Candidate and Media Agenda Setting in the 2005 Virginia Gubernatorial Election

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(ABSTRACT)

This study content analyzed candidate press releases and newspaper articles from the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election in order to determine which issues, strategies, and audiences were most salient on candidate and media agendas during the campaign. Monthly cross-lagged correlations were used to measure agenda setting effects between the two major party candidates, among the four newspapers, and between candidates and newspapers. These correlations showed that the candidates maintained consistent issue agendas throughout the campaign but shifted their strategy and audience agendas frequently, while the newspapers generally maintained consistency for all three types of agenda. Many of the cross-lagged correlations indicated that the candidates shared reciprocal influence with the newspapers, but in some cases the candidates set the newspapers' issue agendas, while the newspapers set the candidates' audience agendas. The two candidates showed reciprocal influence between their agendas throughout much of the campaign, but Republican Jerry Kilgore set Democrat Tim Kaine's agenda during some months early in the campaign. The four newspapers studied showed a clear path of influence on issue agendas, with the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* influencing *The Washington Post*, which in turn influenced *The Roanoke Times*, followed by *The Virginian-Pilot*. Influence between the newspapers' audience and strategy agendas was mostly reciprocal.

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Dedication

To Jennifer, for all of your sacrifices to make this possible.

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Introduction

For more than 30 years agenda setting theory has been one of the dominant modes of discourse used to study mass media effects, particularly in political contexts. Initially, agenda setting researchers studied how news media influenced public perception of issue salience (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Tipton, Haney, and Baseheart, 1975). While agenda setting research extends beyond political contexts (e.g. Danielian and Reese, 1989; Fortunato, 2004), the large majority of agenda setting studies explore media, candidate, and public issue salience. Subsequent studies expanded agenda setting research beyond the simple transfer of issue salience from media to public. For instance, researchers studied how issues become salient to the media (Danielian & Reese, 1989), how issues become salient to policy makers (Pritchard, 1986), how issue salience affects public behavior (Roberts, 1992), how issue salience can "prime" evaluations of other issues or people (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987), and how *attributes* of issues or individuals increase in salience (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, and Lennon, 1998). Intermedia and intercandidate agenda setting (Tedesco, 2005a, 2005b) also represent significant aspects of this heuristic theory.

Over the last three decades, agenda setting has evolved from a hypothesis about media effects on the public to a research paradigm that examines the transfer of salience at all levels of political discourse. This thesis builds on previous research to examine agenda setting in the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election. The project examines the relationship between candidate agendas and media agendas.

Election Context

In 2005, the Commonwealth of Virginia's gubernatorial election earned much media attention as the more hotly contested of only two gubernatorial elections occurring in the United States (see Dao, 2005; Nguyen, Rowlands, & Starr, 2005; Siegel, 2005). Observers of American politics considered Virginia's gubernatorial election as a microcosm of the national political landscape and believed its outcome could foreshadow election trends in 2006 and help predict presidential frontrunners for 2008. Political scientist Larry Sabato observed that "if the Democrats win both New Jersey, which is blue, and Virginia, which is red, they have a pretty good case that the Democrats may be in a good position for the 2006 midterm elections" (Nguyen, Rowlands, & Star, 2005, para. 8). Additional attention focused on the gubernatorial election's potential impact on possible presidential positioning for Virginia Governor Mark Warner (D-VA) and Virginia Senator George Allen (R-VA).

Virginia's gubernatorial elections occur every four years in the odd year following a presidential election. Although Virginia is generally considered a conservative state and has consistently given its electoral votes to Republican candidates since 1948, with the 1964 election as the only exception, support for either party at the gubernatorial level has been less consistent in recent years. The Democratic Party held a virtual monopoly on the governor's mansion until 1970. However, party dominance in the Commonwealth began to fluctuate during the past three decades. In fact, since the election of Virginia Republican Linwood Holton in 1969 each of the two major parties has won five elections (*Governors,* 2006).

The 2005 Virginia gubernatorial candidates were Democrat Tim Kaine, Republican Jerry Kilgore, and Independent Russ Potts. Kaine, who ultimately won the race, was the state's Lieutenant Governor and a former Richmond mayor. He is a Minnesota native who graduated

from Harvard Law School and worked as a civil rights lawyer. He is also the son-in-law of former

Republican governor Linwood Holton (*The Almanac of Virginia Politics,* 2002).

Kilgore is a former Virginia Secretary of Public Safety who resigned the office of Virginia

Attorney General to concentrate on the gubernatorial race (Shear, 2005). He is a former prosecutor

who grew up in Scott County, VA, making him the first native of southwest Virginia to win a

statewide office since Holton's gubernatorial victory in 1969. Although his family figured

prominently in state Republican circles for years, Kilgore largely became known to Virginia

citizens when he led Governor George Allen's criminal justice reform initiatives as Secretary of

Public Safety (*The Almanac of Virginia Politics,* 2002).

Potts is a four term Virginia State Senator. The native of Winchester, Virginia previously

worked as a journalist and promoter for college and professional sports teams. Although he is a

Republican, Potts entered the gubernatorial race as an Independent, arguing that neither Kaine nor

Kilgore had adequate plans for funding necessary projects in Virginia, especially in regards to

transportation (Laris, 2005). Potts's campaign received a fair amount of media attention, but he

had trouble developing name recognition with Virginia voters and ultimately received only about

two percent of the vote (State Board of Elections, 2005).

The two major party candidates offered a significant political contrast. Kaine ran as the

natural successor to popular Democratic incumbent Governor Mark Warner. As lieutenant

governor, Kaine helped Warner enact budget reforms that revived the state's struggling economy

and got Warner named one of "America's Five Best Governors" by *Time* magazine (Tumulty,

2005). Kilgore countered by arguing that Kaine was too liberal on economic and social issues and

dismissed Kaine's role in Warner's successful administration. Kilgore argued that running based

on an incumbent's support is "like trying to run around with the most popular kid in school. It

doesn't make you more popular." (Dao, 2005). However, recognizing that Warner's popularity would be difficult to overcome, Kilgore's primary strategy was to associate Kaine with liberal positions on issues such as gun control and the death penalty in an attempt to lessen his support among socially conservative voters.

This race offered an ideal context for observing agenda setting effects for several reasons. First, the mainstream media in Virginia are made up of a significant but manageable number of outlets (see Rozell, 1991; Wilson, 1991). There are enough media sources to study variety and fluctuation in the media agenda, but there are not so many as to make it difficult to get a fairly complete picture of that agenda. Second, the recent electoral history of the commonwealth indicates that in statewide elections Virginia is a "two-party state" (Morris & Sabato, 1998, p. 40), in which the Republican and Democratic candidates each have a legitimate chance of victory in gubernatorial races. These factors made this an interesting race in which to study the effects the development of issue agendas, as the issues that became salient to the public may have had a significant impact on the election results, in contrast to races in which voting decisions are primarily based on ideological or party loyalties. Finally, there were no national elections on the ballot along with the candidates for governor, so it is possible to study the race without needing to account for "coattail" effects provided by national candidates (see Vermeer, 1982).

Relevant Research

In its most basic form, the concept of *agenda setting* is defined as the process through which certain issues become more relevant than others. The concept has long been a component of political communication theory, although the term itself is fairly recent (Dearing and Rogers, 1996). The idea goes back at least as far as Walter Lippman's book *Public Opinion* (1922), which speculated that humans' views of reality are entirely contingent on the information available to them. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948/1964) also presaged agenda setting theory when they asserted, "The mass media confer status on public issues, persons, organizations and social movements" (p. 101). The concept was perhaps best articulated in Bernard Cohen's conclusion that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*" (1963, p. 13, emphasis in original).

McCombs and Shaw (1972) provided the first empirical evidence of agenda setting's occurrence. In their study of the 1968 United States presidential election, McCombs and Shaw content analyzed the national and local media serving the Chapel Hill, North Carolina, area to determine which issues got the most coverage. Then they compared this media agenda with the results of a survey that asked undecided voters what they believed to be the most important issues facing the country. The researchers found high levels of correlation between the media and public agendas, indicating that an agenda setting effect had occurred.

Subsequent research mostly strengthened the case for effects of the media agenda on the public agenda (see especially Funkhouser, 1973; Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder, 1982; Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal, 1981). Although most studies have not strayed far from McCombs and Shaw's original research design, new methods of analysis have increased the ability to observe how long these effects take to be observable (Wanta and Hu, 1994) and to show stronger evidence

of causality (Roberts and McCombs, 1994).

Dearing and Rogers (1996) presented a typology of three agendas: the media, public, and policy agendas. They cited various studies that have treated each of these agendas as dependent variables. For instance, the Chapel Hill study and its replications treat the public agenda as the dependent variable that is manipulated by the media agenda. Other studies see the policy agenda, defined as the agenda held by those in positions to make government policy, as the dependent variable affected by the agendas of the media and/or the public (Protess et al., 1991). The present study builds on previous work that treats the media agenda as a dependent variable in agenda setting studies.

Media Agenda Setting

As Shoemaker and Reese (1991) point out, communication scholars have tended to focus on how media content affects people with little regard for how that content comes into being. They point to social science paradigms and cultural norms that encourage scholars to focus on the effects media have on people as the dependent variables in their studies. The authors suggest supplementing existing research programs of media effects on the public with research programs of effects on media.

In this spirit, an increasing number of researchers have treated the agendas of various media as dependent variables in an attempt to answer the question, "Who sets the media's agenda?" (McCombs, 2004, p. 98). This approach has been called media agenda setting (Dearing & Rogers, 1996), agenda building (Gilberg, Eyal, McCombs, & Nicholas, 1980), or, when studying the agenda setting effect of media outlets on other media outlets, intermedia agenda setting (Danielian & Reese, 1989).

The concept of media agenda setting has roots in Kurt Lewin's (1947) theory of "gate

keepers." Lewin labeled gatekeepers as those who control what information is included in media content. David White (1950) expanded this concept with his case study of a small town newspaper wire editor known as "Mr. Gates." White had the editor save all wire stories that he chose not to run in the newspaper and write at the top of each story why he chose not to run it. Mr. Gates's reasons ranged from logistical concerns such as "no space" (p. 387) to such clearly subjective assertions as "He's too Red," "Propaganda," and "B.S." (p. 386). In one instance, the editor wrote "No space - pure propaganda" (p. 388) on an article that quoted a prominent Catholic Cardinal criticizing press coverage of a scandal involving another Cardinal. This comment indicates that Mr. Gates hesitated to print criticism of his fellow journalists, and also reveals his anti-Catholic bias (to which he freely admitted in a subsequent interview).

The 1970s saw an increased interest in the formation of the media agenda. One factor that may have stirred this interest was the publication of in-depth, behind the scenes accounts of the 1972 presidential race written by Timothy Crouse (1973) and Hunter S. Thompson (1973/1983). Crouse particularly provided readers with a glimpse of how reporters cover political campaigns. His and Thompson's books grew out of assignments to cover the campaign for *Rolling Stone*, then a virtually unknown magazine (at least to those over 30) that had never seriously covered politics. Unlike reporters for more mainstream media outlets, the pair did not suffer from the desire to protect the journalistic profession that caused Mr. Gates to reject articles critical of the press. As Thompson bragged, "Unlike most other correspondents, I could afford to burn all my bridges behind me – because I was only there for a year, and the last thing I cared about was establishing long-term connections on Capitol Hill" (1973/1983, p. 18). Both writers portrayed their counterparts in the mainstream press as generally copying what the reporters from the most prestigious newspapers wrote. Many media agenda setting studies have quoted Crouse's account,

which said, "What happened was that Johnny Apple of *The New York Times* sat in a corner and everyone peered over his shoulder to find out what he was writing" (p. 84).

Shortly after that election, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward's coverage of the Watergate break-in and cover-up for *The Washington Post* (summarized in Bernstein and Woodward, 1974/1994) presented a clear case of one media outlet setting the agenda of other media outlets, and in turn setting the agendas of the public and the policy makers. McCombs and Shaw (1976) called it "the clearest example of the power of a press-generated issue, by persistence, to thrust itself into public consciousness" (p. 19). Subsequent empirical research investigated the process through which Watergate became the predominant issue on the national agenda (Weaver, McCombs, & Spellman, 1975; Lang & Lang, 1981) and the more general agenda setting effects of similar investigative reporting (Protess et al., 1991).

Agenda setting researchers have often assumed a uniform media agenda, perhaps because those studies that have compared agendas between various media, including the original Chapel Hill study, have tended to find high correlations. As early as 1976, McCombs and Shaw encouraged researchers to incorporate "gate keeping" theory into agenda setting research. They started this research program by reanalyzing the data from White's (1950) case study and Snider's (1967) replication. They found that, in addition to the subjective selection processes observed in the case studies, there was a clear quantitative correlation between the types of stories offered by the wire services and the types of wire stories selected for publication in Mr. Gates's newspaper.

McCombs (2004) proposed that there are three layers of influences on the media agenda: news sources, other news media, and news norms. Researchers have investigated the influence of all three, but the present study will focus on the first two: news sources (specifically, information subsidies provided by campaigns) and other media.

News sources and information subsidies. Gandy (1982) accused researchers of treating the media agenda as a given and encouraged more exploration of the media agenda's formation. He particularly encouraged study of how reporters' sources use "information subsidies," or attempts to make favorable information "available at something less than the cost a user would face in the absence of the subsidy" (p. 61). Knowing that reporters have tight time constraints on their work, sources can ensure that issues favorable to them (or their corporations, candidates, etc.) make up the media agenda by making that information easily accessible at convenient times (or making unfavorable information available only at inconvenient times). As an example, Gandy examined how Ronald Reagan's staff effectively kept Reagan's budget initiatives on the press agenda by continually releasing new statistics interpreted to indicate the need for economic policy changes. These releases were information subsidies, in that they presented seemingly newsworthy, easy to use information that favored Reagan's economic agenda.

Research has shown that information subsidies can effectively help set the media agenda (for example, Sigal, 1973; Turk, 1986; see Gilberg, Eyal, McCombs, & Nicholas, 1980, for an exception). This relationship exists despite the fact that journalistic norms dictate that news editors avoid relying too much on information subsidies for content. Vermeer (1981) reported, "If there is one generally valid description of editors' responses to campaign press releases in general, it is that they do not seem to like them" (p. 73). He observed that editors generally assume that information subsidies contain biased information that does not meet the standards of objectivity valued by journalists. Curtin's (1999) nationwide survey of journalists confirmed that many editors argue against the use of information subsidies in news content. Paradoxically, she found that in practice most editors used these subsidies as sources, particularly in feature stories or "special sections." She also found that many editors had fewer reservations about publishing press releases from

non-profit or governmental agencies than they did about publishing corporate press releases. However, Curtin argued that the use of press releases by media outlets does not necessarily translate into a media agenda setting effect, since editors and reporters often drastically reshape the content of a press release before using it in a story.

Some research has examined this influence of information subsidies by identifying the sources that put a particular issue on the media agenda. For instance, Dearing and Rogers (1996) report that the issue of drunk driving, particularly the solution of the designated driver, became a major issue on the media agenda through the efforts of Harvard professor Jay Winsten in the 1980s. The professor met with a number of television producers and scriptwriters to encourage them to promote the designated driver concept in their programming. The researchers report that a number of top rated shows, including *Cheers*, *The Cosby Show*, *Growing Pains*, and *L. A. Law* aired episodes dealing with drunk driving. It is difficult to prove that these episodes reduced the amount of drunk driving (although circumstantial evidence indicates that they did), but it is clear that Winsten's information subsidies influenced the entertainment media agenda.

Likewise, Danielian and Reese (1989) observed that the issue of crack and cocaine use rose on the media agenda in the mid-1980s despite the lack of evidence that actual drug use rose during that period. In addition to finding clear evidence of intermedia agenda setting (the influence of certain media outlets on others), the researchers also found that national newspapers and television networks tended to use the same sources (mostly official government sources) when covering the issue. They cautioned that this journalistic norm of relying on similar sources allows those sources to easily set the overall media agenda. While Danielian and Reese focused on the sources cited in the news stories, Dearing and Rogers (1996) also pointed out that coverage of the drug issue increased after Presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson met with the chief editor of The New York

Times to encourage more coverage of the drug issue. While both studies acknowledged that news events such as the overdose death of basketball star Len Bias encouraged more coverage of the drug issue, they showed that information subsidies from official government sources and a Presidential hopeful seemed to push the issue into a more prominent spot on the media agenda.

Other researchers have looked beyond influences on coverage of single issues to the overall influence a complete population of information subsidies can have on media agendas. Research of this type has generally found a strong, but far from complete, influence of information subsidies on media agendas. Turk (1986) found that about half of the press releases issued by six Louisiana state agencies were used by newspapers in the state, and that about half of the newspaper articles about those agencies used their press releases. More importantly, she found a significant level of correlation between the issue agendas of the information subsidies and the newspapers.

Particularly of interest to the present study is research on the influence of press releases provided by political campaigns, which has shown mixed results. Bolden (1970) and Kaid (1976) did early studies of this type. Bolden (1970) found that daily newspapers in Texas used about half of the 1970 gubernatorial candidates' press releases and printed approximately 20 percent of the statements in those releases verbatim. Kaid (1976) found that a 1972 Illinois state senate candidate successfully placed many of his press releases in daily and weekly newspapers in his legislative district. Nearly 70 percent of the candidate's press releases appeared in at least one of the district's 25 newspapers, although many appeared in only one paper. The average success rate was slightly less than two newspapers for each press release. Press releases dealing with campaign issues were carried by newspapers less frequently (56 percent) than releases offering personal information about the candidate (67 percent), and much less frequently than press releases issuing

announcements about the campaign (100 percent). These two early studies offered initial evidence that campaigns can influence media coverage with information subsidies, but they also established that this influence is far from complete or universal.

Vermeer (1981) authored a book-length study of candidate press releases and media coverage of elections. Based on a survey of editors, he identified several trends relevant to understanding how newspapers use candidate press releases. First, editors respond more favorably to press releases that present information objectively, without clear persuasive language. Second, editors are more likely to use press releases that focus on issues relevant to their local communities. Third, press release content is not generally seen as an editor's top priority, so its use is contingent on how much space is available in the newspaper after other content is put in place. Fourth, some editors are more likely to use press releases from candidates who advertise in their newspapers. Fifth, press releases that do not get published right away may still be used by editors and reporters as background information for future campaign articles. Finally, editors, especially those at national newspapers, usually rewrite press releases rather than publishing them verbatim, indicating that getting a press release published does not necessarily indicate that the campaign will successfully get its message to voters.

Vermeer (1981) also analyzed how often candidate press releases were used by newspapers covering four different candidates (two gubernatorial and two Congressional). The four candidates had success rates ranging from 70 to 79 percent of their press releases being picked up by newspapers. In contrast to Vermeer's findings in his survey of news editors, factors such as press release length and newsworthiness were not consistently significant indicators of their likelihood of being published. The analysis of the candidates in the 1973 New Jersey gubernatorial race also confirmed that many press releases underwent substantial rewrites before appearing in

newspapers. However, Vermeer observed that the images of the candidates seen in the totality of news stories on the campaign roughly reflected the images the candidates conveyed in their press releases. The newspapers' rewrites substantially changed the content of many individual press releases, but over the course of the campaign the positive and negative traits each candidate conveyed of himself, his opponent, and the campaign's major issues generally survived the treatment of media gatekeepers. Thus, Vermeer's study offers further support for the utility of candidate press releases for disseminating campaign messages to voters.

One limitation of these early studies was their focus on the number of press releases that could clearly be identified as sources for specific news stories. As Vermeer (1981) observed, press releases that do not explicitly inspire a newspaper story may be used for background information. It is logical to assume that the influence of campaign press releases goes beyond those cases in which their content is directly reprinted by newspapers. Atwood (1980) broadened the study of candidate information subsidies by using agenda setting theory to determine the overall influence of candidate press releases on news agendas. His analysis of press releases from the two candidates in a Congressional race and newspaper coverage of the race showed strong correlations between candidate and newspaper agendas. Cross-lagged correlations indicated that the candidates and newspapers exerted reciprocal influence on each other. This study shows that candidate press releases can influence media agendas, but it does not support a true agenda setting effect since the press's influence on the candidates' agendas was just as strong.

Dalton, Beck, Huckfeldt, and Koetzle's (1998) analysis of the 1992 presidential race further supported the conclusion that campaign influence on media coverage is significant but not more so than media influence on the candidates. The researchers compared political party platforms, campaign-initiated newspaper articles (those based on campaign press releases,

candidate speeches, or other information subsidies that originated with the campaigns), media-initiated articles (those based on campaign trail reports, interviews, political analyses, or otherwise independent of planned campaign communication), and survey data indicating the public's agenda. They found high levels of correlation among all three agendas. The authors proposed that rather than the media agenda setting the public agenda, perhaps "agenda setting is a transaction process in which elites, the media, and the public converge to a common set of salient issues that define a campaign" (p. 463).

McCombs (2004) later reanalyzed Dalton et al's (1998) data and found that, while the correlation between the campaign and media agendas appeared valid, taking out the media agenda as an intervening variable greatly decreased the correlation between the campaign and public agendas. In other words, the campaign seemed to influence the public agenda only to the extent that it influenced the media agenda. Any items on the campaign agenda that failed to make the media agenda did not get passed along to the public. Both on its own merits and in light of McCombs's interpretation, the Dalton et al. study challenges the assumption that agenda setting is entirely a unidirectional phenomenon of media effects on the public. This conclusion reinforces the importance of studying how campaigns influence media agendas. The study also confirms earlier findings that influence between candidates and media tends to be reciprocal.

Evatt and Bell (2001) further studied this agenda setting relationship between candidate press releases and media during the 1994 Texas gubernatorial race. The researchers found that the agenda represented by the press releases of the victorious candidate, Republican challenger George W. Bush, correlated much more strongly with the agendas of the state's major daily newspapers than did the agenda of his opponent, incumbent Governor Ann Richards. Although they did not find a clear agenda setting influence over the course of the campaign, they found that

the newspapers influenced the campaign agendas somewhat more than the campaigns influenced the media agendas. The authors argued that setting candidate agendas may be an important media effect that has largely been ignored.

Tedesco (2001) studied the agenda setting effects of candidate press releases in the 2000 presidential election and found mixed results. The study content analyzed press releases from the major candidates' campaigns during the 2000 presidential primary and compared their agendas to the network news agenda. Although there was high correlation between each candidate's issue agenda and most of the networks' issue agendas, cross-lagged correlations did not indicate any clear causal influence on the network issue agendas. Rather, the influence appeared to be reciprocal. Tedesco argued that the campaigns seemed to engage in the kind of "transactional process" of agenda setting with the media that Dalton et al. (1998) had observed.

Tedesco (2005b) furthered this research program by examining candidate press releases during the 2004 general presidential election. He found high correlations between the media agendas and the agendas of both candidates. While the consistency of the candidate and media agendas prevented clear agenda setting effects from emerging, there was clear evidence that the Bush campaign influenced the media agenda more than the Kerry campaign. Tedesco's study indicates that by 2004 Bush had abandoned his tendency to follow the media agenda that Evatt and Bell (2001) had observed in his first campaign for governor.

Roberts and McCombs (1994) studied the media agenda setting effects of political advertising. Political advertising is an example of controlled media rather than information subsidies; its primary function is to take the candidate's message directly to the public (see Kaid, 2004). However, the researchers showed that ads can influence the news media as well. Their study of the 1990 Texas gubernatorial race showed evidence of political advertising's effects on

the television news agenda and, to a lesser (but still significant) extent, the newspaper agenda.

Boyle (2001) included political advertising in his study of media agenda setting in the 1996 presidential race. He found that the agenda of Republican challenger Bob Dole's ads influenced the agendas of the national newspapers. Interestingly, Boyle found that Democratic incumbent Bill Clinton's ad agenda had negative correlations (some statistically significant) with the various newspaper agendas, indicating that newspapers tended to avoid covering the issues mentioned in Clinton's ads. Independent candidate Ross Perot's ads didn't have a significant effect on the newspaper agenda. The author speculated that these findings were affected by the nature of the race, in which Clinton was a popular incumbent who never seemed to be in danger of losing the election. While Dole tried to focus on "hot button" issues to connect with voters, Clinton's large lead in the polls gave him the luxury of focusing on a wider range of issues.

Overall, research on information subsidies provided by political campaigns to media outlets confirms that this strategy is successful, although the extent of that success varies among different election contexts. Generally, past research indicates that a fairly high amount (at least half) of candidate information subsides will inspire stories in the news media, and that there tends to be a high correlation between candidate and media agendas. This relationship is clearly significant enough to warrant further research. As Kaid (1976) noted, "A political candidate discouraged by the low response his [sic] releases received would do well to compare it to the coverage he [sic] might get without the releases" (p. 137). Studies such as the present one are necessary to further explain why certain campaigns are more successful than others at influencing media agendas.

Intermedia agenda setting. Several studies have shown agenda setting effects between various media outlets, a process known as intermedia agenda setting. Consistent with Crouse's

(1973) observations, many researchers have found that *The New York Times* often exhibits a strong agenda setting role. As with the research on media sources, some of the clearest influences can be seen in studies focusing on a single issue. Mazur (1987) completed a thorough case study of the issue of radon in homes. He reported that dangerous levels of radon were found in a number of homes in the greater Philadelphia area in late 1984 and 1985, and that the incident received significant coverage in local newspapers. However, the incident received no coverage outside of the immediate area until *The New York Times* ran a front page article in May 1985, well after the first cases were discovered. In the subsequent months, the incident and the issue of radon in general received a great deal of attention in the national media, including many major magazines, network television, and other major newspapers (including the *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, which covered the incident as a local story from the beginning, but increased its coverage after *The New York Times* article appeared).

Notably, this study shows that information subsidies and intermedia agenda setting are often interrelated phenomena. Mazur reported that *The New York Times* ran the front page article after a lawyer representing the Environmental Defense Fund contacted the newspaper's environmental reporter. Thus, a two step flow process appears evident; a news source provides an information subsidy to an influential media outlet, which in turn puts the issue on the agendas of other media outlets.

Reese and Danielian (1989) and Danielian and Reese (1989) also found that *The New York Times* tended to lead the way in putting the drug issue on the media agenda, although this was not uniform across the two year period they measured. There was evidence of the *Times* occasionally following the lead of *The Washington Post* or the *Los Angeles Times*, but those newspapers more often increased coverage after the *Times* did. When viewed through the lens of Dearing and

Rogers's (1996) observations about Jesse Jackson's influence on the coverage of the drug issue in the *Times*, it seems that this is another case illustrating the two-step flow of agenda items from a source to a media outlet to other media outlets.

A final relevant finding of the research on the drug issue is that that television networks tended to increase coverage of the issue after the newspapers did. This influence of newspaper agendas on television agendas (rather than the reverse) is one of the most consistent findings in intermedia agenda setting research. On a state level, Roberts and McCombs's (1994) previously cited study indicated that the newspaper agenda influenced the television agenda much more than political advertising influenced either agenda. Cross-culturally, Lopez-Escobar et al. (1998) found the same newspaper to television agenda setting effect in a parliamentary and mayoral election in Spain.

Overall, these intermedia agenda setting studies indicate that the agenda tends to be similar for various media outlets, that print media tend to influence television, and that certain media outlets, especially *The New York Times*, have particularly strong agenda setting power.

The present study adds to this research by examining agenda setting effects between local newspapers during a statewide race.

Candidate Agendas

In addition to studying how campaigns shape the media agenda, this study examines the effects campaigns have on each other through information subsidies. The idea that candidates can influence other candidates' agendas has received remarkably little scholarly attention. Similar to scholarly assumption about media agendas, researchers have tended to treat candidate agendas as if they were formed in a vacuum, with little influence from opposing campaigns. This may be a result of the common perception that campaigns attempt to establish their messages early and

maintain those messages consistently throughout the course of an election. For instance, Shea and Burton's (2001) campaign "how-to" guide urges campaign practitioners to develop a simple campaign theme early in the election process that will work throughout the election. Although the authors encourage engaging in opposition research and taking into account "what the opponent brings to the table" (p. 125), their concern with opposing candidates is primarily limited to initial strategy planning at the beginning of a campaign. Little attention is given to how campaigns can influence an opponent's agenda or how to respond to shifts in that agenda.

Tedesco (2005b) examined influences between the major party campaigns in the 2004 presidential race and found that the two campaigns mostly exerted reciprocal influence on each other. However, there was a clear agenda setting effect between May and June, when John Kerry's agenda seemed to influence George W. Bush's agenda. Although this intercandidate agenda setting effect may not have made a significant difference in the results of the election, it is likely that a similar effect closer to Election Day could have shifted the outcome.

Tedesco (2005a) found stronger evidence of intercandidate agenda setting in the 2004 Democratic presidential primary. Throughout the race, the major candidates influenced each others' agendas as they worked to find the right issues to connect with Democratic voters. Most notably, candidates Wesley Clark, Howard Dean, and John Edwards displayed agenda setting effects on the campaign of eventual nominee John Kerry between November and December of 2003. This followed an unexplained shift in Kerry's agenda during the month of November. This is important because in late 2003 Kerry was not considered a frontrunner for the nomination. However, after his win in the Iowa caucuses in January 2004, Kerry quickly sealed his primary victory. Kerry's shift back to an issue agenda consistent with those of the rest of the candidates during the month before the Iowa caucuses may be one explanation for his sudden reversal of

fortune.

The study of intercandidate agenda setting is still a new research program, but the two studies cited above indicate that it is a fertile area of inquiry for future elections. Considering the evidence that campaign agendas influence media agendas, which in turn influence public agendas, it is worthwhile to investigate how campaign agendas are formed.

Types of Candidate and Media Agendas

Agenda setting research originally concerned itself with issue agendas – those policy issues deemed important by media outlets, members of the public, or policy makers. However, a number of scholars have noted that much campaign discourse focuses on the "horse race" of campaigns rather than on candidates' positions on issues. Scholars (for example, Esser & D'Angelo, 2003; Esser, Reinemann, & Fan, 2001; Kerbel, Apee, & Ross, 2000) have identified three historical stages of campaign news coverage. Prior to 1972, media outlets focused their coverage on campaign issues. Between 1972 and 1988, media shifted their focus to coverage of the strategies candidates used in their campaigns. Beginning with the 1988 presidential campaign, media shifted their focus again, this time to "metacommunication" – coverage of both the campaign strategies and of the media coverage itself. This shift in the emphasis of campaign coverage has been accompanied by a shift in the primary sources of information for political news coverage. In the first stage of election coverage, the statements of candidates served as the primary sources for information about issue positions. However, the shift to metacommunication has correlated with a new focus on "spin doctors," campaign public relations practitioners, as both sources and objects for analysis by journalists.

Since current media coverage of elections is not focused exclusively, or even primarily, on candidates' issue positions, it is necessary for agenda setting scholars to take into account other

types of agendas. Tedesco (2001, 2005a) included strategy and audience agendas in his analyses of

the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections. In the 2000 primary race, Tedesco (2001) studied which

types of audiences the candidates and the media mentioned most frequently. He found that

Republicans George W. Bush and John McCain showed significant correlations with the

networks, while Democrats Al Gore and Bill Bradley did not. He also analyzed which campaign

strategies the candidates and media discussed, and found that only McCain's press releases

correlated significantly with the networks. He theorized that the networks more closely matched

the Republican candidates' audience and strategy agendas because that race was more tightly

contested than the race for the Democratic nomination. This is in contrast to the reciprocal

influence between the issue agendas of the media and the candidates of both parties reported

above.

     In the 2004 presidential general election, Tedesco (2005a) compared Bush and Kerry's

strategy agendas with those of the national news media and found no clear support for the

existence of agenda building effects on the media. Again, this differs from the findings on issue

agenda setting in the same study, as reported above. While one candidate influenced the media's

issue agendas more than the other candidate, no such trend emerged in regard to strategy agenda

setting.

     While it is early in the study of strategy and audience agenda setting to make any

generalizable assessments, it is clear from the previous research reported here that there are

different processes at work in the formation of issue, strategy, and audience agendas. Therefore,

the present study isolates these three agendas and analyzes them separately.

Research Design

This study seeks to identify factors that shape the media and candidate agendas in the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial race. Carsey (2000) pointed out that state-level elections have received significantly less scholarly attention than presidential elections. He called for more research on gubernatorial campaigns for several reasons: the increased responsibilities placed on state governments since the 1980s, the need for a larger sample of campaigns in which to test theories, and the unique characteristics of various gubernatorial campaigns that allow researchers to study a wide range of theories. A few studies have used state government contexts to study media agenda setting (Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Atwater, Fico, & Pizante, 1987). This study furthers this research program by systematically studying agenda setting at both the media and the candidate levels.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

As an extension of the research program developed by Tedesco (2001, 2005a, 2005b), this research project examined the following hypotheses and research questions:

Research Question 1: What issues, strategies, and audiences are discussed by the candidates and newspapers during the campaign?

Hypothesis 1: Candidates will exhibit consistent issue, strategy, and audience agendas throughout the election.

Hypothesis 2: Newspapers will exhibit consistent issue, strategy, and audience agendas throughout the hot phase of the election.

Hypothesis 3: Candidate and newspaper agendas will exert mutual influences on each other.

Research Question 2: Is there evidence that either candidate exerts an influence on the

issue, strategy, or audience agenda of the other candidate?

Research Question 3: Is there evidence that any newspaper exerts an influence on the

issue, strategy, or audience agenda of any other newspaper?

Methods

Sample. To assess the candidate agendas, the author collected every press release issued by Kaine and Kilgore's campaigns from January 1, 2005 through Election Day, November 8, 2005. While Potts's campaign received significant media attention, his campaign made few press releases available on his website, and attempts to get more press releases from the campaign were unsuccessful. Thus, Potts's agenda is not included in this analysis. These press releases were downloaded from the candidate's websites. Previous researchers (Tedesco, 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Miller, Andsager, & Reichert, 1998) have used press releases posted on candidate websites as representations of candidate agendas.

Kaine posted 122 press releases on his website over the course of 2005. This included nine in January, three in February, 14 in March, six in April, 12 in May, 12 in June, eight in July, 14 in August, 21 in September, 16 in October, and seven in November. Kilgore posted 154 press releases on his website. This included seven in January, 14 in February, nine in March, 17 in April, 16 in May, 27 in June, 10 in July, 20 in August, 14 in September, 18 in October, and two in November.

To assess the media agenda, the author collected all articles mentioning any of the three candidates in *The Washington Post*, *Richmond Times Dispatch*, *The Virginia-Pilot* (Norfolk), and *The Roanoke Times* during the hot phase of the campaign. These are the newspapers in Virginia that are archived in the LexisNexis database, plus the *Post*, located in Washington, DC, which frequently covers Virginia politics. Past research on media coverage of Virginia elections has

limited its scope to one (Wilson, 1991; Carsey, 2000) or two (Rozell, 1991) newspapers, apparently under the assumption that *The Washington Post* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* represent the press for the entire state. The addition of two other newspapers in different parts of the state allowed for the testing of this assumption.

The articles from the newspapers were acquired by searching for the terms "Kaine," "Kilgore," and "Potts" in the LexisNexis database, with the search limited to those four newspapers and the dates September 1, 2005 through November 8, 2005. The author manually verified that each article included in this study actually referenced the campaign. Articles that did not refer to the campaign were eliminated. This included articles containing references to another person with the same last name as one of the candidates and those that mentioned the candidates in their previous professional positions without referencing their candidacies (such as obituaries or wedding announcements for former employees of the candidates). However, all articles were retained for analysis if they referred to the campaign, even if the campaign was not the primary focus of the story. For example, articles that primarily focused on the elections for Virginia's Lieutenant Governor or Attorney General but also referenced the gubernatorial race were included. Letters to the editor were excluded but editorials and opinion columns were included since these represent part of the media agenda along with news stories. Articles from all editions of the four newspapers were included, but if an article appeared in more than one edition it was only analyzed once.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* published 267 articles about the gubernatorial race during the hot phase of the campaign. This included 79 in September, 126 in October, and 62 in November. *The Washington Post* published 203 articles about the race, with 53 in September, 107 in October, and 43 in November. *The Roanoke Times* published 128 articles, with 37 in September,

69 in October, and 23 in November. *The Virginian-Pilot* published 95 articles about the race, with 28 in September, with 43 in October, and 24 in November.

Operalization of variables. The researcher determined candidate and media agendas via the VBPro content analysis software. Previous studies (Tedesco, 2001, 2002, 2005a, 2005b; Andsager & Powers, 2001) have shown the utility of the VBPro software for extracting issue agendas from large numbers of texts. The software searches for and groups terms predetermined by the user. In agenda setting studies, researchers create lists of categories and identify terms that would represent references to those categories. For the present study, the author created three lists comprising issue, strategy, and audience agenda lists. The categories were selected based on past agenda setting studies and on preliminary observation of the gubernatorial campaign's discourse. Additionally, VBPro was used to create a list of all words appearing in the press releases and news articles. The author reviewed those terms that appeared more than ten times in order to identify additional categories or search terms deemed important to include.. Search terms were chosen carefully to account for all possible variations of terms that could appear and to avoid terms that could appear in contexts in which they did not actually refer to the desired issue, strategy, or audience.

