | 17  | 3   | 4   | 4   | —   | — |
| Comprehensiveness/Other                   | 102 | 63  | 61  | 57  | 4   | — |
| WHO PAYS                                  |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Federal income tax                        | 3   | 8   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Cigarette/Liquor tax                      | 48  | 14  | 24  | 20  | 4   | — |
| Tax insurance benefits                    | 1   | 3   | 4   | 4   | —   | — |
| Employer mandates                         | 24  | 84  | 156 | 133 | 23  | — |
| "Fairness" of Financing                   | 8   | 2   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Consumer costs                            | 24  | 1   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Tax on hospital windfalls                 | —   | 1   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Value-added tax                           | —   | 2   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Paying for reform/Other                   | 240 | 85  | 116 | 113 | 3   | — |
| REFORM — APPROACHES AND FEATURES          |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| HIPCs                                     | 11  | 8   | 2   | 2   | —   | — |
| Health plans or provider networks         | 48  | 13  | 6   | 6   | —   | — |
| Payment of doctors                        | 3   | 1   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Medical malpractice                       | 10  | 1   | 6   | 5   | 1   | — |
| Health security cards                     | 1   | —   | 1   | —   | 1   | — |
| Continued role of insurance companies     | 21  | 9   | 9   | 9   | —   | — |
| Administrative cost of running system     | 12  | 3   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Alternate approach to new system          | 56  | 114 | 256 | 219 | 37  | — |
| Regional Health Alliances                 | —   | 31  | 6   | 5   | 1   | — |
| Establishment of National Health Board    | —   | 3   | 7   | 7   | —   | — |
| Organization/Components and Other         | 132 | 116 | 128 | 125 | 3   | — |
| IMPACT ON QUALITY                         |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Present insured get same quality care     | 16  | 7   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Delays for appointment, office waits      | 1   | —   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Quality of health care/Other              | 29  | 21  | 26  | 26  | —   | — |
| RESTRICTIONS ON CHOICE                    |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Patient free to choose provider           | 26  | 10  | 4   | 3   | 1   | — |
| Doctors free to choose treatment          | 4   | 6   | 3   | 2   | 1   | — |
| Freedom of choice/Other                   | 17  | 11  | 9   | 9   | —   | — |
| PORTABILITY                               |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Coverage moves with individual            | 13  | 5   | 5   | 5   | —   | — |
| Portability/Other                         | —   | 2   | —   | —   | —   | — |

| PRIMARY PRACTICE EMPHASIS            | I   |     | II  |     | III |   |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
|                                      | T   | P   | T   | P   | T   | P |
| Shift doctors to family/primary care | 18  | 5   | 6   | 6   | —   | — |
| Reorganize medical practice/Other    | 54  | 23  | 40  | 36  | 4   | — |
| ECONOMIC FACTORS                     |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Reform's impact on jobs              | 29  | 8   | 2   | 1   | 1   | — |
| Reform's impact on small business    | 52  | 15  | 11  | 10  | 1   | — |
| Reform's impact on big business      | —   | 11  | 3   | 3   | —   | — |
| Economy and reform/Other             | 94  | 48  | 31  | 30  | 1   | — |
| IMPACT ON EXISTING PROGRAMS          |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Medicare system/benefits             | 25  | 16  | 18  | 18  | —   | — |
| Abolishing Medicaid                  | 8   | 2   | 4   | 4   | —   | — |
| Worker's compensation                | 3   | —   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Auto-accident injuries               | 1   | —   | —   | —   | —   | — |
| Existing programs/Other              | 51  | 9   | 16  | 16  | —   | — |
| POLITICS OF HEALTH CARE REFORM       |     |     |     |     |     |   |
| Role of Clinton Administration       | 96  | 110 | 158 | 119 | 39  | — |
| Health Care Reform Task Force        | 27  | 4   | 27  | 26  | 1   | — |
| HHS/Bureaucratic role                | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   | —   | — |
| Congressional role                   | 155 | 277 | 699 | 572 | 127 | — |
| Special interest role                | 89  | 129 | 123 | 107 | 16  | — |
| State/Local role                     | 23  | 28  | 52  | 48  | 4   | — |
| Federal/State/Local Relationship     | —   | 20  | 12  | 12  | —   | — |
| Politics/Other                       | 415 | 395 | 401 | 353 | 48  | — |

**13. PRINCIPAL NEWSMAKER** Designates the principal newsmaker or spokesperson, if any, portrayed in each story. Figures are percentages.

