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**PUBLIC MEMORY AND POLITICAL HISTORY: NEWS MEDIA AND
COLLECTIVE MEMORY CONSTRUCTION AFTER THE DEATHS OF
FORMER PRESIDENTS**

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**Public Memory and Political History:
News Media and Collective Memory Construction
After the Deaths of Former Presidents**

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This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Ramonica, who has been my encouragement, cheerleader, proofreader, editor, and partner in this entire, long process.

Our love has surely been entwined across ages.

My undying appreciation goes to my sons, Connor, Spencer, Ryan, Michael, and Daniel.

I am wholeheartedly and eternally proud of each of you.

Always remember that you are better men for being brothers.

**Public Memory and Political History:
News Media and Collective Memory Construction
After the Deaths of Former Presidents**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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In recent years, scholars have shown increasing interest in the concept of collective memory for structuring modern social understanding and political dialogue. However, surprisingly few studies have looked at the role that news media play the processes of collective political memory construction, reinterpretation, and change. This study contributes to the literature on collective memory construction, by helping clarify the means by which different news media serve as a site where collective memory is constructed, reinforced, and revised; and, 2) to identify which political actors and institutions act as sources to assert particular memory frames and what media subsidies they offer to influence the memory construction process. Specifically, the study undertook a two-stage longitudinal content analysis of news media to discern the ways former U.S. presidents (i.e., Truman, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Ford) were memorialized in news media coverage at the time of their funerals, and then again in subsequent news media stories through 2012. The content analysis identified dominant news media frames and secondary attribute sub-frames as applied to former U.S. Presidents, and which news media sources and frame advocates are engaged in setting those frames. As a result, the study identified patterns of change and resilience in particular presidential memory frames as represented in news media, and found journalists—beyond other sources and frame advocates—play a significant role in both creating and revising those memories over time. A range of opportunities for further research are discussed.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

In recent years, attention to the notion of collective memory has experienced a renaissance in the academic literature. At its core, collective memory has attracted interest for its effect on constructing and maintaining social hegemonies, ideologies, and political agendas (Goff, 1996; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Macmillan, 2009; Olick, 1999; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Seixas, 2004; Wineburg, 2001). Such socially derived memories are essential to our collective political consciousness and identity, and for understanding our social institutions (Halbwachs, 1950, 1952; Pennebaker & Basasik, 1997; Lipsitz, 2001; Olick, et.al., 2011). Put another way, collective memory is accepted as the process of *how* we collectively *remember*, *interpret*, or *forget* our past and how those memories influence the ways in which we see ourselves, judge our circumstances, and guide our decisions in the present.

Not coincidentally, rising public attention to collective memory has coincided with the frequency at which conflicting interpretations of the past have become central to our cultural and political discourse. Increasing conflicts over the validity and meaning of different interpretations of the historical past have become commonplace in debates over school curricula, the creation of public memorials, or in justifying contemporary policy actions (Garde-Hansen, 2012; McMillan, 2010; Nash, et. al., 2000). Case studies have been written on this phenomena. Alison Wylie documented the often bitter debates surrounding the Columbus Quincentennial of 1992 as being a source of national pride or disgrace (Wylie, 1992). Tom and Eduard Linthenal's *History Wars* documented similar virulence surrounding the Smithsonian Institution exhibit marking the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima between historians and veterans' groups (Linthenal & Linthenal, 1996). The frequency has grown such that historian Henry Reynolds questioned whether "there ever was a time in the past when history was so central to the political

debate, when Clio was consulted so readily?" (Reynolds, 2000, p. 3) In *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*, Eric Foner argues that since the 1980s "one could scarcely open a newspaper without encountering bitter controversy over the teaching and presentation of the American past" (Foner, 2002, p.xii).

For several historians, the issue is not limited to the frequency in which the past is used as a rhetorical device in political debate, but of potential abuses among different political forces who seek to manipulate and distort collective memory to promote or propagandize certain political perspectives and agendas (Macmillan, 2009; Seixas, 2004; Wineburg, 2001; Cannadine, 2004; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Le Goff, 1996). Critics have noted that often the narratives used to cue certain memories are seldom definitive or precise, but are instead incomplete, selective, and endlessly susceptible to revision or reinterpretation. The academic literature is deep with studies and experiments demonstrating that even the most crucial details of recall can be activated, neglected, or manipulated in the public mind, leaving what we choose to remember, and how we interpret it, subject to innumerable interpretations and potential manipulation (Macmillan, 2009; Seixas, 2004; Wineburg, 2001; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Le Goff, 1996).

What is at stake is establishing a clear understanding of the ways in which collective identity is derived, and how that memory contributes to social cohesion among both discreet and broad publics. In recent years, a heightened tension has emerged between traditional political history and a more ideologically driven and technologically enabled public, or collective, memory of the past. Rooted in French social psychologist Maurice Halbwachs' concept of memory as a socially constructed phenomenon, historians and social theorists have come to recognize an ever-widening range of political actors' deftness in manipulating socially shared representations—or "running drafts"—of history to create, contest, and challenge political reality

(i.e., Pascal Boyer's and James V. Wertsch's *Memory in Mind and Culture*, 2009; Margaret MacMillan's *Dangerous Games: The Uses and Abuses of History*, 2009; James W. Pennebaker, et.al., *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, 1997; and Meili Steele's *Hiding from History: Politics and the Public Imagination*, 2005). By promoting particular interpretations of past events via a growing cacophony of blogs, web sites, and traditional and new media networks, propagandists can reinforce particular ideologies to influence social understanding.

This study uses narrative and framing theories to examine how collectively significant events become (selectively) incorporated into media representations of the past to position political perspectives, shape identities, and reference cultural symbols. The analysis finds that identifying diachronic (temporal) links between functional and cognitive political perspectives is essential for critically understanding the framing of current events and in perceiving how different publics view the relative stability and legitimacy of social order—especially at a time of growing ethnic and religious differences and divisions around the world.

Given the differences in interpretation, there exists a void in the middle-range theories concerning the conditions and conflicts by which collective memories are forged. This has led to a “fracturing of meaning in proportion to its growing rhetorical power”(Gillis, 1994), or to paraphrase sociologist James Wertsch (2002), memory studies have devolved into a paradigm in search of a meaning. As a result, much of the recent literature has limited itself to how collective memories are made manifest in commemorating specific historical events (Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2000; Kitch, 2002,2003; Hasian & Carlson, 2000; Peri, 1999) or as symbols appearing in text and imagery (Bruner, 2002; Hasian & Carlson, 2000; Kitch, 2003; Schudson, 1992). In the process, the definition of collective memory has been stretched to include a broad span of rhetorical, cultural, and ethnic theories. This conceptual ambiguity has prompted one leading

scholar to complain of research in the field “growing so broad that [collective memory] now seems to include all thoughts, sentiments, and actions about the past that are not recognized as traditional history” (Zelizer, 1999, p. 235). Part of the problem is that too few scholars have focused on identifying memories *after* they have been manifested in cultural products. Less attention has been given to the *process* of collective memory construction: the dialogic interaction and public contestation that takes place when societies create, contest, and revise those memories.

A growing number of researchers are looking to media—particularly news media—that serve as the tableau on which our representations of collective memory are constructed, revised, and reconstructed to create a social construct of identity, and necessarily, collective memory (Kitch, 2008; Zelizer, 2008). The argument makes intuitive sense—nearly all of what we know of public affairs outside our immediate experience is presented and ingrained in the collective consciousness through media narratives. In the never-ending cycle of information that bombards us, what we collectively retain and forget is largely decided by how information is accessed and applied as part of a social narrative that we use to construct a collective identity. Over time, the experiences, details, and associations that comprise those memories fade, fragment, and condense into a few images, sounds, symbols, catchphrases, etc. that become a series of shorthand memes that can be primed from memory. In this way, media not only draft what we remember of the past, but subsequently select what subsequent generations recall, forget, revise, or reinterpret (Edy, 2006; Foner, 2002; Fowler, 2007; Kitch, 2005; Irwin-Zarecka, 1997; Zelizer 2010).

Not that the news media is an optimal means of memory construction. At best, newswork provides haphazard means of historical interpretation, invoking the past as a way to “delimit an era, as a yardstick, for analogies, or for the shorthand explanations or lessons it can

provide” (Lang & Lang, 1989, 127). Of even greater concern is the susceptibility of news media to the adroit manipulation by political and social advocates to distort public understanding of complex issues and shrink areas of collective historical consciousness (Cannadine, 2004; Foner, 2002; Garde-Hansen, 2011; Klein, 2000; Lapham, 2012; MacMillan, 2009) or to further certain political agendas (Baudrillard, 1995; Blumenthal & Engelhard, 1996; Edy, 1999; Le Goff, 1996; Macmillan, 2009; Morris-Suzuki, 2005; Reynolds, 2000; Schwartz, 1992; Seixas, 2004; Sturken, 2008; Wineburg, 2001; Zelizer, 1993, 2011). Yet, despite the recent attention, the collective memory studies have struggled to develop conceptual and methodological approaches to study collective memory processes. Instead, the focus has centered on the representation of specific events within particular circumstantial or media settings without reflecting on the process by which such memories are constructed and maintained over time (Edy, 2006; Kansteiner, 2002; Kitch, 2005; Wertsch, 2002; Zelizer, 1993, 2010). Others have looked at the means by which media serve to indoctrinate newer generations into interpretations of the past (Johnson, 2004). Some have looked to the way news media serves to reinforce social memories by commemorating event anniversaries (Kitch, 2005) or the ways in which journalistic authority is asserted for particular events (Edy, 2006; Schudson, 1993; Zelizer, 1993). A number of studies have looked at the ways that media representations of past policy successes or failures act to inform our subsequent decisions and expectations (Lebow, 2008) and contextualize in public debate (Le Goff, 1996; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Macmillan, 2009; Schudson, 1993; Seixas, 2004; Wineburg, 2001). Examples include debates over U.S. Civil War revisionism (Holt, 1978), Holocaust denial (Vidal-Naquet, 1993), curricular debates over what to include or exclude from history texts (Morris-Suzuki, 2005), and the "guilt of nations" for past wrongs to different subgroups (Barkan, 2000; Morris-Suzuki, 2005).

Even as these studies have looked to media to document collective memory, few have examined the dialogic activity through which memory is contested, negotiated and nominally recognized in the public consciousness, nor the processes by which memory frames transform over time. Media theorist Barbie Zelizer (2010) complained that even after decades of collective memory study, “. . .there is still no default understanding of memory that includes journalism as one of its vital and critical agents. . . of what journalism does with the past that is different, singular, interesting or problematic” (p. 81).

Study's Contribution to Collective Memory Research

The dissertation substantially contributes to improving our understanding of media in collective memory construction. First, the study demonstrates that news media serve as a cultural canvas upon which a hierarchy of diverse social and political advocates actively frame, promote, and reinterpret what becomes society's collective memories of the past and how those memories are applied to contemporary circumstances. Second the study demonstrates that news media not only serve as a forum for such memory discourse, but that journalists act as *de facto* curators of specific forms of memory by validating what is preserved and reinforced in our knowledge of the past events. Third, the study's specific attention to identifying media sources involved in collective memory construction—both institutional and social—establishes in the collective memory literature a systemic basis for categorizing collective memory advocates who are primary responsible for the shaping and preservation of collective memory and the informational subsidies they proffer to influence the memory construction process. Lastly, the study provides an ancillary contribution to the presidential studies literature by assembling a matrix of presidential functions and characteristics that define both the American presidency and the presidents in our political imagination.

Structure of the Study

To best describe the processes of collective political memory construction and change, the study examined the ways former U.S. presidents were memorialized in news media coverage at the time of their funerals, and again in news media stories in the years following their deaths until 2013. The purpose is to perceive the patterns of change and resilience in particular memories and to discern the different frame advocates involved in creating and revising those memories over time. A two-stage longitudinal content analysis of news media was conducted to discern how dominant news media frames of presidential and secondary attribute sub-frames are applied to former U.S. Presidents (Truman, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Ford), and which news media sources and frame advocates are engaged in setting those frames, both at the time of their funerals and in the years subsequent to their deaths. The first phase analysis draws from three nationally recognized newspapers (e.g., the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*); four national network and cable news outlets (e.g., ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, CNN and Fox News) and three major news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*) in the seven days of news media coverage from their passing until their internment. The second phase draws from a subset of the national news outlets (i.e., *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *TIME*, and *Newsweek*) from the end of the funeral coverage through 2012.

News media coverage of presidential funerals possess several useful features for examining media constructed collective memories. Since Durkheim, cultural theorists have argued that funerals of public figures are significant rituals for articulating social consensus (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Dayan & Katz, 1992, 1988; Bird, 1980) and defining normative

boundaries of political behavior (Schwartz & Holyfield, 1998). This is especially true for American presidents, whose distinctive position in the American political imagination is due to the rhetorical nature of the presidency, their cognitive association with specific political issues or ideologies (Dayan & Katz, 1992), and as a temporal for locating particular eras (Fine, 1996). Presidential funerals are a unique genre within journalistic practice, because they provide a rare instance in which media are retrospective in its reporting, especially in order to contextualize a president and his presidency's significance to our common political past.

The main questions addressed are: What are the patterns of memory construction when it comes to recalling past political leaders? Do certain presidents tend to exemplify society's normative expectations of whom should serve in the Oval Office? What are the leading frames, and subframes used to describe former presidents and why? Do those frames and subframes change over time? When and how are memories revised? How is new and/or revelatory information incorporated into the memory construction process? Which sources are most responsible for constructing and reconstructing frames? How are frames contested between competing sources? Which competing sources are most influential in establishing/revising presidential frames?

Theoretical Framework

In large part, the concepts of collective memory and media communication are integral to theories of the dialogic construction of socially constructed reality (Snow & Benford, 1988; Steinberg, 1998). Socially constructed reality is the basis of our common knowledge, values, and understanding (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Edelman, 1988; March & Olsen, 1984) and relies on the concepts of socially integrative learning and communication by which we share knowledge, meaning, and comprehension of the social world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992; Hall, 1997; Reese, 2000; Wicks, 2001). Memory is a cornerstone of this

construction, since the ability to recall and apply past experiences, beliefs, and opinions to contemporary circumstances—and to shape and share that information with others—is the basis of the “common knowledge,” that is necessary for individuals and groups to effectively participate in society (Neuman, et.al. 1992).

Collective Memory and News Media

For large, modern societies, media communication is essential to constructing a collective social identity and belonging. As such, media studies provide a strong theoretical foundation to inform our understanding of collective memory construction (Adoni, 1984; Gamson, et.al., 1992). Within the larger disciplines of social and political theory—and connected with theories of ideology and power—media studies help clarify the ways in which media act as a canvas for the contestations and mediation of memory in society (Bird, 2003; Livingstone, 2007), providing a canvas where “various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality” (Gurevitch & Levy, 1985, p. 19). News media act as the place where public memory is formed—at two distinct stages: first, by initially framing events as they occur in the public discourse; second, by reinforcing or reworking those frames when they subsequently reference events (Bourdon, 2003; Edgerton, 2001; Edy, 1999; Kitch, 1999, 2005; Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz & Schuman, 2005; Barnhurst & Wartella, 1995; Zelizer, 1992). Journalism’s immediacy of presentation, documentary style, interpretative expertise, and professional routines (e.g., citation, accuracy, objectivity, and balance) project an ostensibly respectable social and professional authority when characterizing events or issues (Zelizer, 1992). In practice, however, journalism is a haphazard means of documenting history. The process of newswork tends to neglect complexity or nuance in making historical references (Schudson, 1992) and thus falls victim to “oversimplification and analogical extension” between

past and present when little empirical connection exists (Dionisopoulos & Goldzwig 1992, p. 75; Schudson, 1992; Zelizer, 1995). This compression becomes more effective when other political and social actors use media to promote particular interpretations of the past not only as sources in normative journalism practice, but also in proffering subjective columns, op/eds, news analyses, television interviews, letters to the editor, etc. to influence and shape the messages that appear in news media (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997).

Framing Theory

The study also relies on media framing theory, which recognizes media frames as an essential tool to construct a continuum of shared political reality. (Carey, 1985/1992; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Neuman, et.al. 1992). Media framing theory shares with the social construction of reality a recognition of a fundamental basis of collective cognition and explanation in order for social discourse. Framing employs “central organizing idea[s] for making sense of relevant events” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3) and, as an extension of language, provides a conceptual *vernacular* “by which media and individuals can collectively . . . convey, interpret, and evaluate information” (Neuman, et.al., 1992, p. 60). Effectively transmitting meaning between producer and receiver requires both to possess commonly shared knowledge of cultural cues so that a message can be structured—or framed—into a coherent narrative (Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007; Reese, 1996, 2001), even if the frame through which the recipient interprets the message may not be the same as the producer intended (Hall, 1982; Reese, et.al., 2001; Scheufele, 2000; Entman, 1993).

Several constituent theories within the framing paradigm have particular relevance when applied to the concept of collective memory in general, and this study in particular. First is to consider a broad definition of the framing unit: both as a broad conceptual theme expressed in

stories, (Entman, 1993; Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, et.al., 2000; Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) as well as smaller singular units such as a reference, analogy, sentence, or a simple word attribute to impart shared meaning. This is because in terms of collective memory construction—applicability effects (applying frame reasoning in message interpretation) and accessibility effects (recalling information due to currency or frequency)—are equally important to understanding even the most fragmented or semiotic of concepts (e.g., iconic images, catchphrases, etc.) and can be mutually reinforcing of the one another as frame devices. (McCombs, 2004; Gilovich, 1981; Gilovich, et.al., 2002). For example, in terms of collective recall, the picture of Harry Truman holding up the "Dewey Wins" newspaper headline not only references his 1948 win against Thomas Dewey, but has come to exemplify concepts in the public mind of “come-from-behind” political victories, indefatigable candidacies, upending the conventional wisdom, etc. Stories in which the dominant frame may involve the presidential campaign strategies may reference the "Dewey Wins" imagery in a paragraph to illustrate the main frame *and* reinforce the collective memories of Truman in a cultural context. In that sense, these attributes or images serve as sub-fames that corroborate and describe the dominant frame of the story (Gamson, 1992; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hertog & McLeod, 2001) and provide access to attributes that are, in and of themselves, framing memes for what we recall of the past.

Second, the study looks to the resilience of past framing attributes as a second-order media effect to continue to "prime" assessments of public figures in subsequent interpretations. Media priming is largely derived from the field of cognitive psychology and the notions of associative networking of human memory, in which an idea or concept is stored and recalled in relation to other ideas or concepts by semantic paths to frame information or form judgments. Pan and Kosicki's examination of the priming effect in prompting presidential performance

(1997) suggests that attributes that had been expressed in news media to prime contemporary public judgments of these men as leaders would not necessarily have disappeared from public mind once they left office, but may still be accessible in collective memory to be retrieved and applied as tools for cognition in media assessments of contemporary circumstances. For that reason, this study employed a complex definition of framing, in which multiple attributes and conceptual components interact as sub-frames to support the dominant frame construction by setting salient aspects in the text, providing a point of reference, or validating the frame by providing an example.

Lastly, the study looks to the still evolving concept of “frame transformation” and the way in which common frames are revised and/or reinterpreted as a result of changing circumstances or newly revealed information. This transformation rarely involves a wholesale discard of existing memory, but instead gradually re-contextualizes or accommodates new information to existing frames to retain consistency and cogency (Snow, et. al., 1986). Goffman referred to this as "keying" (1974, p. 43–44), where "activities, events, and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework transpose in terms of another framework" such that they are seen differently. To date, little attention has been provided to frame transformation in the academic literature, providing an opportunity for the study to contribute to conceptual approaches.

Sources and Frame Advocates

The study puts particular emphasis to how the message frames are created and built, particularly on the internal and external factors that influence frame construction. As both Shoemaker and Reese (1996) and Carragee and Roefs (2004) have demonstrated, media frames do not emerge independently, but are shaped by factors both internal and external to the news

production process. News frames grow out of a “negotiation of newsworthiness” (Cook, 1989, 169) between political actors trying to shape discourse frames and newswriters who control how stories are framed and what elements survive (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2006). As Tuchman (1978) and Zhou and Moy (2007) suggest, newswriters are bound by professional and institutional norms and routines in developing stories, but are at the same time influenced by external political actors, institutions, or social/cultural groups and ideologues looking to shape public understanding. Accounting for these influences in building frames for collective memory construction is essential to framing analysis (Olausson, 2009). To do so, the study applies the Hierarchy of Influences model of news production developed by Shoemaker and Reese (1996). The Hierarchy of Influences model illustrates the influences on the production of media content as concentric circles of influence, starting with individual reporters, then extending to media routines, organizational demands, extra media influences, and ideological effects (Reese, 2001). In terms of constructing frames of collective memories, the influence of individual reporters and institutional demands are important, since, as members themselves of the memory culture, journalists presume a idea of what information or references are accessible in the public mind. At the level of extra-media influences, the model becomes more complex, as competing social and political actors engage and compete as frame advocates in promoting particular interpretations of memory in the public mind in what is termed the Public Arenas Model of Discourse (Bennett, et. al., 2004; Callaghan & Schnell, 2005; Hiltgartner & Bosk, 1988; Reich, 2006; Sigal, 1973). In the arena, frame advocates offer “information subsidies”—press releases, op/eds, interviews, expert interviews, fact sheets, strategic messaging, and alternate media, etc.—that simplify news production, but do so in a way that promotes particular messages, catchphrases, and views for a political perspective or group (Gandy, 1982; Pan & Kosicki, 2001). For example, at the time of Reagan’s funeral, the Heritage Foundation released a fact sheet

entitled “What Reagan Meant for America,” which characterized the achievements of the former president’s administration; a number of which were echoed in coverage by news media and political commentators (Kitch, 2007).

In terms of collective memory, the journalistic criteria for selecting sources and accepting sponsored frames are unique, since not every source is equally valid (Bron, 2005) and are determined by the authority they claim and that the journalist can justify: witness, expert, representative, etc. (Schudson, 1992; Schwartz, 1992; Zelizer 2004; Edy, 2006). While certain types of sources have been identified (Edy, 2006; Lang & Lang, 2001; Schudson, 1990), no definitive list exists. This study incorporates those already identified into a set of eight categories: *Academic/ Historians*, whose expertise and adherence to academic standards make them authorities; *Journalists* whose authority comes from their roles as chroniclers of events subsequent retellings; *Politico-Historians* who “. . . routinely use the past. . .” to justify their actions in the present and to invent “. . . pasts to suit their own needs” (Schudson, 1992, p. 213); *Guardians*, whose authority comes from having a relationship or attachment to the object of memory (e.g., family, friends, descendents, etc. (Kitch & Hume, 2007); *Witnesses* to particular events or issues; *Official Authorities* who represent government, or institutional organizations (Edy, 2006, p. 85); *Social Authorities* who represent particular social subgroups (e.g., Religious leaders, NAACP, National Organization for Women, National Right to Life Committee, Indian nations, etc.) and provide an appearance of temporal continuity for past events (Lang & Lang, 2001, p. 351); and, *Citizens*, who as constituent members of the memory culture assert individual memory into the public dialogue (i.e., participants in memorial services, writers of letters to the editor, man-in-the-street interviewees, etc.).

Importance of the Study

This study is expected to contribute to our knowledge of *how* memories of political figures are created in the news media, the factors that influence the construction, and the process by which meaning of the past is transformed over time. The primary significance of this study lies in its investigation of political framing as a competitive process among multiple sources and frame advocates in the news media. Specific questions involve the contexts in which news media serve as location for public discourse in collective memory construction, the influence of political actors and institutions in that process, the circumstances under which existing frames change or transform and which sources/frame advocates appear most frequently that processes?

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation will consist of five chapters beyond this introduction that provides an overview of the dissertation, its structure, and primary questions to be asked.

Chapter Two lays the groundwork for the research questions by providing an overview of the academic literature relevant to the influences of news media on the construction of collective political memory, including the fields of journalism, social psychology, media studies and political science. The review will also include relevant examples from newspapers, news magazines, and television broadcasts to the extent that they illustrate the purposes and reasoning behind the study. The chapter begins by defining collective memory and locating it firmly within the concepts of the social construction of reality through communicative discourse. The chapter will then connect collective memory as both a cultural product and narrative tool of media —specifically news media— to frame events or issues and to communicate shared political constructs. The chapter then addresses the influences of frame construction in news

media, specifically addressing the Hierarchy of Influences Model of media production, followed by an overview of the effect of sources and external frame advocates on media content in the public arena to manipulate the news media frames and the collective conscience.

Chapter Three describes the content analysis methodology of the study, including the structuring of the media sample, the distinction in discerning dominant frames and sub-frames, the process of frame identification, categorization and the measurement techniques to be employed. The chapter also delineates the variables to be examined and the code book and the statistical procedures of analysis. It will detail the data collection methods used, the measures to be analyzed, the statistical procedures applied, and the steps to ensure intercoder reliability.

Chapter Four presents the results of the content analysis, beginning with a descriptive summary of the characteristics of data and their relation to the research questions.

Chapter Five provides a summary interpretation of the findings; interpret the results, conclusions of the research, the limitations of the data, and recommendations for possible future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In examining the influence of news media framing in shaping and preserving collective memory over time, this dissertation integrates a range of theoretical concepts from cultural studies, political sociology, and media studies to structure its approaches and methods. The literature review is organized into five parts.

First, the literature review will define the concept underlying socially constructive memory, then define and locate how collective memory and communication are essential components of socially constructed reality. Particular attention is given to the essentiality of a mutually understood lexicon of cultural symbols, knowledge, and narrative to dialogic communication and the construction of shared memories.

Second, the review will explore more deeply the theoretical constructs of collective memory, including the structural factors that expose collective memory to subjective construction and elite manipulation. In particular, the review will discuss the malleability of memory to external influence and validation, specifically referenced via Olick's and Robbins' (1998) matrix describing the ideal types of mnemonic persistence/malleability, and emerging literature in cognitive sociology related to the variability of memories when engaged through dialogic suggestion. The section will end with an explanation of contested memories in social discourse, especially the persistence of memories pertinent to specific subgroups that act within Michel Foucault's conception of "counter memories."

Third, the review will discuss the role of communication, particularly mass media communication, as an integral part of sharing meaning and the prioritizing the components of collective memory.

Fourth, the review tackles the presidents and their presidencies as mnemonic factors in American collective memory, not only as references to a particular temporal time or topic in the

past, but also as a metaphor by which contemporary presidential administrations or political circumstances can be measured. It locates American political figures—especially presidents and their presidencies—as dominant foci of political discourse and as powerful mnemonic devices for contextualizing and symbolizing specific themes within American political memory. In particular, the review will examine the funeral ceremonies (i.e., public commemorations, obituaries, and eulogies) in providing an “anthropology of ceremony” and memory that articulates social consensus (Bird, 1980; Dayan & Katz, 1992, 1988; Fowler, 2008; Hume, 2000). The section then takes the next step in looking at news media eulogies and obituaries as a practice of constructing memory, and then the reasoning behind why journalism is slowly emerging as a means of approaching and understanding the process of collective memory construction and recharacterization in the academic literature.

Fifth, the review looks at the news media’s role in building and setting frames for general knowledge and understanding of the past. Framing theory will be discussed in more depth, followed by the theoretical approaches thought to influence determining the information and sources chosen and mediated during the framing process. The review relies primarily on the Hierarchy of Influences Theory (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995)—including journalistic norms and routines (Tuchman, 1973; Gans, 1972; Shoemaker & Reese, 1995)—and the extent to which political and institutional actors serve as news sources and frame advocates acting as *de facto* authorities when promoting particular ways for interpreting the past in the Public Arena (Hiltgartner & Bosk, 1988), with (Edy, 2006; Kitch, 2005; Zelizer, 1992; Schudson, 1995).

Sixth, the review describes how the construction of media content into shaping collective memory, with specific attention to theoretical approaches to media source selection and the Hierarchy of Influences model for media production. Particular focus is given to the impact of individual journalistic beliefs, the norms and routines of journalistic practice, and the influence

of frame advocates engaging within a public arena model of social dialogue to promote and contest particular frame assertions in the news media. Those influences are further refined by creating a typology of source criteria specific to collective memory construction that validates the credibility of sources by their relative temporal proximity to the event being described (family, friends, eyewitnesses), their level of expertise in the period or context in which the event took place (professional academic), or their role as a cultural interpreter within the larger society (i.e., a citizen, political actor, etc.). The literature review ends with a summary of the topics discussed and to set the stage for the methodology chapter that follows.

Social Construction of Reality

Ever since French sociologist Émile Durkheim first coined the term “collective consciousness” to explain the unifying force of socially shared beliefs and mores (Durkheim, 1895/1982; 1912/1995), social theorists have worked to refine and articulate the processes of social constructivism, or the social manifestations of reality. Essentially, Socially Constructed Reality describes the social cohesion through a shared cognitive perception of meaning and awareness made possible by a dynamic process of communicated knowledge and interpretation. It is based on the notion that as persons and groups interact together in a social system over time, a set of mutually shared concepts, symbols, and meanings are drawn from each other's actions. Socially constructed reality is contrasted with objective reality in that it exists in the minds of individuals through shared experience. Objective reality includes the tangible or empirically valid (i.e., the physical properties of objects, the force of gravity, etc.). Subjective reality, however, includes how we explain and interpret (e.g., our opinions, ideologies, language emotions, etc.). The concepts eventually become habituated and institutionalized into a commonly recognized set of social typifications, significations, institutions, and expectations

imbued within social identity and a subjective reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This “common knowledge” is the functional information that is necessary to participate in social or political discourse and is constantly refurbished and reinterpreted from continued interactions among cultural producers and receivers (Neuman, et.al. 1992; Van Dijk, 2002). Collective memory and communication are integral to sustain this structure of reality, since only by continued affirmation (recalling and reaffirming these symbols of common knowledge) and articulation (communicating by both practice and via language and symbols) there can be no social vernacular for social understanding. How can two people share ideas or experiences with one another without possessing a mutually understood language and a common interpretation of the experience? "Meaning needs a discourse to make it meaningful...without language there is no representation, no meaning" (Hall, 1999).

Collective Memory and Socially Constructed Reality

Collective memory describes this shared interpretation of a common past by which society, along its component subgroups, act to actualize meaning and identity within the social framework. Collective memory is commonly defined as the common recollections of shared past among a group, community, or culture that are passed from one generation to the next (Halbwachs/Coser, 1925/1992). First articulated by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the first half of the Twentieth Century, the concept stresses the relation between memory and its social context and is a key component for forming social and political hegemonies. Applying Durkheim’s ideas of a “collective consciousness” to the study of memory, Halbwachs argued that collective memory was a “matter of how minds work together in society” (Halbwachs/Coser, 1925/1992, 37) by possessing a stock of shared representations of the past that link the individual to “the group, to the events involving other people, and to the group’s consciousness”

(Kansteiner, 2002, 187).

Ostensibly, the functional concept of collective memory is itself simple: when we experience events or ideas, we do so as part of a larger social environment of discourse and interpretation, in which a wide range of perspectives are exchanged, “filtered, selected, arranged, constructed, and reconstructed” (Davis, 1979, 236; see also Schudson, 1992; Shils, 1981; Zerubavel, 1995). Every social group develops the memory of its own past, as distinct from that of other groups, to reconstruct a collective memory that constitutes the key ingredient of group identity. The normative social functions of collective memories are quite often manifested in any number of forms for maintaining social and political solidarity and cohesion.

For Halbwachs collective memory is *not* the aggregation of individual recollections, but a function of how memory is shaped within society and is structured by social arrangements. This doesn’t preclude the notion of individual, or autobiographical memory, but points to a level of memory production in which the group context serves to contextualize and validate particular events and symbols in the group context. Those memories are then subsequently subject to recall, revision, or forgetting over time. In essence, while individual memory is unique, it is also sufficiently elastic so to converge with others through social interactions and be transformed into shared recollections. Through this convergence, collective memory encompasses meaning outside the isolated experiences of the individuals and becomes located within the larger experiences of the group. For example, memoirist Marge Piercy tells in her work, *Sleeping with Cats*, of how her brother’s attitude towards his participation in World War II had been disillusioned and chilling upon his return home, but within the distance of a few years, his recollections began to mirror the dominant cultural narratives that lauded the heroism and sacrifices of the American soldiers.

The “collective” of collective memory is generally understood to encompass a generalized public, collectivized through communicative dialogue. This collective is inclusive of smaller memory communities (e.g., neighborhoods, companies, schools), within a broader collective Western culture (Western culture, nations) where memories of past events can be constructed, shared, constructed and conveyed. The mnemonic narratives that circulate in the within these publics need not be accepted by every segment, but are at least recognized as part of the broader public dialogue.

To conceptualize the process of collective memory, Halbwachs used the metaphor of a symphony orchestra, in which the knowledge and skills of each individual musician engages within a complex score to contribute as a constituent part of a single, rich orchestral arrangement (Halbwachs, 1950/1980, pp. 161-163). Just as one cannot separate the individual musician from the fullness of an orchestral score, one cannot separate a collective memory from the individual members who have constructed and kept it. “It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (Halbwachs 1992, p. 38).

Transformation of Collective Memory

At the same time, for Halbwachs the present is the collective frame by which individuals reconstruct their past: "collective memory reconstructs its various recollections to accord with contemporary ideas and preoccupations." (Halbwachs, 1992 [1941]: 224) As a socially derived and subjective form of knowledge, collective memory is not static, much less objectively accurate. Collective memory is sustained through the continuous articulation and reinforcement of the past among the members of a society, who then hand those memories down from one generation to the next. In the cultural contexts of social norms and values, particular narratives

are reproduced, reconstituted, and revised by the influx of new information and changing circumstances. Pierre Nora's 1998 study of the relation between history and memory, remarks that collective memory is "in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being dormant and periodically revived" (Nora, 1989, p. 8).

In his examination of official culture and vernacular culture in shaping the contours of American public memory, John Bodnar asserts that while much of the representation of the past is a product of elite manipulation, "public memory will change again as political power and social arrangements change" (Bodnar, 1992, p. 252) with the requirement that new symbols be constructed to accommodate new formations, and the old symbols to be invested with new meanings. A new version of the past is achieved by a continuous process of amending, restating, replacing, or even recreating the past in a more satisfactory form (Lewis, 1975, p. 55). For example, revisions to the collective memories of the United States occurred over decades to reconstruct Western expansion not as a glorious destiny, but as a hard existence of exploitation and violence toward native peoples and the seizure of land.

In order to accommodate contemporary change and reconstruction of the past without wrenching the fabric of social reality, the act of public remembering must be plastic. Not only must it serve as a common means of information retrieval and representation, but must also provide a dynamic, continuous process that selectively accesses, reinterprets, and constructs aspects of the past in order to serve the needs of the present (Schwartz, 1982; Bartlett 1932, Berger, 1997; Davis, 1979). As such, the process by which memory is accessed and articulated tends to be provisional, selective, and open to subjective interpretation—even for the most stark and salient events—and not an accurate representation of the past (Schuman & Rogers, 2004; Schuman & Scott, 1989).

The extent to which collective memory is sufficiently elastic to has been the subject of debate. In order to structure the concept of mnemonic malleability of memory practice, Olick and Robbins identified three “ideal types of mnemonic malleability or persistence:” instrumental, cultural, and inertial (1998; 129) and structured all three into a six-square typology matrix of mnemonic change or persistence (Table 2.1). Such plasticity of memory is essential to the dynamics of memory consistency. What we understand of the past—that which persists, changes, or is later added—is essential to nurturing a connection and relevancy between past and present. The filtering past events to explain and contextualize present circumstances means provides social balance and coherence. Were society to refuse to investigate and reexamine memories, the past as meaningless and irrelevant to the present; were memories constantly up for revision, the past society would find collective understanding unintelligible and useless.