The list below shows operalization for each variable through the use of key words. The following issues (with specific search terms for each in parenthesis) were used to identify the candidate and media issue agendas:

Abortion (abortion, abortions, pro-choice, pro-life); Agriculture (agriculture, agricultural, farm, farms, farmer, farmer's, farmers, farmland); Budget (budget, budgets, deficit, fiscal, fiscally, surplus); Campaign Finance (campaign finance, finance reform, campaign contribution, campaign contributions, campaign loopholes, soft money, election

contributions, spending limits, third party contributions, third party contribution, third-party contributions, third-party contribution, campaign limits, third parties, Stand by Your Ad); Crime (crime, crimes, violence, offenders, offender, felony, felonies, felon, felons, violence, violent, murder, murders, murderer, murderers, criminal, criminals, victim, victims, police, policeman, policemen, law enforcement, prison, prisons, parole); Death penalty (death penalty, execution, executions, capital punishment); Disaster Preparedness (hurricane, hurricanes, FEMA, natural disaster, natural disasters); Drugs (drugs, drug, meth, methamphetamine, pseudoephedrine); Economy (economically, economics, economic, economy, economy's, economies, economist, economists, job, jobs, unemployment, employment); Education (educate, education, school, school's, schools, schoolbooks, schoolchildren, schoolhouse, schooling, teacher, teachers, teacher's, voucher, vouchers, college, colleges, college's, university, university's, universities); Energy (oil, petroleum, energy, gas, gasoline); Environment (environment, environmental, environmentalist, environmentally, pollution, pollutant, pollutants, nature, natural resources, trash); Equal Opportunity (equal opportunity, affirmative action); Family/Moral Values (family, parent, parents, parent's, parental, families, family's, values, morals, morality, moral, God, religion, religious, character, honesty); Foreign Policy/Trade (foreign trade, trade, foreign policy, international policy, international trade, foreign affairs, international affairs, foreign relations, international relations); Gambling (lottery, gambling); Gay Rights (gay adoption, civil unions, domestic partnerships, gay rights, gay marriage, homosexual couples); Guns (gun, guns, handgun, handguns, firearms, NRA, sportsman, sportsmen, rifle, rifles, hunting, hunter, hunters); Health Care (health, healthcare, medical, medicine, patient, patients, patient's, Medicare); Immigration

(immigrant, immigrants, immigration, protectionism, protectionist, foreign workers, migrant workers, alien, aliens, day laborer, day laborers); Judicial Issues (court, courts, lawsuit, lawsuits, tort, torts, eminent domain, constitutional, unconstitutional, Sandra Day O'Connor, Justice O'Connor, John Roberts, Justice Roberts Harriet Miers, Samuel Alito, William Rehnquist, Justice Rehnquist); Military (military, defense, army, navy, air force, marine, marines, missile, missiles, weapons, armed forces, Iraq, Afghanistan); Prescription Drugs (prescription drug, prescription drugs, prescriptions, pharmaceutical, pharmaceuticals, pharmacy); Racism (racial, racism, racist, racists, profiling, race); Social Security (social security); Tax (flat tax, mortgage, mortgages, overtaxed, tax, taxable, taxation, taxed, taxer, taxes, taxing, taxpayer, taxpayers, taxpayer's); Terrorism (terror, terrorist, terrorists, terrorism, September 11, Sept. 11, 9/11); Tobacco (tobacco, smoking, cigarette, cigarettes, smoker, smokers); Tourism (tourism, tourist, tourists); Transportation (transportation, interstate, I-66, I-95, I-81, I-85, I-64, rail, airport, mass transit, highway, highways, tolls, VDOT, truck, trucks, tractor trailer, tractor trailers, traffic); Welfare (Medicaid, welfare, poverty).

The following campaign strategies (with relevant search terms in parenthesis) were used to determine the candidate and media strategy agendas:

Ads (ad, ads, advertisement, advertisements, advertising, television, TV, campaign commercials, political spot, political spots, campaign spot, campaign spots, political commercials); Campaign Contributions (donation, donations, contribution, contributions, contributed, fundraising, fundraiser, fundraisers, PAC, PACs, PAC's); Cynicism (cynicism, cynical, disenfranchised, disenfranchisement, disengaged, alienated, detached, disconnect); Debate (debate, debates, joint appearance, joint appearances); Endorsements

(endorse, endorsed, endorsement, endorsements, endorsers, endorses, endorsing);

Experience (experience, experienced, experiences, leader, leadership); George Allen

(George Allen, Senator Allen, Sen. Allen); Hitler[1] (Hitler, Nazi); Internet (Internet,

website, websites, homepage, homepages, weblog, weblogs, blog, blogs, blogger,

bloggers); John Warner (John Warner, Senator Warner, Sen. Warner); Mark Warner (Mark

Warner, Mark R. Warner, Governor Warner, Gov. Warner); National Figures (George W.

Bush, Dick Cheney, John Kerry); News Media (journalist, journalists, media, news, radio,

reporter, reporters); Polls (poll, polling, polls); Speeches and Appearances (speech,

speeches, rally, rallies, campaign stop, campaign stops, campaign trail, bus tour, campaign

tour); Voting (votes, voting, vote)

It is virtually impossible to identify a campaign message's intended audience using

computer-based content analysis. However, it is possible to identify which potential audiences

candidates and media mentioned, which offers insight into which audiences they intended to

address. The following audiences (with relevant search terms in parenthesis) were used to

determine the candidate and media audience agendas:

Business (business, corporation, corporation's, corporations, businessmen, businessman);

Children (children, children's, child, child's, youth); Conservatives (conservative,

conservatives, conservativism); Democrats (Democrat, Democrats, Democratic); Disabled

(disability, disabled, ADA, handicap, handicapped); Elderly (elderly, seniors, senior

citizens); Homosexuals (homosexual, homosexuality, homosexuals, gay, gays, lesbian,

lesbians); Labor (labor, labor union, unions, Right to Work); Independents (Independent,

Independents); Liberals (liberal, liberals, liberalism); Minorities (minorities, minority,

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[1] Kilgore ran an ad attacking Kaine for questioning whether or not Adolph Hitler deserved the death penalty, hence the unusual interest in references to Hitler in this campaign.

African American, African Americans, African-American, African-Americans, Hispanic, Hispanics, black, Native American, Indian); Moderates (moderate, moderates); Religion (religion, religions, religious, religiously, Christian, Christians, Catholic, Catholics, evangelical, evangelicals, Methodist, Methodists, Jew, Jews, Jewish, God, God's); Republicans (Republican, Republicans); Veterans (veteran, veterans, veteran's); Women (women, women's); Youth (youth, young, next generation)

The VBPro software was set up to calculate the number of times references to each issue, strategy, or audience appeared in the press releases and news articles. Calculating the total number of times each category is mentioned is preferable to using a binary coding scheme, which would only count the number of press releases and articles that mention each category at least once. Calculating frequencies accounts for how salient an issue, strategy, or audience is within a piece of campaign discourse. If a press release or article focuses on one issue for most of its length, then briefly mentions another issue, these differences in salience are more accurately reflected by frequency counts. A binary approach would simply count each issue as present, thereby treating the two issues as equally salient.

It is worth noting that there is some overlap between search terms used to determine the three types of agendas. This is consistent with the fact that campaign discourse rarely focuses on only issues, strategies, or audiences. For example, a press release announcing a candidate's endorsement by a teacher's union would likely register mentions of the issue of education, the strategy of endorsements, and the audiences of labor, children, and youth. This is completely satisfactory, as such a press release would simultaneously indicate all of these interests on the part of the candidate.

Data analysis. In order to test the hypotheses and answer the research questions, Pearson

product moment correlations were calculated between the agendas of each candidate and news outlet for each time period during the election. Agenda setting researchers differ on the optimum time lag for studying agenda setting effects. Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005) argue that the optimal time lag in the Internet age could be as short as days or even hours, but Winter and Eyal's (1981) standard of four to six weeks is still used by most researchers. While it is likely that candidates and news media influence each other in the short term, these relationship raise conceptual issues dealing with the definition of *agenda*. The use of the word *agenda* implies that a study examines a complete list of issues, strategies, or audiences mentioned by a source or media outlet over a period of time. True agenda setting would occur when the agenda of one source of campaign discourse influences the entire agenda of another over the course of an observable time lag. Cases in which one press release spurs one news story the next day do not represent agenda setting if that issue is not elevated on the newspaper's overall agenda for a significant period of time after the press release.

Consistent with the generally accepted standard and this conception of agenda setting, this study determined correlations using monthly lags. All issue, strategy, and audience mentions were calculated for the complete months of January through October. Since the election occurred November 8, press releases and news stories about the campaign were only collected for the first eight days of that month. However, since the daily volume of press releases and articles increased during that time, and because it is important to understand how agendas shifted during the final days of the campaign, those eight days of November were treated as a separate month.

The results of the computer-based content analysis answered Research Question One, and correlations between the agendas for each candidate and news outlet from month to month tested the first two hypotheses. However, in order to test Hypothesis Three and answer the second and

third research questions, it was necessary to compare cross-lagged correlations between consecutive months.

Cross-lagged correlations. Rozelle and Campbell (1969) proposed a method for using cross-lagged correlations to evaluate possible causality between two variables over time. Six correlations are calculated: between Variable One at Time One and Variable One at Time Two (PX1X2), between Variable Two at Time One and Variable Two at Time Two (PY1Y2), between Variable One at Time One and Variable Two at Time One (PX1Y1), between Variable One at Time Two and Variable Two at Time Two (PX2Y2), between Variable One at Time One and Variable Two at Time Two (PX1Y2), and between Variable Two at Time One and Variable One at Time Two (PY1X2). Typically, these correlations are mapped on a figure similar to Figure 1.

The relationships that most interests scholars are PY1X2 and PX1Y2, which indicated the level of influence each variable had on the other over time. However, just because one or both of these values are positive and statistically significant does not necessarily indicate significant influence. Nor would one of those values being greater than the other necessarily indicate a unidirectional influence. Both variables were likely affected by other influences not taken into account. Therefore, Rozelle and Campbell (1969) proposed a scheme in which the other four correlations are used to calculate a baseline value that represents the cross-lagged correlation that would indicate no influence. The formula for this calculation, as adapted by agenda setting scholars (Atwood, 1980; Evatt and Bell, 2001; Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Tedesco, 2001, 2005a, 2005b) is as follows:

$$[(PX1Y1 + PX2Y2)/2]\{[(PX1X2)^2 + (PY1Y2)^2]/2\}^{1/2}$$

Figure 1: *Cross-Lagged Correlations*

Time1   Time 2

Variable 1   PX1X2   Variable 1

                PY1X2

PX1Y1   PX1Y2   PX2Y2   Rozelle-Campbell
                                                        Baseline Calculation

Variable 2   PY1Y2   Variable 2
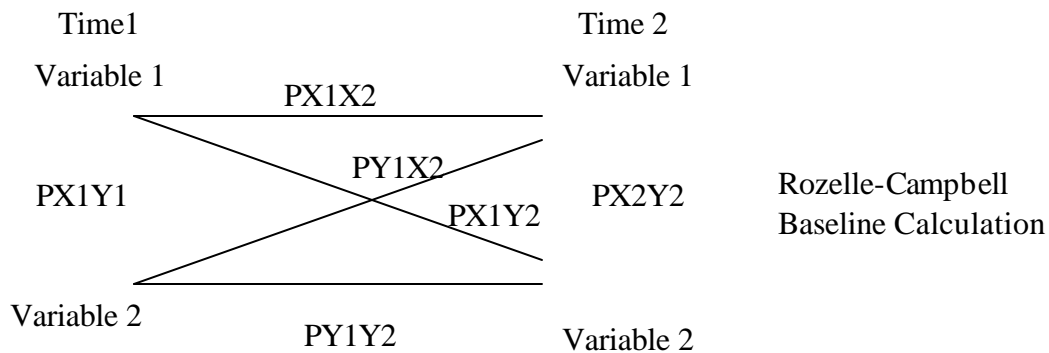
The cross-lagged correlations are then evaluated relative to this baseline calculation. If PX1Y2 and PY1X2 are both above the baseline, this indicates that the two variables influenced each other reciprocally. If one of those two values is above the baseline while the other is not, there is evidence that one variable influenced the other but the reverse was not the case. For instance, if PX1Y2 is above the baseline and PY1X2 is not, then Variable One had an influence on Variable Two, while Variable Two did not have a meaningful influence on Variable One. However, if, in this hypothetical situation, PY1Y2 is above the baseline, then Variable Two has remained too consistent over the time lag under analysis for Variable One's influence to have caused a significant shift in Variable Two. If, on the other hand, PX1Y2 is above the baseline, and both PY1X2 and PY1Y2 are below the baseline, then there is clear evidence that Variable One's influence *caused* a shift in Variable Two. In agenda setting studies, this is seen as evidence that an agenda setting effect has occurred.

There are two advantages to using cross-lagged correlations with the Rozelle-Campbell baseline calculation. First, the researcher can compare both cross-lagged correlations simultaneously in order to assess in which direction, if any, agenda setting influences are evident. This minimizes the risk that a researcher's predetermined expectation of finding one type of

agenda setting relationship will prevent evidence of an agenda setting relationship that runs

counter to expectations. Second, the baseline calculation provides a standard by which to judge the

cross-lagged correlations. Since this baseline is determined by the within-time and within-variable

correlations, it is unique to each variable and each time period under analysis. Therefore, it

provides a control for any confounding factors that may be present, such as outside influences on

agendas.

Results

This study content analyzed candidate press releases and newspaper articles in an effort to understand how these communicative texts influenced each other during the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial campaign. This section will summarize the findings relevant to each Hypothesis and Research Question and offer interpretations of those findings.

Research Question One (RQ1)

RQ1 asked which issues, strategies, and audiences occupied the agendas of the candidates and newspapers during the gubernatorial race. In order to answer this research question, the VBPro content analysis software was used to compile monthly listings of the issues, strategies, and audiences mentioned by the two candidates and the four newspapers. The number of times each issue, strategy, and audience was mentioned each month appears in Tables 1 through 9. For reference, rankings for the top five categories for each month are listed in parentheses.

Kaine's issue agenda. As seen in Table 1, the number of issue mentions present in Kaine's press releases varied from a low of 44 in April to a high of 594 in September. The issues of education and taxes were consistently high on Kaine's agenda throughout the campaign. This emphasis is not surprising, as setting tax rates and administering public education are two of the major tasks state governments undertake. In this election, it was particularly appropriate that these two issues topped the candidate agendas, since the state had just passed a tax increase in response to a budget deficit that threatened funding for education, especially at the university level (Miller, 2005).

Other issues that appeared consistently on Kaine's agenda included the economy, budget, health care, and transportation. Several issues had fairly high frequency mentions during four or fewer months while showing few mentions in other months. These were crime, death penalty,

guns, drugs, prescription drugs, abortion, environment, tobacco, disaster preparedness, judicial issues, and gambling. Kaine's emphasis on the issue of crime is particularly interesting. Crime was the most mentioned issue in Kaine's press releases during the month of January and then was rarely mentioned by the campaign for the rest of the year. This is because early on the Kaine campaign issued several press releases attacking Kilgore for being "ineffective and weak" on crime, particularly gang violence and methamphetamine use. The information subsidies provided by Kaine's press releases were clear efforts to undermine Kilgore's record on fighting crime before Kilgore could use his record to establish himself as the "tough on crime" candidate. All other issues included in this analysis showed minimal mentions in Kaine's press releases. The only two issues that were not mentioned at all by the Kaine campaign were foreign policy and gay rights.

   Kilgore's issue agenda. Table 2 shows issue frequencies in Kilgore's press releases. Kilgore's total issue mentions ranged from 36 in the shortened month of November to 550 in August. As with Kaine, education and taxes were consistently high on Kilgore's agenda. Additionally, crime was mentioned more consistently by the Kilgore campaign than by the Kaine campaign. This emphasis indicates a conscious effort on Kilgore's part to emphasize his crime fighting background as a prosecutor, Secretary of Public Safety, and Attorney General, while attacking Kaine's record of defending alleged criminals in court.

   The economy, budget, transportation, judicial issues, and racism consistently received a moderate amount of attention from Kilgore. The death penalty, guns, drugs, abortion, environment, health care, and gambling all showed fairly high numbers of mentions in one or two months during the campaign, with low numbers in the other months. Kilgore's attention to the death penalty is particularly interesting. Of the issues analyzed, only Social Security was never

mentioned in Kilgore's press releases.

Newspaper issue agendas. As shown in Table 3, education, taxes, and transportation were consistently important issues on the agendas of all four newspapers included in this analysis. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* also focused consistently on the military, economy, budget, crime, death penalty, guns, abortion, and judicial issues in its coverage of the election. *The Roanoke Times* focused consistently on crime, abortion, judicial issues, and racism. *The Virginian-Pilot* focused consistently on the economy and racism, while *The Washington Post* consistently mentioned the military, economy, budget, crime, death penalty, guns, abortion, health care, and judicial issues. Every issue included in this analysis was mentioned by all four newspapers except for equal opportunity, which was mentioned only by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. The newspapers' issue agendas showed fewer spikes in the number of mentions of particular issues, with the only obvious exception being the death penalty. All four newspapers mentioned the death penalty many more times in the month of October, when Kilgore's death penalty ads were on television, than they did in September or November.

Kaine's strategy agenda. Table 4 shows the number of times various strategic considerations were mentioned in Kaine's press releases. The total number of Kaine's strategy mentions varied from 22 in July to 140 in October. The two strategies mentioned most consistently by the Kaine campaign were references to incumbent Governor Mark Warner and references to the candidates' experience. The frequent references to Warner are not surprising, since a cornerstone of Kaine's campaign was establishing himself as the logical heir to Warner's success. The most mentions of any one strategy in one particular month were the 51 mentions of endorsements in October. Other strategies that got a high number of mentions in at least one month included ads, debates, news media, voting, and campaign contributions. Every strategy included in this analysis

was mentioned at least once in Kaine's press releases.

Kilgore's strategy agenda. Kilgore's strategy mentions are shown in Table 5. The number of strategy mentions in Kilgore's press releases ranged from 21 in the shortened month of October to 162 in October. Experience was consistently and frequently mentioned strategy for the Kilgore campaign. The 40 mentions of ads in October represented the single highest number of mentions for one strategy in one month. However, Kaine only mentioned advertising once in his press releases during this time. Post hoc analysis of Kilgore's press releases during this time indicates that most of the mentions of advertising during October were accusations against Kaine for using negative advertising. Evidently, Kilgore was trying to set the strategy agenda around the use of advertising in order to influence how the media covered the campaign's ads.

Debates, endorsements, news media, voting, and campaign contributions were mentioned a significant number of times in at least one month of the campaign. Every strategy analyzed here appeared at least once in Kilgore's press releases.

Newspaper strategy agendas. Table 6 shows the strategies the four newspapers mentioned in their coverage of the election. A number of strategies appeared with consistently high frequencies on the newspapers' agendas, including ads, experience, Mark Warner, polls, and campaign contributions. Ads were a particularly common focus in October, when the candidates were releasing new television ads on a regular basis. Debates were a popular topic in September, when the only statewide televised debate occurred, and continued being salient into October, but became less so in the final days of the campaign. Mentions of endorsements also showed a spike in October. This emphasis on endorsements is consistent with the earlier observation that most individuals and groups announced their endorsements in October.

Kaine's audience agenda. Table 7 shows the frequencies with which various audiences

were mentioned in Kaine's press releases. Total audience mentions range from one in April to 198 in October. Quite a bit of fluctuation is evident. Although every audience included in this analysis except gays and labor was mentioned at least once by the Kaine campaign, no audience was mentioned every month during the election except Democrats. Two audiences showed a high frequency of mention on two specific months: the disabled in June and veterans in October. This data indicates that Kaine did not consistently focus on specific audiences, besides members of his own party, but focused on a variety of different audiences based on the subjects of his press releases. This does not mean that Kaine's campaign communication was not directed at specific audiences, only that he did not mention specific audiences consistently in his press releases.

Kilgore's audience agenda. Table 8 shows a similar fluctuation in Kilgore's audience agenda. The total number of audience mentions ranges from five in the shortened month of November to 131 in June. Every audience except moderates was mentioned at least once by the Kilgore campaign. In a mirror image of the Kaine campaign, Republicans were the only audience mentioned every month. There was one extreme spike evident: the number of mentions of veterans in September. Like Kaine, Kilgore referred to a number of different audiences based on the specific subjects covered in his press releases, but did not refer to any audiences consistently except for members of his own party.

Newspaper audience agendas. Among the media, as shown in Table 9, the most frequently mentioned audience was Republicans, followed closely by Democrats. Independents also ranked consistently high on the audience agendas of all four newspapers. Quite a bit of fluctuation is evident in the mentions of the other audience groups. Every audience analyzed was mentioned at least once by each newspaper, except the disabled who were not mentioned by *The Virginian-Pilot*. It is natural that newspapers would refer consistently to party affiliations, as

journalistic norms dictate that party affiliations are included with all references to candidates. It is more interesting that the newspapers failed to consistently place any other audiences high on their audience agendas, indicating that fluctuations in the narrative of the race influence these agendas more than journalistic norms do.

Summary. The data in Tables 1 through 9 indicate that strategic considerations influenced candidates' agendas throughout the campaign. Several times during the campaign, there is evidence that the candidates tried to increase the salience of particular issues or strategy considerations that would be favorable to their campaigns. However, both candidates also consistently focused on taxes and education, two issues that are necessarily part of any well run gubernatorial campaign. Furthermore, both candidates focused on experience, another popular theme in any election, especially one involving two statewide office-holders. The candidates referenced a variety of different audiences, indicating a desire to frame their campaign communications in ways that would appeal to the various voting blocs of the Commonwealth. Likewise, newspapers consistently focused on a handful of issues (particularly taxes, education, and transportation) and strategies (ads, experience, Mark Warner, polls, and campaign contributions) that would be considered important in most gubernatorial campaigns. The newspapers also referenced a wide variety of audiences, indicating an attempt to address the campaign's implications for all of their readers.

The spikes in the mentions of veterans by Kilgore in September and Kaine in October are worth examining because they affect analysis of audience agendas throughout the rest of this study. In Kilgore's case, all mentions of veterans in September came from one press release announcing the formation of a "Veterans for Kilgore" group. In Kaine's case, they came from three press releases, one announcing the formation of "Veterans for Kaine," one announcing an

endorsement by the national veteran's newsletter *Veterans' Vision*, and one that quoted a newspaper endorsement that referenced the *Veterans' Vision* endorsement. This observation shows that for both candidates the total audience mentions were so low that one or two press releases focusing on a particular audience could drastically shift the overall audience agenda.

Hypothesis One (H1)

H1 predicted that the candidates would maintain consistent agendas throughout the campaign. The correlations between each candidate's agendas throughout the campaign were calculated in order to test this hypothesis. The assessment of correlation strength is based on the following categories found in Williams (1986):

$<.20$ = slight; almost negligible relationship

.20 to .40 = low correlation; definite but small relationship

.40 to .70 = moderate correlation; substantial relationship

.70 to .90 = high correlation; marked relationship

$>.90$ = very high correlation; very dependable relationship.

This section will provide a descriptive assessment of the correlations between the candidates' agendas over the course of the campaign and provide a summary of overall trends.

Candidate issue agenda correlations. Tables 10 and 11 show limited support for H1 in regards to the candidate's issue agendas. Neither candidate shows statistically significant correlations with his own agenda throughout the entire campaign. Kaine's issue agenda in January shows no significant correlation with his agendas in June, August, September, October, or November. Kilgore's January issue agenda shows no significant correlation with his issue agendas in September, October, or November. However, starting with the candidate's February issue agendas, all subsequent months show statistically significant correlations. More importantly, both

candidates show high or very high correlations between their issue agendas from each month to the next. Kaine's sequential month correlations range from a high .70 between January and February to an extremely high .99 between August and September and again between September and October. In fact, all of Kaine's issue correlations are very high starting with the month of April. Kilgore's sequential month correlations range from a high .84 between March and April to an extremely high .99 for every single monthly time lag starting with the April to May correlation. So, while the correlations are not consistently high when comparing January and November, the candidate's issue agendas appear to have changed incrementally without dramatic shifts within any two-month period.

This statistical finding is consistent with the above observation that the candidates tended to focus on a handful of issues throughout the campaign. Taxes and education were consistently salient issues for both candidates, and crime was a consistent issue for Kilgore.

Candidate strategy agenda correlations. Tables 12 and 13 show less support for H1 in regards to candidate strategy agendas. The candidates' strategy agendas do not show strong correlations throughout the campaign. In fact, many of the correlations between sequential months are not statistically significant. Of the 10 two-month lag periods under analysis, Kaine's strategy agendas showed statistically insignificant correlations four times, with the other six periods showing moderate correlations. Kilgore's correlations were also insignificant four times with the other six showing moderate correlations. While it is important to note that the candidates' strategy agendas were significant over certain periods of the campaign, it is fair to say that these results do not support the hypothesis that the candidate strategy agendas would be consistent throughout the campaign. As noted above, certain strategies, such as advertising and endorsements, became more important at different points in the race. The correlations presented here indicate that these

fluctuations were sufficient to shift the overall candidate strategy agendas.

Candidate audience agenda correlations. Likewise, Tables 14 and 15 show little support for H1 in regards to candidate audience agendas. Kaine's audience agenda showed a statistically significant correlation for only three of the 10 lag-periods of the campaign. The correlations were moderate for these three periods. Kilgore's audience agenda appears to have been more consistent, with six lag-periods showing significant correlations. Of these six, three can be characterized as moderate correlations, two as high correlations, and one (April to May) as a very high correlation. As with the candidates' strategy agendas, it appears that the fluctuations in mentions of individual audiences caused shifts in the candidates' overall audience agendas.

Summary. The correlations presented here confirm the initial observations made in answering RQ1, that the candidates presented fairly consistent issue agendas but generally did not present consistent strategy or audience agendas. H1 is mostly supported in regards to issue agendas. Even though there were shifts in the candidates' issue agendas over the course of the entire campaign, these shifts occurred incrementally, with most of the correlations between consecutive months being very high. However, H1 is not supported in regards to strategy and audience agendas. Although both candidates show significant correlations between their strategy and audience agendas during certain months during the campaign, the fact that these relationships were not consistent means that it is not possible to say that these agendas were consistent throughout the campaign. This data indicates that the candidates set their issue agendas early and did not deviate from them, but that they were more willing to focus on different strategies and audiences based on developments in the race over time.

Hypothesis Two (H2)

H2 predicted that the four newspapers would maintain consistent agendas during the hot

phase of the gubernatorial campaign (September 1 through Election Day, November 8).

Correlations between the agendas for each month were calculated to test this hypothesis. Tables

16, 17, and 18 show the issue, strategy, and audience agenda correlations for the four newspapers

analyzed over the course of the hot phase. This section will offer a descriptive assessment of the

correlations between the newspapers' agendas over the course of the campaign's hot phase and

provide a summary of overall trends.

Newspaper issue agenda correlations. The correlations reported in Table 16 show clear

support for H2 in regards to the newspapers' issue agendas. Between September and October, the

issue agendas of *The Roanoke Times* and *The Virginian-Pilot* show high correlations, while the

agendas of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Washington Post* show very high correlations.

Between October and November, the correlations are very high for all four newspapers. This

statistical analysis indicates that the consistent focus on taxes, education, and transportation by the

newspapers translated into consistent overall issue agendas.

Newspaper strategy agenda correlations. The data also lends limited support to H2 in

regards to the media's strategy agendas. As shown in Table 17, between September and October,

the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* showed a very high correlation in its strategy agenda, while the

other three newspapers showed high correlations. However, between October and November,

there is a clear decrease in three of the newspapers' strategy agenda correlations. *The Washington

Post* still shows a high correlation during this period (slightly higher than in the previous period),

but the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Roanoke Times* show only moderate correlations.

The Virginian-Pilot shows no statistically significant correlation between October and

November. Table 6 indicates that the newspaper reduced its mentions of ads from 126 in October

to 13 in November. This drop largely accounts for the insignificance of the newspaper's agenda

correlation during this time period.

The overall support lent to H2 in regards to strategy agendas indicates that the spikes and fluctuations observed in the analysis of newspaper strategy agendas for RQ1 were not great enough to cause significant changes in the newspapers' overall strategy agendas. With the one exception of *The Virginian-Pilot's* later coverage, the newspapers maintained their strategy agendas much more consistently than the candidates did.

Newspaper audience agenda correlations. Table 18 shows strong support for Hypothesis Two in regards to audience agendas. The correlations between audience agendas in each month are very high for all four newspapers. Thus, there is little doubt that the four newspapers maintained extremely consistent audience agendas throughout the final months of the campaign. As with the strategy agendas, this finding is in direct contrast with the finding for the candidates' audience agendas.

Summary. The correlations presented here lend strong support to H2. Unlike the candidates, the newspapers generally maintained consistent issue, strategy, and audience agendas throughout the hot phase of the campaign. The one exception, the correlations between the strategy agendas of three newspapers between October and November, is likely due to the fact that the November news stories were published in the last days of the campaign, when the focus on strategies would necessarily shift. It is important to note that only newspaper articles from the hot phase of the campaign were included in this analysis. If the analysis included articles from the entire year, more insignificant correlations might be evident, weakening the support for H2. However, there is clearly more support for H2 than for H1, since even within the hot phase of the campaign most of the correlations are insignificant for the candidates' strategy and audience agendas, while most of the correlations are high or very high for the newspapers agendas during

that time.

Hypothesis Three (H3)

H3 predicted that the candidates' agendas and the newspapers' agendas would exhibit mutual influence on each other. Monthly cross-lagged correlations were calculated in order to test this hypothesis. Tables 19 through 27 show the correlations between the candidate and newspaper agendas during the hot phase of the campaign. Figures 2 through 25 show the cross-lagged correlations between candidate agendas and newspaper agendas for the months of September, October, and November. This section will identify those time periods in which there are significant relationships between candidate and media agendas and offer analysis of why those relationships exist. Following the description of each relationship, a summary of overall trends will be provided.

Relationships between candidate and media issue agendas. In regards to issue agendas, there are several significant relationships. As seen in Figures 2 and 5, Kaine's issue agendas show very high correlations with those of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Washington Post*, but in both cases all of the relationships are equal to or above the baseline calculation, indicating mutual influence. The same is true of Kaine's relationship with *The Roanoke Times* (Figure 3) between October and November. However, the correlation between Kaine's September agenda and *The Roanoke Times'* October agenda exceeds the baseline calculation, while the correlation between *The Roanoke Times'* September agenda and Kaine's October agenda does not. Since the correlation between *The Roanoke Times'* September and October agendas exceeds the baseline, this relationship cannot be defined as a clear case of agenda setting. However, it does indicate that the Kaine campaign influenced *The Roanoke Times'* issue agenda during this time period. Tables 1 and 3 indicate that this is mostly due to a spike in Kaine's mentions of crime in September followed by a spike in *The Roanoke Times'* mentions of crime in October.

Likewise, Figure 4 shows that for both time lags Kaine's issue agenda had a correlation that exceeded the baselines with *The Virginian-Pilot's* issue agenda for the subsequent month, while the reverse correlations do not exceed the baselines. Table 3 indicates that this relationship is also due to an increase in *The Virginian-Pilot's* mentions of crime in October. Then, between October and November Kaine's mentions of education drops significantly, while *The Virginian-Pilot's* mentions of that issue remain fairly constant, accounting for the Kaine influence evident during that time period. Again, *The Virginian-Pilot's* correlations with its own agendas exceed the baselines, so this is only evidence of Kaine's influence, not a true case of agenda setting.

Kilgore had a similar relationship with the press as Kaine had in regards to issue agendas during the hot phase of the campaign. Figures 6, 7, and 9 show that the Republican's issue agendas exhibited reciprocal influence with those of *The Washington Post* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* for both time periods and with *The Roanoke Times* between October and November. As with Kaine, Kilgore's issue agenda appears to have influenced the issue agenda of *The Roanoke Times* between September and October and the issue agenda of *The Virginian-Pilot* (Figure 8) during both times lags analyzed here. Between September and October, these relationships appear to be the result of a spike in Kilgore's mentions of taxes in September that is followed by slight increases of tax mentions in all three newspapers in October. Between October and November, Kilgore's mentions of education drop to zero, while *The Virginian-Pilot's* mentions of that issue remain fairly constant, accounting for that influence. Again, the newspapers all maintained correlations with their own agendas that exceeded their respective baselines, so Kilgore's influence can only accurately be characterized as influence, not agenda setting.

Relationships between candidate and media strategy agendas. In regards to strategies,

there is little evident connection between the candidates' strategy agendas and those of Virginia newspapers. Kaine's strategy agenda shows no statistically significant correlations with those of *The Roanoke Times* or *The Virginian-Pilot* (Figures 11 and 12), either across months or within months. Kaine's strategy agenda does show moderate correlations with those of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Washington Post* (Figures 10 and 13) during the month of November. However, in both cases the cross-lagged correlations from October to November are statistically insignificant, while Kaine and the two newspapers each show moderate or high correlations with their own agendas in the same time period. It appears that Kaine's strategy agenda converged with those of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Washington Post* without the campaign or the newspapers really exerting influence on each other. In the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* case, this convergence appears to be the result of an increased emphasis on voting that corresponded with an increased emphasis on voting by the Kaine campaign as Election Day approached. For *The Washington Post*, this convergence appears to be the result of a decrease in the mentions of strategies such as debates, endorsements, and experience by both the Kaine campaign and the newspaper.

As seen in Figures 14 through 17, Kilgore's strategy agenda shows a somewhat greater correlation with the strategy agendas of the newspapers. The correlation between the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* September agenda and Kilgore's October agenda is high, while the correlation between Kilgore's September agenda and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* October agenda is statistically insignificant (Figure 14). The same is true of Kilgore's relationship with *The Virginian-Pilot* and *The Washington Post* during the same time period (Figures 16 and 17). Since Kilgore's correlation with his own strategy agenda during this period exceeds the baseline calculations, there is no evidence of actual agenda setting. However, it is fair to say that these three

newspapers influenced Kilgore's October strategy agenda. Kilgore and *The Roanoke Times* (Figure 15) seemed to have a reciprocal relationship between September and October, with almost identical cross-lagged correlations that both exceed the baseline. The correlations between the strategy agendas of Kilgore and the newspapers dropped significantly during the last few days of the campaign. None of the newspapers showed a statistically significant correlation with Kilgore's strategy agenda during the shortened month of November, nor were any of the cross-lagged correlations between October and November significant. It appears that Kilgore and all four newspapers diverged on strategy agendas during the final eight days of the campaign.

Relationships between candidate and media audience agendas. In regards to audience agendas, the extremely high month-to-month correlations exhibited by all four newspapers make it difficult to argue that the candidates had any influence on the newspapers. Figures 18 through 21 show that Kaine's September audience agenda had a moderate, above-the baseline correlation with the October audience agendas of all four newspapers, while the September newspaper agendas showed no statistically significant correlations with Kaine's October audience agenda. However, Kaine's September audience agenda shows no statistically significant correlation to his October audience agenda. This low correlation indicates that the moderate cross-lagged correlation between Kaine in September and the newspapers in October is a result of Kaine shifting his agenda away from the newspapers' consistent agendas, rather than an indication of Kaine exerting influence on the newspapers.

However, there is evidence that the newspapers influenced Kaine between October and November. All four newspapers' October audience agendas have high, above-the-baseline correlations with Kaine's November audience agenda, while Kaine's October audience agenda has no statistically significant correlations with the November audience newspaper agendas. Since

Kaine's within-candidate correlation was also above the baseline during this period, there is no clear evidence of agenda setting, but it does appear that the newspapers influenced Kaine's decision to shift his audience agenda back to one that was more consistent with the one he had used prior to October. This shift in November was largely the result of Kaine's unusually high number of references to veterans in October. Since Kaine mentioned veterans significantly fewer times in November, his audience agenda showed a shift back to his prior agenda and the newspapers' audience agendas.

In Kilgore's case, Figures 22 through 25 indicate that there was a clear agenda setting function served by the newspapers between September and October. All four newspapers' September audience agendas have high, above-the-baseline correlations with Kilgore's October audience agenda. Kilgore's September audience agenda shows no statistically significant correlation with any newspaper's October audience agenda or with Kilgore's October audience agenda. As seen above, Kilgore's audience agenda deviated from previous months in September, due to his very high number of references to veterans. The results here indicate that the media's consistent audience agenda played a role in shifting Kilgore's audience agenda back. The cross-lagged correlations between October and November indicate that all four newspapers shared reciprocal influence with the Kilgore campaign during this time period.

