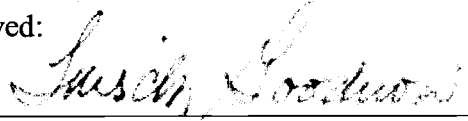


## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Sara R. Duncan for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Speech Communication, Speech Communication, and Business Administration presented on September 19, 2005.

Title: Metaphor and Bias: An In-Depth Look at CNN and Fox News Channel

Abstract approved:



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Trisha Goodnow

This study links together two very complicated, but very important subjects: media bias and metaphor. More specifically, this study investigates whether or not examining a media outlet's use of metaphor is an effective methodology for investigating media bias. Using cluster analysis, I identified the source metaphors most commonly used on two popular cable news channels, CNN and Fox News Channel, to describe the 2004 presidential election. Consistent with previous research, results of this study indicate that metaphors of game are war are used far more frequently than any other type of metaphor when describing the presidential election process. In addition, I conclude that analyzing metaphor is a superior methodology for investigating rhetorical bias in the media, but it may also be used to study notions of partisan bias. Finally, I identified a strong connection between rhetorical bias and organizational bias, and conclude that organizational bias must be investigated in further research.

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Metaphor and Bias: An In-Depth Look at CNN and Fox News Channel

by

Sara R. Duncan

A THESIS

submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of

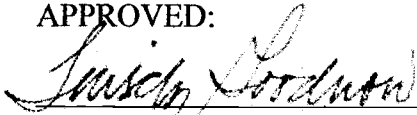
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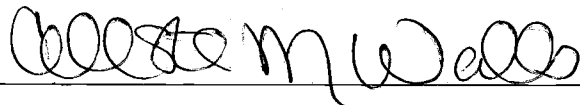
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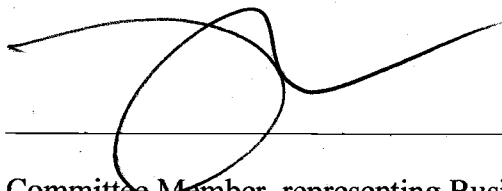
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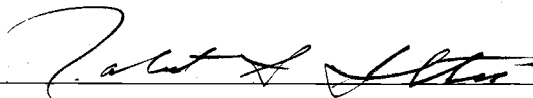
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# Metaphor and Bias: An In-Depth Look at CNN and Fox News Channel

## Introduction

Both the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press are valued as the pinnacles of democracy in the United States. The goal of the free press is to enable citizens to criticize the acts of government, and to keep the voting populous informed about candidates, issues, and policies. Mass mediated political information that is unencumbered from the powers-that-be should enable the electorate to make informed decisions when voting. Like many of the conundrums associated with the Constitution, however, the freedom of the press may also be used to the detriment of democracy. If information that is disseminated through the press is misguided, inaccurate, or politically or ideologically biased, then consumers may be unjustly persuaded to vote or act in a certain way.

The social implications associated with the mass distribution of biased messages are the primary reasons why media bias should be investigated. Communication has long been considered the driving force for the development of norms and values within society. According to Herbert Mead, the meaning for any given symbol is constructed and co-constructed by individuals who share their symbol definitions with one another (Griffin, 2000). People within a society update the meaning they attribute to symbols based on the information they obtain through communication with other members of society. The creation of shared meaning through communication is what Mead calls “symbolic interactionism”. Through the process of symbolic interaction, people create their personal perceptions of the world,

and identify themselves within it, (Griffin, 2000). According to Mead, individuals who interact within a social community influence each other's perception of self, while creating and determining community values, (Ryan & Wentworth, 1998). Thus, communication is an integral part of value development within a given society, and mass communication plays an essential part in this process.

Although Mead's theory of symbolic interactionism was developed around the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, prior to electronic media, the theory is still relevant and raises some interesting implications for current mass mediated society. Due to broadcast technology, symbolic interaction no longer occurs on a strictly interpersonal basis. Where the influence of society on the self was once limited to face-to-face communication with others, the process now includes information that is disseminated from mass media outlets. However, unlike face-to-face communication, mass mediated communication does not allow for "the feedback loop between source and self," because the information flows primarily in one direction, from the source (media outlet) to the self (receivers of the message). Without the ability to respond to the messages we encounter, our community becomes less involved in the creation of "sentiment and value," while media outlets become more involved in their creation, (Ryan & Wentworth, 1998, p.35).

The media, therefore, has contributed to a loss of community and an increased individual responsibility to "choose among the multitude of symbols and culture packages" that mass media chooses to distribute, (Ryan & Wentworth, p. 41). Rather than co-creating symbolic meaning collectively, meaning is increasingly determined by media sources and is then disseminated to the masses. The public's new role in the

symbolic interaction process requires us to choose between “which symbols and culture packages we will incorporate into our selves, and which we will deny,” (Ryan & Wentworth, p. 41). Although the media are certainly not the only sources for definition and meaning construction within a mass mediated society, they do have the greatest ability to distribute definition and meaning to the largest amount of people. The media has tremendous power to “alter people’s perceptions of reality” (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p.316), and therefore must be monitored for bias.

Due to the impact mass media has on social and political perceptions, journalists and media organizations have been thought to have an ethical responsibility to report the news in an objective, unbiased manner. In an article published by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1731, for example, Benjamin Franklin explained that newspaper printers should be “educated in the belief that when men [women] differ in opinion, both sides ought equally to have the advantage of being heard by the public,” (Henderson, 2004, p.4). As early as 1867, publishers like Jesse Haney proclaimed that American journalistic methods should focus on impartiality and objective reporting; he stated, “There should be no comments. The editor should not be a partisan of either side. He [she] should chronicle the facts, but not give opinions,” (Mirando, 2001, p.25). In addition to objective reporting, the development of journalism courses at American Universities, like those taught by Edwin Shuman in 1890, edified the importance of saving opinions for the editorial section of the newspaper. Shuman noted, “The spirit of modern journalism demands that the news and the editorials be kept distinctly separate. The one deals with facts, the other with theoretical interpretations, and it is as

harmful to mix the two in journalism as it is to combine church and state in government,” (Mirando, 2001, p.25).

Despite the flood of new media outlets within the last one hundred years, ethical journalistic practices originally established for newspaper reporting have permeated subsequent forms of media. Media news outlets have responded to public expectation for unbiased news reporting by espousing the quality of their journalistic practices. For example, cable news network Fox News Channel promises “fair and balanced” reporting, while CNN promises to deliver “the full scope of late-breaking developments... to provide context surrounding the days top events,” (CNN Live From, 2005; CNN Live Today, 2005). Radio and TV talk show host, Bill O’Reilly, pledges to take the “spin” out of news stories, while author, comedian, and radio talk show host, Al Franken, claims to “deliver the truth” in what he calls, “the zero spin zone,” (Air America Radio, 2005). Thus, many figures in the news media have promised to provide unbiased information to the public. In spite of such promises, however, there is a growing public perception that most news media outlets are biased and/or untrustworthy.

According to a 2000 Gallup Poll (cited in Acomb, 2000), for example, 51% of the 1,026 adults surveyed believed the news media generally favors one party over the other, and 65% agreed that stories and reports presented by news organizations are often inaccurate. Similar findings were established in 2003 by the Pew Research Center; in a survey consisting of 1,201 adults, 56% of respondents said media stories and reports are inaccurate, and 62% said the press generally tries to cover up its mistakes rather than admitting them. In addition, 66% said the news tends to favor one

side when presenting the news, and 70% believed powerful people and organizations influence news outlets.

The general lack of confidence regarding the news media is not limited to media consumers; journalists have also developed cynicism, and sometimes apathy, toward the current state of the news industry, (Compton, 2004). Journalists often feel forced to conform to less than ideal journalistic standards in order to produce the most profitable story. Both media consumers and journalists believe that a variety of external pressures influence media content, and encumber the “free press” in America. Such external pressures include ratings or monetary demands necessary to keep giant media conglomerates like Westinghouse or the Disney Corporation in business. Thus, even though media outlets promise to provide unbiased information, both the public and journalists distrust the accuracy and integrity of the news.

It is clear that a disparity exists between what news sources claim to provide, and what the public perceives them to deliver. One purpose of this study, therefore, is to determine whether or not certain news outlets provide the unbiased information that they claim to present. In addition, it has been difficult for researchers to identify a practical methodology for studying media bias. Consequently, another purpose of this study is to test whether or not examining the use of metaphor in newscasts is a viable methodology for studying media bias.

## Literature Review

Biases in mass media are important to investigate because the mass media have the power to influence behavior. The Stair-step Model of Communication, a framework developed by Lavidge and Steiner (quoted in Severin & Tankard, 1997) to organize possible communication effects, explains the ways in which mass mediated messages can impact consumers. According to the model, communication can impact an individual's cognitive, affective, and conative perception. First, cognitive messages provide information and facts, thereby impacting a person's knowledge and awareness. Second, affective messages communicate emotions, and can impact a person's preferences, attitudes and feelings. Finally, conative messages communicate motive, and may inspire action or desires, (Severin & Tankard, 1997). In addition, contemporary media studies suggest that mass media influences people by providing them information from which they shape their perceptions, (Trent & Friedenberg, 2004). If consumers of media are given information that is purposefully biased, that information may be considered propaganda, and its consumers may be unduly persuaded to think or act in way that is contrary to their best interest, (Severin & Tankard, 1997).

The power of mass media extends across many aspects of society. Media outlets have become socialization agents that communicate the rules, norms, and values that govern society, (Ryan & Wentworth, 1999). The potential damage that media bias can inflict on society has made it a popular area of study, but despite rigorous attempts, researchers have not been able to reach one definitive definition of media bias. Rather than attempting to identify one overarching definition of media

bias, however, it is probably more accurate to suggest that the media has a number of competing biases (Henderson, 2003).

Although Heart, Jerome, and McComb (1984) suggest that there are six theoretical positions one could take when considering mass media bias in relationship to the President, I found that these six perspectives could be expanded to perceptions of media bias in general. The six perspectives include: liberal bias, conservative bias, no bias, presidential bias, rhetorical bias, and organizational bias, (Heart, Jerome, and McComb, 1984). Although these six perspectives are not necessarily exhaustive of every type of media bias possible, they do help to organize current research on the subject. The first three positions are linked to one another because each is based on the assumption that media bias deals with messages that support one political party over another. From this point on, these three perspectives will be organized under the single term, "partisan bias." The latter three positions expand the definition of media bias to consist of messages that are biased in favor of a broader range of ideals that are not necessarily associated with a particular political ideology. A review of each of the four perspectives is next.

### *Partisan Bias*

The Liberal Bias perspective suggests that mass media outlets favor liberal views and prohibit conservative views from being heard. This perspective first gained national attention in 1972, when Spiro Agnew, then Vice President of the United States, denounced the media as liberal "nattering nabobs of negativism," (Dennis, 1999, p. 116). Agnew suggested that journalists were "socialized in a left-leaning media fraternity," that "the editorial gatekeepers in most major newspapers and

television stations in the United States systematically prohibit conservative views from being heard,” and that “a Republican like Richard Nixon did not stand a chance of being treated fairly by the American media”, (Hart, Jerome, and McComb, 1984, pp.261-262).

Conservatives have since adopted this opinion as fact, making the idiom “the liberal media” a common household phrase in recent years. Most of the support for this perspective is anecdotal, promoted by conservative media personalities like Rush Limbaugh or Bill O’Reilly who chant the conservative mantra of an existing “liberal media bias” on television, radio, and print outlets across the nation. For example, in Fort Worth Business Press, an opinion editorial written by O’Reilly (2002) explains that in twenty-seven years of working in the TV news business, he had not met one conservative TV writer. He wondered,

Why is it that every time an article is written about me I see the word ‘conservative’ in front of my name? ...Now, if you want to think I’m conservative, that’s fine. But if you’re going to label me, than label every TV commentator...PBS recently announced that Bill Moyers is getting a new program. Yet not one writer put the word ‘liberal’ in front of his name. There’s no more liberal commentator than Mr. Moyers. So where was the ‘liberal’ tag? (O’ Reilly, 2002, p37).

O’Reilly continued by inferring that media outlets single him out because his political ideological preference is different than most others in his field.

Despite the 2002 Gallup Poll that identified two out of three Americans who detected party bias in the media as feeling that the media favor the Democrats, a study that investigated public opinion of a liberal press concluded that increased claims of a liberal media bias come primarily from conservative elites, not from the general public (Watts, Domke, Shah, & Fan, 1999). Furthermore, it is difficult to determine if the



speculation of a liberal media is little more than an ad populum fallacy at work.

However, one recent, study does propose that mass media outlets have a liberal bent.

In March, 2004, Groseclose and Milyo presented a study at Stanford University's workshop entitled "Media and Economic Performance," that investigated the notion of a liberal media bias. Their study identified estimated Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) scores for popular media outlets<sup>1</sup>. The researchers reviewed Congressional Records from 1993 to 2002, noting when members of Congress quoted a specific think tank. The researchers then reviewed media news coverage of eight media outlets<sup>2</sup>, noting when, in a given period of time, those media outlets quoted specific think tanks. Media outlets that quoted the same think tanks that a member of Congress cited were given the same ADA score as that member of Congress. The researchers also calculated the average adjusted ADA score for each member of Congress over the period of 1993 to 1999, and determined that a score of 39 represented center. Their results show "a very significant liberal bias," because "all of the news outlets except Fox News' Special Report received a score to the left of the average member of Congress. Moreover...all but three of these media outlets (Special Report, the Drudge Report, and ABC's World News Tonight) were closer to the average Democrat in Congress than to the median member of the House of Representatives" (Groseclose and Milyo, 2003, p2).

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) website, ADA scores for elected officials are determined by reviewing the way public officials vote on 20 issues identified by the ADA as most important to their cause. Each member receives 5 points if he/she voted with ADA, and does not receive 5 points if he/she voted against the ADA or was absent. The total possible is 100, (<http://www.adaction.org/votingrecords.htm>).

<sup>2</sup> Including the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, USA Today, the Drudge Report, Fox News' Special Report, and nightly news shows from ABC, NBC, and CBS.

Some obvious problems with this study exist. For example, Republicans ran the majority in Congress during the time this research was conducted, so deeming an ADA score of 39 as representative of center may not be an accurate depiction of centrist/moderate perspectives. (One would think that an ADA score of 50 would represent center, not 39). In addition, it is not clear why the researchers chose these eight media outlets to investigate, or if it is even possible (or relevant) to calculate an estimated ADA score for television programs and newspaper articles. Finally, although this study has been discussed by popular radio and television talk show hosts, (like Rush Limbaugh and Bill O'Reilly) it has not been published in any academic journal as of yet, and therefore lacks academic credibility. Nevertheless, this is one of the first studies to bolster claims of a liberal bias in the media. Ultimately, the purpose of identifying a liberal bias in the media is to thwart the potential for media outlets to influence the outcomes of elections in favor of liberal politicians.

In contrast, the second perspective on partisan bias suggests that mass media have a conservative slant, by supporting corporate capitalism and 'worker-exploitative values,' and by neglecting stories that deal with issues like corporate pollution, world hunger, and other 'establishment crimes,' (Hart, Jerome, & McComb, 1984, p262). In addition, some journalists believe that since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the media has been under pressure to support the Bush administration for fear that "the conservative press will lambaste them anytime they step out of line from strong support for the administration," (Birge & Nicholson, 2004, p17). Michael Parenti (1993), author of numerous books on the topic of media bias, suggests that the conservative press is at fault for current "image politics" that focus on trivial surface

matters rather than issues of policy. Despite the speculation of conservative bias in the media, I could not find even one study that concludes a conservative media bias exists. Thus, accusations of conservative media bias remain anecdotal and speculative. Like liberal biases, the concern over conservative media bias is that it has the potential to unfairly impact the outcome of political elections.

The third perspective suggests that there is no partisan media bias; rather, mass media outlets simply pass along news without distorting the message. Advocates for this perspective suggest that journalists and reporters are kept from presenting politically biased news due to organizational and public constraints. For example, Everette Dennis (1997), a Professor of Communication at Fordham University, and former Senior Vice-president of the Freedom Forum, a non-partisan news organization, believes the media are generally moderate rather than biased toward one political ideology, and says, "...The notion that reporters are free to use the news columns to propagandize for their personal passions is nonsense,"(p.116). Dennis explains that profits are central to the media and suggests that providing unfair and biased news coverage would alienate a portion of the audience, something that publishers, broadcast executives, and owners would find simply unacceptable. Furthermore, Dennis believes the nobility of professionalism keeps reporters within the realm of ethical behavior, because it is in their own best interest to be seen as capable of delivering fair-minded news.

Although the "no bias" perspective is the most controversial, some research does suggest that mass media outlets are not ideologically biased. A study by Niven (1999) took an objective approach to analyzing media bias by investigating the length,

placement, headline mentions, and the tone of newspaper articles that criticize or commend Republican and Democratic governors. The study indicated that newspaper coverage was relatively equal in number, length, tone, placement, and headline mention in regards to Republican and Democratic governors, and both Republican and Democratic governors received more negative press than positive press.

The public's opinion that there is an ideological bias in the media can be explained by theoretical observations. For example, "the hostile media effect" describes the tendency for people who are highly involved in an issue to see news coverage of that issue as biased against their own point of view. One experiment researching the hostile media effect showed news broadcasts of the conflict in the Middle East to Arab and Israeli students. Both groups saw the news as biased in favor of the other side, while nonpartisans saw the same content as neutral, (Gunther, 2001). In addition, Gunther (2001) notes that another theoretical model, called the "persuasive press inference," further complicates public opinion regarding media bias by proposing that individuals infer public opinion from their perceptions of the content of media coverage. That is, they assume that "biased" media coverage has a substantial influence on public opinion. In an experiment testing the persuasive press inference, participants read news articles manipulated to have a favorable or unfavorable slant on a topic, and perceived a corresponding difference in public opinion on those issues. Thus, the hostile media effect and the persuasive press inference are linked, in that, "partisan individuals are likely to perceive media coverage as biased against their own point of view...and as a result, they perceive others' opinions as more at odds with their own, (Gunther, 2001 p 299). So, despite

the fact that many people perceive the media to be biased, that perception may be due to individual ideological preferences.

Research conducted in support for the “liberal” and “conservative” perspectives is limited, and does not adequately prove that either of these biases dominates the media. In addition, theoretical frameworks such as “the hostile media affect” do an adequate job refuting the likelihood of partisan bias. Partisan perspectives define the concept of media bias narrowly, as if partisan bias is the only type of bias that exists in the media. Despite the common assumption that partisanship is the most important form of bias within the news media (Hackett, 1984), such assumptions have not been proven to be true. It seems that the concern over partisan bias has diverted our attention from other important forms of media bias. The following three perspectives expand the concept of media bias to include biases that do not strictly deal with partisan issues.

#### *Presidential Bias*

The fourth perspective intimates that media outlets simply serve the bidding of the president in office; In other words, the media are part of a propaganda machine that is used by the president to support his or her political position. There are at least four ways that the President (and/or his or her administration) can manipulate the media: First, the President can stage highly orchestrated psuedoevents to gain free media coverage (coverage that enhances the image he or she wishes to create); second, the President can establish personal relationships with media organizations and/or individual media personalities in hopes of influencing the way they will depict him or her in the media. Third, the President can hire members of the media to fill roles in

governmental agencies, so that they have a stake in making his or her administration look good when they cover governmental news; And fourth, the President can control and tailor the information regarding war, policies, and politics that is fed from the government to the media.

According to Grossman and Kumar (1981), “the president represents the single most important story that the network follows on a continuing basis,” (p. 259). As the most important story, the president yields tremendous power over when, where, and from whom he or she will receive media coverage, and can thus manipulate media coverage to his or her advantage. It is not uncommon, for example, for a President to stage psuedoevents in order to get free media coverage, (Trent & Friedenberg 2004, Hart, Jerome & McComb, 1984). President Franklin Roosevelt was the first president to overtly stage media events, (e.g., his famous “fireside chats”) that subsequently “captured headlines, knocked stories critical of his policies off the front page, and reinforced public support for the New Deal,” (Heineman, 1992, p. 42). The problem with this type of coverage is that the image the President creates for him or her self may not accurately represent reality.

In addition to manipulating media coverage by staging deliberate media events, it is also common for Presidents (and other political figures) to befriend individual news organizations, anchors, and/or reporters. Relationships with members of the media are nurtured via social events or galas held by (or at) the White House (Parenti, 1993, Parry-Giles, 1995). During the Truman administration, presidential relationships with members of the media were also fostered by governmental support for American correspondents traveling abroad on assignment, (Parry-Giles, 1995). The obvious

dilemma that special treatment creates for members of the media has to do with whether or not they feel eager (or obligated) to represent the President or his or her policies in a positive light due to their established relationship. The more powerful the member of the media is, the more frightening their potential influence upon political matters and public opinion. For example, David Sarnoff, one of America's most influential broadcast pioneers and chairman of the board for RCA, was a close friend of President Eisenhower. Declassified government files have since revealed that Sarnoff worked with Eisenhower to produce and distribute American propaganda (at home and abroad) that supported the U.S. position in the Cold War, (Parry-Giles, 1995). Close relationships between presidents and media moguls, such as the relationship between Sarnoff and Eisenhower, jeopardize the legitimacy of "free press" in the U.S., (Parenti, 1993).

Obligations to portray the President in a good light seem even more commanding when members of the media also work for or with political figures, or hold political offices themselves. For example, numerous members of the media worked with the administrations of Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower to enhance U.S. image at home and abroad, and to counteract propaganda from other countries during WWII and the Cold War, (United States Information agency, 2004). It seems logical to assume that political officials who have influence on media content might use that influence to support the ideals advanced by the administration for which they work. In an article explaining the propaganda used by Truman and Eisenhower, Professor Parry-Giles (1992) takes note of several members of the media who aided each administration:

William S. Paley took a leave of absence as president of CBS to become a radio expert on General Eisenhower's staff as deputy chief of the Office of Psychological Warfare, [MacDonald, 1985]... C.D. Jackson, the former director of the overseas editions and staffs of Time and Life magazines, became a top representative with the Army's psychological warfare brand in North Africa, London, France, and Germany, ['America-As Others See Us', 1946]. Robert R. Mullen, the director of the domestic propaganda program for the Economic Cooperation Administration [Marshall Plan], worked as an editorial writer for Life magazine [Price, 1955]... Edward W. Barrett, a former editorial director of Newsweek magazine, served as an Assistant Director of Public Affairs under Truman [Barrett, 1953]... and Robert L. Johnson, the first Assistant Director of Public Affairs under Eisenhower, co-founded Time, Inc. [Merson, 1955]. (p. 156),

The list of journalists gone government agents is not limited to the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Parenti (1993), who argues that a revolving door exists between government and media, has compiled a more contemporary list of journalist/government agents:

Leslie Gelb left his job as national security correspondent for the Times to become a bureau director in the State Department, only to reappear some years later as the Times editor... Pat Buchanan has moved back and forth from journalism to government several times, alternately serving in the Nixon and Reagan administrations and as a syndicated columnist and TV host for CNN's 'Crossfire' and 'Capital Gang'... Edward R. Murrow, Sid Davis, Carl Rowan, Pierre Salinger, Bill Moyers, William Safire, Diane Sawyer, Russell Wiggins, David Gergen, Joanna Bistany, Richard Perle, and Peggy Noonan worked both as journalists and as staff members of the White House or State Department or Pentagon or some related government agency (pp. 62-63).

While these reporters may impart more knowledge about the aspects of government they work for, it is difficult to assume that members of the media who also work for government agencies can maintain balance, independence, and objectivity when reporting news that pertains to the aspects of government with which they are familiar.

Although one benefit of dual employment in media and government may be that these reporters have a greater ability to present news information that the public



would otherwise not have access to, these occurrences can allow the president to manipulate the press through the dissemination of carefully crafted information.

The government's role in news production and dissemination was investigated by Barstow and Stein (2005) in an article published in the New York Times. The article described the common practice of government agencies that create "canned news stories" about issues pertinent to their sect of government. The manufactured stories are disseminated to local news stations that broadcast the stories across the nation. The New York Times found that local news stations air the "prepackaged TV news" videos created by the government without disclosing who created them, creating the potential for local news stations to be used as propaganda machines for the American government. This is possible because the stories are constructed to look like they are locally produced, so they will fit seamlessly into local news formats. The practice of using "prepackaged news stories" created by the government supports a symbiotic relationship between government and local news stations because it enables the stations to save money on production expenses, while encouraging support for governmental positions on policy. Ultimately, the president's administration determines current laws regarding the dissemination of governmental news. So, although the president may not be personally responsible for what stories do or do not make it to the public, the president does have the power to control the dissemination of governmental news.

Presidential bias has more potential to significantly impact presidential campaign outcomes than other forms of bias. For example, media outlets might provide more coverage of an incumbent's reelection campaign because they have

more access to the president than other candidates, or because they already have reporters embedded who have a working relationship with the president's administration. Such bias can have a powerful impact on the legitimacy of the information reported in the news by mass media. Despite its potential social importance, however, presidential bias in the media has gained little notoriety. More research should be conducted to examine the extent of this particular type of media bias.

### *Rhetorical Bias*

The rhetorical perspective explains that all mediated messages grow out of a deeply entrenched set of generic or class-bound rules that constrain what kinds of ideas are likely to be expressed in the media. Rhetorical biases take the form of formulaic templates around which mediated messages are expected to conform. In the United States, for example, news stories follow melodramatic plots (Hart, Jerome, & McComb, 1984; Compton, 2004) that have exaggerated emotions, stereotypical characters, and interpersonal conflicts. These formats create fantasy themes that viewers become so accustomed to that the themes become integrated into cultural expectations. Communication theorist James Carey argues that the ritualistic function of the news "is not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (cited in Compton, 2004, p17). As a result of the melodramatic plots common in North American news, for instance, sensational or spectacular news stories serve a ritualistic function for the general media culture, (Compton, 2004). Thus, the fantasy themes that are communicated by mass media simultaneously influence and reflect the contours of American culture.

The rhetorical bias involving melodramatic news formats has become more dominant in North American news in recent years. The development of expressions such as “news lite,” “info-tainment,” and “soft news” suggest that the public is aware of the trend for media organizations to focus on entertainment-based news stories rather than hard hitting or investigative reports about socially important topics. “Soft” stories, for example, are developed to grab viewer’s attention, entertain or evoke emotion, while “hard” news stories contain information that the general public should know pertaining to government activities, election campaigns, emerging social problems, environmental hazards, or historical or international events. Within the last twenty years the use of soft news stories has increased, while hard news stories have decreased, (Bennett, 2005). This is due, in part, to the fact that soft news stories are generally less expensive to produce than hard news, and seem to persuade audiences to keep watching, reading, or listening to the message.

Soft news stories may encompass multiple types of rhetorical bias. Media critic and theorist W. Lance Bennett (2005) defined four types of rhetorical news biases commonly used in the United States: they include the biases of personalization, dramatization, fragmentation, and authority-disorder. Each of these biases feed into one another, enabling a news story to incorporate multiple rhetorical biases simultaneously.

Personalization occurs when the news organizations report on individual events but leave out their significance to the big picture. According to Bennett (2005), personalized news stories “downplay the big social, economic, or political picture in favor of the human trials, tragedies, and triumphs that sit at the surface of events” (p.