| CATEGORICAL NEWSMAKERS                | I    |      | II   |      | III  |   |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|---|
|                                       | T    | P    | T    | P    | T    | P |
| Clinton Administration                | 51   | 29   | 17   | 16   | 20   | — |
| Congress                              | 9    | 32   | 50   | 48   | 63   | — |
| Experts (non-government)              | 2    | 1    | 1    | 1    | —    | — |
| Government Experts (not admin. reps.) | *    | 3    | 1    | 1    | *    | — |
| Officers/Spokesperson —               | —    | —    | —    | —    | —    | — |
| Special Interest Groups               | 7    | 8    | 5    | 6    | 3    | — |
| State/Local officials                 | 1    | 5    | 3    | 4    | 1    | — |
| Judiciary                             | *    | *    | *    | *    | —    | — |
| Other                                 | 30   | 22   | 23   | 24   | 13   | — |
|                                       | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | — |

**INDIVIDUAL NEWSMAKERS**

| GOVERNMENT        | I  |    | II |   | III |   |
|-------------------|----|----|----|---|-----|---|
|                   | T  | P  | T  | P | T   | P |
| Bill Clinton      | 24 | 18 | 8  | 8 | 10  | — |
| Hillary Clinton   | 8  | 3  | 2  | 2 | 4   | — |
| Dan Rostenkowski  | *  | 3  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Jim Cooper        | *  | 2  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Pete Stark        | *  | 2  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Robert Reischauer | *  | 2  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Robert Dole       | *  | 2  | 2  | 2 | 2   | — |
| Ted Kennedy       | *  | 1  | 1  | * | 1   | — |
| George Mitchell   | *  | 1  | 6  | 5 | 7   | — |
| Jim McDermott     | *  | *  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Daniel Moynihan   | *  | *  | 2  | 2 | 3   | — |
| Richard Gephardt  | *  | *  | 1  | 1 | 2   | — |
| Jay Rockefeller   | *  | *  | *  | * | *   | — |
| John Chaffee      | *  | *  | 1  | 1 | 1   | — |
| Harold Ickes      | *  | *  | —  | — | —   | — |
| Donna Shalala     | 1  | *  | *  | * | *   | — |
| Fred Grandy       | *  | *  | —  | — | —   | — |
| Al Gore           | *  | *  | *  | * | —   | — |
| John Kerry        | *  | *  | —  | — | —   | — |
| Joycelyn Elders   | *  | *  | *  | * | *   | — |
| Tom Foley         | *  | *  | 1  | 1 | —   | — |
| Ira Magaziner     | 1  | *  | *  | * | —   | — |
| Phil Gramm        | —  | —  | *  | * | —   | — |

| INDIVIDUAL NEWSMAKERS (CONT'D)                      | I |   | II |   | III |  |  |
|---|---|---|----|---|-----|--|--|
|   | T | T | T  | P | B   |  |  |
| <b>NON-GOVERNMENT</b>                               | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Lane Kirkland (AFL-CIO)                             | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Richard Davidson (Am. Hospital Assn.)               | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Henry Aaron (Brookings)                             | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Steven Schroeder (R.W. Johnson Foundation)          | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Helen Alvare (Nat'l Conference of Catholic Bishops) | * | * | *  | * | —   |  |  |
| Michael Bromberg (Fed. Am. Health Syst.)            | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |
| Doug Johnson (Nat'l. Right to Life)                 | * | * | —  | — | —   |  |  |

**14. ISSUE DEBATE BALANCE LEVEL\*** Designates the extent to which the story is balanced when a policy issue debate is central to the piece. Figures are percentages.

|                           |      |      |      |      |      |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Balanced                  | 79   | 80   | 86   | 85   | 92   |
| Not balanced or one-sided | 21   | 20   | 14   | 15   | 8    |
|                           | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**15. PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PROPOSAL\*** Designates whether the story is mainly critical or mainly positive about President Clinton, his White House/Administration, or family (excluding Hillary Rodham Clinton). Figures are percentages.

|                         |    |    |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>CLINTON CRITICAL</b> | 22 | 22 | 15 | 15 | 14 |
| Policy matters          | 18 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 11 |
| Personal qualities      | *  | *  | 1  | 1  | —  |
| Political ineptitude    | 4  | 6  | 4  | 4  | 3  |
| <b>CLINTON NEUTRAL</b>  | 68 | 68 | 82 | 82 | 82 |
| <b>CLINTON POSITIVE</b> | 10 | 10 | 3  | 3  | 4  |
| Political acumen        | 4  | 3  | 1  | 1  | —  |
| Personal qualities      | *  | *  | *  | —  | 2  |
| Policy matters          | 6  | 7  | 2  | 2  | 2  |

**16. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S PORTRAYAL\*** Designates whether the story is mainly critical or mainly positive about Hillary Rodham Clinton, or her staff, including the Health Care Reform Task Force. Figures are percentages.