Summary. Overall, Hypothesis Three was not supported. Although reciprocal influence was evident for some of the cross-lagged comparisons examined here, other comparisons indicated candidate influence of the media, media influence on candidates, or no influence whatsoever. Notably, no newspaper showed an agenda setting influence on the candidate's issue agendas, while candidates did sometimes influence newspaper issue agendas. The reverse is true of audience agendas. Both candidates, in different months, deviated from their established audience

agendas with unusually high mentions of veterans. In both cases, the newspapers' consistent audience agendas seemed to influence the candidates' decisions to return to their agendas. No influence was evident between the newspapers' and candidates' strategy agendas, although the agendas did converge and diverge.

Research Question Two (RQ2)

RQ2 asked whether candidate agendas exhibited influence on each other. Monthly cross-lagged correlations were used to answer this research question. Figures 26 through 28 show the cross-lagged correlations between the agendas of the two candidates over the course of the campaign. Since eleven months (January through November) were analyzed, there are ten time lags to compare for each type of agenda (issue, strategy, and audience). This section will identify and describe those relationships that are significant between the candidates and offer analysis of why those relationships exist. Following descriptions of each relationship, a summary of overall trends will be provided.

Intercandidate issue agenda correlations. As seen in Figure 26, the correlations between the candidates' issue agendas were generally very high both within months and in subsequent months. In all cases except one, the cross-lagged correlations all fall above or equal to their baseline calculations, indicating reciprocal influence between the two candidates. The only exception is between March and April. The correlation between Kilgore's March issue agenda and Kaine's April issue agenda is above the baseline, indicating that Kilgore influenced Kaine. Additionally, Kaine's March agenda shows correlations with his own April agenda and Kilgore's April agenda that are both below the baseline. These correlations indicate that Kilgore exerted an issue agenda setting effect on Kaine during this particular time period. Kaine's mentions of the budget, the economy, and transportation all dropped between March and April to bring them closer

to Kilgore's mentions of those issues in March. It is also notable that Kaine only mentioned issues 44 times in April, down significantly from his 458 total issue mentions in March. It appears that as Kaine reduced the number of information subsidies he released and the number of issues he mentioned in those subsidies he made a shift to conform more to Kilgore's issue agenda.

Intercandidate strategy agenda correlations. Unlike the candidates' issue agendas, their strategy agendas were rarely correlated with each other. Figure 27 shows that of the eleven months studied, the candidate's within-month strategy agenda correlations were statistically significant only six times. Their cross-lagged correlations were significant even less frequently. Thus, most of the cross-lagged correlations indicate that each candidate developed his strategy agenda independent of the other candidate's strategy agenda. However, there were some exceptions. Between May and June all of the correlations are statistically significant and above the baseline, indicating that the candidates exerted reciprocal influence on each other during that period. During this time, both candidates focused on ads. Experience was also a frequently mentioned strategy during this time, as it was throughout the race. Between September and October, Kilgore's influence on Kaine was statistically significant while Kaine's influence on Kilgore's was not, and the reverse was true between October and November. However, in both cases the statistically insignificant correlations are still above the baseline calculations, so support for inter-candidate influence is weak.

Only in the April to May time period is there any evidence of agenda setting. The correlation between Kilgore's April strategy agenda and Kaine's May strategy agenda is statistically significant and well above the baseline, while Kaine's April agenda is not significantly correlated with Kaine or Kilgore's May agendas. Thus, it appears that the moderate correlation between Kilgore and Kaine's May strategy agendas is due to Kilgore's agenda setting effect on

Kaine during this period. This relationship appears to be largely the result of a drop in Kaine's

mentions of debates between April and May. In April, Kaine released several press releases

challenging Kilgore to monthly debates throughout the remainder of the campaign. Kilgore

ignored that challenge, at least in his press releases. The statistical evidence for an agenda setting

relationship between April and May indicates that Kaine temporarily dropped debates from his

strategy agenda in response to Kilgore's refusal to add it to his agenda.

Intercandidate audience agenda correlations. The inconsistency of the candidates'

audience agendas makes it difficult to demonstrate influence on this variable. Only four of the

within-month correlations are statistically significant. However, some statistically significant

cross-lagged correlations shown in Figure 28 support the existence of influence and agenda

setting. In January, the correlation between the candidates' audience agendas was not statistically

significant, but in February it was a high .83. Kilgore's January audience agenda showed a

moderate, above-the baseline correlation with Kaine's February audience agenda, but Kaine's

January agenda had no significant correlation with either candidate's February agenda. Therefore,

Kilgore displayed an agenda setting effect on Kaine's audience agenda in these early months of the

campaign. Tables 7 and 8 show that between January and February, Kaine's mentions of

Republicans rose from two to 11, while his mentions of youth dropped from five to zero. Both

shifts brought Kaine closer to Kilgore's January agenda, which mentioned Republicans 10 times

and youth none.

The same effect of Kilgore's audience agenda on Kaine's audience agenda was evident

between April and May. In this case, Kaine made no mentions of audiences except for one

reference to Democrats in April. The fact that he made 31 total audience mentions in May

indicates that Kilgore inspired Kaine to talk about audiences more in his press releases.

Some influence was also evident in other time periods. Between February and March and again between October and November, Kilgore displayed statistically significant, above-the-baseline correlations with Kaine's agenda. However, in those two cases Kaine also maintained statistically significant, above-the-baseline correlations with his own agenda, so no agenda setting was present. The reverse was true between March and April and between July and August, in which the cross-lagged correlations could indicate a Kaine to Kilgore influence if Kilgore's correlations with this own agenda were not above the baseline. Between August and September, Kilgore also displayed a significant correlation with Kaine's agenda, but since Kilgore's own audience agenda shifted greatly during that time, it is unlikely that he influenced Kaine's agenda.

Finally, it is worth noting the interesting relationship shown between September and October, when the cross-lagged correlations were high but the within-month correlations were statistically insignificant. This indicates that the candidates actually switched agendas during this period, with Kaine adapting Kilgore's September agenda in October and Kilgore doing the reverse. This is partly due to the previously mentioned references to veterans by Kilgore in September and Kaine in October. However, it is also notable that Kaine's mentions of business spiked in September while Kilgore's mentions of business spiked in October. Apparently, the two candidates switched emphases on veterans and business between September and October.

Summary. Although it is far from the norm, the answer to RQ2 is that yes, inter-candidate influence was evident during some months of the campaign. In some cases, there were even clear agenda setting relationships. All of these agenda setting effects showed Kilgore influencing Kaine's agenda. Taken together, these findings indicate that Kaine was more willing than Kilgore to shift his agenda. This is significant in light of Kaine's eventual victory in the race. It would be a

hasty generalization to infer from these results that shifting his agenda to match Kilgore's won Kaine the election. However, these results do indicate that keeping a flexible agenda early in the campaign did not hurt Kaine's chances of victory.

Research Question Three (RQ3)

In order to answer RQ3, which asked whether there was evidence of intermedia agenda setting, Figures 29 through 46 show cross-lagged correlations between the four newspapers for each of the three types of agendas. A variety of relationships were evident. This section will identify those relationships that were significant and offer some explanations for why these relationships existed. A summary of overall trends will be provided.

Intermedia issue agenda correlations. Figures 29 through 34 show the cross-lagged issue agenda correlations between the four newspapers. Figure 29 shows that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* September issue agenda had a very high, above the baseline correlation with *The Roanoke Times'* October issue agenda, while *The Roanoke Times'* September agenda did not show an above-the-baseline correlation with either paper's October agenda. Thus, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* appears to have set *The Roanoke Times'* October agenda. Between October and November, the relationship is similar, except that *The Roanoke Times* maintained an above-the-baseline correlation with its own issue agenda, indicating that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* influenced *The Roanoke Times* but did not exert a true agenda setting effect.

Figure 31 shows that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* September agenda had a very high, above-the-baseline correlation with *The Washington Post's* October agenda, while *The Washington Post* had a below-the-baseline correlation with both October agendas. This relationship indicates that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* set *The Washington Post's* October agenda. In particular, *The Washington Post* increased its focus on taxes, education, and

transportation to bring it more in line with the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* September issue agenda. However, between October and November, the correlations are all so high that it is clear that there was no unidirectional influence between the newspapers.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* also appears to have influenced *The Virginian-Pilot's* issue agenda during both periods under study (Figure 30). In both time periods, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* correlation with *The Virginian-Pilot* in the subsequent month was a very high .99 while the reverse correlations were below the baselines. However, both newspapers exhibited correlations with their own month-to-month agendas that were above the baseline, so these relationships can only be characterized as influence rather than agenda setting.

Figure 33 shows that *The Washington Post* appears to have influenced *The Roanoke Times*. *The Washington Post's* September agenda shows an above-the-baseline correlation with *The Roanoke Times'* October agenda, while the reverse correlation and *The Roanoke Times'* correlation with its own agenda are both below the baseline. This indicates that *The Washington Post* set *The Roanoke Times'* agenda. However, between October and November the relationships between these two newspapers are all above the baseline, so reciprocal influence is evident.

The Washington Post also influenced the agenda of *The Virginian-Pilot*. *The Washington Post's* September agenda and *The Virginian-Pilot's* October agenda have an above-the-baseline correlation, while the reverse correlation is below the baseline. However, both newspapers have correlations with their own agendas that are above the baseline. The same is not true between October and November. Again, *The Washington Post's* correlation with *The Virginian-Pilot* is above the baseline and the reverse correlation is not, but this time *The Virginian Pilot's* correlation with its own agenda is below the baseline. Thus, *The Washington Post* set *The Virginian-Pilot's* agenda during the final days of the campaign.

In turn, Figure 32 shows that *The Roanoke Times* also influenced *The Virginian-Pilot*. *The Roanoke Times'* September agenda has an above-the-baseline correlation with *The Virginian-Pilot's* October agenda, while the reverse correlation is below the baseline. However, both newspapers have correlations with their own agendas that are above-the-baseline, so no agenda setting is evident. Between October and November, however, it does appear that *The Roanoke Times* set *The Virginian-Pilot's* agenda. The cross-lagged correlation from *The Roanoke Times* to *The Virginian-Pilot* is above the baseline, while the correlations between *The Virginian-Pilot's* October agenda and both September agendas are not.

Overall, there is some evidence of a path of influence on the issue agendas among the newspapers covering Virginia politics. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* influenced all three of the other newspapers, indicating that it is the most influential of the state's newspapers in regards to issue agendas. During this same time lag, *The Washington Post* influenced *The Roanoke Times* and *The Virginian-Pilot*, indicating that it is the second most influential of the newspapers included in this analysis. Finally, during this time lag *The Roanoke Times* influenced *The Virginian-Pilot*, indicating that *The Virginian-Pilot* is the least influential of four newspapers examined here.

Intermedia strategy agenda correlations. In terms of strategy agendas, all four newspapers had agendas that were highly correlated with each other, and in many cases the cross-lagged correlations are all above the their baselines, indicating that the newspapers had reciprocal influence on each other (Figures 35 through 40). This is true of *The Roanoke Times'* relationship with the other three newspapers in both time periods.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* showed a reciprocal relationship with both *The Virginian-Pilot* and *The Washington Post* between September and October. However, between October and November there is some evidence that those two papers influenced the *Richmond*

Times-Dispatch's strategy agenda. The correlation between *The Virginian-Pilot's* October agenda and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* November agenda is statistically significant and above the baseline while the reverse correlation is statistically insignificant and below the baseline. However, since the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* correlation with its own agenda during that period was higher than its correlation with *The Virginian-Pilot*, and since *The Virginian-Pilot* did not maintain a consistent agenda during this time, the evidence for influence is only minimal. *The Virginian-Pilot's* relationship with *The Washington Post* during this time period is virtually the same as its relationship with the *Richmond Time-Dispatch*.

The evidence is somewhat more convincing for *The Washington Post's* influence on the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* between October and November. Although the cross-lagged correlations are equal to each other and above the baseline, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* correlation with its own strategy agenda during this period is below the baseline, indicating that *The Washington Post's* influence may have caused the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to shift its strategy agenda.

Overall, the data indicate that the four newspapers tend to influence each other reciprocally. The evidence that *The Washington Post* and *The Virginian-Pilot* influenced the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* between October and November is intriguing in light of the opposite relationship evident in regards to issue agenda setting. However, the fact that only eight days worth of articles from November were included in the analysis minimizes the validity of this finding.

Intermedia audience agenda correlations. Figures 41 through 46 show that all four newspapers demonstrated high correlations with each other newspaper's audience agenda, and most of the cross-lagged correlations are above the baselines, indicating reciprocal influence.

However, some influence is evident. Between September and October, Figure 43 shows that *The Washington Post's* correlation with the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* exceeds the baseline, while the reciprocal correlation does not. In the same time period, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* correlation with its own audience agenda is equal to the baseline. Although these correlations are all very high and close to the baseline, this does offer evidence that *The Washington Post* influenced the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

Between October and November, there is evidence that *The Roanoke Times* influenced *The Virginian-Pilot's* audience agenda, as seen in Figure 44. *The Roanoke Times'* correlation with *The Virginian-Pilot* exceeds the baseline while the opposite correlation does not. However, *The Virginian-Pilot's* correlation with its own agenda exceeds the baseline, and again the cross-lagged correlations are both very high and close to the baseline. Thus, the influence on *The Virginian-Pilot's* audience agenda appears to be minimal.

As with strategy agendas, the clear trend appears to be reciprocal influence between the newspapers in regards to their audience agendas. However, the evidence that *The Washington Post* influenced the *Richmond Times-Dispatch's* audience agenda is noteworthy. This relationship shows that paths of intermedia influence are not necessarily the same for issue and audience agendas. In some cases, they may even demonstrate inverse relationships.

Summary. The evidence that there is a trickle down of issue agendas from the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to *The Washington Post* to *The Roanoke Times* to *The Virginian-Pilot* is interesting, but not surprising. Perhaps more surprising is the lack of evidence for a similar effect in regards to strategy and audience agendas. It appears, based on this preliminary data, that the more space a newspaper devoted to the campaign, the more influence its issue agenda had on other newspapers. However, newspapers that devoted less space to the campaign were more willing to

develop their strategy and audience agendas independent of the agendas of the other newspapers,

and in some cases the influence was actually reversed for these types of agendas.

Discussion

This study examined the agenda setting effects between candidates and newspapers during the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial campaign. Findings based on one election cannot necessarily be generalized to other campaigns. However, the findings of this study contribute to scholarly understanding of agenda setting by lending further support to some previous findings and raising questions about others.

This Study's Findings in Light of Previous Research

Research Question One. The issues that Kaine and Kilgore discussed most consistently, taxes, education, and, in Kilgore's case, crime, were also salient issues identified by Roberts and McCombs (1994) in the advertisements of the 1990 Texas gubernatorial candidates. Education was also mentioned fairly frequently in both campaigns, while drugs were a bigger issue in the Texas campaign. Insurance was a highly salient issue to the Texas candidates that was not included in this analysis. The strategies of experience (defined in the Texas study as "Personal backgrounds") and advertising were also highly salient to candidates in both races. This comparison between the present study and the Roberts and McCombs (1994) study indicates that similar issues may be salient in gubernatorial races in different states and that the candidate agendas presented in press releases are not necessarily different from those presented in advertisements.

One aspect of Kaine's personal background that took center stage during the hot phase of the campaign was his objection to the death penalty. Kaine's religious objection to the death penalty put him in the small minority of Virginia voters who oppose capital punishment (Edds, 2005), so it is not surprising that Kilgore decided to attack Kaine on this issue. What is interesting, and strategic, is that Kilgore waited until October, late in the campaign, to launch this attack.

Kilgore's mentions of the death penalty were minimal until this point, but it is the most cited issue in Kilgore's press releases during the month of October. This corresponded with the October releases of two emotional ads featuring family members of murder victims attacking Kaine's record on the issue (Whitley, 2005). This data indicates that Kilgore made a conscious effort to save the issue of the death penalty, the issue on which Kaine's position would be most controversial, for the later stages of the campaign, when presumably it would be most salient for voters on Election Day. Interestingly, polls show that this strategy backfired because Kilgore's discourse on the death penalty was perceived by voters as too negative (Fiske, 2005).

Consistent with previous research on the gubernatorial level, taxes and education were important and salient issues throughout the majority of the campaign. Additionally, transportation was an important issue in 2005 because of the perceived need for improved transportation, particularly in northern Virginia (Holden, 2005).

By contrast, the issues discussed by the Virginia candidates were not entirely consistent with those identified by Evatt and Bell (2001) in the press releases of the 1994 Texas gubernatorial candidates. Crime and education again ranked highly on the Texas candidates' agendas, but taxes did not. Other top issues on the Texas candidates' agendas included the budget and the economy, which were mentioned fairly consistently by Kilgore and Kaine. However, other issues from the Texas campaign, such as trade and welfare, were not consistently salient issues in the Virginia race. This comparison indicates that the issues discussed in gubernatorial campaigns are not necessarily generalizable to gubernatorial campaigns in different states or in different years. The evidence from the present study and the two Texas studies supports the assumption that education and crime are salient issues to candidates in many gubernatorial races. However, the lack of salience for the issue of taxes in the 1994 Texas campaign indicates that issue is more salient in

some races than in others.

Tedesco (2005a) found that education and taxes were fairly consistently salient issues for candidates in the 2004 Democratic presidential primary. Additionally, there were not a lot of issues consistently mentioned by the presidential candidates that were not part of the gubernatorial candidates' agendas. Health care is an example of one issue that was consistently salient to candidates in that race but not to Kaine and Kilgore. However, most other issues studied by Tedsesco (2005a) were not consistently salient to all of the candidates throughout the primary campaign, just as most issue besides taxes and education were not consistently salient to the Virginia gubernatorial candidates. Tedesco (2001) found similar results in the 2000 presidential primaries of both parties. This comparison lends some preliminary support to the counter-intuitive proposition that candidate issue agendas in gubernatorial races might be similar to those in presidential primary races. Tedesco (2005b) found that in the 2004 general presidential election, taxes and education were again consistently salient issues. However, the War on Terror, homeland security, health care, jobs, and the economy were much more salient to Bush and Kerry than they were to Kilgore and Kaine. As might be expected, the issues important to major party nominees are not necessarily those that are salient to gubernatorial candidates. However, it is worth noting that taxes and education were consistently salient issues to the candidates in all of these studies, indicating that these issues are salient at all levels of politics, at least over the last few years.

Tedesco (2001) found that the 2000 presidential primary candidates' strategy agendas focused on experience and endorsements, just like Kilgore and Kaine's. Voting was also a highly salient part of the strategy agenda in that race, unlike in the Virginia gubernatorial race. Kaine's heavy focus on endorsements during October and the first eight days of November is not surprising, since Kaine had great success with endorsements, especially from newspapers. In fact,

of the four newspapers included in this analysis, all but the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* gave Kaine their editorial endorsements (Kilgore endorsed, 2005). Kilgore's mentions of endorsements also increased in the last months of the campaign, but never nearly as much as Kaine's. It is not surprising that endorsements would be high on candidates' strategy agendas towards the end of the campaign when various individuals and groups were announcing their endorsements. It is interesting, however, that Kaine's mentions of endorsements in October is so high, much higher than any single strategy mention in any other month, and higher than the total number of strategy mentions in most months. It appears that, while mentions of endorsements were driven partially by the announcement of actual endorsements, there was also a concerted effort by the Kaine campaign to draw attention to the number of endorsements Kaine received. This is an example of an attempt at strategy agenda setting. While the existence of the endorsements themselves was information the Kaine campaign would want the public to know, the shear number of endorsement mentions indicates that the campaign wanted to make the strategy of endorsements itself a highly salient part of the media's horse race coverage. This was probably a smart strategy, since picking up endorsements was one area in which Kaine outpaced Kilgore.

It is not surprising that advertising would be an important strategy consideration late in the campaign, as this is when campaigns usually spend the bulk of their advertising budgets (Trent & Friedenberg, 2004, p. 366). A number of journalists echoed Kilgore's complaint about the high number of negative ads in this race (McAllister, 2005). However, this strategy does not appear to have been successful, since most writers seemed to think that Kilgore was the more negative campaigner (Campaign, 2005), or at least that the two were equally guilty (MacKenzie, 2005).

As the results on intercandidate strategy agendas reveal, the May to June time period marked the convergence of strategy agendas. The campaign certainly began to intensify during the

early summer months as the first flurry of negative television ads of the campaign appeared during this time (Sluss, 2005). It is clear that both campaigns were talking advertising strategy as each candidate wanted to frame coverage of the ads to his advantage. Focus on advertising by media also confirms prior strategy agenda setting research and appears consistent with ad watch research findings (Kaid, McKinney, Tedesco, and Gaddie, 1999; Tedesco, Kaid, & McKinnon, 2000).

Tedesco (2001) also found that the 2000 presidential primary candidates' audience agendas were dominated by references to their own political parties, just as with Kaine and Kilgore. While the presidential candidates mentioned several audiences, most notably business, labor, and gays, more frequently than did the Virginia gubernatorial candidates, the results were similar in that no audiences besides the candidates' parties emerged as highly salient audiences.

Previous research, along with the present study, indicates that crime, education, and often taxes, are consistently salient issues to candidates, although a number of other issues also dominate candidate agendas in presidential races that are not salient in state level races. Candidates at all levels focus their strategy agendas on experience and endorsements and their audience agendas on members of their own political parties.

Hypothesis One. This study's fairly strong support for H1 in regards to issue agendas is consistent with previous research (Tedesco, 2001, 2005a, 2005b). The correlations exhibited here are not quite as strong as those observed by Tedesco (2005b) in the 2004 presidential race, but they are sufficiently strong, especially in subsequent months, to support the assumption that candidates will generally exhibit consistent agendas throughout the course of a campaign. These correlations indicate that the candidates ran their campaigns consistently with Shea and Burton's (2001) advice to pick campaign themes early and focus on them consistently throughout the race.

Interestingly, the data indicates that the Virginia candidates maintained more consistent

agendas than did the Texas candidates studied by Roberts and McCombs (1994) or Evatt and Bell (2001). Particularly interesting in Evatt and Bell's (2001) finding that the candidates maintained a combined correlation of only .53 between the two halves of their campaign's hot phase. The Virginia candidates, by contrast, exhibited very high, nearly perfect, issue agenda correlations from May through the end of the campaign. This data indicates that Kaine and Kilgore maintained much more consistent issue agendas than did the Texas candidates in 1990 or 1994.

However, this study's data did not generally support H1 in regards to strategy or audience agendas. Previous studies have not examined candidate strategy or audience agendas to this extent, so comparisons are necessarily limited. However, Tedesco (2005b) found that Bush and Kerry maintained fairly consistent attention to advertising over the course of the 2004 presidential campaign. This indicates that candidates for national office may be more likely to maintain consistent strategy agendas than candidates in state level races are.

Hypothesis Two. The four newspapers included in this analysis all demonstrated consistent issue and audience agendas during the hot phase of the campaign, and fairly consistent strategy agendas as well. The correlations between the newspaper issues agendas are much higher than those reported by Roberts and McCombs (1994) and Evatt and Bell (2001). The former study showed that Texas newspapers maintained a correlation of .33 between the two halves of the hot phase of the 1990 Texas gubernatorial election (p. 257), while the latter showed a .67 correlation between the two halves of the 1994 Texas gubernatorial election's hot phase (p. 77). There is no clear reason that Virginia newspapers should be more consistent with their agendas than newspapers in Texas are, but the differences between the races show that newspaper agenda consistency fluctuates based on which newspapers are under analysis.

This study's findings are consistent with Tedesco's (2005b) finding that major newspapers

maintained consistent issue agendas during the hot phase of the 2004 presidential election. The same study found that media strategy agendas were so consistent during the campaign's hot phase that it was impossible to perform comparisons with candidate strategy agendas. Interestingly, it appears that, in regards to agenda consistency, Virginia newspapers' coverage of the gubernatorial race more closely resembled presidential campaign coverage in the national papers than gubernatorial coverage in Texas newspapers. Of course, this comparison could be skewed by the fact that the presidential race studied by Tedesco (2005b) was more recent, only one year before the gubernatorial race studied in this project, while the Texas races studied by Roberts and McCombs (1994) and Evatt and Bell (2001) took place in an earlier decade. It is conceivable that journalistic norms have shifted since the 1990s to encourage more agenda consistency among newspapers. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that Virginia's proximity to Washington, DC and *The Washington Post's* influence cause the Commonwealth's newspapers to conform more closely to the journalistic norms of national newspapers such at *The Washington Post*. More contemporary research on gubernatorial races would be necessary to further elucidate the nature of Virginia newspapers' relationships with other newspapers throughout the country.

Hypothesis Three. Based on previous research, the study proceeded under the hypothesis that the influence between candidates and media would be reciprocal. While this was the case in many of the time periods studied, several occurrences of candidate influence on newspaper issue agendas, and reverse influence for audience agendas, disproved the hypothesis. Tedesco (2001) found significant support for the idea that candidates and newspapers would exert mutual influence on each other. Although Roberts and McCombs (1994) and Evatt and Bell (2001) found some support for candidate influence on media issue agendas, in both cases Rozelle-Campbell baseline comparisons indicated that the influence was reciprocal. Only Tedesco (2005b) found

evidence of candidate information subsidies influencing media agendas. In that study, President Bush was found to influence newspaper agendas while the newspapers influenced the issue agenda of his opponent, Senator Kerry.

The results of this study, in conjunction with Tedesco's (2005b) findings, undermine the assumption that influence between candidates and media is necessarily reciprocal. It is important to note that the candidates in both studies exhibited influence on newspaper agendas but did not exhibit actual agenda setting. However, the fact that they did exhibit influence shows that candidates can influence media agendas. The chronology of the election examined by the previous studies makes it reasonable to conclude that candidates are gaining a greater ability to influence media agendas. Candidates in two 1990s gubernatorial races (Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Evatt & Bell, 2001) and the 2000 presidential primary (Tedesco, 2001) exhibited mutual influence with the media. However, one 2004 presidential candidate (Tedesco, 2005b) and both 2005 Virginia gubernatorial candidates examined in this study showed some ability to influence candidate agendas. Perhaps changes in communication technology and media economics have made media outlets more dependent on candidate information subsidies, thereby making them more susceptible to candidate influence on their agendas. However, the scarcity of research makes it impossible to adequately support this claim as anything more than a hypothesis for future research. At the very least, the results of these studies show that candidate influence on media agendas fluctuates between campaigns, and that more than just mutual influence is possible in at least some campaigns.

The fact that the newspapers tended to influence candidate audience agendas is a reversal of the findings concerning issue agendas. This finding is fairly novel since no previous study had compared candidate and media audience agendas over the course of a general election campaign.

Future studies of this kind can further explore the ability of media coverage to influence audience salience for campaigns.

Research Question Two. Incidences of intercandidate agenda setting were evident in the minority of the time periods analyzed in this study. However, it is noteworthy that each of these instances involved Kilgore causing a shift in Kaine's agenda. It is also important to note that these shifts occurred early in the campaign, indicating that Kaine was more flexible and willing to experiment with possible campaign themes early in the year. Kaine's ultimate victory in the race indicates that it is not necessarily a bad strategy for a candidate to shift his or her agenda to conform to that of his or her opponent. While it may not be the case the Kaine was conforming to the issue agenda of Kilgore, but merely repositioning his campaign agenda to issues that were playing more strongly to his base constituency, the evidence shows the shift occurred in Kilgore's favor. Tedesco's (2005a) study of the 2004 Democratic presidential primary supports this conclusion, as ultimate winner John Kerry shifted his agenda several times to conform to the agendas of his opponents. By talking about the same issues as your opponents it is easier to get in the campaign dialogue and debate. Then, in the 2004 general election, Tedesco (2005b) showed that Kerry set Bush's agenda for the month of June. Again, in this case it was Bush, the ultimate winner of the election, whose agenda was set by his opponent. Future researchers can assume that ultimate election winners are just as likely, perhaps even more likely, to have their agendas set by their opponents as ultimately unsuccessful candidates. What may be at play in these shifts of agendas is a candidate's recognition of the need to defend a stance on an issue that is under attack or that has been elevated in salience by the opponent. A skilled campaigner and an organized campaign are able to shift issue agendas and still maintain interpretive dominance (Smith, 1995) on issues.

Research Question Three. The fact that several large newspapers influenced the issue agendas of smaller newspapers is consistent with findings from past intermedia agenda setting studies, which have consistently shown *The New York Times'* ability to influence other newspapers' agendas (Danielian and Reese, 1989; Mazur, 1987; Reese & Danielian, 1989). A period of two months and eight days is far from sufficient for demonstrating generalizability, but this study does offer preliminary evidence that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* tends to influence other Virginia newspapers' issue agendas, followed by *The Washington Post*, *The Roanoke Times*, and *The Virginian-Pilot*. However, as a preliminary finding, the path of issue agenda influence from the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to *The Washington Post* to *The Roanoke Times* to *The Virginian-Pilot* is important to understanding Virginia's media landscape. Interestingly, this path does not correspond directly to the newspapers' rankings by circulation (Advertising, 2006). However, it does correspond to the number of news stories about the gubernatorial race published by each paper. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* published more stories about the race than did *The Washington Post*, which published more than *The Roanoke Times*, which published more than *The Virginian-Pilot*. The number of stories each newspaper published about the race corresponds to geographical considerations. As the only daily newspaper in the state's capital, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* can be expected to take the lead on issues covered in state elections, since it has the most immediate access to state government officials and candidates. *The Washington Post* does not have the same access to the state's government, and its attention to politics in more divided between national politics and the local politics of Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, DC. However, *The Washington Post* is the biggest of the four newspapers in terms of readership (Advertising, 2006), and it is the only one that is considered among the elite national newspapers. Therefore, it is not surprising that *The Washington Post* would exert an influence on the issue

agendas of *The Roanoke Times* and *The Virginian-Pilot*.

More interesting is the relationship between the two smaller newspapers. *The Roanoke Times* published more articles about the race and showed a clear influence on *The Virginian-Pilot*, which has a larger readership and serves a larger metropolitan area. Both are owned by Landmark Communications, but *The Virginian-Pilot* is considered the company's "flagship newspaper" (Our businesses, n.d., para. 3). One explanation for *The Roanoke Times'* influence on *The Virginian-Pilot* and its greater interest in the race is that fact that Kilgore is a native of southwest Virginia, the part of the state served by *The Roanoke Times*. Since neither candidate came from the Tidewater region served by *The Virginian-Pilot*, the candidates may not have made as strong of an effort to seek coverage in that newspaper.

Interestingly, this study found that intermedia influences are less consistent for strategy and audience agendas than for issue agendas. This finding indicates that newspapers that devote less space and fewer resources to covering a campaign are likely to follow the lead of larger newspapers in developing their issue agendas. However, these same newspapers will develop their own strategy and audience agendas, and the larger newspapers may even borrow elements of those agendas from the smaller newspapers. This is an interesting possibility that should be investigated further in the future.

Summary. This study offers several interesting findings that contribute to scholarly understanding of candidate and media agenda setting. These are relatively new research programs, so studies like this one are necessary to developing theories about which electoral circumstances are most likely to produce intercandidate, intermedia, and candidate-to-media agenda setting relationships. This study offers useful data for furthering that research program.

Limitations

As with any research project, this study faced several limitations that affected its scope and generalizability. First, news articles about the campaign were collected only during the last two months and eight days of the campaign. The high number of articles published about the campaign in Virginia newspapers made it necessary to limit the sample in this way. However, a study that included news articles from throughout the year might have revealed additional agenda setting relationships among newspapers and between newspapers and candidates.

Second, press releases are not the only type of information subsidy produced by campaigns. In addition to traditional information subsidies such as advertisements, press conferences, and campaign events, contemporary campaigns are using new technology to communicate with reporters via email and conference calls (R. Denton, personal communication, November 15, 2005). These communications are not always easy for researchers to obtain. Future studies might use interviews with campaign practitioners or journalists, or even field observation of newsrooms, to get a clearer picture of the totality of candidate communications with the media. Including more sources for candidate agendas would serve two purposes. First, it would lend more validity to the results by taking into account a greater percentage of the candidate communication that is likely to influence the media and the opposing candidate. Second, it would increase the total number of issue, strategy, and audience mentions, thereby increasing the reliability of the correlations for each agenda. For example, a larger sample would have reduced the likelihood of encountering a misleading result such as the number of candidate mentions of veterans in September and October. The high number of references to this one audience created the appearance that the candidates greatly shifted their overall audience agendas during these months. However, this appearance was deceiving, since these mentions occurred in only a handful of press releases.

Similarly, daily newspapers are not the only media that cover statewide elections. Inclusion of television coverage of the campaign by the state's network television affiliates would have provided a point of comparison for the newspaper agendas. Inclusion of smaller daily newspapers (such as *The Daily Press* in Newport News, *The Daily Progress* in Charlottesville, B*ristol Herald Courier*, and *The News and Advance* in Lynchburg) and small-town weekly newspapers would have provided more comparisons to examine intermedia agenda setting. Furthermore, even at the state level independent websites, particularly political weblogs, are becoming important parts of campaign coverage (Stallsmith, 2005). As this new medium becomes a greater part of the media that shapes the public's agenda, it will be necessary to understand how candidates and other media shape its agenda and how it shapes their agendas.

Finally, this study was limited by its use of a traditional agenda setting time lag of one month for all of the relationships under analysis. Shorter or longer time lags might have shown different results. As mentioned above, the speed of new communication technologies may undermine the validity of the four to six week time lag for agenda setting research. However, the use of shorter time lags raises conceptual questions about the definition of *agenda*. Future research needs to examine which time lags exhibit the most reliable agenda setting relationships while still giving candidate and media enough time to establish complete agendas.

While this study faced several limitations, they are all minor problems that can be addressed in future research of this type. This study advances both theoretical understanding of agenda setting processes and practical understanding of state-level political campaigns. As such, it constitutes and important contribution to the study of political communication and opens up avenues for future research.

Conclusion

As McCombs (2004) points out, the advent of new communication technologies necessitates reexaminations of accepted communication theories, such as agenda setting. The assumption of this project is that, far from delegitimizing the study of agenda setting, technologies such as the Internet open up possibilities for studying influences on more agendas than just the traditional media, policy, and public agendas. This study used press releases and media content available on the Internet to replicate elements of previous studies examining the influences of candidate information subsidies on media agendas and on the agendas of other candidates. Numerous studies have demonstrated the influence of candidate and media agendas on public agendas, so the line of research continued in this proposal is important to understanding how those agendas are formed. A better understanding of this process is essential to developing a broader understanding of how communicative processes function in political elections.

This study found that the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial candidates sometimes successfully used information subsidies to influence media agendas, that Kilgore exerted an agenda setting influence on Kaine early in the campaign, and that Virginia newspapers exhibited intermedia agenda setting effects on each other. Some of these results reinforce finding from previous research, while others undermine previous assumptions. This study offers an important contribution to the study of candidate and media agenda setting by extending that line of research to a state electoral context besides Texas gubernatorial elections. This emphasis on state-level politics represents an under-explored area of political communication research. Future research should expand this research into more electoral contexts, including other states as well as local elections. Concurrent analyses of elections occurring in different places at the same time or in subsequent years would allow researchers to examine trends over time in how candidate and media

agendas interact. Additionally, future research should examine these phenomena in local and statewide primary elections, to see how those contexts differ from the presidential primaries studied by Tedesco (2001, 2005a).

As candidates and media outlets compete to be heard in an increasingly crowded communication environment, political communication researchers must focus greater attention on how candidates and media interact in campaigns. As Trent and Friedenberg (2004) argue, "Mass communication has become the center stage for all major political events" (p. 118). If this assumption is true, then communication scholars need to examine not only how mediated political communication affects the public, but also who shapes the content that appears in that communication. This study represents one of several preliminary attempts to increase that understanding, and it should serve as both a contribution to that line of inquiry and a call to scholars to focus more attention on the full spectrum of agenda setting processes.