40). Viewers are led to feel strongly about the people involved in the issues featured in the news, but lack the information and context necessary to fully understand the issues completely (Borchers, 2005). For example, coverage of President Bush's "dramatic landing" on an aircraft carrier, the setting for his speech announcing the end to the military phase of the Iraq War, was primarily focused on the image of the President climbing out of the fighter plane he landed in; wearing a military flight suit, and donning a helmet. Little time was spent debating the issue of the Iraq war or critiquing the President's wartime policies. Media outlets focused on the context in which the speech was given rather than the content of the speech itself, (Bennett, 2005).

Personalized news stories prohibit a clear understanding of the big picture, and also tend to feature upper-class Caucasian men while neglecting the lives and experiences of women and minorities, (Borchers, 2005).

To evoke personalization, the news often utilizes drama. Dramatization refers to the bias of presenting news stories in a narrative format by including a "crisis cycle" with "rising action, falling action, sharply drawn characters, and plot resolutions," (Bennett, 2005, p.40). Closely related to dramatization is the authority-disorder bias, which focuses on authority figures and what they do to establish or maintain order in a chaotic world. Dramatized and authority-disorder based news stories prevent viewers from fully understanding the issue because they create false impressions about the severity of problems, (Borchers, 2005). These stories depict the world as either more chaotic or more under control than it really is. For example, in the coverage of President Bush's "dramatic landing," we see each of these biases: President Bush (the character) is depicted as the heroic and fearless leader who flies in (rising action) to

save the day (falling action), and declares the end to a chaotic war, (plot resolution/authority figure establishing order). Although news organizations may benefit from such dramatic interpretations of events due to increased interest by media consumers (which can lead to additional profits for the media organization producing the story), the public is given less contextual information from which to facilitate critical judgments.

News stories that focus on personalization, dramatization, and the authority-disorder themes feed into what Bennett (2005) refers to as the fragmentation bias. Stories are isolated from each other and from their larger contexts, making it difficult for consumers to see the causes of problems, their historical significance, or the connections across issues (Bennett, 2005). That is, news stories fail to depict one complete picture of reality. What consumers are left with, then, is an overly dramatic, unrealistic, unrepresentative depiction of reality.

The primary motive of rhetorical bias in the media is to keep audience attention and to ensure repeat consumption. Thus, rhetorical bias is closely linked to organizational bias because it is used to fulfill organizational profit making agendas.

#### *Organizational Bias*

Common newsgathering methods create what Hart, Jerome, and McComb (1984) identify as organizational bias. In short, they believe the bureaucratic standards that most media outlets follow impacts the content of the news. For instance, Epstein (1973) argued that “the geographic fact that newsgathering is centered in New York City and Washington, DC largely determines what is seen as newsworthy and hence, what is reported as newsworthy,” (cited in Hart, Jerome, and McComb, 1984). Thus,

newspapers that cut out portions of stories to make room for more advertisements, or local television news stations that use “canned” stories produced by the government to save time and money reflect a type of bias caused by bureaucratic procedures and news formats. However, Hart, Jerome, and McComb’s definition of organizational bias is limited because it does not recognize that the large corporations who disseminate the news are responsible for putting common newsgathering standards and bureaucratic procedures in place. For example, after the New York Times’ exposed the trend for local news stations across the country to use government produced news stories; most local news stations did not jump at the opportunity to cover the story in their daily news broadcasts. Although it is difficult to prove why this story did not make it onto local news stations across the U.S., it is not difficult to speculate that covering the story would have made them look bad to their viewers. Thus, local news stations (all of which are owned by large media conglomerates) had the power to avoid presenting a news story that was unflattering for their station, and so they did.

The definition of organizational bias identified by Hart, Jerome, and McComb pertains only to the procedural aspects of newsgathering. However, I believe the definition should be expanded to include information that is disseminated to or withheld from the masses in order to protect the interests of the corporations who broadcast the news. Since most media outlets are owned by huge conglomerate organizations like General Electric, Disney, News Corp., Time Warner, and Viacom, news coverage is likely to encapsulate interests and values that keep such large organizations in business.

For example, General Electric currently owns NBC, Disney owns ABC, and Viacom owns CBS. These conglomerates own other forms of media in addition to network television. Viacom, a corporation which happens to be smaller than GE or Disney, owns 40 TV stations; five radio networks (about 180 radio stations), 17 cable television channels, 2 movie companies, 6 commercial Web sites, and a few publishing companies, advertising companies, and licensing companies, (Bennet, 2005; Henderson, 2004; Viacom Web Page, 2004). Viacom's broadcast reach is so large that it has a substantial impact on the dissemination of information in the U.S. As the long-term effects of transmitted messages (particularly messages that are repeated on a continuous basis) influence American politics, religion and culture, it is in the best interest of Viacom (and the other media conglomerates) to reinforce the ideals and values that keep them in business. This may include encouraging the concepts of capitalism and consumption, or supporting political candidates who pledge to protect big business in exchange for political funding.

Support for political candidates or political ideals by the media may be blatant or veiled. One recent example of overt media support for a political candidate occurred during the 2004 Presidential campaigns. The Sinclair Broadcasting Group, a large television broadcasting company that owns, operates, programs, and provides sales services to 62 television stations in 39 markets (Sinclair Broadcast Group, 2004), planned to air a partisan documentary called "Stolen Honor," a movie that depicts Presidential candidate John Kerry engaging in anti-war activities during the early 1970's (Government CustomWire, Oct. 15, 2004). Sinclair had been a large financial supporter of the Republican campaign, so airing the documentary clearly promoted the

ideological preference of Sinclair's owners<sup>3</sup>. The controversy surrounding Sinclair's choice of programming focused on the partisan nature of the documentary they had planned to air. Many felt that it was not appropriate for Sinclair to air the documentary because it endorsed President Bush's reelection (free of charge), and because Sinclair would not allow equal time for programming that endorsed Senator Kerry.

Despite the Sinclair Group's intentions to provide free and blatant endorsement of a political candidate on national television outlets, the fact remains that its attempts were thwarted by civil protest. This situation reinforces the fact that the arguments that suggest the media are biased in favor of its owner's ideological preferences are not anecdotal or speculative. No known study has been conducted to measure the extent of corporate or organizational media bias.

One likely reason that organizational bias has been studied infrequently is because the task is so complex. However, one can begin the arduous process by first analyzing the messages communicated by the organizations owned by these corporations. For example, among several other types of media, AOL Time Warner owns the television and cable networks of CNN, TBS, TNT, and HBO (Borchers, 2005). Each of these networks maintain what Kenneth Burke calls a "corporate identity," or the coordinated body of thought that the individuals within an organization collectively create and maintain, (Burke, 1984, p. 268). The corporate identities of media organizations are communicated through the messages they disseminate, potentially allowing media consumers to identify and align themselves

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<sup>3</sup> Due to extreme pressure from activist groups, Sinclair chose not to air "Stolen Honor". Instead, they played "A POW Story" in its place, a show described as, "a 'news special' that drew on portions of 'Stolen Honor', but also delved into the way politics and the media influence one another," (Taylor and Kiviat, 2004).



within the body of thought that governs the organization. By analyzing the corporate identities of the organizations that AOL Time Warner owns, we may eventually begin to piece together the corporate identity of AOL Time Warner itself.

Despite the complex nature of studying organizational bias, the endeavor is an important one to pursue. Many would agree that there are too few independent media organizations, and that the organizations that own the media have far too much influence on media content. The power that huge media corporations have to influence socially constructed meaning is immense, largely because they represent the primary filters of the images, values, and norms that are globally communicated via mass media. In turn, the potential influence that media organizations have on political campaigns is colossal because they are responsible for disseminating nearly all of the information that voters use to make election decisions. The influence and power that these corporations yield make it important to study organizational bias by investigating the values and norms that are continuously disseminated through their control of mass media.

#### *Literature Review Conclusions*

Media bias is a far-reaching concept that lacks a singular, cohesive definition. However, the perceptions of media bias can be organized into four inextricably linked categories: partisan bias, presidential bias, rhetorical bias, and organizational bias. Interestingly, none of these perspectives are mutually exclusive; a given media outlet can engage in multiple types of bias simultaneously. For example, in addition to exemplifying rhetorical bias, the President's dramatic landing on an aircraft carrier is also an example of presidential bias, as the President was able to orchestrate a

“psuedoevent” that depicted him as a fearless hero. Additionally, had the Sinclair Group been permitted to show the anti-Kerry documentary they would have engaged in organizational bias (advancing the political agenda of the organization), in partisan bias (by showing programming that advocates a conservative ideology), in presidential bias (as the Sinclair Group was a known financial supporter of the Bush campaign) and in rhetorical bias (as the documentary itself attempted to persuade consumers by incorporating personalized, dramatic, authority-disorder themed stories).

Despite the tendency to define media bias as communication that supports one political ideology over another, it is clear that other potentially harmful types of bias exist. Unfortunately, very few studies have attempted to move beyond studying the stereotypical “Partisan Bias” perspective. Extended research in the study of media bias is rather limited, due in part, to the multiple types of media bias that exist, and to the difficulty of developing a useful methodology with which to examine potential media bias. In this study, I investigate each of the four perspectives on media bias previously identified in the literature. Specifically, I use cluster analysis to analyze how metaphors used in news coverage of the 2004 presidential election indicate or fail to indicate media bias. Thus, I intend to answer the following research questions: Is metaphor cluster analysis a viable methodology for studying media bias?

### Methodology

This study seeks to explore some of the values, norms, and images that are communicated via mass media as a means of unearthing possible biases disseminated in mass mediated messages. More specifically, news coverage of the 2004 presidential campaign from two popular cable television news channels will be investigated. This

study will explore media bias by analyzing the values, norms, and images communicated by the use of metaphor. Next I will discuss the reasons for selecting the subject of the 2004 presidential election, the media sources of CNN and Fox News Channel, the artifacts consisting of transcripts from CNN and FNC newscasts, and the methodology of metaphor cluster analysis used in this study.

The topic of the 2004 presidential campaign was chosen because the mass media are intrinsically linked to the political campaign process. Mass media outlets determine which candidates, and which issues are covered in any given day. They also disseminate the information that voters use to make their decisions (Trent & Friedenber, 2004). Biased information, therefore, has the potential to impact political campaign outcomes, and thus represents an important area of study.

Cable television news channels, specifically, CNN and Fox News Channel, were selected for analysis for many reasons. First, in addition to entertainment, the dissemination of news and information is one of the most important functions of mass media, (Compton, 2004). Second, televised news programs represent the public's primary source of information about society, politics, and government (Bennet, 2005; Trent & Friedenber, 2004). As mentioned before, the information provided on such programming affects viewer's perceptions and may ultimately persuade them to act or vote in one way or another, (Trent & Friedenber, 2004). Third, the viewing shares for cable television news channels have displaced those of broadcast networks in recent years, (Henderson, 2004), thus making cable television news one of the most common sources for news and information. And fourth, Fox News Channel and CNN are the most frequently watched cable television news channels, with Fox News Channel

maintaining 46% of daily viewers among cable television networks, and CNN maintaining 30% of daily viewers<sup>4</sup>.

The artifacts used in this study consist of transcripts of newscasts from CNN and Fox News Channel. As the purpose of this study is to investigate bias in news stories, it was important that the content selected for analysis be defined as news by the organization from which it came. The transcripts used in this study came from segments of shows that, by title or description, were concerned with the dissemination of news. For example, "CNN Live Today" was the most common show utilized from CNN's television line up. The description for "CNN Live Today" provided by CNN is, "...updates of the latest news from around the world and interviews with the day's newsmakers, experts and trendsetters," (CNN Live Today, 2005). Similarly, the title of "FOX News Live," which airs at the same time of day as "CNN Live Today," suggests that the content of the program is concerned with live news broadcasts. One hour of programming from each channel, each day during the second week of October 2004, was sorted analyzed for newscasts pertaining to the presidential election only. The shows that were recorded and transcribed for each channel aired at the same time of day during the second week of October 2004. Thus, if transcripts were obtained or generated from the 7am to 8am airing of "CNN Live Today" on Monday October 11, then transcripts from the 7am to 8am airing of "FOX News Live" on Monday October 11 were also obtained or generated for the study. Most of the transcripts for the CNN broadcasts were obtained from CNN.com, while all of the transcripts for the Fox News Channel broadcasts were manually transcribed from videotape. The researcher checked the accuracy of the transcripts obtained from CNN.com by reading through

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<sup>4</sup> Compared to 13% from MSNBC, and 5% from CNBC, (USA Today, 2003)

the transcripts while watching the prerecorded newscasts on videotape. Changes to the transcripts were made when necessary.

The methodology used to analyze FNC and CNN newscasts is cluster analysis. According to Kenneth Burke (1984), cluster analysis can be used to identify a rhetor's worldview. As Burke (1984) noted,

By charting clusters, we get our cues as to the important ingredients subsumed in 'symbolic mergers.' We reveal, beneath an author's 'official front,' the level at which a lie is impossible. If a man's [woman's] virtuous characters are dull, and his [her] wicked characters are don vigorously, his [her] art has voted for the wicked ones, regardless of his [her] official front. If a man [woman] talks dully of glory, but brilliantly employs the imagery of desolation, his [her] true subject is desolation, (p.233)

Thus, as Burke articulates, identifying cluster's is key in identifying how particular rhetors see the world.

Traditionally, a rhetor can be described as an individual who effectively uses language to persuade others. This study expands the definition of rhetor to include organizations that use language to persuade viewers. The rhetors explored in this study are the cable television networks of CNN and Fox News Channel. Although each channel is represented by the on air talent who report the news, the researcher considers the combined efforts of the news team, including journalists, writers, anchors, and field reporters, to be representative of the organizations corporate identity. Considering Burke's (1984) definition of corporate identity, where the individuals within an organization are considered to maintain a coordinated body of thought, it does not seem misguided to identify a news channel, and its constituent parts, as rhetors. Distinguishing our rhetor's worldviews, or the collections of beliefs and perspectives from which they view and interpret the world, will enable the critic to

detect the images, values, and norms that each organization upholds through the course of their communication.

In a traditional cluster analysis, the critic searches for clusters of terms, themes, or images that emerge within a rhetor's message. To identify these clusters, the critic must first identify the emergence of "key terms," whose significance is determined by frequency or intensity within the message. Once the key terms have been identified, the critic must chart the terms, themes, or images that cluster around them, (Foss, 2004). The emergent relationships between terms create a unique system of meaning that reflects the communicator's interpretations of those terms, thereby illuminating worldviews and biases associated with them. If, for example, a critic studying news stories about animals finds that a network mentioned the word "cat" far more often than any other animal, the word "cat" could be identified as a key term. If every time the network mentioned the word "cat" they also mentioned the words "smelly" and "dirty", then a cluster exists that links the noun "cat" to the negative modifiers "smelly" and "dirty". Based on this information, one could assume that the network tends to define cats as smelly and dirty animals. Once the organization's general sentiment regarding the word "cat" has been gathered, one could begin to analyze the prospect of " a negative cat bias" from that network.

For the purpose of this study, however, it seems appropriate to modify the standard cluster analysis methodology to focus on "key subjects" rather than key terms because the candidates and election activities referenced in the newscasts can be referred to using a number of different terms. The subjects repeatedly referred to on each network include President Bush/the Bush campaign, Senator Kerry/the Kerry

campaign, General Presidential Campaign Issues, and the Presidential Debates. Each of these subjects was referenced repeatedly, but the terminology used to identify them varied. For example, both networks used variations of each candidate's name during the campaign coverage. President Bush was called "The President," "Mr. Bush," "President Bush," "George W. Bush," and simply "Bush." In addition, the President's campaign was considered an extension of his person, as evidenced in expressions like "the Bush campaign," and "the Bush camp." Because of the interdependence between the individual candidate and his campaign, comments that referenced either the person or his campaign were organized under one subject heading. That is, all references to President Bush were taken to be an indirect reference to his campaign, and all references to his campaign were an indirect reference to President Bush. Thus, one key subject called "President Bush/the Bush campaign" was identified. Similarly, Senator Kerry was called "Kerry," "Senator Kerry," and "the Senator," while his campaign was called "the Kerry campaign," and "the Kerry camp," so references about Kerry or his campaign were also organized under one subject heading, called "Senator Kerry/the Kerry Campaign."

Utterings that included information about the general campaign for president, current issues facing both candidates, and the general campaign process as a whole were considered a separate key subject. Each network used a variety of names for the political campaign process, such as "the election," "the presidential election," "the presidential race," "the presidential campaigns" and "the race for the Whitehouse," among others. Thus, utterings that dealt with the general campaign process or issues were labeled as the key subject, "Election Campaign/Campaign Issues." In addition,

the debate process received a lot of coverage, and was referenced in multiple ways by each network. Terms like “presidential debate,” “face off,” “showdown,” “tempest” and “the war of words,” were all considered to reference one key subject, termed “Presidential Debates” for this study. To review, I will analyze the key subjects identified as “President Bush/the Bush campaign”, “Senator Kerry/ the Kerry campaign”, the “Presidential Campaign/Campaign Issues”, and the “Presidential Debates”, and will investigate the images and themes that cluster around each of these key subjects.

To analyze the clusters that emerge in relation to key subjects, I focus on the use of metaphor that occurs within each newscast. According to Burke (1969), metaphor is “a device for seeing something in terms of something else,” (p503-504). Despite this simplistic definition of metaphor, the cognitive process involved with interpreting metaphor is very complex. The interaction view of metaphor will be used for this study as the basis for understanding the cognitive process involved with metaphor interpretation.

According to Max Black (1993), the interaction view asserts that a metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects: the primary subject, and the secondary subject. In the example, “Tom is a pig,” Tom (who we will assume is a human) is the primary subject, and pig is the secondary subject. The secondary subject consists of an implicative complex, or a system of meaning with identifiable and predictable characteristics and implications. When we think of the identifiable and predictable characteristics of a pig, we might think of a stinky animal with a flat snout and a curly tail that likes to roll around in the mud, eat slop, and squeal. A metaphor



communicates meaning by projecting the characteristics and implications (e.g. the implicative complex) associated with the secondary subject onto the primary subject. That is, when we say, "Tom is a pig," we infer that Tom maintains some of the characteristics associated with our implicative complex for "pig." The maker of a metaphorical statement, therefore, selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the primary subject (Tom) by associating it (him) with features from the secondary subject (pig). Tom may be good at math and very funny, but calling him a pig does not emphasize those attributes. Rather, other attributes that humans and pigs may have in common, such as messiness or poor hygiene, are emphasized instead. The primary and secondary subjects interact, therefore, when the hearer is encouraged to construct a parallel implicative complex that redefines the primary subject and simultaneously induces parallel changes in the secondary subject, (Black, 1993, p.28). That is, the listener may have a previously established implicative complex for Tom, and another implicative complex for the term "pig." By associating the two together by way of metaphor, the hearer must construct a new implication complex for each subject; one for "pig" that organizes and identifies the characteristics that humans and pigs may have in common, and one for Tom, that links him with selected characteristics associated with the term "pig." It is the hearer who must make sense of the metaphor, and therefore must choose which pig-like characteristics Tom may hold.

Thus, if words have literal meanings that denote specific objects, metaphor creates figurative meaning by detaching words from their "standard referential partners" and then reattaching them to "less obviously suitable ones" (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004, p. 8). Generally, metaphors are used to describe the primary subject,

as a means of creating shared understanding. According to Nadelhaft (1993), “situations that are ambiguous, incomprehensible, vague and confusing have metaphors predicated onto them as a means of understanding.” A metaphor, he explains, creates order by equating something concrete or graspable with something we have trouble comprehending, in order to provide clarity or reduce uncertainty about the subject, (p. 29). Metaphors, therefore, can carry a great deal of meaning because they allow the hearer to carry known characteristics of the secondary subject over to the unknown, or less understandable, primary subject. Metaphors, therefore, are critical components of the way we communicate about politics because the political process is oftentimes complicated, unclear, or hard for the general public to understand. Metaphors help breakdown complicated issues, like the political process, into more simplified concepts (Mio, 1997).

Examining the use of metaphor in mass mediated information about political campaigns can bring to light biases associated with those metaphors. As Richard Gregg explains,

Metaphor is a thoroughly rhetorical cognitive process. It is a process that culminates in a point of view; it encourages us to adopt some particular perspective and refrain from attending to others. It induces us to act in accord with one set of attitudes, feelings, values, and intentions while blinding us to other possibilities...It initiates perception, conception, intention, and action. It is partial, and thus biased in the presentation of its structuring, calling forth feeling, intentions, and actions in accord with its meaning. (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004, p60).

Thus, because metaphors emphasize certain characteristics the primary subject may hold while suppressing other characteristics, analyzing the metaphors used by a rhetor can shed some light on how the rhetor defines the primary subject. For this study,

analyzing the use of metaphor is an important component to investigating the themes and/or images that cluster around our key subjects.

Both Fox News Channel and CNN used numerous metaphors during their presidential campaign coverage. To make sense of the hundreds of metaphors used, and to see their connection with the key subjects, the metaphors were organized according to the “source metaphor” that each secondary subject referenced. The term source metaphor refers to the different aspect of life that is being used to describe the primary subject, (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004). In our previous example, “Tom is a pig,” Tom, the primary subject, is being described in terms of a specific animal, so “animal” in this instance is considered the source metaphor. Beer and De Landtsheer identified multiple source metaphors that are commonly used to describe politics. The source metaphors relevant to this study include: body, culture, death, disaster, everyday life, family, game, nature, society, spectacle, technology, and violence, though game and violence emerged as the most significant. Each of these sources represents the highly abstract concepts under which many (less abstract) concepts can be organized. For example, any political metaphor that describes the primary subject in terms of “... blood, body parts, diet, health, organism, pregnancy, race, sex, or strength” comes from the source, “Politics as Body.” All metaphors that describe the primary subject in terms of “army, battle, crime, dominance, force, murder, prison, rape, repression, slavery, submission, torture, or war” comes from the source “Politics as Violence.”

Not all of the metaphors used on CNN and Fox News Channel, however, could be organized under the list provided by Beer and De Landtsheer (2004). Thus, after

sorting all possible metaphors by the sources identified by Beer and De Landtsheer, the remaining metaphors were examined for commonalities, and were sorted into sources that are not necessarily linked to communication about politics. The additional source metaphors identified in this study include viewing politics as: “soft or hard”, “change of motion”, “unification”, “change in temperature”, and “location”.

The process used to organize each metaphor by its source and key subject was detailed and arduous. First, I printed a hard copy of each set of transcripts and, using a highlighting marker, highlighted each metaphor pertaining to the presidential election. Second, I constructed a series of tables that would allow me to sort each metaphorical reference by its source metaphor and key subject. Each table was labeled with one of the aforementioned source metaphors, accompanied with the description of the source metaphor articulated by Beer and De Landtsheer, (2004). Then, the cells within each table were labeled with a different key subject. To help during the interpretation process, each key subject was elaborated upon to identify who was responsible for a given metaphorical reference. For example, references to President Bush were organized into the categories: “Reporter Describes Bush,” “Guest Describes Bush,” and “Direct Quote From Bush.” Finally, using the highlighted, hard copy transcripts as a guide, I analyzed the digital version of the transcripts, and highlighted, copied, and then pasted each metaphorical reference into the appropriate cell of the relative table. (For an example of how each metaphor was organized by its source and key subject, see Table 1).

Table 1: Example of “Politics As Body” Table From FNC Transcripts

**FNC Politics As Body**

Abortion, blood, body parts, diet, force, health, Organism, Pregnancy, Ethnicity, Sex, Strength

<b>Reporter Describes Bush Camp</b> President Bush is working to (shore up his base: violence) in a county and state that he carried impressively four years ago	<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> The challenge for the President is to get specific on domestic policies, which is, if anything, his Achilles heel.
<b>Direct Quote From Bush</b> Several of his statements just don't pass the credibility test. With a straight face, he said 'I have only had one position on Iraq.'	<b>Direct Quote From Kerry</b> Now, that's not in my gut, that's not my value system.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry</b> Kerry is a bit stronger on domestic issues	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> (he's got to be) very sure footed over the next few weeks, to keep from pushing votes over to Nader.
<b>Reporter Gen Camp. Election Issues</b> What do you do now if you have the voters in the palm of your hand, either side?	<b>Guest Gen. Camp. Election Issues</b> The things that she says that a lot of times the (right wing: cultivation) are jumping on are not really particularly bad things.
<b>Reporter Describes Debates</b> The third and final fact to face debate this week. Did either candidate shoot himself in the foot last night? Aside from a few missteps made by both candidates, president Bush and John Kerry stated their positions well	<b>Guest Describes Debates</b>

Once the metaphors from each set of transcripts had been organized into tables, I printed hard copies of them. By hand, I labeled the characteristics emphasized in each metaphorical expression. For instance, I labeled the references to “Achilles heel,” “sure footed” and “shoot himself in the foot” shown in Table 1 as “body part-foot”, and labeled the references to “stronger,” and “pushing,” as “strength”. Once these characteristics were identified, the trends and commonalities that existed in each newscast became clear. This information became the basis for my interpretations described in the findings and discussion chapters.

*Methodology Conclusions*

Cluster analysis is a methodology that is both systematic and interpretive. Clusters are identified by their frequency and intensity. Intensity is measured by interpretation. The meaning of each cluster is also interpretive, leaving considerable

responsibility for accurate analysis on the shoulders of the interpreter. One might wonder what gives a graduate student the authority to accurately interpret the meaning of metaphor clusters. I argue that my role as a consumer of media, and as a member of the culture who is anticipated to view the programs broadcasted on CNN and Fox News Channel, grants me the credibility to interpret the metaphors used on those programs. At the heart of the cluster analysis methodology, and indeed, its advantage, is its inclusion of cultural norms and perceptions during the interpretation process. Media bias, in fact, shares the same predisposition for cultural interpretation. So, although my perceptual experience is individually unique, my perceptions regarding language and symbol usage are unified, in many respects, with other members of my culture. As Deetz and Mumby (1985) explain, perception is the result of the interaction between language, culture, and social institutions that create “a relatively stable but incompletely shared cultural perception,” (pp. 369-370). Thus, the interpretations and conclusions I make through the course of this study may not be universally accepted, but they are the product of culturally identified norms, rules, and perceptions, and therefore significant.

To review, in this study I cluster the metaphors used during news coverage of the 2004 Presidential Election on CNN and Fox News Channel. The key subjects under investigation are President Bush/the Bush Campaign, Senator Kerry/the Kerry Campaign, General Election Process/Campaign Issues, and the Presidential Debates. First I identify and interpret the source metaphors used to describe the key subjects, and then distinguish possible biases that may be associated with them.

## Findings

Of the 18 metaphorical sources identified in this study, both FNC and CNN most commonly used the source metaphors of “Politics as Game” and “Politics as Violence” to describe the 2005 presidential election. More specifically, of the 464 metaphors identified in the FNC transcripts, 109 (23%) were references to game, and 105 (23%) were references to violence. Of the 471 metaphors identified in the CNN transcripts, 147 (31%) were references to game, while 114 (or 24%) were references to violence. (See Table 2). These findings are consistent with previous research on metaphor in political discourse, which found that American politics is “typically conceived of as being either a rule-bound contest (sports metaphors) or as an unpredictable exercise of power (war metaphors),” (Howe, 1988).