To find that balance, Olick’s and Robbins’ “six ideal types of mnemonic malleability or persistence” (1998: 129) established a table that sought to “understand the ways in which, and reasons for which, images of the past change or remain the same rather than to define memory *a priori* as inherently durable or malleable” (2007: 8). Olick’s and Robbins’ table of collective memory practice sets out three types of memory that vary depending upon whether the memory serves to preserve and reinforce social norms, or promote malleability in facilitating social change. These practices are identified as being either instrumental (i.e., institutions, practices, language, orthodoxies), cultural (i.e., commemorations, rites, symbols) and inertial (i.e., habit, routine).

Essentially, Olick and Robbins identified “six ideal types of mnemonic malleability or persistence” (1998: 129) (see Table 2.1), in which the framing of the past within the present can be divided into two dimensions of memory: instrumental (where frame advocates manipulate recollections of the past for particular purposes) or meaning (where memory interpretations

derive from individual experiences and within the cultural framework (1998: 128-129). In contemporary pluralist dialogue, the mnemonic influences represented by the Olick and Robbins matrix do not operate independently of one another, but interact in terms of the give and take among a wide range of different ideological perspectives into broad historical frameworks of meaning.

Table 2.1: Ideal Types of Mnemonic Persistence or Malleability

	Instrumental	Cultural	Inertial
Persistence	Orthodoxy, conservatism, heritage movements	Continued cultural relevance, canon or social identity	Repetition, habit, custom
Change	Revisionism, memory entrepreneurship, redress past wrongs, legitimization, invented traditions	Irrelevance, paradigmatic change, new facts	Decay of memory, generational passing, saturation

Source: Olick and Robbins, 1998, p. 129

Proponents of critical discourse analysis emphasize the instrumental persistence in the continuity of memory, owing to the power relationships involved in discursive dialogue and the methods in which hegemonic orthodoxy, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reinforced, and resisted (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Middleton & Edwards, 1990; Schwartz, 1991, 1996).

From this viewpoint, any revisions to memory are largely superficial; the foundational social order of the memory seldom changes or becomes subject to revision. Instead change in memory attributes occurs as presentism—or the application of present-day ideas and perspectives to shape interpretations of the past in support of contemporary needs and perceptions—which make the past “a particularly useful resource for expressing interests” (Olick & Robbins, 1998 p.128).

Instrumental presentists (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Lowenthal, 1985; Nora, 1992) see conflicts over presentations of history as arenas in which contemporary political issues, involving class, nationalism, ideology, gender, or ethnicity are articulated. Hegemonic elites therefore tend to

selectively reconstitute, reconstruct, and rationalize memories the past to legitimate current policies and explain present social circumstances as part of a consistent narrative (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Melanson 1991).

On the other side, a number of authors have sought to refine the notion of institutional construction of collective memories, arguing that the process is not nearly as dystopic as the more extreme views of critical theory would suggest. They argue a socially derived collective memory relies on a broad range of social groups and identities to define themselves and their values to challenge the dominant social network (Zerubavel, 1995). This accentuation of specific memories within those groups preserves what Michel Foucault (1997) termed as “counter-memories,” or persistent sub-narratives tucked away are in the public consciousness and resist the hegemonic construction. In “Film and Popular Memory” Foucault identified memory as “a very important factor in struggle’ . . .if one controls’ people’s memory, one controls their dynamism. And one also controls their experience, their knowledge of previous struggles.” (1977, p.22). But while memory acts as a political force in subjugating knowledge and framing decisionmaking, Foucault argued that it also served as a site of potential resistance and opposition because of tangible experience with the item being recalled. As Nancy Wood has suggested:

“[P]ublic memory. . .testifies to a will or desire on the part of some social group or disposition of power to select and organize representations of the past so that these will be embraced by individuals as their own. If particular representations of the past have permeated the public domain, it is because they embody an intentionality—social, political, institutional and so on—that promotes their entry.” (Wood, 1999, p.2)

These interpretive communities interpret memories in a particular ways to endorse community identities or to validate collective perspectives. In terms of political memory, these

interpretative communities advocate for particular memory constructions so to validate political or cultural perspectives of the past or suggest possible ways to interpret and respond to contemporary circumstances.

Any number of these “interpretative” communities—e.g., political ideologies, professional organizations, ethnicities, or nationalities—coalesce around broader memory interpretations of events, yet structure the group memory so as to sustain a sense of separate identity, norms, and a unique conception of their past (Assmann, 1995; Bakhurst, 2005; Phillips, 2004; Khilstrom, 2002; Zerubavel, 1996; Schwartz, 2000). Examples include the mnemonic communities surrounding the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and 1990s (Sturkin, 1997), the Japanese-American experiences in internment camps during World War II (Neal, 1998), or the women’s rights movement (Schuman & Scott, 1989). The preservation and articulation of alternative discourses of memory in the public sphere has prompted Schudson to claim that no one hegemonic force can *completely* dictate the boundaries of memory (Schudson, 1993). The dispersion and storage of memories across countless mnemonic subgroups and individual minds, coupled with the diligence of normative academic histories, serve to counter false or misleading narratives (Gillis, 1994: p.15; Becker, 1971). “When the past is visibly, viscerally, or palpably alive in the present, it can not be reorganized at will” (Schudson, 1993, p. 218; see also Irwin-Zarecka, 1994). This is not to deny the influence of hegemonic influences in structuring the social reality, but to suggest that elite power does not necessarily go unchallenged. Douglas Kellner 1992) suggests the model more resembles a “shifting terrain of consensus, struggle, and compromise rather than as an instrument of a monolithic, one-dimensional ideology that is forced on the underlying population from above by a unified ruling class. In other words, in an open pluralist dialogue, participants in the broader social framework may not necessarily *accept* different interpretations, but they

nevertheless *recognize* them as part of the common knowledge that shapes the political world and the power and cultural relationships within it (Neuman, et.al., 1992).

Examples of preserving instrumental memory includes commemoration of the Fourth of July or Memorial Day (Bodnar, 1992) as well as countering attempts to deny the Holocaust (Shermer & Grobman, 2009; Lipstadt, 1994), or diminish the effects of Soviet communism (Altau, 2009) or Japanese aggression in World War Two (Hein, 2000). Examples of instrumental change to memory was witnessed in 1990s, as former dictatorships fell in some 20 nations (e.g., Ecuador, South Africa, Morocco, Phillipines, former Soviet republics, etc.) and succeeding governments sought to redress the past via “truth and reconciliation commissions” that publicized past political repressions, exposed the manufactured histories of previous regimes, and gave voice to the repressed victims of governments or ethnic groups. Such adaptation and negotiation makes possible a relatively consistent, if malleable, continuity to our social narrative that, without which, our constant reevaluation and revision would render memories unintelligible (Schwartz 1982; Schwartz, 1997).

Cultural persistence/change occurs when a memory either serves some social function, or ceases to have social relevance. A specific example of the cultural tensions of memory resiliency can be found in the controversy surrounding the Smithsonian Institution’s 1995 exhibit to recognize the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima with an exhibit of the Enola Gay, the plane that carried the bomb to its destination. While the exhibit included the dominant interpretation of Truman’s desire to end the war with minimal Allied casualties, the Smithsonian’s historians also inferred a revised explanation that the decision was also politically calculated to incite global fear of nuclear annihilation. Vociferous protest resulted from by political conservatives, World War II veterans, and others, claiming the exhibit was factually dubious historical revisionism and equated the United States with terrorism. Under

pressure, the museum backed down, the director resigned and the revised interpretation removed (Linenthal & Englehardt, 1996).

Lastly, inertial persistence/change is memory that persists out of a “simple force of habit” (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 127) and is lost when the memories decay by simply not being circulated any longer. Halbwachs described inertial memories being generalized over time into an “imago” or a generalized memory trace that exists because it always has (Halbwachs, 1950/1980; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Zelizer, 2004).

In Olick’s and Robbins’ matrix of ideal types of memory malleability or persistence, the gradation of memory transformation is not addressed. However, Schwartz (1982, 1990, 1996, 1997) argues that society provides for transitional integration of both continuity and change within collective memory. Each succeeding generation simultaneously retains and discards the beliefs and sentiments of the generation before them, thus introducing new social and symbolic interpretations of the past that overlay old ones without replacing them. This stable, yet adaptable, means of transforming the structures of collective memory is essential to keep pace with social change in a manner that promotes both continuity and coherence of our social identity and make sense of the present (Lowenthal, 1985).

In some cases revisions to collective memory can be dramatic (say the changing of political regimes, or the discovery of some revelatory piece of information). Yet, in other instances, our interpretations of the past have been gradual and evolving. For example, our fundamental concepts of the American West—including the treatment of indigenous populations, the nature of violence, and the exploitation of natural resources—have evolved since the representations of the West of the mid-1950s and 1960s (Etlain, 1996). Over time we have collectively revised our interpretations of Thomas Jefferson after his revelations of his complicated relationship with Sally Hemings (Gordon-Reed, 1998; Lewis & Onuf, 1999), reappraised Abraham Lincoln’s

remarkable statesmanship during the Civil War (Peterson, 1994; Scharz, 2000), and reconsidered John F. Kennedy's image following revelations of his extramarital dalliances (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). In most cases the previous memory construct was seldom ever completely discarded, but any new interpretations were grafted onto old social and symbolic structures of memory—affecting them if never really erasing or obliterating them (Schwartz, 1997). Even dubious information or interpretations of the past have had an effect; urban myths or still-unproven assertions have place in the public dialogue—i.e., of J. Edgar Hoover as a transvestite (Cox & Theoharis, 1988; Potter, 2006), Lincoln's purported homosexuality (Chesson, 2005; Morris, 2007), or popularized conspiracy theories about the Kennedy Assassination have seeped into the public memory.

Unfortunately, the current academic literature is largely silent on the process of memory transformation, including the factors that contribute to the forging reinterpretation and the social actors responsible for prompting the changes. This study contributes to that knowledge by undertaking a longitudinal approach to frame resilience and change over time.

As mentioned previously, the perceptions of social reality are seldom completely objective, but are socially derived to create a subjective reality that reinforces social mores (Fishman, 1980; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). It is equally important to note that the process of social interpretation and validation can itself dramatically alter perception and memory in order to achieve consensus and homogeneity. Cognitive psychologists, for example, have suggested a similarity to the malleability of collective memory transmission similar to that experienced in theories about the effects of “social contagion,” (Bandura, 1986; 1989; 2001) in which social interaction and dialogic suggestion can effectively instill memory or evoke emotional responses from one person to another. An early collective memory theorist, Fredric Bartlett, compared the effect as similar to the children's game of “Telephone,” where a secret is whispered from one

person to another down a line and is subject to distortion. In the same way, social communication of complex social narratives is open to simplification or distortion when repeated and passed along the chain of transmission (Bartlett, 1932; see also Blatz & Ross, 2009; Bergman & Roediger, 1999).

This susceptibility to memory distortion by dialogic suggestion is most commonly illustrated by the ease in which accident witnesses have been manipulated into erroneously recalling details such as vehicle colors or makes involved in traffic wreck, or the types of street signs that were in place (Loftus, 1977; Loftus, Miller, & Burns, 1978). However, in a series of experiments in recent years, scholars were not only able to demonstrate a significant level of manipulation in what people recall of political events (Ashcraft, 1994; Hyman & Loftus, 2002; Loftus, 1977; Miller & Burns, 1978; Schacter, 1997), but induce subjects into reporting false memories of non-existent events from their childhood (Loftus, 1997; Loftus & Pickrell, 1995) including even the most intensive of experiences, such as near drowning (Heaps & Nash, 2001), or demonic possession (Mazzoni, Loftus, & Kirsch, 2001).

Such memory distortion is amplified when bogus visual images are manufactured to substantiate the false memory. Psychologist Elizabeth Loftus doctored photographs to induce subjects to mentally construct false images of past public political events—the 1989 protests in Tiananmen Square and an anti-war demonstration in Rome 2003—as being either larger or more confrontational than they actually were. There is a level of trickery to being able to elicit false memories by providing false subjective representations of visual media, but it need not be that complicated to attest to the changeability of collective memory construction (Best & Horiuchi, 1985; Graber, 2001). For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, countless stories were circulated of Vietnam veterans being spat upon as they returned home, and of protesting feminists burning their brassieres in pursuit of equal rights. The stories were so often repeated as to become

entrenched in public consciousness, even though social science researchers, digging through old media reports, interviews, and public records have since been unable to find even one instance in which either event actually occurred or could be reliably documented. These unsubstantiated urban legends nevertheless had become ensconced in collective memory because they had a “ring” of factuality to them and were repeatedly circulated. (Lembcke, 1998; Beamish, 1995).

Communicating Social Reality

Of course, collective memory lacks “collectivity” unless it can be shared among members of the social group, underscoring the importance of dialogic communication to the construction of social reality and the shared memories of a public mind. Transmitting this knowledge to both current and subsequent generations occurs through material manifestations of cultural production, or “vehicles of memory”—such as books, films, museums, public statues and memorials, architecture, painting, or countless novels, biographies, scholarly histories, or nationalistic songs (Confino, 1997, p. 1386; Schwartz 2000; Kitch, 2003; Bruner, 2002; Hasian & Carlson, 2000; Nora, 1996).

In the modern era, the size and complexity of our social framework has long outgrown individual interactions as the primary means of communicating and structuring socially constructed reality (Lippmann, 1922; Goffman, 1974). In modern societies, the mass media has become the prevalent location for symbolic discourse and as acting as the conduit for advancing a collective social reality (Anderson, 1983/2007; Bird & Dardenne, 1988; Entman, 1989; Fishman, 1980; Graber, 1988; Johnson-Cartee, 2004; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The idea of media participating in the construction of social reality was implied as part of the socially constructed reality theses put forth by Schutz (1967) and Berger and Luckmann (1967), then extended by Adoni and Mane (1984) and more concretely identified by sociologist and media

theorist James Carey (1985).

Adoni and Mane locate the media's role in constructing the three types of perceived social reality: objective reality (direct experience of external facts), symbolic reality (objective reality expressed through representation in media), and subjective reality (an integration of objective and symbolic realities that allow for the organization of social reality tempered by the distance of those realities from everyday life experiences). Put simply, the experience of social reality occurs along a spectrum representing the distance from an individual's sphere of experience, therefore, media content, as a symbolic expression of objective reality, has to be viewed within the context of an individual's objective environment. (Adoni & Mane 1984). Kansteiner (2002), however, argues that the effect of such symbolically constructed knowledge is significant because, being temporally or geographically distant, the symbolic representation of objective reality is, in fact, mediated and interpreted *without* the interference of individual experience and becomes more socially synthesized within a collective construct. Adoni's and Mane's individual may fuse his objective reality with the symbolic reality received through media, but the mediated representation of reality nonetheless exists "out there" in the social dialogue for subsequent absorption by others.

As articulated in Carey's model of media communication, the effects of communication are defined in three ways: 1) as message *transmission* in which social forces transmit signals or messages over distance for the purpose of informing and directing members within the society; 2) as message *ritual* in which media communications serve to engage people into a sense of community and group identity, and; 3) *symbolic culture*, or the means by which media communication serves to construct and to affirm particular social orders and views of the world (Carey, 1985/1992). Carey emphasized the news media's social primacy as "our public diary. . .[to] form our collective memory" (Carey, 1998, p. 23) and to serve as the stage upon which

actors, institutions, and modes of action within symbolic culture can communicate to construct, maintain, repair, and transform our orientations to the world.

To study communication is to examine the actual social process wherein significant symbolic forms are created, apprehended, and used. . . Our attempts to construct, maintain, repair, and transform reality are publicly observable activities that occur in historical time. We create, express, and convey our knowledge of and attitudes toward reality through the construction of a variety of symbol systems: art, science, *journalism*, religion, common sense, mythology (Carey, 1985/1992, p. 30).

Evidence of this process has only grown in parallel with technological advances and the ubiquity of new media applications that have expanded social communication and interaction (Wright & Gaskell, 1995). Now millions can view, consume, or experience information and events across tremendous spatial and temporal constraints via instantaneous cable and satellite television, electronic news sites, email blasts, texts, tweets, and Facebook posts.

News Media And Constructing Collective Memory

It is difficult to overstate the importance of media in shaping our public memories. Once graduated from our school days, what we remember of the collective past is presented through representations of media. Irwin-Zarecka has crowned the news media as the “public historians of American culture” (1994, p. 164) that provide a virtual “warehouse” of the images, symbols, and ideas that comprise what Kitch terms the “vast reservoir of raw material for construction of a reality of the past.” (Kitch, 2002, p. 45; *see also* Berger, 1997; Bird & Dardenne, 1997; Dahlgren, 1999; Katriel, 1997; Lule, 2001; Nerone & Wartella, 1989; Schwartz, 1991; Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz, 1991). News media go beyond storing the shared ideas and concepts of collective memory, but actively participates in the contestation and shaping of those memories, by serving as the site where “various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the

definition and construction of social reality” (Gurevitch & Levy, 1985, p. 19). News media possess “powerful interpretive potential” (Edy, 2006, p. 94) as “intermediaries,” of the collective past and “giving sense and structure to physical traces, records, [and] tellings” (p. 175).

How news media act to communicate and construct collective memory in the public consciousness occurs in three important ways: 1) by serving as a site where initial interpretations of the event or issue are asserted and negotiated before entering the collective consciousness (i.e., “the first draft of history”); 2) by subsequently accessing the event from collective memory to contextualize contemporary circumstances and to validate the memory within common knowledge; and, 3) serving as the location upon which collective memories are subsequently revised and reinterpreted as a result of revelatory information or changes in contemporary social values.

First, news media influence the construction of collective memory by providing an initial interpretation of news events and issues to contemporary mass audiences—or what the old adage suggests is the “first draft” of history (Zelizer, 2004). Theoretically, journalism nominally shares some of the same professional norms of academic history (e.g., source attribution, accuracy, objectivity, peer review, and balance) and adds an even greater appearance of authority with its immediacy, documentary style, interpretative authority, and (sometimes) celebrity to its professional routine (Zelizer, 1992). News media consider the past for a contemporary purpose; to “make sense of a rapidly evolving present, build connections, suggest inferences, create story pegs, act as yardsticks for gauging an event’s magnitude and impact, offer analogies and provide short-hand explanations” (Lang & Lang, 1989, p. 124). Clearly, journalism is not history. It’s primary function is to impart newsworthy information quickly and clearly in the present; less attention is given in providing a normative chronicle for the ages. Journalistic norms and routines have evolved to primarily support the daily process of newswork (Tuchman, 1978;

Gans, 1979) which prioritize brevity, immediacy, and newsworthiness, sometimes run counter to historical thoroughness, resulting in “a gravitation toward simplistic narratives, a tendency to record without context, and a minimization of nuance and the grey areas of a phenomenon, all of which restrict journalism’s ability to account for the past” (Zelizer, 2010, p. 82).

Second, news media often explicitly attempt to make the past relevant to the present by recalling and referencing past events to analyze and metaphorically explain contemporary situations, normalize the event to provide a sense of temporal continuity, contextualize contemporary political conflicts, infer potential policy successes or failures, and to assign responsibility (Edy, 2006, Irwin-Zarecka, 2007; Winfield, et. al., 2002). For example, in the weeks following the election of Barack Obama in 2008, news media framed his victory as the culmination of the preceding decades of the American Civil Rights Movement (*Time*, December 26, 2008). George W. Bush’s dubious assertions of weapons of mass destruction as justification for the invasion of Iraq prompted more than a few parallels to Lyndon Johnson’s dubious justifications of a North Vietnamese assault on the U.S.S. Mattox in the Gulf of Tonkin to justify military interventions in Vietnam 40 years earlier (Stephanopoulos, 2003). In her work, *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest* Jill Edy found that expressions of mediated collective memory of the 1965 Watts riots in Los Angeles served to suggest how communities should be prepared to respond—and the extent to which authorities are capable to contain and control such disturbances—in future scenarios (Edy, 2006)

In practice, however, the interpretations newswriters draw from collective memory can be problematic. Frequently, the framing has been criticized for lacking complexity or nuance when connecting past and present; even to the point of asserting statements as fact without necessarily taking the time to explicitly justify the accuracy of the claim (Schudson, 1992; Bennett, 1990; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). When using past events as a metaphorical device,

journalists often “oversimplify” and draw tenuous analogies (Dionisopoulos & Goldzwig 1992, p. 75) between events in a way that overlooks complex interpretations and ignores contradictory messages in the service of a simplified narrative (Edy, 2006). Perhaps the best example offered is that of Michael Schudson in his *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past*. Schudson spent an entire chapter discussing how news media reports connecting the Iran Contra Scandal with the Watergate 20 years before had the effect of misdirecting both investigators and journalists from understanding and approaching the scandal for weeks after the story broke (Schudson, 1992). The effect persists to this day. Witness the numerous times in which news media have attached the suffix of “-gate” to any number of governmental scandals (“Koreagate,” “Billygate,” “Irangate,” etc.) to elicit an idea of official corruption but not explicitly drawing parallels as to how any of the later scandals correlated to Watergate—a process of “oversimplification and analogical extension” (Dionisopoulos & Goldzwig 1992, 75).

In essence, using the past events as a metaphor for present circumstances tends to connect both events in our minds in a temporal relay of meaning that defines each event in terms of some analogous significance, moral/rational value, or experience. See how news media analogies between the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the World Trade Center became intertwined in our minds as both being attacks on the United States that served to both prompt and justify the subsequent actions and decisions of war, sacrifice, and policymaking that followed them? It is a reciprocal effect: What we know of the past affects how we experience the present; what we experience in the present can alter how we interpret the past. Linking them informs not only how we viewed the contemporary event, but also contributes to our mnemonic imaging of the fears, feelings, and policy decisions that grew out of the incident 60 years before. By contextualizing both past and present events as somehow synonymous—even though the two events share little

in common—the news frame risks connecting the two as equivalent in scope, impact, and suggests the lessons that should be drawn. Given the speed and frequency in which political assertions enter the public debate, and the considerable measure of cultural and political authority news workers receive by being cloaked in journalism’s documentary style, immediacy, and presumed normative professional standards, such historical allusions are seldom critically analyzed for validity and become presented as facts instead of interpretations (Edy, 1999). “In the mythological matrix,” explain Bird and Dardenne (1988), “the audience tends to put faith in those 'specialists' who have access to the 'truth.'” Such “lazy history” can be problematic when trying to contextualize the present, especially when no true empirical connection exists, and risks misinterpretation and confusion (Neustadt & May 1986).

A perfect example can be found in coverage of the BP oil rig explosion in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010. News media were quick to apply a referential frame from collective memory to describe the extent of the disaster: the grounding of the oil tanker Exxon Valdez in Prince William Sound, Alaska in 1989. Although the similarities between the two disasters were tenuous at best, the incongruities were downplayed in favor of frame of catastrophic environmental impact, an immoral lack of corporate accountability, and emotional images of fish and birds coated with black ooze. As the spill continued and the governmental response appeared slow, a new memory frame emerged: that of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Again, any commonality between the events was thin, other than both having occurred in the Gulf of Mexico near the Louisiana coast. If anything, the analogous distance between the two was even greater than before. Hurricane Katrina was a natural disaster that exposed civil service inadequacies and ineptitude; the BP Oil Spill was a man-made, environmental disaster exposing corporate unaccountability and the failures of industry self regulation. Nevertheless parallels were drawn between Obama’s handling of the BP spill and George W. Bush’s failures in managing the

response to Katrina. In the first two weeks after the spill, a simple Google News Search found more than 8,500 news media stories referencing both the BP Oil Spill and the Exxon Valdez. Six weeks later, more than 5,613 stories resulted from a simple Google News Search referencing the BP leak as “Obama’s Katrina,” including the *Washington Post*’s “Yes, the BP oil spill is Obama’s Katrina,” (*Washington Post*, Jun 15, 2010) the *New York Times*’ “Obama’s Katrina? Maybe Worse,” (*New York Times*, May 29, 2010), and the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*’s blog “‘Kick Ass’ Obama Turning the Spill into His Katrina” (*Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 8, 2010).

Once made, these historical allusions become entrenched as accepted facts and seldom subject to critical analysis for validity and are treated with cultural and political authority because they are cloaked in the journalism’s documentary style, immediacy, and presumed normative professional standards. The result is that partial, disproportionate, or unsubstantiated events may sometimes become absorbed into collective memory (Edy, 1999) and contemporary issues are misconstrued and policy approaches misdirected. Memory becomes passive and innocuous, with events being retrospectively portrayed as inescapable.

Last, news media influence memory construction by providing the forum in which society may systematically recontextualize or revise what exists in collective memory, either to accord with evolving contemporary attitudes or to accommodate new information (Barnhurst & Wartella, 1995; Bourdon, 2003; Edgerton & Rollins, 2001; Edy, 1999; Kammen, 1993; Kitch, 1999, 2005; Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz & Schuman, 2005; Zelizer, 1992). Schwartz offers in one such example of the transformation of public memory involving agents of Lincoln’s memory debated which version of the Lincoln image to commemorate on the eve of the United States’ entry into World War I. The public controversy—engaged in part through newspapers—was over whether the image should portray Lincoln as an epic hero (i.e., celebrated for great

achievements) or as a folk hero (i.e., celebrated as a national symbol), and served as a proxy for tensions over differing public conceptions of modern democracy (Schwartz, 1991).

We have already mentioned how the public memory of Thomas Jefferson and John F. Kennedy had to expand to accommodate revelations of their sexual dalliances (Gordon-Reed, 1998; Lewis & Onuf, 1999; McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). Even dubious information or interpretations of the past have had an effect; urban myths or still-unproven assertions have place in the public dialogue—i.e., of J. Edgar Hoover as a transvestite (Cox & Theoharis, 1988; Potter, 2006), Lincoln's purported homosexuality (Chesson, 2005; Morris, 2007), or popularized (and numerous) conspiracy theories about the Kennedy Assassination have seeped into the public memory. Yet perhaps the best of memory transformation may be that of Harry S Truman (Mueller, 1970). When he left the presidency, Truman had the worst popularity rating of any president before or since (23 percent). The Korean War, a lagging economy, and accusations of corruption among his administration contributed to his poor public standing. Two decades later, however, Truman's reputation went through a revival. Disillusioned by the disingenuousness of the Johnson and Nixon administrations, Americans look back to Truman as a plain-speaking man from "Middle America" instead of a deceptive Washington politician (McCullough, 1992).

In these cases, the initial attributes or characteristics of the memory did not entirely disappear, but in most instances the new information merely supplements the existing memory with the capacity to alter or re-contextualize the event or personage. In most instances, any new interpretations of the past are overlaid or grafted onto old social and symbolic structures of memory—affecting them if never really erasing or obliterating them (Schwartz, 1997). Besides the theoretical recognition of the memory transformation being represented in media, the media studies literature has given little attention to the process by which such change occurs and is accepted into the framing of past events or persons. This study addresses that by examining

both the structure transformation as it appears in media over time, and by identifying the sources and frame advocates who propose the transformations.

Presidents and Presidencies in Collective Memory

In American politics, U.S. presidents are considered “elite persons,” (Galtung & Ruge, 1973) who inhabit the most nationalizing of our political institutions: the U.S. presidency. Since the president is the only official elected nationally, he has been often characterized as the most authentic and public representative (Seligman, 1980). Presidents attract immense public and media attention, not only as the executive of government but also because the public tend to regard them as personifications of our social and political circumstances—especially when with other U.S. political institutions are comparatively viewed as complicated, abstract, or impersonal (Galtung & Ruge, 1973). As a result, Americans identify with or against presidents, link them to historical events, and see them as emblematic figures of national values (Seligman, 1980; Burns, 1966; Miroff, 1979). In Rossiter’s simpler terms, presidents become a “one-man distillation of the American people” (1949, p. 688). Over time, public impressions of presidents tend to change—sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worst. As the Gallup poll below indicates, for example, most presidents see their retrospective approval ratings improve over time, but some (i.e., Johnson and Nixon) drop or stagnate in the years after leaving office (Gallup, 2010).

Table 2.2: Presidents Approval Ratings in Office and Retrospective, 2010

President	Average Approval Rating in Office (%)	Final Approval Rating in Office (%)	2010 Retrospective Approval (%)
Kennedy	70	58	85
Reagan	53	63	74
Clinton	55	66	69
George H.W. Bush	61	56	64
Ford	47	53	61
Carter	45	34	52
Johnson	55	49	49
George W. Bush	49	34	47
Nixon	49	24	29

Source: Gallup Organization, May, 2010

Much of the research into political media frames has focused on how news media influences immediate public perceptions of the contemporary occupants of the White House (e.g., Iyengar 1987, 1989; Benoit et al., 2001) and less on how memories of the past presidencies are reconsidered and applied in contemporary contexts (Holbert, 2005). Given the prominence of the presidency in the American political imagination, historians and political scientists have begun looking to the social frames used to conceptualize the roles and functions of office of the presidency and to evaluate individual performance of past presidents. Building upon the traditional forms of political biography, the fields of presidential studies and political leadership studies have come to discern a distinct set of patterns, traits, and of institutional norms of the presidency that serve to prime public evaluations and exemplars of remembering former presidents and their performances while in office. In fact, in their book *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words* (1990), Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson suggest how the rhetorical aspects of the presidency, and the rationalizations of the actions, successes, and failures of their presidencies are the primary means by which the public comes to recognize the institutional functions of the presidency and of the preferred attributes of the men who have held the office.

Collective memory is distinct from myth, though myth can contribute to the social construction of memory. When we reference memory, there is generally an understanding that the context of the memory is either presumably factual (or at least historically verifiable) or a metaphorical invention (myth) that describes some aphoristic concept. Sanders defines cultural myth as a body of traditional narratives presented in different cultural products—fiction, art, performance, non-fiction—to shorthand means to frame circumstances or justify existing social customs while simultaneously, twisting, and relocating them in newly resonant contexts (2008: 81). Most often, social forces can absorb these cultural narratives to frame memory and communicate something about the cultural significance of figures or events in the public consciousness. Any mythological folklore—for example, George Washington and the cherry tree; Davy Crockett’s valiant death at the Alamo, Teddy Roosevelt’s charging up San Juan Hill in Cuba—retain a reticence in public consciousness even though historical research may prove them to be apocryphal. In fact, the myth and the memory tend to coexist in the public mind to elucidate in greater detail what our cultural myths say about us, and our ancestors. Whielsome has argued that “in the context of cultural memory, the distinction between myth and history vanishes” (Assmann; 2008). The reality is that history, memory, and myth remain distinct—albeit intertwined—concepts that inform the construction of collective understanding of the past. Interpretive meaning (myth), shared experience (collective memory), and empirical evidence (history) all serve at differing degrees to shape what mixes together into collective memory. Myth supplies moral narratives (whether are not they are ultimately factual or not) as a foundation for the memory frame; memory is more tangible and precise, fitting different events and evidence to the narrative constructs to provide a more formalized recording of events. In essence, “Myth and memory is history in ceaseless transformation and reconstruction” (Stråth 2000:19).

This study provides a good example of this integration of myth and memory, since the history of each president is distinctly tied into its own relationship with the folklore of the American presidency. What we remember of presidents and presidencies is reflected in the oft-told tales and historical documentation—not necessarily because of their veracity, but by how well those features jibe with our sense of the men's characters.

For example, Harry Truman's come from behind victory over Thomas Dewey in the 1948 presidential election has taken on a mythic quality in exemplifying the idea of dogged perseverance of the American culture. Yet its resilience in memory owes much to its subsequent recall from memory as a metaphor for underdog candidacies and has been the subject of academic exploration in the underlying factors (e.g., Truman's running against a "do-nothing" Congress, Truman's whistlestop tour of the Midwest, Dewey's over-confidence) that predicated the result and can be used to influence subsequent reinterpretations of the event in peoples' minds.

Scholars have tended to distinguish collective memory from history, though they are formulated by many of the same objects. For Halbwachs (1980) collective memory is a narratively thematic phase of social consciousness that acts as an intermediary—or a "floating gap" (Niethammer, 2002)--between the memory of the lived experience and its place in history (Niethammer, 2002; Funkenstein, 1989; Bergson, 1911). Halbwachs clearly made the distinction that collective memory "...is a current of continuous thought [that]. . . retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive." This differs from history, which "starts when. . .the subject is already too distant in the past to allow for the testimony of those who preserve some remembrance of it." (Halbwachs, 1950, p.89, p.78). Such a delineation was supported by Pierre Nora stated in his study of les

lieux de mémoire that memory and history are two separate phenomena, "Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. ... History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer" (1989: p. 8).

Of course, within this construct, the academic literature has promoted the scholarly study of the past as epistemologically superior to popular memory constructs. Historians frequently lay claim to authenticity and authority about the past by grounding their work in the employ of modern scientific methods of theory, documentation, verification, and rationality. Collective memory, on the other hand, has tended to be dismissed as a discursive practice that constructs narratives to cognitively bridge yesterday's events and today's circumstances. As a discursive practice, interpretations and arguments emerge to define the contents and the significance of those narratives. What distinguishes it from history is the direction in which the narrative derives. It is not a historical narrative interpretation that goes from past to present, but it is the other way around: Collective memory is regularly shaped by today's interpreters so as to make it useful in contemporary contexts.

In recent years, however, this distinction between history and memory has blurred, and a more fluid transition between memory and history been proposed (e.g. by Nerone 1989; Thelen 1989; Burke 1989; Samuel 1994). In this post-modern interpretation, memory and history parallel each other as an articulation of historical consciousness in the life of a society, but are not immune to engaging in the debate of collective memory in the public dialogue. For example, Robert Caro's work on LBJ, David McCullough's on Truman (1989), or Doris Kearnes Goodwin's on the Roosevelts (2004) were historical works that nevertheless had varying levels of impact on sculpting contemporary interpretations of collective memories. Historical constructs cannot be completely isolated from hegemonic forces of society, even though validated by professional standards and documentary evidence. Patrick Geary (1994: 12) made

the important point that all memory, whether collective or historical, is "memory for something": this political (in a broad sense) purpose cannot be ignored. In relation to academic history, this means that even when "the writing of modern historians appears analytic, critical, and rational, the reason is that these are the rhetorical tools that promise the best chance of influencing the collective memory of our age." (1994: 12)

The earliest and most rudimentary form of measuring the collective memory of past presidents was a pseudo-scientific surveying of "experts" (mostly other historians) conducted by Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. in 1947. Schlesinger asked his colleagues to rank each president as being "great," "near great," "average," "below average," or "failure." The results were published in *Life Magazine* in 1948, and were so popular that it was repeated fourteen years later for the *New York Times Magazine*. Despite the methodological shortcomings of the survey—for example, the lack of objective definitions for the categories, the questionable sample size, and a subjective methodology reflecting the attitudes of the observers more than those being ranked, etc. (Bailey, 1966)—subsequent presidential rating surveys have periodically replicated Schlesinger's methodology (Faber & Faber, 2000; Sigal, 1966; Skidmore, 2004).

By the late 1960s, a more objective means emerged to defining normative expectations for the institutional and the preferred personal characteristics of presidents and their administrations derived from public expectations about the office. Many studies divided into two distinct approaches. On the one side were the political scientists concerned with the *institutional nature* of executive responsibilities, particularly how the office of the president affects—and is affected by—the constitutional and formal roles of the presidency—e.g., as head of state, as executive administrator, as commander-in-chief, etc. (Barilleaux, 1982; Seligman, 1982; Rossiter, 1960; Lowi, 1985; Moe, 1993; Sinclair, 1993). On the other hand, social psychologists, historians, and biographers were more concerned with the *personal*

characteristics (e.g., rhetorical persuasiveness, telegenesis, ideological determination, political skill, etc.) and *behaviors* (i.e., symbolic leadership, designing policy, setting priorities, building coalitions, and managing government) as determinants of presidential effectiveness and performance (Murray & Blessing, 1988; Neustadt, 1960; Maranell, 1970; Kelly & Lonnstrom, 2010; Schlesinger, 1971; CSPAN, 2009; Neal, 1982; Ridings & McIver, 2000; Faber & Faber, 2000). One scholar described the division as being looking at “what the president ‘is,” and “what the president ‘does” in embodying the popular expectation of the presidency (Seligman, 1980, p. 355; see also Brinkley, 1952).