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Tables

Table 1

Kaine Issue Frequencies	Jan. (n=9)	Feb. (n=3)	Mar. (n=14)	Apr. (n=6)	May (n=12)	June (n=12)	July (n=8)	Aug. (n=14)	Sept. (n=21)	Oct. (n=16)	Nov. (n=7)
Foreign Policy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Military	1	0	0	0	4	1	9	1	12	13	1
Economy	4	3(5)	16(5)	11(3)	56(3)	48(2)	2	50(2)	41	32(5)	8
Budget	8(4)	38(1)	60(3)	1(4)	41(4)	16	11	39(4)	40	44(3)	22(3)
Crime	87(1)	0	3	0	3	19	20(5)	32(5)	75(2)	3	9
Death Penalty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	10(5)
Guns	7	0	0	0	0	6	52(1)	15	11	3	3
Drugs	46(2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	21	1	6
Prescription Drugs	20(3)	0	0	0	1	0	12	1	2	1	2
Social Security	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Abortion	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	12	6
Environment	0	0	0	0	2	16	1	1	49	2	2
Health Care	6	0	2	0	1	6	6	8	12	6	14
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0	21(4)	0	0	3	0
Tax	7(5)	23(2)	199(1)	1(5)	75(1)	22(5)	13	43(3)	50(4)	63(2)	122(1)
Welfare	3	0	0	0	1	0	11	3	1	0	4
Education	7(5)	14(3)	149(2)	16(1)	67(2)	28(4)	26(3)	151(1)	144(1)	121(1)	20(4)
Equal Opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Gay Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disaster Preparedness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0
Terrorism	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	3
Transportation	1	4(4)	21(4)	15(2)	9	57(1)	6	2	45(5)	42(4)	25(2)
Judicial Issues	0	1	4	0	2	32(3)	40(2)	0	7	6	1
Racism	2	1	4	0	1	2	1	1	1	17	6
Gambling	0	0	0	0	41(4)	4	1	7	54(3)	0	0
Tourism	0	0	0	0	1	11	0	0	4	0	0
Totals	**203**	**84**	**458**	**44**	**305**	**282**	**232**	**365**	**594**	**390**	**268**

Table 2

Kilgore Issue Frequencies

	Jan. (n=7)	Feb. (n=14)	Mar. (n=9)	Apr. (n=17)	May (n=16)	June (n=27)	July (n=10)	Aug. (n=20)	Sept. (n=14)	Oct. (n=18)	Nov. (n=2)
Foreign Policy	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Military	0	0	0	1	5	0	3	4	32(**3**)	3	0
Economy	6(**2**)	13(**3**)	8(**3**)	28(**5**)	10	10	6(**4**)	42(**5**)	13	9	4(**2**)
Budget	1	4	5(**5**)	6	16	9	0	12	11	3	2(**4**)
Crime	13(**1**)	54(**1**)	1	95(**1**)	18(**5**)	101(**1**)	6(**4**)	126(**2**)	30(**4**)	65(**2**)	1(**5**)
Death Penalty	1	5	3	0	1	16	2	17	2	73(**1**)	1(**5**)
Guns	0	0	0	1	26(**4**)	35	3	74(**3**)	13	38(**5**)	0
Drugs	0	13(**3**)	0	0	1	23	0	0	0	0	0
Prescription Drugs	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Social Security	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abortion	0	2	0	0	1	36(**5**)	0	1	0	0	0
Environment	0	1	1	8	0	0	51(**1**)	0	1	0	0
Health Care	0	1	2	4	49(**3**)	6	5	1	2	3	0
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0
Tax	0	25(**2**)	118(**1**)	31(**4**)	58(**2**)	73(**2**)	3	52(**4**)	81(**1**)	44(**3**)	23(**1**)
Welfare	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Education	3(**4**)	11(**5**)	94(**2**)	54(**2**)	69(**1**)	66(**4**)	9(**2**)	164(**1**)	29(**5**)	44(**3**)	0
Equal Opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Gay Rights	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Disaster Preparedness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
Terrorism	2	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1(**5**)
Transportation	1	9	7(**4**)	52(**3**)	7	69(**3**)	3	21	65(**2**)	26	4(**2**)
Judicial Issues	5(**3**)	1	1	5	2	21	9(**2**)	10	12	9	0
Racism	3(**4**)	5	4	1	2	7	2	12	3	10	0
Gambling	0	0	1	0	14	0	0	0	11	0	0
Tourism	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	7	0	0	0
Totals	**37**	**147**	**246**	**291**	**283**	**478**	**107**	**550**	**314**	**329**	**36**

Table 3

Newspaper Issue Frequencies

	Richmond Times-Dispatch			*The Roanoke Times*			*The Virginian-Pilot*			*The Washington Post*		
	Sept. (n=79)	Oct. (n=126)	Nov. (n=62)	Sept. (n=37)	Oct. (n=69)	Nov. (n=23)	Sept. (n=28)	Oct. (n=43)	Nov. (n=24)	Sept. (n=53)	Oct. (n=107)	Nov. (n=43)
Foreign Policy	1	5	1	2	0	0	3	3	1	0	4	2
Military	20	65	11	4	11	1	5	25	5	10	31	23
Economy	63	111	31	32	37	9	24	43	13(**5**)	60	96	50(**5**)
Budget	85(**4**)	115	20	39	53	7	26(**5**)	23	7	61	53	22
Crime	62	271(**3**)	65(**5**)	50(**4**)	174(**2**)	22	14	77(**5**)	8	44	208(**5**)	61(**4**)
Death Penalty	25	252(**4**)	40	8	132(**4**)	33(**3**)	9	96(**4**)	8	38	218(**3**)	40
Guns	18	49	27	16	88	4	7	9	2	27	24	12
Drugs	53	28	1	43(**5**)	17	2	11	5	7	19	6	7
Prescription Drugs	2	7	4	2	9	0	2	1	3	4	0	1
Social Security	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Abortion	20	72	21	21	54	17	19	48	6	67(**4**)	87	18
Environment	21	42	8	7	6	1	15	6	2	4	14	8
Health Care	29	52	8	20	54	1	13	31	4	23	36	15
Tobacco	3	34	1	3	5	1	1	7	0	7	4	3
Tax	246(**1**)	383(**2**)	100(**3**)	128(**3**)	134(**3**)	43(**1**)	129(**1**)	151(**2**)	55(**3**)	189(**2**)	223(**2**)	83
Welfare	8	19	4	1	19	0	5	19	2	10	5	1
Education	243(**2**)	455(**1**)	121(**1**)	184(**1**)	215(**1**)	29(**4**)	34(**3**)	180(**1**)	102(**1**)	135(**3**)	303(**1**)	166(**1**)
Equal Opportunity	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gay Rights	5	7	0	3	3	0	1	1	1	3	3	1
Disaster Preparedness	18	19	1	11	3	0	4	12	0	20	21	3
Terrorism	8	22	4	2	2	0	3	5	0	7	17	3
Transportation	138(**3**)	162(**5**)	115(**2**)	180(**2**)	110(**5**)	24(**5**)	110(**2**)	107(**3**)	58(**2**)	205(**1**)	210(**4**)	98(**2**)
Judicial Issues	18	116	22	24	42	11	23	54	7	34	66	15
Racism	65(**5**)	136	76(**4**)	31	67	35(**2**)	27(**4**)	34	23(**4**)	64(**5**)	94	65(**3**)
Gambling	8	2	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1
Tourism	1	4	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Totals	**1,160**	**2,429**	**682**	**814**	**1,239**	**240**	**487**	**939**	**314**	**1,034**	**1,723**	**699**

Table 4

Kaine Strategy Frequencies

	Jan. (n=9)	Feb. (n=3)	Mar. (n=14)	Apr. (n=6)	May (n=12)	June (n=12)	July (n=8)	Aug. (n=14)	Sept. (n=21)	Oct. (n=16)	Nov. (n=7)
Ads	2(**5**)	0	0	0	10(**2**)	8(**4**)	1(**5**)	4(**5**)	11(**5**)	1	18(**4**)
Cynicism	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Debate	1	0	5(**4**)	21(**1**)	0	11(**2**)	3(**4**)	12(**1**)	0	6	2
Endorsements	0	1(**4**)	1	4(**2**)	4(**4**)	1	0	1	12(**4**)	51(**1**)	21(**2**)
Experience	6(**3**)	8(**2**)	10(**2**)	1(**3**)	14(**1**)	12(**1**)	1(**5**)	5(**3**)	15(**2**)	17(**3**)	9
National Politicians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
John Warner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
George Allen	2	1(**4**)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3
Mark Warner	4(**4**)	13(**1**)	6(**3**)	1(**3**)	8(**3**)	7(**5**)	4(**2**)	8(**2**)	18(**1**)	17(**3**)	13(**5**)
News Media	10(**2**)	4(**3**)	20(**1**)	0	4(**4**)	7(**5**)	7(**1**)	3	10	16(**5**)	27(**1**)
Polls	0	1(**4**)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	4
Speeches	0	0	3(**5**)	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	0
Voting	0	0	3(**5**)	1(**3**)	4(**4**)	0	1(**5**)	4(**5**)	5	18(**2**)	21(**2**)
Hitler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Campaign Contributions	19(**1**)	0	0	0	1	10(**3**)	4(**2**)	2	13(**3**)	1	6
Internet	1	0	1	0	1	1	1(**5**)	0	8	5	0
Totals	**45**	**28**	**50**	**28**	**47**	**57**	**22**	**41**	**100**	**140**	**127**

Table 5

Kilgore Strategy Frequencies

	Jan. (n=7)	Feb. (n=14)	Mar. (n=9)	Apr. (n=17)	May (n=16)	June (n=27)	July (n=10)	Aug. (n=20)	Sept. (n=14)	Oct. (n=18)	Nov. (n=2)
Ads	0	1	2	12(**1**)	5(**3**)	20(**1**)	0	7(**3**)	11(**2**)	40(**1**)	0
Cynicism	0	0	3(**3**)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Debate	0	1	1	0	4	8	6(**3**)	11(**2**)	3	34(**2**)	2(**4**)
Endorsements	0	0	1	0	5(**3**)	19(**2**)	12(**1**)	3(**5**)	16(**1**)	27(**3**)	8(**1**)
Experience	6(**2**)	3(**3**)	7(**1**)	12(**1**)	11(**2**)	17(**3**)	7(**2**)	18(**1**)	7(**3**)	12(**4**)	0
National Politicians	2(**4**)	1	0	0	0	1	3(**5**)	0	0	0	0
John Warner	1(**5**)	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0
George Allen	3(**3**)	3(**3**)	1	0	1	4	1	1	2	1	2(**4**)
Mark Warner	1(**5**)	2	3(**3**)	1	3	7	1	1	1	5	1
News Media	0	3(**3**)	0	4(**4**)	18(**1**)	17(**3**)	1	1	7(**3**)	10(**5**)	4(**2**)
Polls	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	6	0
Speeches	0	0	2	0	4	4	1	2	2	8	0
Voting	1(**5**)	14(**1**)	7(**1**)	7(**3**)	5(**3**)	6	2	2	2	6	3(**3**)
Hitler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Campaign Contributions	10(**1**)	0	0	1	1	12(**5**)	6(**3**)	1	7(**3**)	10(**5**)	0
Internet	0	5(**2**)	3(**3**)	2(**5**)	2	2	0	4(**4**)	0	0	0
Totals	**24**	**36**	**30**	**40**	**59**	**118**	**42**	**53**	**65**	**162**	**21**

Table 6

Newspaper Strategy Frequencies

	Richmond Times-Dispatch			*The Roanoke Times*			*The Virginian-Pilot*			*The Washington Post*		
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
	(n=79)	(n=126)	(n=62)	(n=37)	(n=69)	(n=23)	(n=28)	(n=43)	(n=24)	(n=53)	(n=107)	(n=43)
Ads	159(**1**)	301(**1**)	84(**2**)	45(**3**)	144(**1**)	36(**2**)	26(**3**)	126(**1**)	13(**4**)	61(**3**)	302(**1**)	68(**2**)
Cynicism	3	6	0	0	2	0	2	4	0	2	8	1
Debate	75(**2**)	176(**2**)	15	52(**2**)	93(**2**)	4	35(**1**)	101(**2**)	5	94(**1**)	159(**2**)	21
Endorsements	20	49	33(**5**)	3	55	0	5	17	8	15	35	22
Experience	23	57	16	17(**5**)	47	8	11	21	12	30	47	23
National Politicians	1	10	4	1	1	0	0	4	0	4	1	1
John Warner	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	6	0	0
George Allen	9	25	11	0	8	8	2	3	2	12	14	13
Mark Warner	36	66	18	18(**4**)	21	11	15	18	11	59(**4**)	43	20
News Media	55(**4**)	65	32	14	33	14(**5**)	14	39(**5**)	7	40	50	28
Polls	54(**5**)	120(**3**)	82(**3**)	61(**1**)	59(**4**)	38(**1**)	31(**2**)	47(**3**)	31(**2**)	72(**2**)	91(**4**)	44(**4**)
Speeches	10	42	37(**4**)	8	20	18(**4**)	8	28	26(**3**)	12	50	54(**3**)
Voting	75(**2**)	92(**4**)	117(**1**)	13	78(**3**)	31(**3**)	21(**4**)	43(**4**)	33(**1**)	52(**5**)	114(**3**)	76(**1**)
Hitler	1	48	6	0	19	4	0	28	0	0	30	5
Contributions	36	77(**5**)	28	9	59(**4**)	8	20(**5**)	6	13(**4**)	36	55(**5**)	30(**5**)
Internet	45	12	2	5	2	0	0	20	0	2	21	0
Totals	**604**	**1,147**	**485**	**246**	**642**	**182**	**191**	**506**	**161**	**497**	**1,020**	**406**

Table 7

Kaine Audience Frequencies

	Jan. (n=9)	Feb. (n=3)	Mar. (n=14)	Apr. (n=6)	May (n=12)	June (n=12)	July (n=8)	Aug. (n=14)	Sept. (n=21)	Oct. (n=16)	Nov. (n=7)
Business	2(**4**)	0	6(**2**)	0	13(**1**)	7(**4**)	4(**1**)	3	26(**2**)	3	1
Labor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gays	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	5(**1**)	0	1(**4**)	0	1(**5**)	5	4(**1**)	18(**1**)	7(**4**)	5	2
Conservatives	0	5(**2**)	0	0	1(**5**)	0	0	2	11(**3**)	12(**4**)	2
Democrats	3(**3**)	2(**3**)	1(**4**)	1(**1**)	3(**3**)	9(**2**)	2(**3**)	6(**3**)	5(**5**)	19(**3**)	14(**2**)
Elderly	0	0	3(**3**)	0	0	2	0	0	5(**5**)	2	0
Independent	0	1(**4**)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9(**5**)	4
Liberals	0	0	0	0	2(**4**)	0	0	2	0	5	2
Minorities	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(**3**)	1	2	1	9(**4**)
Republicans	2(**4**)	11(**1**)	7(**1**)	0	11(**2**)	8(**3**)	2(**3**)	8(**2**)	30(**1**)	38(**2**)	31(**1**)
Women	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	4(**5**)	3	3	0
Youth	5(**1**)	0	1(**4**)	0	0	7(**4**)	0	5(**4**)	0	2	0
Veterans	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	95(**1**)	10(**3**)
Moderates	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5(**5**)
Disabled	0	0	0	0	0	46(**1**)	0	0	3	3	1
Totals	**18**	**19**	**19**	**1**	**31**	**93**	**14**	**49**	**96**	**198**	**81**

Table 8

Kilgore Audience Frequencies

	Jan. (n=7)	Feb. (n=14)	Mar. (n=9)	Apr. (n=17)	May (n=16)	June (n=27)	July (n=10)	Aug. (n=20)	Sept. (n=14)	Oct. (n=18)	Nov. (n=2)
Business	3(**5**)	8(**2**)	3(**4**)	15(**2**)	14(**3**)	3	15(**1**)	11(**2**)	5(**4**)	16(**2**)	1(**1**)
Labor	0	1	1(**5**)	0	3(**5**)	1	1	4	5(**4**)	1	0
Gays	0	0	1(**5**)	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Children	4(**4**)	4(**5**)	13(**1**)	10(**3**)	16(**1**)	7	3	10(**4**)	4	3	1(**1**)
Conservatives	1	2	1(**5**)	3(**5**)	0	13(**4**)	6(**3**)	1	0	3	1(**1**)
Democrats	6(**3**)	2	6(**2**)	6(**4**)	9(**4**)	27(**2**)	5(**5**)	11(**2**)	8(**3**)	16(**2**)	1(**1**)
Elderly	0	0	0	0	3(**5**)	0	0	1	0	1	0
Independent	1	6(**4**)	0	0	3(**5**)	1	2	5	1	4	0
Liberals	9(**2**)	8(**2**)	1(**5**)	0	1	8(**5**)	6(**3**)	2	0	11(**4**)	0
Minorities	0	2	0	1	2	3	0	0	2	3	0
Republicans	10(**1**)	31(**1**)	6(**2**)	20(**1**)	16(**1**)	38(**1**)	14(**2**)	12(**1**)	13(**2**)	18(**1**)	1(**1**)
Women	0	3	0	2	3(**5**)	2	0	0	3	5(**5**)	0
Youth	0	0	1(**5**)	2	0	8(**5**)	0	6(**5**)	1	1	0
Veterans	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	64(**1**)	0	0
Moderates	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disabled	0	0	0	0	0	18(**3**)	0	3	2	0	0
Totals	**35**	**70**	**33**	**59**	**71**	**131**	**53**	**66**	**108**	**82**	**5**

Table 9

Newspaper Audience Frequencies

	Richmond Times-Dispatch			The Roanoke Times			The Virginian-Pilot			The Washington Post		
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
	(n=79)	(n=126)	(n=62)	(n=37)	(n=69)	(n=23)	(n=28)	(n=43)	(n=24)	(n=53)	(n=107)	(n=43)
Business	20(**5**)	29	6	18(**5**)	18	2	7(**4**)	24(**5**)	1	22(**4**)	41	17
Labor	32(**4**)	18	28(**3**)	10	5	0	5(**5**)	2	0	9	7	3
Gays	6	9	1	20(**4**)	3	1	1	12	1	5	4	11
Children	13	78(**3**)	15	14	29(**4**)	5	1	32(**3**)	11(**4**)	12	39	26(**4**)
Conservatives	11	29	22(**5**)	9	26(**5**)	12(**4**)	1	11	8(**5**)	21(**5**)	53(**3**)	14
Democrats	189(**2**)	234(**2**)	134(**2**)	72(**2**)	128(**2**)	65(**1**)	79(**2**)	82(**2**)	64(**2**)	118(**2**)	231(**2**)	123(**2**)
Elderly	3	7	1	0	18	1	0	2	0	0	3	1
Independent	68(**3**)	76(**4**)	25(**4**)	36(**3**)	39(**3**)	11(**5**)	33(**3**)	31(**4**)	22(**3**)	43(**3**)	47(**5**)	23(**5**)
Liberals	14	29	12	2	19	13(**3**)	3	11	1	21(**5**)	52(**4**)	8
Minorities	12	43(**5**)	16	1	2	1	0	9	4	13	37	45(**3**)
Republicans	216(**1**)	316(**1**)	157(**1**)	77(**1**)	164(**1**)	65(**1**)	80(**1**)	90(**1**)	69(**1**)	155(**1**)	264(**1**)	159(**1**)
Women	7	29	9	7	12	2	3	7	2	11	43	3
Youth	14	31	8	3	19	5	0	16	1	2	8	12
Veterans	11	5	1	2	8	0	0	7	2	7	2	10
Moderates	6	11	3	0	3	1	3	3	1	7	11	10
Disabled	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
Totals	**624**	**947**	**438**	**271**	**495**	**184**	**216**	**339**	**187**	**446**	**846**	**467**

Table 10

Kaine Issue Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
Jan	1.00	.70**	.60**	.47**	.41*	.34	.39*	.34	.30	.29	.15
Feb		1.00	.87**	.63**	.66**	.53**	.55**	.55**	.49**	.51**	.41*
Mar			1.00	.78**	.83**	.71**	.73**	.75**	.69**	.71**	.65**
Apr				1.00	.98**	.98**	.98**	.97**	.97**	.97**	.91**
May					1.00	.97**	.97**	.98**	.97**	.97**	.93**
Jun						1.00	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.96**
Jul							1.00	.98**	.98**	.98**	.95**
Aug								1.00	.99**	.99**	.96**
Sep									1.00	.99**	.98**
Oct										1.00	.98**
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 11

Kilgore Issue Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
Jan	1.00	.88**	.72**	.54**	.46**	.43*	.36*	.36*	.34	.31	.23
Feb		1.00	.90**	.87**	.81**	.79**	.74**	.74**	.72**	.70**	.65**
Mar			1.00	.84**	.83**	.79**	.75**	.76**	.75**	.72**	.69**
Apr				1.00	.99**	.99**	.97**	.97**	.97**	.96**	.93**
May					1.00	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.98**	.97**
Jun						1.00	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.98**
Jul							1.00	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
Aug								1.00	.99**	.99**	.99**
Sep									1.00	.99**	.99**
Oct										1.00	.99**
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 12

Kaine Strategy Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
Jan	1.00	.22	.36	-.12	.19	.63**	.71**	.13	.56*	-.03	.25
Feb		1.00	.52*	-.08	.65**	.45	.44	.45	.69**	.32	.31
Mar			1.00	.10	.41	.49	.75**	.39	.38	.28	.56*
Apr				1.00	-.12	.42	.19	.75**	-.18	.13	-.07
May					1.00	.60*	.22	.40	.76**	.38	.55*
Jun						1.00	.64**	.74**	.60*	.08	.29
Jul							1.00	.51*	.50*	.12	.51*
Aug								1.00	.31	.17	.25
Sep									1.00	.51*	.58*
Oct										1.00	.66**
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 13

Kilgore Strategy Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
Jan	1.00	-.05	.10	.17	-.01	.24	.37	.22	.14	-.11	-.24
Feb		1.00	.66**	.38	.21	-.03	-.15	.04	-.19	-.19	.15
Mar			1.00	.63**	.27	.18	.07	.52*	-.06	-.00	-.01
Apr				1.00	.53*	.62*	.02	.65**	.38	.41	-.11
May					1.00	.70**	.20	.41	.43	.30	.40
Jun						1.00	.55*	.50*	.87**	.72**	.48
Jul							1.00	.42	.66**	.45	.59*
Aug								1.00	.31	.52*	-.07
Sep									1.00	.70**	.59*
Oct										1.00	.34
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 14

Kaine Audience Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
Jan	1.00	.09	.30	.28	.25	.06	.57*	.79**	.22	.07	.16
Feb		1.00	.58*	.07	.54*	-.01	.15	.25	.71**	.27	.81**
Mar			1.00	-.02	.91**	.04	.56*	.29	.91**	.10	.53*
Apr				1.00	.07	.08	.21	.17	-.03	.07	.29
May					1.00	.05	.65**	.26	.93**	.11	.50*
Jun						1.00	.00	-.01	.07	.03	.02
Jul							1.00	.69**	.61*	-.05	.28
Aug								1.00	.33	-.02	.25
Sep									1.00	.11	.55*
Oct										1.00	.51*
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 15

Kilgore Audience Agenda Correlations

	Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
Jan	1.00	.76**	.53*	.63**	.60*	.69**	.71**	.61*	.05	.82**	.54*
Feb		1.00	.35	.79**	.63**	.66**	.75**	.55*	.12	.71**	.46
Mar			1.00	.66**	.83**	.43	.40	.74**	-.03	.41	.74**
Apr				1.00	.91**	.61*	.87**	.83**	.02	.77**	.81**
May					1.00	.47	.72**	.87**	-.03	.70**	.78**
Jun						1.00	.54*	.61*	-.03	.64**	.60*
Jul							1.00	.70**	-.04	.86**	.75**
Aug								1.00	-.07	.73**	.75**
Sep									1.00	-.05	-.03
Oct										1.00	.67**
Nov											1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 16

Newspaper Issue Agenda Correlations

		Richmond Times-Dispatch			The Roanoke Times			The Virginian-Pilot			The Washington Post		
		Sep (n=79)	Oct (n=126)	Nov (n=62)	Sep (n=37)	Oct (n=69)	Nov (n=23)	Sep (n=28)	Oct (n=43)	Nov (n=24)	Sep (n=53)	Oct (n=107)	Nov (n=43)
Richmond	Sep	1.00	.95**	.92**	.93**	.98**	.93**	.86**	.99**	.94**	.98**	.97**	.92**
Times-	Oct		1.00	.99**	.80**	.99**	.99**	.67**	.97**	.99**	.88**	.99**	.99**
Dispatch	Nov			1.00	.73**	.97**	.99**	.60**	.93**	.99**	.83**	.99**	1.00**
The	Sep				1.00	.86**	.76**	.96**	.92**	.79**	.98**	.82**	.74**
Roanoke	Oct					1.00	.98**	.76**	.99**	.98**	.93**	.99**	.98**
Times	Nov						1.00	.63**	.94**	.99**	.85**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep							1.00	.84**	.65**	.94**	.71**	.61**
Virginian-	Oct								1.00	.95**	.97**	.98**	.94**
Pilot	Nov									1.00	.87**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep										1.00	.90**	.84**
Washington	Oct											1.00	.99**
Post	Nov												1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 17

Newspaper Strategy Agenda Correlations

		Richmond Times-Dispatch			*The Roanoke Times*			*The Virginian-Pilot*			*The Washington Post*		
		Sep (n=79)	Oct (n=126)	Nov (n=62)	Sep (n=37)	Oct (n=69)	Nov (n=23)	Sep (n=28)	Oct (n=43)	Nov (n=24)	Sep (n=53)	Oct (n=107)	Nov (n=43)
Richmond Times-Dispatch	Sep	1.00	.92**	.67**	.70**	.88**	.68**	.73**	.89**	.36	.70**	.95**	.68**
	Oct		1.00	.60*	.79**	.94**	.66**	.79**	.94**	.35	.76**	.98**	.65**
	Nov			1.00	.52*	.70**	.91**	.63**	.52*	.85**	.55*	.65**	.93**
The Roanoke Times	Sep				1.00	.72**	.65**	.90**	.79**	.47	.89**	.73**	.49
	Oct					1.00	.64**	.81**	.87**	.46	.75**	.94**	.74**
	Nov						1.00	.66**	.57*	.82**	.59*	.68**	.87**
The Virginian-Pilot	Sep							1.00	.74**	.59*	.96**	.75**	.65**
	Oct								1.00	.27	.72**	.95**	.58*
	Nov									1.00	.50	.37	.86**
The Washington Post	Sep										1.00	.70**	.55*
	Oct											1.00	.71**
	Nov												1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 18

Newspaper Audience Agenda Correlations

		Richmond Times-Dispatch			The Roanoke Times			The Virginian-Pilot			The Washington Post		
		Sep (n=79)	Oct (n=126)	Nov (n=62)	Sep (n=37)	Oct (n=69)	Nov (n=23)	Sep (n=28)	Oct (n=43)	Nov (n=24)	Sep (n=53)	Oct (n=107)	Nov (n=43)
Richmond Times-Dispatch	Sep	1.00	.97**	.99**	.97**	.98**	.97**	.99**	.96**	.99**	.99**	.96**	.96**
	Oct		1.00	.98**	.94**	.98**	.96**	.95**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.98**
	Nov			1.00	.93**	.98**	.98**	.96**	.94**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.97**
The Roanoke Times	Sep				1.00	.94**	.93**	.97**	.96**	.96**	.96**	.93**	.91**
	Oct					1.00	.98**	.96**	.97**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.95**
	Nov						1.00	.96**	.95**	.98**	.99**	.98**	.95**
The Virginian-Pilot	Sep							1.00	.95**	.98**	.98**	.95**	.93**
	Oct								1.00	.97**	.96**	.95**	.95**
	Nov									1.00	.98**	.97**	.96**
The Washington Post	Sep										1.00	.98**	.97**
	Oct											1.00	.96**
	Nov												1.00

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 19

Intercandidate Issue Agenda Correlations

		Kaine										
		Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
	Jan (n=7)	.91**	.78**	.68**	.59**	.51**	.44*	.48**	.42*	.38*	.38*	.23
	Feb (n=14)	.82**	.79**	.84**	.88**	.83**	.79**	.81**	.78**	.75**	.76**	.65**
	Mar (n=9)	.62**	.82**	.98**	.86**	.88**	.79**	.81**	.82**	.78**	.79**	.72**
	Apr (n=17)	.47**	.59**	.77**	.99**	.97**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.93**
	May (n=16)	.36*	.56**	.75**	.98**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.96**
Kilgore	Jun (n=27)	.35	.52**	.71**	.97**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.97**
	Jul (n=10)	.27	.46**	.66**	.96**	.95**	.99**	.98**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.98**
	Aug (n=20)	.29	.47**	.68**	.96**	.96**	.99**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.98**
	Sep (n=14)	.25	.46**	.66**	.95**	.95**	.99**	.98**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**
	Oct (n=18)	.29	.42*	.63**	.94**	.94**	.98**	.97**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**
	Nov (n=2)	.15	.39*	.61**	.91**	.93**	.97**	.95**	.97**	.98**	.98**	.99**

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 20

Intercandidate Strategy Agenda Correlations

		Kaine										
		Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
	Jan (n=7)	.79**	.14	-.03	-.16	.20	.48	.21	.01	.41	-.11	-.09
	Feb (n=14)	-.12	.02	.15	-.09	.16	-.14	.05	.12	.06	.16	.37
	Mar (n=9)	-.12	.35	.18	-.06	.62*	.18	-.10	.28	.35	.24	.23
	Apr (n=17)	.15	.24	.31	-.15	.85**	.50	.11	.26	.48	.11	.50*
	May (n=16)	.35	.38	.93**	.05	.56*	.50*	.64**	.33	.48	.42	.72**
Kilgore	Jun (n=27)	.45	.28	.47	.12	.71**	.67**	.45	.37	.73**	.57*	.75**
	Jul (n=10)	.23	.07	.06	.41	.23	.36	.04	.25	.35	.72**	.25
	Aug (n=20)	.06	.28	.29	.45	.66**	.69**	.04	.56*	.32	.18	.08
	Sep (n=14)	.27	.02	.16	.07	.46	.37	.15	.09	.52*	.66**	.64**
	Oct (n=18)	.04	-.07	.08	.57*	.40	.56*	.17	.56*	.27	.33	.43
	Nov (n=2)	-.05	.02	.28	.24	.05	-.06	.18	.09	.23	.86**	.65**

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 21

Intercandidate Audience Agenda Correlations

		Kaine										
		Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
	Jan (n=7)	.29	.59*	.50*	.30	.60*	-.04	.40	.46	.52*	.21	.64**
	Feb (n=14)	.14	.83**	.74**	-.08	.73**	-.03	.34	.33	.78**	.29	.81**
	Mar (n=9)	.73**	.28	.35	.30	.35	.01	.77**	.94**	.40	.02	.32
	Apr (n=17)	.50*	.66**	.87**	.10	.89**	.05	.77**	.61*	.93**	.13	.61*
	May (n=16)	.56*	.44	.74**	.21	.75**	-.01	.87**	.75**	.76**	.03	.48
Kilgore	Jun (n=27)	.31	.80**	.47	.46	.48	.40	.26	.38	.55*	.17	.75**
	Jul (n=10)	.22	.62*	.82**	.09	.95**	-.04	.60*	.30	.91**	.09	.49
	Aug (n=20)	.70**	.43	.67**	.41	.71**	.16	.73**	.66**	.68**	.01	.46
	Sep (n=14)	.07	.05	.01	.02	.03	.04	-.04	-.07	-.02	.96**	.34
	Oct (n=18)	.26	.54*	.69**	.46	.84**	-.04	.56*	.33	.73**	.08	.60*
	Nov (n=2)	.50*	.57*	.57*	.38	.67**	-.00	.73**	.64**	.75**	.09	.43

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 22

Kaine's Issue Agenda Correlations with the Media

		Kaine										
		Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
Richmond	Sep	.46**	.64**	.80**	.99**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.97**	.97**	.97**	.92**
Times-	Oct	.25	.45*	.67**	.95**	.95**	.99**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
Dispatch	Nov	.16	.37*	.59**	.92**	.92**	.97**	.95**	.97**	.98**	.98**	.99**
The	Sep	.60**	.74**	.86**	.92**	.89**	.86**	.86**	.86**	.83**	.83**	.75**
Roanoke	Oct	.34	.52**	.71**	.98**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.97**
Times	Nov	.17	.38*	.60**	.92**	.93**	.97**	.96**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep	.67**	.78**	.84**	.84**	.80**	.75**	.76**	.73**	.70**	.71**	.63**
Virginian-	Oct	.43*	.60**	.78**	.99**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.98**	.97**	.98**	.93**
Pilot	Nov	.18	.40*	.62**	.93**	.94**	.98**	.96**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep	.54**	.70**	.82**	.96**	.94**	.92**	.92**	.91**	.90**	.90**	.84**
Washington	Oct	.28	.47**	.67**	.96**	.96**	.99**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.98**
Post	Nov	.16	.37*	.60**	.92**	.92**	.97**	.96**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 23

Kilgore's Issue Agenda Correlations with the Media

		Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
							Kilgore					
Richmond	Sep	.57**	.87**	.87**	.98**	.98**	.97**	.96**	.96**	.95**	.94**	.92**
Times-	Oct	.34	.72**	.74**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
Dispatch	Nov	.24	.65**	.68**	.94**	.97**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep	.71**	.91**	.90**	.90**	.86**	.84**	.80**	.81**	.80**	.78**	.74**
Roanoke	Oct	.44*	.79**	.79**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.97**
Times	Nov	.26	.66**	.69**	.94**	.97**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep	.81**	.91**	.88**	.80**	.76**	.73**	.69**	.68**	.68**	.65**	.61**
Virginian-	Oct	.54**	.85**	.86**	.99**	.99**	.98**	.97**	.97**	.96**	.96**	.93**
Pilot	Nov	.27	.67**	.71**	.95**	.97**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
The	Sep	.67**	.91**	.89**	.95**	.93**	.92**	.89**	.89**	.88**	.87**	.83**
Washington	Oct	.37*	.75**	.76**	.97**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**
Post	Nov	.24	.65**	.68**	.94**	.97**	.98**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**	.99**

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 24

Kaine's Strategy Agenda Correlations with the Media

		Kaine										
		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov
		(n=9)	(n=3)	(n=14)	(n=6)	(n=12)	(n=12)	(n=8)	(n=14)	(n=21)	(n=16)	(n=7)
Richmond	Sep	.09	-.05	.11	.23	.42	.45	.29	.45	.28	.02	.50*
Times-	Oct	.06	-.06	.01	.35	.39	.50*	.19	.51*	.19	-.04	.37
Dispatch	Nov	-.05	-.12	-.01	-.09	.26	-.01	.01	.11	.12	.19	.55*
The	Sep	-.04	.06	.08	.47	.20	.42	.17	.52*	.01	-.06	.13
Roanoke	Oct	.13	-.10	.02	.38	.44	.53*	.18	.51*	.26	.17	.50
Times	Nov	-.04	-.01	.02	-.18	.28	.04	.03	.08	.08	-.08	.39
The	Sep	.22	.07	.16	.51*	.21	.55*	.38	.65**	.14	.02	.31
Virginian-	Oct	-.13	-.13	.10	.50*	.29	.43	.17	.56*	.02	-.06	.31
Pilot	Nov	.02	.04	.04	-.10	.20	-.01	-.01	.11	.13	.15	.31
The	Sep	.15	.25	.25	.57*	.28	.58*	.45	.77**	.21	.10	.35
Washington	Oct	-.01	-.12	-.02	.32	.40	.44	.13	.48	.16	-.05	.38
Post	Nov	.06	-.06	.08	-.03	.36	.16	.09	.23	.22	.13	.53*

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 25

Kilgore's Strategy Agenda Correlations with the Media

		Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Kilgore Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
Richmond	Sep	-.16	.25	.17	.64**	.29	.52*	-.10	.33	.39	.72**	.01
Times-	Oct	-.11	-.01	.03	.55*	.18	.50*	.01	.39	.43	.83**	-.04
Dispatch	Nov	-.12	.53*	.32	.49	.18	.27	-.05	.04	.31	.35	.16
The	Sep	-.18	-.06	-.03	.30	.11	.20	.01	.42	.21	.59*	-.13
Roanoke	Oct	.02	.13	.17	.60*	.25	.62*	.25	.46	.58*	.86**	.14
Times	Nov	-.14	.33	.19	.50*	.15	.18	-.30	.06	.19	.28	-.13
The	Sep	.05	.11	.07	.32	.20	.33	.13	.37	.27	.62*	.00
Virginian-	Oct	-.34	.04	.04	.48	.24	.40	-.06	.43	.30	.82**	-.01
Pilot	Nov	.02	.41	.36	.31	.13	.11	.02	.08	.15	.13	.01
The	Sep	-.04	.15	.10	.30	.24	.33	.12	.39	.22	.60*	.06
Washington	Oct	-.16	.10	.13	.60*	.18	.48	-.04	.39	.39	.81**	-.05
Post	Nov	-.03	.41	.35	.54*	.28	.40	-.02	.16	.35	.45	.09