Table 2: Occurrence Rates of Source Metaphors

Source Metaphor Politics As:	Fox News Channel		Cable News Channel	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Game	109	23%	147	31%
Violence	105	23%	114	24%
Body	41	8%	31	6%
Culture	37	8%	27	6%
Spectacle	31	7%	25	5%
Change of Motion	27	5%	36	8%
Technology	27	5%	10	2%
Society	12	2%	9	1%
Nature	12	2%	11	2%
Everyday Life	10	2%	11	2%
Death	13	2%	8	1%
Disaster	8	1%	2	0%
Temperature	5	1%	4	0%
Location	6	1%	2	0%
Unification	5	1%	10	2%
Soft/Hard	6	1%	3	0%
Family	0	0%	2	0%
Indiscriminate Game or War	10	2%	19	4%
Total	464		471	

Although the remaining 16 source metaphors used within FNC and CNN's news coverage of the 2005 presidential election may also inform us about the worldviews held by each network, the majority of the findings focus primarily on Game and Violence metaphors, due to the intensity and frequency of their use; In a cluster analysis, the intensity and frequency of a given cluster is what signifies its importance to the rhetors worldview.

*Fox News Channel: Politics As Game*

In total, of the 109 game metaphors used on Fox News Channel, 22 were references to President Bush, while Kerry was described with a game metaphor 33 times. General campaign issues were described using game metaphor 37 times, while the debates were referenced 17 times in relation to game, (See Table 3).

Table 3: Occurrence Rates of Game Metaphors on FNC

Fox News Channel (FNC)					
Source Metaphor Politics As Game	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates	Totals
General	16	17	13	9	55
Horse Race	2	8	21	3	34
Poker	2	3	0	0	5
Boxing	2	3	1	2	8
Football	0	2	1	1	4
Baseball	0	0	0	0	0
Basketball	0	0	0	0	0
Soccer	0	0	1	0	1
Hockey	0	0	0	2	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>109</b>

Though President Bush was the subject of fewer game metaphors than Kerry, he was depicted as the stronger, more aggressive athlete. Bush was described as



putting Kerry “on the defensive,” “tagging” the Senator as a liberal, “rallying” supporters, “sparring with his opponent,” “upping the ante,” and “protecting his lead.” Each of these depictions inferred the President was the athlete or player in control of the game.

Senator Kerry was also described as a strong athlete, but his victories were portrayed as unexpected, as if Kerry was just “keeping up” with a competitor much stronger than him. He was described as having “a narrow lead,” “catching up for a tie,” “picking up some speed,” and possibly “poised to push ahead” of Bush in the polls. These references seem to consider Kerry as trailing behind his competitor during the game. In addition, except for one reference that described Kerry as taking a “jab” at the President, reports of Kerry depicted him as less forceful than the President.

Game metaphor was frequently used to describe general campaign issues (37 references), and the presidential debates (17 references). Generally, these metaphors depicted the election process as an exciting horse race, with the candidates “neck and neck” in “a very close race.” The debate was described as a sporting event, with athletes who needed to “gear up” for competition. Just like the chatter heard before a big game, there was discussion of which team “had the advantage” going in. Clearly, FNC viewed the election as a game that would be won or lost depending on the strength of each player.

#### *Fox News Channel: Generic Game Themes*

It is important to note the difference between generic and specific game metaphors. Both generic and specific game metaphors depict politics as “a rule-bound contest between two opponents, ” (Howe, 1988, p.89). That is, when we consider

“game” as the secondary subject within a metaphor, the implicative complex we associate with it likely includes characteristics like “previously established rules of conduct,” “two teams or opponents competing with one another,” “keeping score,” and “only one winner.” However, metaphors where the secondary subject is a specific game, like football, for example, also include characteristics that are exclusive to that particular game, like “tackle the opponent,” “ground and air strategy,” and “touchdown.”

Fox News Channel used generic game metaphors that emphasized themes like team morale building, keeping score, and competition, but which could not be linked to a specific game or sport. For example, when reporters declared that “the president will rally in Hobbs New Mexico to protect his lead” they emphasized the team aspect of sports using the “rally” metaphor (as a coach might rally his or her team prior to starting a big game) and further supported the notion of winning a competition by suggesting the president was “protecting his lead.” There are many games that involve “rallying team members,” such as football or basketball, and even more that involve score keeping and the need to “protect the lead.” It isn’t clear what sport is being referenced here, just that the sport/game atmosphere is present. In another example, reporters used the transition “and about the other team” when shifting the discussion from the President’s campaign to discussing the Kerry campaign. This comment suggests that both campaigns were viewed as teams, and may even imply some sort of perceived hierarchy that holds the Bush team in higher regards than “the other” team.

To continue, with comments like, “the president will be able to put the Senator perhaps on the defensive,” and “the president really trying to tag Senator Kerry as

having this very liberal voting record,” reporters described Bush as an aggressive opponent in a game, be it football or a childhood game of tag. One guest suggested the President “didn’t seem to be penalized” for his aggressive behavior during the second debate, as if to compare him to a rowdy athlete who somehow avoids the bench after misbehaving during a game. Yet another guest suggested the President would “see if he can start the political clock ticking after September eleventh,” thus comparing the campaign process to a timed sporting event. These comments suggest that the President is an aggressive athlete on the winning team, who needs to protect his lead from his competitor.

Reporters often described Kerry as an athlete in the midst of competition, emphasizing the dramatic aspects of scoring points in a very close game. Kerry was said to have “a very narrow lead” in New Mexico, a “four-point lead” in Wisconsin, and “catching up for a tie” in Massachusetts. The score-keeping theme was continued when aids were described as saying “Kerry goes in a bit ahead” of Bush for the third debate, after which the senator was described as proclaiming a “3 and 0” victory.

Reports of the current “score” between candidates also arose when describing the general campaign process, as exemplified by a Fox reporter who explained, “The latest tracking poll finds from the Washington Post calls it a tie.” Guests, however, did not focus on the “score” theme, but did use generic sports or game terminology to describe the general election far more often than FNC reporters (who tended to refer to very specific games instead). For example, one guest explained that despite Kerry’s recent gain in the polls, “there’s still all to play for.” While discussing general campaign issues, one guest explained, “Democrats are always crying foul about

registration. Republicans tend to cry foul about voter fraud in an election.” Yet another guest described the election as “a George Bush versus John Kerry issue” while another declared gasoline prices was a topic that was “outside of the bounds” of pertinent election information.

Reporters repeatedly referred to the third debate as “a draw,” an expression used in many game arenas, such as boxing or chess, to refer to a tie. The expression stems from “the drawing of lots,” or the ancient practice of extracting tokens (numbers, slips of paper, coupons, or coins, etc) from a container that may hold only one winning number, length, or color. To win is considered “the luck of the draw,” (Palmatier & Ray, 1989). Interestingly, by declaring a “draw,” Fox alludes that they must have considered the debates as a sort of game, and possibly even a game of luck. By declaring a draw, Fox deflates the possibility of either candidate earning a win in the debates based on merit or ability.

At times, actual clips of President Bush or Senator Kerry giving campaign speeches were included in news broadcasts. Some of the clips that FNC decided to show included each candidate using general sports metaphors to describe the political process. In some clips, for example, the President referred to Senator Kerry as his “opponent,” and in another, suggested “staying on the offensive” was the appropriate strategy for America to use to address the war. Kerry was shown describing his debate performances as “wins” with this quotation, “2-0, and we’re moving on to the third, and I look forward to it.” The aforementioned game metaphors are generic enough to encourage the viewer to recall images from whatever sporting event(s) they may be familiar with. Most importantly, these metaphors are linked to familiar game concepts

that direct the mind towards gamesmanship as a means of understanding the political process.

*Fox News Channel: Specific Game Themes*

*Horse Race*

In addition to general game metaphors, also frequent were metaphors that referenced a specific game or sport. Track or horse races, boxing, and poker were the three most commonly referenced games, but also included were metaphors about football, hockey, baseball, and tennis. By describing the campaign for presidency as a horse race, the reporters become commentators who announce every movement on the track. The candidates themselves become jockeys who ride their campaigns (i.e. their horse) towards the finish line (which ends in office as the president). The jockeys have a symbiotic relationship with their horse, each relying on the other in order to come in first. The horse race metaphor does little to explain the idiosyncrasies involved with running for president, but does clearly emphasize the excitement involved with the contest.

To focus on racing, a guest described President Bush's aggressive performance in the second debate as an action that may have "gained him something at the mark," a description that brings up images of runners or horses who begin a race "on their marks." Both reporters and guests described Kerry using horse race metaphors more often than Bush. For instance, reporters described Kerry as heading into "the post debate sprint to Election Day," and described his campaign as "picking up some speed." Keeping with the networks fondness for rhetorical questions, one reporter asked, "Is Senator Kerry poised to push ahead of president Bush in the polls?" Guests

said Kerry “made the race slightly more open,” “got out in front of Bush,” and “moved this race back to even” after his first performance in the presidential debates.

Despite the high number of horse race metaphors used to describe Kerry, general election issues had the highest number, and widest variety, of horse race references. Reporters referred to the general campaign as “a close race,” “down to the wire,” “too close to call,” “a dead heat,” “neck and neck,” and even called it an “actual horse race.” Guests repeatedly referred to the campaign in race terms, emphasizing the drama of a “close race,” as evidenced in comments like, “In the middle is where this race is going to be won or lost,” “a consensus begins to form in the media about the shape of the race,” and “they came out of this debate pretty even, now it’s a sprint to the finish line.” The expressions “neck and neck,” and “very close” were also used to describe the debates. These expressions evoke images of an exciting horse race, where either steed briefly noses ahead of the other as they head toward the finish line.

### *Boxing*

The boxing metaphor can be used to describe the aggressive actions taken by each candidate during the presidential election. Using the boxing metaphor, the candidates are described as athletes who can take a few punches, and also strike blows to their competitor. The sport is very physical, with the athletes subjecting their bodies to harm in order to win the match. Although the boxer may rely on the direction of their coaches from time to time, the fight is a one on one battle that occurs between two people.

Although boxing metaphors often have violent implications, they still reflect the “rule bound” definition of game offered by Howe (1988). While reporting on the

upturns of the Bush campaign, a reporter described Bush as “sparring with his opponent on a wide range of domestic issues,” during the final debate, as if Bush was engaged in a “practice match” with another boxer, (Palmatier & Ray, 1988).

Interestingly, Fox strays away from the traditional “sparring” metaphor (which has been used to refer to debates since at least 1698) by using the term “opponent” rather than “partner.” When one spars with a partner, the expression likens two debaters to boxing teammates, who can engage in practice with one another without being killed, (Palmatier & Ray, 1988). Substituting the term “partner” for “opponent” suggests the sparring match is not such a safe endeavor. In another instance, a Fox reporter paraphrased a line from the President’s Midwest campaign speech: “he said Kerry can run, but he can’t hide from a twenty-year record of liberal votes in the senate.” President Bush’s original quotation had said, “He can run, but he can’t hide,” a line borrowed from Joe Lewis, the famous boxer who had originally directed the comment at his heavy weight challengers. President Bush’s use of the quotation, as repeated by the Fox reporter, linked the competition involved with professional boxing to the political campaign process.

Kerry was also described using boxing metaphors. According to reporters, Kerry “took a jab at the president” during a campaign speech, and in a separate instance was described as advancing a “political jab” during the final presidential debate. In another account, one correspondent reported the Kerry campaign had “said last night was a knock out.” It appeared that both campaign representatives and reporters for FNC considered Kerry’s political moves to be similar to those of a boxer.

Just as each candidate was described in boxing terms, it was also common for reporters to describe the general campaign as a boxing match between Bush and Kerry. For example, while discussing the second debate with guests, one reporter asked, “does it turn people off though, to see them jabbing at each other as much as they did?” Then, while advertising the broadcast of the third debate, one reporter remarked, “And you can catch the face-to-face parting shots right here on Fox.” The final debate was termed “round three,” clearly evoking images of two athletes circling a ring, searching for their chance to punch the other. Although the boxing metaphor was popular with FNC reporters, guests did not use boxing metaphors to describe any of the key subjects.

#### *Poker*

The poker theme that arose in Fox News Channel’s newscasts was unique to the other game themes because it was not centered on athlete based sporting events. Rather than depending on team effort, physical activity, and athletic ability to win the game, a poker player relies on a mixture of skill and luck. The player’s skill is independent of others (there is no team in poker), and consists of mental dexterity, strong egos, an ability bluff, and enough luck to beat the odds.

FNC described the election as a high stakes game of chance between Bush and Kerry, but seemed to allude that Bush was a more assertive player. For instance, the Bush campaign was described as “upping the ante” by accusing the senator of being involved with dirty politics. The comment evokes an image of Bush as a confident card player, tossing chips into the pot as a way to communicate his self-assurance. In another instance, a guest explained that for Bush, behaving aggressively during the



second debate “didn’t seem to cost him anything” in the long run, but “may have gained him something at the mark.” Here the guest compounds two metaphors into one, describing Bush as a poker player (whose losing bet may cost him money) involved in a horse or foot race (as a race typically begins “on the mark”). For the poker savvy audience member though, this comment may suggest that although Bush lost a few chips in one round of poker, showing his skill as an aggressive player may have gained him some respect that will help him later in the game.

One quotation from reporters involving a poker metaphor resulted in an equivocation that seemed to either illustrate the subordinate role Kerry held to Bush, or Kerry’s unsuccessful attempt at diplomacy: “Kerry says he voted to give the president the authority to go to war to strengthen his hand at diplomacy.” A card player is said to strengthen his or her hand when they draw additional cards from the deck that improve the “hand” they were originally dealt, (Palmatier & Ray, 1989). It isn’t clear here whose hand is being strengthened, but what is clear is that the subject is involved with a game of poker. Clearer reports of Kerry’s role as a poker player also arose, though they were few in number. Reporters described the final debate as Kerry’s “strong suit” (i.e. a large number of high cards, preferably in the same suit) where Kerry could “lay out his domestic agenda,” as one might lay out, or display, a winning hand of poker, (Palmatier & Ray, 1989).

Interestingly, poker references were primarily advanced by FNC reporters, (rather than guests), and were only used to describe Bush or Kerry. Poker metaphors were not used to describe general campaign issues or the debate.

*Baseball, Basketball, Football, Hockey, and Tennis*

Much less frequent than the other game themes, but still worthy of mention, were metaphors about football, baseball, basketball, hockey, and tennis that were used in coverage of the presidential campaigns. On the morning after the second debate, reporters described each campaign as participating in “Monday morning quarterbacking,” clearly linking the campaign process to football. References to Bush putting Kerry “on the defensive,” and a direct quotation from Bush saying the U.S. should remain “on the offensive” when it comes to the war, could be football references as well, though other sports, like basketball, also use that terminology. Generally though, references to football, baseball, and tennis clearly featured Kerry as the subject. Kerry was referenced using football terminology when reporters described him as in a “huddle with his advisors,” and “gearing up” for the final debate. One guest explained the third debate was on “Kerry’s home turf,” so he couldn’t just “run out the clock” with his responses. These metaphors clearly reference common football terminology. Referencing tennis, one guest explained that Kerry “really held serve” in the final two debates. Another guest used a baseball theme by describing Kerry’s third debate comment regarding the homosexuality of Dick Cheney’s daughter as coming from “left field.” Hockey was also used to describe the debates, particularly when FNC reporters called the debates “face off’s.” This expression refers to the dropping of the puck by an official, between two opposing players who are facing each other, at the start of a hockey game (Palmatier & Ray, 1988). Describing the debates in such a way underscores the gamesmanship perception of them.

*Cable News Channel: Politics as Game*

CNN used many of the same game metaphors to describe the 2005 presidential election that were used on FNC. The key difference between CNN and FNC's use of game metaphors is the sheer volume of CNN's game references. CNN's coverage of the presidential campaigns included 147 game metaphors, nearly forty more than Fox News Channel. President Bush was described using game metaphor 42 times. Kerry was described using game metaphor 40 times. General election issues were described in reference to game 41 times, while the debates were referenced 24 times by reporters in relation to some sort of game, (see Table 4)

Table 4: Occurrence Rates of Game Metaphors on CNN

Cable News Network (CNN)					
Source Metaphor Politics As Game	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates	Totals
General	21	22	16	8	67
Horse Race	8	4	23	4	39
Poker	1	5	0	6	12
Boxing	8	3	1	3	15
Football	4	4	0	0	8
Baseball	0	1	0	1	2
Basketball	0	1	0	0	1
Fishing	0	0	1	0	1
Hockey	0	0	0	2	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>147</b>

Unlike Fox News Channel, Bush and Kerry received almost the same number of sports references on CNN to describe their actions, positions, or campaign strategies. Within the 42 game references of Bush, he was depicted as an aggressive athlete who resorts to devious practices to maintain or gain a lead. For example, Bush was described as "taunting" John Kerry with a famous line from boxing legend Joe

Lewis, “He can run, but he can’t hide.” In addition, Bush was described as “trying to knock down the lead that Kerry has” and “trying to play on John Kerry’s turf by painting him as a liberal.” “Before these debates,” explained one CNN reporter, “Bush was moving ahead, consolidating a pretty sizable lead over John Kerry, because Bush was making Kerry and Kerry’s record the central theme of the campaign.” Quotations like these seem to suggest that Bush is an athlete who would resort to anything to win a game. Talk of Bush’s strategy was also emphasized. Before the third debate, reporters said, “the strategy here for tonight is to really put Kerry on the ropes, to have him answer to his twenty year senate record.” After the final debate, Bush aids were said to “concede in an effort to do damage control and turn the focus away from talk of a 3-0 Kerry debate win,” and “the Bush campaign strategy going into the final two weeks is to highlight the president’s strengths, play down his shortcomings, and put the debates behind.” Each of these references use more than just sports metaphors to describe Bush’s actions, and also depict Bush as an aggressive athlete who is serious about winning the game.

Kerry was often depicted as scoring points or leading the game. Within the 40 game references to Kerry, reporters claimed he “scored points for himself” in the second debate, earned “higher marks” from men in response to his debate performance, “scoring much higher than Mr. Bush on health care” in the polls, and, in reference to domestic policy, it was said that “on issue after issue, Senator Kerry leads president Bush.” Other references to Kerry depicted him as an aggressive athlete (who was “pumped up” about his campaign performances, and “gearing up” for “another

round” of debate prep), but by far, most references to Kerry described his score in the game.

Similar to FNC, the general election was often depicted as a horse race on CNN. With references to “the final stretch,” a “race” in a “dead heat,” and the “sprint” to the “finish line,” many of the 42 game metaphors used to describe the election sounded like comments from a track or horse race. The debates were often described in poker or gambling metaphors, considering the events as “high stakes games of chance.” Even the candidates themselves were shown using sports metaphors, with President Bush repeating his campaign line “he can run, but he cannot hide,” five times, and Kerry proclaiming a “2-0” victory in the debates.

*Cable News Channel: Generic Game Themes*

Like those found on FNC, the general sports themes on CNN included metaphors about keeping score and the drama of competition that could not be associated with a specific game or sport. For example, reporters described President Bush as “back in the game” after the second debate. He was considered to be “playing up” his economic policies when he spoke at a “victory rally” (possible war metaphor) in attempt to “knock down the lead” that Kerry had gained in the debates. Polls showed that “the President trails John Kerry by 19 percent” and he therefore needed to campaign in states that he “narrowly won” in 2000, because such states were still “very much in play.” The Bush campaign “strategy” after the third debate was to highlight his strengths and “play down his short comings” in order to “turn the focus away from talk of a 3-0 Kerry debate win.” One guest described Bush as “an underdog” in the debates, but said inheriting a “losing team” can make future wins

look much more impressive. Thus, the general sports metaphors in the CNN newscasts focused on the element of competition involved with the presidential campaign, but classified Bush as constantly in need of “catching up” with Kerry.

To emphasize the perception that Kerry was on the winning team, the general game metaphors used by CNN usually described him as leading the game or scoring points, particularly in reference to the debates. For example, reporters said Kerry had “a clear lead” after the second debate, and that he “came out ahead” in polls after the third debate. Following the third debate, one reporter explained, “some are saying its now three for three,” and “John Kerry’s campaign officials are saying that their guy has swept the debates.” Each of these references focus on expressions used to describe the victor of a game or sport. In addition, reporters repeatedly made reference to Senator Kerry “scoring” in the debates. For example, reporters explained that by “scoring points for himself” in the second debate, Kerry was able to “put President Bush on the defensive.” He was described as receiving “higher marks” from a poll of men who watched the second debate, and, prior to the third debate, reporters explained that Kerry “leads president Bush on key issues,” and that a Gallop poll showed Kerry “scoring much higher than Mr. Bush on health care, and slightly higher on the economy.” The multiple references to Kerry “scoring points” (and the very few references to Bush scoring points) emphasized the notion that CNN viewed Kerry as a competitor who was ahead of his opponent in a game.

Referring to the key subject of general campaign and election issues, CNN used game metaphors that focused on the element of competition. Reporters called the candidates “opponents” who were involved in a “contest” as well as a “rivalry.”

Guests called the campaign for president a “competition” that was so “close” that neither candidate could “afford to let one go to the opponent.” These expressions support the notion that CNN perceived the campaign for president to be a rule bound contest.

*Cable News Channel: Specific Game Themes*

*Horse Race*

CNN made several references to the horse race metaphor when describing the candidates, campaign issues, and the presidential debates. Such references, similar to those found on Fox News Channel, produced images of an exciting race between steeds speeding to the finish line. For example, President Bush’s appearance in Nevada prompted reporters to note, “Although the polls show neck and neck, they [the Bush campaign] feel that they can pull out Nevada. But President Bush, four years ago, had a 3.5 lead in that state. Now, a dead heat.” Using another horse race reference, reporters explained, “Before these debates, Bush was moving ahead, consolidating a pretty sizable lead over John Kerry.” The references to “neck and neck,” “dead heat,” “moving ahead,” and “consolidating a sizable lead,” suggest that President Bush is involved in a hoof race with John Kerry. Similarly, reporters described Kerry as “gaining on President Bush’s lead.”

By far, the horse race theme was the most common game metaphor used to describe the general election and election issues. With statements like, “the race for the White House is just about as close as it can get,” “the presidential campaign is now in a sprint toward November,” “the finish line is 18 days away,” “with the race a dead heat, both candidates are in a sprint to the November 2<sup>nd</sup> finish line,” “the homestretch

of the presidential race,” and “the clock winds down in the race for the White House,” reporters sound more like announcers at a race track than journalists for a cable news network. The expressions, “race,” “dead heat,” and “sprint to the finish,” emerged continuously throughout CNN’s broadcasts. The horse race metaphor, however, was not used to describe the debates themselves.

### *Boxing*

Boxing metaphors were also used frequently on CNN. For example, reporters said the Bush campaign’s strategy going into the second debate was to “really put Kerry on the ropes,” suggesting the president would pummel his opponent, as a boxer would, during the debate. Reporters also described Kerry as “very loose, very confident,” a description reminiscent of the expressions coaches use to describe a boxer who is ready to enter the ring.

The most striking boxer metaphors broadcasted on CNN came from the candidates themselves. CNN quoted the president’s use of Joe Lewis’ catch phrase, “he can run, but he can not hide,” on seven separate occasions. CNN called the expression the president’s “one line zinger to Senator Kerry,” and seemed to latch onto it, playing footage of the president using the phrase four times, and paraphrasing the president’s use of the expression three times. To follow through with the theme, CNN also played Kerry’s response to the President’s challenge. For example, CNN reported, “President Bush, once again, while he was in Las Vegas, taunted John Kerry with this line from boxing legend Joe Lewis, “He can run, but he can’t hide.” After days of not really responding to that, John Kerry finally did, by mentioning another heavyweight clash between George Foreman and Muhammad Ali.” Following this



introduction, CNN played a clip of John Kerry at a campaign rally saying, “George Foreman threw punch after punch, and Ali kind of stepped back and said to Foreman during this, he said, ‘George, is that all you’ve got?’” CNN’s rigorous coverage of the metaphorical banter between President Bush and Senator Kerry showed their special interest, or perhaps their preoccupation, with stressing the drama that results from depicting the presidential campaign as a game.

### *Gambling*

Like Fox News Channel, CNN also used poker metaphors to describe the presidential campaign process. However, rather than sticking solely with poker metaphors, many of CNN’s metaphors were linked to the act of gambling in general. The presidential campaign was thus described as a high stakes game of chance, where the winner is determined by luck and skill rather than athletic ability. Neither reporters nor guests described Bush in poker or gambling terms; rather, game-based descriptions of Bush primarily consisted of general sports, horse race, or boxing themes. Kerry, however, was described as a gambler amidst a game of chance.

Reporters used the expression “strong suit” to describe Kerry’s experience with domestic issues, such as in the quotation, “The final debate will focus on domestic issues, widely viewed as Kerry’s strong suit.” The expression, used on more than one occasion, refers to cards of the same suite held in a player’s hand of poker (Oxford English Dictionary, 2005), and eludes that Kerry had the winning hand going into the final debate. In addition, while George Bush had not been described in gambling terms during coverage of his campaign stops in Nevada, John Kerry was described using multiple gambling or poker expressions. For example, after covering

Bush's campaign schedule in the state of Nevada, reporters explained, "John Kerry also plans to try his luck in Las Vegas." Reporters then built off of the gambling metaphor from there, deeply imbedding poker themes within their coverage, using expressions like, "Senator Edward Kennedy put out a statement last night saying it was a clean sweep..." "Senator Kerry said he laid out some of those differences in the debate" and "They're going to have a series of policy addresses on domestic issues, laying out what they say will be clear choices on jobs, health care, education."

Although these metaphors are not as blatant as some others, it is interesting to observe how CNN began with a very direct gambling reference at the beginning of the story (i.e. "Kerry plans to *try his luck*"), and then used more and more subtle card references throughout the story. The expression "clean sweep," for instance, refers to a gambler who, after winning a hand of cards, sweeps the chips from the center of the table into his or her pile, while "lay out" refers to the arrangement of cards on the table during a card game, (Palmatier & Ray, 1989).

Reporters repeatedly used two specific gambling metaphors related to betting, (the expression "high stakes," and a variation of "let it ride"), to describe the debates. For example, one reporter explained, "with so much riding on the outcome of the election, the stakes are high for each of the debates." The first part of this metaphor, "so much riding on the outcome," makes reference to roulette, when the player allows the winnings from one bet to become the stakes for the next, (the full expression is known as "let it ride,"); the second part of the metaphor, "the stakes are high," refers to poker, when the maximum amount that can be bet at any one time is either very large or unlimited, (Palmatier & Ray, 1989).

*Baseball, Basketball, Football, Hockey ...and Fishing?*

References to baseball, basketball, and football were more common on CNN than Fox News Channel. President Bush, for example, was described using football metaphors in quotations like, “Tuesday was less huddling with aids (and more stumping before the crowds).” This metaphor, a compound of sports and culture metaphors, suggests President Bush would “huddle” with his campaign advisors, as a football team might do during the middle of a game. In other examples, reporters described the second debate as occurring on the President’s “home turf.” For the third debate, the President was described as “trying to play on Kerry’s turf.” References describing whose “home turf” the President needed to perform on during the debates likened his actions to that of a football player preparing for either a home or away game.

Many references of Kerry depict him as a football player, preparing for or winning a big game. For instance, reporters described Kerry as “pumped up” about his success in the first two debates, as an excited football player might be after a strong offensive game. Kerry was also described as “gearing up for the domestic agenda fight,” for the third debate, which was declared as “John Kerry’s turf.” Here, Kerry’s final debate preparation is likened to that of a football player getting ready for a home game. In addition to football, Kerry was also described using basketball terminology (when he was expected to receive a “bounce” in the polls) and baseball terminology, (when he “steps to the plate for the finale of his debate series with President Bush,”).