TABLE 2.3: Presidential Rating Attributes, 1970 – 2010

Frame	Murray-				Ridings-			
	Siena	CSPAN	Blessing	Rossiter	Maranell	McIver	Neustadt	Hinckley
Head of state/foreign policy				xx				x
Moral Authority/Integrity	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Chief Executive/Manager	xx	x		x		x		x
Persuade/Communicate	x	x		x		x	x	
Intellect/Common Sense	x		x		x			
Charisma/Popularity	x		x				x	x
Experience/Background	x		x		x	x	x	
Compromise	x		x		x	x	x	
Congressional Relations	x	x						
Economic Management	x	x						
Pursued Equal Justice		x	xx					
Creativity/Activeness	xx		x					
Domestic Policymaker	x			x				
Party leader	x			x				x
Leadership		x						
Physical appearance			x					
Commander in Chief					x			
Law enforcer				x		x		
Avoiding mistakes	x				x		x	
Patriotism			x					

Most scholars recognize a synthesis of both approaches in contributing to public perceptions of the office and officeholder. One of the most oft-cited surveys performed by Murray and Blessing identified remarkable consistency among public identifications for character and performance attributes ascribed to presidential success at different historical periods (i.e., 1789-

1865, 1865-1945, and since 1945) (Murray & Blessing, 1988). Similarly, separate meta-analyses of presidential ratings surveys conducted by Dean Simonton and Max Skidmore found high correlations between the attributes and characteristics commonly used to describe and frame presidential performance, both for both personal characteristics and functional roles of the presidency (Simonton, 1986; Skidmore, 2004). This dissertation combines both the functional- and personality-derived concepts from presidential and leadership studies to generate initial media framing categories for the content analysis. As you can see from Table 2, the list of presidential frames is drawn in part from eight separate variable constructions from studies assessing former presidents and their performance in office. The institutional functioning of the presidency is drawn largely from Clinton Rossiter's *The American Presidency* (1956) which identified ten major roles expected of the modern president: chief of state, chief executive, chief diplomat, chief legislator, commander in chief, chief of party, protector of domestic peace, voice of the people, manager of prosperity, and leader of a coalition of free nations. Barbara Hinckley's *Symbolic Presidency*, which examined White House communications during the first three years of each term by Presidents Truman through Reagan, also found consistent pattern of representation about the office of the presidency, although her typologies are defined on the self-perpetuating image of the presidency than on the external forces defining the office (Hinckley, 1990, p. 133), including CEO/Manager, political actor, and surrogate/representative of the private citizen, as representative to the world, and uniting the nation as a whole.

Institutional/Functional Frames of Presidency

It would be impossible for the president to perform all the functions—both institutional and symbolic—required of him in the job, yet he is generally recognized as being the ultimate authority for each and gets both credit and blame for both successes and failures. In blending

and modifying both the definitional and functional roles of the presidency, the dissertation begins with eighteen categories of overarching thematic frames for the presidency. Each of these frames will be coded as to whether the presidential performance being measured is positively or negatively referenced, specifically:

Head of State: This frame describes institutional function of the presidency, including ceremonial and official functions like hosting state dinners, giving state of union speeches, granting pardons, promoting worthy causes such as posing with the March of Dimes poster child, etc.).

Diplomat/Foreign Policy This frame applies to the president acting in terms of foreign policy and diplomacy, including setting in U.S. foreign policy, interacting with foreign heads of state, representing the country on diplomatic missions, negotiating treaties and trade agreements, sending international relief efforts;

Chief Executive/Manager. This frame describes the president as Chief Executive Officer/manager the machinery of government, including supervising the White House staff, federal departments, offices, and agencies through his own actions or those of his subordinates. This includes making federal appointments, hiring/firing federal employees, restructuring of staffs, developing budgets, issuing executive orders, and setting agency goals, (*excluding legislative actions with the Congress*);

Legislator/Congressional Relations. This frame concerns the president's interactions with the U.S. Congress. This would include his introduction of legislation programs, negotiation with congressional leaders on legislative or budgetary actions, arbitrating internal congressional disputes, publicly goading or "running against" congressional leaders, veto power, and acting as arbiter of congressional/party disputes;

Domestic Policymaker. This frame defines presidential initiatives that serve as the policy

priorities for their respective administrations. For example, the War on Drugs for Reagan, or the Voting Rights Act or War on Poverty for Johnson, or the Whip Inflation Now (WIN) for Ford;

Law Enforcer. This frame concerns the president as enforcing the laws and regulations of the United States, whether through the normal operations of federal law enforcement agencies (e.g., the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Securities and Exchange Commission) or in extraordinary moments of enforcement federal laws (e.g., enforcing Supreme Court civil rights ruling, sending the National Guard to quell riots);

Commander in Chief. This frame defines the president as commander in chief of the armed forces, and foreign intelligence gathering (e.g., CIA, NSA, Department of Defense Intelligence) with the intent to protect and pursue U. S. interests and citizens.

Chief Financial/Economic Manager. This frame describes instances in which a president is framed as affecting the U.S. economy, and by extension, the economic circumstances of the international financial system. This includes policy actions such as setting domestic and international economic policy, engaging tax policy, unemployment programs;

Campaigner/ Chief of Party. This frame is conceptually defined as instances in which a president acting as a representative of his party or, more specifically, a ideological wing of his party in engaging in political rhetoric or partisan activity (e.g., campaigning for other candidates, party fundraising, etc.), pursuing policies that are closely identified with party constituencies (e.g., Reagan's trickle-down economics, and Johnson's civil rights legislative work)

Character/Attribute Frames

Moral authority/Integrity. This frame is conceptually defined as the relative degree to which the president is seen as upholding the moral authority of his office through his character, values, and conduct. In most instances, morality and integrity is structured as a personal attribute,

albeit one that is measured against social and political structures and processes that may promote or undermine a president's moral authority and integrity.

Communicator/Persuader. This frame is conceptually defined as the means by which presidents serve as not only the articulator and persuader of their administration and its policies, but is also seen as articulating the principles and values of the United States and motivating public consensus. In most instances, these skills are defined under the rubric of leadership or charisma (Weber, 1947) to transform the needs, values, preferences, and aspirations of followers. . . to serve the interests of the larger collective” (House, et.al., 1991, p. 364) and encourage the public to accept and share the president's vision of the nation's agenda. Did the president have the clarity of vision to establish overarching goals for his administration and shape the terms of policy discourse.

Intelligence/Intellect. This frame is conceptually defined as the reference to the president or presidency in terms of the president's keen intellectual capacity, but not necessarily equated to his educational attainment. There are numerous instances in which a president's cunning, “street-smarts,” or common sense are referenced as favorable attributes.

Experience/Background. This frame is defined by the level of political or “real world” experience a president has before entering office and the extent that experience has in guiding his worldview and decisions. This includes previously held elected office (and the relationships established there) but also incorporates non-politically oriented activities, life experiences, military service, education, functions, etc.

Adaptability/Negotiator. This frame is defined as the relative capacity of the president to act as political dealmaker for either achieving political goals or public needs. This would include both the positive, collaborative approaches to reaching compromise, but also the more *realpolitick* means of social power and influence.

Equality/Justice. This frame is conceptually defined and operationalized as instances in which a president did or did not act as champion of both general citizens and specific social groups in advocating for different interests, showing sensitivity to both common and specific concerns/issues and demonstrating commonality with American values and perspectives.

Creativity/Risk Taker. This frame is conceptually defined as the relative ways presidents demonstrate an ability to approach issues and find approaches that are conceptually innovative, within the constraints of political norms and expectations. Nelson Polsby (1984) cited examples of such president innovations as the Peace Corps, the Truman Doctrine, the Council of Economic Advisers, Medicare, the National Science Foundation, among others (Polsby, 1984).

Leadership/Crisis Leadership. This frame is conceptually defined as the relative extent to which presidents can identify and mobilize government resources, collaborative partners and public sentiment in addressing catastrophic incidents or difficult circumstances while in office (i.e., Hurricane Katrina, or the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico).

Appearance/Personality This frame is conceptually defined as the relative extent to which presidents are represented by their physical appearance and whether that appearance contributes to positive or negative assessments or remembrances of them and their administrations.

News Media Eulogies and Obituary as Collective Memory

Perhaps the news media's most unique contribution to the construction of collective memory involves the production eulogies and obituaries surrounding public figures. The practice of writing and printing obituaries stretches back centuries. In *Obituary as Collective Memory*, Bridget Fowler (2007) connects advances in printing technology and expansion of literacy in the eighteenth century with the rise of commemorating an individual's passing in the news media. Fowler draws parallels between the rise of the obituary and the emergence of what

Habermas has identified as growth of coffee house culture and an expanded reading public (Fowler, 2001; Habermas 1989). First limited to prominent elites, the practice broadened over time to include a wider circle of community figures—including artisans, merchants, civic leaders—and graduated from hagiographies of public figures into judicious assessments of an individual's life and times, based on authentic testimonials and witnesses. The contemporary obituary as a normative feature of modern journalism did not become commonplace until John Thadeus Delane introduced them to London's *Times* in the 1860s (Brunskill, 2005). Soon the obituary became a representation of the subject's unique experiences in life, gathered together by those in the individual's social groups (Fowler, 2009). While most of the commonplace obituaries we see in today's newspapers are little more than a reminiscence written by a family member with the assistance of the funeral home, journalistic practice has prioritized the obituary for prominent political, social, or cultural figures as being far more critical and evaluative of the subject's contributions to, and representations of, society. Fowler finds that obituaries can be divided based on their different origins: dominants' memory, popular memory, counter-memory, and occupational memory—all of which suggest a level of tension and division within society more than an attempt at communion and healing.

The act of public commemorating the death of a prominent public figure has an equally long tradition in sociology and the social construction of meaning. In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1965), Durkheim identified common social and religious rituals—among them, public funeral rites—as important for reinforcing the essential unity that bound members of a society to each other and for establishing a collective identity built upon both the past and present. In these instances, the rituals are not merely rational habits, but of an emotional and behavioral collective need. Regardless of the emotional attachment to the person being commemorated, the ritual of mourning of public leaders “is not a natural movement of private

feelings wounded by cruel loss; it is a duty imposed by the group” ([1912] 1965, p. 443) The ritual serves to produce social solidarity by highlighting and reinforcing a set of common beliefs that motivate that social system; in the process, the subjects of the funeral rites are transformed into representatives of those beliefs. It is important to note that this transformation is not merely an arbitrary grafting of civic/social virtues on the subject, but a meaningful process of assignation and commemoration.

In the United States, the ritual of obituaries and public eulogies, carefully written and dutifully published in a newspaper, have taken on a special importance as a civic ritual that links published memories of individual lives with generational, or family memory and American collective memory. Publication of an obituary in the media provides a rare circumstance when an individual becomes part of collective thought about what the community might value of American cultural symbols is reflected in, and this influences, the commemorations of the lives of individual citizens. In *Obituaries in American Culture*, Hume says obituaries provide “...an idealized account of the citizen’s life, a type of commemoration meant for public consumption, obituaries should be studied in light of their relationship with the collective, or public memory, that body of beliefs about the past that help a public of society understand both its past and its present, and by implication, its future.” (Hume, 2008, p. 12).

Journalism in Studies of Collective Memory

Despite an apparent common conceptual acceptance of media’s role in collective memory representation, relatively few studies have examined the inter-relationship of media and memory or the long-term effects on memory construction. One of collective memory’s most active scholars, Barbie Zelizer (2010), has complained that journalism has seldom been studied as a forum for collective memory construction. “[E]ven today, decades into the systematic scholarly

study of collective memory, there is still no default understanding of memory that includes journalism as one of its vital and critical agents. . . [T]here still remains an insufficiently clear sense of what journalism does with the past that is different, singular, interesting or problematic.” Only a few works have given news media attention as memory work. Perhaps the most prominent is Barbie Zelizer’s *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (1993), which recognized news media’s attempts to project a “journalistic authority” by way of “rhetorical legitimation” (Habermas, 1984) in the social construction and interpretation of reality. Zelizer argues that such authority is staked upon a continued ability to influencing the systems of collective memory so that past narratives can be perpetuated and the media’s claims cultural authorities is protected.

Carolyn Kitch’s *Pages from the Past* followed newsmagazines as official records of national memory by commemorating events on anniversaries as they occurred, like the passing of Elvis Presley, Princess Diana, and Ronald Reagan or events such as major battles in World War II or the September 11 attacks. In doing so, she sought to “characterize the past in ways that merge the past, the present, and the future into a single, ongoing tale.” (Kitch, 2005, p.11) Jill Edy’s *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (2006) extends the concept of journalistic authority further to include media sources and political elites as significant to recalling civil unrest in the past. Where most examinations of collective memory fall short is in being too specific in tracing both the subjects of memory and the narrow contexts of those memories over time (e.g., Watergate, JFK, the Holocaust, etc.). This level of specificity provides only a nominal ability for comparative research and theory building because the examples are too insular—focusing upon dramatic and iconoclastic events (i.e, the Kennedy Assassination, the Watts Riots, and the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago)—to be correlated to larger theoretical approaches or topics. Secondly, it lacks a means to discern

whether perspectives or representations of the events have changed in subsequent years.

Similarly, Thomas Johnson's *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon: The Media's Effect of Collective Memory* (1995), found that those who learned of Watergate through subsequent media representations of the scandal were more likely to be magnanimous about Nixon's role than those who directly experienced the scandal through contemporaneous media reports. Finding such a generational difference suggest a transformation memory over time by cohort replacement, but does address the structures of the reconstructions of the memory itself as a means to that transformation.

Each of these studies have been instructive, but their constructs have almost always focused on memories *after* the features and attributes have been set, or when the memory itself is manifested not by a large social unit, but by individuals or groups (art committees, writers, survivors) whose memories are supposed to represent the larger collective. Little examination has looked at what news media contributes to memory construction, especially a middle range theory that explores the formative interactions and contestations that occur in framing particular memories in ways that structure and reinforce public recollections of the past within given contemporary circumstances.

Articulation of a middle range theory collective memory construction that involves news media must take advantage of the theoretical contributions of media studies research, particularly those of media framing and the hierarchy of influences involved in media production outlined below.

Framing

Perhaps no other theory of media effects provides the best means for explicating collective memory than media framing theory and analysis—largely because both rely on the dynamic

social constructs of a shared understanding of common knowledge to structure both our political socialization and our understanding of political reality (Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Reese, 1996). Goffman (1974) defined frames as “schemata of interpretation” which enable people to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” (p. 21) collective experiences into broadly shared interpretive schemas or “primary frameworks.” As William Gamson argued (1992, 1996), people construct their understanding of the world by processing received information, recalled empirical experiences, media reporting, abstract notions, and social discourse to understand reality (*see also* Berger & Luckman, 1967; Goffman, 1974). In large measure, the role of framing analysis is to examine how various social and political actors compete to activate, define and influence the meaning of those inputs *through* the media to promote particular “central organizing ideas” for understanding the world and constructing political reality (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3).

Robert Entman’s “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm” (1993) situates framing in “at least four locations in the communication process: the communication, the text, the receiver, and the culture” (Entman, 1993 p. 52). Communicators “make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems” (Entman, 1993 p. 52). Text “contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman, 1993 p. 52). How the receiver absorbs and interprets information “may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator” but instead receivers may employ other frames that guide (their) “. . . thinking and conclusions” (Entman, 1993 p. 53). The most comprehensive location for framing reality is through cultural which provides “the stock of commonly invoked frames; in fact, culture might be defined as the

empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping” (Entman, 1993 p. 53).

Framing was chosen as the appropriate theoretical framework for the conceptual fit it has with the idea of socially constructed collective memory. As Zelizer (1995) indicated, collective memories are defined both by what they include and what they exclude, they often are defined by the way they are framed. The framing concept is particularly useful for discerning the influences of contested narratives of memory is open to the possibility of differential interpretations of the same event, meaning that individuals or events may be framed in a variety of ways before a consensual narrative is defined. As Edy (2006) explained in her study of the collective memory of social unrest, the framing construct framing was particularly useful because “frames function to confer perspective on events, issues, and people; that is, to make them meaningful. Developing collective memory of a troubled past involves a struggle over how to frame something ... so the concept of framing is a useful analytical tool (Edy, 2006, p. 8).

Applying media frames to the study of collective memory emphasizes the content and motivations behind particular cultural products or texts and forces us to look at the sources promoting certain frames and why. Irwin-Zarecka (2007) argued that applying frame analysis expands the focus of memory construction to more than just a recitation of facts. “Framing devices employed at this meta-level, as it were, provide the structure to both the contents of the past and the forms of remembrance” (Irwin-Zarecka, 2007, p. 7). Thus the framing model draws on Shoemaker and Reese’s (1991) hierarchy of influence model and Hilgartner and Bosk’s public arenas model (1988), to contextualize the framing construct.

In terms of collective memory construction, framing activates and applies knowledge through an associative network of structured memory concepts that are accessible for activation (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). When a set of salient attributes are

selected to frame certain aspects of the larger media frame, and influence the applicability of understanding or the activation of schema to interpret the frame meaning, then it changes how individuals understand and will recall an event or issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; van Dijk, 1988). For example, an experiment by Thomas Gilovich (1981; see also Gilovich, et.al., 2002) provided subjects with two fictitious stories about a foreign military conflict. Each contained the same essential facts, but was differentiated from the other by incidental attributes and oblique references that suggested associations with recollections of the Vietnam War (e.g., Chinook helicopters, insurgents, river boats, refuges) or of World War II (e.g., blitzkrieg attacks, concentration camps, trains transports, etc.). Queried to suggest how the U.S. should respond, subjects who read stories inferring World War II were more likely to favor intervention, while those given attributes of Vietnam were less likely to support intervention. Gilovich interpreted that respondents were influenced by the presumably negative associative affects of Vietnam as opposed to the presumably positive associations with World War II as determining framing factors. By accessing even tangential information located in the story frame, the subjects activated accessible memories of previous stories for interpretive value.

News Media Framing

Studies of media or communication address both abstract and practical aspects. Friedland and Zhong (1996) summarized it best when describing framing studies as being rooted in the belief that frames serve as both a “bridge between. . .larger social and cultural realms and everyday understandings of social interaction.” (p.13). Apart from providing a cultural vernacular for conceptualizing reality, news media framing also serves a more practical function as an essential routine of newswork that allows journalists to quickly identify and classify information and “to package it for efficiently relay to their audiences (Gitlin, 1987, p.7; See also

Tuchman, 1978, chapter 9). In essence, journalists are no less cognitive misers than the rest of us in structuring knowledge. At this level, news media frames are a “largely unspoken and unacknowledged [way to] organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143) provide a practical definition of framing “as a central organizing idea of story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events . . . The frame suggests what the controversy is about the essence of the issue.”

Even at this level, however, it is informative to recognize that journalists’ participation in framing events is not separate from the cultural construction of reality. Journalists are also members of the socially constructed reality, and as such, are influenced by the social process in the construction of collective memory. Similar in concept to the “journalist as audience” effect described by Scheufele (1999) and Fishman (1980), journalists are as affected and accepting of the collective memory contexts of news media frames as an interpretive tool. For example, the mere process of framing in media production relies on the journalist’s presumption that he shares with the audience a common reference to the past that does not necessarily need to be explained or quantified. For example, numerous stories make only the scantest references to past events—Truman’s dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Nixon’s culpability in Watergate, Johnson’s misjudgments and mishandling of Vietnam, etc.—on the presumption that these events are sufficiently entrenched the collective memory as not to need detailed contextualization or explanation. It is the same presumption that informs the process by which newswriters act as gatekeepers (Shoemaker, et.al., 2008; Shoemaker & Reese, 2009) to sift through the interpretative assertions of authorities and pressure groups to categorize beliefs in a way that marshals support and opposition to their interest (Edelman 1977, p.61). If those assertions are

incongruent with what journalists or editors view as valid within the social construct of memory, they are discarded.

Framing Process: Frame Building and Frame Setting

Constructionist approaches to framing presume a two-stage, interactive process to conceptualize and communicate meanings within public discourse (Druckman, 2001; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In the “frame-building” stage, message producers organize disparate information and ideas into “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion. . .” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) that help set the media’s agenda (Scheufele, 1999). Doing so requires a socially recognized lexicon of common knowledge, images, and perspectives so that complex message are more easily contextualized to specific meanings and discouraging alternate interpretations (Entman 1992; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Scheufele, 1999; Benford & Snow, 2000; Reese, 2001). Entman identifies at least four common contexts in which frames are built to structure interpretation: 1) defining problems/clarifying the facts of an issue; 2) reasoning out/identifying causal factors; 3) moral evaluation/explicating judgments of those involved; and 4) potential solutions and/or consequences (Entman, 1993).

The “frame-setting” stage occurs when audiences interpret (or “decode”) news media frames through their own cognitive schema of experience, recalled knowledge, or group affiliation, (Scheufele, 1999; Goffman, 1974, Druckman, 2001). While building news frames is a public process of dissemination of information sharing, frame setting is a more psychological process. When receiving media frames, audiences filter and interpret the information imbedded in the message through their own cognitive schema of experience or attitudes before deciding whether to accept, challenge, or re-contextualize it into their own reception frame in the

discourse (Scheufele, 1999).

Media scholars have suggested the influence the frame setting stage exerts over audience frame setting (Pan & Kosicki 1993; Cappella & Jamieson, 1996; Iyengar, 1991; Nelson et al., 1997; Hall, 1980; Zaller, 1992). The effect is greatest when the objects and contexts of the frames are regularly repeated through various outlets and are congruent with pre-existing audience perceptions, hence facilitating the acceptance of media frames into cognitive schema (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Greene, 2008; Roediger, Zaromb, & Butler, 2008; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Kellerman, 1985; see also media exposure/attention literature, Bartels, 1993; Chaffee, 1983). The most commonly cited example is Tversky's and Kahneman's (1981) experiment in which participants were asked to choose between two treatments for 600 people affected by a deadly disease. Choosing option A was estimated to result in 400 deaths; Choosing Option B offered a 66 percent chance that everyone would die but a 33 percent chance that everyone would live (either way, the result was the same). The choice was presented to participants through a positive frame (i.e., the number who would live), and through a negative frame (i.e., the number who would die). The result was that 72 percent of respondents chose the positive frame, whereas fewer than 22 percent chose the negative frame. The result demonstrated framing's effect when subjects were exposed to solutions to the same problem that were framed differently in terms of probabilities and outcomes. Significantly, the structure of the frame context appeared to influence subjects' preferred solutions. Similarly, a series of different experiments conducted by Iyengar and colleagues (Iyengar, 2001, 2005, 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987) found that media framing of issue causation also shaped public understanding of political problems as being either "episodic" (i.e., isolated instances involving the immediate subjects involved) or "thematic" (i.e., set in a more abstract context of broader social or political forces).

While news media frames are influential, audiences do not necessarily accept them

without qualification—especially when the frame has an established history within the public sphere. Audiences are polysemic in their interpretations, filtering news media frames through their affiliated, sub-cultural frameworks and experiences (Fiske, 1986, 1987, 1989). When pluralistic media offer a number of conflicting or alternative frames within the public dialogue, audiences are more likely to modify, reject or counter-frame information that does not support existing perspective (Riker 1995; Scheufele, 2000; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Wittman 1995). A handful of recent studies have argued that the impact of any given frame may be neutralized by the deployment of a counter-frame that either rebuts, or re-contextualizes, the first frame (Brewer, 2003; Brewer & Gross, 2005; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004) or when individuals are allowed to discuss the frame with others exposed to an alternative frame (Druckman & Nelson, 2003). While some have found the complexities of frame setting in pluralistic information settings as dissipating framing effects (Druckman, 2004), in actuality it can be argued that, instead, different frames for a particular issue can still be *recognized* if not necessarily *accepted* as part of the frame setting and the social construction of remembering particular issues. For example, if presented with different frames for a particular issue, audiences will not only absorb the ones they agree with, but consciously weigh and reject the ones that they do not—in most cases accessing previous schematic interpretations to justify their reasoning. That is especially true when multiple frames are presented through the media (Chong & Druckman, 2007, 2011). The efficacy of the effect in collective memory is determined by the extent to which the frame is activated and applied in recall.

Accessibility and Applicability Effects in Media Frames

Two kinds of framing effects are particularly relevant to collective memory: Accessibility Effects and Applicability Effects (Iyengar & Kinder 1987; Price, et.al.,1997). Accessibility

effects are second-order effects that occur when issues or attributes are recalled because they have recently received frequent or prominent attention in the news media, and are thus temporally *accessible* from short term memory because of its proximity to the framing reference (Krosnick & Kinder 1990). On the other hand, applicability effects are first-order effects in which individuals *apply* the “underlying interpretive schemas that . . . [the frame has] made applicable to the issue” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 14; see also Price, et.al., 1997). In other words, the accessibility effect exists only because the frame has gotten a lot of recent attention; an applicability effect exists because audiences actively accept and *apply* the abstract notions inculcated in the frame to the issue being described. Originally, there was some question as to whether applicability effects and accessibility effects are mutually exclusive concepts. Some argued that framing is limited to an applicability effect because it results from a specific inference of concepts explicit in the message that audiences are free to accept or not; while accessibility effects occur not from cognitive action, but simple access to short-term recall, such as in Agenda setting and Priming Theories (Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997). For the purposes of discussing collective memory, both accessibility and applicability effects should be considered significant components of an ongoing process of framing and reframing shared recollections of general knowledge. Framed attributes and concepts in media content are assumed to have residual effects (i.e., likely to be remembered), but must exist within the broader “cultural stock” of imagery and knowledge in order for them to be later retrieved and applied in the context of a similar issue frame. This is especially true considering that the “ease in which instances or associations could be brought to mind” (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973, p. 208), suggest a greater likelihood of a connection between discrete frames (Higgins, 1996). For example, recent experiments have suggested that when faced with competing versions of frames, subjects tend to mutually cancel them out if they do not already

possess a positive/negative bias to the frame being presented (Druckman, 2004; Sniderman & Theirault, 2004).

Sub-Frames and Salient Attributes

Broad thematic frames are comprised of a number of constituent parts—words, sentences, concepts, symbols—that combine to construct the frame in the mind of the producer and receiver (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; van Dijk, 1988). These attributes, or subframes, serve to define the larger frames and to “prime” or activate even the smallest fragments of stored knowledge to impart meaning. Media scholars have engaged in conceptual disagreements about the scale of framing units, especially as priming and agenda-setting theorists expanded their original accessibility effect of topic salience to account for applicability effects of “a restricted number of thematically related attributes” having salience within media representations (McCombs, et.al. 1997, p. 106; see also Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). McCombs argued that just as the salience of framing concepts vary in describing an object, so do the salient aspects of the attributes used to set the frame. This “second-level” of agenda setting effects conflates both accessibility and applicability effects to link both frames and attributes in activating stored knowledge from memory—presumably knowledge that is more accessible when particular frames and attributes are frequently repeated or resonant—when evaluating particular objects or persons (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997). Doing so links framing effects as a “temporal extension of agenda setting” when emphasizing the salience of issues or attributes, thereby permitting media to influence the “. . . standards that people use to make political evaluations.” (p. 63). Such priming is especially effective “when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and government” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 19).

However, several critiques of attribute agenda setting has been that attributes have been considered singularly in text and salience, not as components within a larger, organized configuration of a frame (Scheufle, 2003; Reese 2007). The opportunity presented by the dissertation is to not only identify and code the larger frames for remembering past presidents, but also to identify and code the discreet attributes and objects recalled to clarify and support the salience of those frames in public memory.

In identifying the attributes that constitute frames for political evaluations, this study referred to a number of studies and experiments that have supported the notions of linking attribute frames and the priming of political figures. One of the first, conducted by Weaver, et.al., (1981) found a high correlation between the attributes used by the *Chicago Tribune* and the subsequent terms of attributes that Illinois voters used to describe presidential candidates Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford during the 1976 presidential campaign. Similar correlations were also identified by Becker and McCombs (1978) in the 1976 presidential primaries (Kiousis, et.al., 1999; Sei-Hill, et.al., 2001; Balmas & Sheafer, 2006). In terms of this dissertation, the attributes not only account for the specific characteristics or actions ascribed to presidents, but also the historical events and actions which define the unique circumstances—or “political time” (Skowronek, 2006)—in which these presidents acted and for which they are recalled or known.

Understandably, most of the literature on priming and attribute agenda setting has exclusively focused on the contemporary structuring of attributes in forming evaluative judgments. Few studies have focused upon the accessing of attributes in contextualizing memories of the past. Even fewer have looked at whether, once set in the public mind, such evaluative attributes continue to have salience in memory recall or in contextualizing contemporary references or linkages. However, such conceptualization is important when looking at the cultural contexts of frame building in collective memory. If we accept that news

media framing depends upon a shared stock of cultural and political knowledge available to both newsmakers and audiences, we should expect that accessibility to the frame concept and its constituent attributes transcend the boundaries of the news story itself and exist in the collective cultural understanding. In identifying types of media frames, Gamson and Lasch (1983) were exhaustive in not only identifying thematic frames, but including metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, adjectives, depictions, visual images, roots, consequences, and appeals to principle as “devices that suggest a framework” from which to view a particular situation,” (p. 399) with such a profound cultural resonance to trigger sentiments from memory (Gorp, 2007). When persistently reinforced, these attributes or images—no matter how fleetingly referenced—access/activate frame concepts within collective schema. An example particularly fitting to this study is when a news story makes an implicit reference to an iconic attribute or image—e.g., the photo of Truman holding up newspaper proclaiming “Dewey Wins,” or references to Ronald Reagan as the Great Communicator, or anything associating Watergate with Richard Nixon. In those references, a host of symbolic connections may be accessed and applied. Even if some segments of society may not be able to detail the meaning of the attribute, they nonetheless recognize its place in the larger repertoire of general knowledge. Even Scheufele and Tewksbury (who drew the initial distinctions between accessibility and applicability effects) have since admitted that activation and applicability effects jointly influence frame construct in given situations. “An applicable construct is far more likely to be activated when it is accessible. Likewise, an inapplicable construct is highly unlikely to be used in a given situation, no matter how accessible it is” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 13).

Trying to predict and then identify such attributes in news sources from the plethora of potential attributes would be impossible. Therefore, the dissertation will apply grounded theory method (sometimes aligned with Manifest Content Theory) as a qualitative systematic

methodology to examine data collected and to identify particular attributes, phrases, and concepts in the text that can be collapsed and ordered into similar conceptual categories. If possible, these conceptual categories could serve as the basis for the creation of a theory, or at least a reverse-engineered hypothesis. This contradicts the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses a theoretical framework, and only then applies this model to the phenomenon to be studied (Neuendorf, 2002; Roberts, 1997; Weber, 1990).

Frame Transformation

Because societies frequently revise and reconstruct memories to meet contemporary circumstances or to accommodate informational revelations, we witness a concurrent shift in the content and relationship between the news frame and the memory. This “frame transformation” (Bennett, 1975; Snow & Benford 1988; Snow et. al., 1986) occurs when pre-existing frames which are “already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework transpose in terms of another framework” to require new interpretation (Snow et. al., 1986, p. 473-474). For example, when “a movement wishes to put forward a radically new set of ideas. . . new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings’ reframed.” (Tarrow, 1992: p. 188). Such a transformation is seldom dramatic or sudden, given the demands for continuity on which much of our social constructs are based (Schwartz 1982, 1987, 1996; see also the Collective Memory discussion above). Dramatic and frequent reinterpretations of the past would be difficult to collectively reconcile or even remain coherent in the public mind. Changes to collective memory occur gradually, with the new information re-contextualizing the existing memory frames in the public mind. Presumably, the success of the transformation requires that at least a substantial portion of society accepts the

frame within the standards of empirical credibility, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity (Snow & Bedford, 1988).

While the collective memory literature has addressed collective memories being referenced and reconstructed in the service of contemporary needs, less attention has been given to elucidating the interactionist approaches that prompt transformation of existing memory frames. As Olick (2007) argued, the act of collective memory cannot be reified as a set thing (memory), but rather as a process (remembering) that is open to renegotiation and revision over time. When new or substantially different frames arise, they do so as a result of changes in what is being remembered, the conditions and purposes for which it is being remembered, or who is doing the remembering. At least five discursive factors influence the triggering or altering of memory:

1) *Reaffirmation/Commemoration* Commemorative events (e.g., anniversaries of the Kennedy Assassination, Reagan's 100th birthday, new museums or historical monuments, public holidays, etc.) prompt public recall in the news media, especially when those events are tied to prominent social or political interests (Conway, 2010; Wanich, et.al., 2009; Kammen, 1993; Bodnar, 1992; Schwartz, 1991, 1992, 1998);

2) *Revision* Shifting political, sociological, or demographic changes that come to influence and contest historical consciousness (Foner, 2010; MacMillan, 2009). These are usually ascribed to evolving historiographical or sociological paradigms involving social mores, institutions, or systems which spill into the public dialogue—particularly those that are controversial or are in dramatic conflict with prior collective memories of past events (Schwartz, 1992, 1998; Schudson, 1995; Lindel, 2011). Examples would include the political battles over whether continuing to fly the Confederate flag over the South Carolina State Capitol as a commemoration of state's history, or the continuation of an institutional racism has stymied efforts to attract high-technology businesses and an educated workforce.

3) *Revelation*. Uncovering of previously unknown or unavailable information, whether through publication of personal memoirs by political actors, the release or declassification of archival materials (Beschloss, 1997, 2002), or a retrospective assessment of consequences from previous actions or policies (Johnson, 2004). Such re-evaluations can reconfigure frames depending upon the extent of the re-evaluations and the consistency at which they are accepted into the media discourse. Support for this will enrich understanding of whether varying sources of revision or information can be discerned or if we can develop a richer understanding of how some revisionist approaches receive more validity or effect in influencing frame transformation than others.

4) *Reference*. The use of presidents and their presidencies become symbolic markers for discerning particular moments or points in time. Presidents and their administrations become closely identified with the eras of the past and become shorthand means of identifying a different time or place.

Sources, Frame Advocates, and the Hierarchy of Influences

Being that they both rely on the concepts of social constructed reality and communication, collective memory and media framing rely upon a mutually informative process to structure the bounds of our social and political reality. Frames are pervasive in the political communication literature for structuring elite discourse on political issues (Gamson, 1992, Gamson & Modigliani, 1983; Iyenger & Kinder, 1987; Iyengar 1991; Nelson, et.al., 1997). Collective memories are dialogically constructed and shared among members of society to understand their past and present.

As a socially constructed and iterative process of structuring and communicating meaning, media frames rely upon a common store of cultural and political recollections to communicate

those common cultural concepts and general knowledge. This is not an arbitrary process, left solely to the newswork functions of the journalist or editor. When frames are examined systemically, they suggest an “imprint of power. . .” and “. . .the identity of actors or interests that compete to dominate the text (Entman 1993, p.55). Reese (2001) argues not to take the symbolic form of media texts “at face value” (p.14), but to examine the forces shaping those symbols:

“What power relationships and institutional arrangements support certain routine and persistent ways of making sense of the social world, as found through specific and significant frames, influential information organizing principles that are manifested in identifiable moments of structured meaning and become especially important to the extent they find their way into media discourse, and are thus available to guide public life.” (Reese, 2001, p.19)

In the modern construction of political memory, these “identifiable moments of structured meaning” are manifest when news media serve as a canvas upon which the “power relationships and institutional arrangements” of political discourse are collectively managed by a web of social influences, professional values, and operational norms and routines both within and outside of newswork (Lewin, 1947; White, 1964; Shoemaker, 1991, 1997; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). As with most cultural studies, the understanding and measurement of these practices can be accessed through a number of “levels of analysis” (Chafee & Berger, 1987; Whitney & Ettema, 2003; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In terms of social or cultural production, the factors involved in constructing reality are inadequately described when limited to a bilateral power relationship.

