

**When casinos come to town: How Iowa newspapers framed gambling
expansion and the influence of these frames on citizens' approval or
rejection of casinos in their counties**

by

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ABSTRACT

Between June 2003 and November 2004, residents in 15 Iowa counties participated in referenda that sought their approval of a measure that will allow the introduction of casino gambling in their counties. In eight of these counties, the measure failed; in the other seven, the measure passed. Because casino expansion has received considerable coverage throughout the state, this study asks whether the frames used by Iowa newspapers to report, interpret and explain the issue had something to do with these voting outcomes.

Framing theory was used to analyze the results of a content analysis of the coverage of four newspapers that serve different Iowa counties one year preceding and one year following each county's casino referendum. The results show that the three most prominent frames used were the expansion debate, tax and economic frames, suggesting a tendency to construct the issue in financial terms. The other frames identified were the political debate, social cost, moral and revenue frames.

The newspapers' coverage was characterized by heavy reliance on state and local politicians as information sources; pro-gambling activists were also cited frequently, drowning out the voices of anti-gambling activists. These information sources were the main agents of frame construction in the news.

The opinion pieces were evenly split between those positive toward gambling (105) and those against it (105); the other 46 pieces were neutral toward the issue. This tone or orientation was found to significantly differ across the four newspapers and vary with the referenda outcomes in each of the four counties.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The impact of recession in today's economy can be seen in all levels. The nation as a whole has experienced financial times quite different and more challenging than those during the latter part of the 1990s. States have been thrown into political turmoil as legislatures debate how to bring their budgets out of the red in a sluggish economy. Iowa is one of the states that face a slow recovery, forcing decision makers to weigh taxing people and businesses versus other alternatives that might fill the statehouse coffer.

Background

One such alternative is the age-old industry of gambling. Gambling is the activity of placing a wager, in most cases money, on the outcome of an activity of skill or chance. It has become a way of life in the United States, with 86% of Americans reporting they have gambled at least once in their lifetimes (National Gambling Impact Study Commission, 1999).

The history of gambling in the United States dates back to the establishment of the colonies. Lotteries, or wagering on the occurrence of a number amongst the probability of other numbers, were prominent in the original English colonies to fund the building of public works, and were integral in the raising of funds to construct the buildings of Harvard and Yale (NGISC, 1999). Since the founding of the nation, different forms of gambling have come and gone, reflecting society's level of acceptance of different practices.

Today gambling in the U.S. is pervasive. Besides lotteries, Americans gamble at pari-mutuel (the combining of wagers into a common pool) racetracks, betting on live and simulcast horse and dog races. They also gamble using electronic gambling devices (EGDs), stand-alone machines, such as a slot machine, video poker or keno, a fast-paced version of a lottery. Americans also gamble at the most recognizable of wagering establishments, the casino. At casinos, money is bet on a multitude of games, oftentimes including EGDs and pari-mutuel wagering. Sports wagering is another popular form of gambling that entails betting on the outcomes of athletic events. Legal wagering only occurs in the states of Nevada and Oregon, while the majority of sports betting occurs illegally across the country and on the Internet. There are numerous other forms of gambling that Americans participate in, from playing bingo to many forms of amusement park contests.

Nationwide, gambling is quite commonplace. In 1998, gamblers in the US lost \$50 billion in legal wagering alone, not to mention the losses from illegal sports betting with wagering estimates between \$80 and \$380 billion a year (NGISC, 1999). In 2003, at the 443 commercial casinos (not including tribal casinos) located in 11 states, gross gaming revenue exceeded \$27 billion (American Gaming Association, 2005). And the states have not hedged solely on commercial casinos. As of 2004, there are 28 states with tribal casinos, 40 states (and the District of Columbia) with lotteries, 43 states with pari-mutuel wagering, and 47 states and the District of Columbia that have some form of charitable gaming (AGA, 2005).

Much of the casino gambling outside of Nevada and Atlantic City in New Jersey may not exist had it not been for the strides first made by the state of Iowa. In September 1991, Iowa was the first state to revive the riverboat casinos once popular in the 1800s (NGISC,

1999). Since 1991, riverboat casinos operating on waterways away from land, and dockside casinos on boats that are permanently moored, have exploded onto the Midwest and Southern landscapes, especially in the heartland where in Iowa alone, 10 floating casinos operate. These, combined with three tribal casinos (made possible by a 1987 US Supreme Court decision determining that states could not apply their regulations to gambling activities on Indian reservations, 480 U.S. 202), three racetrack casinos and the state-run lottery, and Iowa becomes a hub of gambling activity in the midst of the agricultural heartland.

Gambling certainly is big business in Iowa. For fiscal year 2004, the state took in nearly \$225 million in taxes from its 13 racetracks and casinos (Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission, 2005). That figure does not include millions more in taxes collected at the city and county levels, as well as taxes deposited in the state's gamblers' treatment fund.

Gambling taxes in Iowa are put toward infrastructure improvements, local governments, schools and universities, the environment, and the general fund. In 2003, Iowa's casinos also paid over \$278 million in wages to their nearly 8,800 employees, not counting employee wages for the state's three tribal casinos (AGA, 2005).

Gambling in Iowa does not come without adverse effects. Though solid statistical data are difficult to come by, it is well known that gambling has social costs. A significant portion of the social costs of gambling originates with what are known as problem or pathological gamblers. The American Psychiatric Association classifies pathological gambling as an impulse control disorder, officially listing it in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (NGISC, 1999). Nationally, there are 7.5 million of these problem and pathological gamblers (NGISC, 1999). In Iowa, over five percent of the population falls into this category (Weissman, 1996). The social costs are still to be

determined, but problems with out-of-control debts and crimes such as theft, embezzlement and domestic abuse are all associated with problem and pathological gambling (Weissman, 1996).

As Iowa examines its fiscal policy and attempts to solve its budget problems, the notion of expanding the gambling industry and increasing tax revenues that come with it continues to bedevil decision makers (see Fig 1.1 at the end of this chapter). After all, a recent study shows that 69% of Iowans still oppose adding more casinos in the state (Petroski, 2003). Despite this, in 2003 and 2004, seven Iowa counties voted on referenda allowing casino gambling within their jurisdiction (IRGC, 2005). These referenda came in the wake of a comprehensive analysis commissioned by the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission into the revenue potential of adding new casinos (Cummings Associates, 2003). The study looked at the potential of new casino facilities in various markets and determined that, realistically, Iowa could add taxable casino revenues of \$200 million a year (Cummings Associates, 2003). Following a slew of county approvals of casino gambling, the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission lifted a 1998 moratorium on casino licenses and, on May 11, 2005, will determine which, if any, of the ten current applications for an excursion gaming boat will be approved.

Even before the Commission votes on these applications, the measure must first pass a county referendum. Ultimately, the decision whether to put a casino in their county is up to the voters. Judging by the results of previous referenda, Iowans struggle over and are seemingly ambivalent about this issue as evidenced by the mixed voting outcomes in different counties (Appendix D). Between June 2003 and November 2004, 15 counties voted on referenda to allow excursion boat gambling in anticipation of and following the lifting of

the moratorium (IRGC, 2005). Seven counties (Palo Alto, Worth, Black Hawk, Wapello, Franklin, Webster and Washington) approved casino gambling, while the measure failed in eight counties (Dickinson, Cerro Gordo, Linn, Clay, Sac, Dallas, Madison and Warren) (IRGC, 2005). Figure 1.1 shows the state map indicating the location of the four counties that conducted casino expansion referenda examined in this study and their geographic position relative to counties that host existing casinos.

Furthermore, the voting statistics in each county exhibit no clear trends. The percentages of those who advocate for and those who oppose gambling expansion are quite varied. In Palo Alto and Worth Counties, voters approved casinos with roughly three-fourths of the voters saying “yes” (IRGC, 2005). However, in Wapello, Franklin and Washington Counties, the measure narrowly passed, with about 53% of voters saying “yes” (IRGC, 2005). Those counties where new casino referendums failed showed the same ambivalence, with casinos getting a “no” vote by 72% of the voters in Dickinson County, but not even 53% in Linn County (IRGC, 2005).

Voter turnout shows an even greater disparity. Turnouts ranged from a non-general election high of 55.3% in Dickinson County (“no” to casinos), (Dallas County had the highest voter turnout with 69.6% during the November 2004 general election), to lows of 22.9% in Cerro Gordo County (“no” to casinos) and 19% in Wapello County (“yes” to casinos) (IRGC, 2005).

Problem and Purpose

Clearly there are those who have formed their opinions about casinos and gambling through direct experience with them. On the other hand, there are those who worry about the

negative aspects of gambling and as a result hold a position opposed to expansion. Finally, there are those who remain ambivalent about the opportunities and social consequences of casinos in their midst. This group of citizens is largely affected by the information they receive about the issue through interpersonal interactions and/or the mass media.

Therefore, this study asks: What themes or messages about the potential expansion of casinos do citizens get from the media? That is, what is being communicated to Iowa audiences that have led them to develop their stance on gambling?

This study attempts to characterize the themes or frames that are being pushed by the Iowa news media regarding this issue. In particular, the study looks at the informative nature of the print media across the state. Iowa's newspaper readership is 90%, a substantial figure over the national average of 83% (Iowa Newspaper Association, 2004). The INA (2004) also reports that over 80% of Iowans rely on their newspaper for local government information, and 59.1% rely on newspapers for local community news. Assuming that Iowans get their news from the print media, this study describes how that information is packaged, and the extent to which such packaging differs across counties. It is hypothesized in this study that the gambling expansion frames presented by the print media may have accounted for some of the variance in the referendum results.

The fact that the gambling industry blankets the state leads to its frequent coverage in the media. News articles and opinion pieces tackle the subject throughout the state every year, with no sign of abating. What themes are commonly used to shape Iowans' cognitions and understanding of this controversial issue?

Rationale

An examination of this kind is expected to benefit a number of groups. First to benefit from this study will be those with an immediate stake in the gambling industry, the politicians and the casino and racetrack businesses. Because these groups rely on policy conducive to their growth, understanding how the media convey themes to the public will allow them to better execute their expansion initiatives and communication campaigns. Gambling-related entities that understand how the media portray issues attendant to their livelihood are better prepared to initiate public relations strategies for the purpose of expanding this lucrative source of state revenue.

The results of this study will be beneficial to anti-gambling groups in the same way. These organizations rely on the media to inform the public about the positions they advocate and an awareness of media themes will allow them to foster more effective publicity.

The general population of Iowa can also benefit from the findings of studies of this nature. Understanding what themes are being presented to them will lead to a more active citizenry who can seek out information that will make them more enlightened voters.

Finally, and possibly most importantly, understanding the tactics used to package gambling stories is crucial to the news media who must assess their performance in covering an issue that has important public ramifications. This study will provide journalists with an objective understanding of how comprehensively they have looked at an important issue that has direct implications for economic growth and development.

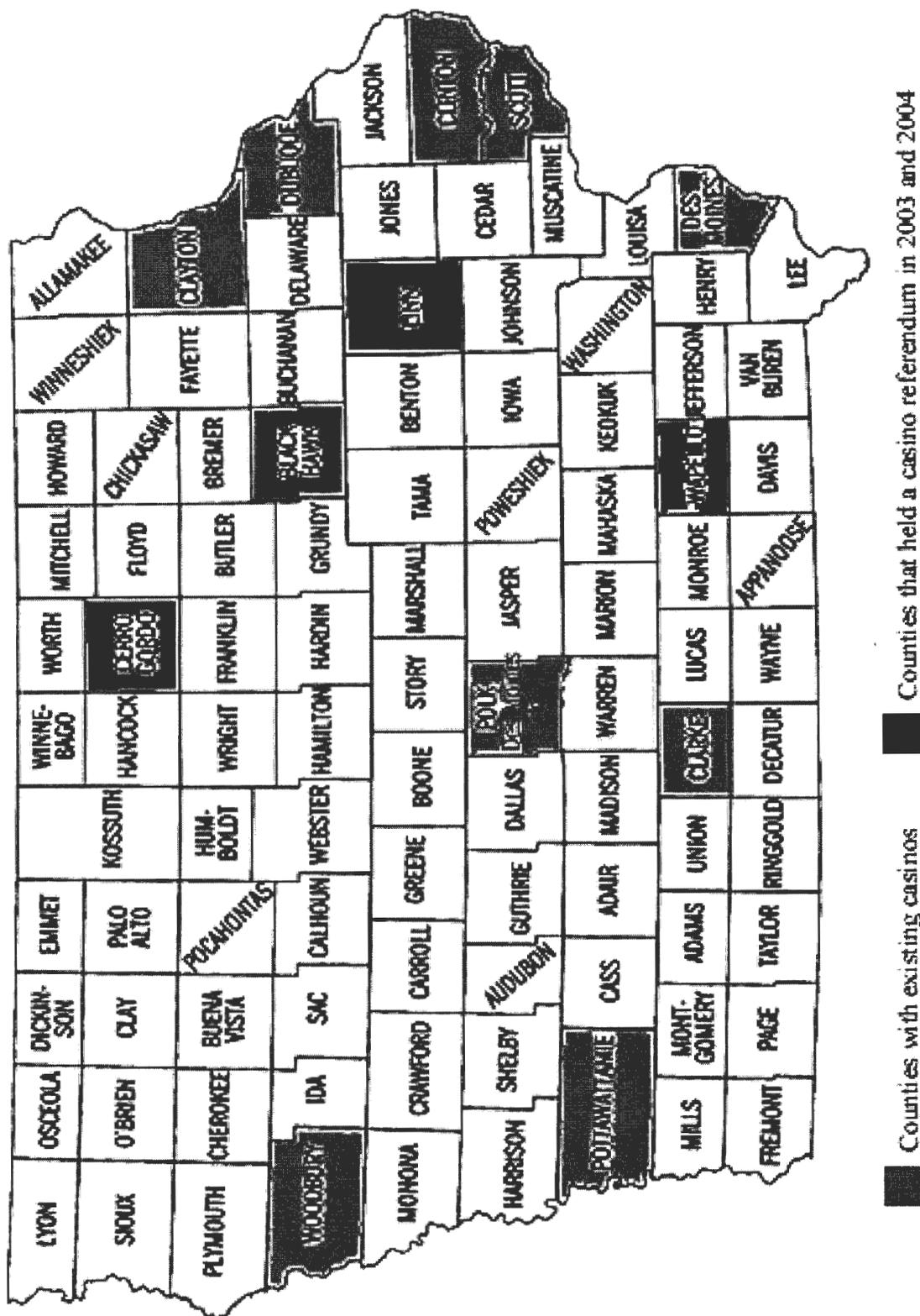


Figure 1.1. Map showing the state of Iowa and its 99 counties. The four counties in black are the study's focus areas. The counties in gray are those that have existing casinos.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The constantly changing nature of casino gambling in Iowa leads to a great deal of public policy discourse. The general public must rely on the news media to keep them abreast of the unfolding policy decisions that may or may not affect them. What information regarding gambling expansion is disseminated by the news media, and how is the issue portrayed to the people of Iowa? This study attempts to tease out the themes that the Iowa news media convey in their presentation of news about a specific topic. Whether constructed purposively or unconsciously, what are journalists saying to the people about this important public issue? As indicated in Chapter 1, how citizens voted on this issue seem to vary by geographic location (IGRC, 2005). This study intends to determine if indeed differences in news media portrayals across the state had some bearing on voters' stand on the expansion of gambling in Iowa.

Framing

A method for studying news content involves frames and framing analysis. The sociological concept of "frames" has developed into a mass communication theory that has received a great deal of attention since the 1990s (Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Iyengar, 1990; Entman, 1990; Kellner, 1991; Soloman, 1992; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Rogers, Dearing & Bregman, 1993; Kosicki, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Entman, 1993; Allen, Loughlin, Jasperson & Sullivan, 1994; Meyer, 1995; Shah, Domke & Wackman, 1996; Price Tewksbury & Powers, 1997; Rhee, 1997; Ashley & Olson, 1998; Scheufele,

1999; Knight, 1999; Powers & Andsager, 1999; Valkenburg, Semetko & de Vreese, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Scheufele, 2000; Tewksbury, Jones, Peske, Raymond & Vig).

Framing theory in the field of communications evolved from a sociological paradigm. Goffman (1974) defined frames as “definitions of a situation . . . built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events . . .” (p. 10). Goffman’s work was eventually assimilated into discussions of mass media effects. Gitlin (1980) described media frames as organizations of discourse constructed by journalists and delivered to the audience, oftentimes unbeknownst to them. Gitlin (1980) adds that frames “enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely [and allows them to] package the information for efficient relay to the audiences” (p. 7). Pan and Kosicki (1993) elaborated on framing in their analysis of news discourse. “The basic idea is to view news texts as a system of organized signifying elements that both indicate the advocacy of certain ideas and provide devices to encourage certain kinds of audience processing of the texts” (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 55-56). Rodriguez & Abraham (1999) defined the analysis of frames as “a technique that focuses on underlying but prominent semantic meanings in communications” (p. 4).

Entman (1993) adds that frames imbue salience to an issue. “Frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Entman (1991) asserts, “By providing, repeating, and thereby reinforcing words and visual images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text, others less so – and others entirely invisible” (p. 7).

Framing effects research received its first big shot in the arm from studies conducted by Kahneman and Tversky (1984). They observed that “attempts to influence framing are common in the marketplace and in the political arena” (p. 346). Their research focused on the power of frames to affect decision-making in terms of loss or cost. They found that decisions framed in terms of cost were more acceptable to respondents than a decision that was framed as a loss.

Iyengar (1991) provided a great deal of insight into framing theory in the early 1990s (Iyengar, 1990; Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Simon, 1993). He says that frames are constructed in two ways, episodic framing and thematic framing.

The episodic news frame takes the form of a case study or event-oriented report and depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances. The thematic frame, by contrast, places public issues in some more general or abstract context and takes the form of a “takeout,” or “backgrounder,” report directed at general outcomes or conditions (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14).

Iyengar (1990) thought of framing effects as how audiences attribute responsibility after being exposed to frames. Attribution of responsibility was split into two categories: causal, (responsibility due to past action), and treatment (responsibility for improving future matters). He found that people’s attribution regarding issues could be affected by framing matters of poverty (Iyengar, 1990), the Iran-Contra affair (Iyengar, 1991), and the Gulf crisis (Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

The situation in the Persian Gulf and the war that followed brought an unprecedented amount of television coverage and audience attention to the news, encouraged by the information and news network, CNN (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). The Gulf crisis and its plethora of news coverage helped to fuel the examination of framing theory with numerous

studies focused on media effects (see Kellner, 1991; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Allen et al., 1994). News was shown to exhibit “good versus evil” frames, ignoring media responsibility to avoid one-sidedness (Kellner, 1991). The news media during the Gulf crisis was also shown to use framing in conjunction with agenda-setting theory and spiral of silence theory to support military action and maintain a consensus for such action (Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Allen et al., 1994).

Under the assumption that framing can have an effect on how the audience processes certain issues, another batch of researchers began to content analyze the news media for the presence of definable frames (Entman, 1991; Soloman, 1992). Entman (1991) discussed news frames constructed into keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images of a news story. Entman (1991) studied the presence of frames in the mainstream media’s coverage of separate tragic incidents. His overall conceptualization was that framing as a theory was concerned with the salience of issues in a news story. That is, framing makes certain elements of a story more or less prominent.

Soloman (1992) took this idea further, explaining frames as media packages that may or may not contain all the relevant elements of the issue. In Soloman’s (1992) research on frames in the U.S. media’s coverage of civil unrest in El Salvador, he found that the news media downplayed or left out all together information about a story that could not easily fit into the dominant media package.