President Bush was not described in basketball or baseball terms. Also sparse were references to these sports in regards to general campaign issues, though there

were a few. Five electoral votes were described as “up for grabs in Nevada,” a reference relevant to either football or basketball. In addition, CNN suggested, “the waters have been muddied” in recent years, because voters do not feel they can always trust the words of Presidential candidates during the debates. To “muddy the water” is an expression used in the sport of fly-fishing, when someone stirs up debris in a stream in which others are trying to fish, (Palmatier & Ray, 1988). This reference was unique to the other sport metaphors because a fisherman is not necessarily considered an aggressive or physical athlete. On the contrary, the physical sport of hockey was referenced to describe the debate process. For example, Bush and Kerry were said to have “faced off” during the debates, and John Kerry was judged “the winner of the two face offs” according to polls. Only one baseball metaphor was used to describe the debates, when a CNN reporter explained, “Both men hoping to hit one out of the ballpark tonight,” in reference to the final debate.

*Fox News Channel: Politics as Violence*

In addition to sports metaphors, both networks used an abundance of metaphors related to violence. Fox News Channel used a total of 105 metaphorical references that described the presidential campaign process as violent or warlike. For example, the candidates were described as “hitting battleground states” during the campaign process, and holding rallies meant to “energize their base.” These metaphors stimulate images of war, suggesting campaign sites are like battle grounds, and voters who attend rallies are like groups of soldiers listening to inspiring words from their commander prior to going to battle. The debates were considered to be “tussles” where the candidates would “slam into each other,” thereby exciting “political

firestorms.” Thus, the presidential debates were likened to a physically aggressive fight between candidates that resulted in violence, harm, and even gunfire. The differences between sports and war metaphors is that sports metaphors “imply a code of rules and a sense of fair play,” (Howe, 1988, p.89), suggesting that the winner and loser are determined in a fair manner, and although defeated, the loser can always play another day. Violent metaphors, on the other hand, portray political acts as “ruthless or treacherous,” where fairness takes second stage to victory, and the loser does not escape with his or her health and safety, (Howe, 1988, p.95).

Of the 105 violent metaphors used on Fox News Channel, 76 were direct references to war, and 29 were references to physical violence, (see Table 5).

Table 5: Occurrence Rates of Violent Metaphors on FNC

Fox News Channel (FNC)					
Source Metaphor Politics As Violence	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates	Total
Physical Violence	6	15	5	3	29
War	20	21	31	4	76
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>105</b>

Notice that “war” and “physical violence” are considered two different types of violent metaphor, (just as “football” and “poker” are considered two different types of game metaphor). Although the differences and similarities between football and poker are fairly clear, the same cannot be said about war and physical violence, because physical violence is such a large part of what war entails. However, the researcher felt that war and physical violence should be viewed, in certain situations, as independent,

because a person can engage in physically violent behavior without engaging in warfare. In addition, not all actions that occur during war are direct physical attacks.

In the example, “The President hit the ground running today,” it is clear that the speaker is making a reference to warfare, because the description stems from the actions of paratroopers who jump out of airplanes and start running once they land safely on the ground. However, the expressions, “He hit his opponent hard on certain issues,” or “He attacked his opponent’s position on policy” are more difficult to identify as exclusive references to war because a person need not be a soldier in order to hit or attack another person, (although it is not unlikely for a soldier to behave in such a manner during battle). Thus, metaphors that use expressions such as, “attack,” “fight,” “hit,” “pound,” “cut,” “bare down,” or “take a swipe at,” are considered references about violent acts that are not blatantly linked to war, and thus are simply considered to be metaphors of “physical violence.” Metaphors that are directly linked to warfare (such as bomb, shoot, seize, zero in, lay low, blast, battleground, etc) are considered “war” metaphors, because these actions are directly linked to warfare. When references to war and physical violence overlap in a single quotation, as in the statement “the President hit two battleground states today,” the war metaphor is considered more dominant, and thus the statement is counted as two references to war, rather than once reference to physical violence and one reference to war. Let us now look at Fox News Channel’s use of metaphors related to physical violence and war.

### *Physical Violence*

References to physical violence on Fox News Channel were less frequent than references to War. Of the 26 references linking Bush to violence, for example, only 6

were references to physical violence, while 20 were references to war. Of the 36 references linking Kerry to violence, 15 were references to physical violence, while 21 were references to war. Of the 36 violent metaphors used to describe the general election process and campaign issues, 5 were references to physical violence, while 31 were references to war. Finally, of the 7 comments linking the debates to violent metaphors, 3 were references to physical violence, while 4 were references to war.

While using metaphors about physical violence to describe President Bush, reporters either explained which campaign stop the President would “hit” next, as exemplified in the quotation, “The President will hit campaign stops in New Mexico and Colorado,” or they described Bush as committing violent acts against Kerry, particularly when the president discussed John Kerry’s voting record. For example, in a rhetorical question posed to guests, one reporter asked if Bush would “continue to pound away” at Kerry by labeling him a liberal. Statements like, “the president taking some swipes at John Kerry’s record, calling him a flip flopping, tax raising liberal,” and another that also said “the president is taking a swipe against John Kerry,” suggest that Bush is a physical aggressor, and Kerry is a victim of that aggression<sup>5</sup>.

Kerry was also described as committing violent acts against his opponent, particularly when addressing policy issues. In quotations like, “President Bush defending his policies as the incumbent, John Kerry attacking the President on those policies,” “He’s been hitting the president on job losses, health care costs, and tax relief,” “Senator Kerry has been hitting the president pretty hard, saying he doesn’t

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<sup>5</sup> (Interestingly, the Oxford English Dictionary defines the word swipe as, “A heavy blow; a driving stroke made with the full swing of the arms, in cricket or golf.” Thus, the word may indeed imply some sort of sports reference, but in the literal sense, if a candidate swings a cricket mallet or golf club at his opponent, he is certainly engaging in a violent act).

have an energy plan,” and “Kerry ripped the President for engaging in tax cuts during a war,” FNC depicts Kerry’s criticism of Bush’s policies as physically violent acts.

Aside from when Kerry was criticizing Bush’s policies, Fox News Channel depicted Kerry and his campaign as constant victims of physical attacks (or victims of war), who were in need of defending themselves. Thus, while the Bush campaign was described as the aggressor of the attacks, Kerry was described as responding to the violence with more violence, after having been victimized. For example, FNC reporters explained, “The president taking some swipes at John Kerry’s record, calling him a flip flopping, tax raising liberal. And the Democratic nominee fighting back as well, saying the country needs new, smarter leadership.” In another instance, reporters explained, “The president says Kerry is a tax raising liberal who continually shifts positions on Iraq. Senator Kerry fighting back on the campaign trail as well. The democrat spoke at an Ohio rally, saying that Americans can have four more years of wrong choices or they can move in a new direction.” This pattern of describing Bush as the original attacker and Kerry as “fighting back” emerged in instances pertaining to warfare as well.

News coverage of the general campaign process and election issues that focused on physical violence often utilized the term “hit,” such as, “President Bush and John Kerry set to hit the swing state of New Mexico,” or “Bush/Cheney headquarters from around the country have been hit with various acts of vandalism.” In addition, the vandalism was described as a “cut against the republicans,” an expression that seemed to suggest the defaced office was a symbol of physical violence. Finally, one guest complimented Dick Cheney’s response to comments



Senator Edwards made about Cheney's daughter during the Vice Presidential debate. The guest explained that Cheney's response deflected the likelihood of negative press, and ensured there would be no headlines about a "tremendous row" in the news following the Vice Presidential debate.

The presidential debates were described in terms of physical violence when reporters depicted the candidates as "slamming into each other on domestic issues," during the third debate, and also when they called the final debate the "tussle" in Arizona. Senator Kerry was shown using a metaphor of physical violence to describe the President's demeanor during the debate the previous evening. Footage of a campaign speech showed the Senator saying, "...I was a little worried. At one point, I thought the President was going to attack Charlie Gibson." Such a comment suggests the President was on the verge of physically violent behavior during the second debate, and evokes images of the President in a fistfight with the moderator.

### *War*

Much more common on FNC news coverage was the use of war metaphors to describe the campaign for president. Coverage of the Bush campaign often depicted the President as a commander amidst battle in a war. For example, Bush was described as having "seized" on a comment Kerry made to the press. He was described as working to "shore up his base" in Nevada, and as planning to "hit two battleground states" on the west coast. It was also explained that the President would "zero in on his opponent's twenty year record" during the final debate. Each of these references depicts Bush as leading a strategic war against Kerry.

Reporters also repeatedly linked President Bush to “the war on terror,” a metaphorical phrase coined by the Bush administration that has become quite common in recent years. Some explanation of this metaphor is necessary before we can move on to explaining how it was used during news broadcasts. An implicative complex (which you may recall from the methodology chapter, refers to the system of inferences we cognitively connect with a word in order to define it) for the word “war” is fairly predictable, and usually includes things like battlegrounds, military involvement, killing, death, weapons, strategic planning, and armed conflict between nations. An implicative complex for the term “terror,” on the other hand, is much less obvious. Terror can refer to overwhelming fear, or it can refer to violent acts committed by a group for political means. Recent events have contributed additional complexity to our implicative complexes for the term “terror.” After the September Eleventh attacks, the subway bombings in London, and the suicide bombers in the Middle East, Americans (and most of the world) were forced to expand their implicative complex for the word “terror” to include the horror and devastation that results from massive terrorist acts, as well as the notion that terrorism is unpredictable, and may occur at the most unexpected times and places. Combining the two expressions, “war” and “terror”, into one phrase forces the listener to construct a new implicative complex, one that excludes characteristics associated with either term that are incompatible with each other. With the phrase “war on terror,” the listener must abandon the notion that war occurs on specific battlefields. That is, if terror may occur anywhere, at any time, then waging a war against it must mean that war can occur

anywhere, and at any time. The location of war, therefore, is no longer confined to a particular nation or region. Instead, the battlefield is wherever the terror is located.

The “war on terror” metaphor was used differently during newscasts (on both channels) than all of the other metaphorical expressions. More specifically, the “war on terror” expression was used as if it referred to a particular, tangible, (though unidentified), object or thing. Its uniqueness caused the researcher to consider excluding the expression from this study; however, the potent rhetorical power that the “war on terror” expression has garnered in recent years seemed too important for the researcher to pass by. The “war on terror” expression, and its metamorphosis from an unknown metaphor to a globally recognized one, is a good example of the rhetorical power of metaphor. The phrase “war on terror” was not a part of anyone’s implicative complex for neither war nor terror prior to the U.S. government’s invention of the expression. By creating the expression and using it to describe the military actions of the U.S., the Bush administration was able to influence people’s definitions for both war and terror simultaneously. In addition, the “war on terror” phrase has begun to transcend the traditional realm of metaphor (e.g. describing something in terms of something else) as people have begun to interpret the expression literally, thereby perceiving that the U.S. is actually at war with the notion of terror. Thus, the “war on terror” expression has been successfully used to validate military actions of the U.S., and may have functioned to garner support for the Bush administration’s military decisions.

Despite the complexity of the “war on terror” metaphor, both reporters and guests used it often on Fox News Channel. Many reports implied that Bush had a

better grasp of the war on terror than his opponent, John Kerry. For example, reporters noted, “56% of Americans think that President Bush can better handle the war on terror,” a statement that suggests majority support for the President’s handling of the war on terror among those polled (whoever they may be). In another instance, reporters described comments Bush made while campaigning. Bush’s comments suggested that signs of a budding democracy in Iraq had a positive impact on the war on terror, “the President...pointing to Afghanistan’s elections today as a sign of success of the war on terrorism.” This statement asserts that there is a connection between the War in Iraq and the war on terror, but does not explain exactly how the two are intertwined.

Some of the violent metaphors, including the war on terror metaphor, used in reference to President Bush discussed Bush and Kerry simultaneously, but maintained the theme of viewing Bush as the dominant commander in a war. For example, reporters explained that Kerry’s comments to a New York newspaper, which explained his goals for the war, had been critiqued by the Bush campaign. FNC reporters described the Bush campaign as saying Kerry’s position was misguided and that President Bush planned to point that out. What is interesting to note, however, is that while describing the Bush campaign’s comments, reporters used various war metaphors that depicted Kerry as being assaulted by the Bush campaign: “the Bush campaign has seized on this [Kerry’s comments]...and suggest Senator Kerry, with those words, has bespoken a misunderstanding of the severity of the war on terror...the President calls it a global war on terror, and they intend to bare down on Senator Kerry, and cast him as weak for these remarks.” Here, President Bush is

shown again as the aggressor in a violent, war-like attack against Kerry. Intertwining metaphors of war, (such as “seize”, and “war on terror”), with metaphors of physical violence (such as “bare down,” and “cast as weak,”), has the effect of depicting Kerry as a prisoner of war, (which suggests not only that Kerry is the enemy, but also that he has been overpowered by Bush). Thus, Kerry has been “seized” by the powerful Bush campaign for misunderstanding the “global war on terror,” and the punishment for misunderstanding the war is to be “bore down” upon, and “cast as weak”.

Metaphors used by guests that linked Bush to violence depicted him as either a strategic leader of war, or a sorry one. One guest seemed to support the President’s “preemptive attitude,” and another explained, “The Bush strategy really is to mobilize their base,” and “The Bush campaign really believes that if they can get their base mobilized that they can win this thing.” Clearly, such references describe Bush as an aggressive and strategic leader of war. However, not all guests saw it that way. One guest accused the President of saying “we couldn’t win the war on terror,” and said his decision to go to war with Iraq was “diverting us from the war on terror.” Another guest commended Kerry for pointing out that the President “may not be fully in command of what he is doing.” These comments depict Bush as a war leader who makes poor decisions and has little control over his mental faculties in war-like situations.

While Bush was often described as a leader or commander in a war, Kerry, his wife, Senator Edwards, and his general campaign were depicted as soldiers in battle, who were often trying to shoot down their enemy or maneuver strategically on the battlefield. For example, reporters repeatedly said that in the second debate, “Senator

Kerry blasted Bush on jobs and Iraq” He was described as “lying low” while preparing for the debates, as if he was a soldier sheltering himself from gunfire on a battlefield. FNC also described Kerry’s wife as “stepping up attacks against President Bush,” “taking direct aim at President Bush while on the road campaigning for her husband,” and as “blasting President Bush recently on the search for Bin Ladin...” In addition, reporters explained the uniqueness of a campaign rally that Kerry and Edwards were both able to attend by stating, “The reason we are saying that it probably won’t happen again is that there is so much territory to cover, and the race being so tight, it is unlikely that they will be able to combine resources and have them hit only one place at one time. Having them split obviously makes it possible for them to cover twice as much turf.” This quotation uses multiple game and war metaphors, depicting horse race and football themes with the “tight race” and “turf” metaphors, as well as the soldiers-amidst-war theme with references to “covering territory” and “hitting one place at a time.”

Kerry, like the President, was also often linked to the war on terror metaphor, though Kerry was not depicted as a strong commander of the war, like Bush had been. The comments Kerry made to a New York newspaper about his position on the war on terror were repeated often, and reporters spent a lot of time explaining President Bush’s reaction to the comments, providing explanations from the Kerry campaign about those comments, or theorizing about the meaning of the remarks themselves. The end result was that FNC’s coverage that linked Kerry to the war on terror metaphor did not clearly specify Kerry’s views of the war on terror, but rather explained that the Bush campaign did not agree with Kerry’s views.

The theme of depicting Kerry as retaliating against Bush's attacks were not limited to references to physical violence, but also occurred in metaphors of war. For example, three times during one hour's worth of news coverage, reporters described an "RNC web ad attacking John Kerry" that "targets his changing positions on national security." These comments depict supporters of the Bush campaign (e.g. the RNC) as the instigators of war-like attacks against Kerry. Once during the same hour, reporters explained that in response to the attacks, "The Kerry camp is fighting back with a new ad of their own." Coverage of these web ads clearly depicts the two campaigns as being in some sort of fight or battle with each other, with the President's campaign as the instigator of the fight, and Kerry's campaign reciprocating with violence. (It is interesting to note that the instigators of the attack received more coverage than Kerry's retaliation). The multiple references to Kerry "fighting back" suggested that FNC viewed Kerry as in need of defending himself.

The key subject of the general election campaign/ campaign issues was often referred to on Fox News Channel using metaphors of war. For instance, reporters described the dwindling days remaining until the election as "the election countdown," thus equating Election Day to some sort of detonation. Many states, such as Ohio, Arizona, and New Mexico, were repeatedly referred to as "battle ground states" that Bush and Kerry needed to win over in order to become president. In addition, both sides were described as being in need of "energizing their base," in order to rally support for their campaigns. One reporter explained, "Both sides are going to use terms that they think will energize their base. When you call a democrat a liberal, it energizes the conservative base in the republican party." In another instance, a guest

explained, “[Bush and Kerry need to do both;] To be able to mobilize their base, and focus on the swing voters.” These examples describe the campaign as a strategic war.

Some of the issues FNC associated with the campaign identified the Bush campaign and/or his supporters as victims of violent, warlike acts, while supporters of the Kerry campaign were described as the violators. For instance, Reverend Jesse Jackson was described as “taking a shot” at republicans when he said the current administration “paints too rosy of a picture” of domestic and international situations, (notice Reverend Jackson used a metaphor related to nature, not war or violence, to critique the actions of the Bush administration; Jackson’s comments, however, were described by FNC reporters in reference to war). In addition, Bush/Cheney offices were described as having been “targeted” by vandals, while a New Jersey elementary school teacher was described as being “under fire for pictures of President Bush she had up in her classroom.” These descriptions describe examples of victimization that the Bush campaign, and/or his supporters, must endure.

The war on terror was also identified as a campaign issue during FNC newscasts. However, guests, not reporters, advanced all of the comments that identified the war on terror as a campaign issue without associating it with a particular candidate. For example, guests explained, “we are not going to win the war on terror by going door to door around the world,” “most people connect the war on terrorism with all American hating individuals,” “most people are much more focused on the larger war on terrorism, of which Iraq has always been a card carrying member,” and “Iraq is the central front of the war on terrorism.” These comments seem to support



the notion that the war on terror is legitimate, that Iraq is an important battleground for the war on terror, and that we must win the war.

Finally, a few comments associated the presidential debates with acts of war. Reporters remarked, “all goes down in Arizona,” as if the final debate was some sort of battle. In addition, reporters explained that “sparks were flying” during the final debate, thus suggesting the candidates were shooting at one another. An extended quotation from one reporter paints a picture of a war scene, where candidates shot at one another in hopes of inspiring people to vote, “And one thing the candidates are hoping for was that there were enough sparks flying to energize the faithful voters to get out to the polls November second. Now, aside from a few missteps made by both candidates, president Bush and John Kerry stated their positions well. President Bush defending his policies as the incumbent, John Kerry attacking the president on those policies.” Although the use of war metaphors to describe the debate was limited in numbers, the war metaphors used to describe the debate process were quite graphic.

#### *Cable News Channel: Politics as Violence*

CNN used 114 metaphors of violence during their coverage of the 2004 presidential election. The violent metaphors used on CNN can be organized into the same two categories that were prevalent on Fox News Channel: metaphors of physical violence, and metaphors of war. As before, metaphors of physical violence are counted as such when a violent metaphor makes no direct reference to war within a given statement. Thus, metaphors that describe the candidates as “slamming into each other” “knocking down” their opponent, “hitting” a campaign stop, “beating up” the other candidate, or “fighting” for the middle class are considered metaphors of

physical violence rather than metaphors of war. On the other hand, expressions that describe the candidates as “blasting” each other, visiting “battleground” states, “seizing” upon each other, or “zeroing in” on the opposition are considered war metaphors because they make direct references to warfare.

Like Fox News Channel, CNN used metaphors of war to describe the presidential campaign far more often than metaphors of physical violence. Of the 114 violent metaphors used to describe the presidential campaign, 74 were metaphors of war, while 40 were metaphors of physical violence. Of the 40 comments that described President Bush in terms of violence, 10 focused on physical violence while 30 focused on war. Of the 48 metaphors linking John Kerry to violence, 21 pertained to physical violence, while 27 were related to war. General campaign issues were referenced 19 times in terms of violence, with 7 references that pertained to physical violence and 12 that pertained to war. The presidential debates were described in terms of violence only 7 times, twice in terms of physical violence, and 5 times in terms of war, (see Table 6).

Table 6: Occurrence Rates of Violent Metaphors on CNN

Cable News Network (CNN)					
Source Metaphor Politics As Violence	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates	Total
Physical Violence	10	21	7	2	40
War	30	27	12	5	74
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>114</b>

### *Physical Violence*

Two patterns emerged in the comments made by reporters that pertained to physical violence: reporters either described the President's actions (or the actions of his campaign) towards John Kerry as physically violent attacks, or they described the President's campaign stops as acts of violence. For example, reports of the President's whereabouts on his campaign tour described him in Minnesota, "slamming his opponent, John Kerry's, record again." The President was described as "hitting" Kerry harder on his record, as "going after" Kerry for his comments published in the New York Times, and as trying to "knock down" any leads he may have in the polls. The Vice President was described as "attacking John Kerry" during a campaign tour, and "hitting John Kerry" over his comments on terrorism. These metaphors liken the political actions of the Bush campaign to physically violent attacks against John Kerry. In addition, when describing Bush's campaign stops, reporters made reference to physically violent behavior with comments like, "Today President Bush hits two very important states," and, "Mr. Bush hit two critical states Thursday." Such comments associate common campaign behavior, like stopping in states to give campaign speeches, to physically violent acts.

Direct quotations from Kerry also associated the President's behavior with physical violence. For example, one clip of Kerry speaking at a campaign rally in Ohio explained his perception of President Bush's demeanor during the second debate, "I was a little worried at one point; I thought the President was going to attack Charlie Gibson." Another clip showed Kerry at a rally in Florida, where he explained that the main strategy of the Bush campaign was to attack Kerry's policy positions, because

the President had no successful domestic policies to speak of at length, "...They can't come here and talk to you about the jobs that they've created. They can't talk to you about the schools they've lifted up. They can't talk to you about the healthcare they've given to people. So all they're going to do is attack and attack and try and divert and push some hot button that has nothing to do with the quality of your life on a daily basis in this country." Kerry's references to Bush "attacking" him or Charlie Gibson clearly associate the President's actions with physically violent behavior.

Like President Bush, John Kerry was also described as committing physically violent acts against his opponent. Reporters described Kerry as "beating up on George W. Bush" in order to appeal to supporters of Ralph Nader, and as "lambasting Bush" during the second debates. Although some of the references on CNN that linked Senator Kerry to violent acts portrayed him as physically attacking the President, more references depict Kerry as a reluctant fighter; one who pulls his punches for when the time is right. For example, a comment by reporters attempting to paraphrase Kerry's positions claimed, "...right now he wants to focus on the domestic agenda, he perhaps does not want to be pulled into a fight on national security while he's gearing up for the domestic agenda fight." This reference, which incorporates a game metaphor within metaphors of physical violence, depicts Kerry as a person who fights out of necessity rather than one who is fueled by his emotions. Kerry was also described as a fighter who uses violence to defend others. For example, in a forecast of what to expect from Kerry on his campaign tour, reporters suggested voters should "look for Senator Kerry to continue talking about how he is fighting for the middle class." In another example, reporters paraphrased comments John Kerry made at a rally in

Arizona, “John Kerry...said he enjoyed the debate, but he's looking forward to talking even more about how he will fight for the middle class, while he believes the president is fighting for corporations.” In these instances, the “fighting” that John Kerry is involved in is depicted as a noble thing. Finally, a few references depicted Kerry as a victim of physical violence, such as in the quotation, “The Sinclair Broadcasting Company is about to air in the final days of this campaign a documentary that really slams Senator Kerry for his Vietnam War record...”

Very few metaphors of physical violence were used to describe the general campaign election/campaign issues, or the presidential debates. The limited examples include a description of “both camps fighting” over Senator Kerry’s comments published in the New York Times, and describing the debate as a “tussle over taxes,” where the candidates “hit” key issues. Nonetheless, these examples do associate common campaign issues, and the debates, with physical violence. Far more prevalent in the violent metaphors used to describe each key subject, however, were metaphors of war.

### *War*

The war metaphors used by CNN depict both candidates as soldiers fighting in a war, although their descriptions seemed to pertain more to war strategy than gore. President Bush, for example, was repeatedly described as a soldier in the trenches of war during news coverage on CNN. He was often reported to be traveling to “key battleground states,” like Florida, (which incidentally was referred to as “ground zero of election 2000”), though sometimes he was able to visit “friendly territory.” Bush was also described as “lying low,” prior to the debates, where he “hunkered down”

with his political advisors “to prepare for the critical three-week countdown to election day.” In some instances Bush was described as “making up for lost ground,” or needing to do “damage control,” as if he were a soldier scrambling to create order after an attack. Such descriptions evoke images of President Bush as a soldier in the trenches of war, who must navigate his way through dangerous territories.

President Bush was also described as existing among a troupe of soldiers who provided him with assistance and protection. For example, his advisors were described as “out in full force” while the President spent some time at his Crawford Ranch, off of the campaign trail. This implies that the President’s team would continue working, even when Bush himself would not. His team was said to be “eager to get the president back on the road in familiar and friendly territory,” thus suggesting that they were responsible for getting Bush where he needed to go. The President was repeatedly referred to as being “hunkered down” with his “top political advisors” prior to the debates, as if they were training him to go to battle. Not President Bush, but the whole “Bush camp” was considered to have “seized on a New York Times profile of Kerry,” as if the calumny that ensued was a group effort.

Most references of Senator Kerry on CNN described him as a soldier amidst battle, who worked strategically and aggressively against his enemies. Kerry was repeatedly described as stopping, preparing, or campaigning in “battleground states,” as if he were a quick-paced soldier covering enemy territory. While preparing for the debates, Kerry was described as “keeping a very low profile,” as and as staying “behind closed doors,” and as “holed up with staffers.” These descriptions provoke images of Kerry plotting his next attack in secret, as a strategic commander might do

before battle. Also during debate preparation, Kerry was said to have practiced lines that “zeroed in on gas prices and energy reform,” thus comparing his rhetoric to some sort of gun or missile. Continuing with the gun metaphor, reporters explained that the Kerry campaign had been “wanting to shift the focus a bit from Iraq for weeks now to the domestic front,” and that Kerry “really plans to zero in on domestic issues” at the end of his campaign. Reporters also described Kerry as having “blasted President Bush” for not leveling with the American people about the war, and was “expected to blast President Bush over the economy at campaign stops in Wisconsin.”

In one interesting gun metaphor, reporters seemed to put words in Kerry’s mouth by explaining how they think Kerry might respond to attack ads produced by the Bush campaign: “The Bush campaign is focusing specifically on health care. Today they’re releasing a new ad later on with some of those same themes, saying that John Kerry’s health care plan is nothing more than big government. Of course, Kerry would shoot back that health costs have really risen dramatically under President Bush’s watch and that the uninsured have gone up on President Bush’s watch.” Here, reporters describe Kerry’s hypothetical or anticipated responses to a political ad, suggesting that Kerry might “shoot back” at President Bush. This shows that reporters anticipate Kerry to react to the ads with violence or warfare. The perceived healthcare failures, identified by reporters as rising health costs and uninsured Americans, were described as happening under “President Bush’s watch,” as if he was a soldier who made a mistake on duty that allowed his enemy to advance. What is interesting is that reporters describe this perception of President Bush as if it came from Kerry, when in fact it is the projection of the reporters. Thus, the reporters in this situation perceived

the campaign process as violent and war like, and communicated that perception through their use of violent metaphor.