|                         |    |    |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>HILLARY CRITICAL</b> | 8  | 9  | 13 | 16 | 8  |
| Policy matters          | 7  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 2  |
| Personal qualities      | *  | 1  | 4  | 5  | 3  |
| Political ineptitude    | 1  | 4  | 4  | 5  | 3  |
| <b>HILLARY NEUTRAL</b>  | 61 | 74 | 83 | 79 | 90 |
| <b>HILLARY POSITIVE</b> | 31 | 17 | 4  | 5  | 2  |
| Political acumen        | 21 | 2  | 2  | 4  | —  |
| Personal qualities      | 9  | 10 | 1  | 1  | —  |
| Policy matters          | 1  | 5  | 1  | —  | 2  |

**17. PORTRAYAL OF HEALTH CARE REFORM'S PROSPECTS\*** An evaluation of the story's portrayal of the likelihood of successful implementation of a health care reform plan. Figures are percentages.

|                     |    |    |    |    |    |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>CLINTON PLAN</b> |    |    |    |    |    |
| Optimistic spin     | 9  | 6  | 2  | 3  | 1  |
| Neutral spin        | 66 | 47 | 19 | 20 | 18 |
| Pessimistic spin    | 16 | 21 | 10 | 10 | 12 |

#### APPENDIX: HOW WE CODED HEALTH CARE REFORM NEWS

The following provides further coding information for selected variables within this report.

**STORY TYPE** Coders identify how the journalist presented the story. Breaking events, after-the-fact accounts, and coverage of sched-

uled events are classified as **NEWS**; researched or anecdotal stories are classified as **BACKGROUNDERS**; opinion, commentary, and editorial pieces are classified as **COMMENTARY/OP-ED**.

**SOURCE OF NEWS STORY** Coders look for the story's origination point. **NEWS LEAKS** would require that an official document had been revealed to the reporter; **COVERAGE OF OPINIONS STATEMENTS OR SPECULATION FROM GOVERNMENT OR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS** designates those stories generated by government or Clinton Administration sources; the same criteria was applied to **NON-GOVERNMENT SOURCES**, such as health care experts or industry spokesperson; coverage of speeches, press conferences, or breaking events were coded as **NEWS EVENT**; media-generated pieces were coded as **NEWS ANALYSIS, INVESTIGATIVE-RESEARCHED**; and **other** encompasses the remaining stories, including commentary, opinion and editorials.

**LEVEL OF IMPACT — FOCUS OF STORY** If the story examines the impact of health care reform on individuals, patients or their families, it is coded for **PEOPLE**; if it examines the impact on doctors, nurses, et al, it is coded for **HEALTH CARE PROFESSION AND PROFESSIONALS**; for impact on hospitals, insurance companies, bureaucracies, pharmaceutical companies, or other components of the **OVER-ALL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM**, it is coded as such; **POLITICS** and **ECONOMICS** stories each have separate impact codes; and those few stories that fall in multiple impact areas are coded as **OTHER**.

**RECURRING STORY LEADS** Coders evaluate each story looking for recurrent themes/leads. Typically, thematic trends in press coverage have a finite life.

**PRINCIPAL NEWS SUBJECT** Coders identify the most prominent health care reform topic examined in each story. Coding rules require that 1/3 or more of a story be about said topic in order to qualify as the **PRINCIPAL NEWS SUBJECT**.

**SECONDARY NEWS SUBJECT** Coders identify the second most prominent health care reform topic, if any, examined in each story. Coding rules require 1/4 of the story be about said topic, and that there can only be a **SECONDARY NEWS SUBJECT** when the coder has first identified a **PRINCIPAL NEWS SUBJECT** within the story.

**PRINCIPAL NEWSMAKER** Coders identify the most prominently featured newsmaker, if any, in each story. Coding rules require that 1/2 or more of a story be focused on that newsmaker in order to qualify as the **PRINCIPAL NEWSMAKER**.

**PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PORTRAYAL AND HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S PORTRAYAL** These "spin" variables require coding when 1/3 or more of a story is about the designated Clinton. Coders determine "spin" by quantifying and evaluating the positive and negative comments, interpretations, and innuendos offered by the journalist or presented as quotes from other sources. If the ratio is 2:1 negative or more, the story is coded as negative; if the ratio is 2:1 positive, it is coded as positive. Those stories that have a positive:negative ratio of less than 2:1 are considered neutral or ambiguous.

**PORTRAYAL OF HEALTH CARE REFORM'S PROSPECTS** For each story that discusses the likelihood of health care reform passage, coders evaluate for "spin" by quantifying and evaluating the positive and negative comments, interpretations, and innuendos offered by the journalist or presented as quotes from other sources. The 2:1 rule previously described is used to determine "spin."

**ISSUE DEBATE BALANCE** When an examination of a specific policy issue is central to the story, it is analyzed for **ISSUE DEBATE BALANCE**. Coders identify the policy issue (not a political issue) and evaluate the extent to which the story is fair to all sides. The previously described 2:1 rule determines balance; if a reporter quotes only one side, or attributes twice as much or more quotation to one side, the story is considered **OUT OF BALANCE**. Broadcast stories of less than 30 seconds are not evaluated for Issue Debate Balance.