Hierarchy of Influences Theory

What appears as news media content is the product of a number of functional and conceptual influences. This complex interaction is best conceptually captured within the Hierarchy of Influences model of news media construction (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) that lends itself to a broader consideration of news media sourcing as more of a normative location for “interpretive communities” that collect, negotiate, and construct social and political narratives in the public discourse (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Zelizer & Hindman, 1996; Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999; Fish, 1980; Lindlof, 1988; Zelizer, 1993). This model is diagrammatically represented as a series of expanding concentric circles that start with individual journalists at the center, then extending in scope to encompass media routines (e.g., professional norms and routines, news values, etc.), organization (e.g., bureaucratic structures, technological production demands, etc.); extra-media influences (economic, social, and political actors and institutions) and ideological factors (core social and cultural beliefs and systems) (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Whitney & Ettema, 2003; Downing, et.al., 2004, Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Three of the levels of influence in the Hierarchy of Influence model have the most direct effect in media constructions of collective memory: Individual newswriters, organization norms and routines, and extra-media influences of sources and frame advocates.

Influence of Individual Journalists

First in this hierarchy of influence are individual newswriters (i.e, reporters, editors, producers, etc.), whose attitudes, professional training, and background influences how they conceive and understand events and news. For constructing collective memory in media, the influence of the individual journalist is significant because, as members of society, news workers are *themselves* an inseparable part of the cultural and political worlds they are attempting to

describe, and rely upon the same common stock of knowledge to which they contribute as arbiters of society's shared memory culture (Tanner, 2004; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Instead of necessarily being compelled to cite expert sources to explain and contextualize references or events from collective memory, news workers draw upon a presumed common stock of social knowledge when constructing story frames.

At this stage, journalists become "secondary definers" or "gatekeepers" who decide which elements of a story are reported or not, whether sources' frames are valid, or whether an entirely new frame will be used to shape public knowledge of an event (Hall et al., 1978; Herman & Chomsky, 2002 [1988]; Lewin, 1947; Shoemaker, et.al., 2001; DeFleur & DeFleur, 2009). Editors and reporters can be assiduous in constraining the ability of political actors to define political information depending upon the strength of professional norms, perceived public mood, partisan antagonism, and the interests engaged (Fridkin & Kenney, 2005). Regardless of the web of subsidies engaged, the newsworker ultimately selects sources on a number of professional and institutional norms: the congruity (or fit) of the source/information subsidy to the topic; the appropriateness of the source within journalistic norms of balance, accuracy, and veracity; or the operational restraints of deadlines and space constraints, and consistency with other media (Tuchman, 1978; Bennett, 1990; Entmann & Page, 1994). For example, studies have identified how political actors and institutions largely guided the setting of frames for issues involving criminal justice reform (Ericson, et.al., 1989; Hansen, 1993), environmental policy (Anderson, 1993), HIV/AIDS prevention (Miller & Williams, 1993), the stock market crash of 1988 (Lasorsa & Reese, 1990); and the contestations over trade union and labor policy (Davis, 2000; Manning, 2001). Each study found that reporters selected sources based on the circumstances of the issue, the congruity of the source's message to the narrative, and their perceived legitimacy in engaging the topic. For example, in examining stories regarding the

Vietnam War, Michael Frisch (1986) found soldiers acted as primary sources for describing personal experiences of the war, but academic and governmental sources were asked to discuss the war's larger social "meanings." Each type of source was privileged for the particular perspective they offered, even though the credentials of both may have been important in conceptualizing the issues and experiences involved for the other.

This understanding is important on a practical level as well, since not every mnemonic or cultural reference that appears in a news story is presumed to require explanation or attribution when conveying a frame. Journalists and editors must decide whether such references possess a level of cultural or mnemonic relevance with audiences. For example, contemporary references to the Reagan Revolution, Watergate, or Kennedy assassination as framing tools are sufficiently ingrained in contemporary public memory so as to not need detailed explanation to a contemporary audience. On the other hand, some passé or outdated references from the public lexicon (e.g., price controls, Sandinistas, or HMOs) may be deemed to require explanation as to why they are appropriate for analogy.

Influence of Journalistic Norms and Routines

Second, the organizational level influences the framing or recall of memory by providing a stock of previous journalistic references and frames grounded in presumed journalistic authority or prior journalistic constructions (Zelizer, 1992). News media routines, or the normative "patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 105). Professional practices and perspectives—whether through a shared professional mythos; the institutional memories of journalists, editors, and publishers; or internal archival resources (e.g., newspaper morgues, tape libraries, etc.)—tend to inform contemporary interpretations and preserve certain perspectives over time. This institutional

perspective is underscored by the habit of media organizations to routinely cue off one another when determining news stories, shaping frames, and selecting sources. Referred to as “inter-media agenda setting” or “convergence” journalism, this is a perfunctory means of securing consensus, consistency, and validation in news judgments (Gans 1980; Tuchman, 1978) amid the cacophony of information filling the public sphere. Even more, such routines are privileged in news work, since journalists are often considered to be professional witnesses and chroniclers of events; hence, authorities who possess unique perspectives on the past and in connecting that past with the present (Zelizer, 1992).

Frame Advocates and Public Arenas

The last stage in the hierarchy of influencers, or extra-media influences, represent the political actors and institutions that serve as frame advocates, are intimately involved in the “editorial framing of raw materials, of giving sense and structure to physical traces, records, tellings” (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994, p. 175). In media studies, these “intermediaries” include a range of social interpreters who act as sources for reporters to rely upon to identify narrative themes, select facts and assertions, and organize all of it into a consistent and comprehensible frame (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Entman, 1993; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

Media scholars generally accept the “negotiation of newsworthiness” (Cook, 1989, p 169) between sources and newswriters in deploying and shaping media frames. Traditionally, the reporter-source relationship has been characterized as transactional (Schesinger, 1989), with both the journalist and the source exchanging information and publicity in pursuit of different professional needs (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Hallin, 1994; Schudson, 2003). In this interchange, sources control access to, and interpretation of, information to shape the media frame; for their part, newswriters ultimately control what, if any, of that frame gets

disseminated (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2006). This institutionalized process of cooperation is fundamental to normative journalistic practice, since “. . .without news sources, there is no news. . .” and no way to determine “. . .how the story is covered, or at least the elements of the way in which coverage occurs” (Palmer, 2000, p. 4). Sometimes the balance shifts to sources (Cohen, 1963; Hall, et.al., 1978, Eldridge 1993), while at other times favors journalists and editors (Hess, 1984; Bron, 2005).

During the news work process, journalists and editors adhere to established norms and routines for source selection that facilitates quick and accurate production (Tuchman, 1978). In most cases, this means turning to “legitimate” official or conventional news sources that can quickly articulate frames and are easily validated acceptable within journalistic norms (Gans, 1979; Stromback et al. 2008). Unconventional sources, which normative journalistic practice has seen as outside of, or a challenge to, the hegemonic status quo, do not participate in influencing the news frames or narratives. As a result, critics have raised concerns that journalists are merely transmitting official viewpoints to perpetuate existing social hierarchies (Soley, 1992; Whitney, et.al., 1989).

In recent years, however, there has been a slight shift in the structure of external influences outside the traditional source-reporter relationship. Increasingly, certain political and social actors have become both more sophisticated and aggressive in asserting their voice to advocate, rearrange, or omit features of the past to shape based upon a particular social identity, authority, solidarity, or political affiliation (Gamson, 1992; Van Dijk, 1988, 1993; Zelizer, 1994, p. 217, *see also* Althusser, 1971; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Parenti 1986; Tetlock, et.al., 1992). While having been afforded different names in the media studies literature: “memory intermediaries” (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994), “brokers of symbols,” (Newcomb & Hirsch, 1984), “political/strategic actors,” (Pan & Kosicki, 2001), “frame

sponsors,” (Gamson, et.al., 1992; Gorp, 2007), “reputational entrepreneurs” (Fine, 1996), or “frame advocates” (Tewksbury, et.al., 2000), the phrasing nevertheless describes advocates who work to frame the media discourse in a way that is consistent with their preferred framing (Hallahan, 1999). Frame advocates are conceptualized as part of the study because of the nature of the collective memory contestation that is involved in the study, especially in promoting counter frames of memory. Frame building in news media is not limited to the traditional concept of sources who are identified by news workers to help contextualize a story, but includes frame advocates who promote perspective through op/eds, columns, or books/articles that generate attention and engage alternate memory interpretations.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the increased level of frame advocate activism in asserting collective memory has coincided with the diffusion of the Critical Discourse Theories, particularly that of “counter-memory,” articulated by Michel Foucault to promote the residual or resistant strains of memory of disregarded social groups to “counter” the dominant or official versions of memory construction and historical continuity that were represented in traditional journalistic sourcing and framing. Foucault’s formulation placed great emphasis on the importance of local critiques and forms of understanding in challenging dominant, nationalist histories and global theories (Foucault, 1977, 1980). At the same time, the nature of communicative discourse has changed in direct relation to advances in communication technologies and the proliferation of more ideologically motivated outlets to promote interpretations of events that were traditionally ignored by traditional media (Campell 2004). The landscape of discourse has expanded to encompass a broader range of political pundits, columnists, television commentators, and bloggers who promote “symbolic resources to participate in collective sense-making about public policy issues” (Gamson, 1992, *cited in* Pan and Kosicki, 2001, p. 38; see also Newcomb & Hirsch, 1984; Miller & Williams, 1993; Pan &

Kosicki, 1993; Entman, 2004).

Unlike traditionally defined media sources, these frame advocates seek influence by engaging in what Hiltgartner and Bosk (1988) term the Public Arenas Model of discourse—or a theoretical dialogic space where differing political interests actively frame social problems in public debate to advance and/or discourage particular ideas or issues in the public mind (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988; *see also* Gitlin, 1980; Williams, 2000; Scheufele, 2000). These Public Arenas provide a forum on which advocates are motivated by perceived self-interest, an adeptness at using symbolic images (Johnson, 1989) and the resources/institutional base from which to promote certain frames (Fine, 1996). Even then, the broad Public Arena is frequently limited in the amount of information that can be exchanged within time and cognitive constraints (i.e., their “carrying capacities”) and thus limit the number of framing narratives that can be sustained at a given time (Hiltgartner & Bosk, 1988). A frame advocate’s impact in the Public Arena is largely a function of his or her ability to provide what Gandy termed “information subsidies” —press releases, op/eds, interviews, fact sheets, etc.—to persuade journalists and publics to accept their particular frame narrative (Gandy, 1982). Pan and Kosicki (2001) subsequently expanded the concept to a “Web of Subsidies” that not only accounted for media relations, but included more sophisticated techniques of strategic messaging, reputation management, alliances, and deploying a stock of knowledge of and skills to manipulate the discourse. Such subsidies “influence media content by raising or reducing the cost of news production, including news gathering and packaging. . .by (a) lowering the cost of information gathering and (b) generating cultural resonance of their frame with the news values held by journalists... [Second, they] may subsidize the public, thus influencing public opinion, by (a) creating ideologically toned and emotionally charged catchphrases, labels and (b) linking a position to a political icon, figure or group” (Pan & Kosicki, 2001, p. 46-47).

In the world of political discourse, frame advocates are well aware of their advantage in strategically controlling the amount, timing, structure, and conditions under which information is shared with news media (Sigal, 1973; Bennett, 2003; Lewis et al., 2008; Reich, 2006) and to actively promote and contest with other policy elites the frames through which the public interprets political information (Callaghan & Schnell, 2005; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2005; Graber, 1988, 2001; Jacobs & Shapiro 2000; Kellstedt, 2000). The advocate's goals are two fold: first, to have their message frame accepted with as little distortion as possible (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993; Ryan, et.al., 2005) and, second, to attain a level of authority or "standing" on an issue by being afforded media attention (Ferree, et al., 2002). The ideological stakes involved in solidifying particular interpretations within the public mind can be intense, since "(o)nce a frame is institutionalized, it becomes more difficult [for elites] to dislodge or replace it" (Gabrielson, 2005, p. 87).

Source Criteria Specific to Collective Memory

Media scholars have identified specific requisites within journalistic norms for determining source validity when framing and validating collective memories. Unlike normal political coverage, where the contestation of frames may be starkly contestable in terms of credibility and balance (Bron, 2005), the reference and construction of memories rely on the aforementioned sense of general knowledge among the frame builders and frame setters. Generally, the academic literature has variously identified types of collective memory sources, whether they are defined by the nature of the information they contribute to the social construction, their presumed authority for asserting particular frames; their relative proximity to the event or action being recalled, or their presumed motivations in asserting certain frames (Edy, 2006; Schudson, 1992; Schwartz, 1991, 1996, 2000; Zelizer 1992). By identifying

different collective memory sources based upon how they have been identified in the literature provides a reasonable universe of types that inform collective memory.

1) *Politico-Historians* The aforementioned political actors fall into a class of “political-historians”—as opposed to “scholar-historians” or “educator-historians”—who Michael Schudson identified in his work on *Watergate in American Memory* (1992). Schudson’s defined these frame advocates as who do so “. . .not for professional norms or education, but to celebrate and reaffirm local, state, regional ethnic, party or national solidarity” (Schudson, 1992, p. 212). “States and politicians routinely use the past “. . .for political ends. . .[and] inventing pasts to suit their own needs” (Schudson, 1992, p. 213). Such frame advocates’ purpose for constructing reference the past in a way that supports particular interpretations of the past solely to justify actions in the present. For example, conservative commentators frequently refer to the fall of Soviet Communism as a direct result of the escalated defense spending of the Reagan presidency. Though the assertion is difficult to prove and ignores the global and internal political complexities involved in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, its advocates continue to press the notion as validation of the Reagan conservatism and the value of pre-emptive defense policy.

2) *Reputational Guardians* are those who have a vested interest to act as “guardians” or “promoters” of particular interpretations of the past (Lang & Lang, 1988; Taylor, 1996; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Hutton, 1999; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990). Guardians engage in strategic efforts and reputational initiatives to promote representatives (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Kitch & Hume, 2007) and often have some relation to the object or concept being recalled as descendents of former staffers, or are fans/enthusiasts or who protect or promote particular memory frames. In terms of presidential memories, specific frames of presidents and their presidencies are preserved and promoted through the presidential libraries, birthplace museums, visitor centers, and tourist

attractions. Most of these are funded via a collaboration of the National Archives and Records Administration and private foundations created and governed by family, friends, and former staffers. Both the institutional and individual actions of these actors play a significant role on commemorating presidents in the public mind. As Kitch and Hume (2007) noted in their case study of the extensive preparations and stage management that went into the funeral ceremonies for Ronald Reagan indicate the extent to which these guardians go to maintain favorable memories and counter negative imagery (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Kitch & Hume, 2007).

3) *Witnesses* Just as in normative journalistic practice, witnesses' contributions to collective memory are generally privileged because of their proximity to the events or issue being recalled (e.g., as participants, eyewitness, victims, or bystanders) even when those interpretations may be partial, biased, or limited in scope. For example, some have argued that the individual diaries and "testimonies" of victims and survivors of the genocide have been conflated in representation of remembered experience as to encourage a public memory among those who did not share the experiences (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2009; Kansteiner, 2002), suggesting an unreliability of witness testimony that has prompted some critiques of Holocaust studies in memory construction.

4) *Scholar Historians* whom assume the role of objective proprietor or interpreter of information on which the memory is constructed, or may be reconstructed. These are Schudson's aforementioned "scholar-historians" or "educator-historians" academic/professional (e.g., historians, biographers, political scientists, museum curators, etc.) whose authority is based on gathering and interpreting information through archival research, interviews, oral histories, and analysis. The authority of these sources is directly related to their expertise on the subject and their adherence to professional standards of evidence and analysis. Their normative role is a

“special interest group lobbying for the maintenance of an authentic historical record”

(Schudson, 1992, p. 213)

5) *Official Authorities* Official sources possess a professional or institutional hermeneutic authority based on their position or “location” in the public arena as government officials, official party spokespersons, professional or ethnic organizations, etc. (Edy, 2006, p. 85). For example, White House spokesmen, the executive director of the NAACP, or the president of the American Bar Association are considered source authorities of the past within the bounds of their professional perspectives (Schwartz, 1982, 1987, 1996). For example, Schudson (1990) has suggested that the interpretations for Ronald Reagan’s communication skills were in part constructed by the burgeoning class of media and image consultants that grew to dominate the inside-Washington discourse and had a vested interest in promoting Reagan’s political successes to their campaign models.

6) *Social/Cultural Authorities*. Social authorities possess interpretive authority based upon their capacity to represent particular pluralistic subgroups or identities. (e.g., the Reverend Billy Graham, National Organization for Women President Gloria Steinham, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, etc.) These officials need not have met or had a relationship with the object of memory, but are accorded authority by their ideological or social position and by providing a sense of continuity or conceptual progression from past events to the present. For example, contemporary civil rights activists or neo-conservatives who may have been too young or not even alive to have participated in the major activities of their respective movements in the 1960s or 1980s, are nonetheless ascribed authority because they are provided a temporal linkage between the past and present and a sense of continuity to the ideological perspectives of the past. Lang and Lang describe how some reputations are filtered through a prism based upon “their

availability as a symbolic form for a variety of sentiments” even when they may have no direct involvement to the subject at hand (1990/2001, p. 351).

7) *Journalists* Reporters and editors who are not only prominent in arbitrating the memory frame of others, but who also in privileging their personal experiences and the professional frames that have already been established. In this sense, journalists become their own interpretive community—not only as members of the larger culture, but by the “double temporal position” they hold in interpreting an event at the time it occurs, and then again when it is subsequently recalled and reconstructed. Hence, Zelizer suggests that news media routinely generate shared meaning that is shaped by the frame of the individual journalists or the overall profession, and preference that meaning in recollections of the event; for example, in recollections of the Kennedy Assassination (1992) or those involving Watergate or McCarthyism (1993).

8) *Citizens* Last are those frame sources who are not identified by any other authority than as constituent members—or citizens—of the memory culture. These are individuals whose authority comes from their non-vocational participation in the public sphere (i.e., participants in memorial services, writers of letters to the editor, man-in-the-street interviewees, etc.) whose contributions provide validation or counterargument to the dominant frames being deployed.

Summary

In summary, this review has looked at collective memory and communication as integral concepts to theories of socially constructed reality. Cognitive sociologists have accepted collective memory as a socially derived construct that is integral to establishing social cohesion and identity, and media communication as an essential means for the dialogic communication necessary to transmit and reinforce social meaning within both the larger society and its

constituent subgroups. Presidents and presidential administrations serve as important components of the collective memory process; not only as mnemonic markers to temporally locate the past, but also as exemplars of previous political actions and circumstances by which contemporary conditions can be compared and judged. Presidential eulogies and obituaries are significant indicators of that impact, given that it is a unique time in which society in general—and the news media in particular—is given to reflection on the contributions and failures of former presidencies to draw judgments and lessons for future generations.

The review looked specifically at the news media's effect on the construction and maintenance of collective memory as being integral to theories regarding the social construction of reality. The review described how collective memory discourse in news media is guided by theoretical perspectives of news framing theories, the hierarchy of influence model of media production, and source and frame advocate theories within the public arenas model of public discourse. Together, these theoretical approaches from the media studies literature provide a strong basis for examining the framing of collective memories in the news media as a competitive process that is largely shaped by different, competitive sources who promote certain interpretations of the past.

Research questions to be addressed by the study are:

RQ 1: What are the dominant frames that appear in both print and broadcast news media to construct memories for each of the presidents in the coverage of their funerals?

RQ2: What sub-frames appear in both print and broadcast news media to inform dominant frame memories for each of the presidents in the coverage of their funerals?

RQ3: At the time of the presidential funerals, which types of particular sources/frame advocates (i.e., Political-Historians, Memory Guardians, Witnesses, Scholar Historians, Official

Authorities, Social Authorities, Journalists, or public/citizens) contribute to constructing memory frames?

RQ4: At the time of the presidential funerals, in which types of news items (i.e., news stories/features, editorials, columns, op/eds, letters to the editor) do memory frames most frequently appear for each of the presidents?

RQ5: At the time of the presidential funerals, are most frames and sub-frames that appear in the news coverage used to reinforce dominant frames in collective memory, or are alternative frames and sub-frames promoted to reinterpret or revise the dominant memory frame?

RQ6: In subsequent news stories over time, which frames/attributes persist in memory constructions for each of the presidents and which tend to fade?

RQ7: In subsequent news stories, are there changes in who serves as sources/frame advocates (i.e., Political-Historians, Memory Guardians, Witnesses, Scholar Historians, Official Authorities, Social Authorities, Journalists, or public/citizens) who contribute to constructing memory frames?

RQ8: In subsequent news stories, do new memory frames/sub-frames appear in the news coverage used to reinforce dominant frames in collective memory, or are alternative frames and sub-frames promoted to reinterpret or revise the dominant memory frame?

RQ9: In subsequent news stories over time, which sources/frame advocates are most frequently identified as contributing to preserving, reinterpreting, or revealing new information for the collective memories of each of the presidents?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This dissertation undertakes a two-stage process of content analysis to identify frames of remembrance and attribution of former U.S. Presidents who have passed away since 1970 (Truman, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Ford) in national newspapers, television broadcasts, and newsmagazines. These presidents were selected as the first representative sample of commemoration and eulogy in a time of fully developed electronic news media. President John F. Kennedy was considered for inclusion, but was excluded because his death by assassination occurred while he was in office, and thus so many of the mnemonic themes that surrounded his presidency (martyrdom, tragedy, criminal intrigue) and the time of his passing (1963) coming at a time of different media technology and practice so distinct from the other presidencies, was considered to potentially pose a methodological inconsistency when compared to the presidents whose terms in office were long since past and had been isolated in the public mind by the time of their deaths. The first stage will focus upon news media coverage for the week after presidents' funerals to identify narrative and attribute frames, link which political actors are engaged in promoting certain frames, and note the level of contestation that takes place. The second stage will track these frames in subsequent years to see which persist, fade, or are replaced, by whom, and under what conditions. The result is a longitudinal, comparative analysis that suggests theories for how collective memory frames are transformed over time, and who initiates or perpetuates those memories in political discourse (Snow & Benford 1988, Snow et. al., 1986). This chapter details the data collection methods used, the measures to be analyzed, the statistical procedures applied, and the steps to ensure intercoder reliability. A full codebook that coders used to guide their data collection is attached as Appendix A.

Content Analysis

This study applied accepted concepts that have been previously used for the identification and analysis of the frames in news stories. Analysis of frames in news media requires researchers to be able to explicate and describe the conceptual themes that appear within the content. For this reason, content analysis is the best technique for identifying and describing frames in media coverage (McQuail, 2000; Riffe, 2005). A quantitative approach to the content analysis was chosen in order to elucidate and consistently document the shifts in frames of particular presidents over time by reliably being able to measure their frequency in text. The dissertation also seeks to document the relationship between the emergence of frames and the attributions to frame sponsors/sources over time. Because it will also use thematic dominant frames, as well as attribute/ reference units as sub-frames, the operationalization requires quantitatively being able to identify and correlate coding units, sampling, validity, and data analysis procedures (Riffe et al., 2005).

Data Population

In order to reliably support each of the preceding research questions, the methodological design undertakes a two phase content analysis. The first stage looks at archived news media from a broad sample of three nationally recognized newspapers (e.g., the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*); four national network and cable news outlets (e.g., ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, CNN and Fox News) and three major news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*) during the week of each president's passing and funeral services. The print articles are identified through a Lexis/Nexis search for the relevant periodicals. The television broadcasts are available through the extensive

Vanderbilt University Television News Archives. Media scholars have consistently accepted the notion that major daily newspapers, newsmagazines and television news as the primary media outlets for national news (Kitch, 1999, 2003; Lacy, Riffe, & Varouhakis, 2007), particularly for being influential in setting inter-media agendas (Lee, 2004; Reese & Danielian 1989). National daily newspapers, network news broadcasts, and weekly newsmagazines are recognized for providing authoritative and broadly contextualized news encompassing national identity and public affairs. The newspapers, newsmagazines, and television news networks identified in the dissertation were chosen for a number of factors: 1) for being recognized as significant influence on inter-media agenda setting, 2) an ability to provide a diffuse range of stories, and 3) an availability for full-text, keyword search of content databases, both for the week of the funeral ceremonies and the subsequent years references stretching back to 1970.

The first stage of data collection drew upon media coverage in the week immediately following each president's death, starting from the day the death is announced and running for seven consecutive days after. Given the variety of the public dialogue in constructing collective memory, the story types included news/feature stories, opinions, columns, editorials, and letters to editor—particularly because such stories are generally recognized for subjectivity and opinion meant to promote certain interpretations and conclusions.

The second stage of data collection drew news stories from a subset of nationally recognized news outlets: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *TIME* and *Newsweek*. The sample is structured by identifying those articles in which the specific president is the subject of the article. A Lexis-Nexis database search filtered stories with the HLEAD function, which picks articles in which the specific president is identified by name either in the headline, in the subject highlight (similar to meta tags), or lead paragraph of the articles. The stories types also included features, opinions, columns, editorials, book/arts reviews, and letters to editor, but will then be

pared by eliminating any in which the former president is not a lead focus. Duplication of identical stories (common when the same Associated Press, United Press International, or Reuters wire stories are published in different papers) will be counted as one.

The first and second stages of data collection are linked in a longitudinal analysis that looks at whether the frames that coalesce at the time of the funerals remain constant, fade, and/or are supplanted by new frames over time. Frames and sub-frames identified for constructing memories of presidents at the times of their funerals in the first stage data collection (informed by the matrix of leading functional and characteristic frames of presidencies) will serve as the basis for identifying whether subsequent coverage of the presidents continues to reflect those frames, whether those frames change or disappear, or whether new frames emerge. The identification of sub-frames relies on Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which operates conversely from the common hypothesis-driven scientific method by way of a four-stage process of 1) identifying discrete events or terms connected to individual presidents that can be used to establish specific sub-frames for coding (i.e., Reagan and Iran-Contra, Nixon and Watergate, 2) collapsing those codes into groups of similar conceptual categories, 3) linking those concepts into a theoretical framework in order to 4) hypothesize why certain events or concepts seemed to be emphasized within and between memories of specific presidents or media. Data is collected first, and then examined to identify dominant concepts or attributes that can be extracted from the text. This information is then coded into categories, which can be used to formulate research methods, or create an experiential hypothesis (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1992).

Units of Analysis

The study draws from the approaches of Reese (2001), Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007),

and Gamson and Modigliani (1989) in defining a frame as a mode of presentation used by communicators that promote certain considerations for thinking about an issue or object. However, in order for comparative analysis of memory frame construction between presidents *and* to identify the explicit attributes or incidents that specifically exemplify the characteristics of the presidents in public memory, two separate units of frame analysis will be used, a dominant frame and component sub-frames. The dominant frame identifies the normative expectations of the roles and functions of the presidency. The sub-frame finds instances in which a specific president is referenced as an example for the dominant frame (positively, negatively, or neutrally). Such interaction between the dominant frame and the sub-frames helps establish a context by which certain presidents come to be viewed in collective memory.

Dominant Story Frames

The dominant frames are broadly recognized concepts of institutional functions and leadership characteristics of presidents and their presidencies, drawn from the political science sub disciplines of presidential studies and political leadership (Barber, 1992; CSPAN, 2009; Faber & Faber, 2000; Gallup, 2010; Hinckley 1990; Kelly & Lonnstrom, 2010; Murray & Blessing, 1988; Neustadt, 1960; Maranell, 1970; Ridings & McIver, 2000; Schlesinger, Sr., 1962, 1971; Schlesinger, Jr., 1997; Simonton, 1986; Skidmore, 2004;). The frames are divided and are defined as follows:

Institutional Frames

Head of State: Role of the executive office, including ceremonial and official functions (hosting state dinners, and state of union speeches).

Chief Diplomat/Foreign Policy: Leading U.S. foreign diplomacy, negotiating treaties, directing diplomatic missions, and developing policies that involve economic or military

alliances.

Chief Executive/Manager: Role of the president as chief administrator of the machinery of government by appointments, executive regulations, and oversight.

Legislator: President not only proposes legislation but also actively works for passage by negotiating and persuading members of U.S. Congress.

Domestic Policymaker: Identified with setting or promoting/opposing specific domestic policy objectives, putting forth specific legislation, and adapting policies to unforeseen developments.

Law Enforcer: Enforcing U.S. laws (e.g., FBI, Homeland Security, Justice Department, immigration, the Securities and Exchange Commission) or addressing extraordinary circumstances (e.g., deploying National Guard, and establishing extraordinary courts for terrorism suspects).

Commander/Protector in Chief: Commander of the armed forces, including foreign intelligence gathering (e.g., CIA, NSA, Department of Defense Intelligence) with the intent to protect and pursue U. S. interests and citizens. Even though the role of commander in chief is normally a function carried out overseas (the exception being calling out National Guard for domestic emergencies), it differs from the Diplomat designation because so much of the function distinct action from foreign policy/diplomatic role (i.e., managing the Pentagon, setting military rules for conflict, and deploying military forces) For example, Truman's firing of McArthur was not considered an act of foreign policy; nor was Clinton's implementation of "don't ask, don't tell," Bush's detention of suspected terrorists at Guantanamo Bay, or Obama's criteria for the use of unmanned drones.

Economic Manager: *De facto* financial manager of the U.S. economy by setting domestic

and international economic policy, drafting the federal budget, setting tax policy, unemployment programs, appointing financial regulators (e.g., chair of Federal Reserve Board).

Campaigner/Chief of Party: The performance of the president as a campaigner for office or as the leader of his party or ideological wing of his party in engaging in political rhetoric or partisan activity (e.g., campaigning for other candidates, or party fundraising), pursuing policies that are closely identified with party constituencies.

Characteristics/Traits Frames

Moral authority: The degree to which the president upholds/ falls short in demonstrating the moral authority of his office through his character, values, and conduct.

Persuader/Communicator: The extent to which a president is seen articulating policies, inspiring public consensus, and using charisma to transform the needs, values, preferences, and aspirations of followers.

Intelligence: Reference to president's required intellectual capacity. This is not necessarily limited to educational attainment, but also political cunning or common sense.

Experience/Background. Represented as either political or "real world" experience prior to being elected. This includes previously biographical information of where the president previously held elected office, life experiences, his military service, his level of education, the social class, the region of the country where he grew up).

Negotiator: This frames the president as political dealmaker for either achieving political goals or public needs through compromise or the *real politick* means of social power and influence.

Social Justice/Fairness: This frame is operationalized as instances in which a president

did/did not act as champion of promoting political and social unity and in advocating for specific social groups interests, showing sensitivity to both common and specific concerns/issues.

Creative: This frame involves the relative ways presidents can be innovative in solving problems, within the constraints of political norms and expectations.

Leadership: This frame is the relative extent to which presidents act decisively and with effect, particularly during a crisis or difficult circumstances while in office.

Personality/Appearance: The extent to which president's unique physical appearance, manner, or personality contributes to positive or negative assessments.

Attribute Sub-Frames

Attribute sub-frames identify instances in which a president's particular actions or personality characteristics are referenced to validate and inform the dominant frame. For this purpose, the sub-frames are also divided into two types: policy actions taken during the president's term and ascribed to him in memory (e.g., Reagan and Iran Contra scandal, Johnson and the Voting Rights Act, Truman firing McArthur, etc), and personal characteristics or traits possessed by each president that are used to demonstrate (positively or negatively) his dominant frame. This method of identifying sub-frames in support of dominant frames is suggested by Gamson and Lasch (1983), Pan and Kosicki (1993), Scheufele, 2004, and Entman (1993), who see frames as a set of selected symbols and attributes that are purposely organized in ways that evoke a particular meaning. Recent studies of message framing in social movements have identified examples where attributes or sub-frames can be employed within different contextual factors to construct or constrain different framing themes (Bronstein, 2005; Snow & Benford, 1992).

Unlike the dominant frames, which were previously identified (but not organized) in the academic literature, the sub-frames are located by using Grounded Theory (a.k.a. Manifest Content Theory) to identify attributes when they are specifically referenced in the texts (Neuendorf, 2002). Coding for such attributes are explicit in identifying the president and affiliated attribute/context to which he is being referenced (e.g., Reagan as Great Communicator, Johnson mishandling Vietnam, Ford and pardoning Nixon). The coding unit for the sub-frames focuses on individual paragraphs within the text in which the president is referenced.

The identification of sub-frames of news stories follows that of Gamson and Lasch (1983), Pan and Kosicki (1993), and Entman (1993) in suggesting that frames may consist of a selected salient attributes to support the frame media messages, thus explicitly and/or implicitly influencing the applicability of understanding or the activation of schema to interpret meaning. In media coverage of public figures, especially in remembrances of them after their death, media researchers have typically found that competing sub-frames are employed to validate and construct dominate frames (Bronstein, 2005; Snow & Benford, 1992). For example, by referring to a candidate's lagging chances at the polls, but who is nevertheless determined to keep going, news reports frequently reference Harry Truman's 1948 election against Thomas Dewey—particularly the image of Truman holding aloft the premature, and now iconic, newspaper headline "Dewey Defeats Truman." Or, to take another example, referencing presidential scandals by referencing Watergate or Iran-Contra. However, the appearance of these frames have not been documented or theorized in the literature. Hence, the dissertation will rely on Grounded Theory (a.k.a. Manifest Content Theory) to identify these attributes (Neuendorf, 2002). Coding for such attributes will be explicit in identifying the president and affiliated attribute/context to which he is being referenced (e.g., Reagan as Great Communicator, Johnson mishandling Vietnam, or Ford pardoning Nixon). For the portions of the study focused on

competing frames promoted by political actors, specific attention will be focus on the two sets of sub-frames rather than frames. The first set of sub-frames are categorized based on source type in order to identify frame advocates. The second set of sub-frames link those sources with the particular attributes or characteristics of former presidents they advocate or sponsor in collective memory.

To preclude mistaken variations in which specific examples or attributes could be applicable to different dominant frames, coders were specifically required to strictly anchor the sub-frame within the context of usage of the dominant frame first, and not the other way round. For example, if a story frames the presidency as the chief executive officer of government, and references Reagan's firing of the air traffic controllers, the dominant frame remains the president as CEO; not as an economic manager, ideological opposition to organized labor, his decisive leadership skill, or other possible interpretation. Coders were instructed to not impose their own interpretive judgments in determining whether sub-frames are positive or negative, but how the attribute or example is used to support the frame.

Sources

Sources are broadly defined as individuals/institutions who manifest in news media 1) to provide information or interpretations to newswriters; 2) act as reporters, news columnists, editorial writers, television anchors, book reviewers, and commentators; or, 3) to offer opinions or interpretations through letters to the editor or op/ed pieces (Gans, 1988; Riffe et al., 2005). As the literature review suggests, there are seven categories of sources—or frame advocates—in the construction of collective memory: political-historians, memory guardians, witnesses, scholar-historians, official authorities, social authorities, journalists, and citizens. The source classifications are derived collecting different sources constructs identified in the academic

literature (Edy, 2006; Lang & Lang, 1988; Schudson, 1992; Schwartz, 1991, 1996, 2000; Zelizer 1992) and discussed in the literature review:

Politico-Historians: Sources who are identified as asserting interpretations of the past from an ideological or partisan perspective, including politicians, ideologues, parties, business leaders, industries, trade organizations, politically-situated think tanks, special interest groups, and party activists.

Official Authorities: Official sources who possess a professional or institutional interpretive authority based on their position or “location” in the public arena *at the time in which they are being quoted* as official spokespersons, agency officials, official party spokespersons, government officials, military branches, judges, foreign diplomats or officials, and the executives of interest groups and nongovernmental organizations, etc. Former or retired officials do not belong in this category.

Guardians: Sources who are identified as some relation to promote positive reputations of president or presidency being recalled, including family, friends, descendents, former staffers, presidential librarians/curators, and avocational fans/enthusiasts.

Witnesses: Sources who have no other affiliation with the subject beyond being present for particular events or experiences they are describing, including participants, eyewitness, victims, or bystanders.