Like Bush, Kerry was described as one soldier amidst many, but one who was responsible for leading his troupe to victory. At times, his team was described as losing the battle, and other times Kerry was the self-proclaimed victor. For example, reporters described Kerry's camp as "all but giving up" on the "battleground state" of Arizona. Matthew Dowd, a campaign strategist for President Bush, was reported as saying the Kerry camp was "giving up on hard-fought territory" in Arizona. The morning after the third debate, however, Kerry was said to have "hit the ground running" by wasting no time "claiming victory" in the final debate. Such descriptions depict Senator Kerry as a lone soldier responsible for claiming victory after a battle with his enemy.

The general campaign election/campaign issues were also referred to using metaphorical war terms. Reporters spent time discussing the positions of voters in "battleground states" that President Bush and John Kerry "hit repeatedly in the final days." Both camps were described as being at war with each other, and the First Lady, Laura Bush, was described as unsurprised by the "intensity and the number of attacks in the current presidential race." Guests also discussed the "battleground states," and a few engaged in deep discussion about the "war on terrorism" and its impact on the presidential election.

At times, reporters also associated the presidential debates with war, though the number of comments was fairly limited. The second presidential debate was termed "a war of words" by reporters, where each candidate maintained "familiar lines



of attack.” The candidates were described as “targeting very different audiences,” at times, and at others, maintaining “very focused and targeted” remarks at women. Such comments do describe the presidential debates in terms of war, though more common was the tendency to describe each candidate’s debate preparation as strategic and warlike.

*Other Themes Worth Mentioning: Politics as Body, Spectacle, Culture, and More*

Although most of the metaphors used on Fox News Channel and CNN focused on metaphors of game or war, other patterns exist that are worthy of mention. Both channels commonly used metaphors pertaining to body, spectacle, and culture. Let us examine these themes in greater detail.

*Politics as Body*

Fox News Channel used 41 metaphors associated with the human body during their coverage of the 2004 presidential election. Body metaphors, which concentrate on things like blood, body parts, diet, health, physical force or strength, and sex, is the oldest, most universal, and most traditional source metaphor, (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004). Body metaphors are considered to be “a global root metaphor” because it refers to the “common human experience of embodiment,” (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2002, p. 15). Body metaphors are often related to metaphors of violence, as the harms of violence are generally of a physical nature. However, most of the body metaphors used on Fox News Channel and CNN referenced things like body parts and physical strength, and only a small few referenced bodily harm caused by violent acts.

FNC reporters described President Bush as strong, with references such as, “President Bush is working to shore up his base in a country and state that he carried

impressively four years ago,” and “The President received his usual thunderous applause when he entered the World Arena and bounded on stage just a few moments ago.” Each of these statements intertwines different types of metaphors with metaphors of body. The first statement compounds a war reference, (e.g. “shore up his base,”) with a body metaphor, (e.g. in a country and state he carried impressively four years ago”), and the second compounds a nature metaphor (e.g. thunderous applause) with a body metaphor, (e.g. “bounded on stage”). Bush was also described as trying to “flesh out this image of John Kerry as a flip flopper,” suggesting that the “true” Kerry was not yet visible, and that President Bush was capable of giving him form. On a similar note, footage of President Bush at a campaign rally showed the President questioning Kerry’s honesty, “Several of his statements just don’t pass the credibility test. With a straight face, he said ‘I have only had one position on Iraq’.” This comment again suggests that Kerry is hiding something.

References from FNC guests depicted President Bush as having physical weaknesses or ailments, with references such as, “The challenge for the President is to get specific on domestic policies, which is, if any thing, his Achilles heel,” and “He was down in Florida and he went out and did some glad-handing, and talked to people because of the hurricanes. And it may have hurt him.” Yet another guest accused the President of not “facing up” to his mistakes on tax cuts or Iraq. Each of these comments focuses on physical weakness.

Senator Kerry was also described in reference to body metaphors. Besides one comment that identified Kerry as “a bit stronger on domestic issues...” most body metaphors used in reference to Kerry depicted him as weak. For example, when

discussing Ralph Nader and his impact on the presidential election, reporters paraphrased comments from Nader that accused Kerry of “letting President Bush pull him in his direction.” This comment depicts Kerry and the President in a political tug of war, and suggests that the President can overpower Kerry. Reporters also used rhetorical questions latent with body metaphors that questioned the Senator’s well being. For example, reporters asked: “Will John Kerry’s remark about Dick Cheney’s daughter hurt Kerry on Election Day?” “Do Teresa’s comments help or hurt her husband and his campaign?” and “Using the word ‘nuisance,’ is that going to hurt him?” Each of these comments likens political outcomes with physical impairment.

Comments from FNC guests that used body metaphors also depicted Kerry in a negative light. One guest accused Kerry of unnecessarily “dragging the Vice President’s daughter” into the political discussion during the final debate, and another suggested that Kerry “stumbled over” his answer on taxes during the third debate and therefore needs to be “very sure footed over the next few weeks, to keep from pushing votes over to Nader.” Another guest accused the Senator of not being able to “change his mind” on his “pre –nine-eleven way of thinking,” and suggested that Kerry would be “hurt” by the latest ad put out by the Bush campaign because it illustrated his pre-nine-eleven views. These statements use body metaphors to describe Kerry as unstable, either mentally or physically.

Descriptions of the general election/campaign issues that utilized body metaphors on FNC were fairly scarce, and offered few patterns to be extracted from them. However, almost all of the descriptions of the presidential debates made some sort of reference to “face.” The debates were termed “face offs” between candidates,

where they could “take each other on face to face.” Reporters explained the “final face to face debate” was “the last time the candidates will meet face to face before the election,” and encouraged viewers to watch the “face to face parting shots” on Fox. Strangely, the remaining body metaphors used to describe the debates pertained to feet. One report stated that “aside from a few missteps made by both candidates,” both President Bush and John Kerry did fairly well in the final debate. On a separate but related instance, the reporter asked guests if either candidate “shot himself in the foot” during the last debate.

CNN used fewer references to body during their election coverage than Fox News Channel, totaling 32 body metaphors in all. President Bush was described in terms of body 11 times. Reporters only made 4 of the comments, describing the President as “taking a breather” from the campaign trail, calling the division of the country the President’s “Achilles heel,” and stating twice that the President planned to “persuade all voters that the Senator is weak in fighting terror.” Similar footage of the President ridiculing Kerry was also played on CNN with this quotation, “With a straight face, he said, ‘I only have one position on Iraq... I can barely contain myself.’” Here, President Bush’s reference to self-containment is also considered a body metaphor, because the human body is arguably the most important vessel we have available to us.

Senator Kerry received 9 references to body, with reporters explaining he was “boning up” on domestic issues prior to the debates, that the Kerry campaign viewed Kerry as “very strong” in the first two debates, and predicted he will be “even stronger” in the third, where he planned to “reach out to the middle”. Reporters

explained that the republicans considered Kerry to be “weak-kneed” on terrorism, though one guest called him “a strong and steady leader.” Thus, the patterns of body metaphor depicting one candidate as either strong or weak were not as prevalent on CNN as they were on FNC.

However, like FNC, CNN hardly used body metaphors to describe the general campaign or campaign issues. The “face” references to the debates were also less frequent on CNN, though they were used twice. All in all, the body metaphors used by CNN were more sporadic than those on FNC.

### *Politics as Spectacle*

Both channels used metaphors related to spectacle, which describe politics in terms of things like carnivals, circuses, dramas, fairy tales, movies, science fiction, theater, or the Wild West. Most references to spectacle from each channel focused on aspects of performance, as well as the “Wild West” theme.

On Fox News Channel, for example, reporters noted the how the President’s “performance” in the debates fared, and noted when Senator Kerry and Senator Edwards “shared a stage” in Ohio. While discussing the general election/campaign issues, reporters noted those who believed Nader should “end the charade” and drop out of the race, while guests discussed how certain stories “played out” in the media. The debates were termed “dramatic confrontations” that each candidate prepared for during “dress rehearsals,” where they could practice answering questions about the “A list issues” like healthcare, jobs, and taxes. Each of these comments depicts the election as some sort of show or theater presentation.

Most striking about FNC's reference to spectacle was their abundant use of the term "showdown" to describe the third presidential debate. On nine separate occasions, reporters referred to the debate in Tempe, Arizona, as a "showdown," in quotations like, "The President is preparing for his third and final showdown with Senator Kerry," "Kerry is taking the full day to prepare for tomorrow night's big showdown," "we sure heard a lot of differences in the final showdown," and "live from the scene of last night's showdown in Tempe Arizona." Surely this terminology was a play on the location of the final debate, which took place in the South West, but the use of the word functioned to associate the debate with things like, "good guys and bad guys," "gun battles," and "cowboys."

CNN also used spectacle metaphors that pertained to theater and the Wild West. Reporters for CNN described Bush as avoiding the "spotlight" while preparing for the debates, and his campaign was said to have been "very pleased with the performance of the President" during those debates. Thus, members of the President's campaign was said to have appreciated his "strong performance," just as Kerry's campaign was described as "pleased with the Senator's performance." Unlike Bush, Kerry was described as boasting about the outcomes of the debates. For example, reporters said Kerry "characterized the debate as a win for him," and that he was "pumped up about his performance in the first two presidential debates."

The general campaign election/campaign issues were limited in their references to spectacle, though both identified by the researcher pertained to theater. For example, reporters described Laura Bush as "playing a significant role" in the election, while one guest argued that Nader could "play a very important key role" in

some of the battleground states. Guests also noted that, as the election draws near, “performing on the stump now is crucial,” as is “performing every news cycle.” Each of these references described the political process as some sort of theatrical performance.

CNN used the “showdown” metaphor to describe the final debate far less frequently than FNC, though they did mention it three times during their newscasts. In one sentence, reporters also called the final debate “the tempest in Tempe,” “the duel in the desert,” and a “high-stakes domestic showdown.” Clearly these references identify the debates as a spectacle worthy of an audience.

### *Politics as Culture*

Fox News Channel used 37 metaphors of culture, most of which pertained to antiquity, history, or painting. FNC commonly used old, traditional political expressions to describe campaign activities, such as using the term “campaign trail” to describe the candidate’s tours of the U.S., “on the stump” to describe either candidate giving a speech, and “right wing” and “left wing” to describe conservative and liberal voters. President Bush was repeatedly referred to as “on the campaign trail,” or “on the stump.” Such expressions bring to mind images of the President walking down a dirt road or lecturing to crowds while standing on a tree stump. The same expressions were used to describe Kerry or members of his campaign, though not as frequently.

A painting theme emerged that described the President as “painting,” “casting,” or “portraying” Kerry in a negative light. For example, reporters described President Bush as planning to “cast Kerry as weak” for comments he made to the New York Times, and as “portraying him as an old fashion tax and spend liberal.” In

addition, a guest also conjectured that the President had a plan to “paint Kerry as a liberal.” Senator Kerry was not described as trying to paint the President in a particular way, though reporters did say that Senator Kerry accused the President of “willfully trying to paint a better picture” of the war than the situation on the ground should warrant. Each of these statements suggests the President can, and does, manipulate the image of people or issues to his advantage.

The same culture themes occurred on CNN that occurred on FNC. The difference on CNN, however, is that the President in particular was described in old-fashioned political terms. Bush was repeatedly referred to as “on the campaign trail,” “on the stump,” “stumping before the crowds,” or “barnstorming,” with a total of 12 historical references. Kerry, however, only received one historical reference, when reporters described one of his speeches as “an aggressive stump speech.”

In addition, President Bush was repeatedly referred to as “painting” or “portraying” Kerry in a negative way. Reporters said Bush intended to “portray [Kerry] as someone who will say one thing, but do another,” as planning to “paint Kerry as someone who is not credible, someone who is not trustworthy, and therefore not fit to be president,” as “casting Kerry as a tax and spend liberal,” as “painting him as a consistent liberal extremist,” and as “portraying him as a flip-flopper.” Kerry was never described as painting the President in any particular fashion; he was simply the victim of the President’s manipulative power.

Although the most dominant themes on each network consisted of game and violence metaphors, analyzing the less common metaphors may also help identify the worldview’s of either channel. Metaphors that depicted the presidential campaign as



body, spectacle, and culture are just of the few less dominant themes that arose on each network.

### Discussion

As Richard Gregg (2004) explained, when rhetors use metaphor, they encourage the listener to adopt some particular perspective and refrain from attending to others. The cognitive deconstruction and reconfiguration that occurs when we attempt to ascertain meaning from metaphor induces us to reflect on one set of attitudes, feelings, values, and intentions while blinding us to other possibilities. Metaphor emphasizes particular characteristics of the primary subject, and is therefore biased in the presentation of its composition. It seems natural, therefore, to look toward metaphor as a means of investigating media bias. By examining metaphor, or more specifically, by examining the implicative complex for the secondary subject that is used to describe the primary subject, we are able to determine how a rhetor defines, describes, and represents the primary subject. The examination of metaphor used in newscast coverage affirms that media bias exists. More specifically, I found evidence of: partisan bias, presidential bias, rhetorical bias, and organizational bias. Although a discussion of each type of media bias is to come, first I will discuss the metaphors commonly used on each network, and the implicative complexes associated with them.

This study determined that the main source metaphors used by FNC and CNN in their news broadcasts of the 2004 presidential election includes game, violence, body, culture, and spectacle. As metaphorical meaning is linked with our cognitive processes, each individual creates a unique implicative complex, or network of

connections and inferences, for the metaphors we encounter in our lives. Despite the uniqueness of our individual implicative complex construction, however, people who share a particular culture are likely to construct similar implicative complexes for common source metaphors. The following list of source metaphors and their suggested implicative complexes represent the themes that individuals within the dominant American culture may use to construct meaning for the metaphors used on FNC and CNN. This list is limited in depth and breadth, and must be filled in with our personal associations; however, they do serve as a building block for understanding each source metaphor identified in this study.

According to Beer and De Landtsheer (2004), an implicative complex for games may include things like competition, contest, rules, race, and team, and may also include specific games that are familiar to us, like baseball, boxing, football, and soccer. Our notions of violence may include things like battle, dominance, force, murder, noise, rape, repression, suffering, submission, torture, or war. An implicative complex for body includes things like body parts, organs, health, birth, sex, strength, or blood. Culture, (or what Beer and De Landtsheer term “cultivation”) may include things like art, dance, education, history, music, myth, poetry, painting, or religion. The metaphor of spectacle is associated with situations that draw crowds of onlookers, like circuses, dramas, fairy tales, folklore, jokes, movies, television, theater, and the Wild West. These were the implicative complexes that FNC and CNN commonly referred to in their newscasts of the 2004 presidential election. The goal now is to see how analyzing each network’s use of metaphor will inform us about media bias.

The fact that Fox News Channel and CNN used metaphors of game and war more frequently than any other source metaphor during their news coverage of the 2004 presidential election articulates that these networks believe that the presidential election process can (and should) be understood in terms of game and war. That is, games and war are considered to be subjects that are not only understandable, but also similar, at least in some respects, to the political process for electing a president. It is likely, therefore, that because both networks value game and war metaphors over the other options, the networks have similar or compatible value systems, at least in regards to their political campaign coverage. For these reasons, the researcher chose to analyze the source metaphors of game and war, and the implicative complexes associated with them, in greater detail.

Considering politics as some sort of game suggests that each network considers the presidential election to consist of competition that is organized by previously established rules. Each candidate's moves are fairly predictable in the sense that they will conform to the rules of the game. Those that do not conform to the rules can either be thrown out, or will simply not win the competition. According to Howe (1988), game metaphors "impose the order and ritual of a sporting event...onto the more chaotic and unpredictable process of politics," (pp. 94-95). The most common game metaphors on each channel pertained to horse racing, boxing, and poker, which suggests the networks view the candidates as athletes who are dependent on forces outside of themselves, as athletes who must use violence and risk bodily injury, and as players who use mental skill and luck to win the election.

Considering politics as violence, however, provides a much more treacherous picture of the presidential election process that each channel used to articulate the ruthless behavior that occurred during the election. Violent metaphors depict the campaign process as an unpredictable and dangerous physical conflict, where the individuals involved may use any means necessary to save themselves or to win. Howe (1988) explains that war metaphors are useful when an implied code of rules and a sense of fair play are not appropriate. Both channels referenced acts of war far more often than simple physical violence, thus suggesting that they consider the campaign to be a violent struggle for power, and that they considered the candidates as soldiers or commanders fighting in the war.

Although many similarities exist between the ways that each network used metaphors of game and war, there were also subtle differences in the way each network used these metaphors to emphasize characteristics of the candidates, the election, and the presidential debates. These differences show where the value system of each network diverged from the other.

Both FNC and CNN used violent metaphors more often than game metaphors to describe President Bush, which suggests each channel considers Bush and/or his campaign to be more war-like than game-like. Such an assertion is not surprising, given that the President led the country to war during his first term in office. While CNN used more violent metaphors to describe Kerry than game metaphors, FNC referenced Kerry with almost an equal number of game and violent metaphors. The conflicting depictions of Kerry may reflect that Kerry's public persona was less known or less generalizable than the President's, and therefore was not attached to one

source metaphor in particular. On FNC, the general campaign/campaign issues were described in terms of game slightly more often than in terms of violence, while CNN described general campaign/campaign issues in terms of game over twice as often than in terms of violence. This suggests that both channels viewed the election as more of a rule-bound contest than a treacherous and dangerous battle, but CNN considered it to be more of a rule bound contest. Both channels also described the Presidential debates as a game. (See Table 7).

Table 7: Occurrence Rates of Game and Violent Metaphors on FNC and CNN

Fox News Channel (FNC)				
Source Metaphor Politics As:	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates
Game	22	33	37	17
Violence	26	36	36	7

Cable News Network (CNN)				
Source Metaphor Politics As:	Bush/Bush Campaign	Kerry/Kerry Campaign	Gen.Campaign Issues	Presidential Debates
Game	42	40	42	24
Violence	40	48	19	7

Analyzing the ways in which each network used metaphors of game and violence supported the presence of each of the four types of media bias identified by Hart, Jerome, and McComb (1984). Partisan bias was identified on each network, though notions of Presidential bias were less obvious. Most prevalent, however, were ways in which each network displayed rhetorical bias (and therefore, organizational bias) in their coverage of the candidates, their campaigns, general election issues, and the debates.

## *Partisan Bias*

### *Politics as Game*

Throughout their newscasts, Fox News Channel repeatedly described President Bush as the stronger, more powerful, more forceful Presidential candidate, which may suggest some Partisan or Presidential bias in favor of President Bush. The game metaphors used to describe the President, for example, depicted him as physically or verbally harassing Senator Kerry, (e.g. “sparring” with Kerry, “tagging” Kerry as a liberal, putting Kerry “on the defensive,” and warning Kerry that “he can run, but he can’t hide”). Kerry was described with less forceful game metaphors, which seldom implied he was doing any sort of physical harm to the President, (e.g. Kerry was “scoring points” in the debates, gaining a “very narrow lead” in New Mexico, and “catching up for a tie” with the President in the polls. Only once Kerry was described as “taking a jab” at the President). In addition, the game metaphors consistently depicted Bush as leading or winning the game. He was described as “protecting his lead” in Colorado, as speaking at a “victory rally” in Colorado Springs, and as “slightly ahead” of, or “keeping a slight lead” over his challenger. None of the game metaphors depicted Bush as lagging behind Kerry (Kerry was occasionally described as being ahead of Bush, which inferred that Bush was behind him, but Bush was never explicitly described as being behind Kerry). Although Kerry was also depicted as ahead at times, (e.g. having a “very narrow lead” in New Mexico, and as maintaining a “4-point lead in Wisconsin”), he was more often described as “catching up for a tie,” possibly “poised to push ahead,” or “moving the race back to even.” Such statements

imply that Kerry was viewed as trailing President Bush in the race, with an occasional or unexpected spurt that allowed him to catch up to his competitor.

CNN's use of game metaphor painted a different picture of the candidates, and may suggest partisan bias in favor of Kerry. While FNC usually depicted the President as winning the game, and never depicted him as losing or trailing behind Kerry, CNN reported the opposite. Statements that declared the President "trailed" John Kerry by 19%, and that the President was trying to "knock down" his opponents "lead" not only infer that Kerry was ahead, but they explicitly state the President was behind, or losing to, Kerry. Additionally, President Bush was not described as the more aggressive athlete on the winning team, as he was on FNC. Rather, President Bush was depicted as an athlete on the losing team, who would resort to unfair play in order to get ahead. He was described as "taunting" John Kerry, as needing to "paint John Kerry as a liberal" in order to "play on his turf," and as "moving ahead" of John Kerry by "making Kerry and Kerry's record the central theme of the campaign." Kerry, on the other hand, was described as the winning athlete whom was "scoring points for himself," maintaining a "clear lead," "scoring much higher," and "sweeping the debates." He was often described as an active and energetic athlete, who was "pumped up," "loose," "confident," and "gearing up" for the debates. No such references were used to describe Bush.

Analyzing CNN's use of football metaphors further illustrates the difference between their coverage of President Bush and Senator Kerry. Reporters described Kerry as the energetic football player in a "huddle with his advisors," or "gearing up" for the final debate. Multiple references from guests and reporters deemed the third

debate as occurring on Kerry's "home turf," as if he had an advantage going in. The football metaphors used to describe President Bush were not as flattering. For instance, when describing Kerry's surprisingly good performance during the second debate, one guest remarked that Bush's performance was a bit disappointing by using football metaphors, "When we went into this debate, a lot of people thought this would be George Bush's home turf...people weren't really ready to see how well John Kerry did in it." If football is "a territorial sport, in which teams invade and defend home turf," (Nadelhaft, 1993, p.30), then we can interpret this metaphor to mean Bush had some sort of obligation to defend his "home turf" during the second debate, and Kerry's successful performance infringed on that somehow. In another example, reporters note, "They [the Bush campaign] are trying to play on his [John Kerry's] turf, and trying to do that by painting John Kerry as a liberal." This comment, which is a compound of sport and culture metaphors, suggests that in order for Bush to beat Kerry on his "home turf," Bush must use some underhanded tactics, like representing or portraying Kerry in a false or negative way. Clearly these two examples depict Bush in a negative light.

In addition, the connection made between football and fighting in the quotation "John Kerry is gearing up for the domestic agenda fight" identifies some interesting aspects of CNN's worldview. First, it clarifies that CNN, like many, considers football to be an aggressive game. By describing the political process as being similar to football, CNN must consider the political process to be an aggressive game. (In syllogistic form, this argument would be: Premise one, "Football is an aggressive game". Premise two, "the political process is like football." Conclusion, "Therefore,



the political process is an aggressive game.”) Secondly, this quotation continues the theme of depicting Kerry as the spirited athlete.

*Politics as Violence*

The violent metaphors used on FNC to describe the President depicted him as more preemptively aggressive than Kerry. Bush was described as “baring down” on the Senator, as “zeroing in” on his opponent, as “taking some swipes” at Kerry, and as ready to “take on” the Senator in the upcoming debates. Kerry, however, was repeatedly referred to as “fighting back,” as if in retaliation to the President’s attacks. Kerry was depicted as physically violent toward the President (e.g. “attacking,” “hitting,” “blasting” and “swiping” at President Bush), but unlike Bush, Kerry’s wife was also described as getting involved in the fight. (Teresa Heinz Kerry was said to be “taking direct aim at” and “blasting” the President). Letting his wife fight his battle for him, so to speak, seems to have an effect that distinguishes Kerry as less manly than the President. Such comments seem to suggest partisan support for the President.

The violent metaphors CNN used to describe the candidates, on the other hand, depicted both of them as soldiers amidst battle, with neither of them described as stronger or weaker than the other. President Bush was “on the attack,” “slamming his opponent,” and “going after” John Kerry by “hitting him harder on his record.” Kerry was “blasting” “lambasting,” and “beating up” President Bush on domestic issues. These descriptions depicted each candidate as equally matched.

Fox News Channel also displayed partisan bias in its coverage of general campaign issues in its use of war metaphors. While presenting stories loosely related to the election (most of which touched on subjects with deep national history, such as

labor unions and public school systems who support democrats in office), war metaphors were used to depict the Bush campaign or its supporters as victims of violent attacks. For example, FNC spent considerable time discussing break-ins at the Bush/Cheney campaign offices in Washington, Tennessee, and Florida. The offices were repeatedly described as being “targeted” or “hit” by vandals, and reporters suggested there was a connection between the vandalisms and the AFL-CIO. (The AFL-CIO stands for “The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations,” and is a group that organizes labor unions. Like most labor unions, this organization has been known to support democratic candidates). The story seemed to blame the AFL-CIO for the break-ins, thereby subtly suggesting that the Bush campaign was under attack by democrats.

In the introduction of a different story, reporters declared that a New Jersey teacher was “coming under fire for pictures of President Bush she had up in her classroom.” For the researcher, this statement immediately brought to mind the long-standing accusation that public schools are not friendly places for Republicans. Reporters explained “the school says that this isn’t about a photo of the President, but about politically charged comments aimed at students.” (Notice that the terms “charged” and “aimed,” carry on the war theme). In a lengthy interview, however, the teacher explained she had been unfairly fired from her job simply because she refused to take down an autographed photograph of the President and First Lady that she displayed next to a copy of the Declaration of Independence. The teacher also claimed that she was singled out because she was a volunteer for the Republican Party. The

war metaphors used in conjunction with this story seemed to depict the teacher as someone who was unfairly persecuted for her republican beliefs.

Additionally, reporters claimed the Vice President's daughter was at "the center of a political firestorm" due to comments made by John Kerry during the final presidential debate. These comments suggested that Kerry was responsible for endangering Mary Cheney, a loyal supporter of her father's campaign, by mentioning her name during his response to a question on gay marriage. Each of the aforementioned stories used war metaphors to depict supporters of the Bush campaign as victims at the hands of democrats. CNN was not so blazon in its coverage of campaign issues. Most of CNN's coverage of the general election campaign/campaign issues pertained solely to reporting the "shape of the race," and seldom reported on outside issues that impacted the election. Ultimately, the researcher could not conclude that CNN blatantly showed support for one candidate over the other through reports about the election campaign/campaign issues.

When reflecting on the prospect of partisan bias on each channel, it appears that FNC used game metaphors that depicted Bush as the stronger, more aggressive athlete and depicted Kerry as in constant need of catching up with the President. They used war metaphors that depicted Bush as the more powerful and aggressive commander in a war, and depicted Kerry as fighting back only when provoked by the Bush campaign. Finally, they used war metaphors that depicted the Bush campaign or its supporters as victims at the hands of democrats. These metaphors seem to paint the Bush campaign in a positive light and the Kerry campaign in a negative light, thereby suggesting partisan support for the Bush campaign. CNN used game metaphors that

depicted John Kerry as the stronger and more successful athlete, and depicted President Bush as the struggling or weak athlete, suggesting partisan bias in favor of Kerry. CNN's use of war metaphors, however, depicted both candidates as equally matched soldiers amidst battle in a war, which seemed to counteract notions of partisan bias. However, because the use of game metaphor was so dominant on CNN's news coverage, it is fair to assume that CNN valued the game metaphor over the war metaphor as a way to represent the political process. If this is true, then CNN's depiction of John Kerry as the stronger, more successful athlete reaffirms their partisan support for the Kerry campaign, because Kerry was so blatantly painted in a positive light using game metaphors.