As framing came to be a commonly researched theory, it was examined next to the media effects theory of agenda-setting (Rogers et al., 1993; Kosicki, 1993; see also McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997; Scheufele, 1999; 2000). Agenda-setting is a theory of media effects that says the media agenda, with the dominance of certain stories over others,

determines what the public agenda is, directing people to which stories are of greater importance (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). There exists some confusion as to where framing fits in relation to agenda-setting (Rogers et al., 1993; Kosicki, 1993, McCombs et al., Scheufele, 2000). One side of the coin states that framing is merely an extension of agenda-setting theory, a second level to the theory, where it should merely be considered as part of future research into agenda-setting effects (Rogers et al., 1993; McCombs et al., 1997). The reverse describes framing as entirely different from agenda-setting, saying that framing deals with issue attributes and the ways they are perceived by the audience, rather than the degree to which the issue as a whole is pushed or not by the media (Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 2000).

Despite the argument about whether the two theories are related, framing can be perceived as similar to agenda-setting because they both deal with media effects. Framing, however, differs from agenda-setting in that it pertains to how and what the audience thinks about an issue rather than to what degree do they think about an issue (agenda-setting). The prominence of particular frames regarding an issue help to determine whether or not that issue is socially important to the audience. This is where agenda-setting and framing meet. The number of times a frame is developed, its length and location within the news discourse, are all important factors to support the agenda-setting function of the media that determines what issues are important.

In a seminal work, Entman (1993) called attention to the need to conceptualize all the existing, fractured research on frames and framing theory under a common understanding. Entman (1993) felt that framing theory lacked the direction to make it a “social theory in the largest sense” (p. 58). As a guide, Entman (1993) developed a widely cited definition of the concept for mass communication theory:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the issue or topic described, (p. 52, emphasis added).

Entman (1993) believed a common understanding of framing theory was important primarily “because the concept of framing directs our attention to the details of just how a communicated text exerts its power” (p. 55-56). The benefits of a general model of framing include strides toward journalistic objectivity, help in performing informative content analysis, and understanding of the forces at play in public opinion and the democratic process (Entman, 1993).

Entman (1993) realized that there was a difference between frames that exist in the media and frames that exist in the audience’s conceptions of news. His call for further conceptualization sought to connect these different types of frames and a process to aid in the future of framing research (Entman, 1993).

In response to Entman’s (1993) call for direction, Scheufele (1999) developed a concise conceptualization of framing and a process model of framing effects to lead future research on a structured course. Scheufele (1999) explicated the concept of framing into four dimensions: media frames versus audience frames and frames as an independent variable versus frames as a dependent variable.

Media frames as the dependent variable deal with the factors that influence the way journalists frame an issue (Scheufele, 1999). Such frames operate with the knowledge that certain organizational factors and journalistic values are determinants in the selection and

production of news (Gans, 1979). Scheufele (1999) took these factors and conceptualized them as having a potential effect on the news media frames.

Media frames as the independent variable and audience frames as the dependent variable are the next two dimensions of Scheufele's (1999) conceptualization. They are, according to him, connected but operationally different. Media frames as the independent variable involves the idea that analyzable frames in specific vehicles are the starting block for framing effects (Scheufele, 1999). Past studies that focused on the media as the independent variable looked to uncover the frames present in the media with no decisive research into the effects of these frames on audience frames (see Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Entman, 1993).

The natural second step involves audience frames as dependent variables. As Scheufele (1999) points out, this dimension of framing theory focuses "on individual frames as outcomes, given specific types of media frames" (p. 112). Previous research has assumed certain frames present in the media, concentrating on measurements of the audience's cognitions and/or values (see Iyengar, 1991; Price et al., 1997).

Finally, Scheufele (1999) offers the dimension of audience frames as independent variables. This dimension deals with the idea that the frames cognitively held by individuals lead them to certain behaviors or motivations (Scheufele, 1999). There are few studies that have dealt with this aspect of framing research, and Scheufele (1999) calls attention to a need for future inquiry similar to the other three dimensions.

Scheufele (1999) also developed a process model of framing that links the variables of the previous four dimensions. Figure 2.1 illustrates the continual flow of Scheufele's (1999) process model of framing.

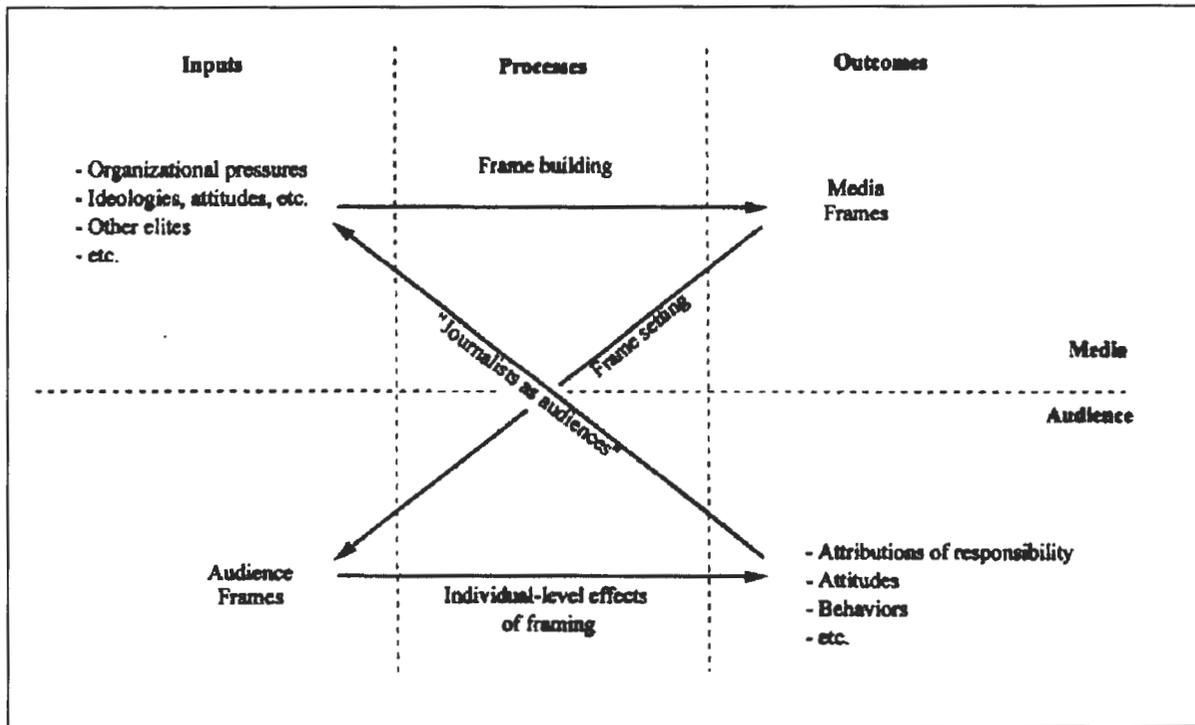


Figure 2.1. Scheufele's (1999) process model of framing

The first step in the process involves the notion of “frame building” and the media frames as the dependent variable (Scheufele, 1999). Although Gans (1979) investigated the factors influencing the production of news, no real discussion has been offered as to how these factors actually develop into media frames (Scheufele, 1999). The focus of this initial frame-building step in Scheufele's (1999) process model is concerned with the notion of how these influences result in specific media frames.

The next step in Scheufele's (1999) process model is termed “frame setting.” This refers to progression from media frames as independent variables to audience frames as dependent variables (Scheufele, 1999). This step is similar to McCombs and Shaw's (1972) process of agenda-setting in that it deals with the effect of the media on audience's

perceptions. However, in framing theory, it deals with issue attributes and the effects that the media frames discussing those attributes have on audience frames (Scheufele, 1999).

The third step of the process model is the “individual-level effects of framing” (Scheufele, 1999). This coincides with the fourth dimension of Scheufele’s (1999) conceptualization of audience frames as independent variables. This step attempts to connect audience frames, posited earlier to result from media frames, to an individual’s information processing system (Scheufele, 1999).

The final stage in Scheufele’s (1999) process model of framing is that of “journalists as audiences.” This step focuses on circulating the process back to journalists, suggesting that frames put through the channels of communication act in ways that affect journalists’ cognitions and therefore their further incorporation of frames into the news (Scheufele, 1999).

Although he extended the explication of framing and offered a process model for the theory, Scheufele (1999) recognized that he has “raised at least as many questions as he attempted to answer” (p. 118). Framing theory has not been completely smoothed out by Scheufele’s (1999) seminal article, but it has been put into perspective to a degree higher than previously accomplished. Since 1999, framing research has continued down the path of determining its various effects (see Powers & Andsager, 1999; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Tewksbury et al., 2000). A great deal continues to be learned about framing, including its power to affect audience recall of the news (Valkenburg et al., 1999), the tendency of television and sensational print vehicles to use human interest frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), and the impact of advocate frames as part of a news story’s frame (Tewksbury et al., 2000).

However, current discourse on framing does not center solely on effects. Pan & Kosicki (2001) have attempted to look at framing and framing effects in the bigger picture of what they call “public deliberation.” “In sum, framing an issue is to participate in public deliberation strategically, both for one’s own sense making and for contesting the frames of others” (Pan & Kosicki, 2001, p. 39). They now discuss framing as a strategy used by political actors as a means to promote policy necessary to our democratic society (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). Pan & Kosicki (2001) consider the news media as a vehicle of many “information subsidies” used by these political actors to deliver frames to the public in order to further the deliberation process.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, framing was examined from Scheufele’s (1999) second conceptual dimension, media frames as independent variables. It is from the vantage point of this dimension that the print media’s coverage of Iowa’s casino policy was analyzed. Following Scheufele’s (1999) hierarchy of events in which media frames eventually play out into audience frames, the presence of those specific frames in news content was examined. These frames were then matched against the results of the casino expansion referenda in each of the counties serviced by Iowa community newspapers. By doing this, the role of media frames in shaping the voting outcomes is inferred.

This study focuses only on a cross-section of Scheufele’s (1999) process model. Based on Gans’s (1979) treatise, factors exist that encourage specific news production practices. This study also assumes that Iyengar’s (1990 and 1991) and Iyengar and Simon’s (1993) findings regarding the effects of controlled media frames on audience frames will

support the notion that media frames will make their way into audience frames, whose tone will be inferred from the referenda results (a surrogate measure of audience frames). Finally, following Entman and Rojecki (1993), it is assumed that the establishment of audience frames will act as independent variables that may affect individual motivation, leading to specific voting choices (IRGC, 2005).

As such, this study identifies and analyzes the frames that exist in the print media's coverage of Iowa's gambling expansion issue. These are the frames packaged into the news discourse regarding casino policy. For the purposes of this study, frames are defined as packages of information that exist within a news narrative, whether intentionally or unconsciously constructed, and are concerned with stressing certain aspects of the issue while excluding others.

A great deal of the existing research has defined specific types of frames, from Iyengar's (1990) episodic and thematic frames and Entman's (1991) technical and moral frames to Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) five frames of attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. Although previous studies have offered varying conceptualizations, the current study offers a predominately descriptive look at the frames present in the Iowa print media's coverage of the state's casino policy. In short, frame categories are expected to be the outcomes of this analysis.

Research Questions

The preceding framework sets the course for answering the following research questions:

RQ1: What frames did the Iowa print media use to inform the public about the state's casino gambling policy?

RQ2: Does the pattern of frame use differ between straight news and opinion pieces?

The answers to these questions were derived from an analysis of news narratives and opinion pieces about the issue. The goal here is to understand the frames present in the news media's discourse about Iowa's gambling policy.

Previous framing research has focused on the sources of information or attributions in the news narrative. "The sources used in news stories not only provide clues to the dominant framing of news narratives, but reveal what sources are systematically omitted from news discourse" (Gailey, 2003). In their study of how the silicone breast implant controversy was framed, Powers and Andsager (1999) found that the sources cited were a contributing factor to the formulation of frames. Although Iowa's casino policy is a completely different issue, it is certainly one in which the sources used will be important to the news story. Therefore, this study also asks:

RQ3: Who are commonly cited in the print media's coverage of Iowa's casino gambling policy?

By examining the sources cited in the stories, one can get an understanding of whose voices are often heard in discussions of issues such as this. By the same token, it is possible to identify whose voices are not heard, or are left out, when important issues like this are discussed in the public arena. This has tremendous bearing on the quality of public discourse about an important multi-faceted issue.

The next step is to describe how the uncovered media frames match the election outcomes on the gambling referendum. The following research questions examine this connection:

RQ4: What is the general orientation of the opinion pieces about gambling (for, against or neutral)?

RQ5: How does this orientation relate to the outcomes of referenda that sought public input on the issue?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The media frames pertinent to this study reside in the news discourse, packaged in various ways, to be consumed by the audience. This study focused exclusively on the construction of frames by the print media, specifically by Iowa newspapers. Research findings using framing as the theoretical framework generally show that, more often than not, journalists do frame unconsciously. This study did not attempt to uncover the journalistic practices and values that lead to the production of what Scheufele (1999) called media frames as dependent variables. Instead, this study examined framing following Scheufele's (1999) conceptualization of media frames as independent variables that eventually determine audience frames.

Study Design

The most practical way to determine media frames is through a content analysis of the news discourse. Content analysis provides a blueprint for deciphering content, a method for making sense of discourse. "Content analysis," according to Riffe, Lacy & Fico (1998), "is crucial to any theory dealing with the impact or antecedents of content. It is not essential to every study conducted, but in the long run, one cannot study mass communication without studying content" (p. 32).

This study undertook a traditional quantitative content analysis of the Iowa print media, a method common to framing research (see Entman, 1993; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Such a research design provides quantifiable data describing media frames that may have

helped citizens develop their cognitions about Iowa's contentious casino policy. Appendix A outlines the codebook that was used.

A content analysis was necessary because it allows for the categorization of the frames explicit in the text. The themes uncovered during content analysis were grouped into defined frame categories for a more systematic data analysis. A cursory examination of newspaper items about the topic revealed several tentative examples of such frame categories: tax and state revenue opportunity, economic development, gambling addiction, and the impact of expanded Iowa gambling on the surrounding states. In their research on the framing of public policy about gambling, Korn, Gibbins & Azmier (2003) listed a number of common gambling frames that the public used to view the policy. These frames included gambling as a source of public revenue, gambling as a tool for economic development, gambling addiction and what Korn, Gibbins & Azmier (2003) identified as "an incumbent responsibility for political leaders to be informed about the costs and benefits of gambling, and to be held publicly accountable for their policy choices" (p. 237).

The quantitative aspect of this content analysis helped discover the source attributions in each article to determine whose voices were present in the public discourse concerning this issue. The most commonly cited sources give an indication of whose perspectives and points of view are referenced and privileged in the news reports.

Mostly, however, framing analysis involves an in-depth look at representative samples of articles falling within each identified frame category (see Meyer, 1995). For example, a random sample of articles featuring a prominent media frame such as economic development was analyzed to get to the nuances such frames employed to explain issues and events that have a direct bearing on the state's gambling policy. This incisive look at each

frame category allows for an analysis of frame construction and characteristics, going beyond the determination that a particular frame exists. It also allows for a discussion of the themes and sources that were not present. The absence of themes and/or sources can partly explain why certain frames were thoroughly constructed while others were discussed seemingly as afterthoughts to a general discourse about the issue.

Sample

This study analyzed all articles related to the gambling issue appearing in the major newspaper representing the largest metropolitan area for each of four respective counties that recently voted on a casino referendum: the Mason City Globe-Gazette (Cerro Gordo County), the Cedar Rapids Gazette (Linn County), the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier (Black Hawk County) and the Ottumwa Courier (Wapello County). Together, these papers have a combined circulation of 151,806 (Iowa Newspaper Association Directory, 2005). Appendices E and F provide further detail on the four newspapers of study and the counties that each represents.

These four newspapers were chosen because they represent four of the counties recently in the middle of discussions regarding the course they have to take regarding gambling (Figure 1.1). The Cedar Rapids Gazette and the Mason City Globe-Gazette are the largest newspapers in their respective counties that recently voted “no” to casino expansion (IRGC, 2005). This provides an opportunity to compare the frames evident in the Cedar Rapids Gazette and the Mason City Globe-Gazette with voters’ decisions rejecting casino expansion. On the reverse side, the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier and the Ottumwa Courier are the largest dailies representing their respective counties that recently passed referenda

allowing casino gambling (IRGC, 2005). These papers served communities that voted in favor of casinos in their counties.

These newspapers' issues one year before and one year after the holding of casino referenda in their respective counties were examined. This timeframe allowed for equal analysis of the newspaper coverage preceding and following the vote. The study's population included newspaper articles that discussed casinos and casino gambling policy. Articles that looked at the past, present or future of casino gambling and/or casinos in Iowa were included in the analysis. The stories were derived by searching each newspaper's online archive for articles that include the following terms: "casino," "gaming," "gambling" and "riverboat." Only a headline search was conducted for these terms to assure that the primary focus of the article or editorial is casino gambling. All resulting articles and editorials (N=728) were included in the analysis. Of these, 296 were taken from the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, 179 were from the Cedar Rapids Gazette, 177 came from the Mason City Globe-Gazette and 76 were from the Ottumwa Courier. Articles and editorial pieces regarding Native American-owned and managed casinos and the state's policies toward them were not included because they are covered by different policy-formulation mechanisms.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was news articles, editorials and letters to the editor that discussed casino expansion in each of the four newspapers. Only news articles that contained a minimum of 200 words were included, as these articles represented enough discourse for analysis. All editorials were included regardless of word count. News articles were analyzed separately from editorials and letters to the editor. All articles and/or

editorials within a particular issue that discussed casino gambling policy were considered as units of analysis. From these stories, the frames, the sources cited, and the general tone were ascertained.

Answering the Research Questions

The purpose of this content analysis is to categorize and explain frames that are present in the news discourse. In order to do so, the following questions were posed:

RQ1: What frames did the Iowa print media use to inform the public about the state's casino gambling policy?

RQ2: Does the pattern of frame use differ between straight news and opinion pieces?

Following the literature, frames in this study are defined as the prominent themes about the gambling issue present within the news discourse. As Entman (1991) explained, “frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them” (p. 7). Frames are packaged ideas that advocate certain ways of thinking about an issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). To be elicited from an analysis of complete news articles, frames are the general overarching themes used by the newspapers in their coverage of the gambling issue in Iowa. It is expected that these frames can be grouped into broader categories.

RQ3: Who are commonly cited in the print media's coverage of Iowa's casino gambling policy? News reports often attribute a fact, opinion, or value to the sources they directly cite in their reports. For this study, sources or attributions refer to persons, groups, and organizations directly cited in the news articles to provide viewpoints, data, and opinions

on the gambling policy. Appendix B includes a detailed description of the source categories for this study.

RQ4: What is the general orientation of opinion pieces about gambling (for, against or neutral)? An overall orientation was determined for each opinion piece in the population. Orientation refers to the advocacy of a particular way of thinking about the gambling issue. Articles were categorized as for, against, or neutral toward gambling in Iowa.

RQ5: How does this orientation relate to the outcomes of referenda that sought public input on the issue? The orientation of the stories and editorial pieces and the frames present in them was compared against the outcomes of the referenda in Linn, Cerro Gordo, Wapello and Black Hawk counties served by their respective newspapers. Comparisons can be made between the frame orientations and voting statistics, what Riffe, Lacy & Fico (1998) called “extra-media data” (p. 44). Matching the frames uncovered through content analysis with the voting statistics will examine the newspapers’ frame-setting function.

Data Analysis

Data analysis for this study mostly involved frequency analysis. The prominence of the identified frames within and across newspapers was reported. Research Questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 were answered by examining the frequency distribution of frame categories, sources and orientation. Research Question 5 was answered through a chi-square analysis. The orientations of articles in the four newspapers were compared against the outcome of voting on the casino expansion referenda in each of the counties served by the four newspapers.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to determine how intensely Iowa community newspapers covered the casino expansion debate in their respective service areas, to ascertain the frames or interpretive packages they used to inform their audiences about the issue, to find out who were cited the most in the newspapers' discourse, and to determine whether the orientation of those frames is congruent with how the citizens of each county voted toward casino expansion in their respective jurisdictions.