Academic Historians: Sources who assume the role of objective, professional proprietor or interpreter of information, including historians, biographers, political scientists, or museum curators, whose authority is based on gathering and interpreting information through archival research, interviews, oral histories, and analysis.

Social Authorities: Sources or institutions whose interpretive authority is based upon their capacity to represent particular pluralistic subgroups or identities, including ethnic, religious,

regional, economic, gender, and sexual orientation. For example, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the National Abortion Rights Action League.

Journalists: This is for instances in which journalists are directly quoted as sources. This does not include instances when no attribution for a statement is given (see Not Available, below)

General Public/Citizens: Sources who are identified by any other authority than as citizens.

These are individuals whose authority comes from their non-vocational participation in the public sphere (i.e., participants in memorial services, writers of letters to the editor, man-in-the-street interviewees, etc.)

Not Available: If a sub-frame is asserted or referenced in the text without attribution of some external source making it, this is classified as N/A. This suggests a level of presumption of the newsworker to make a reference that he thinks audiences will recognize without explanation or validation from an outside source.

Memory Transformation

The resilience of collective memory requires a process of reinforcement and reference in the public dialogue, lest some aspects of that memory fade or be forgotten. The malleability of collective memory, on the other hand, also requires dialogic process, but one that reinterprets or reveals new information so that memory frames can accommodate different transformations (Snow, et. al., 1986; Goffman, 1974). Both structural and constituent changes can be made with multiple rhetorics of the past by various groups of advocates for any number of human purposes. In terms of this study, understanding the transformations requires also identifying the sources who are seen as either reinforcing memories of presidents or revising and reinterpreting those memories to alter or refine a particular memory or perception of the past. To simplify, coders

were to identify whether a memory is being reinforced, reinterpreted, referenced, or subject to revelation. Memory reinforcement was seen as occurring when a particular aspect of memory frame already established in the public lexicon was repeated and/or validated. For example, Reagan's speech for Gorbachev to "tear down" the Berlin Wall in 1987, or Truman's holding of the newspaper "Dewey Defeats Truman," in the 1948 election, appeared to reinforce specific concepts in the public memory. Reference memory was recognized as being similar to reinforcement memory, except that it involved simple references to a president from memory merely as a rhetorical tool to provide a context or situate a particular moment in the past. For example, referencing an event as occurring "during the Truman-era" or that the Voting Rights act as part of "LBJ's Great Society." In these instances the reference to the president in past served to temporally locate that memory to a particular time or context. Revelation to memory occurs when previously unknown facts or experiences are subsequently revealed to change the public understanding or interpretation of remembered events. When involving memories of former presidents, these revelation occur years after the fact when former aides or family members disclose their personal experiences, or when historians uncover documents or recordings that had previously been hidden. Richard Godwin's recollections that some aides believed LBJ had suffered a nervous breakdown as a consequence of the Vietnam War, or previously withheld records of Reagan's critical medical condition after being shot are examples of revelations to memory. Memory reinterpretation is close—but distinct—from revelation, since it occurs not because new information has come to light, but because existing facts or components of the memory are revised or reassembled to provide a new reinterpret the memory. For example, Reagan's dramatic increase in military spending during his first term was initially characterised as essential for Cold War security, but after the fall of Soviet Communism was reinterpreted as part of a grand plan at outspending, and subsequently bringing about the the fall

of, the Soviet Union. In a similar way, Truman's reasoning for dropping the atomic bomb on the Japanese was reinterpreted from bringing about a quick end to war, but a Machiavellian way to establish U.S. military supremacy after the war.

Coding and Coders

Seven coders participated in the analysis. Each worked independently, but was paired for a reliability rating in interpreting variables. All coders were trained before coding, consisting of a project overview, explanation of the method, and the specific coding instructions. The coders identified the dominant frame of the story, the subsequent sub-frames/attributes employed that support the dominant frame, and which sources sponsor those frames. After each set of samples sets were analyzed, the principal investigator met with coders to resolve questions, clear and clarify coding rules as necessary. Throughout the coding period, coders' work was periodically spot-checked. Coder inter-reliability assessed the congruence of three coders who had been trained to identify frames, sources, and function in accordance with the guidelines outlined in the coding book (appendix A) and has structured to gather quantitative data that can be cross-tabulated within SPSS to answer the questions posed by the dissertation.

The coding instrument is structured to gather quantitative data that can be cross-tabulated to answer the questions posed by the dissertation. Each reference to a former president is identified by date, medium (i.e., newspaper, television program, newsmagazine, etc.), and—given the differing normative practices and expectations—the types of pieces in which each reference appears (e.g., news story, editorial/commentary, advertisement, letter to the editor, comment board, etc.) In order to discern authority and attribution patterns among sources, the coding the instrument asks whenever possible to identify the political, professional, or relational affiliation of the source making the frame or attribute.

Intercoder Reliability

Instrument reliability ensures that measurements can be confidently and consistently correlated to observations to ensure accuracy. Intercoder reliability for content analysis ensures agreement between those reading and categorizing of content. Pretests are conducted to determine the reliability of the instrument after coders are trained to code. Riffe, et al. (2005) recommends that at least 10 percent of the data sample be tested to determine reliability.

The coding was conducted by seven volunteers over a six-month period. The complex structure of the study required a high degree of conceptual coordination with coders to adequately address the five different subjects, each with different frames, sub-frames, sources, and tone of frame (positive, negative, and neutral) were identified within the texts. Initially, coders received an explanation of the study and the ways in which coding was being conducted for the texts they were to code, followed by a nominal test to ensure each coder was identifying the correct objects from the text, and was then subsequently contacted by the investigator to perform a simple averages for correlation. The most vulnerable variable were the policy action and attribute sub-frames. Since the coding for the sub-frame variables relied on Grounded Theory, in which values can only be coded if they appear in the text, the concern was whether coders could reliably and consistently identify the units. To minimize some of the risk of misidentification, coders were encouraged to add words to the coding list, especially if questions arose about duplication. The word lists were subsequently scanned to locate and consolidate conceptually synonymous words into shared categories. A detailed list of the synonymous word categories are available in Appendix II.

Because the study was based on categorical labels, intercoder reliability was measured through Cohen's Kappa, which improves on simple observed agreement by factoring in the

extent of agreement that might be expected by chance. The datasets involved were complex. There were a total of ten independent datasets--i.e., datasets for both the funeral week and subsequent years for each of the five presidents in the study. To minimize confusion, coders were primarily assigned to a specific president for coding both datasets. Because most statistical programs do not accommodate multiple coders and categories—instead relying on two-coder, two category models—achieving an acceptable inter-coder reliability required culling 50 cases from each coded dataset to be evaluated by one of the other coders in the study.

TABLE 3.1: Inter-coder Reliability for Frames, Sub-frames, and Frame Sources

Variable	Cohen's Kappa				
	<i>Truman</i>	<i>LBJ</i>	<i>Reagan</i>	<i>Nixon</i>	<i>Ford</i>
Frame	.861	.775	.713	.770	.722
Characteristic Sub-frame	.722	.678	.680	.702	.691
Frame Sources	.853	.827	.835	.761	.842

Table 4.2 shows the results of inter-coder reliability for four of the prominent variables in the study: Dominant Frame, Sub-Frames, Frame Sources, and the Frame Tone. Inter-coder reliability for each of the categories was acceptable, with the relatively least level of agreement occurring in the identification of characteristic sub-frames, where coders were to identify words and attributes manifested in the text and accounted for them in the data instrument.

Statistical Procedures

Datasets

For purpose of statistical analyses, a content analysis was conducted on two kinds of datasets of stories focused upon the specified former presidents in the sampled newspaper, newsmagazines, and television network broadcasts.

Cross-tabulation With Chi-Square Test

In order to establish relationships within the data analysis, the study involves two forms of analysis. The first is a cross-tabulation with “goodness of fit” test identifying the primary

frames (presidential roles), and sub-frames (historical actions and personal attributes) that form in news media coverage recalling presidents from collective memory—both at the time of their funerals and then longitudinally in subsequent years. The second was a cross-tabulation of the news media sources responsible for advancing certain frames--again at the time of presidential funerals and in subsequent in media stories—in order to discern potential causal relationships.

A cross-sectional dataset is necessary for analyses using cross-tabulation to examine overall relationships between the appearance of frames that appear in different news media, the relationships in the types frame that are ascribed to certain sources. Cross-tabulation is the best statistical means to test the relationship of frames, frame sources, and identifying relationships at the time of the funerals and in subsequent years. By providing a contingency table of matrices, the cross tabulations illustrate clustering of distributions of two or more variables in each dataset.

At the time of presidential funerals, the relationship between sources and frames were examined by cross-tabulating frequencies, with sources serving the independent variables and frames serving as the dependent variables. Fisher's exact test the significance of the relationships between variables by measuring the relationship between expected and observed frequencies and the degrees of freedom of variables possible.

Although we would typically use a Chi-Square test when assessing the expected frequencies within a contingency table, the significant number of categories of frames, sub-frames, and sources included in the analysis far exceeded the 2x2 contingency table and resulted in a number of observations within the table that were relatively small (i.e., below five). Such low observations do not fit within the traditional Chi-Square test, which is provides an acceptable approximation of reliability, but produces misleading results when applied to smaller observations. Instead, the study used Fisher's Exact Test, which considers all the possible cell combinations that would still result even with marginal frequencies. The test is exact because it

uses the exact hypergeometric distribution rather than the approximate chi-square distribution to compute the p-value. The computations involved in Fisher's Exact Test are complicated to calculate by hand; fortunately it was possible to use the STATA statistical software package to obtain p-values for the correlations.

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

This chapter describes the results of a content analysis, including a frequency analysis and cross tabulation, conducted on two datasets of 2,031 news stories involved in constructing collective memories of five presidents (i.e., Truman, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Ford). The analysis took place in two phases: the first in the news media coverage during the week of their passing and funeral services; the second in news stories in subsequent years in which the presidents are the focus of the story. The intent was to discern how dominant news media frames of presidential and secondary attribute sub-frames are applied to former U.S. Presidents and which news media sources and frame advocates are engaged in setting those frames, both at the time of their funerals and in the years subsequent to their deaths. The description of results will first provide an overview of the datasets, followed by an explanation of the results aligned with each of the research questions posed by the study.

The first phase consisted of stories, editorials, columns, and op/eds that appeared in news media during the week of each president's death and funeral. The stories were drawn from a broad sample of three nationally recognized newspapers (e.g., the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*); four national network and cable news outlets (e.g., ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, CNN and Fox News) and three major news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*). Datasets were collected through a Lexis/Nexis database search for the print articles, and through the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives. The result was 1,145 articles to be coded, with individual paragraphs in the story serving as the coding units.

The second phase continued the focus on each of the aforementioned presidents, but tracked stories that mentioned them in the years subsequent to their deaths. To facilitate the longitudinal analysis, the datasets were condensed to four dominant representative news media:

(e.g., the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*) and two of the major news magazines (e.g., *Time* and *Newsweek*). The sample is structured by identifying those articles in which the specific president is the subject of the article. The intent was to find stories in which the president under study was the *primary* focus of the article, since a simple word search would present an overwhelming number of articles that consisted on incidental references to presidents with little anticipated value. A Lexis-Nexis database search filtered stories with the HLEAD function, which selects articles from the database in which the specific president is identified by name either in the headline, in the subject highlight (similar to meta tags), or lead paragraph of the articles. The result was 1,917 articles over subsequent years to be coded, with the paragraph serving as the coding unit.

The datasets were divided into two categories (i.e., funeral week and subsequent years) for each of the five presidents under study. Seven volunteer coders were assigned a part or all of a dataset for a particular president to be coded over a six-month period. Data was distributed so that at least two (sometimes three) coders were used to code more than one presidential dataset. The result was a total of 2,738 coded cases for the weeks of funerals, and 1,917 coded cases for the years subsequent to the presidents' funerals.

Because the study uses categorical labels, it was decided to test inter-coder reliability by using Cohen's Kappa, which improves on simple observed agreement by factoring in the extent of agreement that might be expected by chance. The sub-frame coding relied on Grounded Theory, which identifies terms and attributes if and when they appear in the text. Coders were closely monitored to ensure that relevant items were identified. If there was uncertainty about whether an attribute or reference was considered synonymous with other terms, or should be coded independently, coders were encouraged to add the attribute to the coding list. The word lists were subsequently reviewed to identify and condense conceptually synonymous terms into

appropriate categories. A detailed list of the synonymous word categories is available in Appendix Two.

Table 4.1 indicates the differences of attention to collective memory frames between different media types. Clearly the New York Times and the Washington Post gave the greatest amount of attention to the passing of presidents. Although slightly different in their approaches (the *Times* aspires to be a national/international paper, while the *Post* maintains an identity as a local newspaper, albeit for one of the most powerful cities in the world) both identify themselves with the importance of the political world and the prominence of the presidency to that world. The *Los Angeles Times*, while also a nationally known paper—and one that closely covered the careers of two of the five presidents in the study (i.e., Reagan and Nixon)—is more often recognized as a dominant regional paper.

Even then, a predominant amount of coverage was afforded Truman and Reagan during the weeks of their funerals, compared to the other three. Also of interest is the increasing

TABLE 4.1: Coded Cases; Funeral Week/Subsequent Years						amount of coverage that
	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	appears in the broadcast
NY Times	71/206	39/169	154/82	312/234	39/5	media over time. While the
Wash Post	79/258	27/188	124/107	272/78	20/11	advent of CNN and FOX as
LA Times	38/NA	44/NA	75/NA	184/NA	18/5	dominant news sources was
TIME	22/98	22/59	39/21	69/40	12/11	to occur halfway through
Newsweek	36/99	41/127	58/13	55/92	18/6	the four decades the study
US News	20/NA	16/NA	36/NA	90/NA	11/NA	covers, the correlated
ABC	3/NA	10/NA	8/NA	33/NA	12/NA	expansion of numbers of
NBC	4/NA	14/NA	9/NA	22/NA	14/NA	news stories (nearly double
CBS	2/NA	12/NA	18/NA	38/NA	13/NA	from Truman in 1973 to
CNN	NA	NA	8/NA	29/NA	11/NA	
FOX	NA	NA	NA	23/NA	9/NA	
TOTAL	275/661	225/543	529/223	1,127/444	177/38	

Ford in 2006) for all networks is noteworthy. The coverage anomaly is LBJ, whose increase in television coverage during his funeral may be related to the Vietnamese ceasefire accords Nixon had managed to secure with the North Vietnamese at the same time. Many of the news stories about the ceasefire could not help make mention of Johnson's passing.

Research Question One: Dominant Memory Frame Constructs for Presidents

Research Question One asks what are the dominant frames that appear in news media to construct memories of former presidents. Lacking systematic categories in the literature to conceptualize and assess the job of president and those who have held the office, the study constructed categories from the history, presidential studies and leadership studies literature.

Table 4.2: Frame Frequency Across Presidents During Funeral Week

	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	TOTAL
Foreign Policy	61 (18%)	9 (3%)	77 (24%)	161 (50%)	16 (5%)	324 (100%)
Personality	27 (9%)	23 (7%)	120 (39%)	113 (37%)	25 (8%)	308 (100%)
Morality	8 (4%)	3 (.01%)	94 (44%)	68 (33%)	39 (19%)	212 (100%)
Experience	22 (13%)	36 (21%)	54 (31%)	52 (30%)	9 (5%)	173 (100%)
Leadership	31 (18%)	23 (13%)	24 (14%)	88 (51%)	5 (4%)	171 (100%)
Economic	5 (3%)	2 (1%)	8 (5%)	143 (90%)	1 (1%)	159 (100%)
Head/State	17 (12%)	11 (8%)	10 (7%)	67 (45%)	41 (28%)	146 (100%)
CEO	19 (13%)	6 (4%)	11 (9%)	93 (65%)	13 (9%)	142 (100%)
Communicator	5 (3%)	8 (6%)	34 (24%)	94 (67%)	0	141 (100%)
Comm/Chief	43 (36%)	36 (30%)	9 (7%)	26 (21%)	7 (6%)	121 (100%)
Policymaker	9 (9%)	24 (22%)	11 (10%)	53 (49%)	11 (10%)	108 (100%)
Campaigner	22 (28%)	11 (15%)	22 (28%)	21 (27%)	2 (2%)	78 (100%)
Just Advocate	2 (4%)	17 (28%)	3 (5%)	32 (53%)	6 (10%)	60 (100%)
Dealmaker	0	3 (6%)	6 (11%)	44 (83%)	0	53 (100%)
Legislator	4 (11%)	11 (31%)	17 (47%)	4 (11%)	0	36 (100%)
Intellect	0	0	14 (33%)	27 (63%)	2 (4%)	43 (100%)
Ideological	0	0	0	36 (100%)	0	36 (100%)
Law Enforcer	0	2 (14%)	12 (86%)	0	0	14 (100%)
Creative	0	0	3 (38%)	5 (62%)	0	8 (100%)
TOTAL	275	225	529	1,127	177	2,333(100%)

When applied to the content analysis, these frame categories demonstrated consistency in identifying the frames in news media stories, both at the time of each president's funerals and in the subsequent years. Table 4.2 documents the presidential frames most frequently referenced for the presidents in the survey. The most frequently referenced frames for these presidents dealt primarily with foreign affairs (14 percent of the total frames) and the presidents' personalities (13 percent of total frames). The foreign affairs frames should not be surprising, since each of the presidents in the study each had a role in guiding the United States through its superpower status post-World War II and throughout the Cold War. The president receiving the least references to foreign affairs, Johnson, was most likely to be characterized for his role as commander in chief in Vietnam. The appearance/personality frame may be explained by the increasing identification of the presidential personality (House, et.al., 1991; Winter, 2002). A distant third in frequency was the morality/moral authority frame, which may also not be surprising given the rate of incidence in which political scandal—and the resulting increase of cynicism in the American political process—that defined the period of these leaders in office.

Two anomalies existed in the terms of the presidential frame categories. The first was the unanticipated frame of “ideologue” or “ideological” when it came to describing a president closely identified with a particular political ideology or dogma. The frame began to appear in stories about President Reagan as the icon of the conservative movement. The definition was considered different from political party affiliation, appearing as part of the realignment of ideological spectrums in both parties. Ideological frames of liberal or conservative were not as readily identified with the other presidents in the study. The closest example would possibly be “New Dealer” attribute that was infrequently applied to both Johnson and Truman, but was more attributable to government programs than being referenced as a liberal ideology. The second anomaly of the presidential frames came from the scant use of the “creative” frame for

presidential qualities or attributes, despite the concept being referenced by two of the leading presidential measurement surveys (Murray & Blessing, 1988; Siena College, 2010).

In terms of Research Question One, the results strongly suggest that news media frames for defining the U.S. presidency, and the memories of the men who have held the office, are largely structured by combination of the institutional functions required of it and the individual characteristics and behaviors of those who have held the office previously.

Research Question Two: Frame/Sub-Frame memory Constructs Specific to Presidents

Research Question Two focuses on connecting the dominant frames that are used to construct memories for each president during the media coverage at the time of his funerals, with any sub-frames that are used to help illustrate and validate those frames as a way to discern commonalities and differences in media constructions of memory frames.

As discussed in the Literature Review, news media generally have tended to synthesize the memories of each president, and the actions of his/his administration, into a handful of frames that locate them in memory and can be accessed to define boundaries of normative political behavior (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Holyfield, 1998). In order to identify those frames and attributes, the study drew from the content analysis of news stories with the most frequently identified frames (i.e., those that accounted for at least 10 percent of total memory frames), and the most frequently referenced sub-frames (i.e., representing at least 5 percent of the total sub-frames of the dominant frame) that appeared for each president. The sub-frames were divided into two sub-types: “policy action” and “character attribute.” The policy action sub-frame includes events or policies that have a defined meaning in collective memory (e.g., Marshall Plan, Reaganomics, Watergate, etc.). The character attribute sub-frame includes the attributes or characteristics identified with each president (e.g., charisma, plain-spoken,

ambitious, dishonest, etc.). The sub-frames averaged between 44-59 different named values for each president. A full list of the sub-frame variables is available in Appendix II.

Essential to the interpretation is the ability to recognize the essential influence the sub-frames have in defining the dominant frame. For example, the study found that the foreign policy frame was the most frequently referenced memory frame for all of the presidents in the survey. However, *how* that frame was applied to each president was influenced by what sub-frames were used to validate and differentiate it. The way in which a particular frame was applied to a president or presidential action was important. For Truman, the foreign affairs frame was structured for his role as part of the military and foreign policy apparatus of the U.S. government in ending World War II and setting the stage for U.S. Cold War policy. For Reagan, the foreign policy frame was structured by sub-frames that framed his negotiations with the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev more in terms of his personal ability as a negotiator/dealmaker than as policy. That was not the case with Richard Nixon, whose approach to arms reduction treaties was more often framed in terms of a foreign policy strategy than it was for Nixon's personal negotiating skill. In each case, the detail of specific policy actions and stylistic attributes were essential to adapting the dominant frame (foreign policy) within the context of the attributes remembered from the collective memory (sub-frames) to inform our contemporary interpretations of what occurred and resulted in each of those instances. The president's association with a particular frame or sub-frame need not be either favorable or unfavorable. For example, Nixon was frequently affiliated with the frame addressing a president's moral authority, but his association was a negative one. Ford, on the other hand, was positively associated with the moral authority frame for his handling of the post-Watergate crisis and encouraging normalcy.

It is equally important to note that sub-frames were not limited to just one frame, but could have been used to illustrate multiple frames. For example, one of the seminal events of the Truman presidency was his firing of General Douglas McArthur. In some instances, the "fired McArthur" sub-frame was used to describe Truman's responsibility in acting as commander in chief. In other instances, the firing of McArthur was used to illustrate Truman's role as a chief executive officer/manager. The distinction was that the sub-frame was used to provide context and meaning to the dominant frame—even if the same sub-frame could be applied to defining two different dominant frames.

The results below list the prominent memory frames and sub-frames for each president, and provide contexts and examples of the memory frame construction during the week of his funeral.

Harry S Truman

The memories recalled for constructing Truman's memory during the week of his death, December 26, 1972 – January 2, 1973, were largely and equally divided between the foreign policy achievements of his administration (22 percent) and the personal attributes he brought to the office (leadership, 11 percent/ personality/ 10 percent). Most noted were the rebuilding of post-war Europe and the recognition of the new state of Israel. While his decision to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, to end World War II had far reaching international impact on the future Cold War, it was most frequently framed as Truman acting as a decisive commander in chief (15 percent) whose intention in doing so was to end the Pacific war with minimal Allied casualties. The Korean War, which embroiled the United States in its first post-World War II foreign military intervention, appeared prominently both in the

Table 4.3: Dominant Media Frames, Truman Funeral

Institutional Function Frames

Truman Foreign Policy Frame N=61 (22.1%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Marshall Plan N=13 (21.3%)	Cold Warrior N=33 (54%)
Truman Doctrine N=8 (13%)	Decisive N=10 (16.4%)
Create Israel N=7 (11.5%)	Shrewd N=6 (9.8%)
Korean War N=7 (11.5%)	

Truman Commander in Chief Frame N=43 (15.6%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute</u>
Drop the Bomb N=19 (44%)	Cold Warrior N=18 (41.9%)
Korean War N=11 (25.6%)	Decisive N=22 (51%)
Creating NATO N=5 (11.6%)	

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Characteristic/Attributes Frames

Truman Leadership Frame N=31 (11.2%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Gen Presidency N=12 (38%)	Decisive N=14 (46%)
Biography N=6 (18%)	Everyman N=4 (13%)
Pol Experience N=4 (12%)	

Truman Appearance and Personality Frame N=27 (10%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-Frame</u>
Gen Presidency N=18 (56%)	Everyman N=13 (48%)
Ascend President N=11 (34%)	Temper N=5 (19%)
Personal Biography N=6 (18%)	Give 'em Hell N=5 (19%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

commander in chief frame (where Truman's readiness to use military force was tested) and in the foreign policy frame (where it was seen as the opening salvo of the Cold War).

Truman was also remembered for his leadership (11 percent) and his appearance/ personality (10 percent) through references to his personal biography as an ordinary, "everyman" from Missouri who stumbled into politics and the presidency by fate—in fact, almost by accident—yet held his own in the geopolitically complexities of the world stage. News articles played heavily on Truman's fulfillment of this American cultural myth of

opportunity. A *Washington Post* editorial said, "If there was ever a doubt that in America, any boy can dream to be president, and could do it well, the proof was there in Truman" (*Washington Post*, December 27, 1972).

Less frequently referenced was the fact that Truman had left the White House with the lowest public approval rating of the modern presidency. The narrative of his subsequent public

redemption did not address some of the reasons why Truman was unpopular: the standoff between North and South Korea, inflation, his silence amid the red baiting U.S. Sen. Joe McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee, his battles with the Congress, his nationalizing of striking coal miners to break their strike, the loss of China to Communists, and the various scandals that rocked his presidency. News media's neglect of these events did not seem to involve whether or not they were embarrassing or negative, but because they were considered unnecessary, or superfluous, to the synthesized collective memory being constructed.

Lyndon Johnson

The frames and sub-frames constructed for Lyndon Johnson at the time of his death and funeral, January 22, 1973 – January 29, 1973, were split between emphasizing his role as a failed commander in chief during the Vietnam War (15 percent of all stories) and the odd fascination with the personality of the man (15 percent). It is nearly impossible to overstate the extent to which the war overshadowed nearly all of the coverage of Johnson's passing, given that the war was still such a prominent news story—especially as Nixon achieved a ceasefire accord with the North Vietnamese the day before Johnson's passing. Nixon was able to announce that he had spoken to LBJ just hours before his death to relate the tentative agreement. It was perhaps in the pathos of that moment that one can see the two distinctly different subframes used when characterizing Johnson and Vietnam. The first was a traditional construction of Johnson as responsible for the war and the protests that followed (58 percent). The second sub-framing maintained him as commander in chief, but cast him as a victim—of his own hubris, the miscalculations of his advisors, or the larger anti-communist mindset (40 percent). In both cases, the characteristics most associated with LBJ in the commander in chief frame cast as deceptive, failed, and as a tragic figure.

Table 4.4: Dominant Media Frames, LBJ Funeral

Institutional Function Frames

LBJ Commander-in-Chief Frame $N=36$ (15%)

Policy Sub-Frame

Vietnam $N=21$ (58%)

Victim/Vietnam $N=14$ (40%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Failed $N=12$ (33%)

Sad/Tragic $N=11$ (30%)

Deceptive $N=5$ (14%)

LBJ Policymaker Frame $N=24$ (10%)

Policy Sub-Frame

Civil Rights $N=8$ (33%)

Great Society $N=5$ (22%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Humane $N=6$ (25%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Characteristic/Attributes Frames

LBJ Experience/Biography Frame $N=36$ (15%)

Policy Sub-Frame

Political $N=19$ (53%)

Legislature $N=6$ (17%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Texan $N=19$ (53%)

Everyman $N=19$ (53%)

Larger/Life $N=6$ (17%)

LBJ Leadership Frame $N=24$ (10.1%)

Policy Sub-Frame

Great Society $N=8$ (24%)

Ascend Prez $N=5$ (18%)

Leg. Experience $N=5$ (17%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Ambitious $N=7$ (30%)

Humane $N=6$ (13%)

Pol. Savvy $N=5$ (13%)

LBJ Appearance/Personality Frame $N=23$ (10%)

Policy Sub-Frame

Behavior $N=6$ (26.2%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Ambitious $N=7$ (31%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

An immense amount of attention in the news coverage was given to Johnson's personality, his background, his reputation for legislative acumen. In some prominent ways, the media coverage surrounding Johnson's funeral tended toward stereotypical character. Frequent references to his Texas roots (53 percent) and boisterous, larger-than-life personality (17 percent) as an American political figure and an emblem of Texas and the West were notably mentioned. In some ways the frames were a continuation of those cast during his presidency, grossly

overemphasizing his coarse nature as an older man from the rural South in comparison to the urbane Kennedy whom he succeeded.

Surprisingly, Johnson's role as the architect of the Great Society was only lightly mentioned, split between references to him as a domestic policymaker (55 percent) or his leadership skills (24 percent). In fact, most references to the Great Society were simply general references, without mention of Medicare, Medicaid, anti-poverty, civil rights, the Elementary and

Secondary Education Act, or the Higher Education Act, the Consumer Protection Agency, NASA, or creating public broadcasting were seldom mentioned. Johnson receives only nominal credit for humanity or skill in pressing them through, but is instead cast within the shadow of the failures and deceptions of Vietnam. Frequently the dichotomy of LBJ as both a humane social policymaker (25 percent) and ambitious political manipulator (31 percent) are seldom reconciled.

Richard Nixon

The frames in coverage of Nixon's death and funeral, April 22, 1994 – April 29, 1994, largely perpetuated the caricatures that Nixon endured since his presidency: pathological "Tricky Dick," deceitful and untrustworthy. It is no secret that Nixon has held a special hold on the American political imagination (Johnson, 1995; Schwartz, 1998; Schudson, 1992). Yet, instead of a relatively balanced description of his presidency and biography, an inordinate amount of coverage focused upon his personality/psychology (22.3 percent), and the negative aspects of his moral authority (17.6 percent)—often veering into implicit and explicit speculation regarding his mental stability—was by far the most referenced frame in the coverage. It would be difficult to understate the frequency of this frame in the news coverage. Watergate was by far the dominant sub-frame for Nixon's failed moral authority, but was not the only example of Nixon's deception and abuses of power, including campaign fundraising corruption, misuse the IRS and FBI to extract political reprisals, and violations of state and federal laws. It is also interesting to note that in his work on the collective memories of Watergate, Michael Schudson identifies four surviving narratives of the scandal, the most prominent being a binary: "the system worked," and the "system almost didn't work." In *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon: The Media's Effect on Collective Memory*. (1995), Thomas Johnson found that when survey respondents remembered Nixon in mostly negative terms. There were modest generational differences in assigning guilt; those who experienced Watergate were more willing to assign guilt for

Table 4.5: Dominant Media Frames, Week of Nixon Funeral

Institutional Function Frame

Nixon Foreign Policy Frames N=77/14.4%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frames</u>	<u>Attributes Sub-Frames</u>
Foreign Policy N=22(29%)	Intellect N=35 (46%)
China N=16 (21%)	Tenacity N=8 (10%)
Soviet Détente N=15 (20%)	

 $\chi^2(61, N=83)=268.42, p < .05$

Characteristic/Attribute Frames

Nixon Appearance/Personality Frame N=120 (22.5%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-Frame</u>
Behavior* N=48 (40%)	Tenacious N=32 (26.7%)
Rehab N=27 (22.5%)	Neurotic N=26 (9%)
Gen Presidency N=20 (17%)	Liar/Dishonest N=7 (6%)

Nixon Moral Authority Frame N=94/17.6%

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-Frames</u>
Watergate N=55 (58.5%)	Liar/Deceit N=48 (51%)
Behavior* N=24 (25.6%)	Failed N=12 (12.8%)
Gen Presidency N=6 (7%)	Vindictive N=7 (8%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Nixon Experience/Biography Frame N=54/10.1%

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Rehabilitation N=14 (26%)	Historic N=12 (22%)
Presidency N=12 (22%)	Everyman (N=7/13%)
Vice Presidency N=7 (13%)	Neurotic (N=5/10%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

* The behavior sub-frame includes not only Nixon's actions with Watergate, but other scandals including campaign fundraising corruption, misuse the IRS and FBI for political retribution, red-baiting, political reprisals, and violations of state and federal laws.

Watergate to Nixon, while those who learned of the history secondhand through news media accounts tended to locate Nixon in a broader context of political corruption and were more likely to forgive him for the Watergate scandal (p. 190). This study, however, found none of those explanations. When focusing on Nixon, the dominant frame for explaining Watergate was the man's own personal foibles and paranoia; systemic causes or solutions are ignored and blame rests primarily on the personality of the man at the center of the scandal.

Not that there were not frame advocates seeking to extend Nixon's own quixotic search for redemption. In eulogizing his former boss in his *New York Times* column entitled "Mr.

Comeback," William Safire called Nixon "America's greatest ex-President," who "proved there is no political wrongdoing so scandalous that it cannot be expiated by years of useful service." (*New York Times*, April 25, 1994, A15). However, *Washington Post* columnist Colman

McCarthy lamented that the media had “turned the airwaves over to Nixon mythmakers” like Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, who “attempted to present Nixon as a peacemaker, a foreign policy visionary and, for sure, a selfless patriot ever putting the national interest first” [Washington Post, April 26, 1994, C14]. Nixon’s advocates talked a great deal about reconciliation and healing from the past, but could not escape mentioned of what caused the turmoil in the first place. At the end of an interview with another of the Nixon’s frame advocates, former U.S. Senator Howard Baker, ABC News reporter Sam Donaldson would remark: “in listening to you discuss President Nixon, I almost forgot that there was a Watergate” (ABC News, April 26, 1994).

Redemption for Nixon was located in claims for his foreign affairs expertise (14.4 percent). Interestingly, the most common reference to that expertise was in an abstract reference (29 percent), and less about his specific achievements, like opening diplomatic relations with China (20.8 percent) or establishing “détente” and arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union (20 percent). The foreign policy frame was also most associated with Nixon’s tenacity—mostly in terms as the means that he used to persistently search for redemption (26 percent). Even then, Nixon’s persistence in offering his successors advice and publishing of books was cast as a piteous continuation of his neurotic fixation for validation.

It is surprising that for a man whose career dovetailed with nearly every major American political event in the 20th Century, much of his career was largely neglected in the collective memories at the time of his death—his chairmanship of the House Un-American Activities Committee at the height of the anti-communist red scares, as Eisenhower’s vice president, the Kitchen Debate with Khrushchev in the early days of the Cold War, his monumental 1960 presidential campaign against John F. Kennedy, the South’s political realignment in the 1960s—and so little is accessed in the media construction of his political memory.

Table 4.6: Dominant Media Frames, Week of Ford Funeral

Institutional Function Frames

Ford Head of State Frame *N*=41 (22%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Nixon Pardon <i>N</i> =19 (47%)	Controversy <i>N</i> =9 (22%)
Post-Watergate <i>N</i> =6 (15%)	Healer <i>N</i> =7 (17%)
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =8 (20%)	Decent <i>N</i> =4 (10%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Characteristic/Attribute Frames

Ford Moral Authority Frame *N*=39 (20%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =21 (54%)	Religious <i>N</i> =13 (33%)
Nixon Pardon <i>N</i> =5 (13%)	Healer <i>N</i> =8 (21%)
Post-Watergate <i>N</i> =6 (16%)	Decent <i>N</i> =6 (16%)

Ford Appearance/Personality Frame *N*=25 (13%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =10 (40%)	Everyman <i>N</i> =7 (28%)
Sat Night Live <i>N</i> =9 (36%)	Klutz <i>N</i> =5 (20%)
Biography <i>N</i> =3 (12%)	Honest <i>N</i> =4 (16%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Gerald Ford

Gerald Ford, who assumed the presidency upon Nixon's resignation, received more approbation, if significantly less attention, in the news coverage of his death and funeral, December 26, 2006 – January 2, 2007. Most often, stories referenced Ford's pardon of Nixon for any crimes committed as a controversial (22 percent) decision at the time, but a selfless gesture to mend the political wounds of the post-Watergate country. For that, Ford was almost universally remembered as a "healer" and as a "decent" man in both Head of State (22

percent) and Moral Authority (20 percent) frames. Ford's bland and conventional political biography (12%), congenial management style (20%) and his years of experience as compromise as House Majority Leader, were promoted as an antidote to the caustic roiling of Watergate. It is interesting to speculate that the "healer" attribute so freely used for Ford was not one that existed during his time in office or his campaign for election in 1976, but a postscript for his role in bringing Watergate to a close.

Beyond that, the funeral coverage of Ford provided only ancillary memories of his time as president. The timing of his passing happened to coincide with the fact that two of his closest

lieutenants while in the White House—Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld—were both prominent, and controversial, members of the administration of then-president George W. Bush.