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 26

Kaine's Audience Agenda Correlations with the Media

| | | Kaine | | | | | | | | | | |
		Jan (n=9)	Feb (n=3)	Mar (n=14)	Apr (n=6)	May (n=12)	Jun (n=12)	Jul (n=8)	Aug (n=14)	Sep (n=21)	Oct (n=16)	Nov (n=7)
Richmond	Sep	.27	.74**	.51*	.61*	.51*	.03	.29	.30	.53*	.26	.85**
Times-	Oct	.37	.78**	.55*	.53*	.54*	.01	.41	.47	.59*	.22	.87**
Dispatch	Nov	.28	.78**	.49	.60*	.50	.02	.31	.35	.53*	.23	.86**
The	Sep	.29	.70**	.51*	.60*	.54*	-.02	.36	.34	.56*	.20	.76**
Roanoke	Oct	.35	.80**	.58*	.56*	.55*	.03	.34	.42	.60*	.26	.85**
Times	Nov	.30	.75**	.46	.67**	.48	.03	.28	.35	.49	.23	.82**
The	Sep	.24	.69**	.47	.65**	.49	.04	.27	.27	.50	.23	.81**
Virginian-	Oct	.47	.70**	.56*	.60*	.58*	-.00	.50	.51*	.60*	.23	.80**
Pilot	Nov	.31	.75**	.46	.63**	.46	.03	.33	.38	.51*	.26	.85**
The	Sep	.24	.80**	.55*	.54*	.58*	.00	.33	.33	.61*	.26	.88**
Washington	Oct	.28	.78*	.52*	.60*	.56*	.01	.38	.39	.59*	.21	.85**
Post	Nov	.33	.77**	.54*	.55*	.54*	.02	.42	.39	.57*	.26	.91**

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 27

Kilgore's Audience Agenda Correlations with the Media

							Kilgore					
		Jan (n=7)	Feb (n=14)	Mar (n=9)	Apr (n=17)	May (n=16)	Jun (n=27)	Jul (n=10)	Aug (n=20)	Sep (n=14)	Oct (n=18)	Nov (n=2)
Richmond Times-Dispatch	Sep	.68**	.69**	.42	.61*	.56*	.82**	.53*	.68**	.08	.74**	.54*
	Oct	.73**	.76**	.55*	.70**	.66**	.86**	.56*	.72**	.04	.75**	.62*
	Nov	.70**	.69**	.45	.62*	.56*	.86**	.53*	.66**	.05	.73**	.58*
The Roanoke Times	Sep	.64**	.66**	.48	.64**	.62*	.76**	.57*	.72**	.02	.74**	.60*
	Oct	.74**	.74**	.50*	.68**	.62*	.87**	.59*	.71**	.06	.76**	.63**
	Nov	.75**	.65**	.45	.58*	.52*	.88**	.54*	.65**	.04	.76**	.60*
The Virginian-Pilot	Sep	.65**	.65**	.39	.57*	.54*	.79**	.51*	.67**	.05	.74**	.52*
	Oct	.73**	.70**	.61*	.73**	.71**	.81**	.61*	.80**	.05	.79**	.68**
	Nov	.68**	.66**	.49	.61*	.58*	.84**	.50*	.67**	.07	.71**	.59*
The Washington Post	Sep	.75**	.77**	.43	.67**	.59	.85**	.62*	.67**	.07	.79**	.59*
	Oct	.77**	.72**	.48	.67**	.60*	.87**	.61*	.67**	.02	.82**	.64**
	Nov	.69**	.72**	.48	.68**	.61*	.85**	.55*	.66**	.08	.73**	.59*

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Figure 2

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kaine and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9
Kaine

.99

T10
Kaine

.97

.97

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .95

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

.95

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

T10
Kaine

.98

T11
Kaine

.99

.99

.98

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .98

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

.99

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*
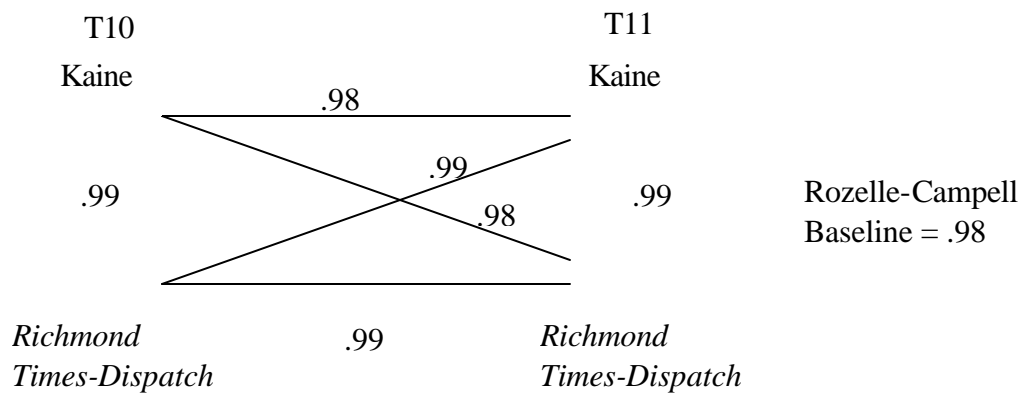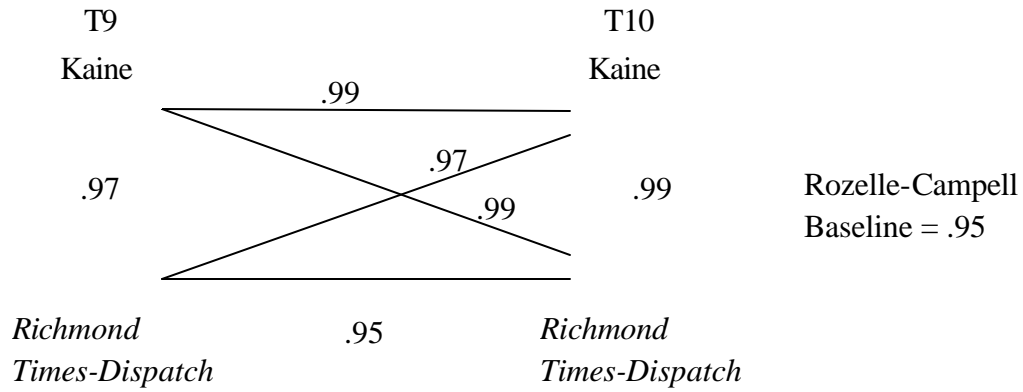
Figure 3

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Roanoke Times

T9
Kaine

T10
Kaine

.99

.83

.83

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .84

*The Roanoke
Times*

.86

*The Roanoke
Times*

T10
Kaine

T11
Kaine

.98

.99

.97

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .97

*The Roanoke
Times*

.98

*The Roanoke
Times*
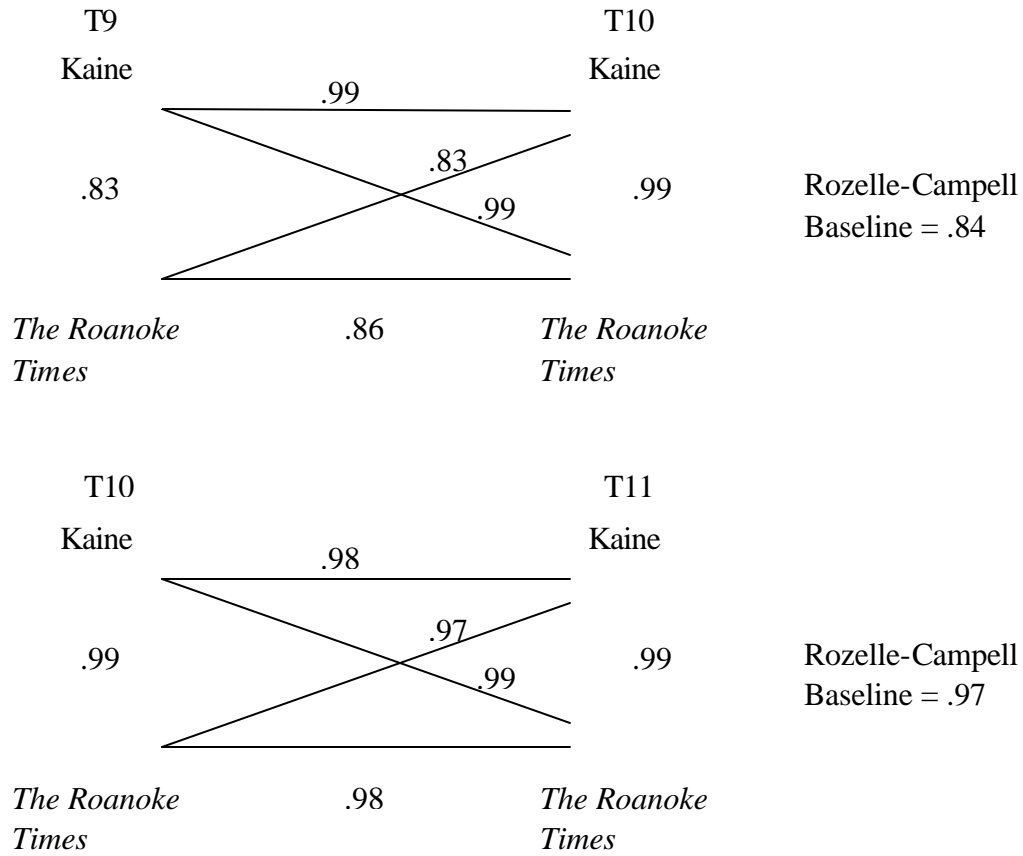
Figure 4

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Virginian-Pilot
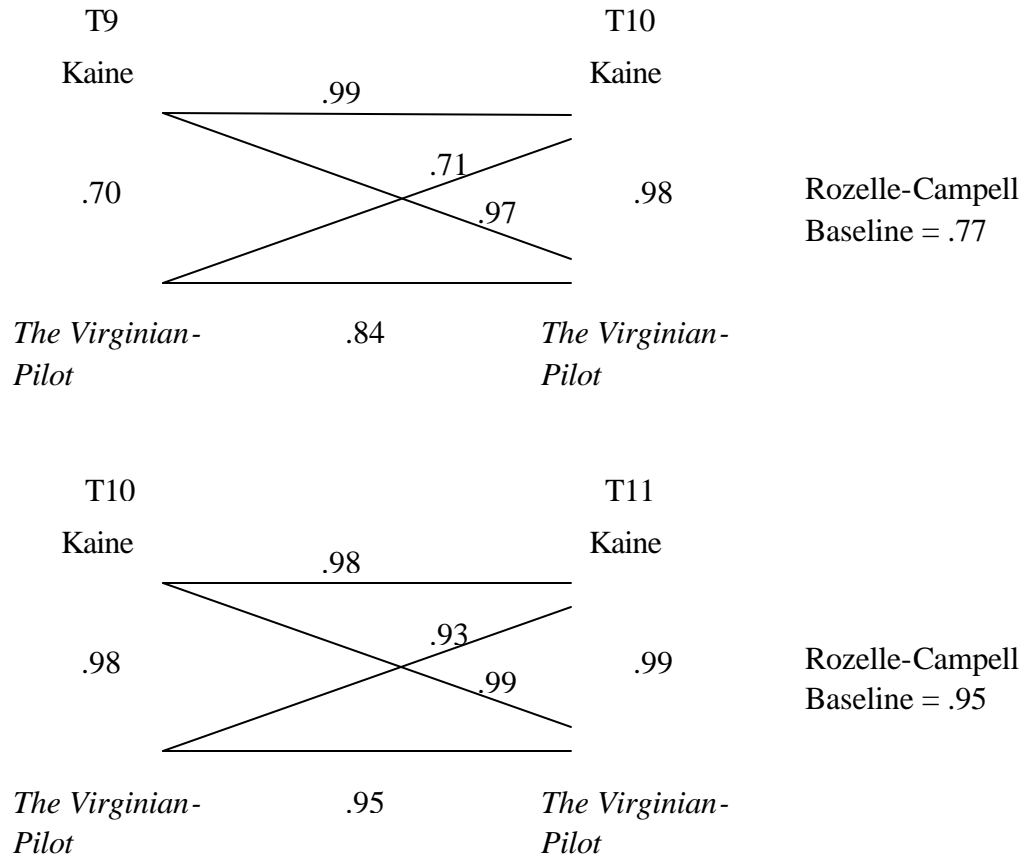
Figure 5

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Washington Post

T9
Kaine

T10
Kaine

.99

.90

.90

.99

.99

.90

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .90

The Washington Post

.90

The Washington Post

T10
Kaine

T11
Kaine

.98

.99

.98

.99

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .98

The Washington Post

.99

The Washington Post
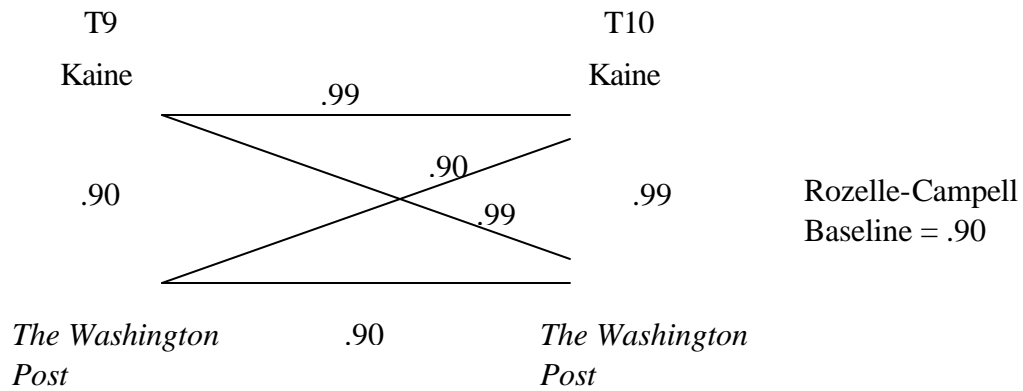
Figure 6

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9
Kilgore

.99

T10
Kilgore

.94

.95

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .94

Richmond
Times-Dispatch

.95

Richmond
Times-Dispatch

T10
Kilgore

.99

T11
Kilgore

.99

.99

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .98

Richmond
Times-Dispatch

.99

Richmond
Times-Dispatch
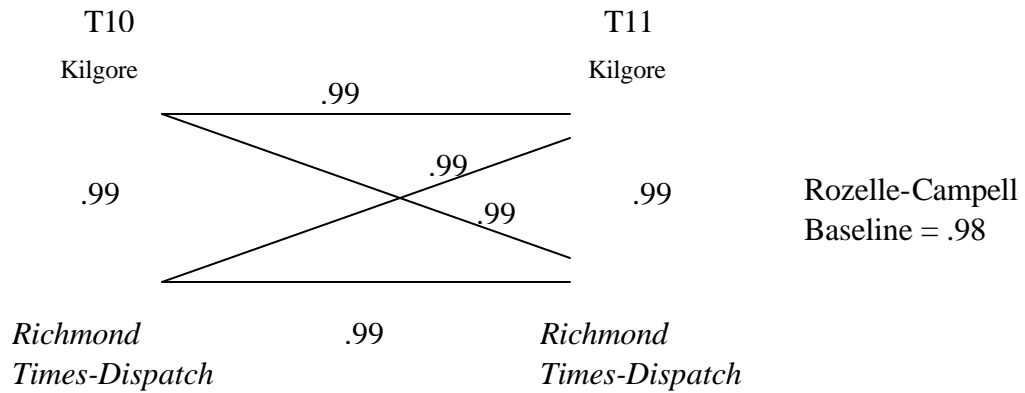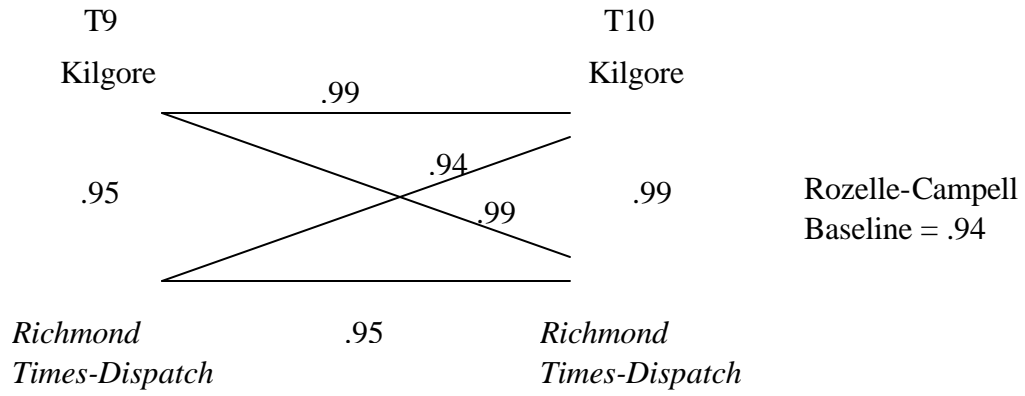
Figure 7

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Roanoke Times

T9   T10

Kilgore   Kilgore

                    .99

                              .78

.80   .99   Rozelle-Campell
                              .99   Baseline = .83

The Roanoke   .86   *The Roanoke*
Times   *Times*

T10   T11

Kilgore   Kilgore

                    .99

                              .97

.99   .99   Rozelle-Campell
                              .99   Baseline = .98

The Roanoke   .99   *The Roanoke*
Times   *Times*
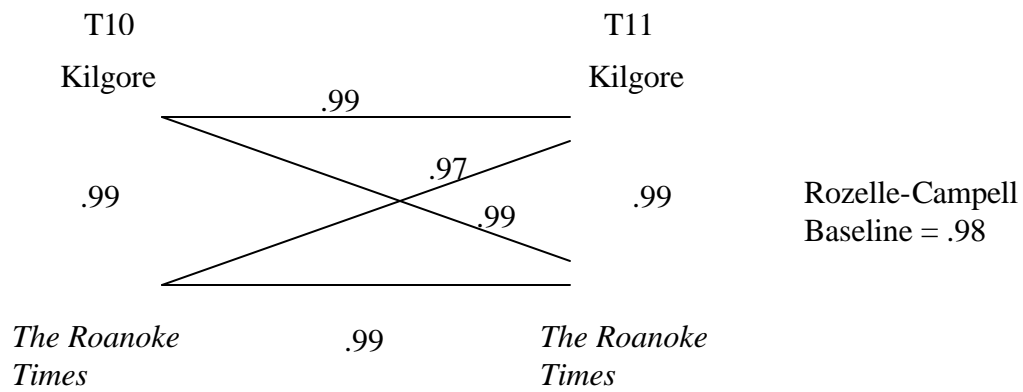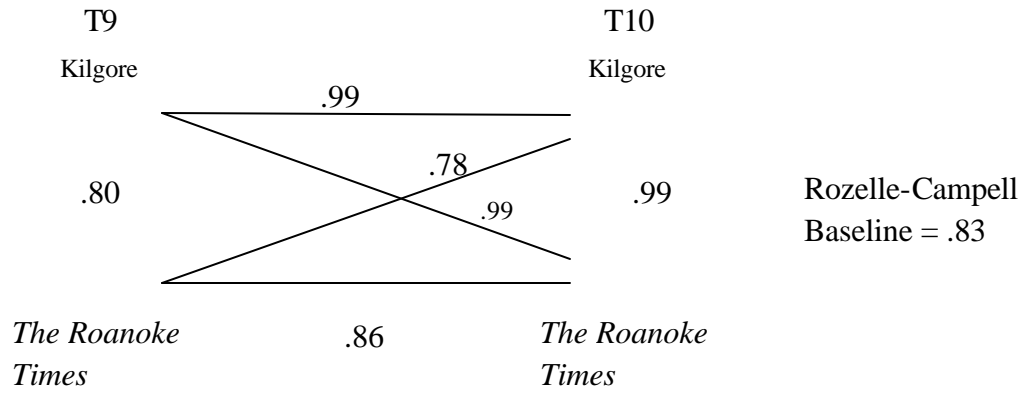
Figure 8

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Virginian-Pilot
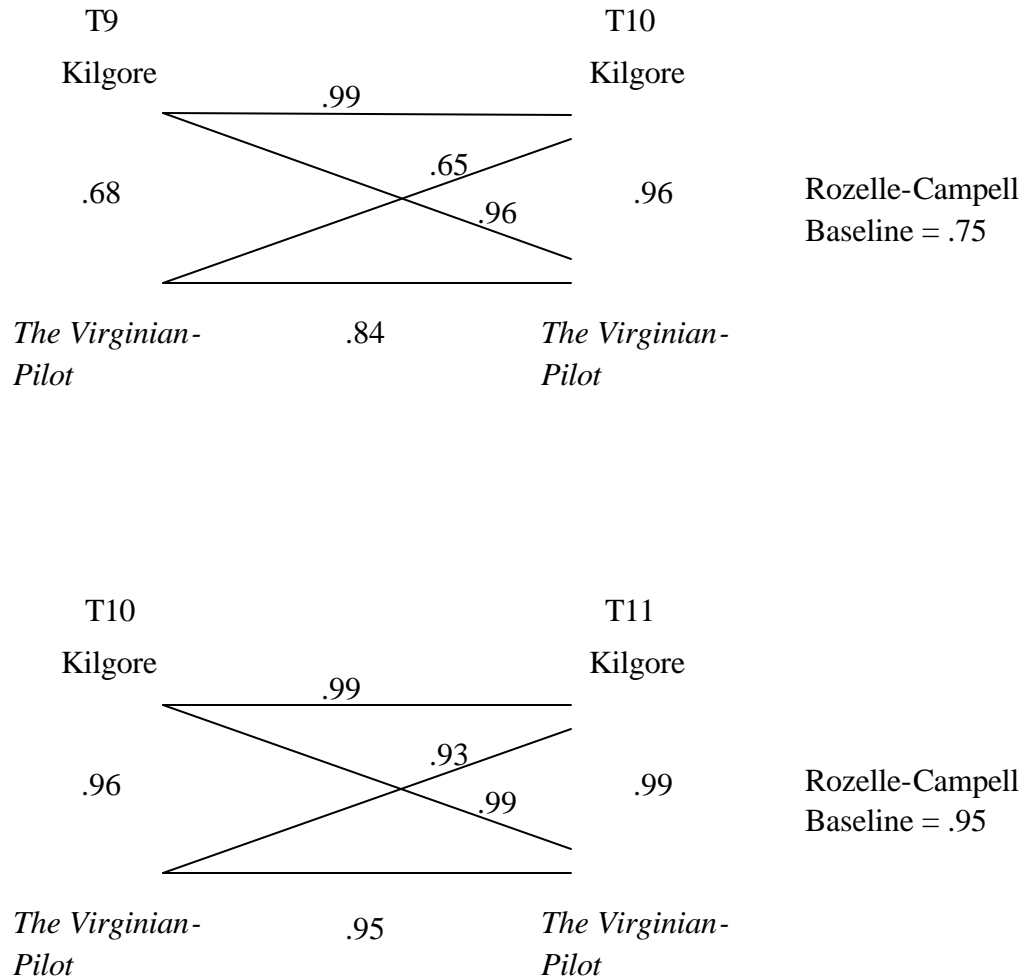
Figure 9

Cross-Lagged Issue Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Washington Post

T9   T10
Kilgore   Kilgore
                    .99
              .87
.88   .87   Rozelle-Campell
              .99   Baseline = .83

The Washington   .90   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

T10   T11
Kilgore   Kilgore
                    .99
              .99
.99   .99   Rozelle-Campell
              .99   Baseline = .98

The Washington   .99   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*
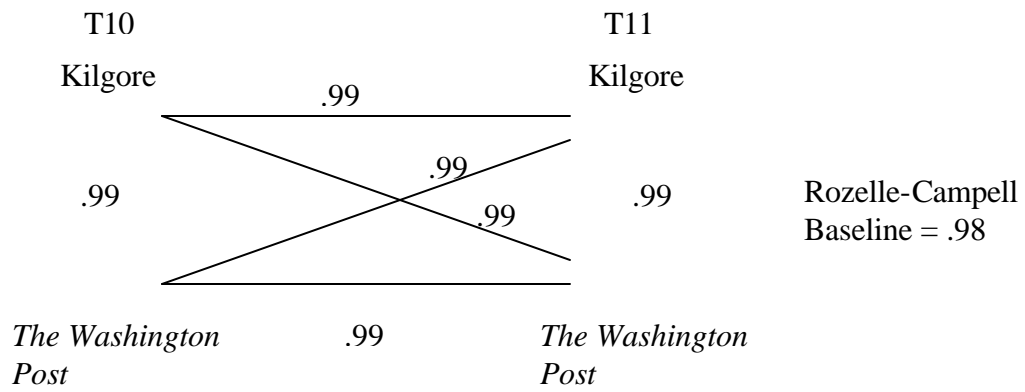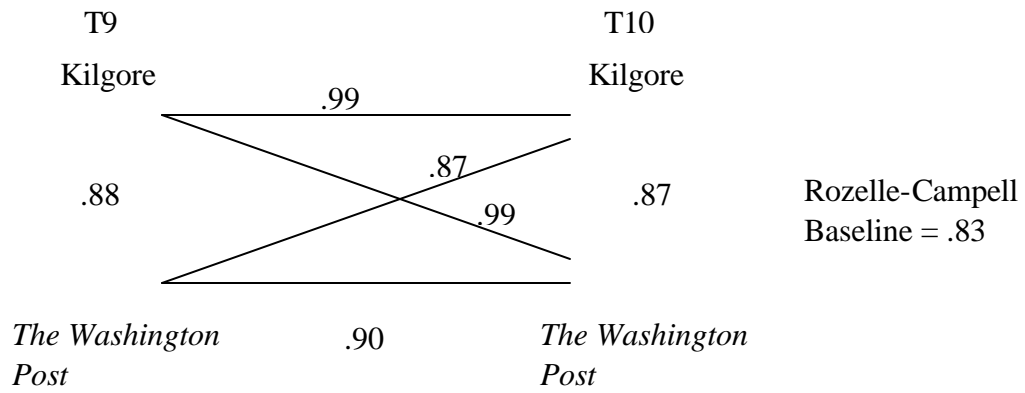
Figure 10

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kaine and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9		T10
Kaine	.51	Kaine
.28	.02 / .19	**-.04** Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .09
Richmond Times-Dispatch	.92	*Richmond Times-Dispatch*

T10		T11
Kaine	.66	Kaine
-.04	.37 / .19	.55 Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .16
Richmond Times-Dispatch	.60	*Richmond Times-Dispatch*
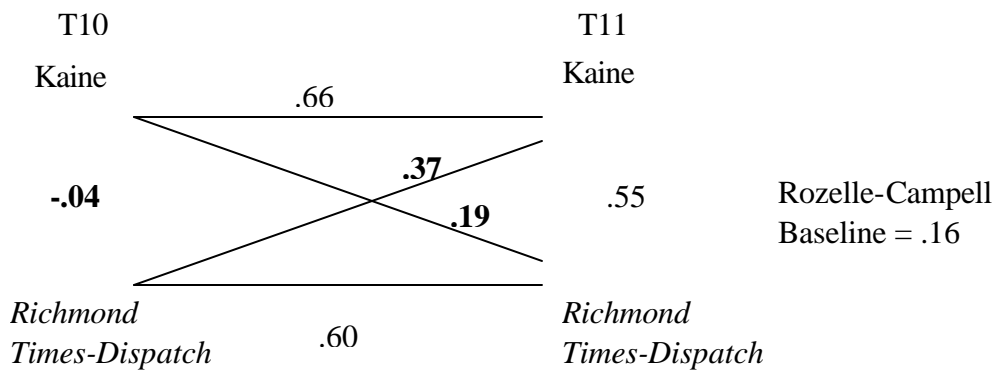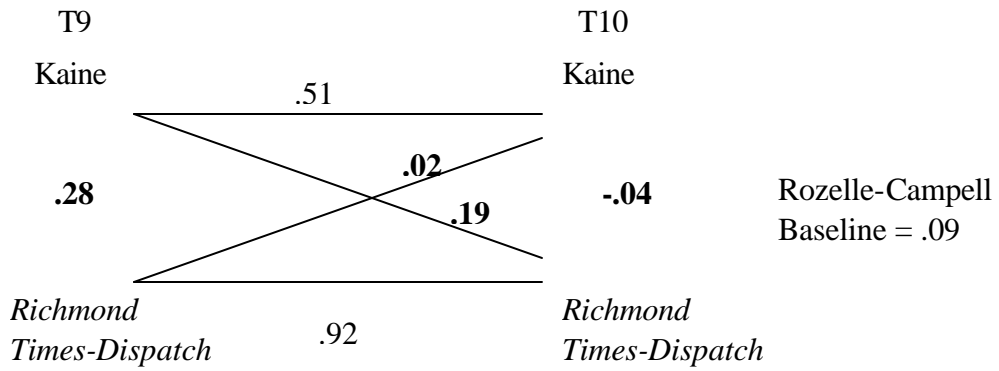
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 11

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Roanoke Times

T9   T10
Kaine   Kaine
                    .51

                              -.06
.01   **.17**   Rozelle-Campell
                        .26   Baseline = .06

The Roanoke   *The Roanoke*
Times   .72   *Times*

T10   T11
Kaine   Kaine
                    .66

                              .50
.17   **.39**   Rozelle-Campell
                        -.08   Baseline = .18

The Roanoke   *The Roanoke*
Times   .64   *Times*

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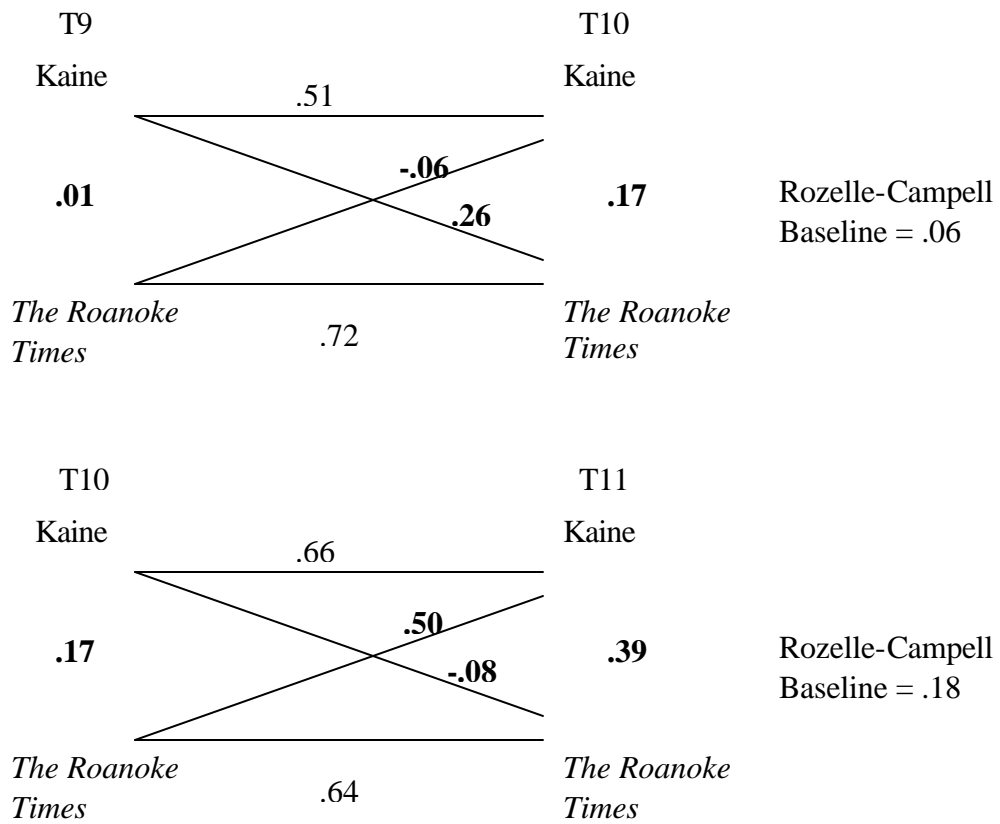
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 12

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Virginian-Pilot

T9   T10
Kaine   Kaine
                        .51

                                    .02
.14   **-.06**   Rozelle-Campell
                                    .02   Baseline = .03

The Virginian-   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   .74   *Pilot*

T10   T11
Kaine   Kaine
                        .66

                                    .31
-.06   **.31**   Rozelle-Campell
                                    .15   Baseline = .07

The Virginian-   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   **.27**   *Pilot*
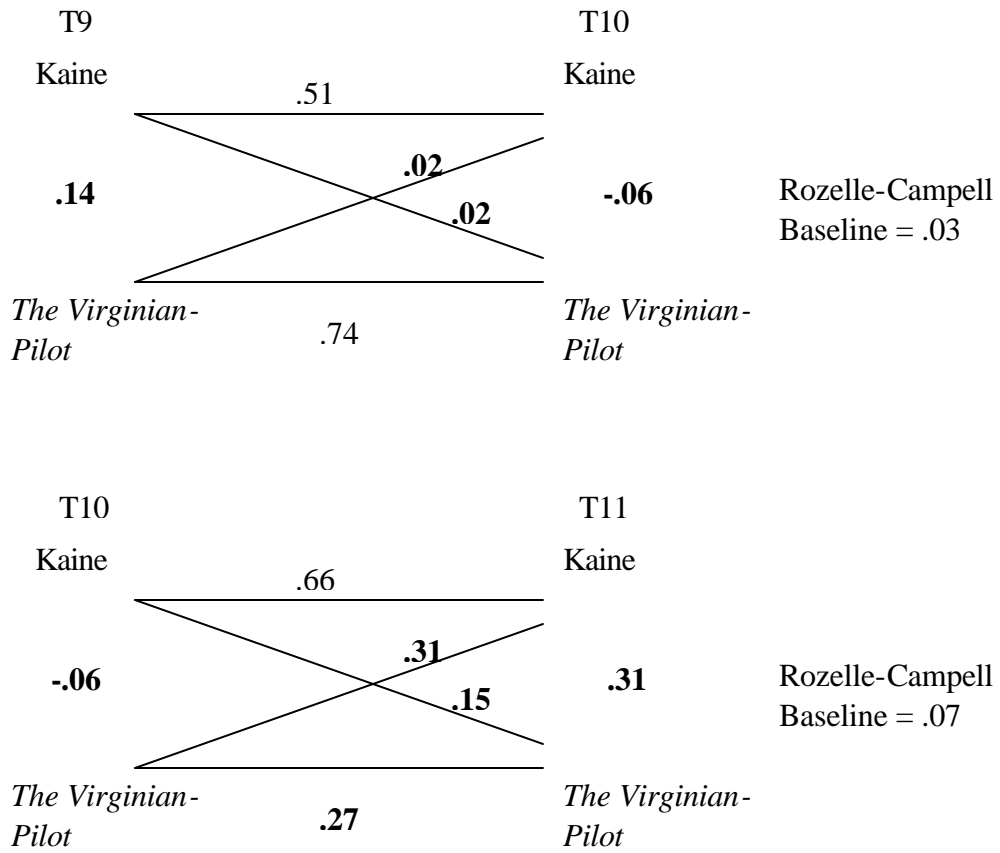
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 13

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kaine and The Washington Post

T9   T10
Kaine   Kaine
                    .51

.21   **-.05**   Rozelle-Campell
                    .10   Baseline = .05
                         .16

The Washington   *The Washington*
Post   .70   *Post*

T10   T11
Kaine   Kaine
                    .66

-.05   .53   Rozelle-Campell
                    .38   Baseline = .16
                         .13

The Washington   *The Washington*
Post   .71   *Post*

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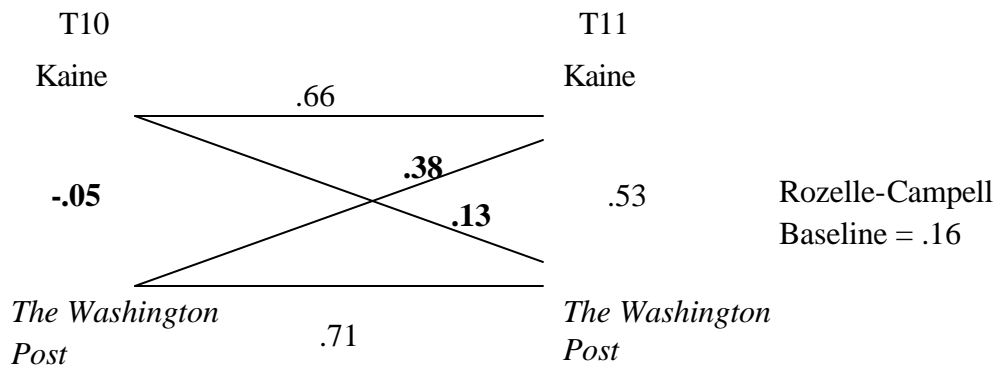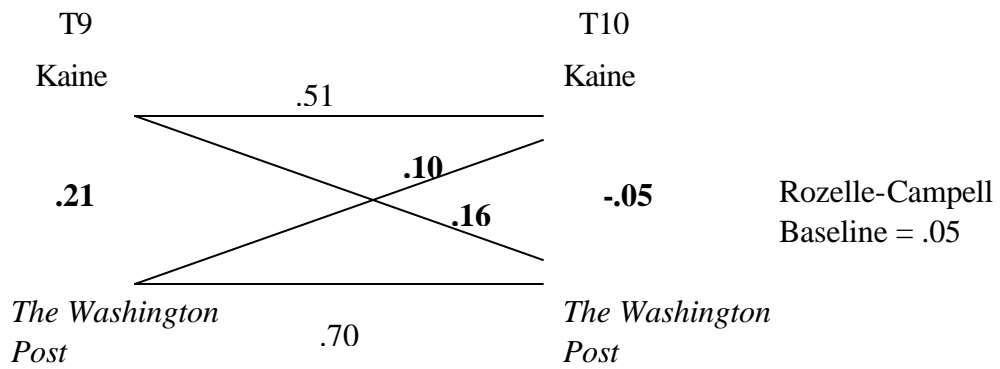
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 14