The Sample

Data for this study were gathered using a content analysis of four Iowa newspapers: the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, the Cedar Rapids Gazette, the Mason City Globe-Gazette, and the Ottumwa Courier. Each of these papers services counties that staged a referendum regarding casino expansion. All news articles, opinion pieces and feature stories written and posted on the online archives of the four newspapers one year preceding and one year after the referendum vote in each county were included in the study. This resulted in a total population of 296 stories from the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, 179 stories from the Cedar Rapids Gazette, 177 stories from the Mason City Globe-Gazette, and 76 stories from the Ottumwa Courier, for a total of 728 gambling-related stories, this study's sample size (Fig. 4.1).

The Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier had the most gambling-related coverage, with an average of one article about the topic published every 2.8 days. Gambling coverage in the

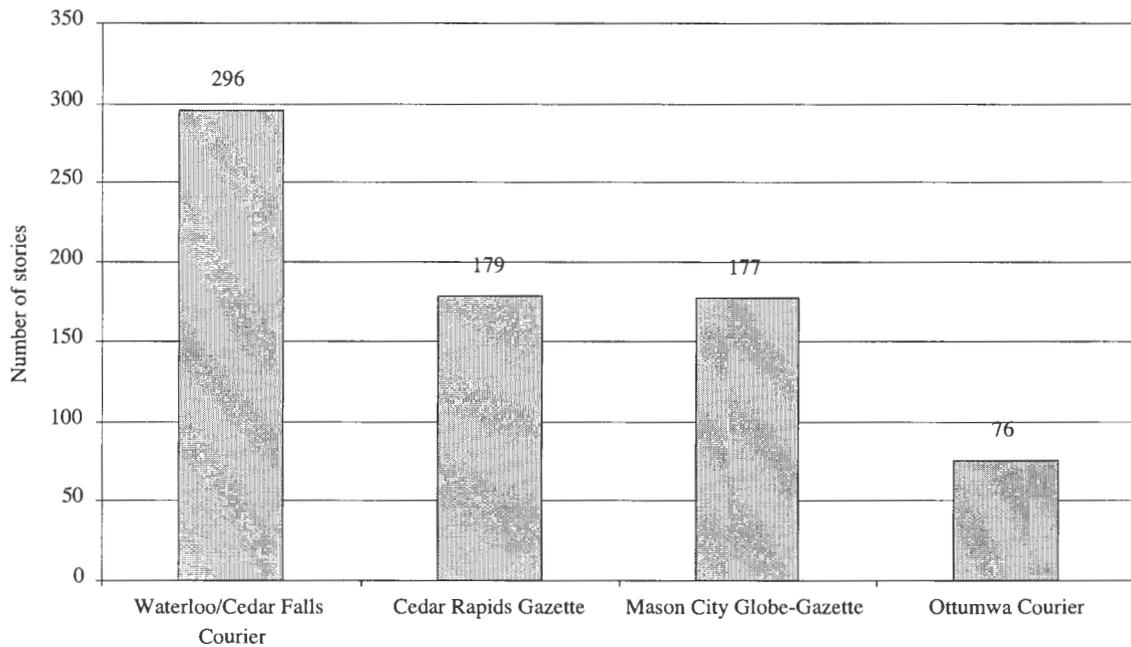


Figure 4.1. Breakdown of story samples by newspaper

Cedar Rapids Gazette and the Mason City Globe-Gazette can be characterized as being in the medium range, with one article occurring every 1.75 days. The Ottumwa Courier's gambling-related coverage was the lightest, averaging less than one article (0.7) every week.

In Black Hawk and Wapello counties, the intensity of gambling and casino policy coverage in their respective publication closely follows the casino referendum voter turnout rates as shown in Figure 4.2 (IRGC, 2005). But although coverage intensity is the same in Linn County (43.1%) and Cerro Gordo County (22.9%), these two counties registered markedly different voter turnout statistics. Voter turnout was proportionately highest in Linn County, which is serviced by the Cedar Rapids Gazette. Coverage intensity in the Mason City Globe-Gazette parallels voter turnout in the casino expansion referendum in Mason City (IRGC, 2005).

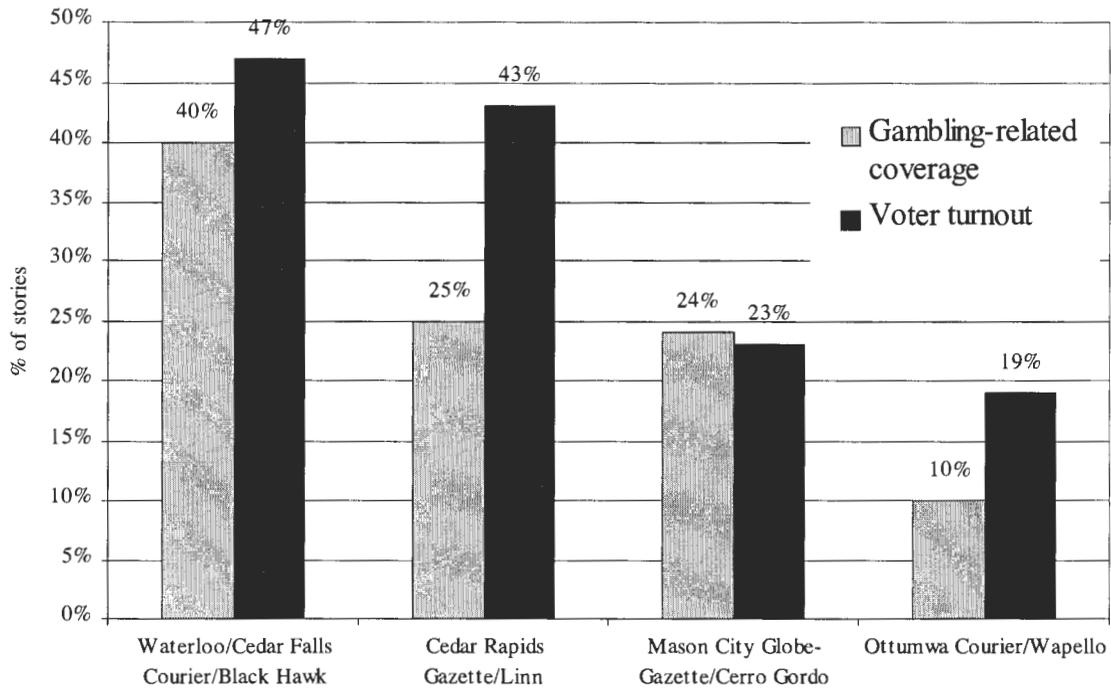


Figure 4.2. Newspaper coverage intensity and referendum voter turnout in their respective service areas

The 728 gambling-related stories were categorized as news, opinion pieces and feature stories. News articles and feature stories were considered objective accounts. Opinion pieces, including letters to the editor and editorials, were analyzed separately in order to assess the paper's attitude or tone of coverage regarding casino growth and expansion (for, against or neutral). Figure 4.3 shows the breakdown of news articles (452), opinion pieces (266) and feature stories (10) in each newspaper. There were considerably more news articles across the board, overwhelming the two other article categories in all papers except in the case of the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier where the editorial or opinion pieces slightly outnumbered the straight news stories. This indicates very strong stands on the gambling issue in a county where the debate regarding casino expansion was intense.

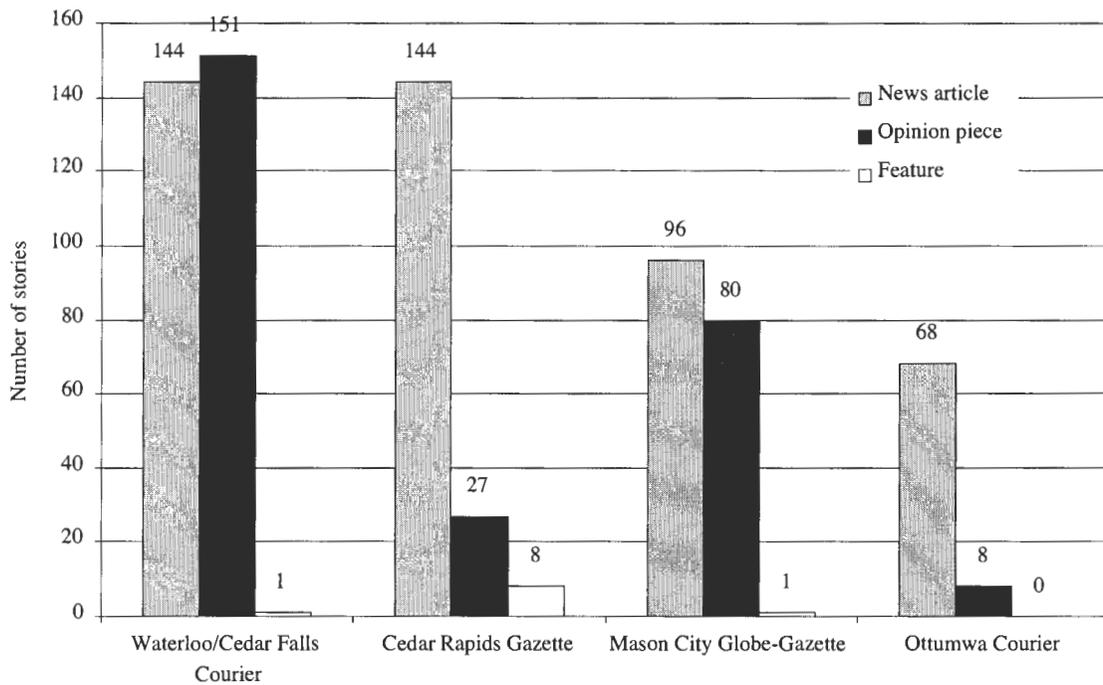


Figure 4.3. Breakdown of the sample according to story type (news, opinion piece, feature)

The Frames Newspapers Used

The first research question asks: *What frames did the Iowa print media use to inform the public about the state's casino gambling policy?* Each article, the unit of analysis, was analyzed to determine overarching interpretive packages that helped explain the multifaceted casino expansion issue to the Iowa audience. The determination of frame categories for this study is significantly subjective. In order to assure that the categories developed are reliable, a second coder was asked to identify the frames and to determine the occurrence of the identified frames. Wimmer & Dominick (2003) suggest testing 10% to 25% of the sample to determine intercoder reliability. As such, a sub-sample of 76 articles (10%) of the total 728 stories was simultaneously coded by two coders, focusing on the categorical variables. Holsti's (1969) formula for agreement was used:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

where M stands for the number of articles in which both coders agreed on which frames occurred and N stands for the number of articles coded by each coder. For the current study, agreement occurred in 63 out of 76 of the articles. Based on Holsti's (1969) formula for ascertaining reliability for categorical data, this produced a reliability percentage of 83%.

Many of the articles contained multiple frames. Of the 728 news stories, a total of 1,147 frames were identified, falling into one of eight categories: (1) expansion debate, (2) tax, (3) economic, (4) political debate, (5) social cost, (6) revenue, (7) moral or (8) other (Fig. 4.4). Appendix C contains reprinted news articles and opinion pieces that exemplify the construction of each of the frames.

1. The expansion debate frame. The expansion debate was the most prevalent frame used by the Iowa print media to paint a picture of each county's casino gambling policy. This frame occurred in a total of 352 news stories, in almost 50% of the sample. This is not surprising, considering that whether or not to expand gambling was a prime state issue in 2004.

Newspaper discourse involving the expansion debate frame includes stories on the lifting of the moratorium on new casino licenses ("Webster County casino," 2003). A news story uses the expansion frame by playing up the nature of the debate and the competition inherent in it. The following lead exemplifies this frame: "Gambling supporters in Webster County are pushing ahead with plans to put gambling on the ballot even though state regulators have decided to keep a moratorium on new casinos" ("Webster County casino," 2003).

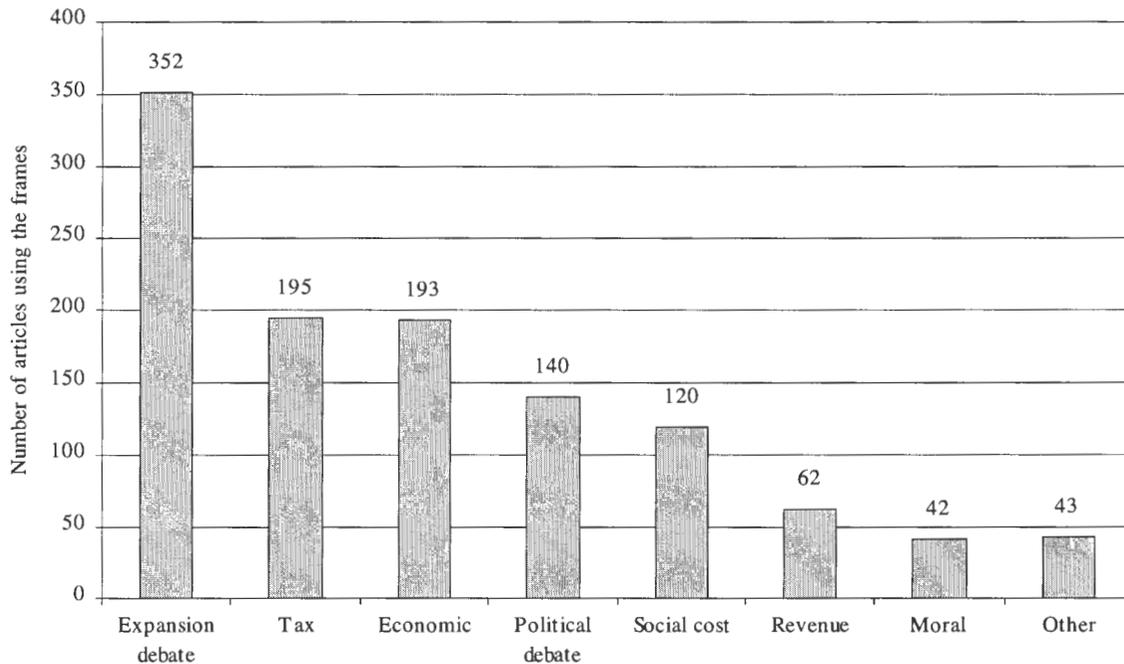


Figure 4.4. The frames identified across all newspapers

The expansion frame is also played out by emphasizing the referendum process and the support personnel it needs (Kinney, 2003).

The most common theme of the expansion debate frame is the casinos' potential location. In his opinion piece, letter writer Miller (2003) calls attention to the argument over whether to pursue a land-based or a riverboat casino, a hotly-contested facet of the overall debate.

2. The tax frame. The second most prevalent frame identified was the tax frame, occurring in 195 stories out of 728 (27%). Tax is the most straightforward of all frames, specifically dealing with tax revenues for the government, tax rates on casinos or tax breaks to Iowans. Discussions of government revenue builds the tax frame by pointing out that money wagered at the casinos is heavily taxed at the state and local levels. These, then, are

used for a wide variety of government, county and city projects (“Keep RiverRun debate,” 2003).

Pushing the notion of tax relief (typically property tax relief) also purveys the tax frame. Reporter Jamison (2003) constructs this by first saying that, “The city of Waterloo stands to lose \$1.2 million under approved legislation cutting personal property tax replacement ...” and then adding that, “A gaming operation here would employ 800 people ... and bring in an estimated \$80 million to \$100 million in adjusted gross revenues,” noting that the revenue would be used for “property tax relief.”

A substantial portion of the tax frame is also built through reports about casino tax rates and tax policy. According to an article that uses this frame, “Under the bill, the state would charge one tax rate based on the square footage of casino floors and another rate for the remaining areas of gambling facilities” (Eby, 2004).

3. The economic frame. Showing up as frequently as the tax frame, the economic frame occurs in 193 news stories (26.5%). The economic frame encompasses a variety of themes, including economic growth at the county and state levels. That casinos may spur economic growth is generally considered a positive aspect of the economic frame. Reporter Kinney (2003) plays up this fact by associating casino expansion with notions of “development” and “enhanced growth” and that casinos are “imperative to downtown’s success.”

The reverse of economic growth is the cannibalization theme, which highlights the negative economic aspects of casino gambling. Hansen (2003) pushes this facet of the economic theme in his opinion piece, stating that “\$100 spent at the casino is \$100 lost for

our local businesses,” and warning that, should casinos expand, “30% of retail enterprises will go out of business.”

Another theme of the economic frame pertains to the creation or loss of jobs due to casinos. Letter writer Howland (2003) takes on this theme by discussing how casinos influence the job market, noting that “They do what any new business coming into an area does: they tap the local job market.”

4. The political debate frame. The fifth frame identified in the study was political debate. Political debate themes occurred in 140 of the 728 news stories analyzed (19%). This frame is characterized by the ongoing debate among members of the state legislature on Iowa’s casino policy and the competitive nature of the state’s House deliberations. An example of a report that uses this frame begins with “Republican lawmakers conceded Thursday that nagging disputes swirling around major gambling legislation will probably keep them at the State House longer than expected” (Eby, 2004).

Lobbying is a theme included in the political debate frame. Pitt (2004) shows how lobbying contributes to the frame by covering the costs incurred as policy makers debate the casino policy from all sides. “It’s an uphill battle when you’re going against gambling,” said Jude Hoffman, a lobbyist for Ecumenical Ministries of Iowa. “The resources and people, the number of lobbyists is very high” (Pitt, 2004).

5. The social costs frame. The social cost frame occurs in 120 of the 728 news stories (16%) examined. Commonly associated with anti-gambling discourse, the social cost frame deals generally with factual discussions of gambling addiction, crime and other domestic problems, which may result from gambling. In effect, the social cost frame includes stories about the problems of pathological gamblers. Milner’s (2004) article

entitled, “Counselor says cuts impact gambling treatment,” represents the addiction theme and how it often uses negative tones and statistics to build the social cost frame.

White (2004) also contributes to the social cost frame by playing on the emotions associated with domestic troubles related with gambling addiction, such as abuse and poverty. In his letter to the editor, White (2004) underscores the social cost associated with gambling by saying that it “is not the solution to money problems – it is the problem ... Gaming with the hopes of freeing the bounds of poverty is a myth.”

6. The moral frame. The moral frame primarily purveys themes that are philosophical in nature, concerned largely with religion and family values that are likely to be eroded when casinos come to town. This frame relies on statistics, much like the social cost frame. The moral frame is usually not an attribute of balanced news articles. Instead, it can be found more on opinion pieces, especially from those in the religious community. Toomsen (2003), in his article, puts a tongue-in-cheek moral frame to the issue when he muses that, “Going to church is a total loss. Here you give your life to a preposterous, superstitious idea that you will gain your reward in the next life. Your chance of winning only exists in the casino, and that’s remote.”

The other main theme of the moral frame is American family values. “Gambling as a business is wrong. It appeals mostly to weak-minded or ignorant or lazy persons who yearn to get a lot of money without working,” says letter writer Andrews (2003). Again, establishing emotional connections with values and religion strengthens the moral frame.

7. The revenue frame. While highly related, it is important to note the difference between the tax, economic and revenue frames. The revenue frame occurs in a much smaller portion of news stories, only 62 in all 728 stories (9%), and deals specifically with discourse

on casino earnings. This frame is further built by reports about past casino revenues, as Rogahn (2003) does in his article, “Safe bet: Iowa casinos on pace to set revenue record,” or by reporting the potential for future revenues, as Boshart (2003) does in his article, “E. Iowa an untapped jackpot: Study: C.R., Waterloo offer best markets for new riverboat casinos.”