Perhaps the greatest attention was given to the public persona that had been painted of Ford as a genial klutz, and the prominence such a persona was often lampooned by comedian Chevy Chase on NBC's *Saturday Night Live* TV show. In many cases, the frames that referenced the public persona of Ford as an uncoordinated buffoon were countered by the repeated revelations that Ford was in fact a former college football star and athlete.

Ronald Reagan

News media coverage of the death and funeral of Ronald Reagan, June 5, 2004 – June 12, 2004, generated by far the most contentious amount of contested memory frames and attributes. Much was made of the years of preparation and Hollywood stagecraft that went into Reagan's funeral preparations (Kitch & Hume, 2007). Table 4.7 indicates that the dominant frames that appeared most frequently in funeral coverage were related to his actions regarding foreign affairs (14 percent), and economic policy (13 percent).

More than any other president, Reagan saw the most contention and controversy among different frame advocates. The phenomenon induced long-time New York Times reporter R.W. Apple to refer to the politico-historians—including columnists, op/ed writers, and letter writers—who were out to burnish Reagan's legacy as "Reaganauts" (New York Times, June 11, 2004, A25). On the one side, there were those who were quick to promote a narrative of the Reagan legacy of economic prosperity, military strength, confidence, and the reclamation of America's position in the world as a "shining city on a hill." In this Reagan was cast in the role of a "Great Liberator" not only for his activist anti-communism foreign affairs efforts in Central

Table 4.7: Dominant Media Frames, Week of Reagan Funeral

Institutional Function Frame

Reagan Foreign Policy Frame *N*=161 (14%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Won Cold War <i>N</i> =61 (38%)	Militaristic <i>N</i> =24 (16%)
Latin America <i>N</i> =22 (14%)	Visionary <i>N</i> =26 (16%)
Not ColdWar <i>N</i> =11 (7%)	Liberator <i>N</i> =21 (13%)

Reagan Economic Manager Frame *N*=143 (13%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Reaganomics <i>N</i> =80 (56%)	Ideological <i>N</i> =24 (17%)
Inflation <i>N</i> =12 (8.4%)	Inept <i>N</i> =23 (16%)
Tax Cuts <i>N</i> =10 (7%)	Decisive <i>N</i> =19 (13%)

Reagan CEO/Manager Frame *N*=93 (9%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Iran Contra <i>N</i> =24 (26%)	Detached <i>N</i> =27 (29%)
Fed Appts <i>N</i> =11 (12%)	Inept <i>N</i> =16 (17%)
Cut Programs <i>N</i> =13 (14%)	Loyal <i>N</i> =9 (10%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Characteristic/Attribute Frames

FRAME: Appearance/Personality *N*=113 (10%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =63 (56%)	Optimistic <i>N</i> =19 (17%)
Theatricality <i>N</i> =12 (11%)	Humor <i>N</i> =29 (26%)
Common Touch <i>N</i> =6 (5%)	Kind <i>N</i> =17 (15%)

Reagan as Great Communicator Frame *N*=94 (9%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =11 (12%)	Theatrical <i>N</i> =24 (26%)
Theatricality <i>N</i> =32 (34%)	Persuasive <i>N</i> =14 (15%)
American Ideals <i>N</i> =11 (12%)	Optimistic <i>N</i> =10 (11%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

America, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, but even domestically in freeing businesses and individuals from senseless regulation, burdensome taxes, and welfare dependency.

The speed with which Apple's "Reaganauts" pressed their narrative was quickly countered by an equal number of counter-frame advocates. The executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in Washington would write op/eds complaining about the Reagan Administration's indifference to the rise of HIV and the plight of AIDS patients (Washington Post, April 17, 1994, A24). Apple himself would write to complain about Reagan's "stubborn

conservative orthodoxy for tax cuts and military spending had created massive deficits and disenfranchised millions "who are physically, economically or otherwise disadvantaged...by his insistence that government is the problem, not the solution." (*New York Times*, June 11, 2004, p.A1/A8). Amid the criticisms, there persisted a common theme of resentment at the artifice of

political discourse with which the Reagan Administration is most frequently identified. Apparently triggered by the saturation coverage of the funeral, criticisms of the manipulations and illusions of the Reagan White House abounded. One letter writer was shocked at the "veritable twilight zone of national denial" of the country over Reagan's "deeply flawed economic and foreign policies" (Letters to the Editor, *Washington Post*, June 9, 2004, p. A23) while in the *Los Angeles Times*, Tom Moore would deride "Reagan and his myriad supporters and political progeny (who) never let the facts or the evidence contradict what their hearts and 'best intentions' told them was true" (Letters to the Editor, *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 2004, P. A39).

For foreign affairs, the most prominent claim involved debate over the storyline that Reagan had won the Cold War (38 percent) by his aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union and the ballooning U.S. defense spending with which the Soviets could not keep pace. In an op/ed piece for the June 7, 2004 New York Times, former Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole advocated strongly for that interpretation (Dole, 2004), and was similarly joined by presidential historian Michael Beschloss in Newsweek (Beschloss, 2004) and U.S. News and World Report Columnist Jay Tolson. (Tolson, 2004). Contesting that interpretation was history professor John Patrick Diggins, who responded with his own *New York Times* op/ed arguing that the Soviets were not overly worried at American military expansion, but that it was Mikhail Gorbachev's domestic reforms that eventually led to the dismantling of the communist system (Diggins, 2004). His argument was supported the next day by Gorbachev himself, whose own *New York Times* op/ed credited his reform efforts succeeding once Reagan stopped being "dogmatic" and agreed to "cooperation" (Gorbachev, 2004). A number of conservative Reagan supporters were aggressive in presenting the argument, but were countered by a smaller set of sources (7 percent) who claimed that the end of the Cold War was a complicated process.

An equally contentious debate occurred regarding Reaganomics' economic legacy. On one side were those who argued that the Reagan White House was unnecessarily harsh in federal program cuts, and used tax cuts to increase wealth disparities. On the other side were frame advocates who claimed Reagan's economic ideology was a tremendous step forward in restructuring the welfare state. While the sub-frames defining Reaganomics (56 percent) involve inflation (8 percent) and tax cuts (7 percent), the most prominent characteristic attributes appearing in the frames regarding Reagan's economic policies are ideological (17 percent) and inept (16 percent).

Interestingly, the most prominent scandal of the Reagan era, the Iran-Contra Scandal—despite being a source of international intrigue of arms sales between the government of Iran and the Nicaraguan rebels in Honduras and El Salvador—was framed not as foreign policy for Reagan, but as his role as a CEO/Manager of government (26 percent). The presence of this framing is connected to Reagan's excuse at the time that he was unaware of the scandal due to his detached management style and his habit of delegating authority while in office.

It was a bit surprising the extent to which Reagan's title as "The Great Communicator" was not the most prominent of the frames in which he was remembered—especially given the percentage of times that his easy Hollywood theatricality became synonymous with promoting the American exceptionalism defined his presidency. Instead, the affinity of that role with his personality was taken as defining his appearance/personality (10 percent), and his general presidency (12 percent).

In terms of Research Question Two, the results indicate the usefulness of sub-frames in contextualizing and validating each president's association with dominant presidential frames. Sub-frames were seen as particularly important when priming memories of how each president

was seen to fulfill or fail at the tasks of the presidency--both in terms job performance and as an archetype for the qualities and characteristics expected from the person holding office.

The results also suggest that even when providing a comprehensive accounting for each president and his presidency, certain narrative identities for each became synthesized. Therefore, Truman was cast as a feisty everyman whose success was driven by self-confidence and common sense; Johnson was an ambitious but ultimately tragic Southern politico who obsessed and defeated by the Vietnam War; Nixon was deeply neurotic, driven by a paranoia; Reagan was a optimistic actor who could not tell the difference between stage and reality.

Research Question Three: Sources Involved In Memory Construction During Funeral Week

Research Question Three sought to discern the types of sources/frame advocates who contributed to constructing memory frames at the time of the presidents' funerals. Just as the study had to construct a set of memory frame categories to quantify presidents and presidencies,

Table 4.8: Source Types by President, Funeral Week

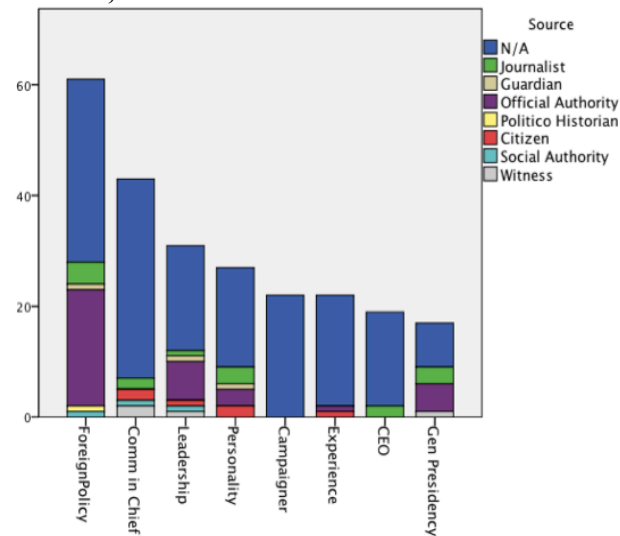
	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	TOTAL
N/A	201 (75%)	112 (47 %)	154 (32%)	358 (32%)	64 (36%)	889 (40%)
Journalist	17 (5%)	19 (9%)	103 (21%)	153 (14%)	12 (7%)	304 (13%)
Official	41 (15%)	29 (12%)	54 (10%)	127 (11%)	42 (23%)	293 (12%)
Academic	0	5 (3%)	32 (5%)	67 (6%)	15 (8%)	119 (5%)
Politico	2 (.04%)	9 (5%)	70 (14%)	132 (12%)	15 (8%)	228 (10%)
SocialAuthority	4 (1%)	7 (4%)	17 (2%)	40 (4%)	0	68 (3%)
Guardian	5 (2%)	20 (9%)	22 (3%)	89 (8%)	5 (3%)	141 (6%)
Witness	5(2%)	20 (9%)	67 (13%)	146 (12%)	15 (10%)	253 (10%)
Citizen	0	4 (2%)	10 (.06%)	15 (1%)	9 (5%)	38 (1%)
TOTAL	275 (100%)	225 (100%)	529 (100%)	1,127 (100%)	177 (100%)	2,333

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

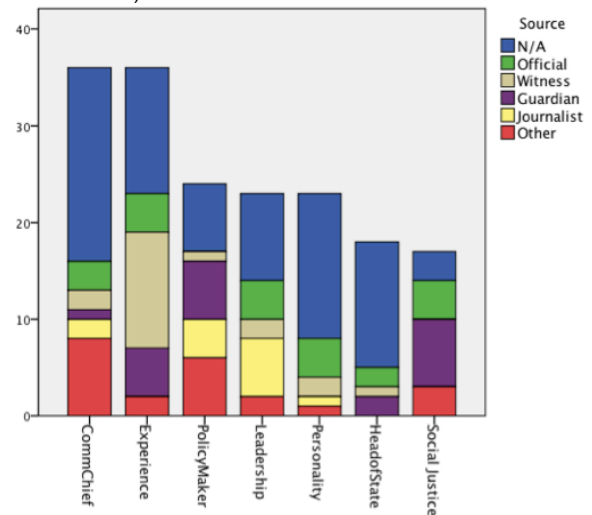
it also had to identify a set of source categories that were considered valid within journalistic norms and routines. Table 4.4 illustrates the consistency across the datasets. Initial coding (differentiating the “no attribution” code from the “journalist” code since a journalist presumably wrote the story) was quickly resolved and subsequently reinforced with each of the coders.

Identifying “no attribution” or “journalist” was crucial, given the number of memory frames that did not cite a source. As Table 4.4 above indicates, the “no attribution,” category accounted for an sizeable 851 (40 percent) citations in news articles, followed by those actually cited: explicitly cited journalists, 275 citations (13 percent) and official, institutional sources, 263

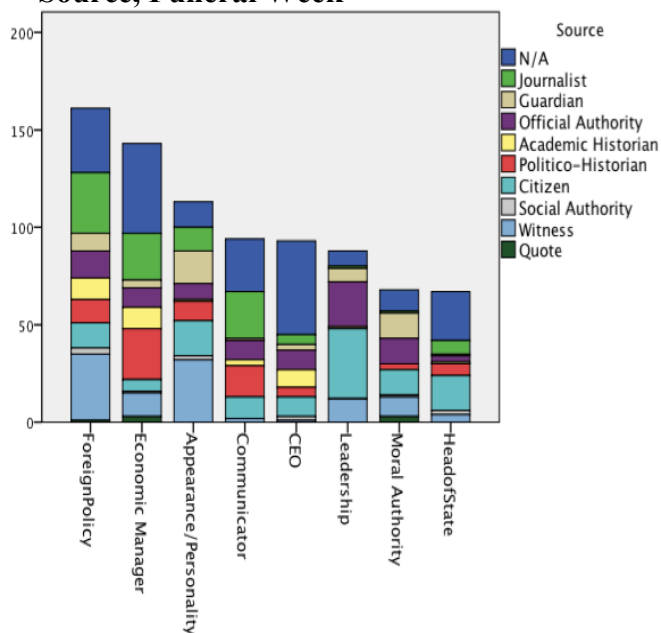
Graph 4.1: Truman Frames by Source, Funeral Week



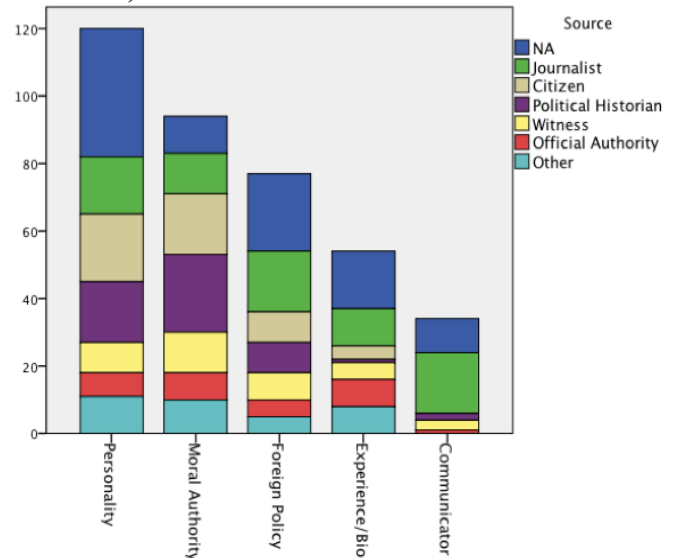
Graph 4.2: Johnson Frames by Source, Funeral Week



Graph 4.3: Reagan Frames by Source, Funeral Week



Graph 4.4: Nixon Frames by Source, Funeral Week



citations (12 percent). As discussed in the literature review, the absence of a source did not mean there was no source, only that there was no cited reference. It indicates a conceptualizing media in a socially derived process of memory construction, of journalistic norms and routines accept collectively recognized ideas and symbols to make source citation unnecessary. While the plethora of stories commemorating Reagan tended to skew the total stories/citations averages, there remained a rough internal consistency in the proportions of sources in the coverage of each president. Another important result of the coding analysis—with the possible anomalous exception of Ford—is the measurable increase in the number and diversity of sources contributing to the construction of the presidential memory frames and sub-frames over time (Table 4.8). The number of politico historians, academic historians, and witnesses to events appearing in news media stories at the time of the presidents' funerals nearly doubled for Nixon, and nearly quadrupled for Reagan. Only those sources with at least 5 percent of the total sources were included, while being present in no less than 10 percent of the total media coverage identified the dominant frames. As illustrated in Graphs 4.1 through 4.5, the types of sources cited remains consistent on journalists and official authorities across frames, as previously noted in Table 4.4, above. Beyond that consistency, however, few identifiable patterns appear in the chart to suggest that certain sources tended to dominate a particular frame category. Instead, sources were distributed fairly consistently across the frames. The one noticeable change over time is an expanded diversity of sources, representing broader diversity of voices in the memory construction of former presidents over time. For example, Graph 4.2 indicates that few sources came from outside journalistic practice or official authority at the time of Truman's death in 1972. Instead, the memory construction process comes either without citation, or by relying heavily on journalists themselves or official authorities to promote a much more institutionally constructed means of memory. Starting with Johnson—and particularly evident at the time of

commemorations of Nixon and Reagan—new sources begin to appear in the stories, not necessarily displacing traditional journalistic and official authorities, but appearing to expand the perspectives being offered as part of the memory construction. Most of the new sources were academic historians and politico historians. During the coverage of Truman’s funeral in 1973, only one historian source was identified. By the time of media coverage of Nixon’s commemorations in 1994, as many as 88 academic and political historians were cited as sources; by the time of Reagan’s funeral in 2004, that number had more than doubled to 175.

In terms of Research Question Three, the results show a strong consistency in the types of sources and frame advocates involved in constructing collective memories within the news stories at the times of each presidential funeral. News media were most often identified for documenting memory construction, both explicitly as cited sources in other journalists’ stories, and implicitly when constructing the frames by which those memories are accessed and applied. News workers accounted for as much as 78 percent of the sources for memory attributions for Truman and 55 percent of memory attributions for Johnson. For subsequent funerals, the study found that the number of sources expanded in size and diversity, especially among those identified as memory guardians, academic and political historians, and witnesses to the point that the proportion of journalistic sources dropped to only 40 percent of sources by Reagan's and Ford's (40 percent) funeral coverage in 2004 and 2006.

Research Question Four: Story Types for Memory Frame Construction, Funeral Week

Research Question Four seeks to discern the types of media items (i.e., news stories/features, editorials, commentaries, columns, op/eds, and letters to the editor) in which memory frames most frequently appear for each of the presidents. Table 4.5 (below) provides an overview of the distribution of story-types in which the week-of-funeral for each president was

Table 4.9: Story Types by President, Funeral Week

	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	TOTAL
New Story	77 (50%)	83 (60%)	98 (51%)	266 (53%)	82 (53%)	606 (53%)
Column	33 (22%)	26 (20%)	40 (21%)	101 (20%)	30 (19%)	229 (20%)
Ltr/Editor	11 (7%)	14 (10%)	15 (8%)	44 (9%)	8 (5%)	92 (8%)
Op/Ed	30 (21%)	12 (8%)	37 (19%)	90 (18%)	32 (21%)	201 (18%)
Editorial	3 (.01%)	3 (2%)	3 (1%)	4 (.07%)	3 (2%)	16 (1%)
TOTAL	154(100%)	138(100%)	193 (100%)	505(100%)	155(100%)	1,144 (100%)

Fisher's exact test $p < .05$

constructed. Significantly, the results show most collective memory framing of each president occurs most often in both print and broadcast news stories, with the second most frequent framing locations in columns/commentaries and op/eds.

In terms of Research Question Four, the results show that construction of memory frames occurs in every story type in the news media, with the most prominent items being news/feature stories, news columns and op/eds. In most cases, access to any of these sources is limited and driven by the ability of different frame advocates to provide the subsidies and wherewithal to participate in any of them. Theoretically, each person may get an opportunity to speak out, but such opportunities are not equally shared.

Research Question Five: Frame Promotion and Contestation, Funeral Week

Research Question Five asked whether most frames and sub-frames that appear during news media coverage of presidential funerals reinforce dominant frames in collective memory, or are alternative frames and sub-frames promoted to reinterpret or revise the dominant memory frame? To answer this question, this study sought out instances when collective memory frames were reinforced, reinterpreted, or altered by the revelation of previously unknown information. The changes were correlated to sources and story types to identify who was responsible and where such transformations occurred. Table 4.10 shows an overwhelming number of instances in which coders identified different news items in which the dominant frames were reinforced in

Table 4.10: Interpretative Effect of Frame by Story Type, Funeral Week

	Reinforce	Revelation	Reinterpret	Reference/NA	TOTAL
Story	517	8	22	79	626
Column	159	0	28	23	210
Op/Ed	134	3	56	2	195
Ltr/Editor	63	4	21	1	89
Editorial	16	0	8	1	25
TOTAL	889 (78%)	15 (1%)	135 (12%)	106 (9%)	1,145(100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

the coverage, with relatively few instances of promoting alternative frame during the funeral weeks. However, when reinterpretations or revisions of the dominant frame occurred, they tended to happen in the columns/commentaries and op/eds, where interpretive analysis and opinion are far more prevalent. Similar results are evidenced in Table 4.11, which indicates the relationship between the memory sources and the perceived effect on memory. In most instances, sources tended to reinforce the dominant frames for each president during the funeral

Table 4.11: Interpretative Intent of Frame/Sub-Frame by Source, Funeral Week

	Reinforce	Revelation	Reinterpret	Reference/NA	TOTAL
N/A	571	17	82	181	851
Journalist	233	7	14	21	275
Guardian	66	9	15	33	123
Official	178	3	10	72	263
Politico	103	11	39	57	210
Citizen	22	0	3	0	25
Social	46	0	0	8	54
Witness	196	2	4	35	237
Academic	52	5	33	12	102
TOTAL	1,467 (69%)	54 (2%)	200 (9%)	419 (20%)	2,140 (100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p = < .05$

week. This level of consistency fits the Durkheimian notion that commemorating the deaths of prominent figures serves as a collective ritual for articulating social consensus and solidarity (Durkheim, 1912/1995). The exception to this pattern involved media coverage of Reagan during his funeral, where controversy and contention about the legacy of his administration drew a great deal of attention.

The results indicate that during news coverage of presidential passings and funerals, the

level of collective memory revision or reinterpretation remains relatively limited. As can be seen in Table 4.11, more than 88 percent of the time, news sources are seen as reinforcing the dominant memory frames in the news coverage during the week of the funerals.

Research Question Six: Frames/Sub-Frames in Media in Subsequent Years

Research Question Six seeks to identify which frames/sub-frames persist in memory constructions for each of the presidents over time. Addressing that question requires accessing the second phase of content analysis of stories in the years subsequent to the presidential funerals. This dataset of stories was published in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *TIME*, and *Newsweek* immediately after the funerals through December 2012 for all presidents. Stories were identified as focused upon each president as identified through the HLead search function of the Lexis/Nexis electronic database. To facilitate analysis, the study examined the most frequently cited frames (i.e., accounted for at least 9 percent of the total frame references for each president). Within the frame, the study focused on those policy actions and attribute sub-frames that appeared no less than 5 percent of the time within the dominant frame.

Overall, Table 4.12 identifies the persistence of frames over time by president. Although the overall frequencies are smaller than during the funeral weeks, the frames for foreign policy and appearance/personality remained the most frequently referenced. The most significant change was the jump in the campaigner/party frame, which climbed to third most referenced frame after having been ranked 15th during news media coverage of the funerals. The policymaker frame rose almost as dramatically from 11th during the funeral coverage to fourth in subsequent years, though much of that was due to the elevation of that frame in referencing memories of Lyndon Johnson, which dominated the frames with 74 citations. The increase in the presence of the campaign frame may be due to the differences of circumstances.

Table 4.12: Frame Frequency Across Presidents Over Time

	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	TOTAL
Personality	96 (14%)	73 (13%)	51 (23%)	41 (8%)	7 (22%)	268 (14%)
Foreign Policy	80 (13%)	25 (5%)	23 (10%)	65 (15%)	1(3%)	194 (10%)
Campaigner	101 (15%)	53 (10%)	13 (7%)	20 (5%)	4 (13%)	191 (10%)
Policymaker	21 (3%)	74 (14%)	9 (4%)	40 (9%)	0	144 (8%)
Comm/Chief	58 (9%)	62 (11%)	3 (1%)	14 (3%)	0	137 (7%)
Head/State	66 (10%)	28 (5%)	5 (2%)	45 (10%)	3 (10%)	147 (8%)
Morality	28 (4%)	33 (6%)	25 (12%)	22 (5%)	5 (16%)	107 (8%)
Communicator	19 (3%)	32 (6%)	16 (8%)	37 (8%)	2 (6%)	106 (6%)
Leadership	54 (8%)	29 (5%)	6 (3%)	20 (5%)	0	109 (6%)
Economic	14 (2%)	7 (1%)	1 (.4%)	66 (15%)	0	88 (5%)
Legislator	8 (1%)	42 (9%)	14 (7%)	7 (2%)	1 (3%)	72 (4%)
Experience	33 (5%)	19 (3%)	12 (2%)	4 (1%)	0	75 (4%)
CEO	50 (7%)	12 (2%)	14 (7%)	1 (.2%)	2 (6%)	79 (4%)
Just Advocate	17 (3%)	31 (6%)	0	3 (.7%)	0	51 (3%)
Ideological	0	0	0	44 (10%)	0	44 (2%)
Negotiator	2 (.2%)	10 (2%)	6 (3%)	13 (3%)	2 (6%)	33 (2%)
Law Enforcer	1 (.1%)	2 (.8%)	18 (8%)	4 (1%)	4 (13%)	29 (2%)
Intellect	14 (2%)	9 (2%)	5 (2%)	0	0	28 (2%)
Creative	5 (1%)	0	2 (.9%)	0	0	7 (.03%)
TOTAL	667 (100%)	541(100%)	223(100%)	446(100%)	32	1,909 (100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Research Question Seven: Sources for Memory Frame Construction over Time

Research Question Seven asks whether changes occur in the proportions of sources/frame advocates who contribute to constructing memory frames over time. As indicated in Table 4.13, (below) both politico historians and academic historians increase significantly in frame construction (both at 9 percent) from the funeral weeks, surpassing official authorities (8 percent). On its own, this is unsurprising, but is additionally noteworthy due to the differences of frequency in defining presidents. Politico and academic historians were more often sources for memory construction for Truman (19 percent) and Johnson (30 percent), than for either

TABLE 4.13: Source Type Frequency by President, Over Time

Source	Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford	TOTAL
No Attribution	243 (40%)	171 (33%)	84 (47%)	268 (60%)	14 (42.4%)	780 (41%)
Journalist	119 (18%)	111 (20%)	50 (20%)	83 (18%)	10 (30.3%)	373 (19%)
Politico Historian	57 (8%)	87 (16%)	19 (7%)	24 (5%)	0	187 (10%)
Acad Historian	72 (11%)	77 (14%)	4 (1%)	20 (4%)	1 (3%)	174 (9%)
Official Authority	82 (14%)	19 (3%)	25 (10%)	23 (4%)	3 (9.1%)	152 (8%)
Witness	21 (3%)	41 (8%)	7 (.2%)	0	1 (3%)	70 (4%)
Citizen	32 (2%)	5 (1%)	12 (3%)	22 (4%)	0	71 (4%)
Social Authority	12 (1%)	12 (2%)	3 (1%)	13 (2%)	0	40 (3%)
Guardian	12 (1%)	12 (2%)	1 (.04%)	3 (.7%)	0	28 (2%)
TOTAL	667	543	223	447	29	1,909(100%)

Fisher's Exact Test <.05

Nixon (8 percent) or Reagan (9 percent). It can be argued that more time has passed since the deaths of Truman and Johnson deaths than for Nixon and Reagan, but that does not adequately explain why certain frame advocates occur more frequently than others in media constructions.

Instead, the study looks to collective memory framing of individual presidents in the years subsequent to their funerals to measure persistence or change in frames and framing sources over time. In answer to Research Question Seven, the persistence of journalists as sources shaping memories remains a constant, but is somewhat challenged by the increased participation of both political and academic historians.

However, providing more detailed answers for research Questions Six and Seven requires examining the specific instances in which presidential frames have been expressed and contested over time. Below, the individual cases for each president are described, including the frequency of collective memory frames both cumulatively and over time, and the circumstances in which those frames and sub-frames are accessed and applied. The results from the subsequent years'

coverage of each president will be first discussed individually, looking for internal consistencies and changes over time, followed by reporting of shared patterns, relationships, or differences.

Harry S Truman

Memories of Harry Truman in the news media largely remained stable in the years following his death, with continued memory constructions of his role in foreign affairs and his phrases that have come to be associated with him: “The Buck Stops Here” and “Give ‘em Hell, Harry” that have come to define public memory of his personality. Graph 4.6 indicates the cumulative frequency of the dominant presidential frames that came to be affiliated with Truman from 1973 through 2012. The line chart indicates the most exceptional increases occurring in references to Truman’s appearance and personality in 1984, and an equally dramatic increase eight years later in 1992. Both these spikes elevated the memory frame of Truman as a campaigner and political actor. During the funeral week, the candidate frame was presented, but did not dominate the coverage. The candidate/party frame comprised only 8 percent of the presidential frames, and hence did not make the table. As evidenced in Table 4.14, in subsequent years, the campaign frame nearly doubled in proportion to 15 percent. A majority of the attributes involved in the frame describe his come-from-behind victory over Thomas Dewey in the elections of 1948, and his strategy of promoting “plain speaking” and accountability when running against the “Do-Nothing Congress.” It is important to note that in nearly all cases, the memories are of Truman as a candidate, not as a partisan; his affiliation as a

Graph 4.5 Truman Cumulative Frames Over Time

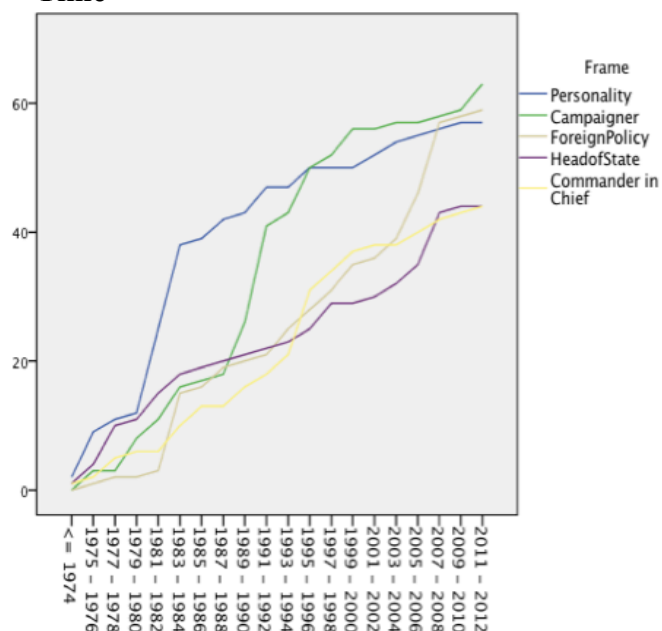


Table 4.14: Dominant Media Frames for Truman in Subsequent Years

Institutional Function Frames

Truman as Political Campaigner Frame *N*=101 (15%)

Policy Sub-frame

1948 Election *N*=76 (75%)

Do Nothing Cgrss *N*=17 (17%)

Attribute Sub-Frame

Plain Speaking *N*=15 (15%)

Tenacious *N*=33 (33%)

Buck Stop *N*=28 (28%)

Truman Foreign Policymaker Frame *N*=80 (12%)

Policy Sub-frame

Cold War Leader *N*=20 (25%)

Create Israel *N*=14 (18%)

Truman Doctrine *N*=11 (14%)

Marshall Plan *N*=11 (14%)

Attribute Sub-frame

Cold Warrior *N*=27 (34%)

Everyman *N*=13 (16%)

Decisive *N*=8 (10%)

Shrewd *N*=8 (10%)

Truman Head of State Frame *N*=66 (10%)

Policy Sub-frame

Unpopular *N*=16 (24%)

Gen Presidency *N*=14 (21%)

Ascend President *N*=12 (18%)

Assassin Attempt *N*=11 (17%)

Attribute Sub-frame

Everyman *N*=15 (23%)

Give 'em Hell *N*=11 (16%)

Buck Stops... *N*=10 (15%)

Redeemed *N*=8 (12%)

Fisher's Exact Test *p*<.05

Characteristic/Attribute Frames

FRAME: Appearance/Personality *N*=96 (14%)

Policy Sub-frame

Gen Presidency *N*=21 (22%)

Biography *N*=32 (33%)

Post-presidency *N*=10 (10%)

Attribute Sub-frame

Everyman *N*=30 (31%)

Plain Speaking *N*=19 (20%)

Temper *N*=17 (18%)

Fisher's Exact Test *p* <.05

Democrat is seldom even mentioned.

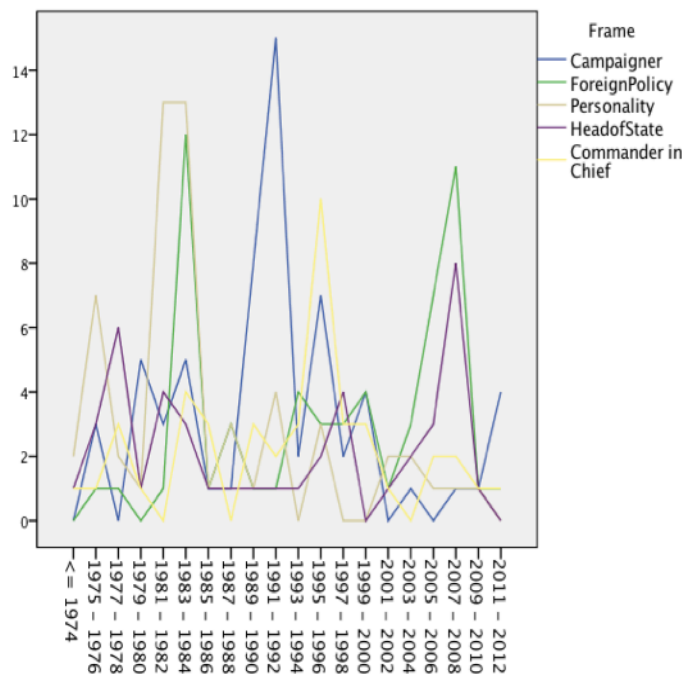
Similarly, the data indicated that changes also occurred in framing Truman's appearance/personality (from 9 percent of stories during his funeral to 14 percent afterwards) and as head of state (from 6 percent during funeral coverage to 10 percent afterwards). In both cases, the attributes associated with the frames tend to exemplify the memories of Truman as a someone who was a straightforward, independent-thinker; a common man thrust into extraordinary circumstances; an unpopular leader who was vindicated in his decisions.

Changes in the frequency of

Truman frames coincided with very specific events and contexts that referenced specific memories—and memory frames—of Truman back into contemporary public consciousness at different moments in the three decades after his death. As illustrated in Graph 4.7, each line represents the frequency in which certain frames specifically referencing Truman appeared in news media coverage at two-year intervals until 2012. Hence, the spikes indicate instances in which specific frames were most frequently cited in the news

articles. Unlike Graph 4.6, which indicated the accumulated references, Graph 4.7 indicates that particular frames are infrequently referenced from collective memory. Each spike reported in Graph 4.7 can be correlated to particular contemporary events or sources. For example, the increasing appearance of memory frames referencing Truman over time—which results in an increasing number of references in news articles—came

Graph 4.6 Truman Frames Over Time



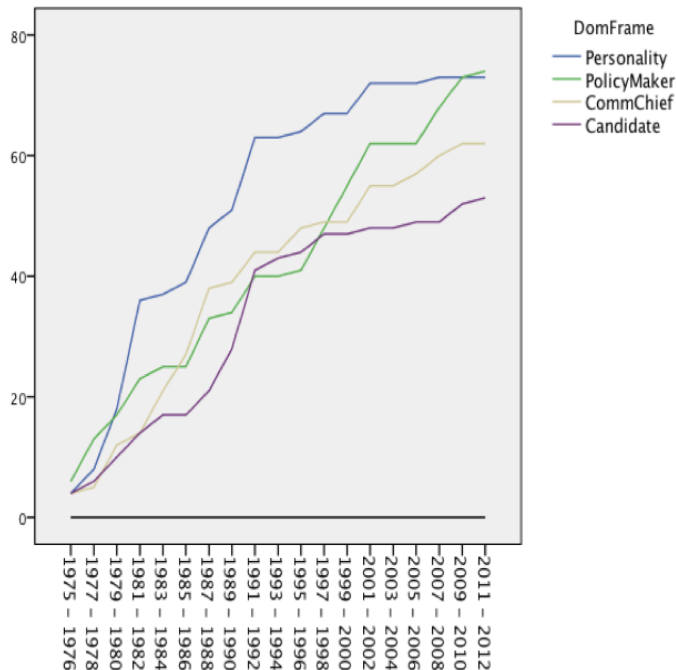
from political candidates who evoked the memory of his come-from-behind victory in 1948 as a way to contextualize themselves or their campaigns. The Truman analogy for trailing political candidates is now a well-recognized cliché. *Time* columnist Hugh Sidey called “political bodysnatching” [Sidey, 1992) and in 1996 the magazine ran a full-page feature entitled “They're just wild about Harry (especially when they're behind)” that cited countless cases of every underdog candidate in presidential campaign stretching back to 1976 evoking the Truman’s come-from-behind victory. For example, the increased media references in 1984 to Truman’s personality and foreign policy experience can be explained by the fact that in the 1984 presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale had openly tussled over the Truman mantle of both a “plain-spoken everyman” and a hard-line Cold Warrior. Reagan complained of the “do-nothing” Democratic Congress and even campaigned from the same train as Truman did in 1948. Mondale often challenged the Reagan narrative, but as the election approached he

switched to eliciting memories of Truman's surprise 1948 victory. Another spike occurs in 1992, when Truman's campaign style again became the focus of the presidential contest between then-President George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton and publication of David McCullough's Pulitzer Prize-winning Truman biography. In 1995-1996 Truman as commander in chief frame commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the dropping of the hydrogen bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and former Senator Robert Dole's references to Truman as he pushed his presidential campaign against Bill Clinton. The 2008 spikes can be collectively attributed to 1) references in the 2008 presidential campaign, and 2) then-President George W. Bush comparisons to also have his unpopular presidency subsequently vindicated, and both men's refusal to release some of their personal papers to the U.S. National Archives.