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9		T10
Kilgore	.70	Kilgore
	.72	
.39		.83 Rozelle-Campell
	.43	Baseline = .50
Richmond Times-Dispatch	.92	*Richmond Times-Dispatch*

T10		T11
Kilgore	**.34**	Kilgore
	-.04	
.83		**.16** Rozelle-Campell
	.35	Baseline = .24
Richmond Times-Dispatch	.60	*Richmond Times-Dispatch*
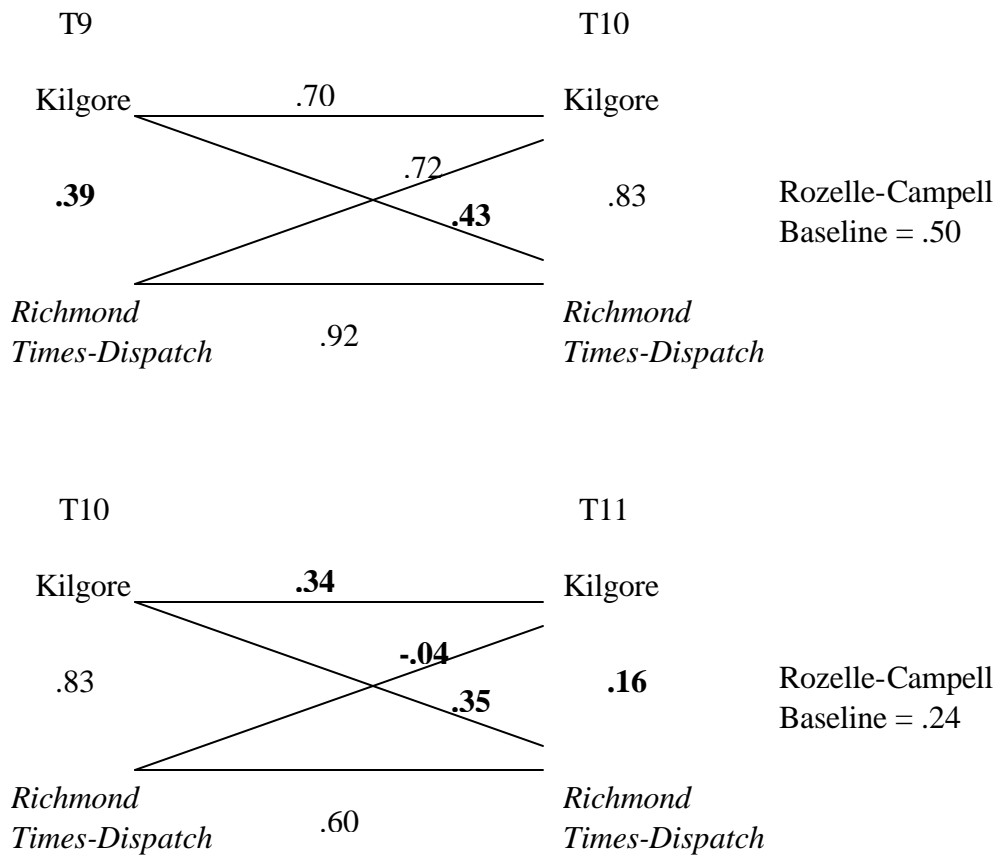
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 15

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Roanoke Times
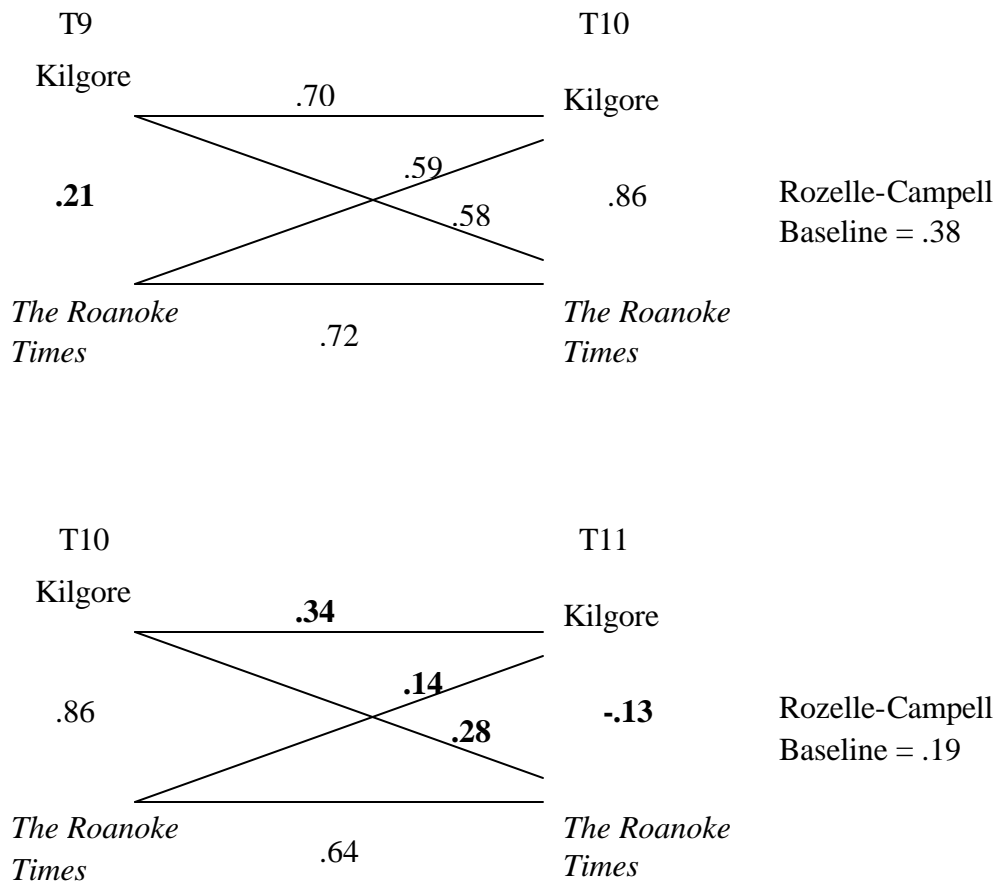
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 16

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Virginian-Pilot
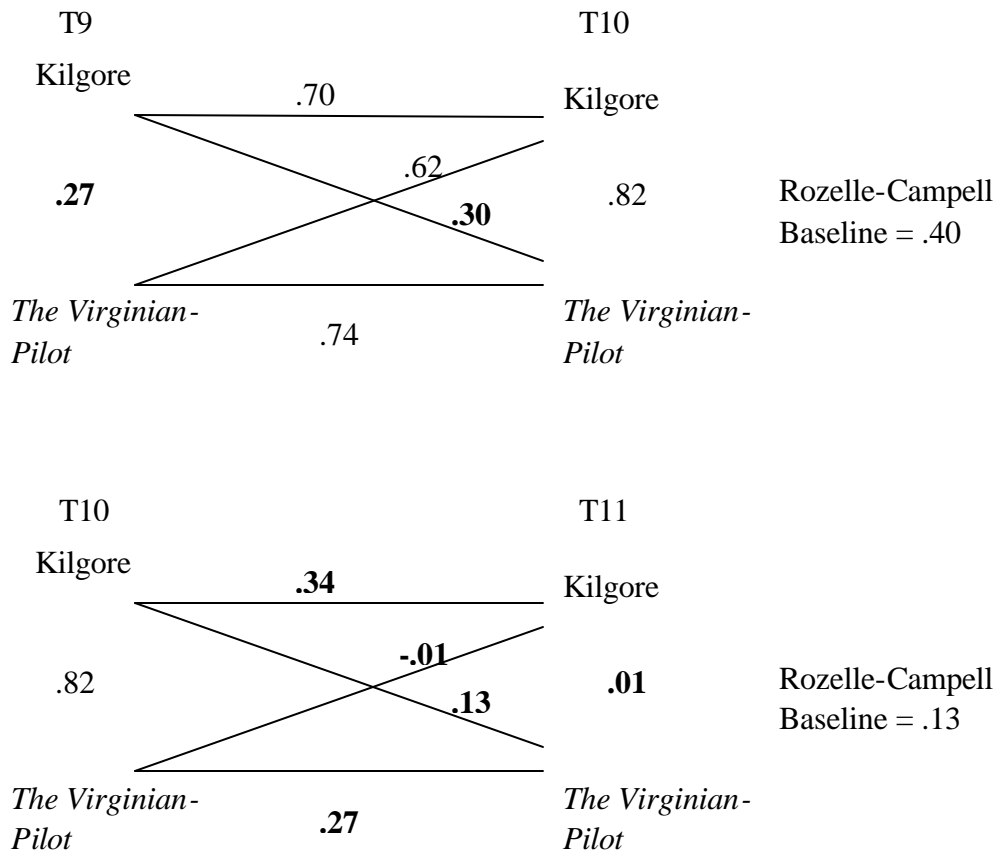
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 17

Cross-Lagged Strategy Agenda Correlations between Kilgore and The Washington Post

T9   T10

Kilgore   Kilgore
              .70
                              .60
  .22   .81   Rozelle-Campell
                            .39   Baseline = .36

The Washington   *The Washington*
Post   .70   *Post*

T10   T11

Kilgore   Kilgore
              .34
                            -.05
  .81   **.09**   Rozelle-Campell
                             .45   Baseline = .25

The Washington   *The Washington*
Post   .71   *Post*

---
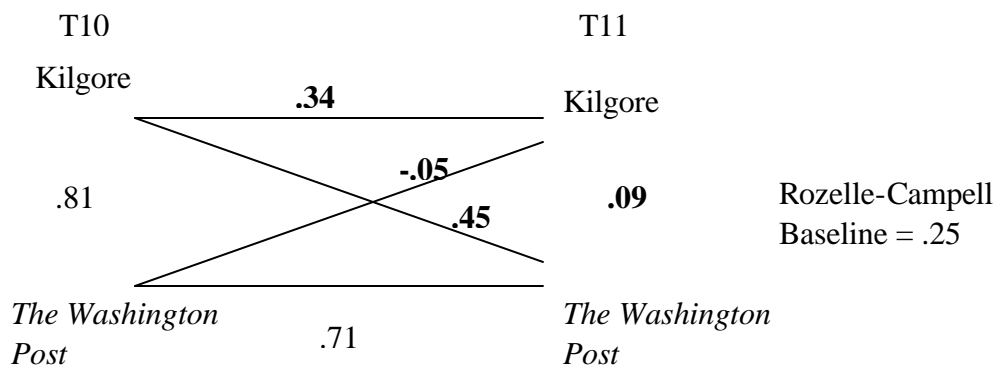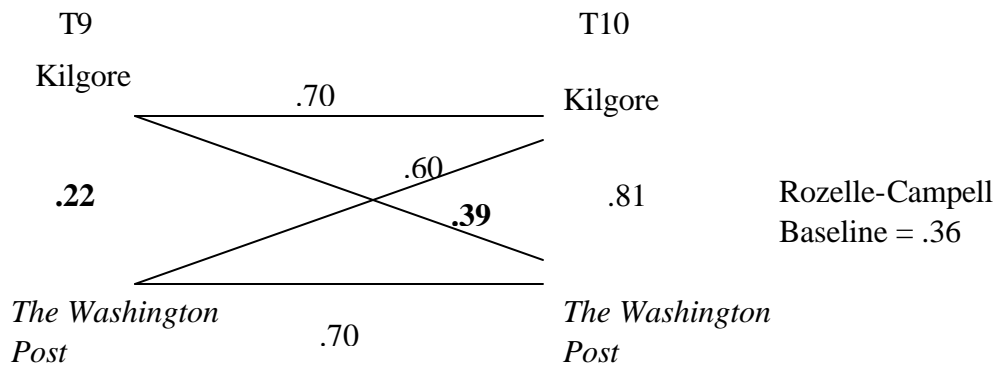
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 18

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kaine and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9   T10

Kaine

              .11

                    .26

.53   .59   **.22**   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .26

Richmond   .97   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

T10   T11

Kaine   Kaine

              .51

                   .87

.22   **.23**   .86   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .42

Richmond   .98   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

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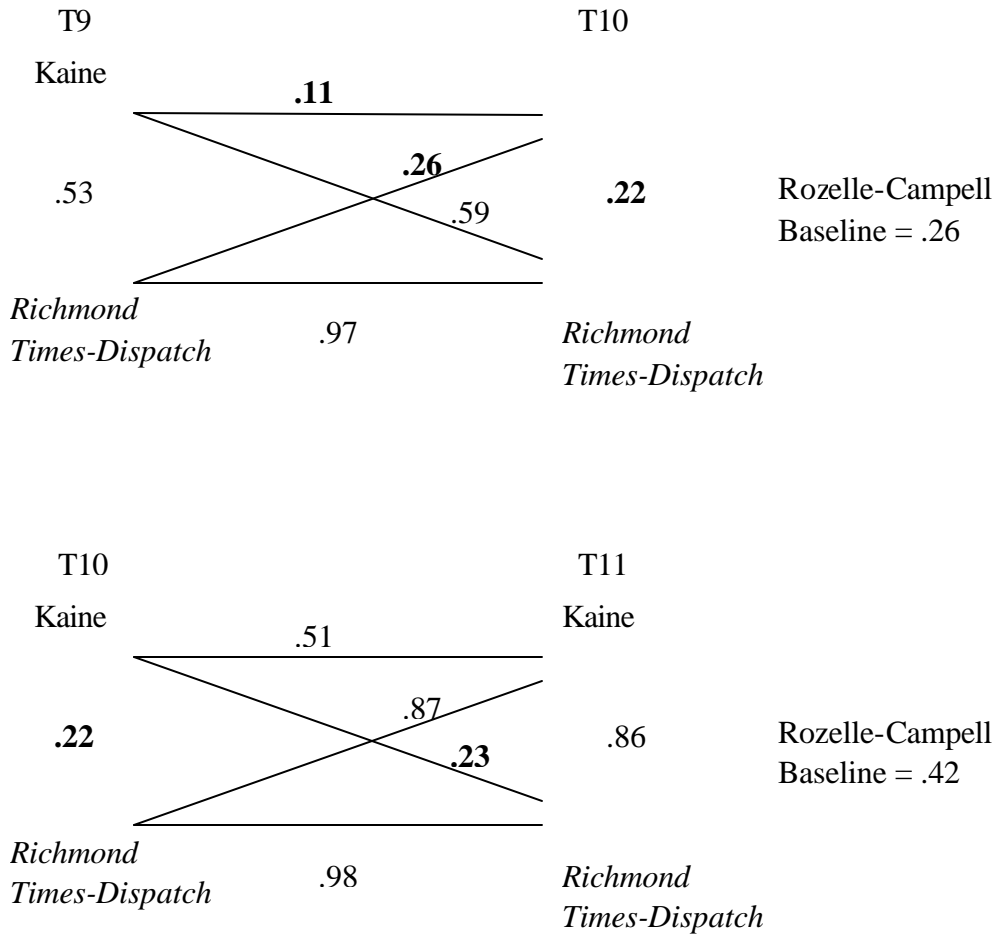
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 19

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kaine and The Roanoke Times

T9
Kaine

.11

.56

.20

.60

.26   Rozelle-Campell
           Baseline = .27

*The Roanoke
Times*

.94

T10
Kaine

*The Roanoke
Times*

T10
Kaine

.51

.85

.26

.23

.82   Rozelle-Campell
        Baseline = .42

*The Roanoke
Times*

.98

T11
Kaine

*The Roanoke
Times*
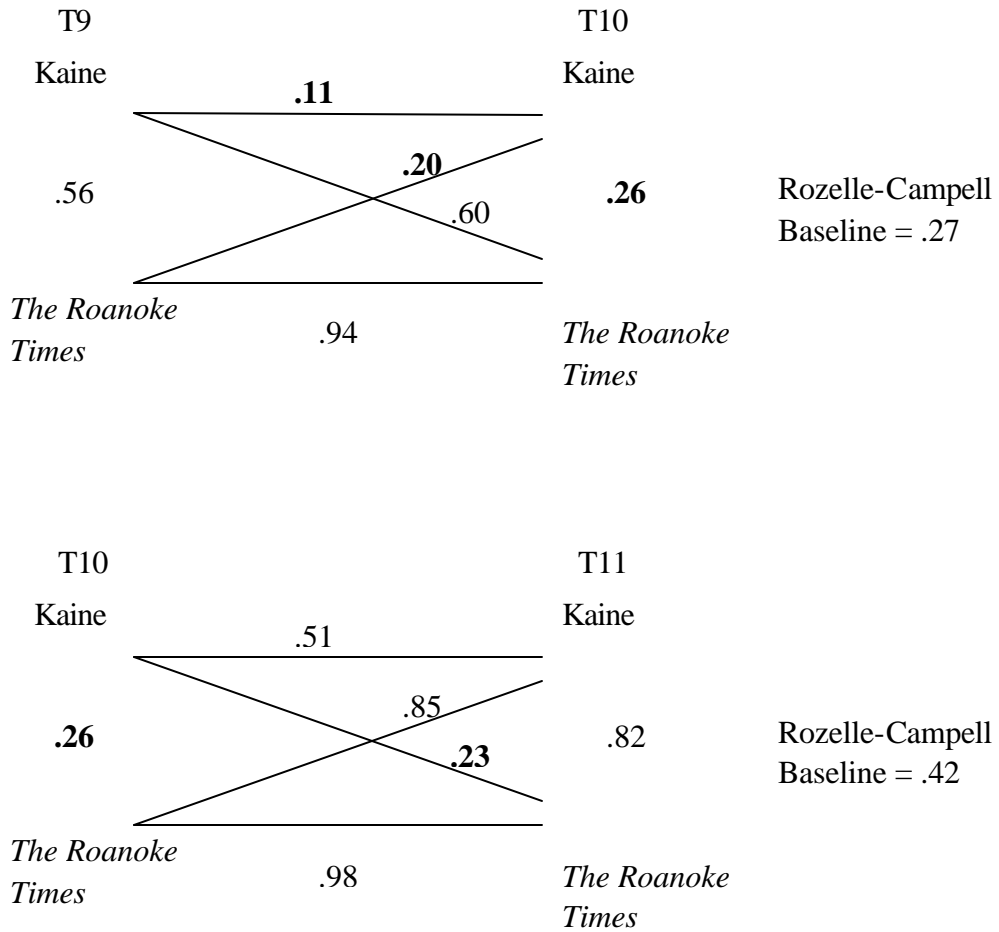
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 20

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kaine and The Virginian-Pilot

| T9 | | | T10 | |
| Kaine | | | Kaine | |

.11

.23

.50 .60 **.23** Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .25

The Virginian-Pilot .95 *The Virginian-Pilot*

| T10 | | | T11 | |
| Kaine | | | Kaine | |

.51

.80

.23 **.26** .85 Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .42

The Virginian-Pilot .97 *The Virginian-Pilot*
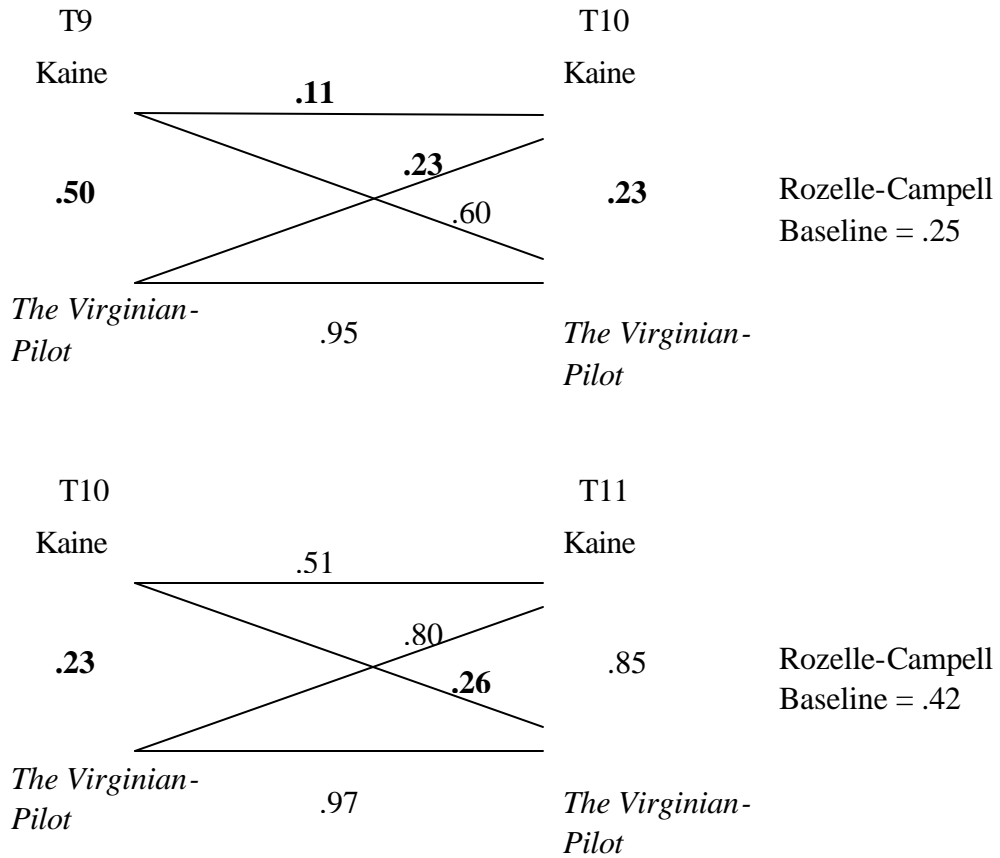
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 21

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kaine and The Washington Post

T9   T10
Kaine   Kaine

.11

.26

.61   .59   **.21**   Rozelle-Campell
                                                  Baseline = .29

The Washington
Post   .98   *The Washington*
                                        Post

T10   T11
Kaine   Kaine

.51

.85

.21   **.26**   .91   Rozelle-Campell
                                                  Baseline = .43

The Washington
Post   .96   *The Washington*
                                        Post

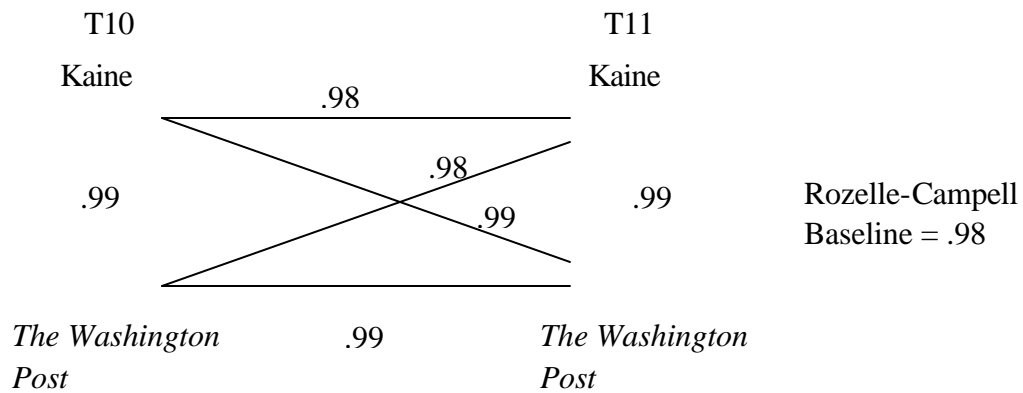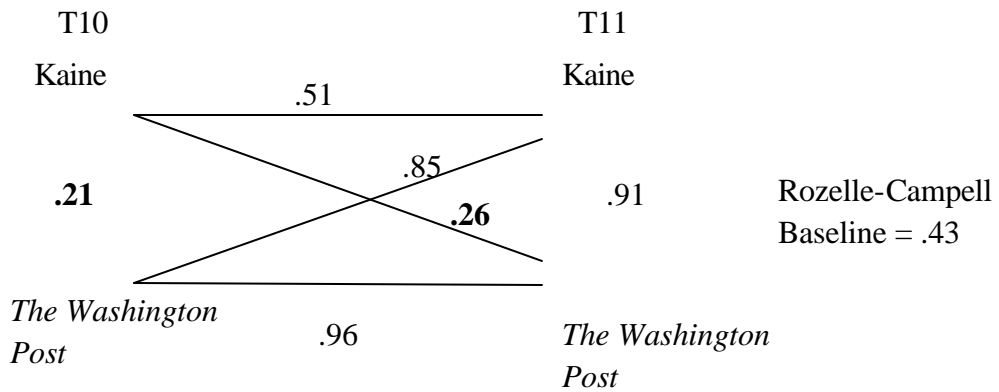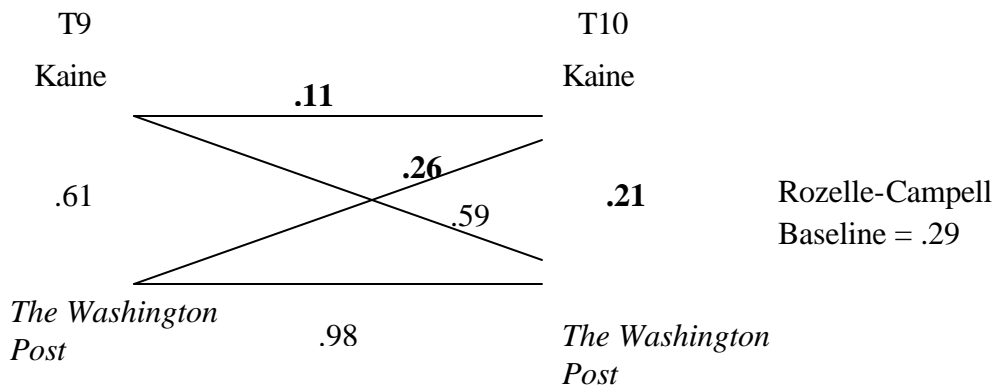**bold type** indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 22

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kilgore and the Richmond Times-Dispatch

T9
Kilgore

-.05

.08

.74

.04

T10
Kilgore

.75   Rozelle-Campell
             Baseline = .28

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

.97

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

T10
Kilgore

.67

.75

.62

.73

T11
Kilgore

.58   Rozelle-Campell
             Baseline = .56

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*

.98

*Richmond
Times-Dispatch*
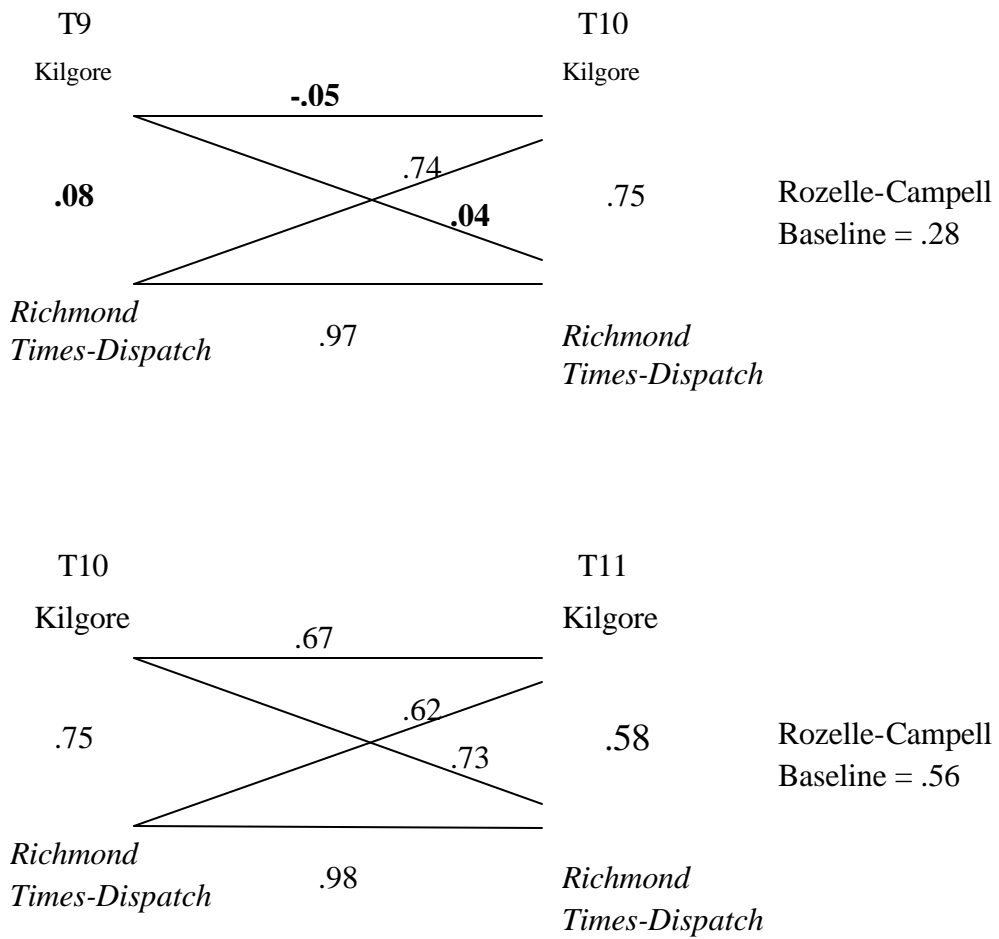
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 23

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kilgore and The Roanoke Times

T9   T10

Kilgore   Kilgore

                        -.05

                                    .74

.02   .76   Rozelle-Campell
                            .06   Baseline = .26

The Roanoke   *The Roanoke*
Times   .94   *Times*

T10   T11

Kilgore   Kilgore

                        .67

                                    .63

.76   .60   Rozelle-Campell
                            .76   Baseline = .57

The Roanoke   *The Roanoke*
Times   .98   *Times*
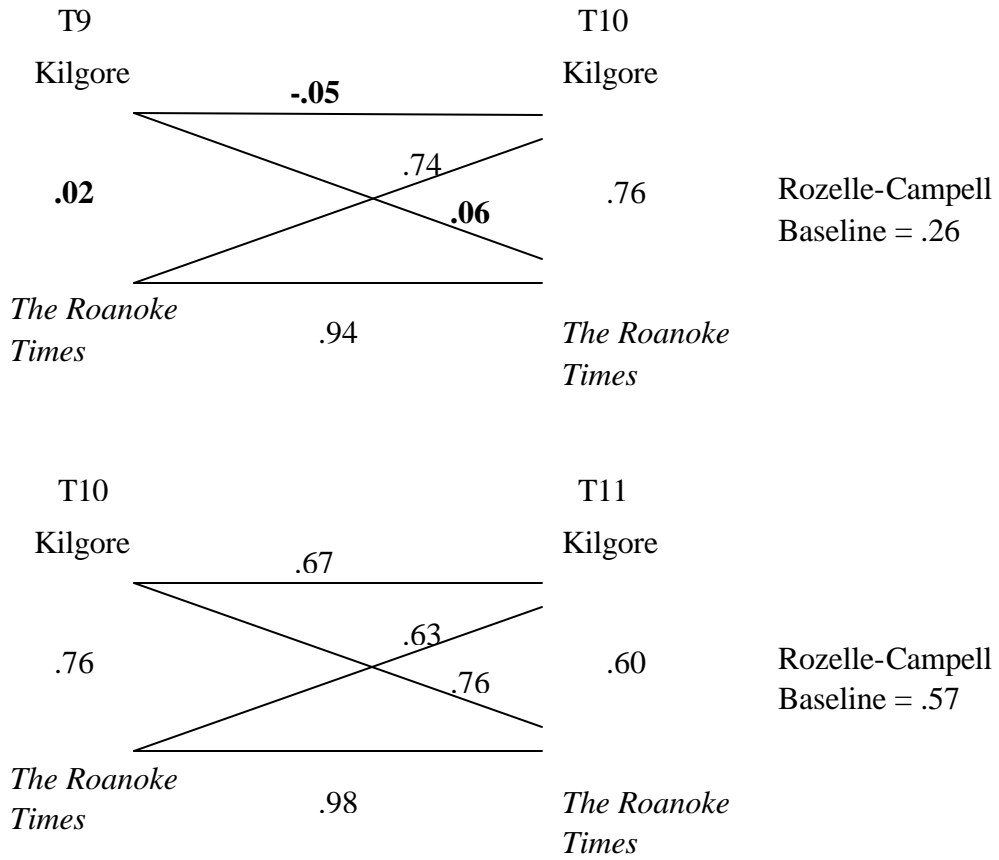
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 24

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kilgore and The Virginian-Pilot

T9 Kilgore		T10 Kilgore	
	-.05		
	.74		
.05	.05	.79	Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .28
The Virginian-Pilot	.95	*The Virginian-Pilot*	

T10 Kilgore		T11 Kilgore	
	.67		
	.68		
.79	.71	.59	Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .58
The Virginian-Pilot	.97	*The Virginian-Pilot*	
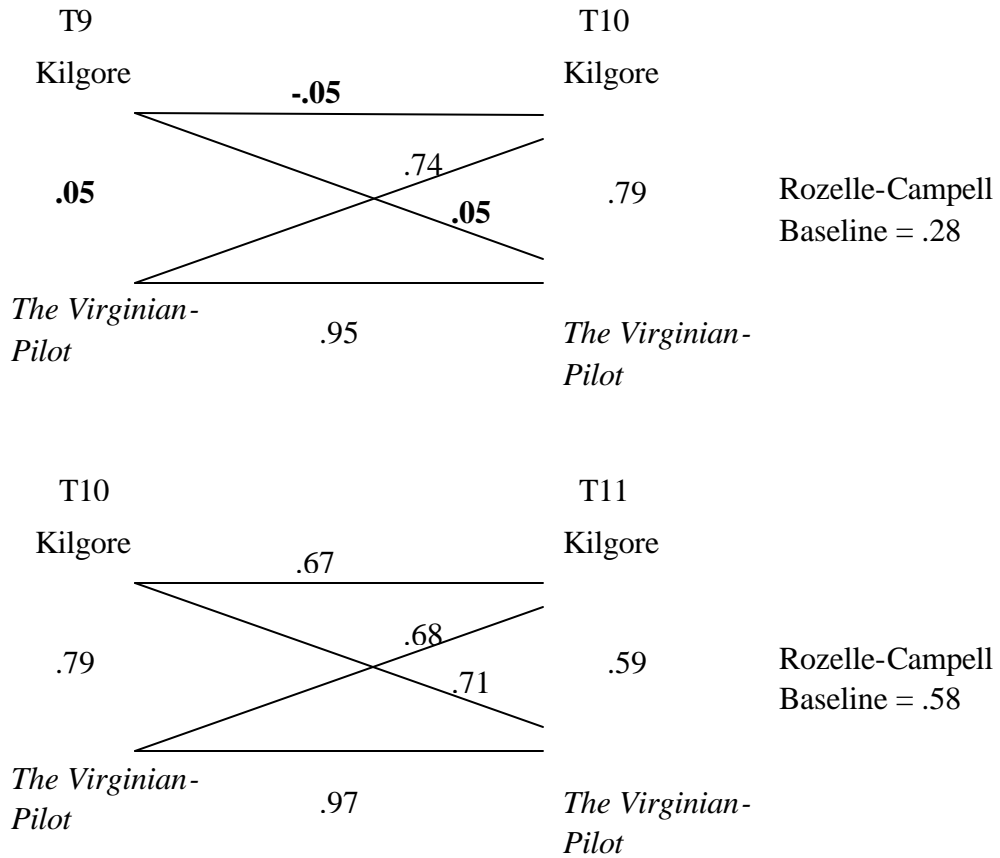
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 25