The second frame, the tax frame, differs from the revenue frame in that it involves a political perspective (i.e., that the government collects taxes). The economic and revenue frames, although closely linked with each other, are still separate frames. The economic frame deals with local business, the local worker and the impact of casino gambling on local businesses and employees, while the revenue frame’s emphasis is on the casino industry, the money spent there, and the potential for more money to be spent there.

8. Other. Finally, a handful of frames were identified that did not fit the previous seven categories, nor did they occur with enough frequency to warrant the inclusion of an eighth frame. These various frames occurred in 43 out of 728 articles (6%), and were grouped into the Other category. Examples of frames in this category include entertainment (“\$6 million gamble,” 2003), social gambling (Hadish, 2004), casino innovations (“Casinos use air,” 2004), the Meskwaki tribe and casino (Kinney, 2004), casino games (Rogahn, 2004) and charitable contributions (Skipper, 2003).

Frame Occurrence by Newspaper

The frames the newspapers used leading up to and following each county’s referendum on casino gambling show some degree of uniformity, but also exhibit the unique positions and circumstances of each county. Figure 4.5 shows that the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier’s frame pattern is characterized by a strong increase in the expansion debate and

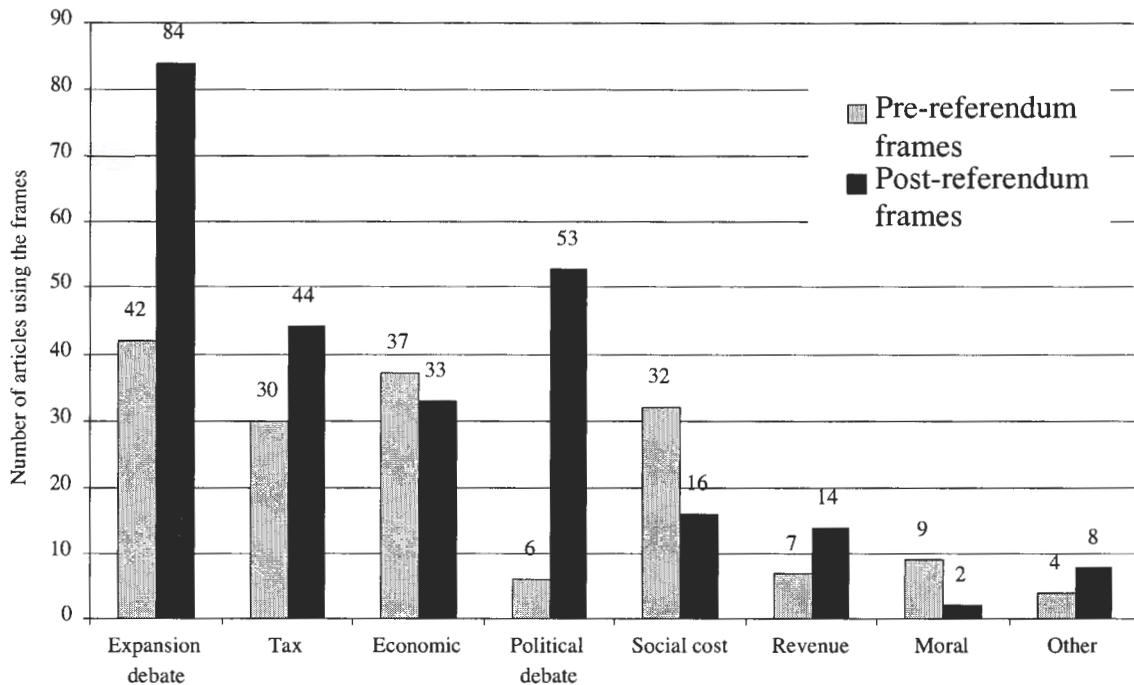


Figure 4.5. The frames used by the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, servicing Black Hawk County

political debate frames following Black Hawk County's October 6, 2003 vote. The increase in the political debate frame is not surprising because it is a standard feature in each newspaper's coverage following the 2004 Iowa Legislature's lead in discussing casino policy. However, the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier's use of this frame dramatically increased following the approval of casino gambling in Black Hawk County. The reason for this substantial increase in the political debate frame is because Black Hawk County pro-gambling activists worked closely with area legislators to lift the moratorium on new licenses following the approval of their referendum.

The other county in this study that approved casino gambling in a referendum vote was Wapello County, serviced by the Ottumwa Courier. The occurrence of different frames in the Ottumwa Courier follows the pattern shown in Figure 4.6. Perhaps because most

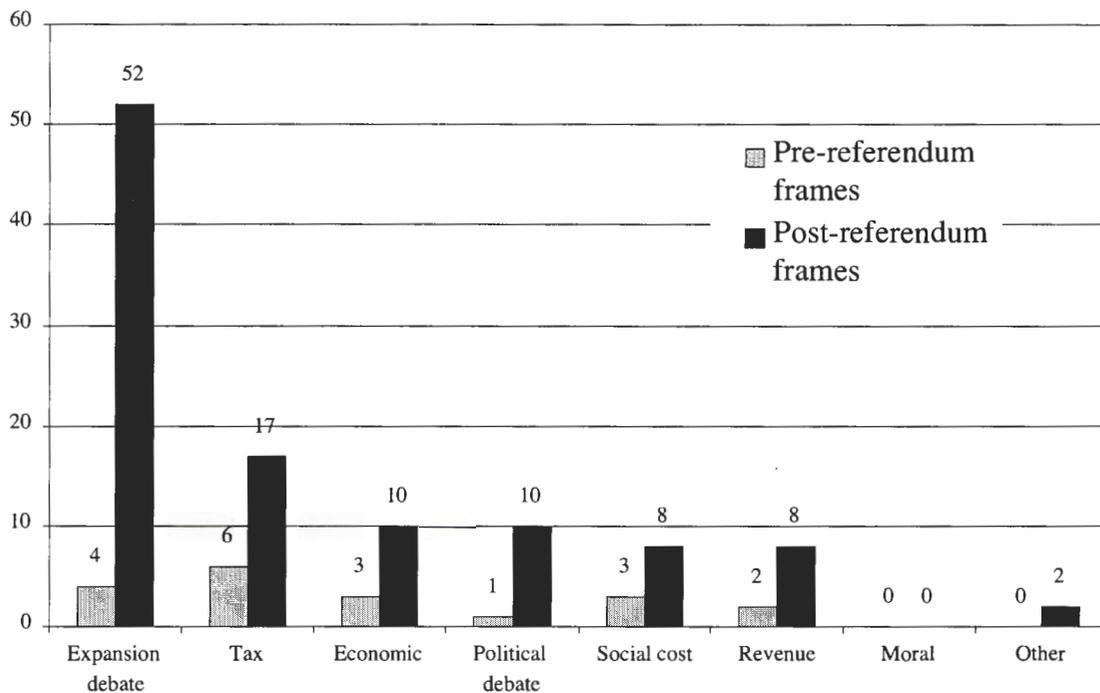


Figure 4.6. The frames used by the Ottumwa Courier, servicing Wapello County

stories on gambling are short reports that are event-oriented; each frame was almost non-existent prior to the October 28, 2003 referendum. The moral frame was not mentioned or used at all. Following the approval of casino gambling, the occurrence of each frame increases dramatically, except for the moral frame, which the Ottumwa Courier did not even touch. This suggests that until casino gambling became a reality, it was not an issue in the eyes of the Ottumwa Courier gatekeepers. The 19% voter turnout in Wapello County, the lowest of all 15 counties that held referenda, could be a result of this lack of coverage on the issue, supporting framing theory.

The Cedar Rapids Gazette's use of frames (Fig. 4.7) can partly explain why gambling expansion failed in the Linn County referendum. Following the November 4, 2003 vote, the occurrence of frames decreases in every category except for the political debate frame,

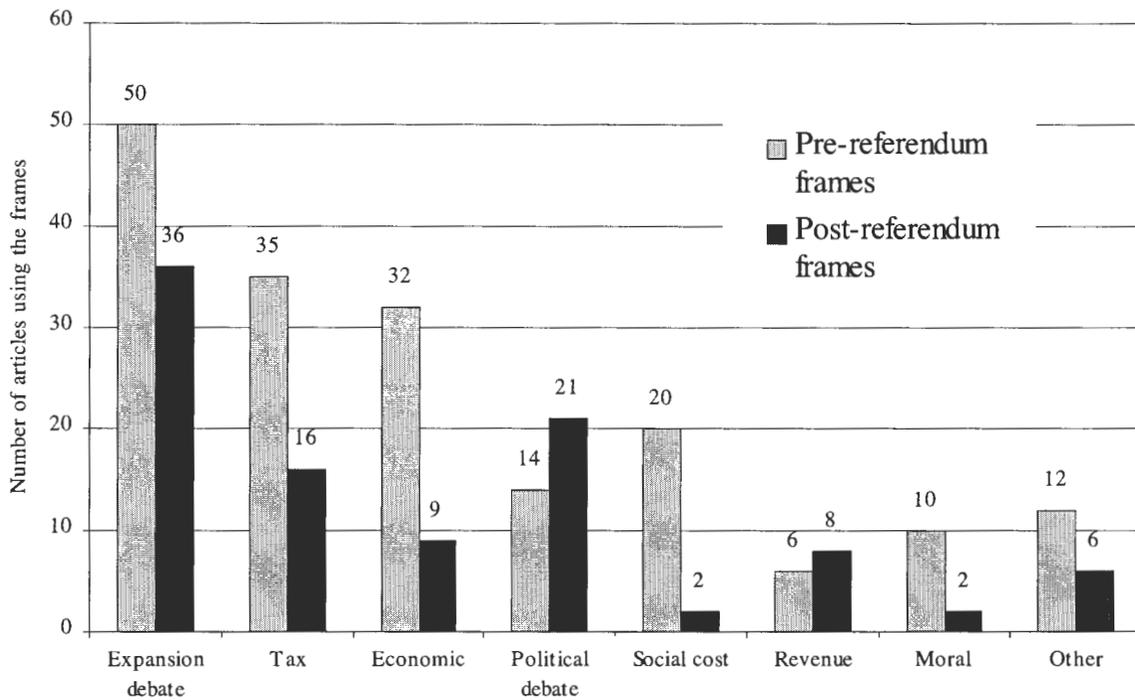


Figure 4.7. The frames used by the Cedar Rapids Gazette, servicing Linn County

indicating mild coverage of legislative issues attendant to gambling. The use of the revenue frame held constant. This trend again shows a correlation between media frame and public frame, which was apparently unconcerned with casino policy as reflected in its negative vote in the gambling expansion referendum.

The Mason City Globe-Gazette is the only newspaper that showed a different trend in frame occurrence (Fig. 4.8.). Though Cerro Gordo County rejected casino gambling, the occurrence of the expansion debate frame increases substantially following September 16, 2003, a pattern similar to that of the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier and the Ottumwa Courier. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Mason City Globe-Gazette also covers Cerro Gordo's sister counties, Worth County and Franklin County, both of which approved casino gambling.

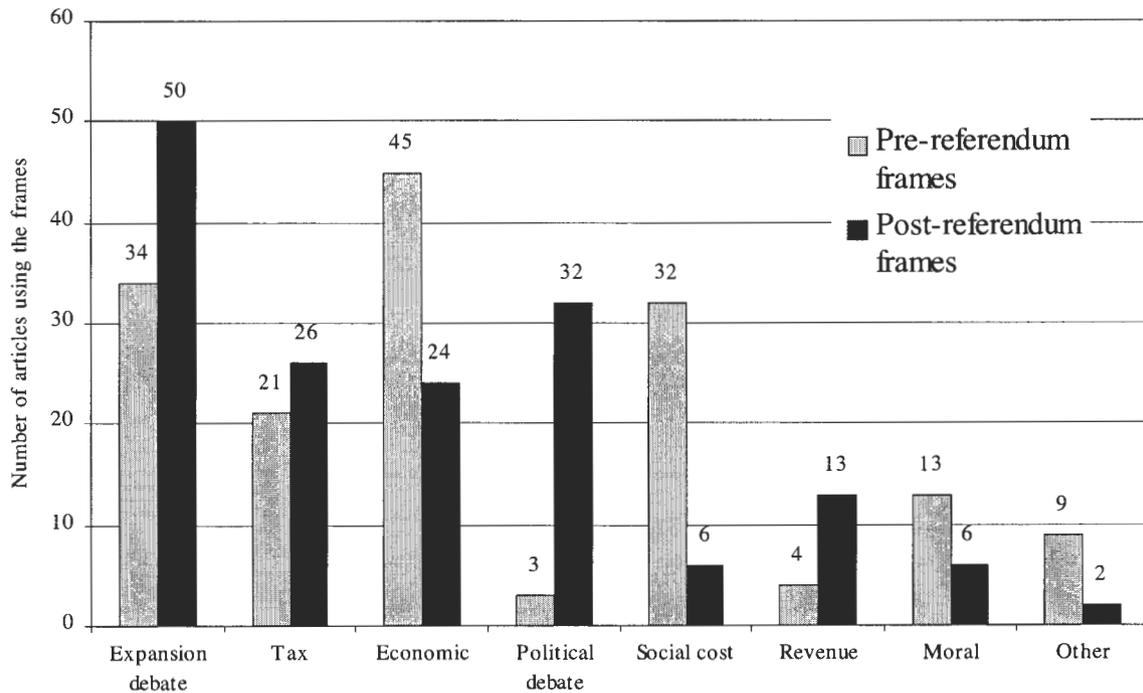


Figure 4.8. The frames used by the Mason City Globe-Gazette, servicing Cerro Gordo County

Frame occurrence prior to and following the Cerro Gordo referendum appears scattered, unlike in the three other newspapers. The use of the expansion debate, political debate and revenue frames increased dramatically after the referendum while the use of the economic, social cost and moral frames declined considerably. The confusion resulting from covering three counties with varying referendum outcomes might have something to do with this. Another potential explanation is that the Mason City Globe-Gazette is owned by the same company that owns the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, which may explain why a number of news stories for both papers were authored by the same reporters (see Eby, 2004).

The Mason City Globe-Gazette's coverage is also skewed in favor of the social cost and moral frames, both of which enhance the anti-gambling tone. Prior to the failed referendum vote, the social cost and moral frames combined made up 28% of the total frames

identified in the Mason City Globe-Gazette. These two frames make up 24% of the pre-referendum frames in the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier and only 16% in the Ottumwa Courier, both newspapers representing counties where casino gambling was approved. The social cost and moral frames were more prevalent in the Mason City Globe-Gazette than in the Ottumwa Courier, but less so compared to the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier. This is perhaps because the newspapers in Waterloo and Mason City contained a much greater proportion of opinion pieces, the common outlets for the social cost and moral frames.

Frames in News Articles and Opinion Pieces

Research Question 2 asks: *Does the pattern of frame use differ between straight news and opinion pieces?* An examination of news and editorial pieces indicate that the occurrence of frames differed between news articles and opinion pieces. The frame occurrence in feature stories was not included in the analysis due to the minimal number of stories to examine. This difference in frames between straight news and editorial pieces is dramatic with respect to the social cost, moral and economic frames. Figure 4.9 shows frame occurrences in the 452 identified news articles. The top three frames in the news stories are the expansion debate, tax and political debate frames, commonly associated with objective, fact-based reporting.

Figure 4.10 shows the frame occurrences for the 266 opinion pieces consisting of staff and guest editorials and letters to the editor. The top three opinion frames are the economic, expansion debate and social cost frames. It is clear that the expansion debate frame was the dominant frame overall. However, the economic frame is the most prevalent

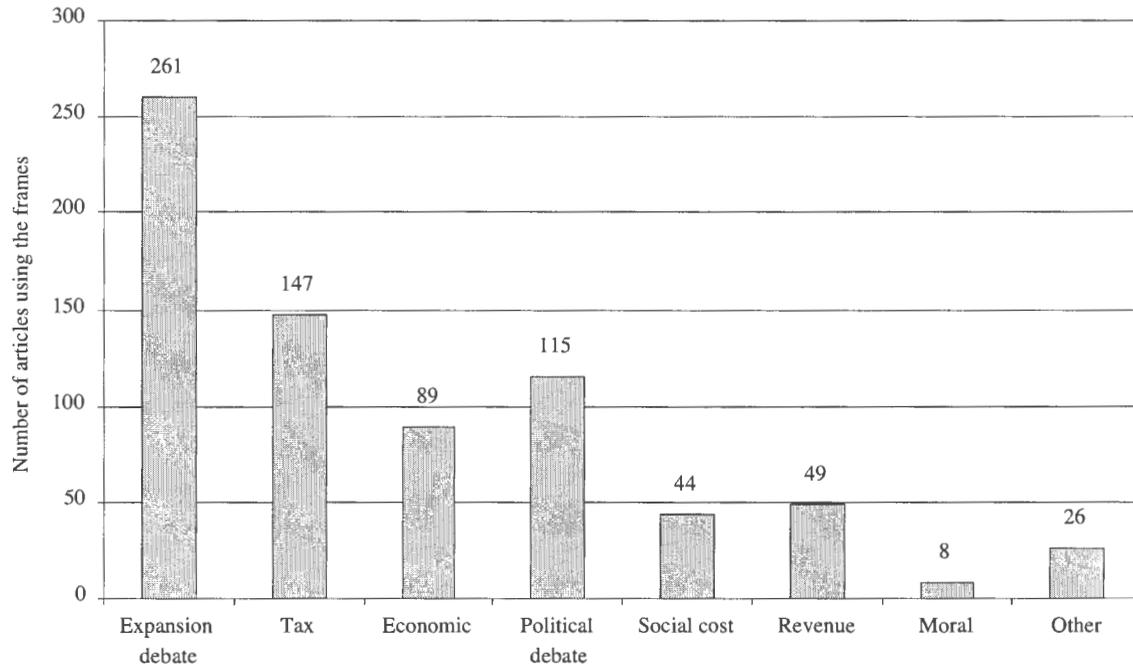


Figure 4.9. The frames used in news articles

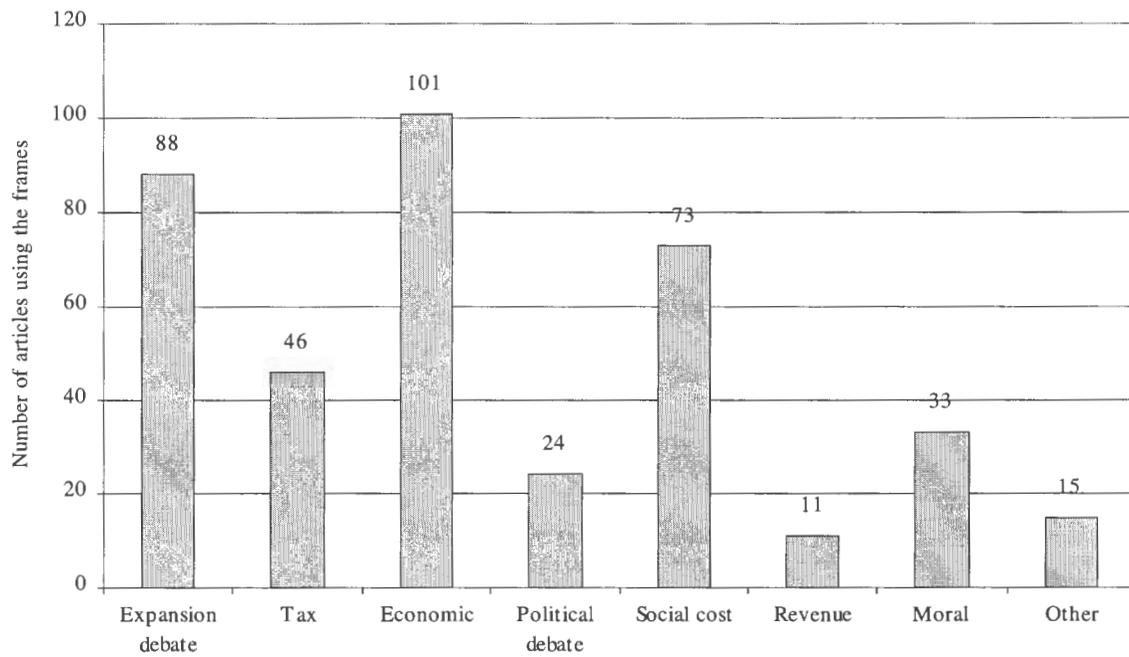


Figure 4.10. The frames used in opinion pieces

in the opinion pieces, making up 25% of all opinion piece frames. This is because a key to constructing the economic frame is the inclusion of subjective discourse regarding the growth potential from casinos, as well as the potential for “cannibalization,” or the crippling economic affect that casinos have on existing local businesses (see Hansen, 2003).