Lyndon Johnson

In the years following his funeral, Johnson's memory continued to be cumulatively defined by the frames for commander in chief, policymaker, and boisterous personality (Graph 4.8). However, the greatest change was increasing references to the policymakers frame, and specifically the Great Society programs targeting anti-poverty (19 percent), civil rights (23 percent), and health care (12 percent). While some of the sub-frame attributes became less about Johnson's humanity, more emphasis came to be given to cynical nature of the political process

Graph 4.7: LBJ Cumulative Frames



involved. The increased focus on Johnson as an ambitious and rash arm twister coincided with the rise of Reagan-era conservatism, and a narrative in which the Great Society programs began to be cast as flawed, expensive, and exploited.

As displayed in Table 4.15, the fading of the leadership and biography frames, made way for greater attention to Johnson's political gamesmanship

and an increased interest in LBJ's political machinations, with an emphasis on his manipulations (30 percent), and ambitions (17 percent), in the 1948 U.S. Senate election and his 1964 Presidential campaign against Barry Goldwater. Similarly, over time, frames regarding Johnson's appearance and personality retain characterizations of his ambition, animation, and raucousness, but also begin referencing his crude behavior and psychological issues. In those instances the sub-frame attributes elevate images of LBJ as ambitious and manipulative.

The unique factor is that which motivates these frames being accessed and applied from collective memory. In Johnson's case, the driving factors in these alterations to memory constructions are largely—though not exclusively—manifested through a series of biographies about his presidency that produce incidental news media coverage and reviews at different points over the subsequent years. In essence, the collective memories of Johnson have been most often evoked and shaped through a litany of published biographies and studies by both journalists and historians. The works are subsequently debated by other sources in articles, book reviews, or

Table 4.15: Dominant Media Frames for LBJ in Subsequent Years

Institutional Function Frames

LBJ as Policymaker Frame $N=74$ (13.6%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Civil Rights $N=17$ (23%)	Humane $N=12$ (22%)
Poverty $N=14$ (19%)	Ambitious $N=11$ (15%)
Great Society $N=11$ (15%)	Strategic $N=8$ (11%)
Health Care $N=9$ (12%)	Failed $N=7$ (10%)

LBJ as Commander in Chief Frame $N=62$ (11%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Vietnam $N=38$ (61%)	Failed $N=19$ (31%)
Victim/Vietnam $N=17$ (27%)	Delusional $N=7$ (11%)
	Manipulative $N=6$ (9%)

LBJ as Political/Campaigner Frame $N=53$ (10%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
1948 Election $N=5$ (24%)	Manipulative $N=16$ (30%)
1964 Election $N=11$ (21%)	Ambitious $N=9$ (17%)
	Determined $N=8$ (15%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p<.05$

Character/Attribute Frames

LBJ Appearance/Personality Frame $N=73$ (13.4%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Management $N=57$ (78%)	Paranoid $N=8$ (11%)
Gen. Presidency $N=12$ (16%)	Uncouth $N=8$ (11%)
	Boisterous $N=6$ (9%)

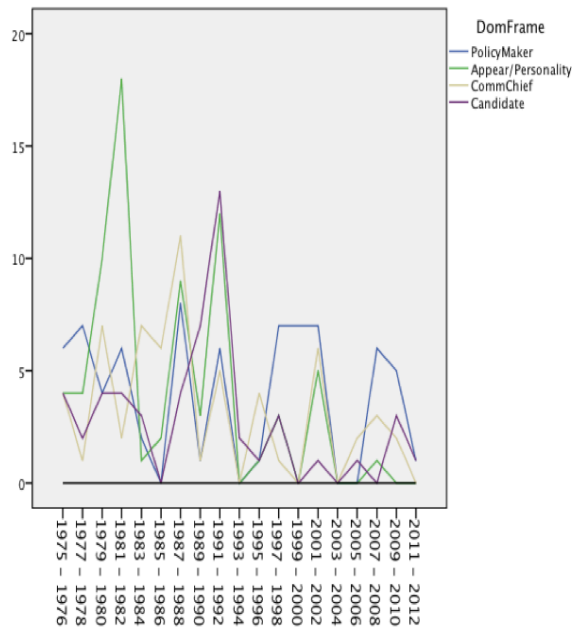
Fisher's Exact Test = $p < .05$

op/eds in the news media, but for an extremely limited period of time (seldom longer than a week) and seldom with resolution. For example, a spike in frames describing Johnson's appearance/personality indicated in Graph 4.9 for 1981-1982 coincides with the publication and attention given to journalist Robert Caro's initial volume of his biography, *The Path to Power*, which offered an in-depth examination of LBJ's formative years up to his first Senate bid in 1941. The pattern follows in coverage referencing Johnson in subsequent years, as well. In 1988, Graph 4.9 indicates a significant spike in

stories regarding Johnson as commander in chief, his personality, and his role as a policymaker.

The spikes coincide with an increase in both book reviews and news coverage with the publication of *Remembering America: A Voice From the Sixties* by former aide Johnson and John F. Kennedy Richard Goodwin, which provides an insider's account in the creation of the Great Society programs and the war in Vietnam. That same year, Neil Sheehan's Pulitzer Prize-winning *A Bright and Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* is published with its

Graph 4.8: LBJ Frames Over Time



sweeping characterization of United States policy in Vietnam as experienced by U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel John Paul Vann. In 1991-1992, frames referencing both Johnson's appearance and personality and as a candidate spike again; this time in connection with Caro's second volume, *Means of Ascent*, which concerns Johnson's continued political ambitions, especially the 1948 U.S. Senate election against Coke Stevenson.

The 1991-1992 spike also coincides with the publication of academic historian Robert Dallek's first volume of his own multi-volume history of Johnson, *Lone Star Rising: Vol. 1: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960*. Caro's and Dallek's biographies are clearly at odds with each other in describing Johnson and his motivations, and hence generate a great deal of debate among book reviewers, guardians, and historians in the pages of the newspapers and news magazines. The next, smaller, spike corresponds with a rapid succession of books framing Johnson's domestic policymaker role in *The Great Society*, starting with academic historian Michael Beschloss' edited transcriptions of Johnson's conversations in *Taking Charge* (1997), Dallek's second volume in his biographical series, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961-1973* (1998), and Beschloss' second transcriptions, *Reaching for Glory: Lyndon Johnson's Secret White House Tapes, 1964-1965* (2001). Throughout the competing book reviews, a traditional form of memory construction occurs, with frame advocates seeking opportunities to promote different aspects of Johnson's memory. The most active guardians of the LBJ memory were former Johnson aide Jack Valenti, whose book *This Time, This Place: My*

Life in War, the White House, and Hollywood (2008) is a hagiography of LBJ and former Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano, who would periodically write in op/eds for the *Washington Post* complaining about the public's—and particularly the Democrats'—neglect of the LBJ legacy of the Great Society. “Why have we forgotten (about the Johnson legacy)?” Califano asks. “Because of Johnson's identification with the Vietnam War he and Kennedy waged. Because the Republicans have been so effective in tarnishing the sterling achievements of the Great Society. Because conservatives have succeeded in making the word "liberal" as verboten at this convention as Playboy” [Washington Post, August 17, 2000, A29].

The remaining spike in stories in 2007-2008 cast Johnson as a domestic policymaker in the competition between Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton for the Democratic nomination for presidency. Numerous stories and references were made to Johnson and the civil rights reforms he achieved, as bearing the fruit that allowed the participation of both a minority and a female candidate to compete for the nomination of a political party.

Richard M. Nixon

For all the presidents under study, the frames constructing memories of Nixon were not only the most consistent over time, but they also tended to be the only frames used to describe his presidency. Nixon's memory frames continue to emphasize his psychological stability and his lacking in morality authority. All other aspects of his political

Graph 4.9: Nixon Cumulative Frames

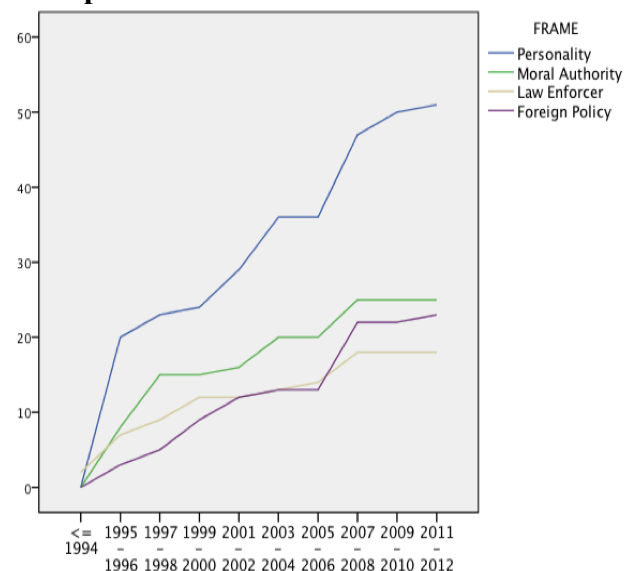


Table 4.16: Dominant Media Frames of Nixon, in Subsequent Years

Character/Attribute Frames

Nixon Appearance/Personality Frames <i>N</i>=51 (23%)	
<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Psychological <i>N</i> =19 (37%)	Mentally Ill <i>N</i> =15 (29%)
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =17 (33%)	Insecure <i>N</i> =9 (18%)
Frost Interview <i>N</i> =9 (18%)	Intelligent <i>N</i> =7 (13%)
FRAME: Moral Authority <i>N</i>=25 (11%)	
<u>Policy Sub-Frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Watergate <i>N</i> =18 (72%)	Liar/Dishonest <i>N</i> =16 (64%)
	Mentally Ill <i>N</i> =9 (28%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Institutional Function Frames

Nixon Foreign Policy Frames <i>N</i>=23 (10%)	
<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Soviet Detente <i>N</i> =7 (26%)	Intellect <i>N</i> =13 (40%)
Vietnam <i>N</i> =6 (23%)	Anti-Communism <i>N</i> =6(23%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

career and biography—e.g., Eisenhower's vice presidency, his chairmanship of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the 1960 campaign—fall to below 5 percent of media coverage in subsequent years.

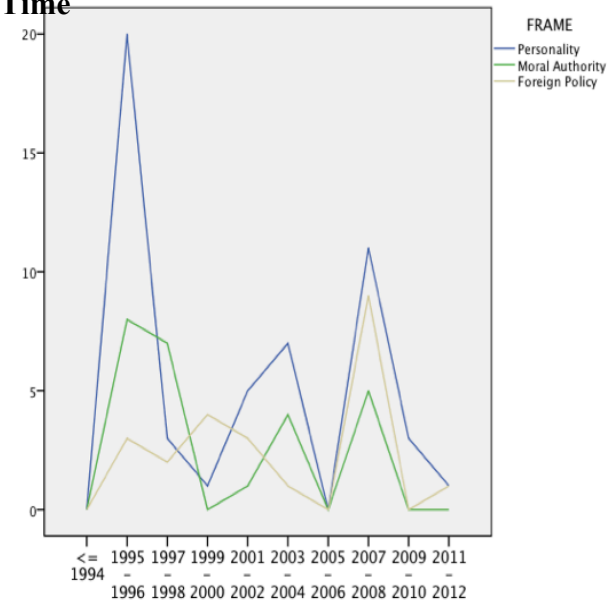
Nixon's one laudatory achievement that persists in memory was his reputed propensity for foreign affairs. Even then, perhaps his greatest

achievement—opening diplomatic relations with China—receives only nominal attention (16 percent) compared to Soviet arms control negotiations and détente with the Soviet Union (26 percent) and the Vietnam War (23 percent). Like Johnson, historical works also often shaped memories of Nixon in the years after his death. However, unlike Johnson, those works tend away from academic analysis and toward to more dramatic films, “docudramas” and documentaries than academic publications. The most prominent is noted in Graph 4.11, in 1995, with release of Oliver Stone's *Nixon*, a controversial Hollywood blockbuster that negatively portrayed the former president's state of mind through flashbacks and events occurring in the final months of his presidency. There was some brief attention that corresponded with the release of 30 hours of tape transcripts of Nixon's conversations during Watergate, and Congressional initiative in 2004 that lifted the

30-year-old ban on removing Nixon's presidential papers and tapes from the Washington area. The next largest spike came in 2007-2008, the date in which Robert Dallek's work *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power* also appeared and which was accompanied by broadcast of the documentary *Nixon: A Presidency Revealed*, on the History Channel. In 2008, another Hollywood movie *Frost/Nixon*, a

screen version of the Broadway play depicting Nixon's four- part televised interview with David Frost in 1977. In each case, the films pushed the morality and personality frames back into public attention and sparked debate in the movie and television reviews found in the arts section of newspapers, but a significant number are also conducted in news columns and news stories.

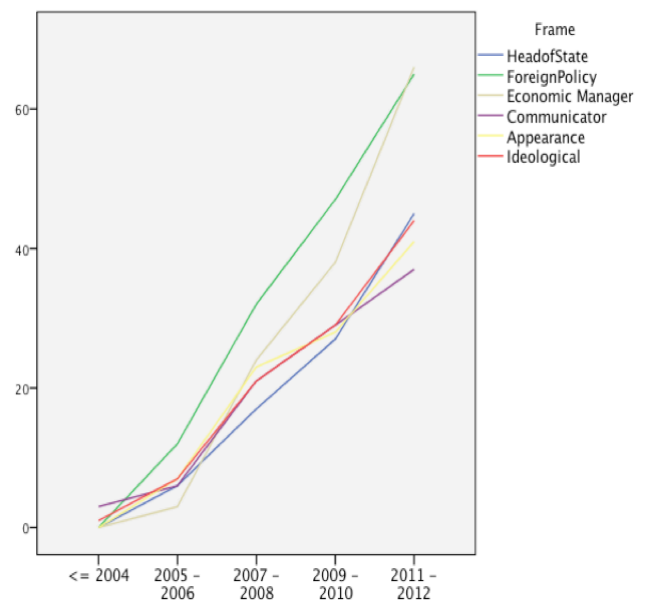
Graph 4.10: Nixon Frames by Sources Over Time



Ronald Reagan

Memory frames regarding Reagan remained consistent in the years subsequent to his funeral. Both economic manager and foreign affairs continued to dominate, although the attributes shifted to more skepticism about the effectiveness or benefits of the programs. As can be seen in Graph 4.12, the economic

Graph 4.11 Reagan Cumulative Frames Over Time



manager frame demonstrated the greatest shift in tone, with Reaganomics, tax cuts, and Reagan's general presidency being termed as detached, inept, controversial, and ideological. In the foreign policy frame, Reagan's supposed winning of the Cold War still ranks high in foreign policy frame. While the Iran-Contra Scandal had been connected to Reagan's detached and oblivious role as chief executive officer and manager, in subsequent years it has instead appeared more as a sub-frame attribute in foreign policy. References to the conflicts in Central America, particularly clandestine paramilitary operations against the Nicaraguan government from bases in El Salvador and Honduras nearly disappeared, with less than .4 percent of references mentioning the conflict.

It is interesting how the ideological frame for Reagan has maintained itself over time. In the case of the other presidents, their political ideology is only tangentially mentioned as a defining memory. Reagan, however, is characterized as an exemplar of a political transformation. As an icon of the conservative movement, he is seen as redefining some of the roles of the presidency in acting not only as the head of state, but also as an activist promoter of American values.

Like Truman, there were a number of instances in which Reagan's persona was invoked in news stories in comparing GOP presidential candidates. As can be witnessed in Graph 4.13, the date indicates the first significant increase in 2007-2008 for references to Reagan in

Graph 4.12 Reagan Frames Over Time



Table 4.17: Dominant Media Frames of Reagan in Subsequent Years

Institutional Function Frames

Reagan as Economic Manager Frame *N*=66 (14.8%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Reaganomics <i>N</i> =34 (52%)	Detached <i>N</i> =7 (11%)
Gen Presidency <i>N</i> =10 (15%)	Decisive <i>N</i> =20 (30%)
Tax reform <i>N</i> =6 (9%)	Inept <i>N</i> =13 (20%)
	Controversial <i>N</i> =8 (12%)
	Ideological <i>N</i> =8 (12%)

Reagan Foreign Policy Frames *N*=65 (14.5%)

<u>Policy Sub-Frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Won Cold War <i>N</i> =26 (40%)	Cold Warrior <i>N</i> =23 (35%)
Iran-Contra <i>N</i> =13 (20%)	Militaristic <i>N</i> =22 (34%)
	Controversial <i>N</i> =6 (10%)

Reagan as Head of State Frame *N*=45 (10%)

<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Rep. America <i>N</i> =19 (42%)	Conservative <i>N</i> =11 (24%)
Communicator <i>N</i> =11(24%)	Inept <i>N</i> =5 (11%)
	Leadership <i>N</i> =5 (11%)
	Controversial <i>N</i> =5 (11%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Characteristic/Attributes Frames

FRAME: Ideological *N*=44 (9.8%)

<u>Policy Sub-frames</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frames</u>
Conserve Icon <i>N</i> =28 (64%)	Ideological <i>N</i> =19 (43%)
Presidency <i>N</i> =6 (14%)	Decisive <i>N</i> =8 (18%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

the news media. This can be correlated to the presidential election in 2008, when a number of GOP candidates laid claim as heirs to the Reagan mantle. Like Johnson, both journalists and historians have published books about him or his presidency. During the 2008 election cycle, Princeton historian Sean Wilentz, published *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974-2008*, and journalists Lou Cannon and Carl M. Cannon published *Reagan's Disciple: George W. Bush's Troubled Quest For a Presidential Legacy*.

The second, and greater spike in references to Reagan came in 2011, and was led by an increasing number of references to the economic manager frame. The frames happened to coincide with celebrations of Reagan's 100th birthday, in which a handful of different events were held across Washington D.C. Given the passing of the Cold War frame, and that the centennial celebration occurred

amid the jockeying among candidates for the GOP presidential nomination in 2012, the economic frame was the strongest connection to be made to Reagan at the time. Even then, the memory sources stand apart from the other presidents.

Gerald Ford

In the comparatively short time since Ford's death in 2006, he has received little, if any, attention in the news media, and his name has rarely been invoked in terms of collective memory. Only 33 stories were published in the major print news outlets with Ford as their focus. Of those, the dominant frames have been acknowledging his serving in the presidency, or by highlighting him as a decent, common man who stepped in to bridging the office between elected presidencies in the wake of the Watergate scandal. In pardoning Nixon, which was so politically damaging at the time, in retrospect came to be seen as a personal sacrifice he accepted in order to help the country move on.

Graphs 4.14 and 4.15 both indicate the few stories that appeared between Ford's death in December 2006 and 2012. The 2007-2008 data point reflects the stories from the last week of 2006 and the ceremonies in the first week of January 2007. The handful of stories that appeared in the Washington Post comprise the slight up-tic in the line chart are primarily references to Ford's pardoning of Nixon, and the interparty challenge he received for the GOP nomination from Reagan in 1976, and ordering the Justice Department to enforce federal school busing laws.

Table 4.18: Dominant Media Frames for Ford in Subsequent Years

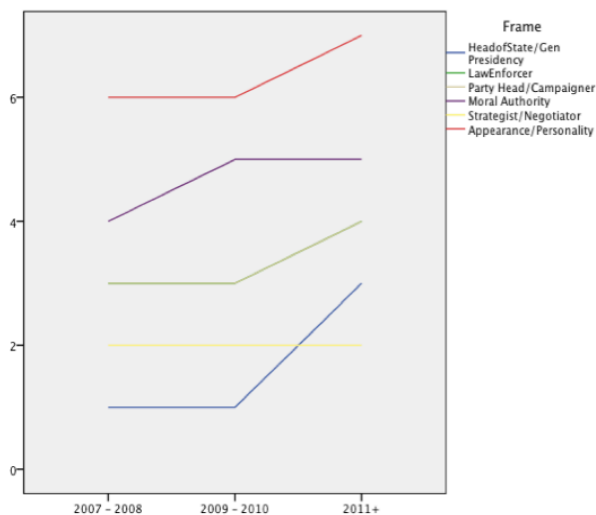
Characteristic/Attributes Frames

Ford's Appearance and Personality Frame <i>N</i> =7 (21%)	
<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
General Presidency <i>N</i> =5 (72%)	Common Man <i>N</i> =4 (57%)
Ford's Moral Authority Frame <i>N</i> =5 (15%)	
<u>Policy Sub-frame</u>	<u>Attribute Sub-frame</u>
Nixon Pardon <i>N</i> =5 (20%)	Decent <i>N</i> =5 (60%)

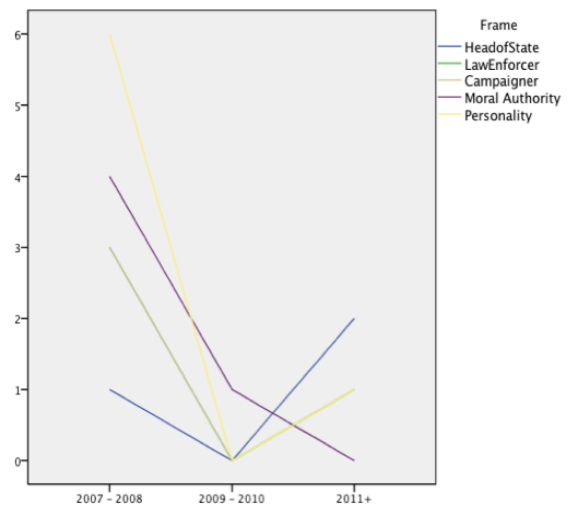
Fisher's Exact Test $p=.01$

For both Research Questions Six and Seven, the results indicate that over time, the frequencies of collective memory frames tend to deteriorate. As the memories being referenced

Graph 4.13: Ford Cumulative Frames Over Time



Graph 4.14: Ford Frames Over Time



recede further into the past, and the generation for whom the memory has meaning ages, their relevance either diminishes or is supplanted by fresher memories with broader public meaning. Each of the preceding graphs in the individual case studies illustrates this trend in the frequency of presidential memory frames over time (i.e., Graphs 4.7, 4.9, 4.11, 4.13, and 4.14).

However, that is not to say that there is not a measure of resiliency to certain dominant collective memory frames. Each of the aforementioned graphs also identifies specific instances in which memory frames for each of the presidents rises at distinct moments in time. As noted in each of the case descriptions, the spikes correspond to instances when different cultural actors or frame advocates make use of the framed memory as a matter of historical interest or as a metaphor for contemporary circumstances. For example, in the case of Truman, such spikes in frequency for the campaign correspond to instances where candidates or campaigns attempt to associate themselves with his persona, or evoke his come-from-behind victory against Thomas

Dewey in 1948. For Johnson, increases in different memory frames are seen to correspond with the release of multi-volume biographies or retrospective events. The importance of these findings is the role that frame advocates have in provoking media attention and providing "information subsidies" that simplify news production (Gandy, 1982; Pan and Kosicki, 2001).

Research Question Eight: Source Frames for Reinforcement, Revision, and Reinterpretation

Research Question Eight asked whether revisions to memory frames/sub-frames over time appear more frequently in certain types of news stories (e.g., news stories, obituaries, news columns, broadcast transcripts, op/eds, letters to the editor, etc.). The individual case studies indicated that appearance of presidential memory frames in news stories occurred infrequently in subsequent years, and depended on newsworthy incidents that referenced or activated the memory (i.e., an academic conferences, commemorations, publications, documentaries, etc.). By generating news media coverage—more specifically the *form* of news media coverage

Table 4.19: Interpretative Intent of Frame by Story Type, Subsequent Years

	Reinforce	Revelation	Reinterpret	Reference/NA	TOTAL
Story	521	123	141	44	829
Column	103	42	53	39	237
Op/Ed	98	18	31	26	173
Letter/Editor	51	6	10	12	79
Editorial	24	4	7	1	36
Arts Review	170	86	71	19	346
TOTAL	967 (57%)	279(16%)	313 (18%)	141 (9%)	1,700 (100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

determined the type of story in which it appeared. For that reason, and as evidenced in Table 4.19 a new category—one involving book and arts reviews—was added to the study's story categories to reflect part of this change. Even then, however, with the other cultural sources affecting the frame construction, most of the references to collective memories of the presidents merely re-asserted the dominant frames (59 percent) or acted to counter or repair damage to the

dominant memory. For example, when Robert Caro's second volume about LBJ appeared to reorder the memories of the 1948 U.S. Senate election by lionizing Coke Stevenson, book reviewers and a number of Texas political figures and historians were quick to challenge that frame by scoffing at the hagiography of Stevenson and demonization of Johnson.

Research Question Nine: Sources in Altering Collective Memory Frames Over Time

Research Questions Nine seeks to identify which sources/frame advocates are most frequently identified as contributing to preserving, reinterpreting, or revealing new information for the collective memories of each of the presidents. Table 4.20 represents the relationship between the different collective memory sources cited in the news coverage and the perceived interpretative intent each of them had. Journalists (both explicitly as cited sources and implicitly in asserting frames without attribution) continue to make up a majority of the sources for

Table 4.20: Interpretative Intent of Frame/Sub-Frame by Source, Subsequent Years

	Reinforce	Revelation	Reinterpret	Reference/NA	TOTAL
N/A	429	80	91	71	671 (40%)
Journalist	198	60	65	34	357 (21%)
Politico	84	24	59	8	175 (11%)
Academic	83	52	18	9	162 (10%)
Official	79	16	14	12	121(7%)
Citizen	57	4	8	7	76 (4%)
Witness	20	21	12	4	57 (3%)
Social	31	11	5	4	51 (3%)
Guardian	12	9	8	1	30 (1%)
TOTAL	993 (58%)	277 (16%)	280 (17%)	150 (9%)	1,700 (100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

memory frames. The results show a that over time, memories of presidents are reflected in news media, but do not always originate in news media. Unlike during the weeks of funeral services, when the commemorations and eulogies were considered newsworthy, there was no question of journalists covering them. In the years subsequent, reflections on past presidencies require something newsworthy to attract news media attention. The results identified a number of

newsworthy subsidies that frame advocates can use: commemorative events, retrospective academic conferences, book or biography publications, docudramas, television documentaries, metaphorical references by contemporary actors, etc.

Results Summation

The results from the content analysis suggest a significant role for news media in constructing and revising collective memories of U.S. presidents at the time of their passing and in subsequent years. The data indicates that news media frames for the U.S. presidency, and the memories of the men who have held the office, are largely defined by the institutional

Table 4.21: Frequency of Frames at Funeral and in Subsequent Years

<u>President</u>	<u>Funeral Week Frames</u>	<u>Subsequent Year Frames</u>
Truman	Foreign Policy Commander-Chief Leadership Appearance/Personality	Political Campaigner Foreign Policy Head of State Appearance/Personality
Johnson	Commander-Chief Policymaker Biography/Experience Appearance/Personality	Policymaker Commander-Chief Political Campaigner Appearance/Personality
Nixon	Foreign Policy Appearance/Personality Moral Authority Biography/Experience	Appearance/Personality Moral Authority Foreign Policy
Reagan	Foreign Policy Economic Manager CEO/Manager Appearance/Personality Communicator	Economic Manager Foreign Policy Head of State Ideological
Ford	Head of State Moral Authority Appearance/Personality	Appearance/Personality Moral Authority

responsibilities required of the job and the public expectations for the skills and characteristics of those who compete for it. Those include frames for foreign policy, appearance/personality, moral authority, experience/background, leadership, and economic manager, head of state, CEO/manager, communicator, policymaker, campaigner, justice advocate, negotiator, legislator, intelligence, law enforcer, creative, and ideology. As Table 4.21 indicates, the frames that appear to define the president or his presidency at the time of the funerals are not necessarily the same frames that are used to define the president in subsequent references in collective memory. The most notable, parallel difference between the time periods for each president is the partisan political (and, for Reagan, ideological) frames that appear in subsequent years that were not present at the time of the death. The likeliest explanation is consistent with the Durkheim's theories of funerals serving as a collective social rite; the media treats the president not as a partisan figure, but as national, cultural symbol. Thus the media is induced to downplay the factors that express divisions and emphasize those that indicate shared experience.

Sub-frames—the specific policy actions or personal attributes of individual presidents—are shown in the results to be particularly important in constructing the memory frame because they locate, contextualize, and validate each president within a given frame. For example, the moral authority frame was frequently referenced for each of the presidents in the study, but the sub-frame characterizations for how Nixon failed to meet moral expectations were far different from the sub-frames that validated Ford as making moral choices for the general good. The sub-frames were specific to each president, and are available in Appendix Two.

The study documents the resiliency among the dominant collective memory frames once they have been set and repeated in news media coverage. As seen in the cumulative frequencies of frames over time, each of the presidents has consistently defined by a set of presidential frames in the collective memory. Reagan has continued to receive the most positive coverage over time,

propelled by his continued rank as an icon of the conservative movement—both in terms of the economic manager frame, with Reaganomics garnering 52 percent of economic sub-frame references, and the foreign policy frame, where he is credited with bringing about the end of the Cold War (40 percent of sub-frame references). Nixon remains the most consistently defined in the collective memory, though the attributes most frequently referenced continue to be Watergate (72 percent), dishonesty (64 percent), and psychological/mental illness (29 percent).

The results also suggest that changes to collective memories occur at different levels. On one level, frames that are associated with particular presidents may grow or decline in the public mind in relation to contemporary circumstances or needs. An example in this study is the increase in the campaigner frame for Truman in the years leading up to the 1984 election as both Reagan and Walter Mondale struggled to claim his mantle, and has continued ever since by candidates looking to evoke Truman's come-from-behind win over Thomas Dewey in 1948. A similar example occurs for the ideological frame for Reagan, which has only grown in ensuing years as succeeding heirs to the conservative title evoke his name and programs in the Republican primary campaigns.

Changes to the collective memory were also identified to occur at the sub-frame level, in which the actions or attributes of specific presidents are reinterpreted, or new information is revealed to alter the substance of a dominant frame. Nowhere was this more dramatically demonstrated than for Johnson, who as the subject of numerous biographies and books—those published by journalist Robert Caro and academic Robert Dallek being the most prominent—has seen countless debates, revisions and contestations over how he is defined in collective memory. Each time authors provide new and differing interpretations of Johnson's complex personality, his psychological obsessions, or his cunning political machinations these are subsequently debated and disputed in the news stories and book reviews the publications.

Lastly, changes in memory constructions can be more about what is forgotten instead of what is remembered. As noted in the observations for each of the presidents, over time certain frames of sub-frames fade from the collective memory. For instance, despite the Reagan Administration's military interventions in Central America and Afghanistan—which have been demonstrated to have had direct impact on contemporary issues of terrorism and trade (Carothers, 2003; Johnson, 2004)—neither appear with any regularity in subsequent media stories.

What is important about the ways in which changes occur in the construction of collective memory frames is that the changes seldom originate with the news media themselves. The news media play a discreet role in memory construction, serving as a canvas upon which the actions and debates among cultural actors and frames advocates are presented and represented to the larger public. Unlike during the weeks of funeral services, when the commemorations and eulogies were considered newsworthy, news media coverage was routine and expected. Once the commemorations ended, the dead presidents became less newsworthy. Subsequent memory activation is instead motivated by incidents or events considered sufficiently newsworthy to attract media attention: commemorative events, retrospective academic conferences, book or biography publications, docudramas, television documentaries, metaphorical references by contemporary actors, etc. that were then subject to news media coverage.

In terms of the interpretive intent of sources, Research Question Five sought whether the frames and sub-frames used to construct the collective memory in the news media coverage of funerals was used to reinforce dominant frames in collective memory, to reinterpret or revise the dominant memory frames. The analysis found that 77 percent of the cases coded, across sources and presidents, were used to reinforce the dominant memory frame. By the same token, Research Question Eight sought the same information, but in news media stories in subsequent

years. In that instance, the intent of the frames and sub-frames to revise the collective memory was far greater, 16 percent providing revelatory information to alter the memory, 17 percent providing a reinterpretation of the existing memory. Still, in more than 60 percent of cases, the interpretative intent of the frame or sub-frame was to reinforce the dominant frame. The percentages were matched for Research Question Nine, which similarly sought to determine the interpretive intent of sources to reinforce dominant frames in collective memory (58 percent of sources) followed by journalists (7 percent), politico historians (5 percent) and academic historians (4 percent).

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion And Conclusion

This study focused on the assertion and contestation of cultural authority in the construction of collective memory by contextualizing the role of news media in the process of shaping society's stories of its past. News media have largely been neglected in collective memory research. Few studies have attempted to understand when and how news media contribute to the construction of collective political memory. Meyers (2007) has speculated that the normative presumptions of journalistic objectivity and balance have led researchers to overlook the role of journalists in perpetuating social narrative as members of an interpretative community. As Zelizer (1993) has argued, social researchers have made the mistake of seeing news as a product and not a process (1993). For those reasons, most memory studies, especially those involving media, have concentrated on collective memories once they have been manifested in cultural products (e.g., museums, books, films) or cultural artifacts (e.g., street names, ceremonies, rituals, etc.) at a specific point and time, and not as a continuous process of transformation and change.

By taking a cultural constructivist approach, this study sought to explicate some of the dynamic processes and motivations that contribute to the building and maintenance of memories in news media. This approach reflects James Carey's ritual view of communication, which emphasizes media as being integral to the socio-cultural function of a socially constructed reality of experience within communities (Carey, 1989, 2000; Schudson, 1997; Zelizer, 1993). In this view, news media serve as a tableau upon which memory, contested and contrived through dialogic communication by social and political actors is (at least partially) represented, and where revisions of those memories over time can be longitudinally observed.

When looking at the cultural processes involved in the social construction in news

media, the study used a number of theoretical approaches from the media studies literature. News media framing theory—specifically frame building—was particularly useful because of its conceptual affinity with the notions of collective memory. The social construction of experience—both for cultural discourse and collective memory— requires an implicitly shared cultural understanding of symbols and concepts among constituent members to “frame” an idea or concept for communication (Goffman, 1974). For news framing, the process is influenced by different factors: 1) the norms and routines of news work, 2) the competing interpretations promoted by frame advocates, and 3) the cultural contexts in which memory construction occurs. Interacting with one another, competing media frames are proposed and contested until a dominant frame emerges—or, minimally achieves a level of 'cultural resonance' by fitting in with popular culture, according with media practices, and satisfying societal or political elites (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987).