Analyzing the metaphors used in newscasts of the 2004 presidential election from CNN and Fox News Channel did illuminate potential partisan bias from each network. It can be concluded, therefore, that analyzing a media outlet's use of metaphor is an effective way to identify patterns of partisan bias. Although the researcher focused on the most dominant source metaphors used on each channel to examine partisan bias, future research may find greater rewards in focusing on less pervasive metaphors. For example, in this study the researcher noted that each network had different definitions for the term "soft" which arose in their use of metaphor. While Fox News Channel used metaphors that identified "soft" as a negative thing, (e.g. "President Bush accuses Senator Kerry of going soft on terrorists"), CNN used metaphors that identified "soft" as something positive, (e.g. "And just as Jenna Bush tried to soften up her dad's image, introducing him today on the stump, once again Laura Bush, the first lady, will be on "Larry King Live" tonight,

presumably the campaign hoping that Mrs. Bush, the first lady, can soften up her husband's image, as well, especially among that critical block of voters, namely women voters out there.”) It is possible that such differences in definition could be associated with partisanship from either network, as, historically speaking, the term “soft” has been used to describe the Democratic Party. Thus, it could be that some of the most important indicators of partisan bias identified by way of metaphor have been overlooked in this study, and thus should be explored in greater depth.

### *Presidential Bias*

Both FNC and CNN described the President in fewer metaphorical terms than John Kerry. It is difficult, however, to determine how this phenomenon is related to presidential bias. The researcher suspects that Kerry was described in more metaphorical terms because his public persona was relatively unfamiliar to the average viewer. Since metaphor is a tool used to describe things that are unfamiliar or confusing to us, then CNN and FNC may have used metaphor as a way to define and clarify who John Kerry was to their viewers. President Bush has had heavy media coverage throughout his first term in office, and was therefore more familiar to the American public; it was simply not necessary to use as many metaphors when describing the President, because most television viewers already had a shared understanding of who he was. Logic seems to suggest that the incumbent's previously established public persona was beneficial for his campaign, because voters could spend less time trying to define who they believed the President to be, and focus more on learning about his policy positions or gauging his performance in the campaign process.

Most of the war metaphors used by the networks investigated in this study implied more serious physical ramifications for political actions than most of the game metaphors used by each network. For instance, common war metaphors that suggest the candidates spent time “blasting,” “shooting at,” “hitting,” and “attacking” one another had more serious physical implications associated with them than common game metaphors that suggested either candidate was “moving ahead,” “catching up for a tie,” or “scoring points,” over their competitor. Thus, war metaphors generally appeared to be more powerful than game metaphors. Both channels used more war metaphors to describe the President than game metaphors, which suggests some sort of presidential bias that resulted in attributing the more powerful metaphor to President Bush.

In addition, one may assume that because FNC showed signs of partisan bias in support for the President, they must have therefore been engaging in Presidential bias as well. Such suspicions are supported in at least one example, when FNC reporters explained, “The President spoke in Colorado Springs at a victory rally,” the morning after the second presidential debate. Here, the “victory rally” metaphor used by FNC reporters could be perceived as presidential bias, because the rally represented a “psedoevent” orchestrated by the Bush campaign to gain free media exposure. Furthermore, public opinion had not deemed President Bush as the “victor” of the second debate, and it is likely the “victory rally” expression was either a construction of the Bush campaign, or of Fox News Channel. In either case, Fox News Channel’s use of the expression signifies presidential bias.

Despite these examples, however, notions of Presidential bias were difficult to determine using the metaphor cluster methodology. The researcher can only conclude that although some notions of presidential bias were identified in this study, analyzing each media outlet's use of metaphor is not the most effective way to study presidential bias in the media. The researcher therefore suggests that other methodologies for examining presidential bias in the media should be pursued.

### *Rhetorical Bias*

FNC and CNN used metaphor to display rhetorical bias throughout their newscasts. Dramatization was the primary rhetorical bias used, as it functioned to create excitement for the viewer, and to depict the campaign process as theatrical and entertaining. The metaphors used by each channel established "the rising and falling action, sharply drawn characters, and plot resolutions" familiar to the rhetorical bias of dramatization, (Bennett, 2005, p.41). The candidates were described as soldiers and athletes, rather than policy pushing or power wielding politicians. The election campaign was described as an exciting horse race, rather than an awkward, but routine, numbers contest. The debates were described as games, as showdowns, and as face-offs, rather than opportunities for the candidates to inform the voting populous of their policy positions. Such descriptions are clearly intended to evoke emotional responses from the viewers, and to keep them interested in following the election coverage. The end result of the melodramatic use of metaphor on each channel was that the larger significance of the presidential election became lost in the "waves of immediate emotion" that the metaphors focused on, (Bennet, 2005, p41). The metaphors did not function to enlighten or simplify the complicated political process;

instead, the use of metaphor became a sort of distraction, a spectacle used to heighten the entertainment value of each newscast.

For example, the most common game references on Fox News Channel included horse race, boxing, and poker metaphors. The horse race metaphor was primarily used to describe the general election campaign, although it was also used to describe each candidate's "position" in the race. Rather than providing coverage of the candidates stance on policy, or explanations of their leadership history, the horse race metaphors functioned to highlight the notion that Bush and Kerry were in a race with one another, with either candidate periodically moving ahead or falling behind the other. Reporting on "the shape of the race" or the "neck and neck" poll results provided very little information that viewers could use to determine which candidate was more fit for the job of President. The election was dramatized as an exciting race between athletes rather than a serious political competition with significant consequences.

The boxing metaphors on FNC were primarily used to describe the actions of one candidate unto his opponent (e.g. Bush was "sparring" with Kerry; Kerry was "taking a jab" at Bush). The boxing metaphor, therefore, utilized personalization and dramatization to "concentrate on the people engaged in political combat" rather than informing viewers on the big social, economic and political picture, (Bennet, 2005, p 40). The fact that the boxing metaphor was used exclusively by FNC reporters, (and not by any of the numerous guests,) supports the notion that the boxing metaphor was an instrument used by the network to evoke excitement, rather than a mode of



expression that developed out of cultural norms as a means to simplify a complicated issue.

The poker references included in FNC's newscasts followed the same dramatic theme by depicting both candidates as poker players. Through the use of poker metaphors, the campaign for president was depicted as a game of luck and skill. Most predominant of the poker metaphors was FNC's depiction of the presidential debates as ending in "a draw," which not only suggests FNC viewed the debates as a game, but also that FNC viewed the winner of the debates as having won only by chance. (This could be an indication of Partisan bias, as public opinion held John Kerry as the victor of the debates; labeling the debates as a game of luck deflates the importance of Kerry's successful debate performances). Again, reporters, not guests, were responsible for using the poker metaphors. Given the growing popularity of poker in recent months, (as evidenced by televised broadcasts of celebrity poker matches and world poker championships), the reporters' use of poker metaphor was likely deliberate, as a way to relate to viewer interest and popular culture.

CNN's use of game metaphor mirrored that of Fox News Channel; they used the same game metaphors to describe the political process, resulting in similar occurrences of personalization and dramatization. The general election campaign was depicted as a horse race, with the emphasis placed on the competition for first place in the polls, rather than on issues pertinent for the electorate's decision-making process. CNN's frequent use of boxing metaphors depicted the candidates as engaging in physical fights with one another, thereby personalizing the confrontation between candidates and distracting from or neglecting the source of the conflict.

In addition, CNN used more gambling metaphors than FNC, and strayed from FNC's focus on poker to include a broader range of gambling references. Both candidates were repeatedly depicted as card players and/or gamblers, with John Kerry receiving the highest number of gambling metaphors. The debates in particular were depicted as a high stakes game of chance, where either candidate could win or lose it all. CNN placed greater emphasis on the debates than FNC, and repeatedly referred to the "high stakes" attached to the outcome of each debate. (This could be an indication of partisan bias, as Kerry's reputation as an excellent debater was well known prior to the debate process, and he was expected to do well in each of them; Inflating the importance of the debates made Kerry's success in them more significant).

Interestingly, CNN repeatedly used gambling metaphors to describe the debates prior to their occurrence, but refrained from following through with the gambling metaphor by declaring a winner of the bet after the debates were over. (Kerry was identified as the "winner" of the debates, but not in gambling terms). This suggests that the hype and/or excitement created by dwelling on "the high stakes" of the debates were more important to CNN than declaring a chip winner, so to speak.

Both network's use of violent metaphors resulted in even more rhetorical bias. FNC and CNN depicted each candidate as physically attacking the other, thus utilizing dramatization (by constructing a type of narrative that suggests one candidate would prevail through the use of brute strength, and the other would endure the greatest bodily injury), and personalization (by describing each candidate as having their own stylized method of combat). The general election campaign was depicted as one huge authority-disorder narrative, where chaos and violence plagued the election process

and threatened the well being of each candidate. The violence and conflict would only end when someone was finally elected President, (e.g. authority reigns supreme, and reestablishes order and control). Each network heavily encouraged this narrative.

Though both networks also engaged in fragmentation by reporting on the candidate's every movement on the campaign trail without connecting those actions to the larger picture, FNC engaged more heavily in the rhetorical bias of fragmentation. Many of the news segments on Fox News Channel that focused on general campaign issues, for example, would meander from the topic of the election campaign, onto subjects that seemed only vaguely pertinent to the election itself. Coverage of John Kerry's wife, break-ins and the Bush/Cheney campaign headquarters, a republican teacher being fired for displaying a picture of the President and his wife, and discussions of Mary Cheney's homosexuality not only served to "isolate stories from each other and from their larger contexts," (Bennet, 2005, p. 42), but they also maintained themes of violence through way of metaphor, thereby reinforcing the drama and spectacle of war.

Analyzing each network's use of metaphor proved to be an exceptional way to analyze rhetorical bias. Each channel used metaphor in similar ways to engage the four elements of rhetorical bias: personalization, dramatization, fragmentation, and the authority-disorder narrative. In most situations, the use of metaphor seemed less concerned with establishing shared understanding for viewers, and more concerned with creating an entertaining news segment. Such practices flow naturally into the concept of organizational bias.

*Organizational Bias*

The motives for news networks to shape their stories into rhetorical narratives primarily concern money and profit. As Compton articulates, media events are produced as commodities, and the more conflict attached to a media event, the more marketable that commodity becomes, (2004, p.40). The 2004 presidential election was a media event that could have been (and was) highly commodified. Even viewers who were not usually interested in politics could find entertainment value in newscasts that reported on the twists and turns of the election process, because they were presented in rhetorical narrative form, not unlike the narratives found in scripted television or movie dramas.

Rhetorical narratives, such as the authority-disorder narrative, are appealing to viewers because they are deeply steeped in the realm of cultural myth. For example, reflecting on plots in recent popular American films involving heroes, like “Spiderman 2,” and “Batman Begins,” we see that in plots involving a “good guy” and a “bad guy” who are at odds with each other, the “good guy” will, against all odds, win in the end. Viewers expect the good guy to win because that is how the authority-disorder theme goes. Narrative themes like “the swaggering cowboy,” “the underdog,” or “the American dream,” (just to name a few) permeate dominant American culture, and are passed down from generation to generation in the process. Utilizing such cultural narrative patterns within newscasts is an effective, if not natural, way to package information into a format that is familiar and palatable to members of the dominant culture.

Infusing narrative into news stories has become, therefore, the norm for American journalists and American consumers. Drama, human interest, and personalization, coupled with time, place, and exclusivity, have become (and arguably, have always been) the standard determining factors for what is or is not considered “newsworthy.” Thus, if the political process is not interesting enough on its own to gain public interest, the media will utilize traditional public interest themes, (such as war, good versus evil, the home team versus the underdog, unrequited love, triumph and tragedy, etc), to garner mass appeal. Above all else, mass appeal is the most fundamental production requirement for the contemporary news organization; Compton calls this production requirement the “universal news style,” which he argues exclusively focuses on spectacle and human interest, (2002, p. 62). Hart, Jerome, and McComb consider this universal news style to be a form of organizational bias, because such standards are created and enforced by the large media conglomerates that are responsible for disseminating information.

The universal news style of spectacle and human interest is just one part of the larger media system. Essentially, the engine that keeps our media cycles turning is capitalism and consumption. Corporations or businesses that wish to sell products invest money into media advertising. The money received from investors provides the funds that media organizations use to create their news product. Therefore, media organizations are compelled to enforce the universal news style because it draws in mass audiences, which entices advertisers to keep investing their money, which keeps the media organization profitable; the cycle goes on and on.

Although it has not been stated explicitly prior to this study, it can be concluded that rhetorical bias and organizational bias are so closely intertwined that they may be considered one in the same. Rhetorical bias is used as a tool of the news producing organization, to increase consumption of their product and to meet their financial goals. The fact that each network in this study, CNN and Fox News Channel, utilized rhetorical bias so extensively in their newscasts of the 2004 presidential election proves that organizational bias was also in effect.

The abundant use of war and sports metaphors on each channel were used to excite public interest and to encourage viewership, rather than to help viewers make sense of the political process. What Compton calls the “use-value” (or the knowledge and information provided to viewers that they may actually use in their daily lives) of such newscasts is very low, while the “exchange value,” (or the public interest created that excites consumption of the news) is very high, (2004, p 65). The result of such news stories is a public that is not particularly informed about the details of either candidate’s political positions, but is excited about the drama surrounding the election itself. When we consider that the consumers of these newscasts represent the public who votes for the next president, it becomes evident that the information viewers use to make their decisions may be based more on how each candidate is depicted as a character in the news drama, rather than on more significant issues of policy that will ultimately impact the lives of all Americans.

This study does an adequate job identifying metaphor as a reliable tool for determining rhetorical bias, and also explicates how rhetorical bias and organizational bias are linked together. Though I focused on the 2004 presidential election, I suspect

that similar biases can be identified in newscasts that focus on other stories as well. Thus, future research should be conducted to solidify such claims. The results of this study do reveal how important it is to conduct research on the impact of such biases, because should the implications be negative, we must be aware of them in order to change them.

### *Conclusion*

This study sought to link together two very complicated, but very important subjects, media bias and metaphor. More specifically, this study intended to investigate whether or not analyzing a media outlet's use of metaphor is an effective methodology for investigating media bias. The conclusions ascertained through this study include the efficacy of using metaphor to study various forms of media bias, identification of the most common source metaphors used on CNN and Fox News Channel, and suggestions for future research. Let us look at each of these conclusions.

The researcher sought to examine partisan, presidential, rhetorical, and organizational biases in the media by studying clusters of metaphors used on two popular cable television news channels, Fox News Channel and CNN. The results of this study indicate that analyzing metaphor is a superior methodology for investigating rhetorical bias in the media, and may also be used to study notions of partisan bias. Although some indications of presidential bias were also identified in this study, a lack of sufficient examples leads the researcher to conclude that metaphor cluster analysis is not the most effective methodology for investigating presidential bias. Finally, the strong connection between rhetorical bias and organizational bias identified in this

study clarifies the importance for future research to concentrate on organizational bias in the media.

The patterns of metaphor used on Fox News Channel and CNN indicate that both networks tend to view the presidential election as either a game or a war, as these metaphors appeared far more frequently on both channels than any other type of metaphor. These findings are consistent with previous research that identified metaphors of sports and warfare as the most common source metaphors used in contemporary American political discourse, (Howe, 1988). In addition, the serious physical ramifications for political actions implied by most of the war metaphors used by each network in this study, and the lack of serious physical ramifications associated with the game metaphors, suggest that war metaphors are generally deemed as more powerful than game metaphors by the media outlets that use them within their news coverage. Such information will be useful in future studies that seek to investigate media bias through metaphor examination.

Through the course of this study, the researcher was able to determine that clustering metaphors used by the media is an effective way to study certain types of media bias, particularly rhetorical bias. Perhaps most intriguing for the researcher, however, is the connection identified between rhetorical bias and organizational bias. That is, it appears that the motivation for news outlets to use rhetorical bias so frequently is to fulfill monetary organizational needs, thus resulting in what the researcher identifies as organizational bias. The alarming void of research pertaining to organizational bias in the media suggests that it should be a subject of future academic studies.



It should be noted that the interconnectivity between rhetorical and organizational biases is, for the most part, theoretical rather than certain. It could be that the cable news channels investigated in this study used game and war metaphors more frequently to describe the political process because they are the source metaphors that are most familiar to the average viewer. As Howe (1988) notes, "The larger currency of military and sports metaphors, especially in the speech of the workplace, explains why politicians can use them with the expectation that they will be understood and appreciated by the public. Under these circumstances, metaphor does not discover or reveal, as in poetry, but rather creates or identifies a common ground of experience and beliefs shared by speaker and audience" (p.89).

It may be that, like politicians, these cable news networks are attempting to establish a common ground of experience, in an effort to make their viewers feel more connected to their particular network. The question that should be answered next is: why do the networks seek to establish an emotional connection with their viewers? Through personal experience working with Infinity Broadcasting in Portland, Oregon, the researcher suspects that such emotional attachments are sought in order to establish loyal viewership. That is, the more connected that viewers' feel toward a network, the more loyal those viewers are likely to be. Loyal viewers are equivalent to consistent ratings, which is a selling feature that advertisers find appealing. Profit for the network, and the parent company attached to it, is determined by the amount of advertising that each network is able to sell; and profit, as we know, is the overarching goal of most businesses, including mass media. Thus, it seems that all aspects of the news product somehow can be linked to the concept of organizational bias that has for

so long been neglected in previous research. I am hopeful that the results of this study can generate a greater focus on the impact of organizational bias on the creation, production and distribution of news.

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*Appendix*

The following pages contain the metaphors, organized by source metaphor and primary subject, that were identified in the CNN and FNC transcripts used for this study.

## CNN Politics As Body

Abortion, blood, body parts, diet, force, health, Organism, Pregnancy, Ethnicity, Sex, Strength

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> He's taking a breather from the campaigning today (the divisiveness issue) It's almost as if it's the president's Achilles Heel at this point, huh?	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> persuade all voters that the senator is weak in fighting terror to persuade all voters that the senator is weak in fighting terror.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Kerry, while this (national security fight :violence) is (playing out: spectacle), is boning up on domestic issues Some eyebrows have been raised about why Senator Kerry did not comment last week Republicans are saying that Kerry is weak- kneed on terrorism they hope to reach out to the middle more in the weeks ahead. They feel John Kerry was very strong in the first two debates. They feel he will be even stronger now that the focus will be the domestic agenda.	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b> The Kerry people, the Democrats, also throwing in the president's face his own remarks they're throwing that right back in the president's face
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> something was under his skin. handpicked Republican audiences faced with realities of his record faced with making tough decisions everyday He speaks from his heart thrives in environments like these I don't think all of George W. Bush's policies have been terrific, Americans are hurting.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> he's a stand up guy coming across as a strong, (steady: motion) leader (Elizabeth Edwards) I think he's trying to do what all of us try to do, and that is to put a personal face on some of the problems that we address.
<b>Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> rarely are we hearing bold faced lies it's going to be interesting to see how the campaign shapes up in the (final stretch: game)	<b>Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b>
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> the debates were the only opportunity the voters have in this entire year-long campaign to see the candidates side by side on an equal footing without (production :spectacle) values. how much weight will tomorrow night's final presidential debate carry Polls judge senator John Kerry the winner of the two face offs (/game), and the candidates now locked at a dead heat, (/death) They faced off (/game) on abortion, on education and on immigration.	
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> With a straight face, he said, "I have only had one position on Iraq." I can barely contain myself	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> They can't talk to you about the schools they've lifted up.

## CNN Politics As Game

Baseball, boxing, chess, competition, contest, fishing, football, hunting, race, sailing, team



**Reporter Describes Bush/campaign**

playing up his own economic policies

he's now back in the game

(try to knock down: violence) the lead that Kerry has

Bush camp believes that they can make a significant point

Our latest poll shows the president trails John Kerry by 19 percent.

Tuesday was less huddling with aids (and more stamping before the crowds: culture).

look for the president to use words that really play to his base.

(including painting Senator Kerry as a tax-and-spend liberal: culture)

that's a state that he narrowly won back in 2000.

But the Bush campaign believes that it is still very much a state in play

Although the polls show neck and neck, they feel that they can (pull out: motion) Nevada.

But President Bush, four years ago had a 3.5 lead in that state. Now a dead heat/death).

The president was saying, I'm excited about the sprint to the finish, now that the debates are finally over.

(Bush aides concede in an effort to do damage control: violence)

and turn the focus away from talk of a 3-0 Kerry debate win

The Bush camp strategy going into the final two weeks is to

highlight the president's strengths, play down his shortcomings, and put the debates behind.

Bush campaign strategy in the final days of this race.

the president trails John Kerry

George Bush's home turf

in addition to the matchup in Arizona, he's got a busy week ahead with campaign stops in New Mexico and Colorado

**Bush Unto Kerry**

They (Bush) are trying to play on his turf and trying to do that by

(painting: culture) John Kerry as a Liberal

he pointed out that Kerry's record is one of a liberal Senator from Massachusetts and he cannot run from that record.

tomorrow night's debate will essentially be on John Kerry's turf

Before these debates, Bush was moving ahead, consolidating a

pretty sizable lead over John Kerry, because Bush was making Kerry and Kerry's record the central theme of the campaign.

They say the strategy here for tonight is to really put Kerry on the ropes, to have him answer to his twenty year senate record his (one line zinger: culture) to senator Kerry. "He can run, but he cannot hide"

President Bush, once again, while he was in Las Vegas taunted John Kerry with this line from boxing legend Joe Lewis, "He can run, but he can't hide."

(slamming: violence) his opponent John Kerry's record again

**Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign**

Kerry simultaneously scored points for himself  
 men in general gave Senator Kerry higher marks  
 Kerry made a point  
 said he's now 2 and 0 and looking forward to next week's third and final debate  
 gaining on President Bush's lead  
 has a clear lead  
 John Kerry was pumped up (about his performance in the first two presidential debates: spectacle)  
 get a little bit of a bounce in the polls  
 Kerry is gearing up  
 another round of debate prep  
 he's very loose, very confident  
 on John Kerry's turf  
 on issue after issue Senator Kerry leads president Bush on key issues  
 domestic issues, widely viewed as Kerry's strong suit.  
 Today/Gallop poll shows Kerry scoring much higher than Mr. Bush on health care, slightly higher on the economy  
 John Kerry also plans to try his luck in Las Vegas.  
 Kennedy put out a statement late last night saying it was a clear sweep, three for three.  
 Polls show both states ~~2-0~~ for Kerry but still very much in play  
 Kerry's back in the game.  
 The Democratic challenger ends his day in Dayton, OH  
 he's gearing up (for the domestic agenda fight: violence)  
 John Kerry, he is delivering what his campaign calls the (closing arguments: society/law) in the presidential races  
 mentioning another heavyweight clash between George Foreman and Muhammad Ali.  
 If there's great violence against American troops overseas, that could very easily play toward the advantage of Senator Kerry.  
 Some are saying it's now three for three.  
 John Kerry's campaign officials are saying that their guy has swept the debates.  
 CBS news also polled viewers, found that Kerry came out ahead.  
 made the political points about stem cell research  
 tonight though he steps to the plate for the finale of his debate series with President Bush.  
 His running mate, John Edwards, is campaigning in Wisconsin today  
 They think that's his strong suit

**Guest Describes Bush/Campaign**

being an underdog is not such a bad thing  
 Like a football coach, you want to inherit a losing team so you can do better in your new tenure.

**Kerry Unto Bush (reporter)**

put President Bush on the defensive  
 And what Kerry effectively did was use the debates to (cast the campaign: culture) as a referendum on Bush and Bush's record, and that has worked to Kerry's advantage

**Guest Describes Kerry/Campaign**

For Senator Kerry to exploit the child of his opponent to make political point on his own, for his own political gain.  
 it seems as though they are making a point  
 John Kerry is winning the likeability contest

**Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues**

A sample that mirrors the tight race across the nation the race is in a dead heat (/death) two of the biggest rivalries in America right now colliding, Yankees and Red Sox, Bush and Kerry the race for the White House is just about as close as it could possibly get how close is this contest in your opinion?

The presidential campaign is now in a sprint toward November And the finish line is 18 days away. With the race a dead heat (/death), both candidates are in a sprint to the November 2nd finish line. this election that is just oh so close, with just a few days left to go. the waters have been muddied(/nature). that perhaps the ads may not be viewed any differently from these live debates. Polls show it's a dead heat(/death) this time. it could go either way. Five electoral votes were up for grabs in Nevada, but with the White House race so close, both President Bush and Senator John Kerry are campaigning there today. neither one of these teams is letting any kind of time pass before they answer the other's accusations could it be any tighter nationally than it is right now? the polls dead even (/death) and the election only three weeks away home stretch of the presidential race it's going to be interesting to see how the campaign (shapes up: body) in the final stretch critical three-week countdown to Election Day As the clock winds down in the race for the White House, there is growing concern over what the accuracy will be of the final count Laura Bush, who says she is not surprised at the intensity and the number of (attacks: violence) in the current presidential race. Of course, both of them (McCain/Bush) four years ago challenging each other. And usually if an incumbent president is running for re-election, he's the central issue in the campaign. it is a dead heat(/death) race for the White House a statistical tie The stakes could hardly be (higher: motion) It seems like it's a cardinal sin among the candidates to show in any way that they actually agree with what their (opponent: game) is having to say

**Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues**

Laura Bush That's just the way it is. That's just competition. Because you can't afford to let one go to the opponent. And I think Mrs. Edwards was also out of line. Laura Bush But really for any political race, I mean ask anybody who runs for school board or you know, there is a part of a political race, the competitive part, that is always a little bit nasty. Laura Bush And you know it is when you throw your hat in the ring, that that's what it is going to be like especially for this (big job: everyday life) as president of the United States. it's a statistical dead heat (/death) It's absolutely tied It's very close.

<p><b>Reporter Describes Debate</b></p> <p>Both candidates tossed out a lot of facts and figures          With so much riding on the outcome of the election, the stakes are high for each of the debates          Many viewed the results of the second match-up between President Bush and Senator John Kerry as a virtual tie.          there's a lot riding on tomorrow night's final presidential debate in Tempe          this could be pivotal since this race is (deadlocked/death) right now.          They think that's his strong suit and they say all of the pressure is on George W Bush, that the president has lost          Polls judge senator John Kerry the winner of the two (face offs; body) and the candidates now locked at a (dead heat/death)          (The duel in the desert: spectacle), nothing short of a high-stakes domestic (showdown; spectacle)          analysts say both candidates must win over voters in the final debate          We saw in round two, likely to see it in round three.          Senator Kerry, many believe, going into tonight with the advantage, because according to our CNN/"USA Today"/Gallup poll, he leads on almost every domestic issue, with the exception of taxes and terrorism.          fair to say, stakes are very high.          Both men have a lot riding on tonight.          Both men hoping to hit one out of the ballpark tonight.          So lots of competition          if you were keeping score last night during the debate, the candidates, both of them each strayed from the truth a bit last night.          Second debate was much more narrow, virtually a draw.          Polls judge senator John Kerry the winner of the two face offs (/body), and the candidates now locked at a dead heat,/(death)          They faced off(/body) on abortion, on education and on immigration.</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Debate</b></p>
<p><b>Bush Describes Kerry</b></p> <p>The debate phase of the campaign is over, and now it's a sprint to the finish.          He can run, but he cannot hide          He can run, but he cannot hide.          He can run, but he cannot hide          He can run, but he cannot hide          And a plan is not to lay out programs that you can't pay for.</p>	<p><b>Kerry Describes Bush</b></p> <p>Two and 0 and we're moving on to the third          George Foreman threw punch after punch, and Ali kind of stepped back and said to Foreman during this, he said, "George, is that all you've got?"</p>

#### CNN Politics As Violence

Army, battle, crime, dominance, force, incest, murder, noise, pollution, poison, prison, rape, repression, slavery, suffering, submission, torture, war

**Reporter Describes Bush/campaign**

the president was on the attack  
his advisers were out in full force  
rally the base by reminding them that Kerry is a liberal  
He's in Minnesota at this hour, slamming his (opponent: game) John Kerry's record again  
(they are going to) take the 20 years that he has on the President Bush  
hits two battleground states in the West today  
President Bush with his top political advisers hunkered down at the Crawford ranch to prepare for the critical three-week countdown to election day  
President Bush, with his top political advisers hunkered down at the Crawford ranch to prepare for the critical three-week countdown to Election Day  
to rally the base by reminding them that Kerry is a liberal  
President Bush, with his top political advisers hunkered down at the Crawford ranch to prepare for the critical three-week countdown to Election Day  
President Bush will be in New Mexico, a critical battleground state, this is a state that he (lost: game or war) just by 366 votes the last time around  
Arizona, as you know, is really a friendly territory to the president, to republicans.  
He is going to be lying low  
President Bush is going into his final debate looking to make up for lost ground,  
they are eager to get the president back on the road in familiar and friendly territory.  
President will be in New Mexico, a critical battleground state  
The president will be traveling to key battleground states nearly every day until the election.  
today President Bush hits two very important states.  
(President Bush is harnstorming : culture) across two key battleground states in the Midwest today.  
Bush aides concede in an effort to do damage control (and turn the focus away from talk of a 3-0 Kerry debate win:game)  
Mr. Bush hit two critical states Thursday:  
And then later in the weekend to ground zero of election 2000  
The president defending himself against Kerry's charge the borders are less secure than before (9/11: disaster).  
The president will be traveling to key battleground states nearly every day until the election.  
Bush aides say there are still 14 battleground states left, but they will dwindle fast.

**Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign**

This was once a battleground state, but now the Kerry camp all but giving up on this  
Bush campaign strategist Matthew Dowd says he's already seeing signs that the Kerry camp is giving up on hard-fought territory,  
wasting no time claiming victory  
pushing his domestic agenda  
Kerry camp is fighting back  
he will be hitting domestic issues very hard  
keeping a very low profile  
No public events, he's been behind closed doors.  
hit the ground running today  
He was holed up with staffers late last night for debate prep.  
been behind closed doors  
Senator Kerry also tested out a few lines for that debate, zeroed in on rising gas prices and energy reform.  
the Kerry campaign is claiming victory.  
Kerry would shoot back that health costs have really risen dramatically under President Bush's watch and that the uninsured have gone up on President Bush's watch  
But right now he wants to focus on the domestic agenda, he perhaps does not want to be pulled into a fight on national security while he's (gearing up: game) for the domestic agenda fight.  
a documentary that really slams Senator Kerry for his Vietnam war record  
It has caused a big uproar  
look for Senator Kerry to continue talking about how he is fighting for the middle class.  
talking even more about how he will fight for the middle class, while he believes the president is fighting for corporations.

**Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)**

Bush camp seized on a "New York Times" profile of Kerry  
seized on a "New York Times" profile of Kerry  
President Bush's main challenge, his aides say, is that he is going to have to try to knock down the (lead: game) that Kerry has consistently in those polls when it comes to those domestic issues like healthcare and the economy.  
The vice president is attacking John Kerry  
(Vice President Cheney again was out on the stump this morning: cultivation), hitting John Kerry over those comments the senator made over the weekend.  
they're going after Kerry for saying he hopes this will some day simply be a nuisance  
hitting him harder on his record  
slamming his (opponent: game) John Kerry's record again

**Kerry Does Unto Bush**

Kerry ambushed Bush for, in his word, not funding the No Child Left Behind Act.  
He also blasted President Bush saying the president refuses to level with the American people  
remind voters that President Bush at one point did say that he did not believe they could win in the war on terror.  
some of the rhetoric that John Kerry is focusing on now, beating up on George W. Bush, saying that he is captive of special interest  
He's expected to blast President Bush over the economy at campaign stops in Wisconsin today

<p>They've been wanting to shift the focus a bit from Iraq for weeks now to the domestic front. Is he tending to target specific demographics? John Kerry is coming to the Milwaukee area technical college in order to hit the jobs issue. he really plans to zero in on domestic issues. Kerry, while this national security fight is (playing out: spectacle), is (boning up: body) on domestic issues Well, Kerry's making his second stop in a week in the battleground state of Ohio today Senator John Kerry today campaigned in the battleground state of Ohio. The first time he prepared in the battleground state of Wisconsin. Kerry is campaigning in the battleground states of Ohio and Florida today. This is a major battleground, that's why he mentioned those five electoral votes that John Kerry wants desperately. John Kerry did his preparations in Wisconsin, another key battleground. But an even bigger battleground perhaps is Iowa, and that's where John Kerry will finish the day after the speech on Medicare prescription drugs, and senior citizens issues.</p>	
<p><b>Guest Describes Bush</b> is aggressive on the war on terror more aggressive on the war on terror The president was the clear, dominating victor tonight. yes, he is resolved to the war on terror, but as well that he has a (softer side: soft or hard)</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> Kerry, again was on a negative attack He wants allies to come into the fray, but yet he denigrates the coalitions that we have</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> we begin this hour with a battle for the White House; on a slow news day, both of these camps were fighting over a single paragraph in an article about the senator Laura Bush, who says she is not surprised at the intensity and the number of attacks in the current presidential (race: game). the prevailing view is that the war in Iraq has increased the war on terrorism; 53 percent say it has. Here in a critical battleground state, as you heard earlier, Wisconsin is one of the dwindling number of battlegrounds where we'll see John Kerry and President Bush hitting repeatedly in the final days. As you mentioned earlier in Nevada, still a battleground state And across the country in key battleground states, like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Florida, some worry new voting technology may result in mistakes and fraud Wisconsin is one of the dwindling number of battlegrounds where we'll see John Kerry and President Bush hitting repeatedly in the final days.</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> that he (Nader) could (play a very important key role: spectacle) in some of these battleground states. It's very difficult to go through the battleground states a 90-minute attack against a presidential candidate a week before the election is absolutely outrageous and it's illegal. the two candidates have really been talking about Iraq, which I think both liberals and conservatives would agree is what this election should be fought about. It should not be fought on Vietnam. I think that the war in Iraq has turned out to be an enormous cost to the United States in funding the war on terrorism. I think that John Kerry has accurately said it focused our resources away from al Qaeda when we had our best shot at getting many of the top leaders and Osama bin Laden himself in the mountains of Tora Bora. has allowed a real disaster in postwar Iraq, one that has actually created a terrorist haven in the center of the Middle East where there was none before It has now been reduced to about ten battlegrounds that both campaigns are advertising on the television airwaves trying to (complete: game) in.</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> The two men targeting very different audiences. They will likely use these strategies when they hit on some of the issues expected to dominate this evening. It's a war of words. One last time, they tussled over taxes. Staying on message, their lines of attack now familiar. Listening to the debate the other night, it was very focused and targeted at the women audience.</p>	
<p><b>Bush Talks Policy</b> Those debates have highlighted the clear differences between the senator and me on issues ranging from jobs to taxes to health care to the war on terror.</p>	<p><b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> Don't let them fool you with these diversionary tactics. I thought the president was going to attack Charlie Gibson So all they're going to do is attack and attack and try and divert and push some hot button that has nothing to do with the quality of your life on a daily basis in this country. This president, incredibly, rushed us into a war, made decisions about foreign policy, pushed alliances away. Names, you (pull out of the sky: nature), slap it onto something like No Child Left Behind but you (leave millions of children behind: motion). Here they are leaving the skies and the environment behind: motion</p>

#### CNN Politics As Spectacle

Carnival, circus, detective, drama, fairy tale, folklore, joke, movie, opera, science-fiction, soap opera, story, television, theater, wild west

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/campaign</b> not going to be in the spotlight tonight or today, rather today they're very pleased with the performance of the president Bush aides say that they believe he had a strong performance last night	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> (Lynn Cheney) This is not a good man. What a cheap and rawidy political trick
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b> pleased with the Senator's performance Kerry characterized the debate as a (win: game or war) for him (John Kerry was pumped up: game) about his performance in the first two presidential debates Kerry, while this (national security fight: violence) is playing out, is (boning up: body) on domestic issues	<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> you didn't see that President Bush with the one-liners does not want to have a global test with the world or popularity contest with Europe he's got more of a folksy demeanor
<b>Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> She (Laura Bush) is playing a very significant role	<b>Bush Does Unto Kerry (guest)</b> trying to make Kerry into a demon
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> big showdown Showdown in Arizona, we're talking about tomorrow's third and final presidential debate It's been called the (tempest: nature) in Tempe, the duel in the desert, nothing short of a (high-stakes game) domestic showdown. According to the polls, the president's best showing came during the second debate. the only opportunity the voters have in this entire year-long campaign to see the candidates (side by side on an equal footing: body) without production values	<b>Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> that he (Nader) could play a very important key role in some of these (battleground: violence) states. Performing on the stump now is crucial. Performing every news cycle is crucial.
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> He must think we've been on another planet	

#### CNN Politics As Culture

Antiquity, art, baller, culture, dance, education, history, music, myth, nobility, poem, painting, religion

<b>Reporter describes Bush/campaign</b> back on the campaign trail back on the campaign trail Honing that message on the campaign trail Vice President Cheney again was out on the stump this morning, (hitting John Kerry: violence) the president has been giving what we have heard over the past several days on the stump talking about the fact that he believes that John Kerry is (out of the mainstream: nature) on domestic issues Introducing him today on the stump Laura Bush, very effective on the stump for her husband (Tuesday was less huddling with aids: game) and more stumping before the crowds. his one-line zinger to senator Kerry ("He can run, but he cannot hide": game) President Bush is (storming) (across two key battleground states in the Midwest today: violence). spoke at a victory rally	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> is to use Kerry's record to portray him as someone who will say one thing, but do another. paint Kerry as someone who is not credible, someone who is not trustworthy and therefore not fit to be president. Bush camp has portrayed Kerry as a flip-flopper painting him as a consistent liberal extremist. We'll hear perhaps an increased attempt to paint John Kerry that way in tomorrow night's debate. President contrasted his economic plan with his opponents by casting Kerry as a tax and spend liberal (look for the president to use words that really play to his base: game), including painting Senator Kerry as a tax-and-spend liberal.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b> (Aides say here that Senator Kerry is coming out of the three debates with a head of steam: technology), and we saw a little bit more confidence, perhaps a more aggressive stump speech yesterday	<b>Kerry does unto Bush (reporter)</b> And what Kerry effectively did was use the debates to cast the campaign as a referendum on Bush and Bush's record, and that has worked (to Kerry's advantage: game).
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> Jenna Bush tried to (soften up: soft or hard) her dad's image, introducing him today on the stump And it's going to (give us a great momentum: motion) going out on the trail here for the last 19 days. smearing John Kerry's record	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b>  further to the left than Ted Kennedy, further to the left than Hillary Clinton, further to the left than any of his colleagues in the United States Senate.
<b>Reporter Describes Camp/Election Issues</b> It's a cardinal sin among the candidates to show in any way that they actually agree with what their (opponent: game) is having to say	<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> A plan is not a litany of complaints.

#### CNN Politics As Society

Activism, bureaucracy, business, class, community, contract, corporation, discourse, elections, law, market, neighborhood, party, peace, police, power, village

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/campaign</b> make the case make the case	<b>Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> We're not in the business of filing complaints against media organizations.
<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b> offered a broader indictment of the president – President Bush's record here at home	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b>



<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> John Kerry, he is delivering what his campaign calls the closing arguments in the presidential (races: game).	<b>Bush Talks Policy</b> we're bringing Al Qaeda to justice 75 percent of them have been brought to justice.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> might help seal the deal	

#### CNN Politics As Technology

Airplane, architecture, building, calculation, complexity, computation, construction, engine, geography, geometry, machine, mechanics, modernization, navigation, network, order, pattern, process, progress, reason, science, statistics, structure, system, technique, traffic, train, transportation, tunnel, vehicle

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> president received a significant spike (The strategy: game) is three-pronged (The strategy: game) is three-pronged sharpened his rhetoric the Bush campaign is mobilizing its 1.2 million volunteers to get people to the polls.	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b> I pledge this to you, America. (I will do it in a way that Franklin Roosevelt, and Ronald Reagan, and John Kennedy, and others did: culture), where we build the strongest alliances, where the world (joins together: unification), where we have the best intelligence (body).
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b> And Senator Kerry will point out for example, that he agrees with AARP about importing cheaper prescription drugs from Canada, something that the president has not been on board for. Aides say here that Senator Kerry is coming out of the three debates with a head of steam, and we saw a little bit more confidence, perhaps a more aggressive (stump speech: culture) yesterday	
<b>Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> Among the general public, it's only 37 percent who say the right direction, 55 percent think things are off on the wrong track in the country.	

#### CNN Politics as Nature

Agriculture, beast, commons, farming, fire, jungle, land, landscape, gardening, grapes, rainbow, rose, season, water, weather

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/campaign</b> Senate, "out of the mainstream liberal, those are the issues, that is the label that we certainly heard the president talk about at his last debate. the waters have been muddied/game the president has been giving what we have heard over the past several days (on the stump: culture) talking about the fact that he believes that John Kerry is out of the mainstream on domestic issues	<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> It's been called the remotest in Tempe, the (duel: spectacle) in the desert.
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> He gave us the wind at our backs.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> John Kerry was the furthest outside the mainstream
<b>Reporter Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> the ads are a total different order of magnitude That relationship (John McCain /Bush) has been rocky at times	<b>Guest Describes Campaign Election/Camp Issues</b> What about Ralph Nader and that factor? That's something that's like the elephant that is kind of in the room but that people are not really talking about.
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> You know, there's a mainstream in American politics and you sit right on the far left bank.	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> Names, you pull out of the sky. (slap it onto: violence) something like No Child Left Behind but you (leave millions of children behind: motion). Here they are leaving the skies and the earth (leave millions behind: motion)

#### CNN Politics As Everyday Life

Bakery, cleaning, colors, container, cooking, dinner, dream, furniture, garbage, fantasy, food, grocery, home, house, housekeeping, meal, path, proverb, romance, school, seduction, singing, smell, song, taste, time, travel

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> make some headway on this	
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> that kind of red meat on the domestic front start talking about issues here on the home front in the debate, he did seem to be trying to bring home some Democratic – traditional Democratic voters. A big controversy brewing in the past few days	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b> It isn't threatening people's lives every day, and fundamentally it's something that you continue to fight, but it's not threatening the fabric of your life. It isn't threatening people's lives every day, and fundamentally it's something that you continue to fight, but it's not threatening the fabric of your life. It isn't threatening people's lives every day, and fundamentally it's something that you continue to fight, but it's not threatening the fabric of your life.
<b>Reporter Describes Election Campaign/camp issues</b> Bush and Kerry in the road.	<b>Guest Describes Election Campaign/camp issues</b> Laura Bush You know, I mean I think that is just a fact of life in politics. Laura Bush And you know it is when you (throw your hat in the ring: game), that that's what it is going to be like especially for this big job as president of the United States.



## CNN Politics as Disaster

Accident, hell, nightmare

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> The president believes in a post-9/11 world	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> It's a pre-9/11 view of the world.
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## Politics As Family

Child, family, father, mother, mistress, partner, promiscuity, wedding

<b>Bush Talks Policy</b> You know my blunt way of speaking; I get that from mom. They know I sometimes mangle the English language; I get that from dad.	
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## CNN Politics As Death

Corps, death, euthanasia, funeral, horror

<b>Reporter describes election/campaign issues</b> it is a dead heat/(game) the polls dead even ((game) and the election only three weeks away the race is in a dead heat/(game) Polls show it's a dead heat/(game) this time. it could go either way.	<b>Guest Describes Election Campaign/camp issues</b> But I think Iraq is the issue that it will -- that will haunt America for years and years and years. it's a statistical dead heat/(game)
<b>Reporter describes Bush campaign</b> But President Bush, four years ago (had a 3.5 lead: game) in that state. Now a dead heat/(game).	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry Campaign</b>
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> this could be pivotal since (this race: game) is deadlocked: death) right now.	

## CNN Politics As Soft or Hard

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/campaign</b> show the softer side of her father, the president. Jenna Bush tried to soften up her dad's image hoping that Mrs. Bush, the first lady, can soften up her husband's image, as well, especially among that critical block of voters, namely women	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b>
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## CNN Politics As Change of Motion

Up, down, in, out, sturdy, wobbly, raise, lower, forward, behind

<b>Reporter Describes Bush</b> The president went into the debates with more momentum than when he came out. polls are showing women have been going a little bit more toward, tilting toward President Bush this time around. they say all of the pressure is on George W Bush, that the president has (lost : game or war) those first two and now he has to come up very big tonight in order to come back.	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry</b> I think now what you will start to see is a little bit of a move to the middle after that debate. They now want to move to the middle, appeal to swing voters and Independents
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> Bush stuck with what he said he was going to do not looking steady looked shaky. looks like he could fly off of the handle every minute And it's going to give us a great momentum going out (on the trail: culture) here for the last 19 days. In order to (rally the debates, his case, violence), his conservative base, he's going to have to raise (divisive issues: unification) once again	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> steadily and surely inside of these debates proven his commander in chief credentials coming across as a strong (body), steady leader Well, in a couple of the debates, I think he raised the question about Bush's promise to (unify: unification) the country. John Kerry's record came out last night and it came out in a way, a lot of people didn't know. They've (Kerry camp) pulled out of Missouri. They pulled out of Arizona. They pulled out of Arkansas. They pulled out of Virginia. They pulled out of North Carolina.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> it gets a little wobbly swayed by the candidates What's important about these polls is, yes, they are a simple snap judgment, but they are people who are polled before the spin, before they have a chance to read the papers, talk to others, be influenced in their opinions, listen to the television analysis. They're immediately after the debate, so that's a first impression, unspun, so to speak, by the campaigns.	<b>Reporter Describes Election Campaign/camp issues</b> The (stakes: game) could hardly be (higher: motion) But this time around the two of them side by side, and this is really meant to be a move to convince those swing voters, the campaign debate over stem cell research has stepped up after Sunday's death of actor Christopher Reeve.
	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> We need a president who leads America forward and gets us out of this mess Names, you (pull out of the sky: nature), (slap it onto: violence) something like No Child Left Behind but you leave millions of children behind. Here they are leaving the skies and the environment behind

## CNN Politics as Location

<b>Reporter describes Bush</b> Mr. Bush in a better position on taxes	<b>Reporter describes debate</b>
<b>Reporter describes election camp/camp issues</b> A friend of John Kerry's, Reeve shared the senator's stand on stem cell research.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b>

## CNN Politics As Unification

Bring together, divide, tear apart, unify

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> Bush ran in 2000 on a pledge to be a <u>uniter, not a divider</u> . (In order to rally the debates, his base, his conservative base: violence), he's going to have to (raise motion) divisive issues once again. However you feel or agree with him on the issues, the fact is the country is now <u>more divided</u> than ever.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> Kerry promised that he could <u>unite</u> the country Well, in a couple of the debates, (I think he raised motion) the question about Bush's promise to <u>unify</u> the country.
<b>Guest Describes Election Campaign/camp issues</b> That disappeared with the war in Iraq, which brought all the old divisions (back to the surface: nature). And I think Americans are uncomfortable with this sense of division. And there was a year, after 9/11, when Americans were <u>united</u> , and even a majority of Democrats supported President Bush, and John Kerry paid tribute to President Bush for his leadership after 9/11.	<b>Kerry talks policy</b> I pledge this to you, America, (I will do it in a way that Franklin Roosevelt, and Ronald Reagan, and John Kennedy and others did: culture), where we <u>build</u> the strongest alliances, where the world <u>joins together</u> , where we have the best intelligence (body).

## CNN Indiscriminate: Game or War

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> the president's strategy President Bush won The strategy (is three-pronged: technology) The strategy (is three-pronged: technology) President Bush will be in New Mexico, a critical (battleground: violence) state, this is a state that he <u>lost</u> just by 366 votes the last time around they say all of the pressure is on George W Bush, that the president has <u>lost</u> those first two and now he has to (come up very big tonight in order to <u>come back</u> motion).	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Senator Kerry <u>won</u> this debate he can <u>win</u> the third one He is expected to <u>win</u> (the final debate). He's wasting no time claiming victory in last night's debate the Kerry campaign is <u>claiming</u> victory. He feels he <u>won</u> the first two debates,
<b>Guest Describes Bush/Campaign</b> If George W. Bush <u>wins</u> Florida and Ohio, I think he <u>wins</u> .	<b>Guest Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> If John Kerry <u>wins</u> one of those two states and holds Pennsylvania, I think he <u>wins</u> . All states that they've conceded to us, so that they're now <u>having to defend more</u> Gore states than compete in Bush states, which is a very good sign for us.
<b>Reporter Describes Election Issues</b> How important does this campaign think that the woman's vote is in order to <u>win</u> victory?	<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> who they think <u>won</u> the debate

## CNN Politics as Change In Temperature

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/campaign</b> trying to <u>warm</u> the crowd gave a <u>warm</u> up	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b> he's at peace, how he's confident, he's <u>cool</u> , he's not too nervous about this upcoming debate
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b>	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> come across as a <u>cool</u> debate

## FNC Politics As Body

Abortion, blood, body parts, diet, force, health, Organism, Pregnancy, Ethnicity, Sex, Strength

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> President Bush is working to ( <u>shore up</u> his base: violence) in a county and a state that he <u>carried</u> impressively four years ago The president received his usual ( <u>thunderous</u> : nature) applause when he entered the World Arena and <u>bounded</u> on stage just a few moments ago. president himself runs off to Reno	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> And he will today...try to <u>bash</u> out this <u>image</u> of John Kerry as a flipflop,
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<p><b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b>          some republicans are wondering if he might be trying to keep it out of the public eye.          most polls show that voters believe that Senator Kerry is a bit stronger on domestic issues such as the environment, healthcare, and education          And you'll hear from him tonight about how he believes that has resulted in a squeeze on the middle class.          Kerry says it has squeezed seniors and middle class families. using the word nuisance, is that going to hurt him?          (Nader says) he's letting President Bush pull him in his direction. Will John Kerry's remark about Dick Cheney's daughter hurt Kerry on Election Day?          But, do Teresa's comments help or hurt her husband in his campaign?          senator Kerry's virtually every trip there, in some way or another, is meant to scratch that itch and keep the democratic base as motivated as possible</p>	<p><b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b></p>
<p><b>Guest Describes Bush</b>          If you cant face up to your mistakes on tax cuts, Iraq, or everything else, the public is (left a little cold: temperature) about how you are able to integrate new information and lead the country in a (positive direction: motion).          The challenge for the President is to get specific on domestic policies, which is, if any thing, his Achilles heel.          And it may have hurt him.</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Kerry</b>          dragging the vice presidents daughter into this as well (from left field: game) for no apparent, except to embarrass, I guess, the vice president and other people.          if he stumbles over his answer on taxes again (he's got to) be very sure footed over the next few weeks, to keep from pushing votes over to Nader.          That(his pre911 way of thinking) is one thing he won't change his mind (or his tune: everyday life) on for the third debate          He had an (advantage : game)in the first the debate, held his own in the second debate,          That is probably an ad that will hurt John Kerry even more because it quotes from today's New York Times magazine, not exactly a (right wing rag: culture),</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b>          What do you do now if you have the voters in the palm of your hand, either side?          Tehran has been thumbing its nose at the rest of the world</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b>          the things that she says that a lot of times the (right wing: culture) are jumping on are not really particularly bad things.          he is an irritant, and somebody the Kerry campaign has got to keep their eye on,          (terrorist threat) You should be niggling your hands already.          restrictions on overtime pay that the republicans have been pushing</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Debate</b>          third and final face to face debate this week.          this one will resemble the first face off (/game)          And you can catch the face-to-face (parting shots game) right here on Fox.          The last time the candidates will meet face to face before the election.          presidential face off (/game)          Did either candidate shoot himself in the foot last night?          final chance to (take each other on: violence) face to face.          aside from a few missteps made by both candidates, president Bush and John Kerry stated their positions well.</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Debate</b></p>
<p><b>Bush Describes Kerry</b>          Several of his statements just don't pass the credibility test. With a straight face, he said "I have only had one position on Iraq"          We'll (defeat the terrorists: violence) overseas so that we will not face them here at home.</p>	<p><b>Kerry Describes Bush</b>          Now that's not in my gut, that's not my value system.</p>

## FNC Politics As Game

Baseball, boxing, chess, competition, contest, fishing, football, hunting, race, sailing, team

<p><b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b>          Early this morning Mr. Bush talked folks at a breakfast meeting in St. Luis.          he president will rally in Hobbs New Mexico          He is not going to Colorado just to protect his lead          And he said Kerry can run, but he can't hide from a twenty-year record of liberal votes in the senate.          the president either slightly ahead of or dead even/(death) with his challenger, democratic nominee John Kerry          The President spoke in Colorado Springs at a victory rally.          After sparring with his opponent on a wide range of domestic issues, the president took his family a post debate party          Now they are upping the ante, the Bush campaign calling it <b>Q&amp;A</b>  <b>Q&amp;A</b> that the senator is involved in right now:          president Bush keeping a slight lead for the first few days of October</p>	<p><b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b>          the president will be able to put the senator perhaps on the defensive tonight including (hot button: society) social issues such like abortion and gay marriage.          we heard a lot of the use of the "L Word" on the part of the President, really trying to tag Senator Kerry as having this very liberal voting record.</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b>          Kerry says he voted to give the president the authority to go to war to strengthen his hand at diplomacy.          John Kerry has a very narrow lead there:          huddle with his advisors          the senator took a jab at the president          Aids say he (won: game or War) the first debate and both Kerry and George Bush made strong showings in the second debate, so aids here believe Kerry goes in a bit ahead.          this final debate should be senator Kerry's strong suit,          campaign says the senator is now 3 in 0 in debates. They said last night was a knock out.          He seemed in <b>Q&amp;A</b> as he heads into the post debate sprint to Election Day.          here is so much (territory to cover: violence), and the race being so tight, it is unlikely that they will be able to combine resources and having them (hit: violence) only one place at one time in Wisconsin John Kerry has a 4-point lead.          Kerry has been picking up some speed lately, according to the latest Washington Post daily tracking poll.          And about the other team the senator from Massachusetts caught up for a tie Was it a political jab, or just poor judgment?          is Senator Kerry poised to push ahead of president Bush in the polls?          John Kerry tries to <b>Q&amp;A</b> President Bush to high oil prices, they say senator Kerry is ready to lay out his domestic agenda tonight</p>	<p><b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b></p>
<p><b>Guest Describes Bush</b>          he didn't seem to be penalized by that-for that.          And it didn't seem to cost him anything, it may have gained him something at the mark.          see if he can start the political clock ticking after September eleventh, and after the recession of 2001, and (sell: society) that proposition to the American people.</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Kerry</b>          this is sort of on Kerry's home turf          Kerry just can't run out the clock.          He had an advantage in the first the debate, (held his own: body) in the second debate,          the poll results suggests there was a narrow win for John Kerry, this has extended the (momentum/motion) for Kerry, it has made the race slightly more open.          (dragging: body) the vice presidents daughter into this as well from left field for no apparent reason, except to embarrass, I guess, the vice president and other people.          Kerry in the first debate really got out in front of Bush and really held serve in the next two debates, which were fairly even.          Senator Kerry, in the first debate, did move this race back to even, try to erase the lead that President Bush had (built up: technology) after the republican convention.          He had enough to tie, but does he have enough to win?          They don't know what to believe, and I think at the end of the day I say it is a negative on the margin of John Kerry.</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b>          And most of the Monday morning quarterbacking, or Saturday morning quarterbacking as the case may be, suggests that both candidates did what they needed to.          these types of polls seldom effect the actual horse race          The polls put the race pretty much dead even/(death) here          governor does it (turn people off: technology) though, to see them jabbing at each other as much as they did and seeming to be quite aggressive with each other.          The New Mexico race is close          twenty day sprint to the election.          New Mexico is a (battleground state: violence), where John Kerry and President Bush are in a close race</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b>          (in the middle: location), which is where this race is going to be won or lost          Teresa's comments are, lets say, they are over the line.          that's a George Bush versus John Kerry issue, not a Laura Bush versus Teresa issue.          Democrats are always crying foul about registration. Republicans tend to cry foul about voter fraud in an election.          the vice president, I thought, latched it very neatly into touch by graciously thanking him          A consensus begins to form in the media about the shape of the race.          There's still all to play for</p>