There are marked differences between the occurrence of the social cost and moral frames in news and opinion pieces. In news articles, the social cost frame occurred 6% of the time; the moral frame was used less (1%). On the other hand, in the opinion pieces, the social cost frame occurred 19% while the moral frame appeared 8% of the time. This demonstrates that these two frames depend on opinion pieces to be included in the coverage of casino gambling policy.

Sources

Research Question 3 asks, “*Who are commonly cited in the print media’s coverage of Iowa’s casino gambling policy?*” This question was asked to determine the array of voices and opinions featured in the newspaper coverage. The sources cited give a general sense of what voices were heard and what voices were ignored as the four papers explain the casino expansion issue to their respective audiences. To answer this, the first five sources mentioned in a story were recorded and placed into one of 20 categories, including an ‘other’ category. Appendix B provides a detailed description of each of these categories.

Figure 4.11 shows the five most cited sources across all papers. Overall, state politicians and employees were cited 534 times, across all frames, but especially in the tax and political debate frames. The overwhelming influence of state politicians and employees allows the print media to paint casino policy as a state issue, much more so than a local or

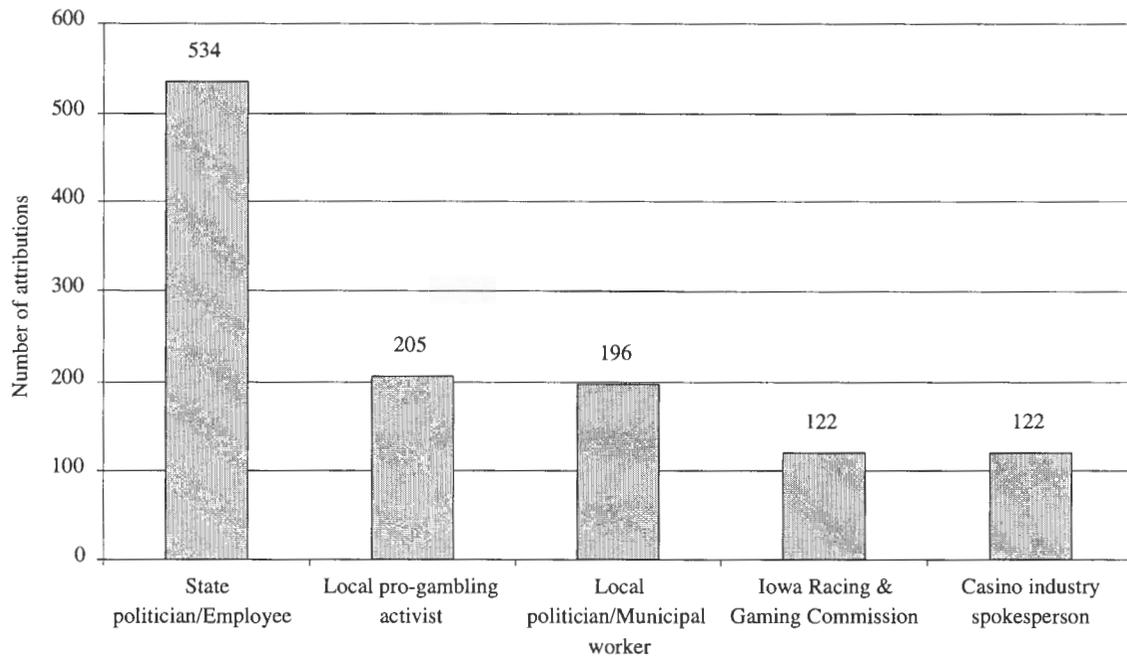


Figure 4.11. The most cited sources across all four newspapers

county issue. Combining the two other most cited sources, local pro-gambling activists and local politicians or municipal workers, fail to dislodge state politicians or employees as the prominent information sources. The fourth and fifth sources were the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission and casino industry spokespeople, respectively. The IRGC is the governing body that formulates policy and is thus a widely quoted source. In general, the casino industry spokespeople, well versed in publicity tactics, showed their expertise by being conspicuous in the print media coverage.

Figure 4.12 shows the five least cited sources across all newspapers. In the 728 news stories examined, local-anti gambling activists were cited only 34 times and the religious spokespersons, speaking out against gambling, received only 25 attributions. Clearly, the local pro-gambling activists overwhelmed them. Because few groups formed to actively

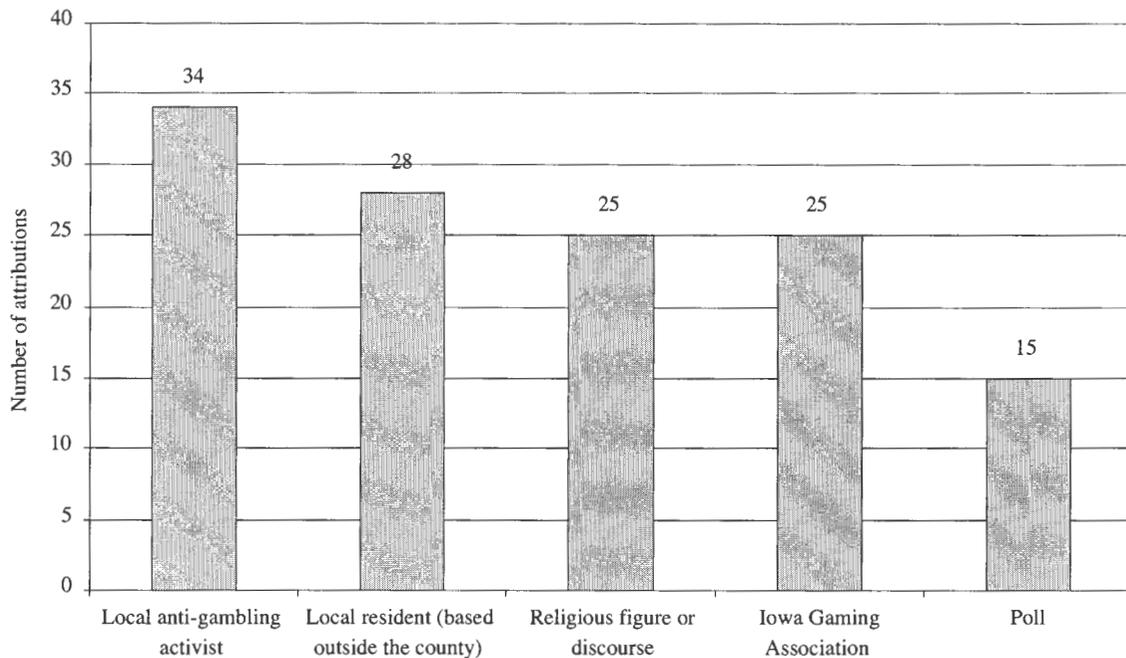


Figure 4.12. The least cited sources across all four newspapers

fight the spread of casinos, anti-gambling activists were not in the picture at all. Anti-gambling activists based outside of the counties were cited more often (56 times). This provides evidence that the local press framed casino expansion away from local concerns but as a state issue.

Figure 4.13 shows the most cited sources for the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier for the year prior to and following the referendum. In line with the three other newspapers, it cited state politicians or employees the most. The drastic increase in the number of local and non-local pro-gambling activist attributions may have contributed to Black Hawk County's approval of casino gambling in its referendum, supporting framing theory.

The number of times local politician or municipal employee sources were quoted by the Ottumwa Courier following the referendum in Wapello County is significantly higher

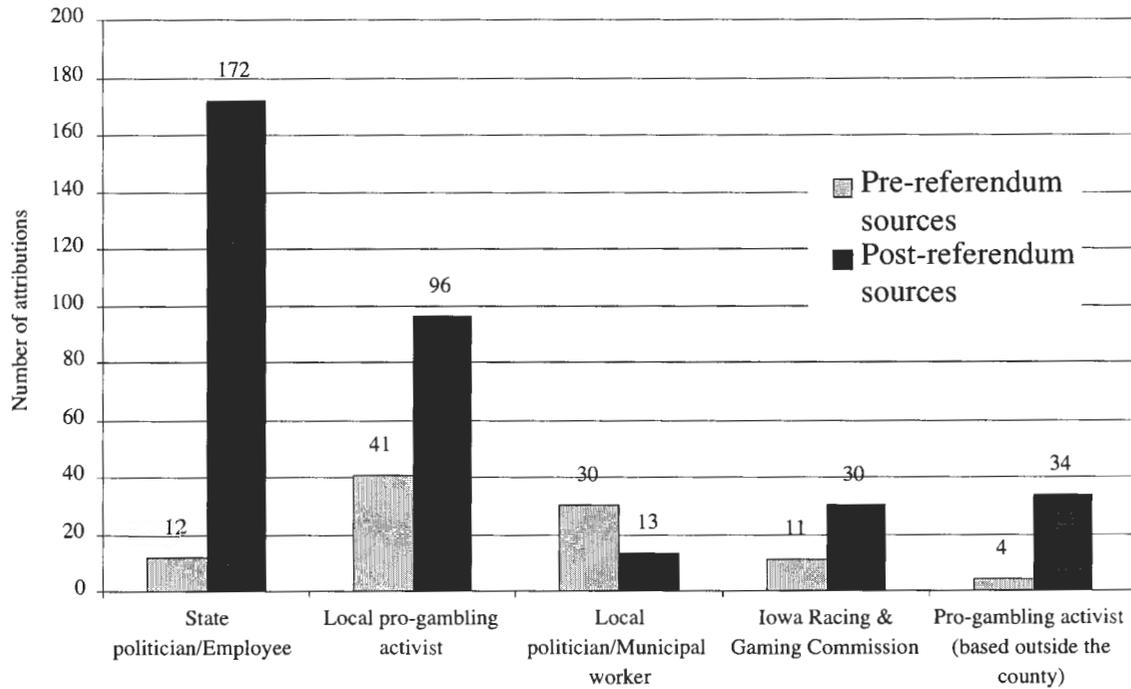


Figure 4.13. The most cited sources in the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier

than all source categories identified in the stories as shown in Figure 4.14. In the Ottumwa Courier, local politicians were cited the most, more frequently, in fact, than state politicians, which is the most popular source category for the other three newspapers. This demonstrates that Ottumwa area politicians and employees had a huge stake in the casino policy as the city government itself, not local activists, negotiated to bring gambling to the area.

Figure 4.15 shows the five most cited source categories in the Cedar Rapids Gazette. In this case, local pro-gambling activists, local politicians and municipal employees dominated the discourse before the Linn County referendum. When the issue failed, these two types of sources vanished in the coverage. In general, however, the Cedar Rapids Gazette's use of frames declined dramatically after the referendum.

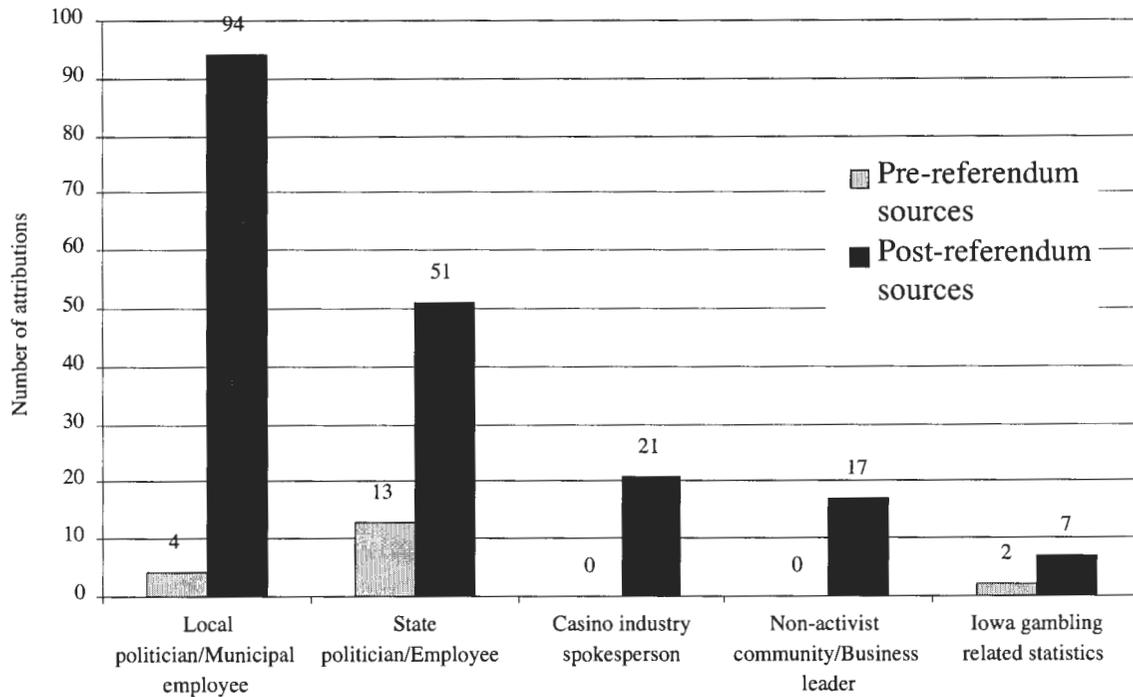


Figure 4.14. The most cited sources in the Ottumwa Courier

The erratic use of frames in the Mason City Globe-Gazette can be explained by the fact that its home county, Cerro Gordo, lies between two other counties that had recently passed referenda to allow casino gambling. This explanation is supported in Figure 4.16, which shows that the Globe-Gazette considerably cited pro-gambling activists based outside the county. Following Cerro Gordo County's failed referendum, attributions to non-local sources in the Globe-Gazette increased dramatically. Local pro-gambling activists hardly had a voice in the Mason City Globe-Gazette. This was also true of the Ottumwa Courier, but in its service area, scarce attributions to the local pro-gambling activist were a result of heavy government involvement in policy making. The Mason City Globe-Gazette included a limited number of local voices in favor of activists from the surrounding areas where the referenda made casinos a reality.

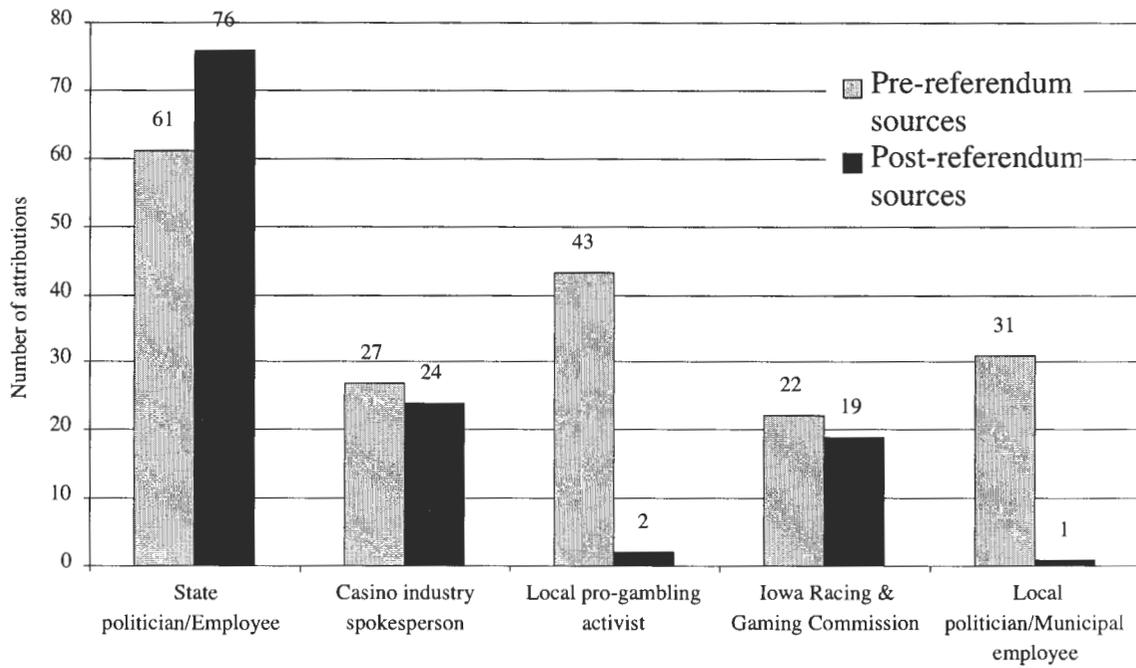


Figure 4.15. The most cited sources in the Cedar Rapids Gazette

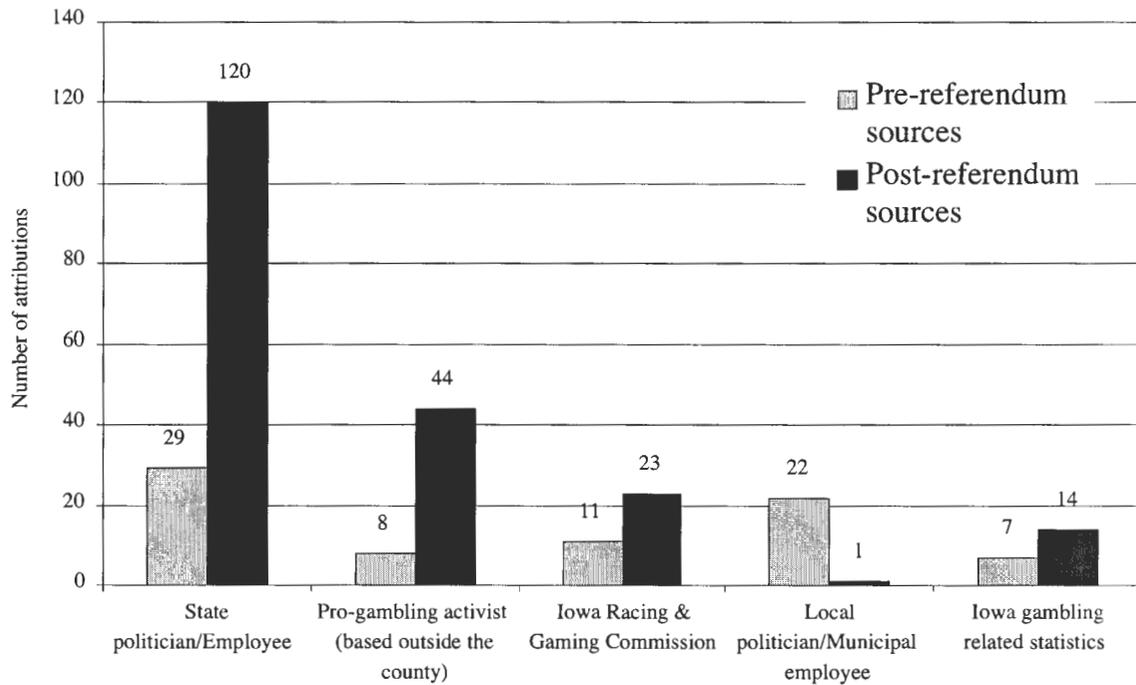


Figure 4.16. The most cited sources in the Mason City Globe-Gazette

The Sources in News and Opinion Pieces

Figure 4.17 shows the five sources most cited in news articles, representing nearly two-thirds of the total sample. Here, state politicians and employees also dominated the citations, followed by local pro-gambling activists. News attributions in this case did not stray far from the general trend.