Cross-Lagged Audience Agendas between Kilgore and The Washington Post

T9
Kilgore

-.05

.79

.07

.02

.82 Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .31

T10
Kilgore

*The Washington
Post*

.98

*The Washington
Post*

T10
Kilgore

.67

.64

.82

.73

.59 Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .59

T11
Kilgore

*The Washington
Post*

.96

*The Washington
Post*
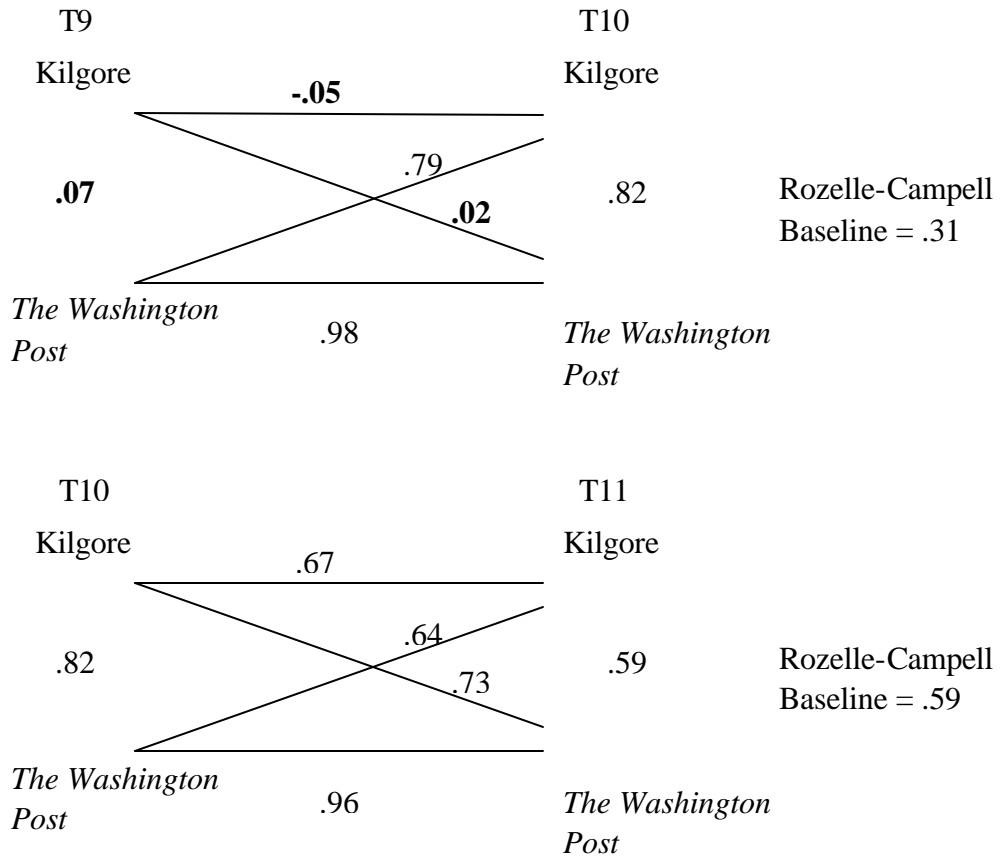
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 26

Intercandidate Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations

T1
Kaine

.70

.76

.91   .82   .79   Rozelle-Campell
                                      Baseline = .68

Kilgore

.88   Kilgore

T2
Kaine

T2
Kaine

.87

.84

.79   .82   .98   Rozelle-Campell
                                      Baseline = .79

Kilgore

.90   Kilgore

T3
Kaine

T3
Kaine

.78

.86

.98   .77   .99   Rozelle-Campell
                                      Baseline = .80

Kilgore

.84   Kilgore

T4
Kaine

Figure 26 continued

T4   T5

Kaine   Kaine

.98

.97

.99   .98   .98   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .97

Kilgore   Kilgore

.99

T5   T6

Kaine   Kaine

.97

.99

.98   .97   .99   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .97

Kilgore   Kilgore

.99

T6   T7

Kaine   Kaine

.98

.99

.99   .99   .98   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .98

Kilgore   Kilgore

.99

Figure 26 continued

T7
Kaine
.98

.98

Kilgore

.98

.98

.98

.99

T8
Kaine

.99

Kilgore

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .97

T8
Kaine
.99

.99

Kilgore

.99

.99

.98

.99

T9
Kaine

.99

Kilgore

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .98

T9
Kaine
.99

.99

Kilgore

.99

.99

.99

.99

T10
Kaine

.99

Kilgore

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .98

Figure 26 continued

T10   T11

Kaine   Kaine

.98

.99   .99   .99   Rozelle-Campell
.98   Baseline = .98

Kilgore   Kilgore

.99

Figure 27

Intercandidate Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations

T1   T2

Kaine   Kaine

.22

.14

.79   **-.12**   **.02**   Rozelle-Campell

Baseline = .06

Kilgore   **-.05**   Kilgore

T2   T3

Kaine   Kaine

.52

.15

.02   **.35**   **.18**   Rozelle-Campell

Baseline = .06

Kilgore   .66   Kilgore

T3   T4

Kaine   Kaine

.10

-.06

.18   **.31**   **-.15**   Rozelle-Campell

Baseline = .01

Kilgore   .63   Kilgore

Figure 27 continued

T4   T5

Kaine   Kaine

-.12

.85

-.15   **.05**   .56   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .08

Kilgore   .53   Kilgore

T5   T6

Kaine   Kaine

.60

.50

.56   .71   .67   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .40

Kilgore   .70   Kilgore

T6   T7

Kaine   Kaine

.64

.45

.67   **.36**   **.04**   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .42

Kilgore   .55   Kilgore

Figure 27 continued

T7   T8

Kaine   Kaine

.51

.25

.04   **.04**   .56   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .14

Kilgore   Kilgore

.42

T8   T9

Kaine   Kaine

.31

.32

.56   **.09**   .52   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .17

Kilgore   Kilgore

.31

T9   T10

Kaine   Kaine

.51

.66

.52   **.27**   **.33**   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .26

Kilgore   Kilgore

.70

Figure 27 continued

T10
Kaine

T11
Kaine

.66

.43

.33

.86

.65

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .26

Kilgore

.34

Kilgore

bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 28

Intercandidate Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations

T1   T2

Kaine   Kaine

.09

.59

.29   **.14**   .83   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .30

Kilgore   .76   Kilgore

T2   T3

Kaine   Kaine

.58

.74

.83   **.28**   **.35**   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .28

Kilgore   **.35**   Kilgore

T3   T4

Kaine   Kaine

-.02

.30

.35   .87   **.10**   Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .11

Kilgore   .66   Kilgore

Figure 28 continued

T4   T5

Kaine   Kaine

.07

.10   .89   .75   Rozelle-Campell
            .21   Baseline = .28

Kilgore   Kilgore
         .91

T5   T6

Kaine   Kaine

.05

.75   -.01   **.40**   Rozelle-Campell
            .48   Baseline = .19

Kilgore   Kilgore
       .47

T6   T7

Kaine   Kaine

.00

.40   .26   .60   Rozelle-Campell
            -.04   Baseline = .19

Kilgore   Kilgore
         .54

Figure 28 continued

T7   T8
Kaine   Kaine
              .69
                          .30
.60   .73   .66   Rozelle-Campell
                                                         Baseline = .44

Kilgore   Kilgore
              .70

T8   T9
Kaine   Kaine
              .33
                          .68
.66   -.07   -.02   Rozelle-Campell
                                                         Baseline = .08

Kilgore   Kilgore
              -.07

T9   T10
Kaine   Kaine
              .11
                          .96
-.02   .73   .08   Rozelle-Campell
                                                         Baseline = .00

Kilgore   Kilgore
              -.05

Figure 28 continued

T10   T11
Kaine   Kaine

.51

.60

.08   **.09**   **.43**   Rozelle-Campell
                                                   Baseline = .15

Kilgore   Kilgore

.67

bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 29

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Roanoke Times
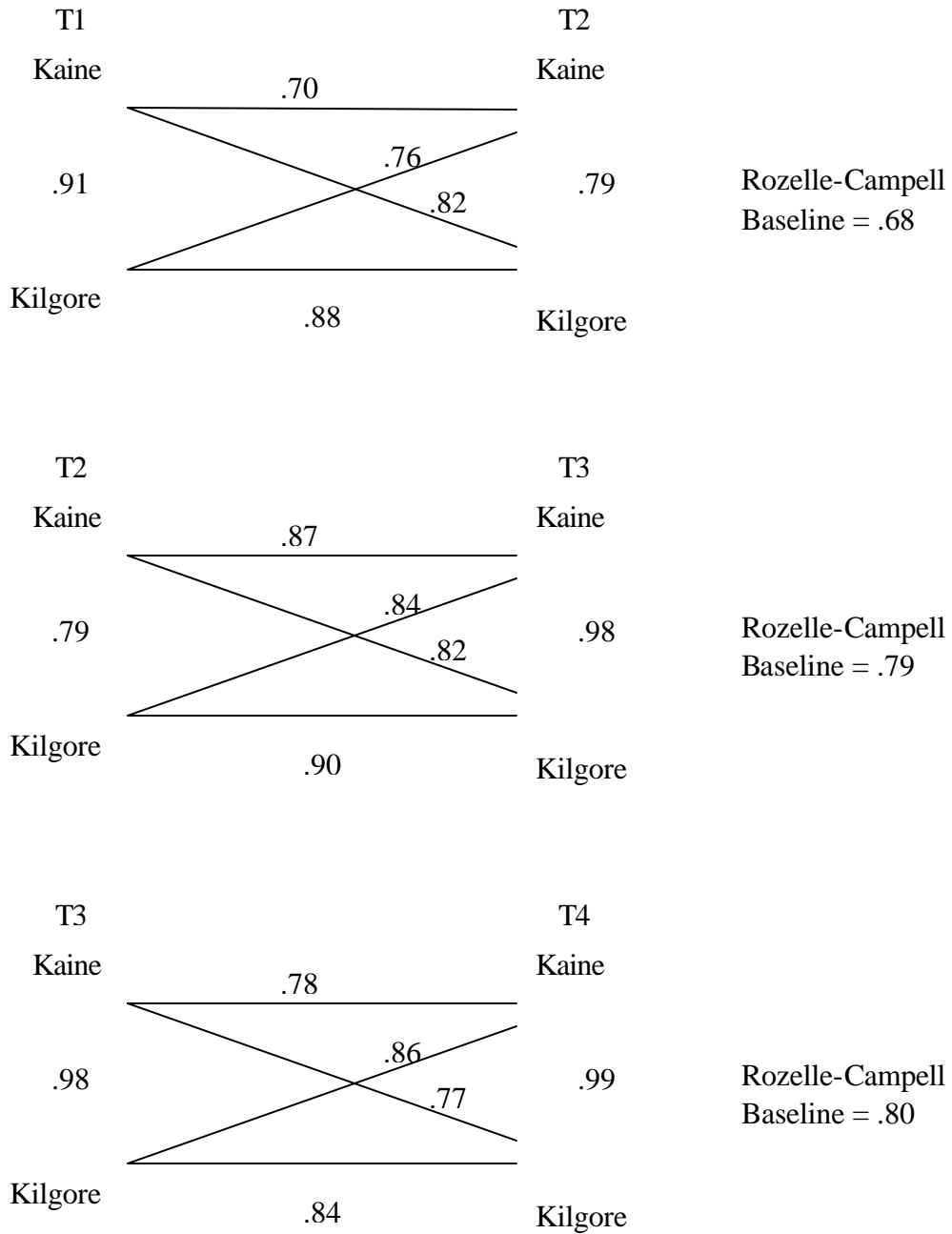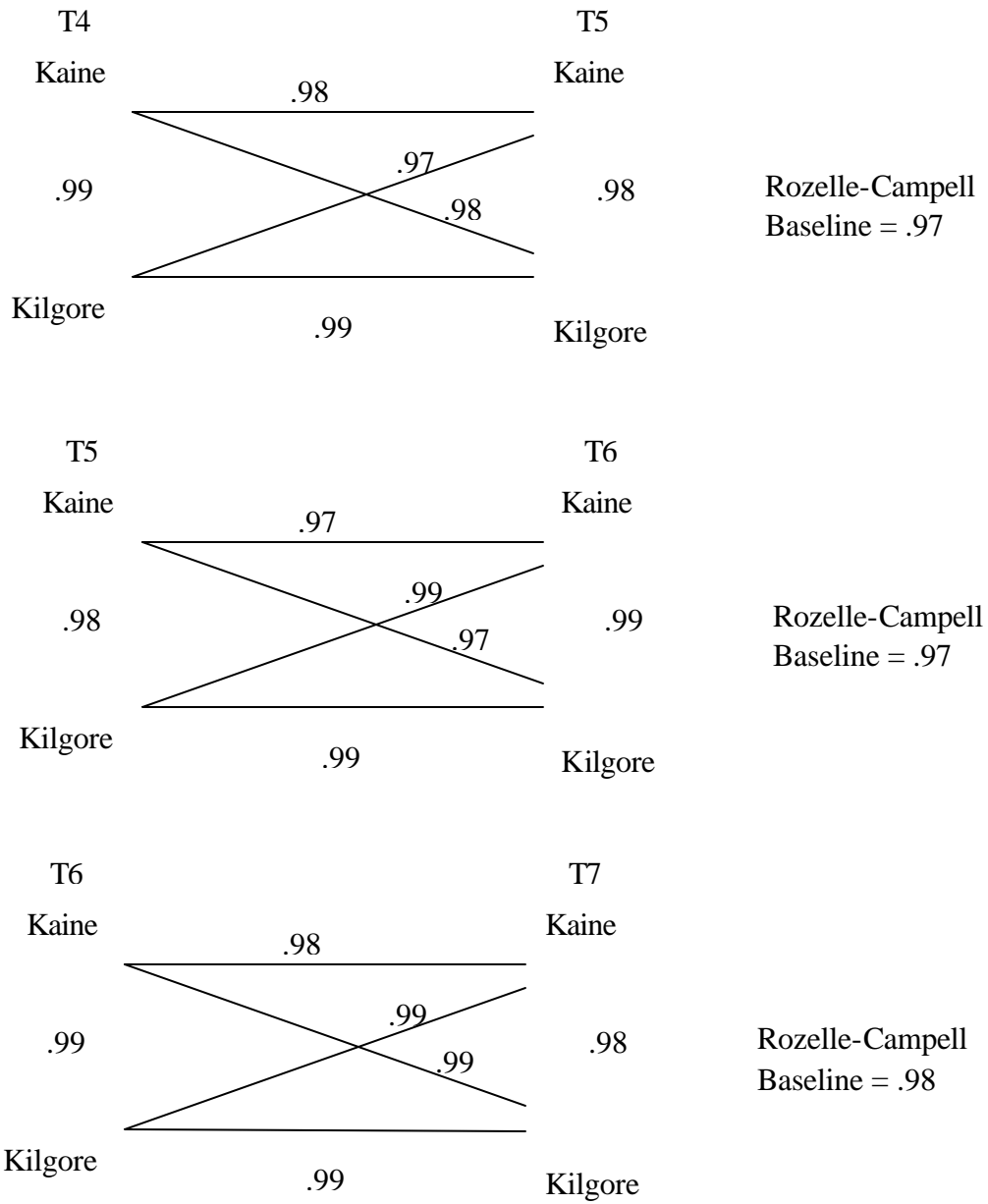
T9

T10

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Richmond Times-Dispatch

.95

.80

.93

.98

.99

Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .87

The Roanoke Times

.86

The Roanoke Times

T10

T11

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Richmond Times-Dispatch

.99

.97

.99

.99

.99

Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .98

The Roanoke Times

.98

The Roanoke Times
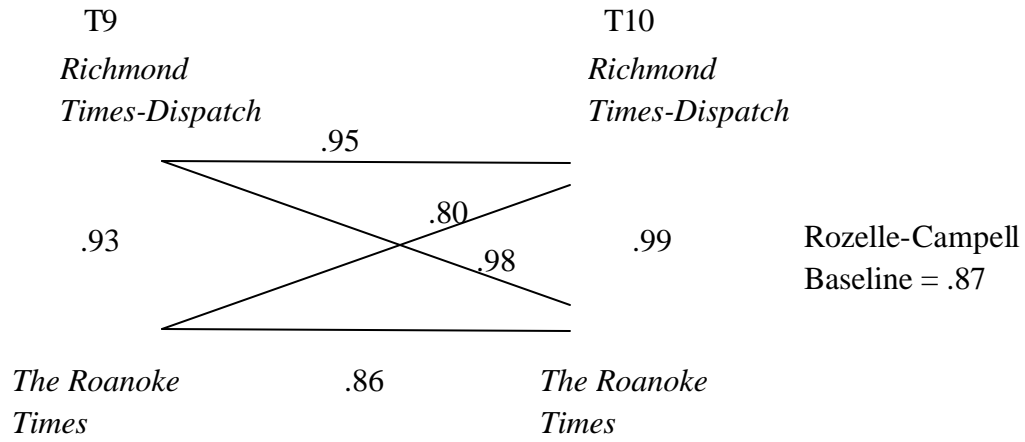
Figure 30

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Virginian-Pilot

T9   T10

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

              .95

                              .67

.86   .97   Rozelle-Campell
                              .99   Baseline = .82

The Virginian-   .84   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

T10   T11

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

              .99

                              .93

.97   .99   Rozelle-Campell
                              .99   Baseline = .95

The Virginian-   .95   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

Figure 31

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Washington Post

T9   T10

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

.95

.88

.98   .97   .99   Rozelle-Campell
                                                          Baseline = .92

The Washington   .90   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

T10   T11

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

.99

.99

.99   .99   1.00   Rozelle-Campell
                                                          Baseline = .99
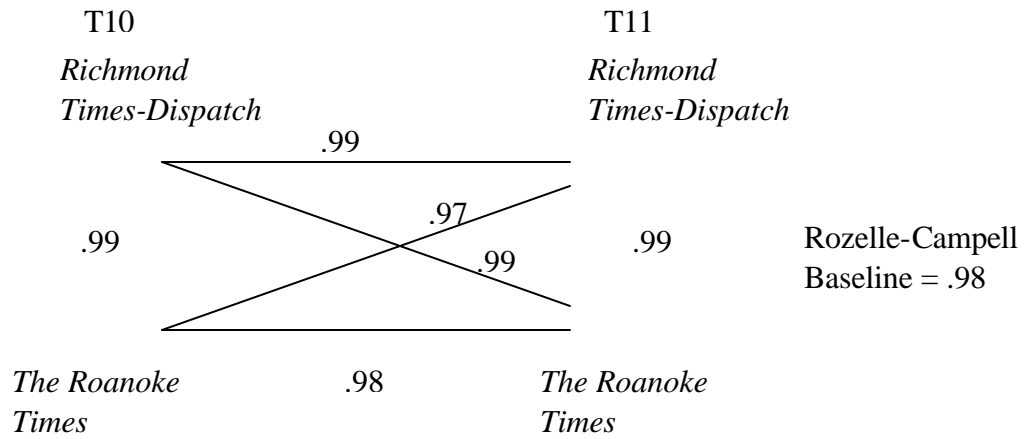
Washington Post   .99   Washington Post
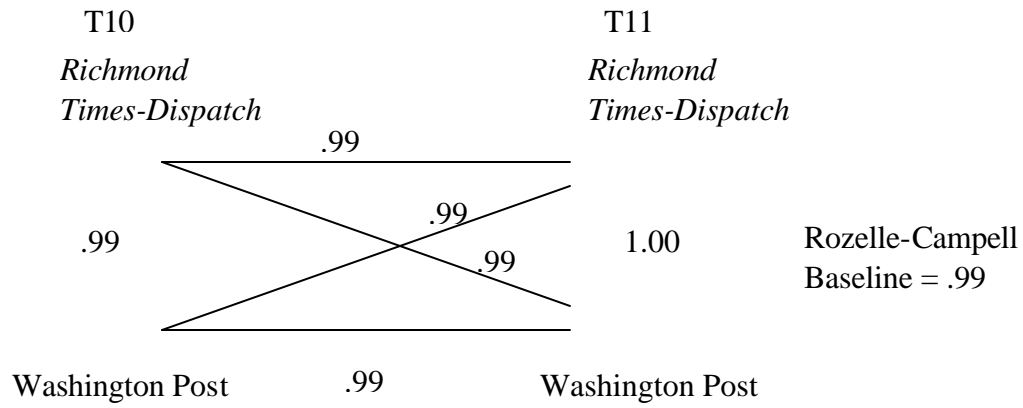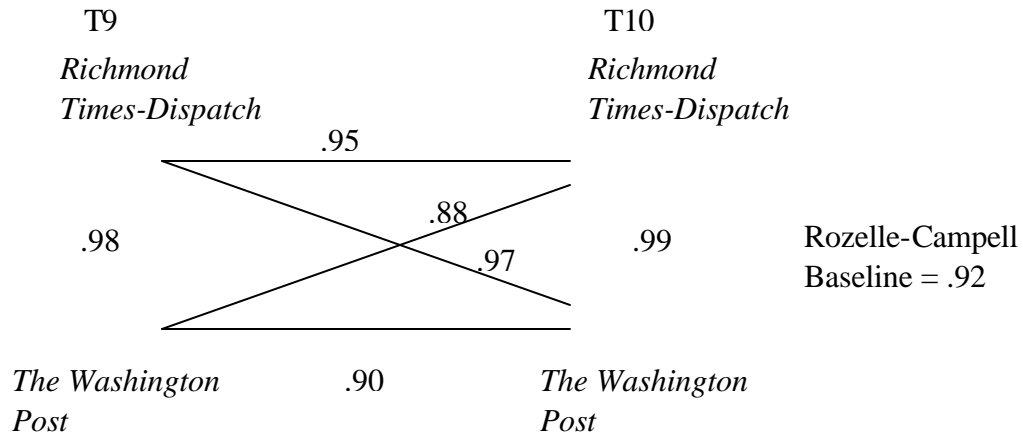
Figure 32

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Virginian-Pilot

T9
The Roanoke Times
.86
.96
.76
.92

T10
The Roanoke Times
.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .83

The Virginian-Pilot
.84
The Virginian-Pilot

T10
The Roanoke Times
.98
.99
.94
.98

T11
The Roanoke Times
.99

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .96

The Virginian-Pilot
.95
The Virginian-Pilot
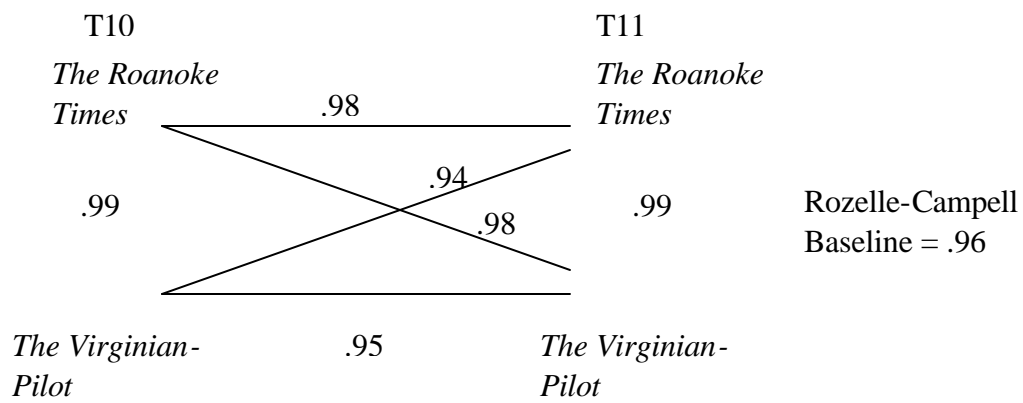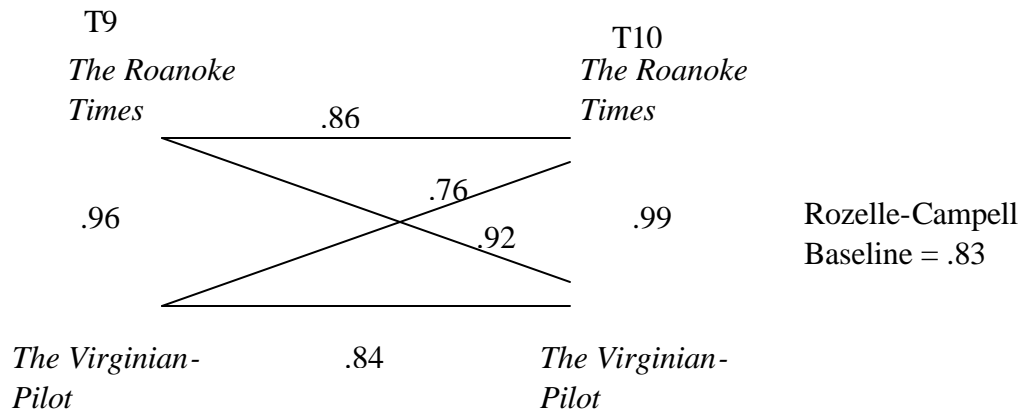
Figure 33

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Washington Post
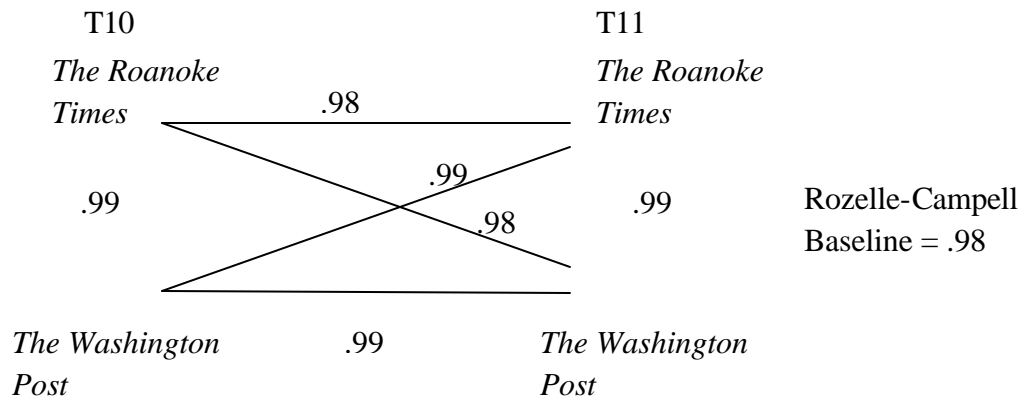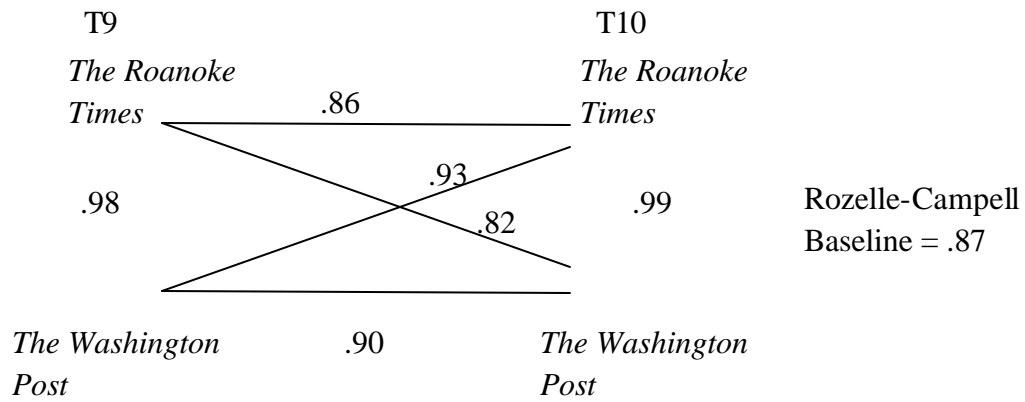
Figure 34

Intermedia Issue Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Virginian-Pilot *and* The Washington Post

T9   T10

The Virginian-Pilot .84 *The Virginian-Pilot*

.97

.94   .71   .98   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .84

The Washington Post .90 *The Washington Post*

T10   T11

The Virginian-Pilot .95 *The Virginian-Pilot*

.99

.98   .94   .99   Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .96

The Washington Post .99 *The Washington Post*
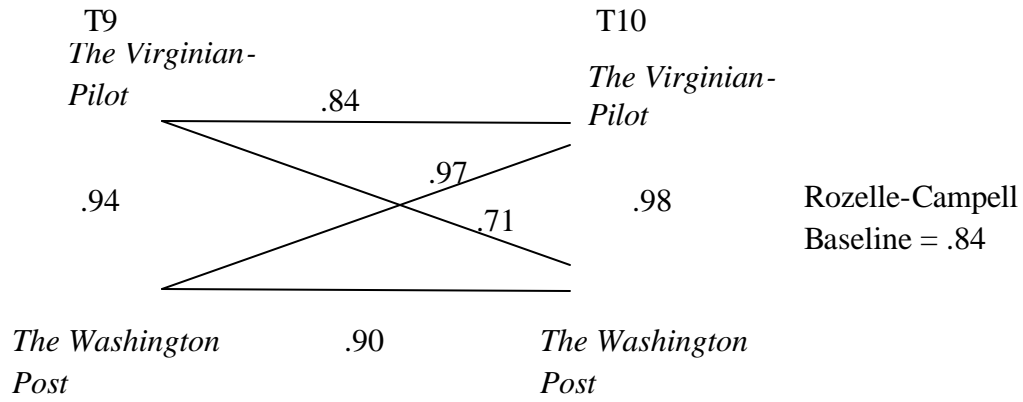
Figure 35

Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Roanoke Times
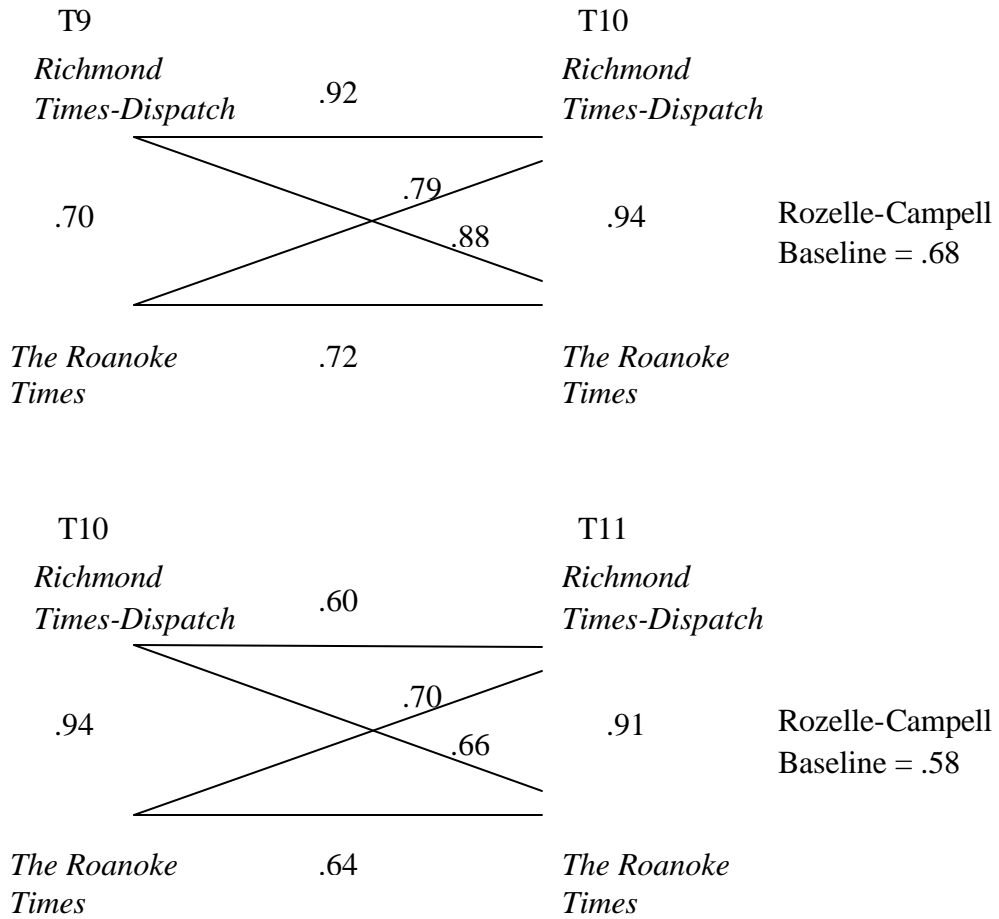
Figure 36

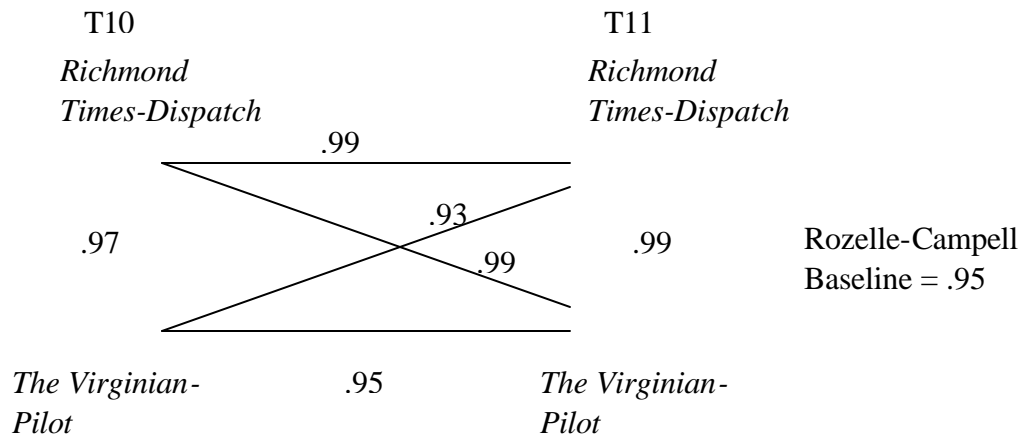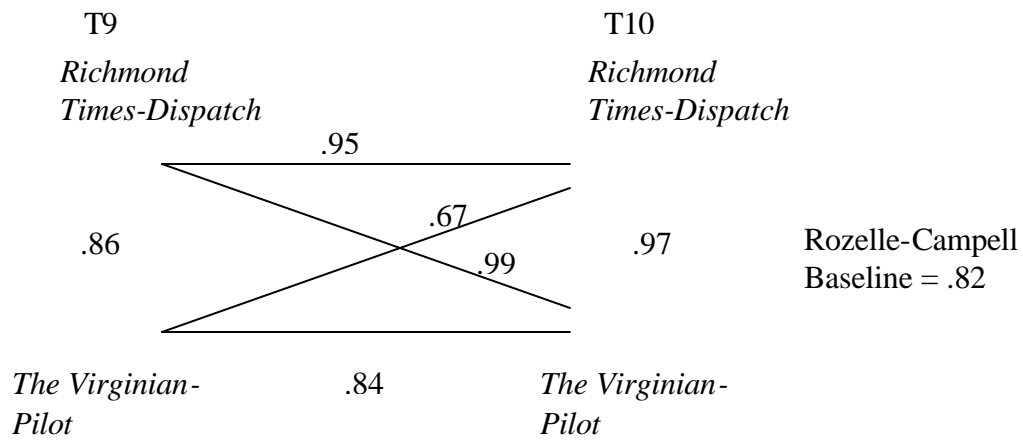*Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the* Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Virginian-Pilot

T9   T10

Richmond   .92   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   *Times-Dispatch*

                     .79
.73   .89   .94   Rozelle-Campell
                                           Baseline = .70

The Virginian-   .74   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

T10   T11

Richmond   .60   Richmond
Times-Dispatch   Times-Dispatch

                     .52
.94   **.35**   .85   Rozelle-Campell
                                           Baseline = .42