<p>It came into almost a dead heat(/death) last time around its getting down to the wire The race couldn't be any closer Both Nevada and Oregon are (battleground: violence) states, much too close to call at this point. president Bush and senator Kerry are running neck and neck poll showing him at just one percent in the three way race (Nader) Most polls say the race is just too close to call The latest tracking poll finds from the Washington Post calls it a tie. (lost jobs) is an issue that John Kerry can play into You know, Kirsten, that accent that she (Theresa Heinz-Kerry) has, and the fact that she's fluent in French and so forth, it may play well with the base, but it invigorates those anti-euro republicans</p>	<p>they came out of this debate pretty even, now it's a sprint to the finish line. we run into the last two weeks pretty dead even(/death) a very close race that's a problem in a close race it doesn't really play into the argument that Bush or Kerry is trying to make Gasoline prices are outside of the bounds of what the administration can do much about. a close race Right now they are competing for a very (small slice: everyday life) of people.</p>
<p><b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> For example, an ABC national poll of registered voters, 41% chose Bush, 42% chose Kerry, and 14% called it a draw. In a CBS poll of uncommitted voters, 25% picked Bush, 39% Kerry, 36% considered it a draw. And in a Gallup poll of debate viewers, 39% president Bush, 52% Kerry, and 8% called it a draw. The latest polls show the candidates neck and neck in Iowa the polls are showing both candidates very very close polls here say it is neck and neck And you can catch the (face-to-face: body) parting shots right here on Fox. ABC news snap poll shows that senator Kerry had a three-point advantage. the candidates are gearing up for that final debate Kerry advisors believe John Kerry has a net advantage going into the final debate. With the polls so tight, this (showdown: spectacle) could end up deciding the winner of the Whitehouse, or could it? Health care just one of the (hotly: temperature) debated issues in round three of the presidential debate. The big question, how did the debate play with the undecideds? The voters who are (on the fence?: location) this one will resemble the first (face off/body). presidential face off (/body)</p>	<p><b>Guest Describes Debate</b> last night's debate was really a draw.</p>
<p><b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> Much as he tried to obscure it, on issue after issue, my opponent showed why he earned the ranking of the most liberal member of the united states senate. Much as he has tried to obscure it, on issue after issue, my opponent has showed why he has earned his (rankings) as the most liberal member of the United States senate. We'll make sure that America is safe and secure by staying on the offensive.</p>	<p><b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> Two and O, and were moving on to the third, and I look forward to it.</p>

#### FNC Politics As Violence

Army, battle, crime, dominance, force, incest, murder, noise, pollution, poison, prison, rape, repression, slavery, suffering, submission, torture, war

<p><b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> President Bush meanwhile hit the (campaign trail: culture) President also pointing to Afghanistan's elections today, as a sign of success of the War on Terrorism is this going to be the new campaign theme in the Bush camp, to continue to pound away at liberal and to use it in a derogatory way? Bush campaign has seized on this today and they are actually putting together a TV commercial that will take that line and suggest senator Kerry with those words has bespoken a misunderstanding of the severity of war on terror president calls it a global war on terror and they intend to bare down on senator Kerry and (cast him: culture) as weak for these remarks. the president will hit campaign stops President Bush is working to shore up his base in a county and a state that (he carried: body) impressively four years ago Already hitting a couple of those key battle ground states. Today he hits two battleground states 56% of Americans think that President Bush can better handle the war on terror</p>	<p><b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> Senior aids to president Bush say he will zero in on his opponents twenty year record The president taking some swipes at John Kerry's record, calling him a flip flopping, tax raising liberal. the president is taking a swipe against John Kerry. Bush campaign is taking on Senator Kerry for remarks in the New York Times.</p>
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**Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign**

the Democratic nominee fighting back as well saying the country needs new, smarter leadership.

Senator Kerry fighting back on the campaign trail as well.

Senator Kerry talking about the War on Terror and Al Qaeda

The Kerry campaign argues that what senator Kerry was talking about in fact was that after the war on terror is waged effectively that there will come a time eventually under his leadership where terrorism will not be an omnipresent threat to the American people

New RNC web ad attacking John Kerry.

It targets his changing positions on national security.

A new web ad attacking John Kerry's positions on national security:

The Kerry camp fighting back with a new ad of their own.

The RNC ad puts a new attack ad literally on its website again

accusing John Kerry of changing positions on Iraq.

John Kerry says if he were president, he would fight for middle class families.

John Kerry does not view the War On Terror as a law enforcement effort.

back hitting the (campaign trail/culture) hard again

Kerry has been lying low, staying (off the stump, culture) preparing in private.

here is so much territory to cover, and the (race being so tight:

game), it is unlikely that they will be able to combine resources and having them fill only one place at one time.

Senator John Edwards making some controversial (campaign trail: culture) comments on the issue of stem cell research and the

republicans are fighting back.

**Guest Describes Bush**

a preemptive attitude like the president.

there is only one candidate in this race who said that we didn't think we could win the war on terror, and that's George Bush

Only one candidate in this race said we couldn't win the war on terror.

George Bush diverted us from the War On Terror by taking

resources out of Afghanistan and diverting them to Iraq.

Bush may not be fully in command of what he is doing.

the Bush strategy really is to mobilize their base

The Bush campaign really believes that if they can get their base mobilized that (they can win this: game or war) thing

**Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues**

The election countdown is on, there are twenty-four days to go until you decide November second.

Is that (a turn off: technology) for some voters, trying to you know kill the (swing voters: motion) who are not necessarily partisan?

Ohio a key battleground state with 20 electoral votes.

reverend Jackson took a shot at republicans saying that they are obviously trying (to paint too rosy a picture/culture/nature) of both

the domestic and international situations.

battleground states

President Bush and John Kerry set to hit the (swing state: motion) of New Mexico

a commercial running in the battleground states

Both sides are going to use terms that they think will energize their base:

When you call a democrat a liberal, it energizes the conservative base in the republican party.

New Mexico is a battleground state, where John Kerry and

President Bush are in a (close race: game)

Arizona really isn't a battleground state anymore.

Yes but the suggestion is obvious Kirsten, that the President has sent our boys to die just for oil. Its kind of an outrageous (charge: society).

You know Bill, the republicans are always blaming democrats for class warfare.

Its not the first time a Bush/Cheney office has been targeted

the Bush/Cheney campaign suspects that it is being targeted.

Bush/Cheney headquarters from around the country have been hit with various acts of vandalism and in some cases violence:

a number of Bush/Cheney offices were hit.

this does not just pit against the republicans

A new Jersey school teacher coming under fire for pictures of President Bush she had up in her classroom.

**Kerry Does Luto Bush (reporter)**

Senator Kerry has been attacking President Bush for his knowledgeability, wisdom, judgment, choices, character, and it has gotten increasingly personal.

He's been hitting the president on

Senator Kerry blasted Bush on jobs and Iraq.

John Kerry attacking the president on those policies.

Senator Kerry has been hitting the president pretty hard

John Kerry isn't the only Kerry stepping up attacks against

President Bush these days.

The senator's wife, Teresa Heinz Kerry, is taking direct aim at

President Bush while on the road campaigning for her husband.

Heinz Kerry also blasting President Bush recently on the search for Bin Laden at a fundraiser in Arizona.

Kerry tipped the president for engaging in tax cuts during a war

The St. Luis Post Dispatch points out a (deep divide: unification) on the domestic front, citing how senator Kerry blasted President

Bush on jobs and Iraq.

John Kerry's swipe at the president on high oil prices.

**Guest Describes Kerry**

John Kerry has a real plan to win the War On Terror.

the Kerry forces have to be aware of him (Nader)

he punched into these remarks:

the base, the democratic base, is already voting for John Kerry;

Senator Kerry has made sure that the war, what we term the war on terrorism, Mr. Holbrook, Ambassador Holbrook, one of his

advisors, said that war was a metaphysical term.

**Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues**

We are not going to win the war on terrorism by (going down to door: everyday life) around the world

Most people connect the war on terrorism with all American hating individuals.

the larger war on terrorism of which Iraq has always been

if you are out of work right now in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan,

some of these key Midwestern battleground states, you care about getting a job ASAP and I don't necessarily think Iraq overrides all.

Iraq is the central front of the War on Terrorism.

she said we are not going to send our children to die for oil; that is not a horrible thing.

a smoke screen for what is going on with republicans

it's a smoke screen in Florida and Ohio.

maures there are no headlines about a tremendous row.

(Bush and Kerry need) To be able to mobilize their base and focus on the (swing voters: motion).

I don't think Ralph Nader, being as half cocked as he is, can be (a tool: technology) of anybody.

you have to smoke the trainians out

the school says that this isn't about a photo of the president, but about politically charged comments aimed at students. battleground state Both Nevada and Oregon are battleground states, much (too close to call: game) at this point. the ultimate battle ground state. The Vice Presidents daughter the center of a political firestorm.	
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> The final debate now over, but the claims and counter claims of victory and defeat are just starting. President Bush and John Kerry slamming into each other on domestic issues. The final debate done, and the sparks were flying. one thing the candidates are hoping for was that there were enough sparks flying to <del>excite</del> the faithful voters to get out to the polls the tussle that is going to take place All goes down in Arizona. final chance to take each other on (face to face: body).	<b>Guest Describes Debate</b>
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> Those debates have highlighted the clear differences between the Senator and me on issues ranging from jobs to taxes to healthcare to the war on terror. We'll defeat the terrorists overseas so that we will not (face them: body) here at home.	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> You know, I was a little worried at one point, I thought the president was going to attack Charlie Gibson
<b>Bush Talks Policy</b>	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b> Young Kerry: We watched pride allow the most <del>unimportant</del> of battles to be blown into extravaganzas. (spectacle)

## FNC Politics As Spectacle

Carnival, circus, detective, drama, fairy tale, folklore, joke, movie, opera, science-fiction, soap opera, story, television, theater, wild west

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> the presidents performance improved markedly between debate number one and debate number two. President Bush a stronger performance on foreign policy than the first outing last week. As president Bush worked the crowd, his most senior political advisors worked reporters.	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b>
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Senator Kerry and Senator Edwards, sharing a stage	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b>
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> President Bush and Dick Cheney have been in bed with the oil industry from the beginning of their careers.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> (Lynne Cheney) The only thing I could conclude is that this is not a good man. This is not a good man. And of course I am speaking as a mom, and a pretty indignant mom, this is not a good man. What a cheap and tawdry political trick.
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> Terry McCall was quoted as saying that Nader should end the charade.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> Because of the spending follies of this administration, it is playing out in the media We should let that play out. Any economist who believes that from 1993 to 2000 we didn't have the best economy in American history is living on another planet.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> third and final showdown with Senator Kerry Kerry is taking the full day to prepare for tomorrow nights big showdown. (John Kerry is) relaxing and preparing for tomorrow's showdown showdown in the southwest. final showdown Candidates almost always do dress rehearsals before the debates, but every now and again they decide to wing it the nations newspapers are showcasing the strong differences between John Kerry and President Bush The Arkansas Democrat Gazette emphasizes how healthcare, jobs, and taxes are the A list issues. showdown last night we sure heard a lot of differences in the final showdown. the final showdown leading to some interesting live from the scene of last nights showdown in Tempe Arizona. One sentence in the presidential debate whipping up quite a controversy.	<b>Guest Describes Debate</b> This is a dramatic confrontation, they actually pay attention
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> He must think we've been on another planet.	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b> Most <del>surprising</del> moment of the whole evening, President Bush was asked to name three mistakes he has made.
<b>Bush Talks Policy</b>	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b>

	Young Kerry: We watched pride allow the most important of battles to be blown into extra agendas. (violence)
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## FNC Politics As Culture

Antiquity, art, culture, dance, education, history, music, myth, nobility, poem, painting, religion

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> The president took a day off from the campaign trail the president is preparing for the debate by portraying his (opponent: game) as too liberal for (main stream: nature) America on domestic issues (making the case: society) for his stewardship of the economy He will paint the Massachusetts law maker as a tax and spend liberal who will raise middle class income taxes the president spend last night on the campaign trail His president Bush who has come out on the stump continuing his Western campaign tour President Bush has been on the trail all week President Bush meanwhile (hit: violence) the campaign trail	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> president calls it a (global war on terror and they intend to bare down: violence) on senator Kerry and cast him as weak for these remarks the president continues to (hammer away: technology) at senator Kerry, portraying him as an old fashion tax and spend liberal.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Kerry referring to the Florida recount in 2000 by saying we have an unfinished march in this nation. back (hitting: violence) the campaign trail hard again Kerry has been (lying low: violence), staying off the stump, preparing in private. Senator John Edwards making some controversial campaign trail comments on the issue of stem cell research and the republicans are (firing back: violence). John Kerry's wife (hit: violence) on the campaign trail.	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b> And senator Kerry says (Bush is) willfully trying to paint a better picture than actually the situation on the ground would warrant.
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> He was down in Florida and he went out and did some glad- handing, and talked to people because of the hurricanes. I think president Bush's plan was to paint Kerry as a liberal and I think he succeeded Bush team and Bush supporters basically to smear John Kerry.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> Cheney's daughter really among undecided voters seems to be going a little bit beyond the pale. That is probably an ad that will (hurt: violence) John Kerry even more because it quotes from today's New York Times magazine, not exactly a right wing rag, going into a litany of things that Bush has done or not done on the domestic side.
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> President Bush and challenger John Kerry both out on the campaign trail today. We'll hear lots of name calling on the campaign trail reverend Jackson (took a shot: violence) at republicans saying that they are obviously trying to paint too (rosy: nature) a picture of both the domestic and international situations. campaign trail. The campaign trail finds both candidates in Wisconsin today.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> the things that she says that a lot of times the right wing are (jumping on: body) are not really particularly bad things. you get the people on the far right, the people on the far left, they feel very strongly by definition. give part of the left wing a place to go. His vote is either some sort of disenfranchised cereal vote, or it's a left-winger. people on the left think that we should have had some other tragedy to materialize in the United States of America for us to feel like the post nine eleven policy was working.
<b>Bush Talks Policy</b>	<b>Kerry Talks Personal</b> And love your neighbor as yourself. And frankly, I think that we have a lot more loving of our neighbor to do in this country and on this planet.

## FNC Politics As Society

Activism, bureaucracy, business, class, community, contract, corporation, discourse, elections, law, market, neighborhood, party, peace, police, power, village

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> making the case for his (stewardship: culture) of the economy	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> the president will be able to put the senator perhaps on the defensive tonight including hot button: social issues such like abortion and gay marriage.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Kerry condemns his and fellow soldiers actions saying quote, "We were sent to Vietnam to kill Communism. But we found instead that we were killing women and children."	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> they think they can convict the Bush campaign and the president of hypocrisy Kerry acquitted himself pretty well.
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> Yes but the suggestion is obvious Kirsten, that President has sent our boys to (die just for oil: violence). Its kind of an outrageous charge. What do you do to close the deal? Which candidate do you think sold himself better to the American people. Who was the better sales man	<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> both candidates acquitted themselves fairly well. exchanges on hot button issues



<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> see if he can( start the political clock ticking: game) after September eleventh, and after the recession of 2001, and sell that proposition to the American people.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b>
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#### FNC Politics as Nature

Agriculture, beast, birthing, fire, jungle, land, gardening, rose, season, water, weather

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> the president is preparing for the debate by (portraying: culture) his (opponent: game) as too liberal for main stream America on domestic issues the president received his usual thunderous applause	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b>
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> The president is at his high water mark.	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> the comment ignited a political tempest
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> (Jesse Jackson) accusing the Bush administration and the President personally of an overly rosey scenario.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> (Jesse Jackson clip) If your only looking at one side of the congress, and flying with one right wing, you cant fly a balanced flight. They see a rock, they see rosey. (referring to kerry not raising taxes) whose ox is going to be gored and which programs are going to be cut back?
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> You, you know there is a mainstream in America, and you sit right on the far left bank.	<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b>
<b>Bush Talks Policy</b> I receive calmness in the storms of the presidency	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b>

#### FNC Politics As Technology

Airplane, architecture, building, calculation, complexity, construction, engine, geometry, machine, modernization, navigation, network, order, pattern, process, progress, reason, science, statistics, structure, system, technique, traffic, train, transportation, tunnel, vehicle

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b>	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> the president continues to hammer away at senator Kerry, (portraying him: culture) as an old fashion tax and spend liberal.
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> Kerry plan will lower health care costs that have skyrocketed, they say, under president Bush. They think that somehow it will drive a wedge between the president, vice president, and maybe some of their conservative Christian supporters. what the Senator calls the skyrocketing health care costs under Bush. some undecided voters who said they were very turned off by the senator Kerry remark about Dick Cheney's daughter	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b>
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> what they have to do is drive down the vote for Kerry make the campaign nasty and negative and hope turn people off	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> that seems to be their calculation. try to erase (the lead: game) that President Bush had built up after the republican convention.
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> out there in the country, and that people have gone over board governor does it turn people off though, to see them (jabbing at each other: violence) as much as they did and seeming to be quite aggressive with each other. Is that a turn off for some voters, trying to you know (kill: violence) the (swing voters: motion) who are not necessarily partisan?	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> the driving force behind the jobs market is small businesses he is a wiring tool of the Bush and Cheney campaign, and the special interests behind them. I don't think Ralph Nader, being as (half cocked: violence) as he is, can be a tool of anybody. President Regan, very famously in 1984, he went into his first debate and he had been over programmed. But what we need to do is build jobs in this country. the republican (strategy : game) is free pranged at this point to some degree it is filtered by what the news media says about those debates Its those people, I think, on the margin that get turned off by Teresa's comments. Teresa at the moment has made some outrageous comments, and people in the middle get turned off by those kind of comments.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b>	<b>Guest Describes Debate</b> this is an unfiltered way of looking at both candidates on the stage together; you're able to measure them up. its an important tool for voters who are still undecided.
<b>Bush Describes Kerry</b> He clearly has a litmus test for his judges, which I disagree with. What he is asking me is, will I have a litmus test for my judges, and my answer is no I will not have a litmus test.	<b>Kerry Describes Bush</b>

## FNC Politics As Everyday Life

Bakery, cleaning, colors, container, cooking, dinner, dream, furniture, garbage, fantasy, food, grocery, home, house, housekeeping, meal, path, proverb, romance, school, seduction, singing, smell, song, taste, time, travel

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> Bush/Cheney campaign aids say the event draws too many out of towners, where they want their candidate to spend his time wooing Nevada residents.	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b>
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> John Kerry courting the black vote. A state that if Senator Kerry were to (win, a state that President Bush won game) in 2000, could be a decisive step on his road to the electoral college victory.	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b>
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b>	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> (Kerry's position on) this lightly enriched uranium would actually be tremendous fresh feed for a covert enrichment effort. That(his pre911 way of thinking) is one thing he won't (change his mind: body) or his time on for the third debate
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> the campaign has taken on something of a bitter flavor	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> We are not going to win the (war on terrorism: violence) by going door to door around the world. Right now they are (competing: game) for a very small slice of people.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> And the Washington Post reminds voters how there is little common ground on meat and potato concepts.	<b>Guest Describes Debate</b>

## FNC Politics as Disaster

Accident, hell, nightmare

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b>	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> is that effective to say that John Kerry is sort of in a pre nine eleven world? does that say it all that John Kerry is looking at the world as a nine ten world?
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b>	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> it reflects Senator Kerry's record, it reflects his position of approaching terrorism in a pre nine one one mindset.
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> the tempest in Tempe The Tempest in Tempe, is now over.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> Condoleezza Rice: It was only a matter of time and it is a pre September eleventh way of thinking to say well we would have just waited to see whether we could have kept these imperfect sanctions in place. the responsibility for the mess in Iraq and with the wreckage of economy lies with Ralph Nader as well as with the Bush team.

## Politics As Death

Corps, death, euthanasia, funeral, horror

<b>Reporter Describes Bush/Campaign</b> the president either slightly ahead of or dead even (/game) (with his challenger: game), democratic nominee John Kerry	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b>
<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/Campaign</b> will Kerry's comment haunt him for the rest of the campaign? is this going to haunt senator Kerry?	<b>Kerry Does Unto Bush (reporter)</b>
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b>	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> I don't know if it's going to haunt him for the rest of the campaign.
<b>Reporter Describes Election camp/Camp Issues</b> The polls (put the race: game) pretty much dead even (/game) the ghosts of Vietnam are still not ready to be put to rest It came into almost a dead heat (/game) last time around the race is dead locked the president's energy bill died in the senate.	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> we run into the last two weeks pretty dead even (/game)
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b>	<b>Guest Describes Debate</b> there were no fatal mistakes.

## FNC Politics is Change of Motion

<b>Reporter describes Bush</b> the president is circling around areas of Minnesota that are his strength and that means staying away from the big cities the president is going to be continuing his west coast swing some people said that president Bush maybe needed to tone things down in the last debate	<b>Reporter describes Kerry</b> Somebody else made the point that it wasn't like he guted her last night Can John Kerry shake the remark he made about Mary Cheney's sexual preference
<b>Reporter describes election/camp issues</b> Today its on to two more swing states. What will it take, though, to sway the undecided voters into	<b>Guest Describes Kerry</b> if you were undecided, you probably moved in his direction people have seen with their own eye, Kerry was ridiculed by the

supporting either candidate? These big four swing states will be especially important, (both candidates) in a very important swing state His presence (Nader) could tip the balance	Bush people as being a <b>tip topper</b> Kerry was consistent through them, but I'm not sure that he really <b>passed the threshold</b> of whether he is tough enough at a time of the kind of conflict we are having, to handle the chief executive of the United States. John Kerry for these three debates clearly <b>reached a threshold</b> of credibility the Kerry approach is really to move the swing voters The first debate performance by senator Kerry, and to some degree by President Bush, <b>moved the needle</b> evenly. this has extended the <b>momentum</b> for Kerry, it has <b>(made the race slightly more open: game)</b> . Kerry did an effective job of <b>pivoting</b> against that
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> are we likely to see, again, the conversation continuing to <b>drift back</b> toward international issues on Wednesday?	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b> Join me in <b>rolling back</b> (the Presidents unaffordable tax cuts) for people earning more than \$200,000 a year, that's all. we are going to pay for our education by <b>rolling back</b> that tax cut for people earning more than 200,000 dollars a year. And investing in America.
	<b>Guest describes election camp/camp issues</b> The democrats are trying to put a <b>negative spin</b> on that framework, I just don't believe that she is swaying people one way or another He <b> tipped the balance in 2000</b> (Nader) Is that <b> a warning</b> for some voters, trying to you know (kill: violence) the swing voters who are not necessarily partisan? President Bush and John Kerry set to <b>(hit: violence)</b> the swing state of New Mexico (Bush and Kerry need) To be able to <b>(mobilize their base: violence)</b> and focus on the <b>swing voters</b>

## FNC Politics is Change of Temperature

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> see a lot of <b>warmth</b> in Bush that they don't see in John Kerry	
<b>Reporter describes election/camp issues</b> the campaigns for president are now really <b>heating up</b> the <b>heat is on</b> here	<b>Guest describes election/camp issues</b> I think tempers have got to <b>cool down</b> .
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> Health care just one of the <b>hotly</b> debated issues in <b>(round three: game)</b> of the presidential debate.	

## FNC Politics as Unification

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> George W. Bush, often talked about being a <b>uniter not a divider</b> as part of his compassionate conservative agenda. George Bush is the one who has <b>alienated the whole world</b> . We need allies.	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/camp</b> The St. Luis Post Dispatch points out a <b>deep divide</b> on the domestic front, citing how senator Kerry <b>(blasted: violence)</b> President Bush on jobs and Iraq.
	<b>Kerry Talks Policy</b> Al was always there, <b>bringing people together</b> . Always the constructive voice always focused on the choices of President Bush and what we need to do. I'll tell you something folks, I am a <b>uniter, not divider</b> .

## FNC Politics As Location

<b>Reporter describes Bush</b> Both the president and his advisors declaring senator Kerry to be <b>far out of the fringes of the senate's liberal wing</b> .	<b>Reporter describes debate</b> The big question, how did the debate <b>(play: game)</b> with the undecideds? The voters who are <b>on the fence</b> ?
<b>Reporter describes election camp/camp issues</b> President Bush John Kerry <b>standing on opposite ends of the spectrum</b> when it comes to tax cuts	<b>Guest Describes Election/Camp Issues</b> <b>in the middle</b> , which is <b>(where this race is going to be won or lost: game)</b> He's a <b>fringe vote</b> as a <b>fringe candidate</b> (Nader)

## FNC Politics Is Soft or Hard

<b>Reporter describes Bush</b> Some analysts say President gave a <b>soft answer</b> to a hard question on the issue of abortion.	<b>Bush Unto Kerry (reporter)</b> President Bush accuses Senator Kerry of <b>going soft</b> on terrorists. the President suggests Kerry is <b>soft on Terrorism</b> .
<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> yes, he is resolved to the <b>(war on terror: violence)</b> , but as well that he has a <b>softer side</b> Jenna Bush tried to <b>soften up</b> her dad's image, introducing him today <b>(on the stump: culture)</b>	<b>Guest describes election camp/camp issues</b> <b>when the economy goes soft</b> , we need to give tax cuts because that is going to stimulate the economy

## FNC Ideas Are Objects

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> he is trying to throw out labels because he cannot answer the questions of the day. when a person doesn't have a legitimate argument they throw names and start name calling rather than responding to the issues.	<b>Guest describes election camp/camp issues</b> republican secretary of state interpreting the rules about provisional balloting in a way that throws peoples votes out rather than counting them.
	<b>Kerry describes Bush</b> The president is just trying to scare everybody here. Were throwing labels around. I mean, compassionate conservative, what does that mean?

## FNC Indiscriminate: Game or War

<b>Guest Describes Bush</b> The Bush campaign really believes that if they can get their (base mobilized: violence) that they can win this thing	<b>Reporter Describes Kerry/campaign</b> A state that if Senator Kerry were to win, a state that President Bush won in 2000, could be a decisive (step on his road: everyday life) to the electoral college victory. Aids say he won the first debate and both Kerry and George Bush made (strong showings in the second debate, so aids here believe Kerry goes in a bit ahead: game). most polls seem to show, that Senator Kerry won. Having them split obviously makes it possible for them to cover twice as much turf. maybe he won over some people
<b>Reporter Describes Debate</b> news organizations conducted so called flash polls or snap polls to see who viewers felt actually won the evening.	<b>Guest Describes Camp/Election Issues</b> the question is what does it mean to win a debate? In my mind winning a debate means waiting a week and seeing if the poll numbers moved, if one candidate or the other gained. the republican strategy is (three pronged: technology) at this point