On the other hand, the top five source categories for opinion pieces, shown in Figure 4.18, deviated from the overall trend. Two of the top five sources in the editorials are newspapers or journalists and non-Iowa gambling statistics. This may be because most opinion pieces against gambling cannot locate relevant state statistics, choosing instead to infer from studies done in other states.

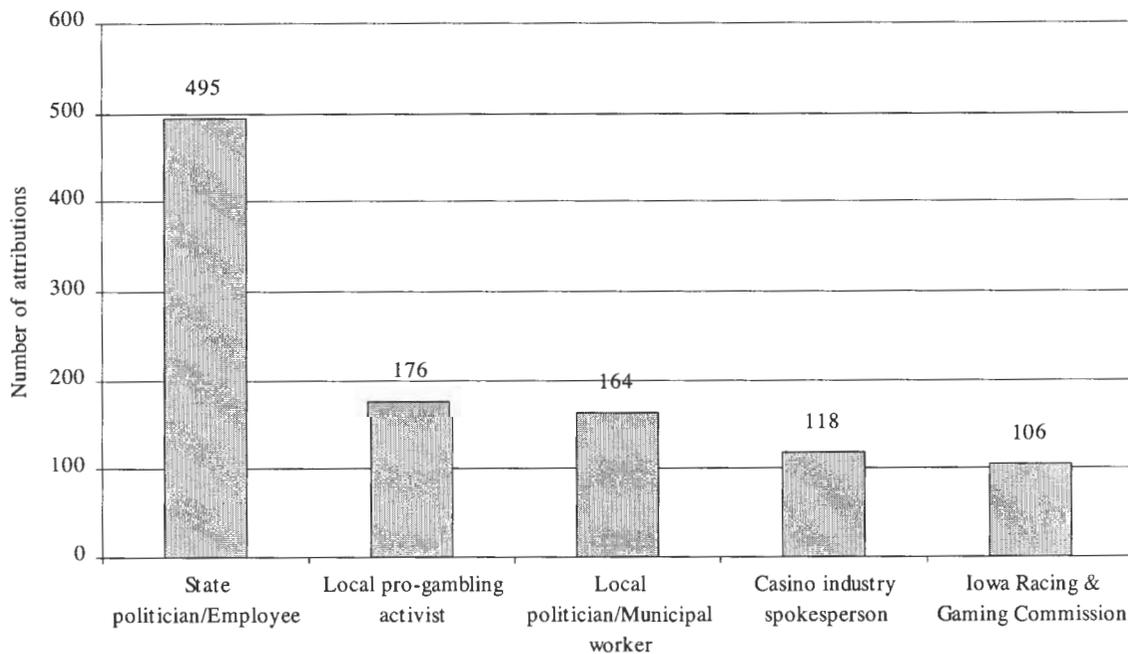


Figure 4.17. The most cited sources in news articles

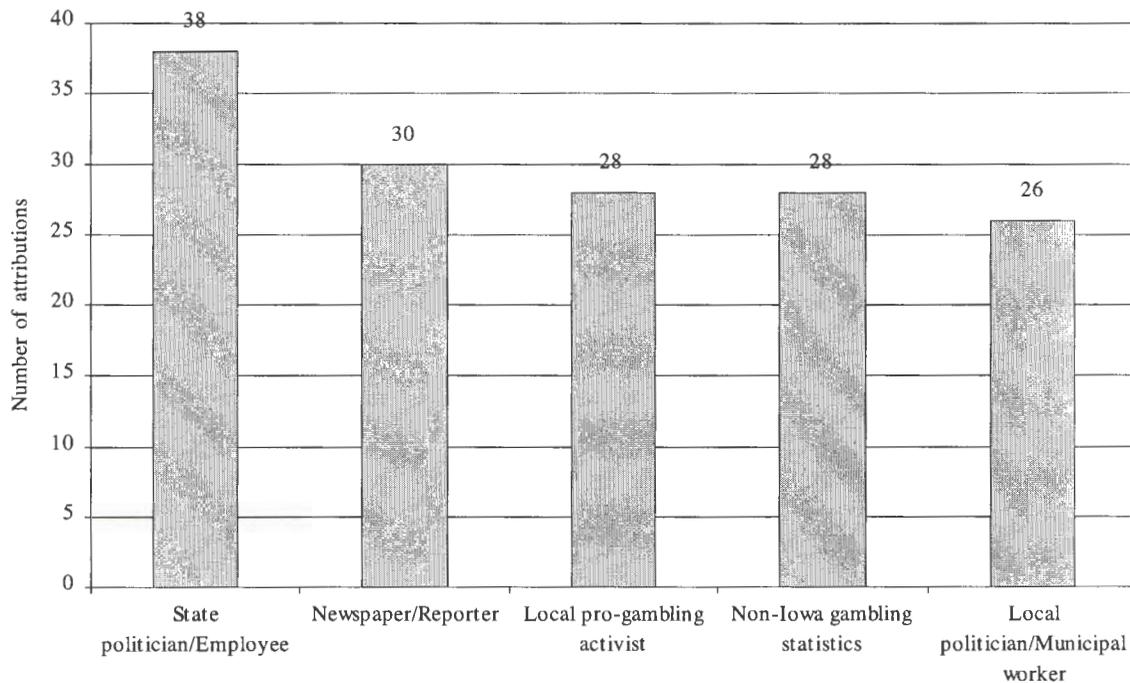


Figure 4.18. The most cited sources in opinion pieces

Orientation

Frames, by themselves, do not carry valence. As such, the tone of the 256 opinion pieces was analyzed and categorized as to whether they are neutral, for or against casino gambling. Research Question 4 asks: *What is the general orientation of opinion pieces about gambling (for, against or neutral)?*

Table 4.1 shows the tone or orientation of the opinion pieces in each of the four newspapers. The Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier was almost evenly split between for (63) and against (59) casino orientations, while the scarce number of opinion pieces in the Ottumwa Courier was mainly against gambling in tone. Both papers represent counties that approved casino gambling, an outcome that goes against the trajectory of coverage (against gambling) in the Ottumwa Courier. While the Mason City Globe-Gazette was almost identical to the

Table 4.1. Story orientation toward gambling across all four newspapers

Newspaper	Orientation			Total
	Neutral	For	Against	
Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier	21	63	59	143
Mason City Globe-Gazette	11	36	32	79
Cedar Rapids Gazette	13	5	8	26
Ottumwa Courier	1	1	6	8

Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier in orientation (both owned by Lee Enterprises), the Cedar Rapids Gazette was neutral.

It is important to look at the frames used in the opinion pieces to explain the construction of these orientations. Figure 4.19 shows the frames present in the opinion pieces that were positive towards gambling. In these pieces, the top three frames were expansion debate, tax and economic, with little use of any other frame. These opinion pieces use strictly financial frames that resulted, overall, in a pro-gambling orientation.

In the opinion pieces against gambling, the top three prevalent frames are economic, social cost and moral (Fig. 4.20). The economic frame is unique because it can exhibit a valence that is for or against gambling. For example, while some opinion pieces might use the economic frame to refer to the promise of economic growth with more casinos, others might discuss the threat of economic “cannibalization.” The social cost and moral frames in opinion pieces against gambling reinforce the connection between these frames and a negative orientation toward casino expansion.

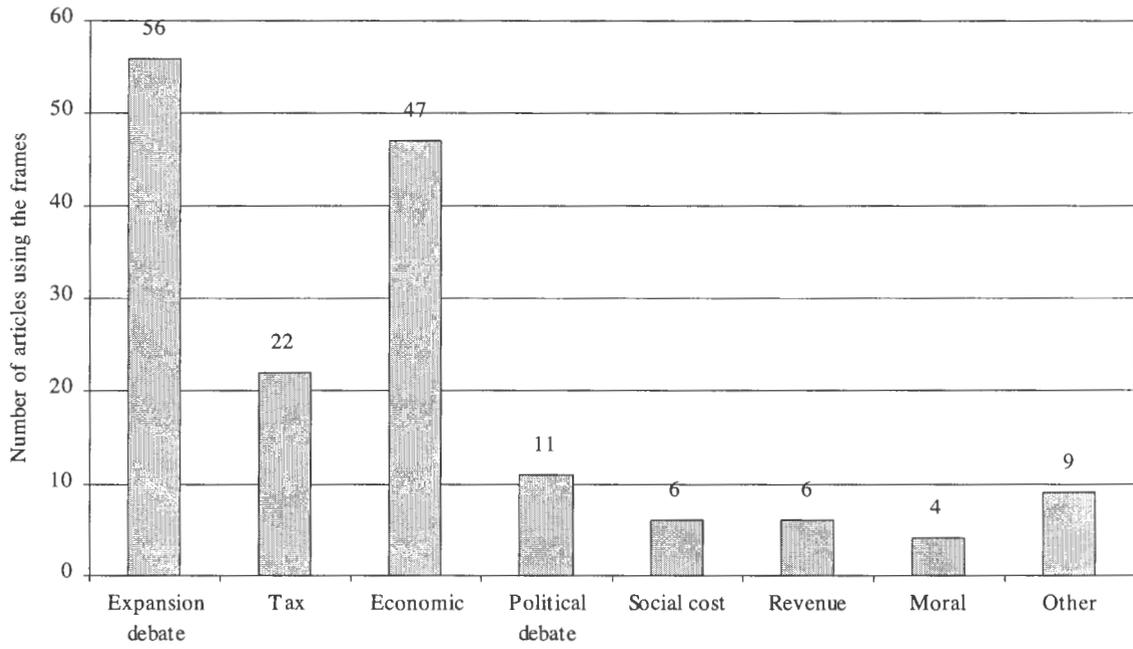


Figure 4.19. The frames used in stories positive toward gambling across all four newspapers

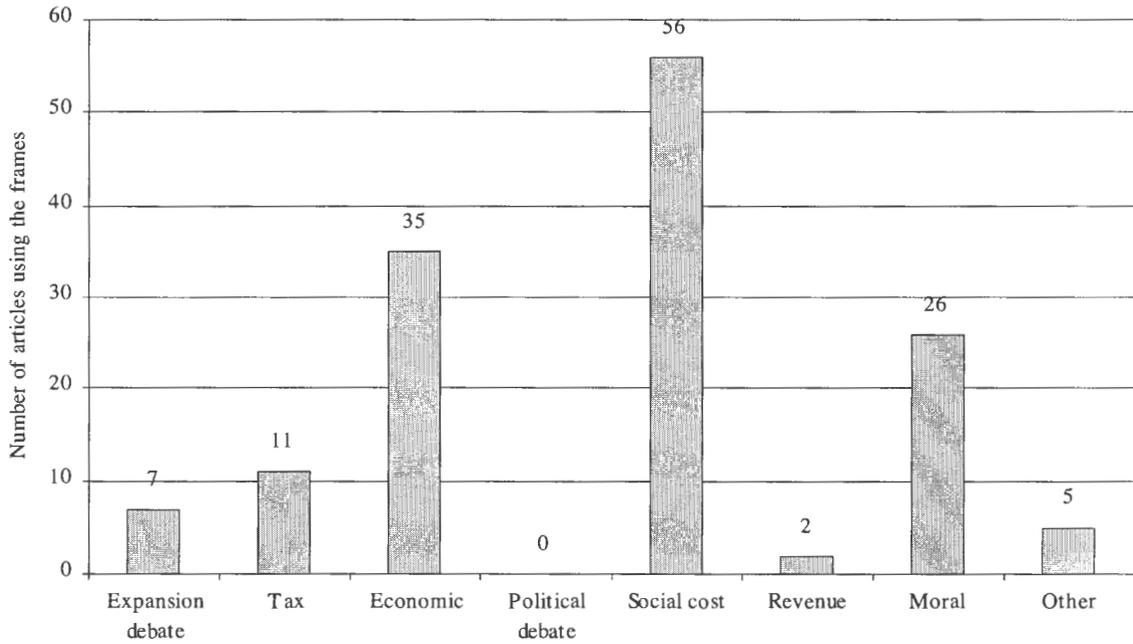


Figure 4.20. The frames used in stories against gambling across all four newspapers

The orientation of the opinion pieces can also be affected by the sources cited in those opinion pieces. Figure 4.21 shows the five most cited sources in the stories positive toward gambling. Here, pro-gambling activists and politicians are the most quoted sources who constructed a positive gambling tone. The opinion pieces for and against gambling use roughly the same number of Iowa-related sources, but stories against gambling are much more reliant on non-Iowa gambling statistics (Fig. 4.22).

Relationship Between Tone of Coverage and Referenda Results

Research Question 5 asks whether there is a relationship between the orientation of the opinion pieces and the outcomes of the referenda in the four counties, a question that asks for framing effect. The results of a chi-square test (Tables 4.1 4.2 and 4.3) show a very highly significant relationship between the tone of opinion pieces and referendum results ($\chi^2 = 24.80, p = 0.000, df = 6$), suggesting that the tone of the frames are somehow related to voting results. Although a linear relationship was found between these two variables, the wide variation in story orientation might have accounted for the significant result (see Table 4.1). Further analysis reveals some possible explanations.

The opinion pieces in the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier and the Mason City Globe-Gazette were nearly identical in their orientation (a majority of the stories in the two papers were for casino expansion). The referendum results in the two counties, however, were the exact opposite of each other. Casino expansion passed in Black Hawk County with a 66% approval. Cerro Gordo County, on the other hand, voted down casino expansion with 66% voter denial (IRGC, 2005). Both had more opinion pieces that were positive for the proposal. Perhaps this is because the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier framed the issue using the

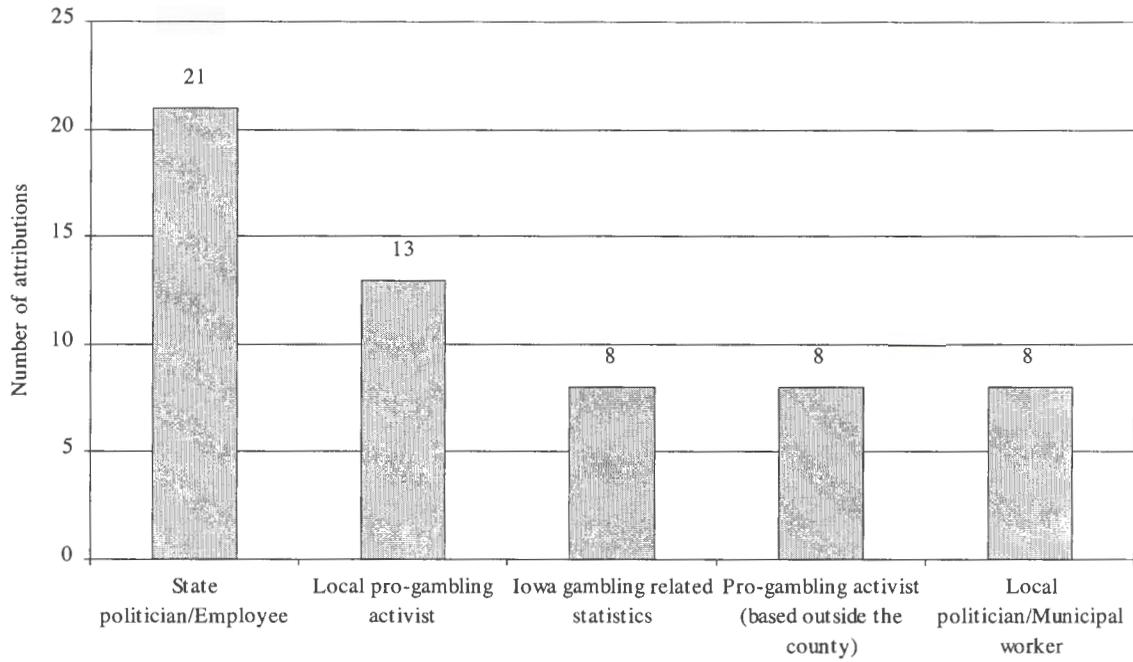


Figure 4.21. The most cited sources in stories positive toward gambling across all four newspapers

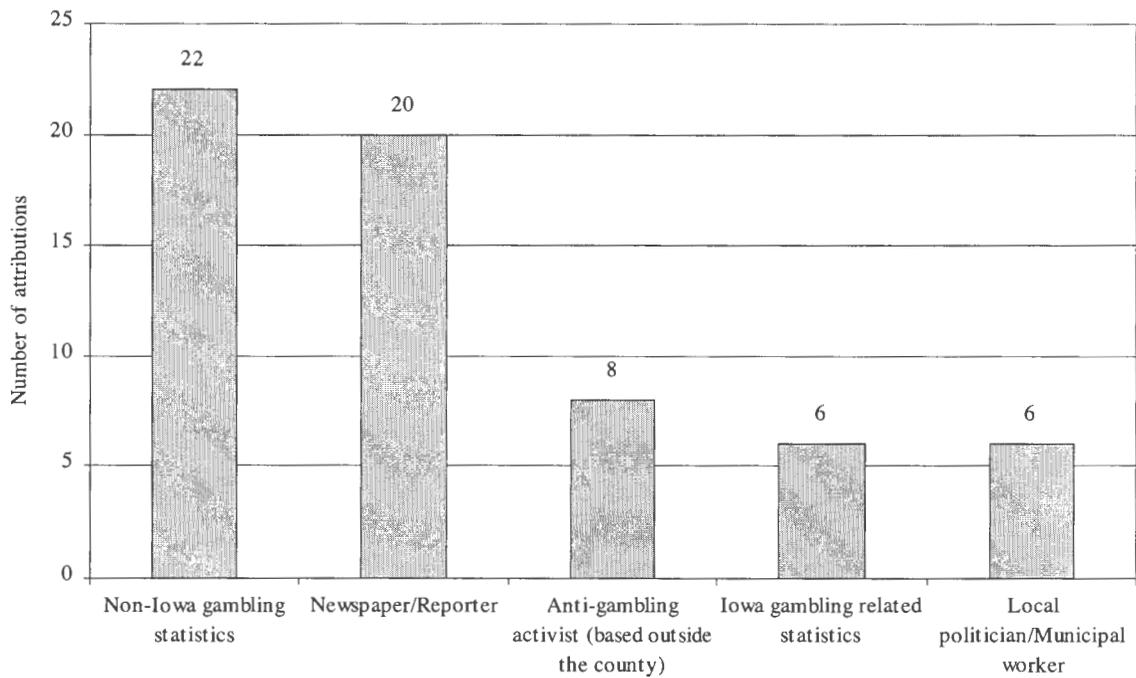


Figure 4.22. The most cited sources in stories against gambling across all four newspapers

Table 4.2. Cross tabulated articles

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Paper that carried the story x orientation of story	256	96.2%	10	3.8%	266	100.0%

Table 4.3. Cross tabulation results between story orientation and newspaper

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig.
Pearson chi-square	24.798	6	.000
Likelihood ratio	20.978	6	.002
Linear-by-linear association	0.594	1	.441
N of valid cases	256		

expansion debate, almost assuming that a casino in the county was inevitable. On the other hand, the Mason City Globe-Gazette's coverage hinged on economic frames, within and outside of Cerro Gordo County. The approval of casino expansion in nearby Worth County two-and-a-half months prior to Cerro Gordo's vote might have altered the economic frame frequently identified in the Mason City Globe-Gazette from "we need economic growth opportunities" to "additional casinos will be unhealthy competition."