The Virginian-   **.27**   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

---
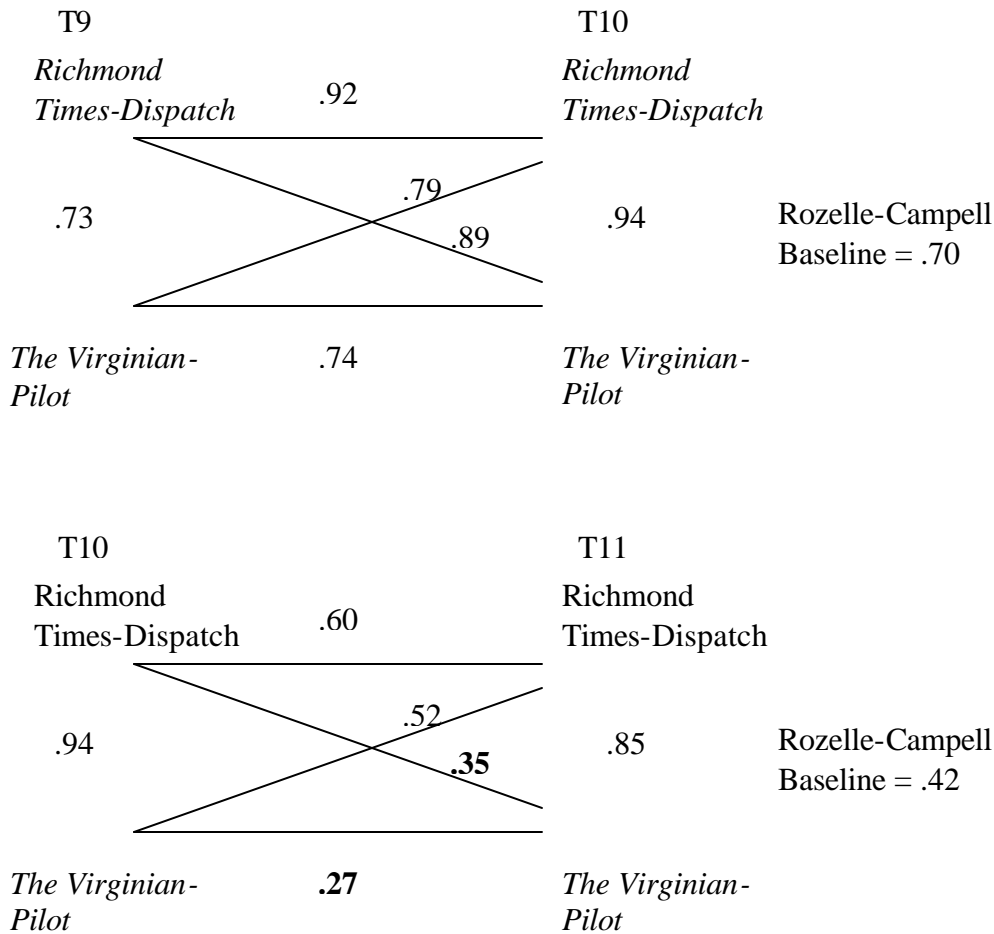
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 37

Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Washington Post

| T9 | | T10 |
| Richmond Times-Dispatch | .92 | Richmond Times-Dispatch |

.76

.70 .95 .98 Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .69

The Washington Post .70 The Washington Post

| T10 | | T11 |
| Richmond Times-Dispatch | .60 | Richmond Times-Dispatch |

.65

.98 .65 .93 Rozelle-Campell Baseline = .63

The Washington Post .71 The Washington Post

Figure 38

Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Virginian-Pilot

T9
The Roanoke Times

.72

T10
The Roanoke Times

.90

.81

.79

.87

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .65

The Virginian-Pilot

.74

The Virginian-Pilot

T10
The Roanoke Times

.64

T11
The Roanoke Times

.87

.57

.46

.82

Rozelle-Campell
Baseline = .42

The Virginian-Pilot

.27

The Virginian-Pilot

bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 39

Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Washington Post
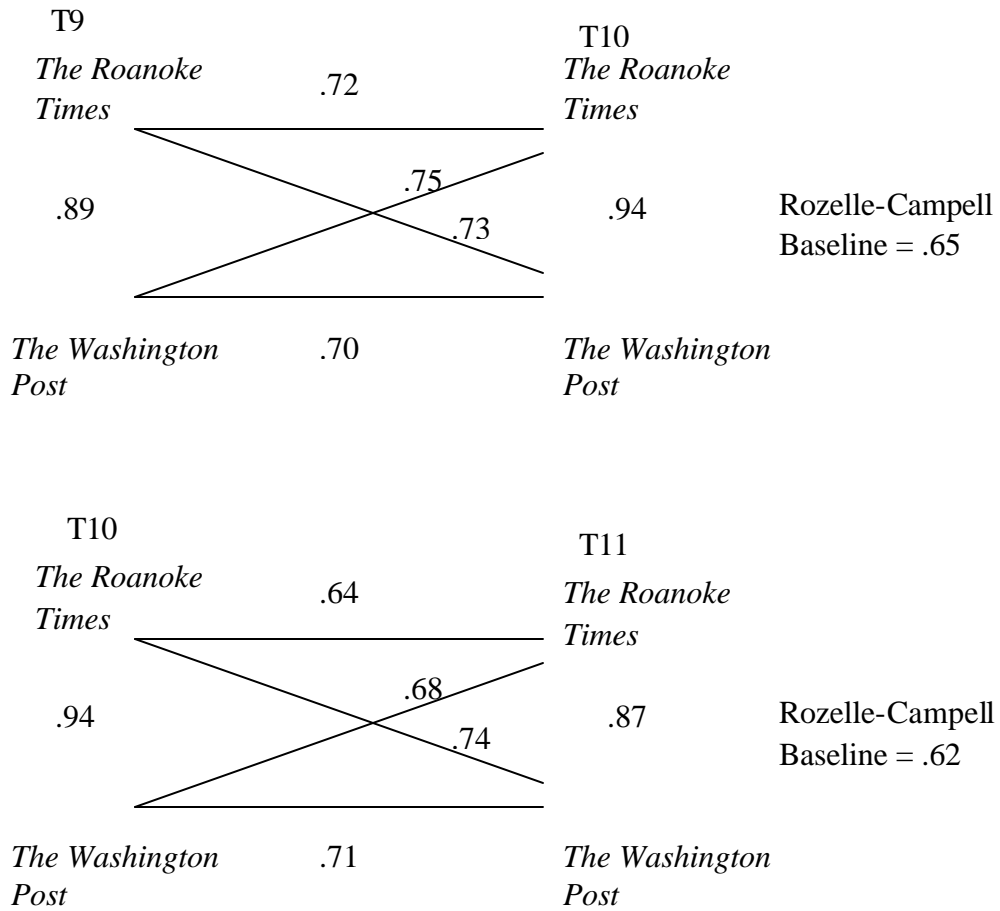
Figure 40

Intermedia Strategy Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Virginian-Pilot *and* The Washington Post
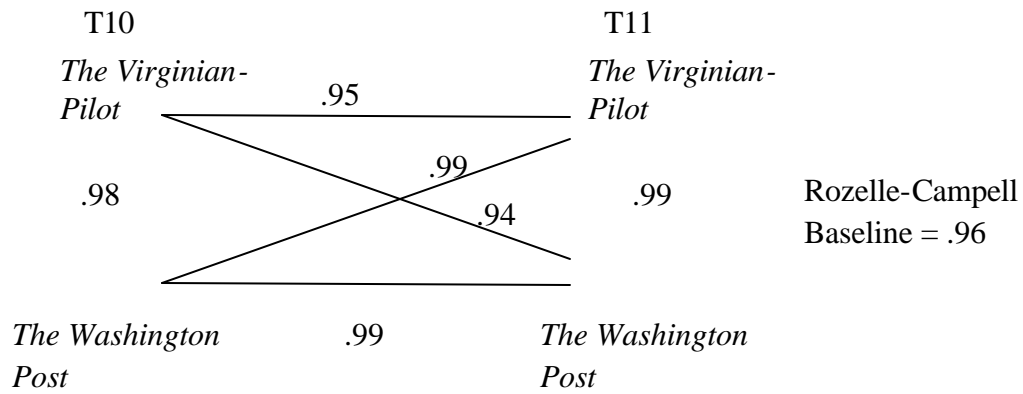
T9
The Virginian-Pilot   .74   T10
                                                          The Virginian-Pilot

                                   .72

.96   .95   Rozelle-Campell
                                   .75   Baseline = .69

The Washington Post   .70   *The Washington Post*

T10
The Virginian-Pilot   **.27**   T11
                                          The Virginian-Pilot

                                   .37

.95   .86   Rozelle-Campell
                                   .58   Baseline = .49

The Washington Post   .71   *The Washington Post*
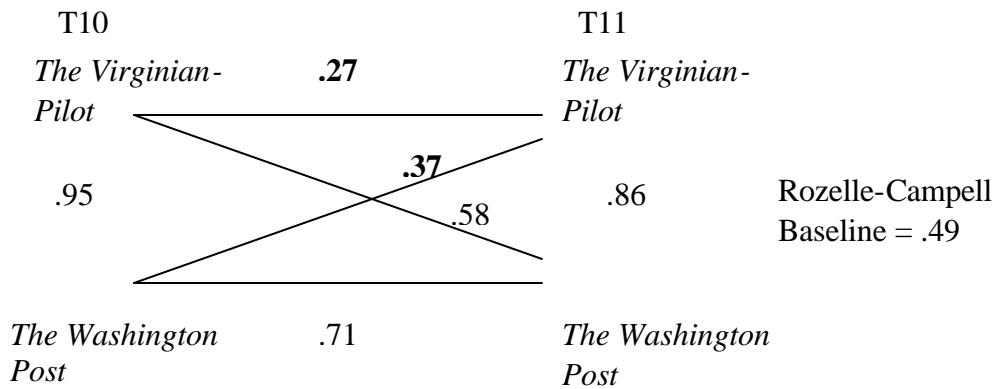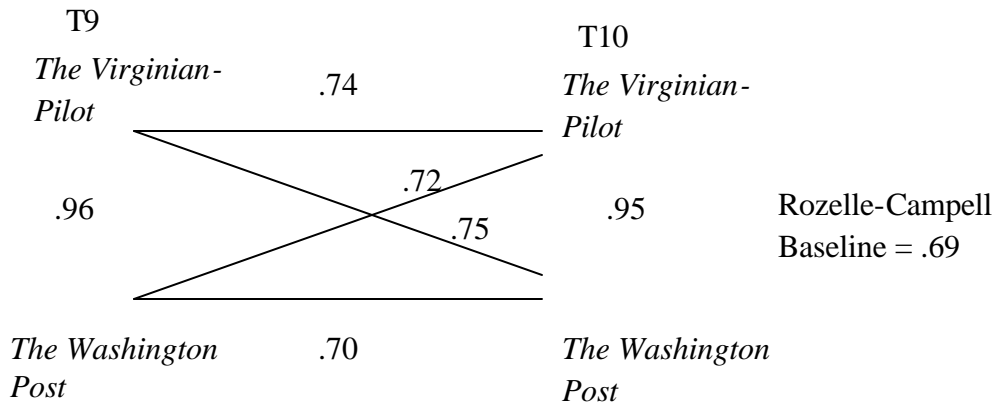
bold type indicates that the correlation is not statistically significant

Figure 41

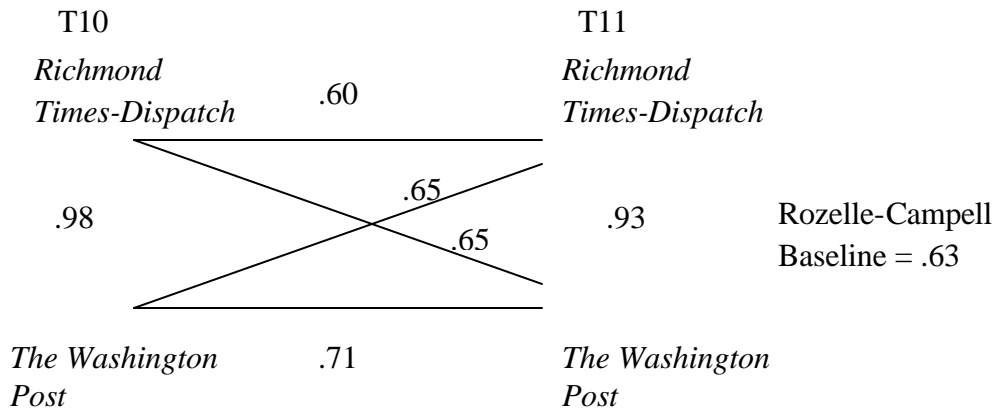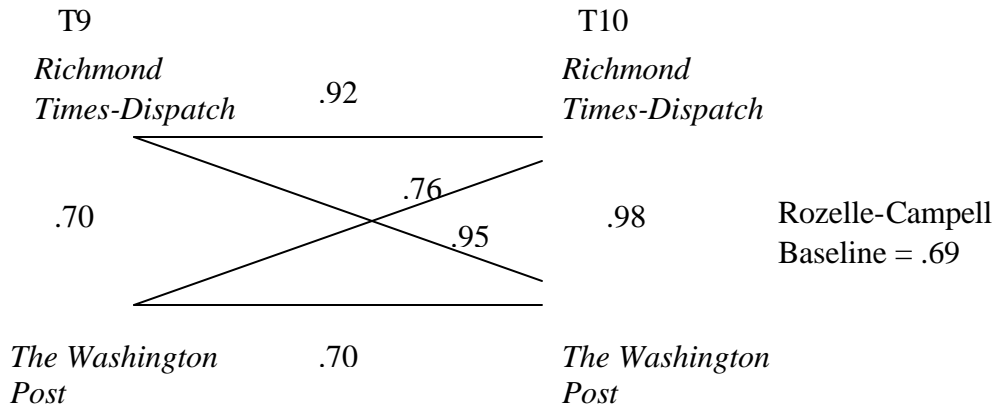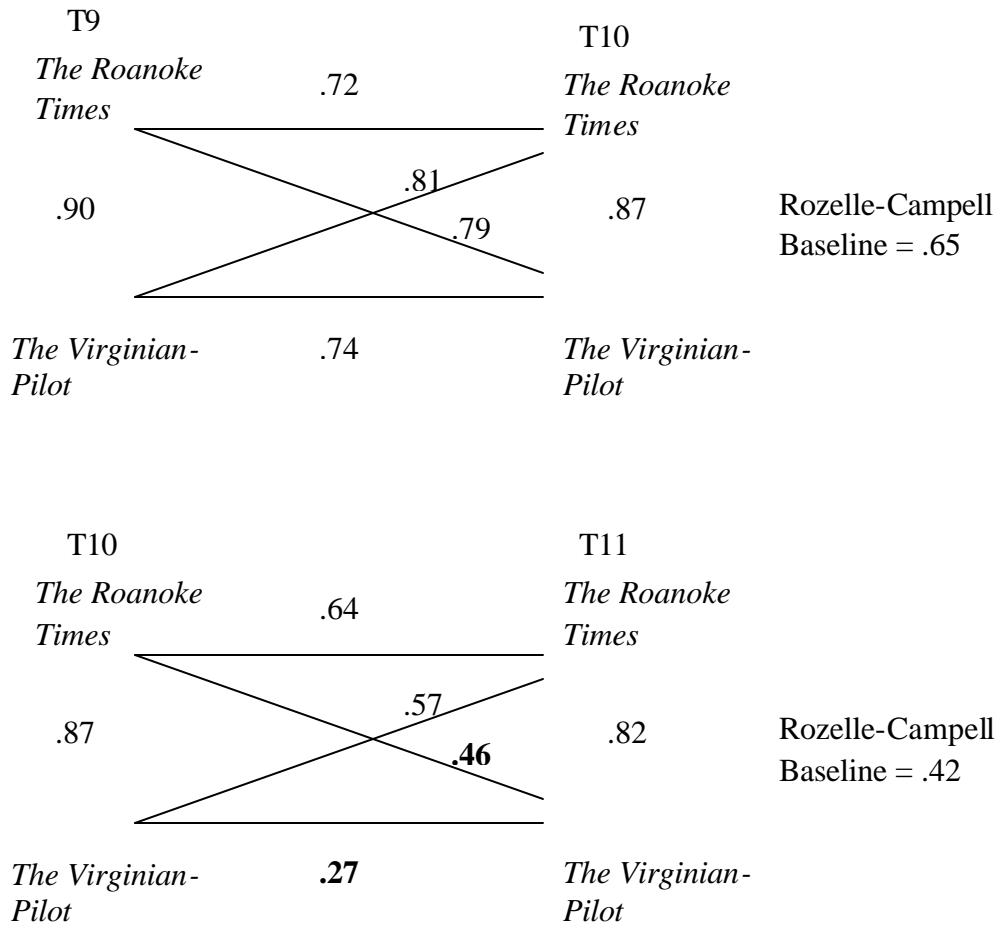*Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the* Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Roanoke Times

T9　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　T10

Richmond　　　　　　　.97　　　　　*Richmond*
Times-Dispatch　　　　　　　　　　*Times-Dispatch*

　　　　　　　　　　　　.94

.97　　　　　　　　　　　　.98　　　.98　　　　Rozelle-Campell
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Baseline = .94

The Roanoke　　　　　.94　　　　　*The Roanoke*
Times　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Times*

T10　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　T11

Richmond　　　　　　　.98　　　　　*Richmond*
Times-Dispatch　　　　　　　　　　*Times-Dispatch*

　　　　　　　　　　　　.98

.98　　　　　　　　　　　　.96　　　.98　　　　Rozelle-Campell
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Baseline = .96

The Roanoke　　　　　.98　　　　　*The Roanoke*
Times　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Times*

Figure 42

Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Virginian-Pilot
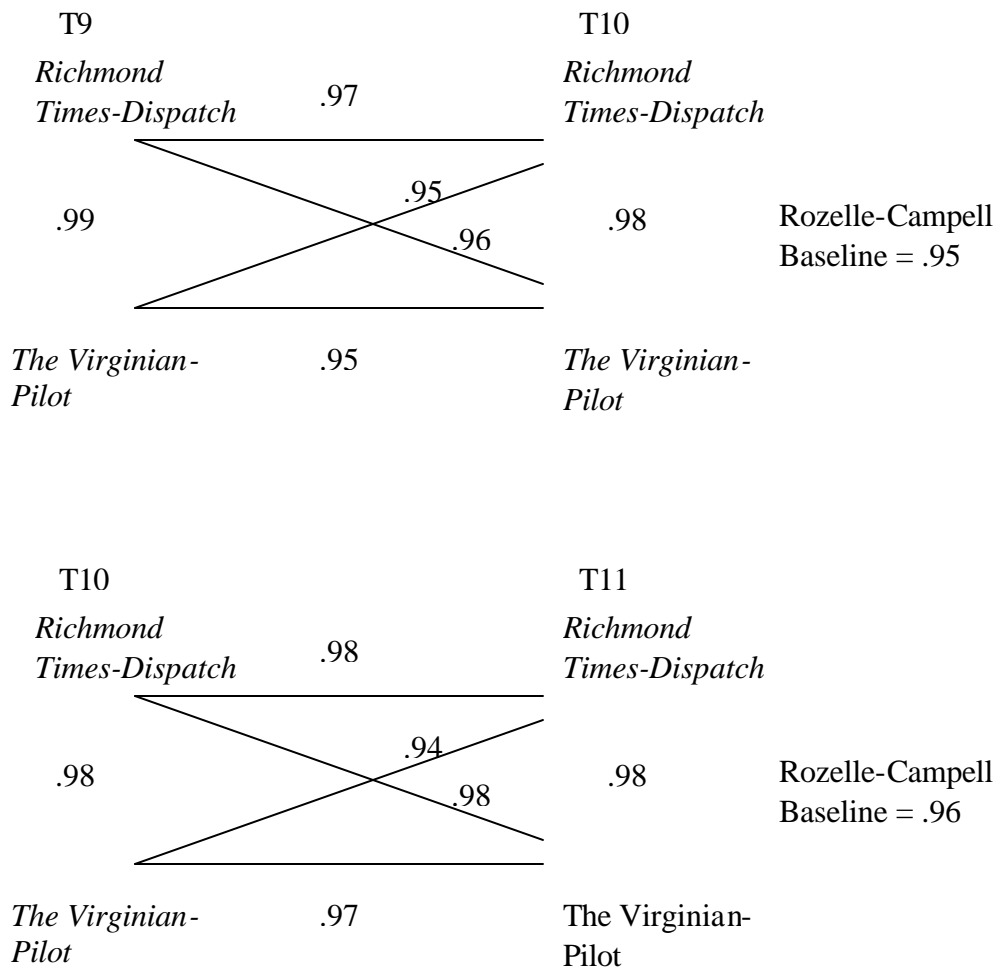
Figure 43

Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between the Richmond Times-Dispatch *and* The Washington Post

T9   T10

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   .97   *Times-Dispatch*

.99   .98   .98   Rozelle-Campell
                            .96   Baseline = .97

The Washington   .98   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

T10   T11

Richmond   *Richmond*
Times-Dispatch   .98   *Times-Dispatch*

.98   .98   .97   Rozelle-Campell
                            .98   Baseline = .95

The Washington   .96   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

Figure 44

Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Virginian-Pilot

Figure 45

Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Roanoke Times *and* The Washington Post

T9   T10
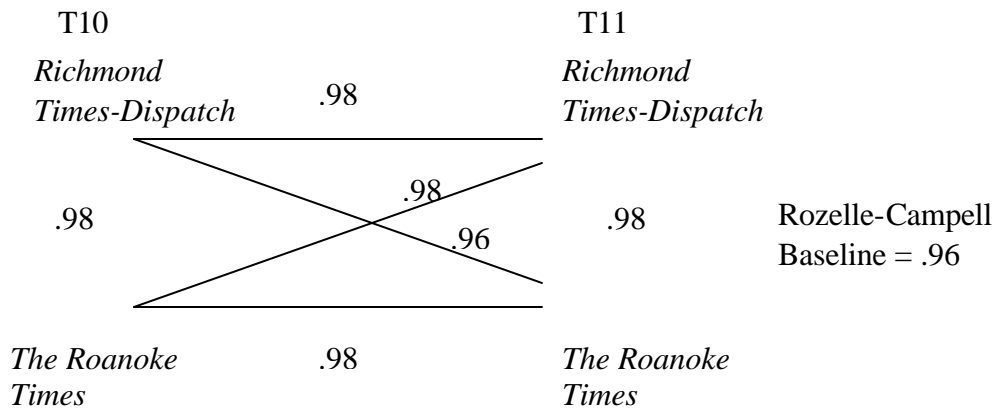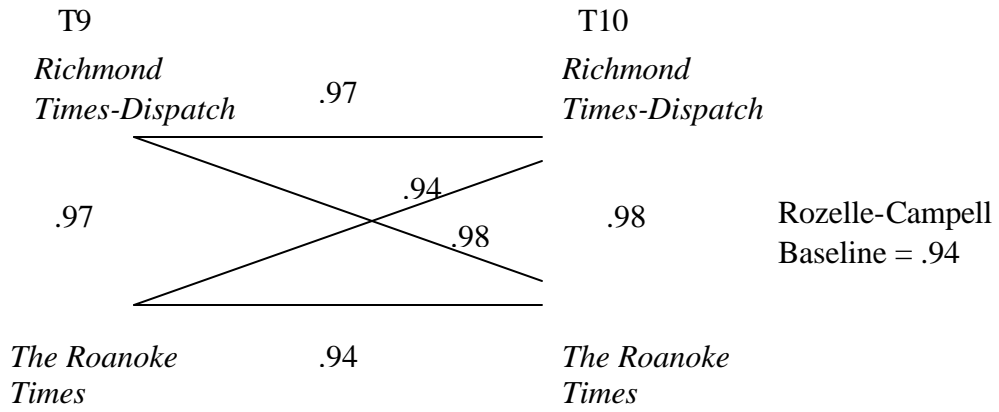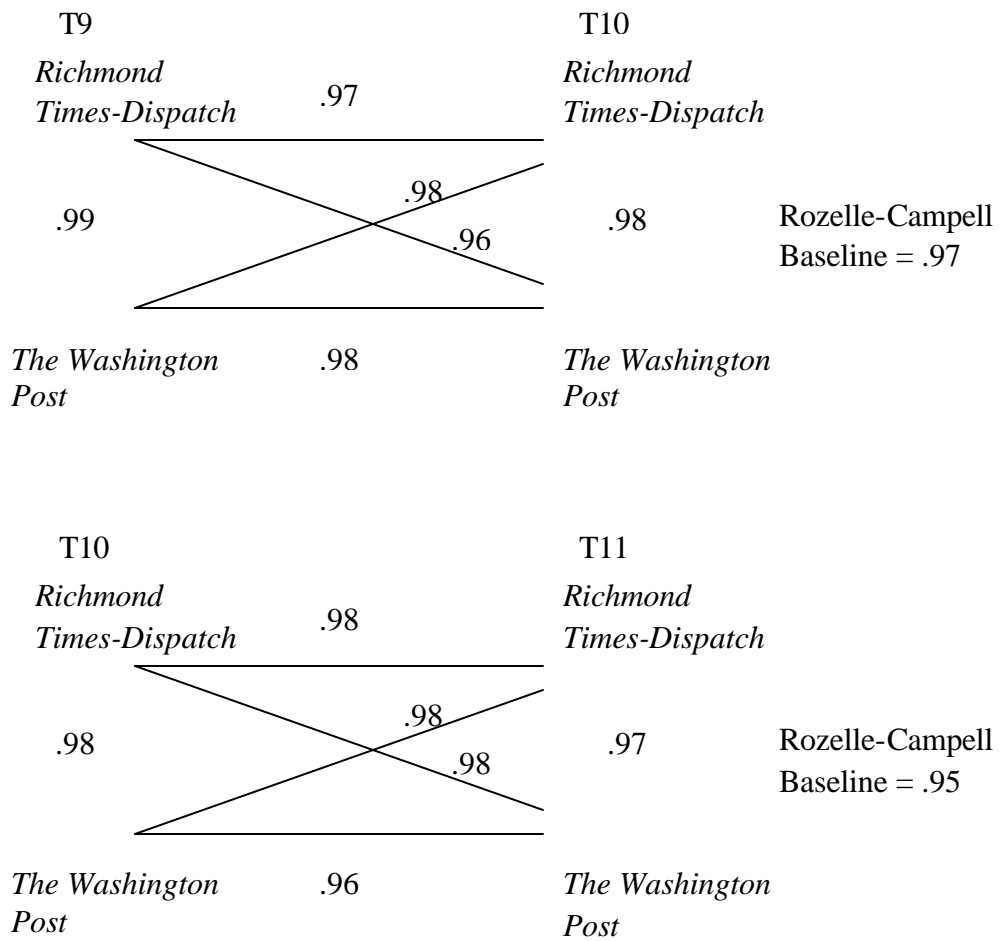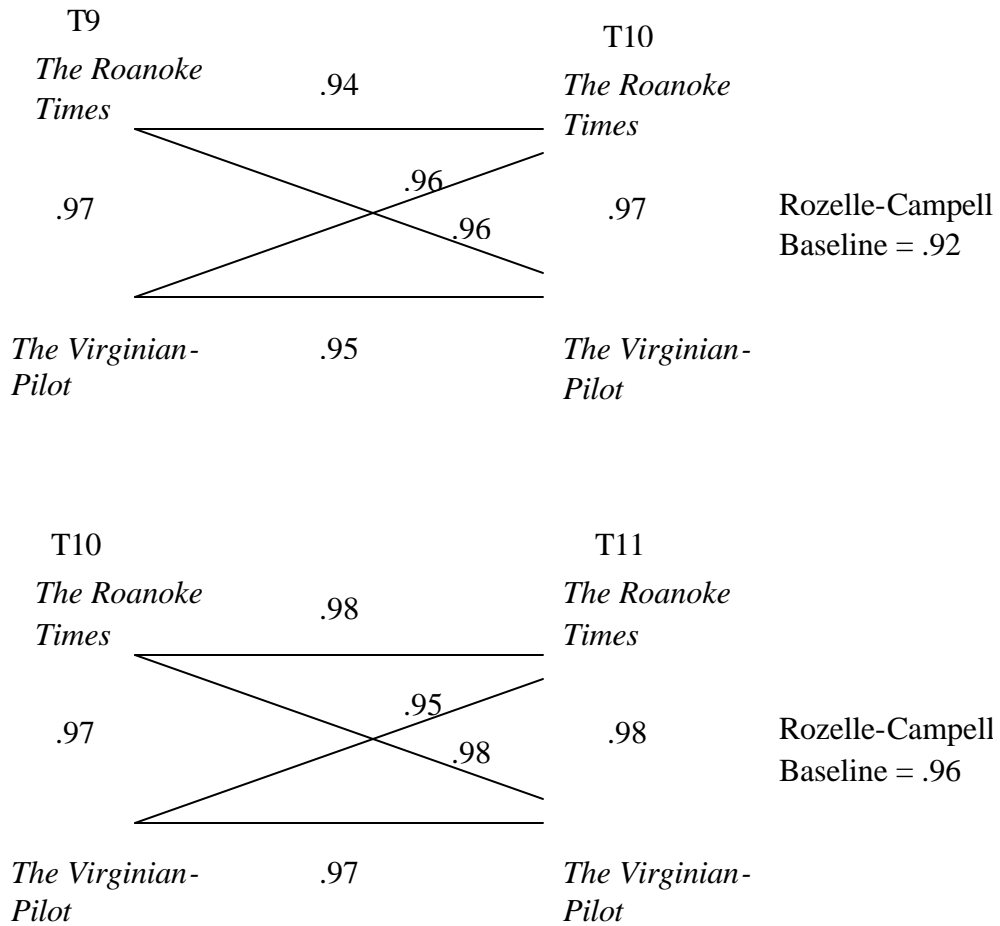
The Roanoke   .94   *The Roanoke*
Times   *Times*

                                    .98
.96   .98   Rozelle-Campell
                                    .93   Baseline = .93

The Washington   .98   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

T10   T11

The Roanoke   .98   *The Roanoke*
Times   *Times*

                                    .98
.98   .95   Rozelle-Campell
                                    .95   Baseline = .94

The Washington   .96   *The Washington*
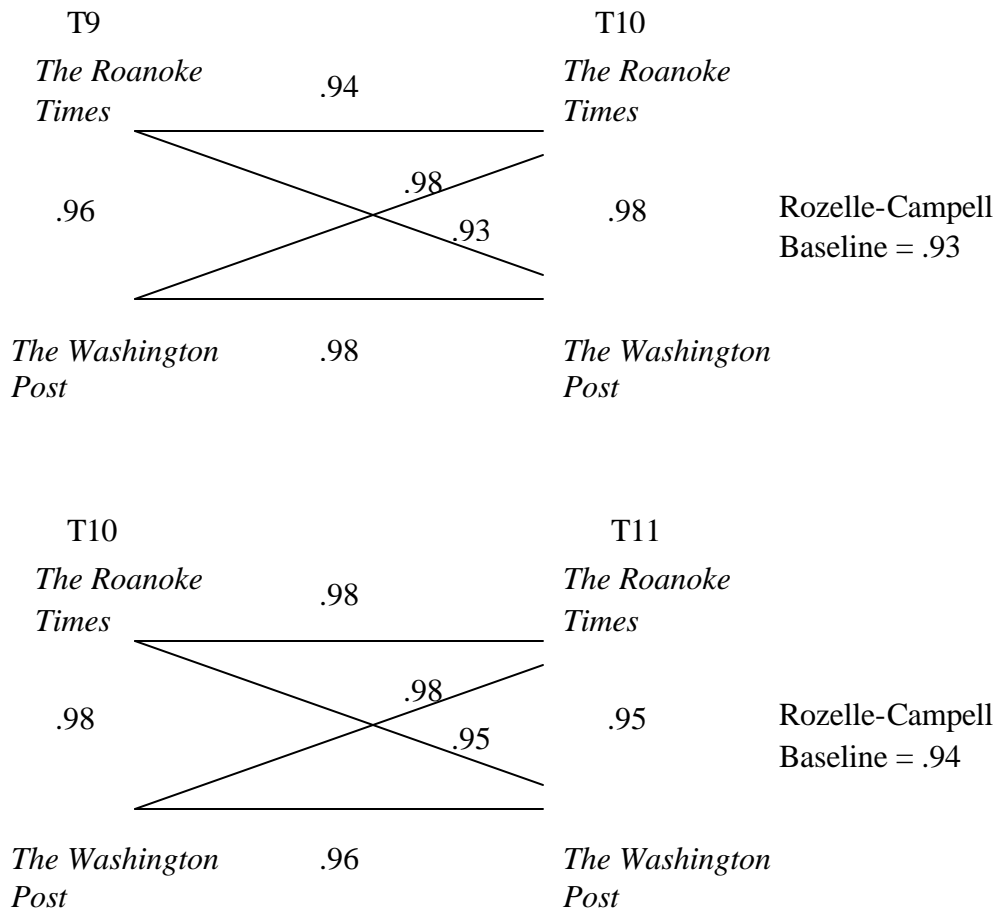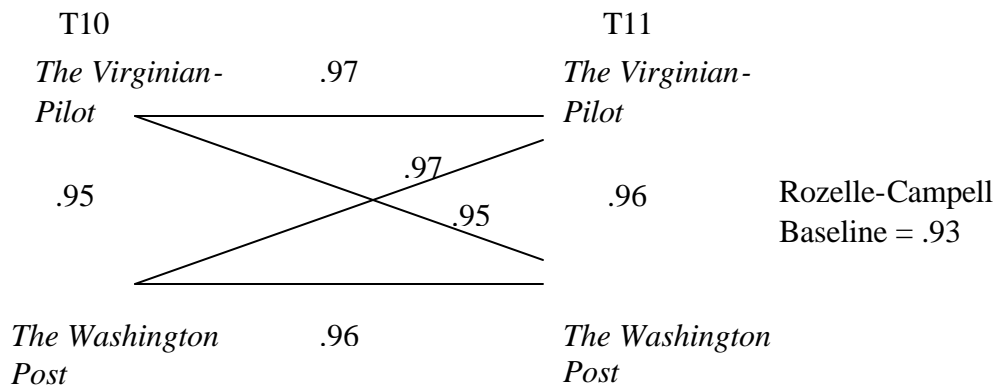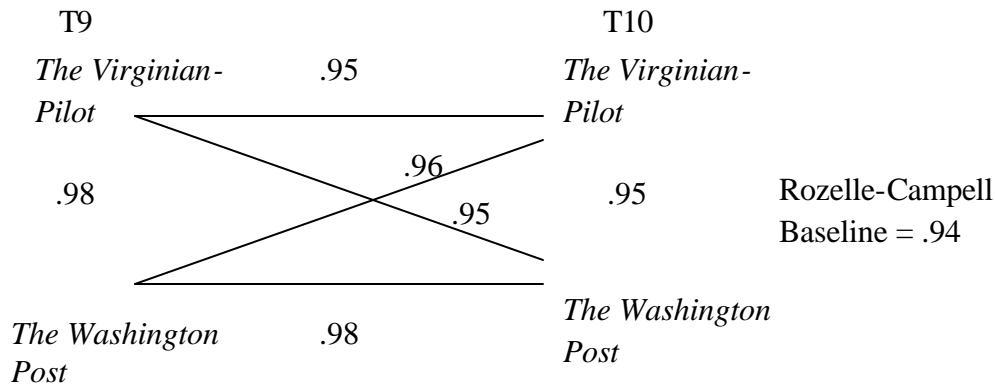*Post*   *Post*

Figure 46

Intermedia Audience Agenda Cross-Lagged Correlations between The Virginian-Pilot *and* The Washington Post

T9   T10

The Virginian-   .95   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

.98   .96   .95   Rozelle-Campell
                          .95   Baseline = .94

The Washington   .98   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

T10   T11

The Virginian-   .97   *The Virginian-*
Pilot   *Pilot*

.95   .97   .96   Rozelle-Campell
                          .95   Baseline = .93

The Washington   .96   *The Washington*
Post   *Post*

Vitae

Education

M.A. in Communication, Virginia Tech, May 2006

>   Thesis: *Candidate and media agenda setting in the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election*

>   Advisory Committee:
>   Dr. John C. Tedesco (chair)
>   Dr. Robert E. Denton, Jr.
>   Dr. Andrew Paul Williams

B.A. in Communication and English, Virginia Tech, May 2001

>   Concentrations: Mass Media and Twentieth-Century Literature

Publications and Conference Papers

Tedesco, J. C., Baker, E., Constantinescu, A., & Dunn, S. (2006/forthcoming). The EU and the US on terrorism: United we stand? In L. L. Kaid (Ed.), *The expansion election: Communicating shared sovereignty in the 2004 European Parliamentary elections.* Peter Lang.

Dunn, S. W. (2006 April). *Online Candidate Press Releases as Sources for Media in the 2005 Virginia Gubernatorial Election.* Paper to be presented at the conference of the Eastern Communication Association, Philadelphia, PA.

Dunn, S. W. (2005 November). *"Cross-party" endorsements: Do they affect voting behavior?* Paper presented at the conference of the National Communication Association, Boston, MA.

Research in Preparation

A comparison of George W. Bush's communication strategies in the 2000 and 2004 debates. (co-authored with Dr. John C. Tedesco)

Narrative and the reality crime genre in political advertising: The 2005 Virginia gubernatorial race's death penalty ads. Under review by the Political Communication Division of the National Communication Association

Narrative in Dr. Andrew Weil's rhetoric of patient empowerment. Under review by the Health Communication Division of the National Communication Association.

Professional Affiliations

National Communication Association, Political Communication Division
National Communication Association, Freedom of Expression Division

Professional Service

President, VT Communication Graduate Student Association, Fall 2005-present
Paper Reviewer, NCA Political Communication Division, 2005-present
Paper Reviewer, NCA Freedom of Expression Division, 2005-present
Panel Chair, NCA Political Communication Division, November 2005
Faculty Representative, VT Communication Graduate Student Association, Spring 2005
Representative, VT Graduate Student Assembly, Fall 2004