The Ottumwa Courier had six opinion pieces against gambling, one neutral and one for gambling. Thus, that gambling expansion passed in Wapello County may be explained by the fact that only three of the six anti-gambling opinion pieces saw print prior to the referendum vote. With only five opinion pieces published preceding the referendum, it is

easy to see why so few turned out to vote (19%) and why the measure passed by a very narrow margin, 54% to 46% (IRGC, 2005).

In Linn County, the opinion pieces in the Cedar Rapids Gazette were predominantly neutral. Indeed, those that were for and against gambling were fairly evenly split (five for and eight against) which can explain why the Linn County vote was the second closest of the 15 referenda, with 53% against and 47% voting for gambling expansion (IRGC, 2005).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to identify the frames or interpretive frameworks the Iowa print media used to inform their publics about the state's casino policy and potential for casino expansion. It also examined the sources news reports and editorial pieces tapped to inform their publics about the issue, and looked at the possible relationship between story orientation and actual voting outcomes in four Iowa counties who participated in a referendum to determine the future of casino expansion in their respective jurisdictions.

Newspaper content was analyzed using framing theory, a paradigm that suggests that the manner by which the media package news influences news salience and the way audiences frame or understand those issues. Schuefele (1999) conceptualized the framing process as involving four steps, in which media frames can be examined as either a dependent variable resulting from the sociology of media organizations, the psychological predispositions of news personnel, and journalists' practices, or as an independent variable that influences how audiences frame important social issues based on their exposure to mediated news.

Intensity of Coverage

The most intense coverage of the casino expansion issue occurred in the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, servicing Black Hawk County. This is an area that once had a greyhound-racing track (Waterloo) and had twice failed to bring slot machines to the racetrack following the results of referenda held in the 1990s (Jamison, 2003). Casino

gambling has long been a topic of debate in the Black Hawk area, which explains the intense coverage of casino expansion in that vicinity.

The intensity of gambling coverage in the Cedar Rapids Gazette and the Mason City Globe-Gazette was about average. This could easily be explained by the fact that both papers service counties (Linn and Cerro Gordo) that voted down casino expansion. Concerns about gaming perhaps led to a higher than usual intensity of coverage before the referendum. Coverage declined following the referendum, indicating that the community paper and its audiences looked at the failed referendum as totally eliminating the threat of expanded gambling.

The Ottumwa Courier's coverage of casino expansion was very light, suggesting a correlation between scarce coverage and low voter turnout. The Ottumwa Courier showed very little concern for the issue even after Wapello County approved the presence of casinos in their county. This might be explained by the fact that the other three newspapers serve counties (Black Hawk, Linn and Cerro Gordo) that were in close proximity to other communities that were also involved in attempts to bring casino gambling to their areas, concentrating the debate in northern and eastern Iowa. The area surrounding Wapello County, on the other hand, is casino-free and seemingly oblivious to casinos and their potential effects.

The intensity of coverage in these four newspapers incorporates a wide spectrum of concern with the casino gambling issue in the state of Iowa. The intensity in coverage observed in this study shows that the issue was more important in certain areas (eastern and northern Iowa) as compared to other areas (southern Iowa). Perhaps this is because of the proximity of existing casinos in eastern Iowa (see Figure 1.1). It is apparent that the approval

of casinos leads to greater coverage while a failed referendum leads to less coverage of casino expansion, except in the case of the Mason City Globe-Gazette where two adjacent counties approved their referenda.

The Frames Used

The findings show that the newspapers interpreted the issue to Iowa readers in highly financial terms. The casino expansion, tax, economic and revenue frames were built largely using the casinos' potential to gain or lose revenue. These four frames combined make up a clear majority of frames identified. In its simplest form, gambling is indeed about money, and the newspapers played up these frames so that they dominated newspaper discourse on the topic.

It can be inferred from this that the structure of the tax frame can evoke a completely different audience cognitions about the issue than the economic frame. The tax frame might tap into the concerns of upper class audiences concerned with pocketbook issues. On the other hand, the economic frame might interest those in lower socioeconomic groups for whom casinos promise more jobs. Thus, although related and intertwined, the money-oriented expansion, tax, economic and revenue frames offered unique ways by which the Iowa print media interpreted and reported the prospect of casino expansion to their audiences.

These four frames made up 69% of the frames occurring in the Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, 69% of those in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, 68% of those in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, and an astounding 80% of the frames in the Ottumwa Courier. The latter figure clearly shows that the Ottumwa Courier was determined to paint casino expansion using

purely financial brushes, helped in large part by the occurrence of the expansion debate frame 44% of the time. This is because a great deal of the Ottumwa Courier's coverage focused on issues involved with choosing a casino company that will operate the local facility.

The other three newspapers also used the four financial frames (expansion, tax, economic and revenue) extensively, nearly 70% of time. The Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier, the Cedar Rapids Gazette and the Mason City Globe-Gazette used all four frames fairly consistently, followed by the expansion debate frame, the tax frame, the economic frame, and the revenue frame, in that order. The two frames most commonly associated with stakeholders opposed to gambling and its expansion, the social cost and moral frames, were used less by the four newspapers. The two frames combined appeared less than 20% of the time in any of the four newspapers. The dearth in the use of the social cost or moral frames seem to indicate that the papers were sweeping the impact of gambling on individuals, families and societies under the rug.

The use of the political debate frame was also consistent across the four newspapers. Each paper showed a marked increase in the use of the political debate frame beginning with the onset of the 2004 House deliberations that included casino expansion throughout the state. Over the study's two-year period, the four papers seemed to mimic each other in the use of the political debate frame.

This consistency in frame usage across newspapers is a good indicator of the primary frames present in the coverage of this issue throughout the state. It also indicates the usual practice of packaging the news using some frames at the expense of others. This is certainly the case with the social cost and moral frames. These two frames were minimized in the

coverage of casino expansion in the print media. This lack of social cost and moral frames is directly connected to the scarcity of anti-gambling activists. In turn, the over dependence on financial frames point to a bias towards casino gambling in the Iowa print media.

The Changes in Frame Usage

The frames used before and after the gambling referendum in each county are markedly different. In some instances the changes make sense, as with the increase in the use of the political debate frame following the referenda because of the heavy emphasis Iowa's legislature placed on the issue in its deliberations. At the same time, however, the use of the economic frame decreased after the referendum in all four newspapers. What is behind the decrease in newspapers' reliance on the economic frame? What seems evident from the trend is that the use of the economic frame decreased with a rise in the employment of the political debate frame. The revenue frame, surprisingly, did not follow this dip in frame use. This might be because futuristic scenarios about the benefits and harm of casino expansion characterized the economic frame. Prior to the referendum in each county, the economic frame was more dominant as it was used to discuss the economic repercussions of casino presence. After the referendum, it might seem futile to discuss such a potential after a decision has been made.

The incidence of social cost and moral frames also decreased after the referenda. Like the use of economic frames, this slump suggests that after the vote, the social cost and moral dimensions of the policy were placed on the backburner. Although the service areas of two of the newspapers studied approved casino expansion, all four newspapers limited their use of the social cost and moral frames. The social cost discourse may have been less

important in a county that voted down casino gambling, but it should be of great concern where gambling was approved as this might usher in more discussion of addiction and other social concerns.

The Sources Cited

The newspaper frames appear to be highly correlated with the attributions in the coverage. The political debate frame, for example, was perhaps the likely outcome of citing a large number of state politicians and state employees. The social cost frame, on the other hand, cited gambling-related statistics within and outside of Iowa, while the economic frame, mostly developed from local sources, also used a high percentage of sources from other communities.

In the debate attendant to the proposal to expand the presence of casinos, anti-gambling activists, local or otherwise, were rarely cited. This might simply reflect the lack of organized opposition to casinos and their potential expansion. However, this lack of attribution from some stakeholder groups might also be the result of what Powers and Andsager (1999) found as an over reliance on official sources in print news coverage because of the easy access to public relations-savvy politicians compared to local anti-gambling activists.

This trend in source usage points out that the sources with the best relationships with the print media are going to receive the majority of attributions. Access plays a major role, and it goes both ways. Sources that develop journalistic relationships have a better opportunity to get their voice heard, and journalists often reference sources they are comfortable with and confident about. Politicians, business owners and community leaders

have the easiest access to the print media, so their stance on casino issues were played in the construction of media frames.

Story Orientation

Although the orientation of the opinion pieces analyzed was evenly split (105 for, 105 against, and 46 neutral toward gambling), a chi-square test shows a statistically significant relationship between the orientation of opinion pieces and the referendum outcomes. There were distinct frames associated with editorials that were for or against the measure. The opinion pieces advocating for casino expansion used the expansion debate frame more while those against gambling primarily used the social cost and moral frames to explain their position. Nonetheless, because these orientations were split so evenly, other factors might have accounted for a significant connection between orientation and referenda outcome.

Further Research

This study found initial evidence to support Scheufele's (1999) notion of frame setting, but there is a need for additional research.

This study considered all news articles to be neutral toward gambling and casino expansion. A more in-depth analysis into the orientation of news articles could provide a better measure for emphasis and valence in each newspaper article analyzed.

The current study was concerned only with the overall occurrence of each specific frame regardless of the story's stance (for, neutral or against gambling). For example, economic frames were not split between positive economic attributes and negative discourse because, as Gamson and Modigliani (1987) explain, "The frame suggests what the

controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (p. 143). Thus, looking at the orientation of specific frames can enhance frame building.

Further study should be done using more newspapers from other counties that deal with casino expansion issues. The four newspapers analyzed in this study represented communities of different population sizes and geographic location. Content analyzing additional community newspapers will supplement the identification of frames common or omitted in each community.

Analyzing broadcast news coverage is another area that could further framing research. Although the majority of framing research has involved the analysis of text (see Entman, 1991; Powers & Andsager, 1999; Ashley & Olson, 1998), the power of the broadcast media to purvey casino policy frames should not be overlooked. Although Gailey (2003) postulates that little difference exists in the way television and print materials frame issues, research into both print and broadcast frames will provide deeper insights into Scheufele’s (1999) process model of framing.

Finally, like agenda-setting, framing theory can best contribute to the study of media effects by using longitudinal designs. The current study focused on the frames one year before and after each county’s referendum. A ten-year study might provide a more sensitized look at the frames that occur as an issue evolves and the media continue to provide space to the issue. This should lead to the next major step in framing research, determining the connections in Scheufele’s (1999) process model. Research should be conducted to determine what makes journalists and their news organizations frame issues the way they do (frame building), if media frames indeed lead to audience frames (frame setting), how audience frames affect individual attitudes and behaviors (individual-level effects of

framing), and if those attitudes have an impact on how journalists conduct their business (“journalists as audiences”) (Scheufele, 1999).

APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK

Variable Number	Variable Name	Variable Description	Values and Codes
1	id	identification number for each article	3-digit number
2	paper	newspaper	1-Mason City Globe-Gazette 2-Cedar Rapids Gazette 3-Waterloo Courier 4-Ottumwa Courier
3	date	date of the article	6-digit number
4	head	headline of the article	(string nominal variable)
5	type	type of article	1-news article 2-editorial/letter to the editor 3-feature article
6	word	word count of the article	4-digit number
7	orient	orientation of the article	0-neutral on gambling 1-for gambling 2-against gambling 9-nothing can be found
8	frame1	the first frame identified in the article	1-Economic 2-Tax 3-Political Debate 4-Social Cost 5-Expansion Debate 6-Revenue 7-Moral 8-Other 99=nothing can be found
9	frame2	the second frame identified in the article	1-Economic 2-Tax 3-Political Debate 4-Social Cost 5-Expansion Debate 6-Revenue 7-Moral 8-Other 99=nothing can be found

10	frame3	the third frame identified in the article	1-Economic 2-Tax 3-Political Debate 4-Social Cost 5-Expansion Debate 6-Revenue 7-Moral 8-Other 99=nothing can be found
11	source	the number of sources cited in the article	2-digit number 99-missing value
12	name1	the name of the first source mentioned in article	(string nominal variable)
13	title1	the title of the first source mentioned in article	1-Local Politician/Municipal Employee 2-Local Pro-gambling Activist 3-Local Anti-gambling Activist 4-State Politician/Employee 5-Previous Newspaper 6-Non-activist Community/Business Leader 7-Casino Industry Spokesperson 8-Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission 9-Local Politician (based outside the county) 10-Pro-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 11-Anti-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 12-Iowa Gaming Association 13-Poll 14-Local Resident 15-Non-Iowa Gambling Statistics 16-Media Professional 17-Iowa Gambling Related Statistics 18-Religious Figure/Discourse 19-Local Resident (based outside the county)

14	name2	the name of the second source mentioned in article	20-Other 99-nothing can be found (string nominal variable)
15	title2	the title of the second source mentioned in article	1-Local Politician/Municipal Employee 2-Local Pro-gambling Activist 3-Local Anti-gambling Activist 4-State Politician/Employee 5-Previous Newspaper 6-Non-activist Community/Business Leader 7-Casino Industry Spokesperson 8-Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission 9-Local Politician (based outside the county) 10-Pro-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 11-Anti-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 12-Iowa Gaming Association 13-Poll 14-Local Resident 15-Non-Iowa Gambling Statistics 16-Media Professional 17-Iowa Gambling Related Statistics 18-Religious Figure/Discourse 19-Local Resident (based outside the county) 20-Other 99-nothing can be found (string nominal variable)
16	name3	the name of the third source mentioned in article	99-nothing can be found (string nominal variable)
17	title3	the title of the third source mentioned in article	1-Local Politician/Municipal Employee 2-Local Pro-gambling Activist 3-Local Anti-gambling Activist 4-State Politician/Employee 5-Previous Newspaper 6-Non-activist

			Community/Business Leader 7-Casino Industry Spokesperson 8-Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission 9-Local Politician (based outside the county) 10-Pro-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 11-Anti-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 12-Iowa Gaming Association 13-Poll 14-Local Resident 15-Non-Iowa Gambling Statistics 16-Media Professional 17-Iowa Gambling Related Statistics 18-Religious Figure/Discourse 19-Local Resident (based outside the county) 20-Other 99-nothing can be found (string nominal variable)
18	name4	the name of the fourth source mentioned in article	
19	title4	the title of the fourth source mentioned in article	1-Local Politician/Municipal Employee 2-Local Pro-gambling Activist 3-Local Anti-gambling Activist 4-State Politician/Employee 5-Previous Newspaper 6-Non-activist Community/Business Leader 7-Casino Industry Spokesperson 8-Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission 9-Local Politician (based outside the county) 10-Pro-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 11-Anti-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 12-Iowa Gaming Association

			13-Poll 14-Local Resident 15-Non-Iowa Gambling Statistics 16-Media Professional 17-Iowa Gambling Related Statistics 18-Religious Figure/Discourse 19-Local Resident (based outside the county) 20-Other 99-nothing can be found (string nominal variable)
20	name5	the name of the fifth source mentioned in article	
21	title5	the title of the fifth source mentioned in article	1-Local Politician/Municipal Employee 2-Local Pro-gambling Activist 3-Local Anti-gambling Activist 4-State Politician/Employee 5-Previous Newspaper 6-Non-activist Community/Business Leader 7-Casino Industry Spokesperson 8-Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission 9-Local Politician (based outside the county) 10-Pro-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 11-Anti-gambling Activist (based outside the county) 12-Iowa Gaming Association 13-Poll 14-Local Resident 15-Non-Iowa Gambling Statistics 16-Media Professional 17-Iowa Gambling Related Statistics 18-Religious Figure/Discourse 19-Local Resident (based outside the county) 20-Other 99-nothing can be found

APPENDIX B

SOURCE CATEGORY DEFINITIONS

- (1) Local politician/municipal worker: Any source identified as a politician in the newspaper's home county. This includes mayors, councilmen, city or county officials, county voting personnel and any other municipal employees, but not area legislators.
- (2) Local pro-gambling activist: Any source identified as someone actively pursuing the expansion of gambling within the home county. This are people who petition to have a referendum, locals who work with casino companies to bring casinos to the county, and other individuals actively promoting a casino within their local area.
- (3) Local anti-gambling activist: Any source identified as actively opposing the expansion of gambling within the home county. These individuals organize campaigns against casinos for a variety of reasons. This category does not include religious figures.
- (4) State politician/employee: Any source identified as a member of the Iowa legislature, executive branch, or an employee of the state. This category does not include judicial employees of the state.
- (5) Previous newspaper: Any citation of a previous edition of a newspaper.
- (6) Non-activist business/community leader: Any source identified as a member of the local community or representative of a local business that is not attributed with actively seeking or opposing gambling, but is cited regarding casino policy formulation.
- (7) Casino industry apokespeople: Any source identified as working for or representing a casino company.
- (8) Iowa Racing & Gaming Commission: Any member or employee of the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission.
- (9) Local politician/municipal worker (based outside the county): Any source identified as a local politician or municipal employee in any area outside of the county served by a newspaper. This category does not include area legislators.
- (10) Pro-gambling activist (based outside the county): Any source identified as actively supporting casino expansion outside of the county served by a newspaper.

- (11) Anti-gambling activist (based outside the county): Any source identified as actively opposing casinos outside of the county represented by that particular newspaper.
- (12) Iowa Gaming Association: Any member or employee of the Iowa Gaming Association.
- (13) Poll: These are mainly the results of public opinion polls conducted with Iowa respondents.
- (14) Local resident: Any source identified as a local who is not actively pursuing or opposing casino expansion nor is cited as a leader in the community or local business.
- (15) Non-Iowa gambling statistics: These are statistics related to gambling outside of the state of Iowa.
- (16) Media professional: Any source identified as a member of the media or a communication practitioner.
- (17) Iowa gambling related statistics: These are statistics related to gambling in the state of Iowa.
- (18) Religious figure/discourse: Any source identified as a religious personality. This frame includes the incorporation of religious material in newspaper discourse.
- (19) Local resident (based outside the county): Any source identified as a local not actively pursuing or opposing casino expansion nor cited as a leader in the community or local business operating outside of the county served by a newspaper.
- (20) Other: Any source not listed in the above categories. This includes, but is not limited to, judicial employees, gambling treatment employees, and non-activist leaders outside of the area.

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF STORIES EXEMPLIFYING THE SEVEN FRAMES

1. Expansion Debate Frame

Mason City Globe-Gazette – November 22, 2003

News Article

Associated Press

Webster County casino drive continues

FORT DODGE — Gambling supporters in Webster County are pushing ahead with plans to put gambling on the ballot even though state regulators have decided to keep a moratorium on new casinos.

The Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission decided Thursday to continue the ban and hand the issue over to the Legislature.

The commission's decision won't affect plans to seek a gambling referendum in Webster County, said Mark Crimmins, a spokesman for a nonprofit group seeking a casino license.

Crimmins said the group, the Heart of Iowa Foundation, intends to submit petitions with 1,300 signatures calling for the referendum to the county supervisors within the next month. Advocates hope for a February vote on the issue.

Thursday's action by the racing commission wasn't a surprise, Crimmins said.

He said local casino backers "have some hopes" that the Legislature and Gov. Tom Vilsack will make more licenses available.

"We think that's going to be pursued," he said.

If the Legislature doesn't act in the coming session, the moratorium enacted in 1998 will remain, commission chairman Michael Mahaffey said.

If Webster County voters approve gambling and the moratorium is lifted, the project may have to compete against others for what could be a small number of new riverboat licenses.

Kehl Management Inc., which operates riverboat casinos in Clinton and Dubuque, would run a local casino for the Heart of Iowa Foundation.

The Fort Dodge City Council and the Webster County Board of Supervisors are supporting

the foundation's efforts.

So far this year, four counties — Palo Alto, Worth, Black Hawk and Wapello — have voted to authorize gambling. Three counties — Dickinson, Cerro Gordo and Linn — voted against it.

Clay County will vote on gambling on Dec. 16. The racing commission's decision to continue the moratorium has not affected the election, officials said Friday.

In Black Hawk County, competing pro-gambling groups plan to press local lawmakers to support efforts to lift the ban.

Don Hoth, co-organizer of the Black Hawk County Gaming Association, said he was disappointed but not discouraged by the racing commission's decision.

"We've got to work with the legislators and work through the process," he said.

2. Tax Frame

Mason City Globe-Gazette – February 11, 2004

News Article

Charlotte Eby

Rants proposes property tax on gambling facilities

Legislative leaders are proposing a statewide property tax on gambling facilities as a way to recoup the \$112 million it owes racetracks in case the two sides are unable to come up with an agreement.

The Iowa Supreme Court last week struck down the state's gaming tax structure, ruling in favor of the state's three racetracks that had sued. The tracks claimed they were unfairly taxed at a higher rate than the state's 10 riverboat casinos.

Iowa House Speaker Christopher Rants describes the bill he's proposing as a "bag of hammers" to make sure taxpayers aren't stuck with the tax liability.

His plan comes after lawmakers and gaming interests were unable to reach a compromise last week on gaming tax issues.

"It may not be the answer, but it is an answer," said Rants, a Sioux City Republican.

Lawmakers also could decide to stop allowing slot machines at racetracks, Rants said.

Rants believes the gambling facility property tax would be the first of its kind in the nation

and would pass constitutional muster.

Under the bill, the state would charge one tax rate based on the square footage of casino floors and another rate for the remaining areas of gambling facilities.

Because riverboat casinos are not located on land, they only would pay for parts of their facilities that are located dockside, allowing them to sidestep a large tax increase.

The three racetracks would pay a total of \$200 million in taxes the first year, and \$5 million in future years. Riverboats would pay \$5 million in taxes the first year, and \$2 million annually after that.

Keeping tax rates for riverboats competitive with other states is important, Rants said, because they can easily relocate.

"We have to be a little cognizant of that, that it's pretty easy to move those riverboats from one side of the Missouri River to the other," he said.

Craig Schoenfeld, a lobbyist for the Dubuque Greyhound Park & Casino, said the racetrack is open to the idea of forgiving the payment of those back taxes if racetracks are offered a "complete package" and allowed to add table games to the slot machines at their casinos.

"We want to reach an agreement that is fair and equitable to all parties," Schoenfeld said.

He said lawmakers might not realize their bill would have the effect of taxing the city of Dubuque, which owns the racetrack property and leases it.

"If that's what they're talking about, I'm curious if they've thought ahead to the impact that has on Dubuque," Schoenfeld said.

The tax bill is separate from another being drafted that could possibly expand the gaming industry or a re-write of the state's gaming laws.

Rants said the tax changes might not be needed if lawmakers approve expanded gambling this year, but the tax bill would be an alternative.

Senate Majority Leader Stewart Iverson said there are a majority of votes in the Senate to approve the tax changes, and promised that the Legislature will find a way to make up for the loss of revenue from racetracks.

"It's much better to get this out here right now, let everybody take a look at it. They may or may not be happy with it, but that's our responsibility, because we cannot shift this onto someplace else," Iverson said.

Some have suggested raising the tax on riverboats to equalize the tax rates, but Iverson said

that's not the way to go.

"The boats aren't the problem," Iverson said. "The tracks are the ones that filed the lawsuit."

Iowa Gaming Association President Wes Ehrecke, said the group, which represents both racetracks and casinos, will take no formal position on the tax bill.

"I don't think it will be the last proposal we see," Ehrecke said.

3. Economic Frame

Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier – September 19, 2003

Opinion Piece

Wes Howland

Gambling arguments

WATERLOO --- The economic arguments supporting opinions against gambling are getting downright obtuse and are a disservice to the public.

In his opinion printed in the Sept. 14 Courier, Witt unfairly characterized casinos as stealers of local jobs. They do what any new business coming into an area does: They tap the local job market. Contrary to Witt's assertions, this is actually a good thing for the local community --- it improves the pay and/or working conditions of the populace in general and strengthens the local economy.

There's no disputing this was challenging for the nursing home used as an example by Mr. Witt and certainly it made life, in the short-term, unfairly difficult for its residents. But this is not an indication that casinos are necessarily bad, per se. This could potentially happen when any new business comes into an area. And certainly the people who filled the vacant positions at the nursing home are now better off than they were before.

Witt then argues that because casinos are owned by out-of-state corporations, their contributions to the local economy are less than that from in-state corporations. This represents nothing but a keen grasp of the obvious. It is not, however, a reasonable argument against gambling. If it was, then none of the local employers owned by out-of-state entities would provide any benefit.

If you want to argue that the social costs of gambling outweigh the potential benefits, please do so; but do it in an honest, comprehensive and informed manner. Selecting only a subset of the pertinent economic factors in support of an overall argument and then employing these factors incorrectly is deceptive and dishonest.

4. Political Debate

Mason City Globe-Gazette – April 2, 2004

News Article

Charlotte Eby

Gambling dispute could delay close

DES MOINES — Republican lawmakers conceded Thursday that nagging disputes swirling around major gambling legislation will probably keep them at the Statehouse longer than expected.

Legislators and gambling industry interests said earlier this week that they had reached a deal on gaming tax rates and announced they would work to adjourn by April 8.

But negotiations between legislative leaders and the state's racetracks and riverboat casinos hit a roadblock Wednesday when a Senate committee chairman refused to take up a gambling bill passed in the House.

"We've got another bump in the road and we'll have to take care of that bump," said Senate Majority Leader Stewart Iverson, R-Dows.

Republicans did not say how long they expect the legislative session will be extended, but Democrats complained it could be weeks before a gambling deal is struck.

Passage of next year's state budget also hangs in the balance while lawmakers settle the gambling dispute.

The Legislature was forced to set new gaming tax rates and look at the possibility of gambling expansion this year after the Iowa Supreme Court struck down the state's gaming tax rates.

The court sided with horse and dog tracks, which argued they were unfairly taxed at 32 percent of their revenues while riverboat casinos enjoyed a 20 percent rate.

The bill that passed in the House set new tax rates at 22 and 24 percent and had won the approval of racetracks. In exchange, the tracks had agreed to forgive the state an estimated \$165 million in overpaid taxes and would be allowed to add table games.

Marshalltown Republican Larry McKibben, chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee, said Wednesday his committee wouldn't consider the House gambling bill, because it would lead to a loss of revenue to the state he contends is around \$250 million.

McKibben reiterated his objections to the House bill at a committee meeting Thursday, at one point pounding the table for emphasis.

“I don’t think that’s much of a deal for Iowans, and the reason I put this bill on hold was for Iowans to understand that,” McKibben said.

Senate Jeff Lamberti, R-Ankeny, said he believes there’s no need to move forward with a bill that some members of the Senate cannot accept.

“We have a lot of people who are upset about some things with gambling, and we’ll get them resolved. There’s really no need for Sen. McKibben to be moving a bill until we have some agreement,” Lamberti said.

He said there are other issues to work through with the racetracks beside the tax rates.

Some lawmakers want any deal with racetracks to preserve the state’s right to once again appeal the Iowa Supreme Court’s ruling.

But the delay is not discouraging some who hope a final bill will allow for new gambling licenses.

Northwood resident Kim Miller, who has launched an extensive lobbying effort to get a new casino in Worth County, said the six counties that want expansion are still optimistic.

“We’re just keeping it up. The momentum’s growing,” she said.

5. Social Costs Frame

Ottumwa Courier – February 20, 2004

News Article

Matt Milner

Counselor says cuts impact gambling treatment

OTTUMWA - A casual observer might be heartened by the number of calls to Iowa's problem gambling hotline.

The hotline was first operational during fiscal 1988. It received 337 calls that first year. The next year the number was up to 343. That was the high water mark until 1995, when the number of calls jumped to 1,340, nearly 10 times the previous year. They jumped again in 1996, almost quadrupling to 4,496. Numbers have dropped off since then, to 1,587 in fiscal 2003.

Dropping numbers are a good thing, right? Not so fast, says gambling counselor Michelle Dunn.

The drops in calls to the gambling hotline coincides with a decline in funding for Iowa's gambling treatment program. With the decline has come less advertising. Dunn sees a direct correlation between less advertising and fewer calls for help.

"A lot of people don't know where to go," she says.

Dunn works for Alcohol and Drug Dependency Services of Southeast Iowa in the gambling treatment program. The agency seeks to help those who need treatment for problem gambling. She says studies indicate 88 percent of Iowa residents gamble at some point, with 3-5 percent developing problems.

Problem gambling actually is seen as two separate issues, Dunn says. First is problem gambling, in which the person spends increasing time and money gambling, but has not yet developed a destructive addiction. Compulsive gamblers are those who have become addicted to gambling.

Dunn acknowledges that some people have a hard time accepting the concept of gambling as an addiction. After all, it does not involve ingestion of a chemical in pursuit of a high, be it alcohol, nicotine or meth. But the physiological effects of gambling can be similar.

"Gambling affects the same part of the brain as chemicals and drugs do," Dunn says. Gambling addicts themselves fall into two categories. The first are action gamblers, who Dunn says enjoy the fast pace and communal atmosphere of table games. These gamblers would much rather be at a craps or blackjack table than at a slot machine.

There is an element of skill involved in many table games. Dunn says action gamblers enjoy pitting themselves against people with the belief that their skills will win out.

That's a far different goal than escape gamblers have. "Escape gamblers are a completely different type of person," Dunn says.

Those gamblers are seeking to "zone out" or numb experiences. Gambling becomes a refuge for these people. Dunn says the escape gamblers tend to be drawn to slot machines or other activities that can easily become automatic, without requiring strategy.

A list of gambling activities compiled by the state includes many which might be expected. Casino games, bingo and items like video poker are obvious. But how can stock markets, one of the activities listed, be considered gambling?

Dunn says it isn't a specific activity that indicates a problem, but rather a pattern. Many stock market investors use the markets for retirement or building wealth, but for some it becomes a game. They try to time the market for maximum gains or make high-risk investments aiming for a big payoff. Those same people are the ones who develop action gambling problems.

"It's along the same lines as day trading over the Internet," Dunn says. "What we're looking for being a problem is when it starts to affect other areas of life."

Similar questions are raised when reading racing forms or sports news at work or school is listed as signs of a gambling problem. The person who checks in to see if their favorite team won last night's game is not displaying addictive behavior. The person who checks every five minutes might.

Online gambling is a growing concern, but Dunn says many people do not yet trust the Internet's security enough to allow their credit cards and bank numbers to be transmitted. That reluctance can be overcome by a compulsive gambler who has voluntarily barred himself from casinos, though.

Dunn says online gambling is a "process addiction." People are not generally introduced to gambling online, but are acclimated to it gradually.

Dunn is hesitant to call online gambling a trend, but says it could become one as the Internet continues to develop.

6. Revenue Frame

Cedar Rapids Gazette – June 9, 2003

News Article

Kurt Rogahn

Safe bet: Iowa casinos on pace to set revenue record

Iowa's licensed casinos and race tracks could be headed toward another record year, although their revenue is growing more slowly than in previous years.

The state's take also may be slightly less because of an Iowa Supreme Court decision a year ago on taxes paid by race tracks.

With one month to go in this fiscal year, Iowa's 13 licensed gaming operations already have collected more in adjusted gross revenues than they did in all of 2001 and are closing in on last year's record \$960 million.

Through May 31, adjusted gross revenues at the tracks and casinos totaled just over \$896.3 million. In 2001, adjusted gross revenues totaled just under \$887 million, according to the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission.

Admissions this year to the 10 riverboats and three race track/casinos totaled 17.5 million, compared with just over 20 million in fiscal 2002.

However, Jack Ketterer, commission administrator, said he doesn't pay much attention to admission figures because of variations in how casinos compile them. State fees paid by the riverboats aren't based on admissions, though there is a state tax based on admissions at the tracks.

Track revenues appear to be a fraction lower than last year, but water-based casino revenues are a little higher, Ketterer said. Combined, total revenues appeared to be 1 percent or 2 percent higher than last year, slower than rates in previous years, Ketterer said.

The growth may reflect people choosing to spend money closer to home, said Wes Ehrecke, president of the Iowa Gaming Association.

"People are willing to travel 150 or 200 miles versus getting on a plane," he said.

Also, a mild winter also may have helped boost revenues, he said.

The federal government's closing of the Meskwaki casino near Tama during a tribal dispute may affect the gambling licensed operations, Ketterer said.

"With Meskwaki closed, some locations in the eastern side of the state are realizing a little bit of a windfall the last week or so," he said.

Depending on how long the closure lasts, it could affect June's numbers, Ketterer said.

The state's share of the take will be down, perhaps by \$30 million, this fiscal year, Ketterer said. Last June 12, the Supreme Court overturned a 1994 law that imposed a higher tax rate on Iowa's race tracks than on receipts at the riverboats.

In fiscal 2002, gambling venues paid nearly \$214 million in state taxes and fees, plus \$2.8 million to treatment for compulsive gambling. So far this year, state taxes and fees total just over \$171.5 million, plus \$2.7 million to compulsive gambling treatment.

The state's largest gambling operation, Prairie Meadows, paid \$731,438 in taxes to Altoona and the same amount to Polk County in fiscal 2002. The smallest tax paid to a host city and county was \$140,489, by Catfish Bend. It spends summers in Fort Madison, in Lee County, and winters in Burlington, in Des Moines County.

On average in 2002, gambling operations paid \$369,215 to host cities and also to host counties, a Gazette analysis shows.

The Racing and Gaming Commission figures do not include the Iowa Lottery or three American Indian gaming venues, the one near Tama and ones in Sloan and Onawa in western Iowa.

Prairie Meadows race track/casino in Altoona continues to be Iowa's largest gambling venue,

with \$137 million in revenues so far this fiscal year.

But the gap between Prairie Meadows and No. 2, Ameristar Casino and Hotel in Council Bluffs, with \$135 million in adjusted gross revenues, appears to be narrowing. In all of 2002, their revenues were about \$8 million apart.

7. Moral Frame

Mason City Globe-Gazette – May 16, 2003

Opinion Piece

Edith C. Andrews

Gambling is foolish

Items in the Globe Gazette on Sunday, May 11, concerning the possibility of having a gambling casino in Worth or Cerro Gordo county, aroused my ire.

Gambling as a business is wrong. It appeals mostly to weak-minded or ignorant or lazy persons who yearn to get a lot of money without working.

Most of us were brought up with the work ethic of our grandparents and our parents. Thus, we believe we should work to support ourselves and our families. If we earn more than we need we raise our standards of living, buy luxuries, take trips and (or) help other people. We also might save for the future.

Gambling is especially beneficial to the wealthy. They can afford to spend more, so they have more chances to win the big prizes.

The very fact that gambling casinos bring wealth to the government (or to whatever group is running them) should prove that gambling is foolish. It is not a “good investment” for us ordinary citizens.

APPENDIX D

GAMBLING REFERENDUM RESULTS

Referendum Date	County	Outcome	Votes		Total Votes	Percentage		Number of Registered Voters	Voter Turnout
			YES	NO		YES	NO		
06/17/03	Palo Alto	Approved	2,466	1,004	3,470	71.1	28.9	7,208	48.1%
06/24/03	Worth	Approved	2,062	687	2,749	75.0	25.0	5,522	49.8%
07/08/03	Dickinson	Failed	1,939	5,092	7,031	27.6	72.4	12,708	55.3%
09/16/03	Cerro Gordo	Failed	2,427	4,667	7,094	34.2	65.8	30,965	22.9%
10/07/03	Black Hawk	Approved	21,759	11,058	32,817	66.3	33.7	69,074	46.9%
10/28/03	Wapello	Approved	2,371	2,055	4,429	53.5	46.4	23,320	19.0%
11/04/03	Linn	Failed	27,368	30,659	58,027	47.2	52.8	135,560	43.1%
12/16/03	Clay	Failed	1,966	3,071	5,067	38.8	60.6	12,255	41.4%
01/09/04	Sac	Failed	1,475	2,007	3,482	42.4	57.6	8,453	41.2%
01/27/04	Franklin	Approved	1,589	1,420	3,009	52.8	47.2	7,523	40.0%
03/23/04	Webster	Approved	6,450	4,738	11,188	57.7	42.3	22,649	49.4%
08/31/04	Washington	Approved	4,099	3,747	7,846	52.2	47.8	14,800	53.0%
11/02/04	Dallas	Failed	9,704	15,414	25,118	38.6	61.4	36,061	69.6%
11/02/04	Madison	Failed	3,318	4,380	7,698	43.1	56.9	11,309	68.1%
11/02/04	Warren	Failed	9,018	10,731	19,749	45.7	54.3	32,024	61.7%

(IRGC, 2005)

APPENDIX E**NEWSPAPER PROFILES****Cedar Rapids Gazette**

PO Box 511
Cedar Rapids, IA 52406
319-398-8222
www.gazetteonline.com
Owner: The Gazette Company
Daily Circulation: 64,378
Readership: 128,756
Daily Linn County household coverage: 46.03%

Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier

PO Box 590
Waterloo, IA 50701
319-291-1400
www.wcfcourier.com
Owner: Lee Enterprises
Daily Circulation: 52,791
Readership: 105,582
Daily Black Hawk County household coverage: 52.53%

Mason City Globe-Gazette

PO Box 271
Mason City, IA 50402
641-421-0500
www.globegazette.com
Owner: Lee Enterprises
Daily Circulation: 20,428
Readership: 40,856
Daily Cerro Gordo County household coverage: 54.33%

Ottumwa Courier

213 E. 2nd
Ottumwa, IA 52501
641-684-4611
www.ottumwacourier.com
Owner: Community Newspaper Holdings, Inc.
Daily Circulation: 14,209
Readership: 28,418
Daily Wapello County household coverage: 50.42%

APPENDIX F**COUNTY PROFILES, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU****Linn County**

Population (2003 est.): 196,202
Population, percent change, 1990 to 2000: 13.6%
Female persons, percent (2000): 51.0%
White persons, percent, 2000: 93.9%
High school graduates, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 90.6%
Bachelor's degree or higher, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 27.7%
Homeownership rate, 2000: 72.7%
Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2000: \$99,400
Median household income, 1999: \$46,206
Per capita money income, 1999: \$22,977
Persons below poverty, percent, 1999: 6.5%
Private nonfarm employment, 2001: 111,650

Black Hawk County

Population (2003 est.): 126,418
Population, percent change, 1990 to 2000: 3.4%
Female persons, percent (2000): 52.0%
White persons, percent, 2000: 88.4%
High school graduates, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 86.5%
Bachelor's degree or higher, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 23.0%
Homeownership rate, 2000: 68.9%
Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2000: \$77,000
Median household income, 1999: \$37,266
Per capita money income, 1999: \$18,885
Persons below poverty, percent, 1999: 13.1%
Private nonfarm employment, 2001: 60,268

Cerro Gordo County

Population (2003 est.): 45,118
Population, percent change, 1990 to 2000: -0.6%
Female persons, percent (2000): 51.9%
White persons, percent, 2000: 96.3%
High school graduates, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 87.3%
Bachelor's degree or higher, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 20.3%
Homeownership rate, 2000: 71.5%
Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2000: \$75,400

Median household income, 1999: \$35,867
Per capita money income, 1999: \$19,184
Persons below poverty, percent, 1999: 8.5%
Private nonfarm employment, 2001: 22,434

Wapello County

Population (2003 est.): 35,885
Population, percent change, 1990 to 2000: 1.0%
Female persons, percent (2000): 51.3%
White persons, percent, 2000: 96.3%
High school graduates, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 81.5%
Bachelor's degree or higher, pct of persons age 25+, 2000: 14.6%
Homeownership rate, 2000: 75.6%
Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2000: \$50,100
Median household income, 1999: \$32,188
Per capita money income, 1999: \$16,500
Persons below poverty, percent, 1999: 13.2%
Private nonfarm employment, 2001: 13,584

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