The study developed a set of 18 framing categories that both conceptualized the legal and institutional functions assigned to the office of President of the United States, as well as the attributes and characteristics generally associated with those elected to the office. The dominant frame categories set the conceptual boundaries of the office of presidency. Within each dominant frame, a set of sub-frames, specific to each president, was identified to locate that president's actions, behaviors, or personal characteristics within that dominant frame. The sub-frames were important for refining the process of identifying presidents in collective memory by validating and illustrating their unique affiliation with the frame. For example, a moral authority frame was consistently referenced for each of the presidents being studied. However, how each president was characterized within the moral authority frame was a result of the sub-frames used. For example, both Nixon and Ford were frequently associated with the morality/moral authority frame, but for entirely different reasons. Nixon's affiliation with the moral authority frame was

frequently referenced through negative sub-frames that asserted his dishonesty, ruthlessness, and ambition. Alternately, Ford's equally frequent references in the moral authority frame were referenced through positive sub-frames for his handling of the post-Watergate crisis, his personal sacrifice for pardoning Nixon, and his encouraged return to normalcy. The sub-frames were identified via grounded theory to identify two sub-frame attributes—one specific to policy actions, the other specific to personality characteristics—when such a reference appeared in the stories being coded. It is important to note that as part of the content analysis and coding, a president's association with a particular frame or sub-frame was identified regardless of whether it was favorable or unfavorable. The framing construct for how presidents were remembered during the week of their funerals provided a uniquely categorical assessment/validation about what was/was not significant about this president and his administration in the collective memory.

The study also focused on identifying the influences in constructing memory, especially which sources or frame advocates were most prominent in activating or promoting particular memory frames. The best means for explicating this process was determined to be the Hierarchy of Influences Model of news production, which is also aligned with cultural approaches. The Hierarchy of Influences model identifies a framework in which several social and political factors—orientations of individual journalists, professional norms, organizational routines/constraints, external interest groups, and overarching societal values—work independently or collectively to influence how an issue is framed (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Snow & Benford, 1988). In the process of memory construction, these influences assert and negotiate particular interpretations of the past, particularly what aspects are memory-worthy, what facts should be prioritized, and how incidents may be framed for recall. This contestation of memory in the public sphere occurs in the public arena, but is documented and reported in the

news media, where they have differing interpretative power. Far from being dystopic, this study suggests that the diversity of political bargaining--in which differing interpretations and narratives vie for dominance--has the effect of transforming individual incidents into polyphonic and polysemic narratives of memory that persist over time.

Collective Memory Framing During Funeral Weeks

The first stage of the study focused on news media coverage on the passing of each president and the commemorations that occurred in the week leading up to his final interment. The content was drawn from stories, editorials, columns, letters to the editor, and op/eds that appeared in three nationally recognized newspapers (e.g., the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*); four national network and cable news outlets (e.g., ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, CNN and Fox News) and three major news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*).

News media participation in the construction of the collective memory of presidents was obvious in the coverage provided during the week of their passing. The number and prominence of the stories during the week of each president's funeral services (1,145) only demonstrates the significance of the cultural and political meaning that these leaders have. The funeral week coverage provided a fairly conclusive baseline of memory from which subsequent revision is made, and offers a starting point to examine those changes over time.

Funeral coverage for all five presidents was found to be formulaic and largely routine. In general, coverage began with announcements of the death, followed by summaries of each man's biography and a listing of the major circumstance, issues and accomplishments that defined their presidencies. In subsequent days, the types of news coverage shifted into reaction pieces from a number of accessible frame advocates: former political allies, family and friends,

former aides, academic or politico historians, or residents of hometowns or communities where the president spent time; followed by updates on the planning and structuring of the ceremonies and services. Customarily, newspaper editorial boards printed their own summary assessments, while reporters or columnists would sometimes provide their own appraisals. At roughly the same time, a host of frame advocates—i.e. guardians, politico historians, academic historians, former colleagues, friends, political allies—would appear in op/eds to offer their own takes on what should be remembered or the lessons to be applied to contemporary circumstances. Lastly, letters to the editor, offered by regular citizens without the cachet to earn op/eds would make their own statement, or at least comment on what had previously been published. After a few days, the process would end with news stories about the funeral services, eulogies, and final burials.

Most of the frames generated in these stories were based upon the conventional descriptions of the public personas of these men that were already established within the public memory from their time in public life. While those memories may have grown less distinct, the contexts and emotions once constituted public perceptions were no longer as prominent in the public consciousness. At the time of the funerals, most of the news stories (77 percent) were seen as reinforcing the dominant or existing frames regarding presidents. The frames that dominated the coverage were consistent across newspapers, television broadcast and news magazines. In fact, with few exceptions one could read almost any story and find it difficult to distinguish between the descriptions offered by the newspapers. The high level of reinforcement would support Durkheim's (1915/1995) notions of funeral rituals as normative conscious affirmations of shared experiences and cultural unity.

As can be seen in Table 5.1, each president was framed in accordance with a particular set of dominant frames during the week of their funeral, though the frames involving foreign affairs and appearance/personality were present across several presidents (three of the five).

Table 5.1 Dominant Frames for Presidents, Funeral Week

Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford
Foreign Policy N=61 (22%)	Comm in Chief N=36 (15%)	Personality N=120 (22.5%)	Foreign Policy N=161 (14%)	Head of State N=41 (22%)
Comm in Chief N= 43 (16%)	Bio/Experience N=36 (15%)	Morality N=94 (17.6%)	Economics N=143 (13%)	Morality N=39 (20%)
Leadership N=31 (11%)	Policymaker N=23 (10%)	Foreign Policy N=77 (14%)	Communicator N=94 (9.5%)	Personality N=25 (13%)
Personality N=27 (10%)	Personality N=23 (10%)	Bio/Experience N=54 (10%)	CEO/Manager 93 (9.4%)	--

In framing each of the presidents, it was largely the sub-frames that quantified the reasons why a particular president was associated with a particular frame. For example, the dominance of the Cold War during each of their terms of office can largely explain the persistence of the foreign policy frame, but the sub-frames used to structure the foreign policy frame was different for each. For Truman, the foreign policy frame attributes involved his decisiveness in managing the Cold War world after World War II. Nixon's acumen, particularly his thawing of relations with China and arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, justified his foreign policy credentials. For Reagan, the foreign policy frame was far more structured by his supposed victory in the Cold War and his intense anti-communist adventurism in Central America. Note that in each case, the detail of specific policy actions and stylistic attributes were essential to adapting the dominant frame within the context of what was remembered from the collective memory and informed the contemporary interpretations of what actually occurred and resulted in those instances.

In broad strokes, the frequency of the frames and sub-frames tended to provide a condensed portrait of each president. Truman was defined for his common sense and

decisiveness for bringing about the end of World War II and setting parameters for the Cold War; his personality was so unique for its brash straightforwardness, that *Time* magazine invented the term “Trumanesque” as an adjective in the American political lexicon. The term appeared in a headline for an article describing New York Mayor Jon Lindsay’s revival in the elections of 1969 (*Time*, “New York: A Trumanesque comeback” October 31, 1969). The term “Nixonian” entered the political vocabulary to describe individuals who were duplicitous or engaged scandalous abuses of power. Similarly, the term “Reaganesque” has come to not only define Ronald Reagan's charismatic conservatism that realigned the face of both U.S. politics and government, but also sometimes describes a candidate who appears competent but in reality is detached, albeit with some innate cunning and manipulative skills (*Dictionary*, 2013). Though his name was not converted into an adjective, Johnson was defined for his personal and policy failures in Vietnam, but was also credited for his political savvy and ambitiousness in pushing through landmark social legislation. Nixon was characterized for his psychological issues and moral failings, even though he demonstrated a knack for managing foreign affairs. Ford, too, was cast as an everyman, but one who was reassuring and trustworthy at a time when the country needed to settle in the wake of Watergate and Vietnam.

Most of the reinterpretations or revisions to the dominant frame that countered the dominant collective memories (12 percent) appeared in newspaper columns or op/ed pieces, in which the intent is to provide a unique or personalized analysis of events. Even then, the disputes were seldom frequent or dramatic--except in the case of Reagan, whose memory guardians and supporters (whom the *New York Times*' R.W. Apple referred to as "Reaganauts") collided with those who interpreted his presidency differently. The conflict occurred across all types of news stories, encompassing opinion columnists, op/ed writers,

and letter writers. For example, in a letter to the *New York Times*, on June 9, 2004, David Ezer of Brooklyn would write that Americans would

“...do well to remember that amid the lionizing of former President Ronald Reagan in the media, there is little mention of the many divisive, scandalous and destructive policies he pursued. It is hardly indecent to try to provide balance to a review of the man's record. Among the issues not raised is his effective creation of Osama bin Laden, through the arming of the Afghan mujahedeen against the Soviets. Should we not remember this action now as we remember the man's legacy? (*New York Times*, June 9, 2004, p. 26).

On the same day, on the other side of the country, Daniel B. Jeffs of Apple Valley, California, countered in a letter in the *Los Angeles Times*:

“Regardless of the hateful things that some people say about former President Ronald Reagan, even as the country mourns his death, history has already determined that he restored belief and pride in being American. As governor and president, Mr. Reagan left California, the United States and the world better off and more secure. Ronald Reagan is truly an American original, and he will be remembered by a grateful country.” (*Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 2004, p. 18).

The tenor of the disputes was unusual for the process of memory being constructed during the week of presidential funerals. Many of the disputes seemed to center around correcting the misrepresentations of the Reagan presidency and its legacy. The debate was not solely led by political and social authorities, but by a host of sources--including journalists and common letter writers--with the intent to "rectify" the historical record and "correct" the assertions of frame advocates. It is likely that the nearly across-the-board increase in numbers of news items about Reagan during the week of his funeral can be attributed to the debate that was being waged.

Sources and Frame Advocates During Week of Funerals

The sources that were seen as being most responsible for structuring the memory frames in news coverage during the week of funeral ceremonies also remained fairly consistent. The largest source category was “No Attribution,” which accounted for 40 percent of the framing

among all cases and consistently proportionate within each of the presidential categories. Of course, the “no attribution” designation does not mean there was no source, only that an external source was not identified in the text. From a cultural perspective, the “no attribution” category was an essential sources category. Within a cultural context, any content producer—in this case the news workers responsible for producing stories—may be considered as a *de facto* source, because news framing and collective memory both involve the selection of discreet information deemed important in communicating cultural-interpretative meaning. As constituent members of the larger cultural construct, news workers are versed in the shared concepts, actions, and attributes of memory that comprise the general “common knowledge,” (Neuman, et. al., 1992) and do not need validation. This process of news production is guided by professional and organizational norms and expectations for deciding when facts or information need to be “sourced,” or validated to be credible (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1973). For example, notions of LBJ’s struggles in Vietnam, Truman’s “Give ‘em Hell Harry” persona, or Nixon’s neurotic obsessiveness have been so frequently associated with each man as to become accepted in public consciousness.

The most frequently *identified* source in frame construction were journalists, comprising 275 cases, or 13 percent of the total source frequencies. These were defined as either being reporters or editors who were specifically identified as external sources to the text, or whom were identified as columnists or news analysts (for example, R.W. Apple of the *New York Times* or David Broder of the *Washington Post* are examples of sources identified as journalists). Combined, news workers implicitly evoke memories without attribution, or explicitly act as independent sources for other stories--or 53 percent of the memory assertions that occur during the week of funerals. The second most cited are official sources, representing another 263 (12 percent).

The extent to which news media established themselves as memory authorities in terms of the presidents would appear to support earlier studies of the role of journalists as agents of memory and issues of journalistic authority (Edy, 2006; Kitch, 2005; Meyers, 2002).

Ostensibly, the dominance of journalistic and official sources accounting for some 65 percent of the sources for collective memory frames supports the critical theories of elites controlling media content and memory to exert hegemonic influence or authority over society (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Martin, 1996; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Willard, 1982). It also supports Zelizer's contention that, strictly as a professional matter, news workers control the narrative of collective memory as a way to protect their presumptive journalistic cultural authority in public discourse by occupying a double temporal position: first as interpretive agents at the time of the event, then again when the event is recalled and retold (Zelizer, 1990). That duality of authority for framing memory largely depends—but does not necessarily require—that journalists be eye-witnesses to events being recalled. When the subject of memory is broadly and commonly experienced across society—such as a presidency on the national political stage—journalists can reasonably presume themselves a dual role as both actors and interpreters when asserting themselves as the authoritative storytellers the cultural dialogue. In the case of coverage of presidents, however, many of the journalists involved in the coverage of the funeral and the memory were the same ones who covered the president or his policies at the time of term in office, offering to the public (or at least justifying in their own minds) a heightened sense of journalistic license and legitimacy to their interpretations of memory. Yet, even if journalists experienced an event second-hand via news media like the rest of the collective, the fact that they are acting in the retelling of the event gives them authority to shape what is recalled. For example, fewer than a handful of the journalists who witnessed the Kennedy-Nixon debate in 1960 are still around to provide testimony to the experience or its effect; however, that does not

diminish the authority of subsequent journalists to authoritatively assert the dominant memory of the debate in subsequent recollections.

The results also indicate that the presence of hegemonic influence may not be as dystopic as it initially appears. As noted in the literature review, the different facets of shared experience, combined with the diverse interpretations of the past among subsets of social communities, goes a long way to vouchsafing counter-memories of the past that are resistant to the homogenization of a prevailing, authoritarian interpretation (Foucault, 1997; Schudson, 1992; Zerubavel, 1995). The promotion of those differing perceptions and frames diversify what is included in the collective memory. This diversity is abetted by journalistic norms that serve to limit the extent to which journalistic interpretative authority is asserted. Since media were not constantly present for, or exhaustively informed of, every experience, it is difficult to establish themselves as absolute authorities. The study indicated the extent to which journalists most often deferred to topical experts, documentary evidence, or personal witnesses in framing memories of presidents (although even these were sometimes contested by reviewers and journalists). The exponential growth and diversity in the number and distribution of sources who were found to shape the presidential frame over time suggests far greater integration of the sources seeking to influence presidential frames and the construction of presidential memories over time. For example, the range of sources during news coverage of Truman's death in 1972, was exceedingly narrow, with more than 90 percent of the coverage coming from journalistic or official sources. Starting with Johnson—and particularly evident at the time of commemorations of Nixon and Reagan—new sources begin to appear in the stories, not necessarily displacing traditional journalistic and official authorities, but appearing to expand the perspectives being offered as part of the memory construction. Most of the expansion of diverse sources were academic historians and politico historians. During the coverage of Truman's funeral in 1973,

only one historian source was identified. By the time of media coverage of Nixon's funeral services in 1994, as many as 25 academic historians (4.7 percent) and 63 politico historians (10.5 percent) were cited as sources; by the time of Reagan's funeral in 2004, that number had more than doubled to as many as 55 academic historians (4.8 percent) and 120 politico historians (10.5 percent) cited as sources.

Another means in which the hegemonic thesis of memory construction is undermined by examining the measure of story intent in shaping collective memory. When examining the intent of frames that appeared in news coverage during the weeks of presidential funerals, nearly two-thirds of stories were judged to be reinforcing previously held frames. At the same time, however, there was also a smaller, but significant 19 percent of frames that "counter" memories that reinterpreted frames in the collective memory discourse in response to the dominant frames (Foucault, 1977). To differing degrees, the counter framing challenged the structure and narrative of other frames, sometimes dominant, advocated in the news media.

Another example of a frame advocate using his/her authority and informational/image subsidies to influence the way in which memory frames were structured in news media was the planning for the Reagan funeral. The centrality of visual imagery had been well recognized as part of the Reagan presidency, and it was the same for the final commemorative ceremonies. Carolyn Kitch and Jessica Hume devoted an entire chapter of their book, *Journalism in a Culture of Grief* (2007), to the extensive planning that had occurred. The Reagans reportedly had been planning the ceremony since 1981, culminating in an unprecedented 300-page manual of detailed preparations and scripts for the funeral personally approved and periodically fine-tuned by Reagan's widow over the preceding years. The week-long ceremony featured nearly every detail of presidential funeral imagery that preceded it: a riderless horse, jet flyovers, guests of honor, thousands of miniature American flags distributed along the motorcade route, the final, cinematic

sunset burial in Simi Valley, California. The elaborateness of the spectacle generated its own news coverage--until then, not usually part of news routine--and made an impression on television network executives. One news executive told the *New York Times* that they worried about neglecting even a moment of the carefully scripted ceremonies out of concern that they be accused of being disrespectful of Reagan. "God forbid we would have missed Nancy at the coffin," (Carter, 2004).

The web of subsidies and the level of expectations provided by the guardian sources—while not directly manifested in the content of the stories—clearly had an impact on the type and tone of coverage. The result of all this imagery for the media was an immense amount of coverage (news stories for Reagan during his funeral week nearly doubled any other presidential coverage) and generated memories of Reagan's passing.

Memory Frames, Changes and Consistencies Over Time

To examine ways in which collective memories change over time, the study shifted to looking at the memory constructions in a smaller subset of representative news media (e.g., *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *TIME* and *Newsweek*) in years after each president's passing. A combined result of 2,031 news stories were coded.

The second phase of analysis for memory construction provided an entirely different context for memory construction than the first. The first stage of analysis was an anomaly in allowing for a concentrated examination of collective memory construction in the news media coverage of the passing of presidents. News work is normally more concerned with reporting current events and the implications for the immediate future, not reflections on the past. Since the passing of a president is considered a newsworthy event, the focus on memory construction was integral to that coverage. Afterwards, however, the newsworthiness of collective memory representations of presidents is driven by a new set of criteria to determine what value they have to the current news environment. As has been noted, much of the academic literature has concentrated on criteria that are served by operational needs of news work: the commemorating of significant historical events, the provision of analogies to interpret current circumstances, or contextualizing current situations as part of a continuum with the past (Edy, 1999; 2006; Kitch, 2002; Lang and Lang, 1989; Meyers, 2007). However, the results of this study have identified instances in which news media plays a broader, cultural role in the construction of collective memory. When situated within a larger cultural context, news media serve the social construction of memory by acting as a canvas upon which different frame advocates can promote specific memory interpretations in the public arena to reinforce, reinterpret, or disregard representations of memory to the larger public.

The effect of changes in collective memory appear to have little relationship to the rankings of individual presidents. As discussed in the literature review, it is frequently common for political scientists, historians, and journalists to periodically engage in ranking presidents in order to construct rankings of the success and failure. Most often the rankings focus on presidential achievements, leadership qualities, failures and faults. Historian and political scientist Julian E. Zelizer argues that traditional presidential rankings do not explain much concerning actual presidential history, and that they are "weak mechanisms for evaluating what has taken place in the White House." (Zelizer, 2011)

To determine if the collective memories had any potential relation to the ranking of presidents in periodic surveys a handful of those surveys conducted between 2000 and 2012 were examined. In the CSPAN survey of 2000, and again in 2009, researchers surveyed both historians and more than 1,000 viewers and asked them to rank each president by 10 leadership attributes (CSPAN, 2009, 2000). Similarly, the Gallup Polling Organization conducted surveys in both 2010 and 2011 asking a broad sample of adults "Who do you regard as the greatest United States president?" (Gallup Polling, 2010, 2011). A Rasmussen poll in 2007 asked respondents to rate presidents by whom they viewed most favorably, but without requiring specific reasons (Rasmussen, 2007). The Public Policy Polling poll, taken between September 8 and 11, 2011, asked 665 Americans whether they held favorable or unfavorable views of how each president handled his job in office (Public Policy Polling, 2011). Most recently, *New York Times* blogger Nate Silver's conducted a meta-analysis of several recent surveys of presidential scholars; by averaging the rankings he then re-ranked the presidents accordingly (New York Times Blog, 2013). Given the differences in methodologies, the nature of the survey questions posed, or the sampling of the subjects surveyed (i.e., historians versus general public), the intent was to comparatively rank presidents on how their performance is remembered. As you can see

from Table 5.2, there does not appear to be much consistency, with each president landing at different points along the ranks at different points of time.

Table 5.2: Relative Measured Rankings of Presidents in Subsequent Years

President	CSPAN 2000	Rasmussen 2007	CSPAN 2009	Gallup 2010	Gallup 2011	Public Policy Polling 2012	NYT/Silver 2013
Truman	5	11	5	--	9	10	6
Johnson	10	23	11	7	16	7	12
Nixon	25	32	--	9	17	9	29
Reagan	11	9	10	2	1	2	10
Ford	23	13	22	5	9	5	24

Fisher's Exact Test $p > .05$

It is important to recognize the journalistic role in this process. As Table 5.3 illustrates, news media continued to dominate the sources in posing memory frames of former presidents (combined 62 percent for "no attribution" and "journalist" source categories), most often serving as a *de facto* memory guardian in promoting or reinforcing dominant memory frames for specific presidents. Part of the reason is that journalistic professional norms discourage reporters from making assertions counter to dominant frames without a documentable source to validate the statement. It is worth noting that the table also shows the increase among politico-historians and academic historians nearly doubled in frequency as sources, accounting for 27 percent of the instances in which revisions or revelatory information was asserted against the dominant frames.

Some of the study results suggest inherent factors in sourcing and source motivations when engaging in recalling collective memories. The frequency of academic sources in providing revelations to the memory construction process (19 percent) is most likely linked to the nature of the normative purposes and reward structures of academic research. The purpose of academic research is to provide alternate perspectives and uncover new information, both of which are rewarded by professional success and news media attention. The attention that is paid to the new memory frame is often correlated to the more extraordinary or interesting it is deemed to be. So when Robert Dallek or Michael Beschloss release new works reframing Lyndon

Johnson, or releasing tapes of his conversations with other historical figures, the attention can be high. Similarly, witnesses are most often a stable source for reinforcing memory construction, but also are prominent sources for reinterpreting the past. Whether through their own memoirs, or in look-back interviews with historians, witnesses can provide insight that may be previously lost or overlooked that recontextualizes the whole of the memory.

Table 5.3: Interpretative Intent of Frame/Sub-Frame by Source, Subsequent Years

	Reinforce	Revelation	Reinterpret	Reference/NA	TOTAL
N/A	429	80	91	71	671 (40%)
Journalist	198	60	65	34	357 (21%)
Politico	84	24	59	8	175 (11%)
Academic	83	52	18	9	162 (10%)
Official	79	16	14	12	121(7%)
Citizen	57	4	8	7	76 (4%)
Witness	20	21	12	4	57 (3%)
Social	31	11	5	4	51 (3%)
Guardian	12	9	8	1	30 (1%)
TOTAL	993 (58%)	277 (16%)	280 (17%)	150 (9%)	1,700 (100%)

Fisher's Exact Test $p < .05$

Politico-historians, on the other hand, tend to be less about revealing new information, than reinterpreting what is already known. Politico-historians account for more than a fifth (21 percent) of the instances in which memory frames of former presidents are revised or reinterpreted. As for academic historians, the higher rate can be linked to the nature of the enterprise. Politically motivated to propose frames that reinterpret the past to fit ideological purposes, politico-historians are more likely to either rationalize memories of past events/actions to vindicate subsequent events, or to revise the frames of the past to provide a metaphor for contemporary circumstances. For example, politico-historians are often credited with reinterpreting the increases in military spending of the Reagan Presidency as the planned object of the eventual fall of the Soviet Union.

The constructivist approach is most evident when examining incidents in which frame assertions appear or are contested in news media stories either due to changes in the political environment or by the active promotion of political actors. These transformations of collective

memory frames seldom originate with journalists acting as memory agents, but instead by covering items or events subsidized by other memory agents that nominally met journalistic norms for news worthiness (i.e. commemorative events, retrospective academic conferences, book or biography publications, television documentaries, statements, etc.). Such promotion not only advances the advocate's preferred narrative, but uses the news media to provide a *de facto* endorsement, or at least validation, of the frame simply by including it in the media dialogue.

As Table 5.3 illustrates, over time the dominant frames used to describe each president remained fairly consist consistent (i.e., those frames which appeared no less than in 10 percent of the total frames).

Table 5.4 Dominant Frames for Presidents, Subsequent Years

Truman	Johnson	Nixon	Reagan	Ford
Campaigner N=101 (15%)	Policymaker N=74 (14%)	Personality N=51 (23%)	Economics N=66 (15%)	Personality N=7 (21%)
Personality N= 96 (14%)	Personality N=73 (13.4%)	Morality N=25 (11%)	Foreign Policy N=65 (15%)	Morality N=5 (15%)
Foreign Policy N=80 (12%)	Comm in Chief N=62 (11%)	Foreign Policy N=23 (10%)	Head of State N=45 (10%)	--
Head of State N=66 (10%)	Candidate N=53 (10%)	--	Ideological N=44 (10%)	--

While there was a great deal of resiliency to dominant memory frames over time, revisions and reinterpretations frequently occur that are driven by a number of different cultural actors in the public arena. These transformations are reflected in different ways and at different levels in the news media. Each of the presidents in the study provided different case studies for the processes and actors who motivate those changes in news media constructions and collective memory formation.

Truman provides the best example of social constructivist influences at the frame level. In news coverage of his passing, few incidental references were made to the presidential campaign of 1948 against New Yorker Thomas Dewey, in which Truman pulled off a stunning

come-from-behind victory. Hence, the campaign frame for Truman accounted for less than 8 percent of all frames. However, in subsequent years the frequency of the campaign frame nearly doubled, becoming by 2012 the most frequently referenced memory frame for Truman over time. The growing prominence of the Truman campaign frame was due to the frequency with which it was invoked by candidates or campaigns, and its appearance in the press as cumulative frequency of the frame.

The study indicates that the change was driven largely by the prominence that the 1948 election gained in the public imagination due to the number of references to it by subsequent political candidates and campaigns. Not only did the iconic image of Truman holding up the Chicago Daily Tribune banner headline "Dewey Defeats Truman," impress the never-say-die spirit, but the nature of how Truman handled the campaign as a straight talker running against a "do-nothing" Congress became a recognizable meme for many a presidential candidate. The first was the 1984 Presidential Election as both Reagan and Walter Mondale struggled to claim the Truman mantel. Several subsidies were used to make the story more newsworthy or unique: Reagan resurrected the same train as Truman in order to replicate his whistle stop campaign tours across the country; Mondale fought back by having Daughter Margaret Truman write letters to major newspapers asking Reagan to stop co-opting her father's image. Since then, Truman's come-from-behind win over Thomas Dewey in 1948 has often been used a metaphor for trailing political candidates and has become something of a well-recognized cliché. *TIME* columnist Hugh Sidey called the appropriation of the Truman persona equivalent to "political bodysnatching" (Sidey, 1992). Four years later, *TIME* magazine even ran a full-page feature "They're just wild about Harry (especially when they're behind)" that cited countless cases of every underdog candidate in presidential campaign stretching back to 1976 evoking the Truman's come-from-behind victory (TIME, 1996).

Similarly, the ideological frame for Reagan also expanded over time, which again was directly correlated to continued assertions by political actors touting his conservative credentials and iconic status. Perhaps more than any of the other presidents in the study, the collective memory of Reagan is most often invoked as a metaphorical tool in defining contemporary political circumstances and choices. The phrase “What would Reagan do?” has existed since at least the early 2000s, and attained greater prominence during the 2008 Republican presidential primary candidates' debate at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. In the years subsequent to his passing, the ideological frame has increasingly come to dominate the memory constructions of Reagan as a conservative icon in news media coverage because of how it has been referenced by leading political candidates and pundits.

For both Truman and Reagan, the emergence in the frequency of different memory frames did not result from journalistic operational needs, but instead reflected the promotion of certain frames by political actors and pundits that were subsequently picked up and pressed by news media. The prevalence of the Truman campaign frame can be seen to correlate to spikes in the references in news media coverage before or during most of the presidential election cycles.

Similar effects were documented in the changes to the collective memory at the sub-frame level, in which the attributes of personality, or policy action were open to alteration and contestation depending upon the frame advocate making the assertions. Nowhere was this more apparent than for Johnson, who has been the subject of countless, multi-volume biographies that have offered such inflammatory and diametrically opposite assessments of his personality attributes and motivations than can be possibly true. In this instance, the frame advocates involved were not political candidates and campaigns, but academic and popular historians promoting different assessments of LBJ at different stages of his life. The most prominent—academicians Robert Dallek, Doris Kearnes Goodwin, and Michael Beschloss and journalist

Robert A. Caro—at times offer diametrically opposite assessments of LBJ and his presidency. While the other presidents have also been the subjects of biographical surveys, Johnson has been the subject of so many more, and more compelling, works that have tended to shape his recollections in the collective memory. Why Johnson has been the subject of so much attention is open to speculation. What is clear is that he continues to provoke tremendous debate among different frame advocates and guardians in the construction of collective memory.

As one example, in the wake of Caro's characterization of Johnson allegedly stealing the 1948 U.S. Senate election from Coke Stevenson, which prompted numerous news stories and op/ed counterattacks were undertaken by Johnson's guardians, academic historians, and journalists to challenge that narrative. While the guardians were looking to preserve or counter negative attributes assigned to Johnson, others were apparently guided by a desire to correct, or at least balance, the assertions they thought were untrue. In the case of some of the academic historians, perhaps to assert their own historical authority. Fellow Johnson biographer, however, Dallek indirectly criticized Caro for his portrait as demonstrating a "hatred of Johnson" that "passes the bounds of common sense and contributes nothing to historical understanding" (Dallek, 1991, xxi). "By tilting the tables to make crystal-clear the personal abhorrence he has come to feel for his subject," In his Washington Post column of September 12, 1991, David Broder wrote, "[Caro] strains credulity." In the *New York Review of Books*, historian Garry Wills called Caro's work, ". . .a study in hate." And that ". . .though Caro likes to present himself as a simple fact collector on a giant scale, he is actually a mythmaker, and what he gives us in this book is a nightmarishly inverted fairy tale" (Wills, 2012).

When Richard Goodwin, special assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson (and husband of fellow LBJ biographer Doris Kearnes Goodwin) wrote in *Remembering America, a Voice From the Sixties* (1988) that Johnson suffered from mental instability, fellow former co-worker

Jack Valenti would appear in the Los Angeles Times to claim Goodwin was "a loose amalgam of Judas and Benedict Arnold rolled into one" who included the section on Johnson's mental stability "...to jack up sales of the book" Much of the debate, and the repair, to collective memories of Johnson occurred conducted not solely in the news columns or op/ed pages, but in the book reviews of the major newspapers and magazines. The subsidies used to spark interest in the frames came straight from the books, each sparked by press releases revealing previously undiscovered documents or interviews, to provide reinterpretations of the dominant frame should be viewed in collective memory.

When left to the construction of memory over time, the greatest tension is between the preservation of the existing, dominant frame, and counter-frames that seek to assert alternate narratives into the general dialogue. In some cases, these frames—such as the Truman campaign frame, the Nixon mental instability frame, or the Reagan ideologue frame—may survive for decades. However, there are other, more apocryphal memory constructions—e.g., that LBJ or Nixon were complicit in the Kennedy assassination—that end up persisting as additive to the dominant memory frames.

Lastly, the study provides at least some glimpse of the instances in which news media constructions are more about the omission or forgetting in the construction of collective memories than what is remembered. Returning to the line graphs in Chapter Four that identified each president's most prominent memories in the years after their passing consistently show a gradual decline in the frequency of references over time. Even the intermittent spikes indicating a momentary increase of attention to a particular frame demonstrate a gradual decline in the number of references.

As noted in the observations for each of the presidents, over time certain frames of sub-frames fade from the collective memory. Although it is difficult to quantify the absence of

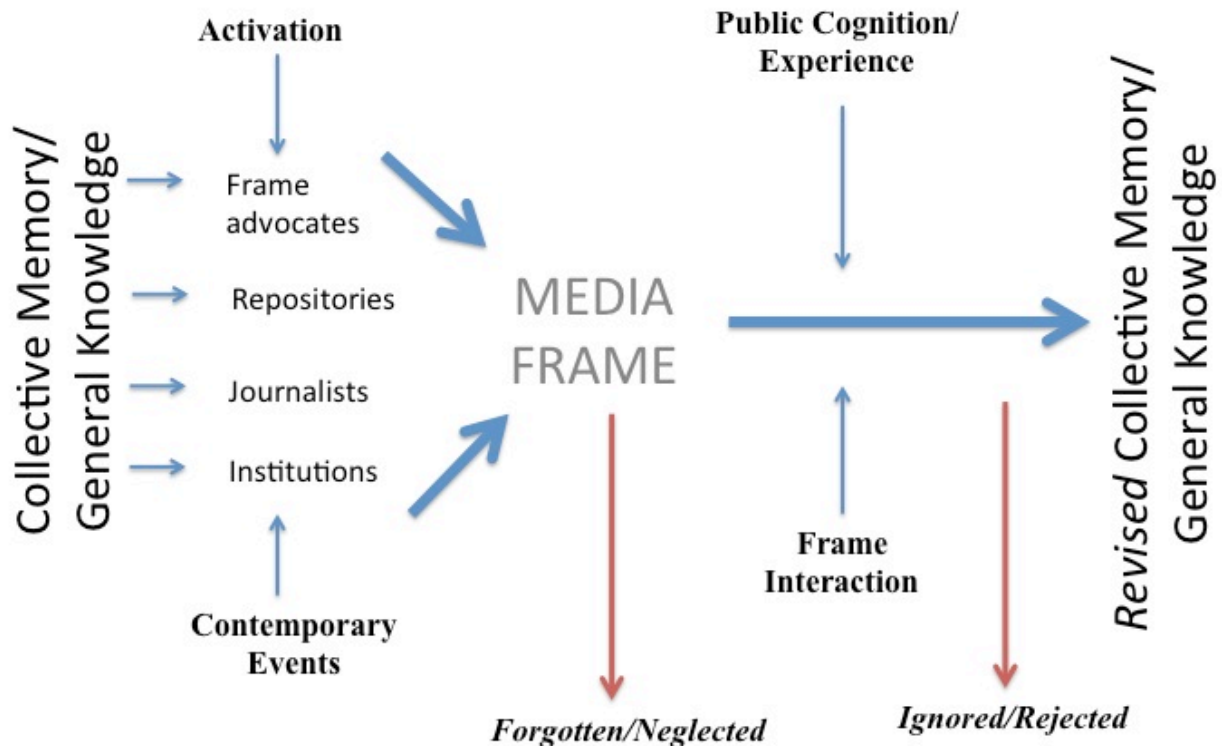
memory constructions (Zerubavel 2006), it is worth noting instances in which certain topics have been largely omitted in news media representations of the past for any number of reasons. For instance, despite the amount of attention the Reagan Administration's military interventions in Central America or Afghanistan received in the 1980s, neither appeared with any regularity in subsequent media stories, and certainly not at the frequency of the Cold War frame. Part of the reason for that without frame advocates presenting newsworthy reasons to resurrect or reconstruct the memory, is often considered "old news" and therefore superfluous to the production of contemporary stories. Instances like Truman's racial desegregation of the U.S. Army, are similarly considered "old hat" when compared to more recent examples of removing barriers to gender and sexual orientation in the military.

Another reason explaining the fading of certain memories is that successive generations will not attach the same relevance to an event as the generations that experienced at the time. Even Halbwachs recognized the phenomenon when he wrote of collective memory as a current of continuous thought [that]. . . retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive." Clearly, this is different from history, which "starts only when. . .social memory is fading or breaking up" when ". . . the subject is already too distant in the past to allow for the testimony of those who preserve some remembrance of it." (Halbwachs, 1952, 89). Such a thematic phase of social consciousness that mediates between the *memory* of the lived experience and its *preservation*, or history (Niethammer, 2002; Funkenstein, 1989; Bergson, 1911). Unless there is a frame advocate to press the topic back to the forefront of collective memory, the potential for the frame to lay dormant remains. That is not to say the any frame, once held in the collective memory, truly disappears.

The model of news media influence on collective memory construction is available in

Graph 5.1. It displays the state of collective memory/general knowledge, activated to recall either by contemporary events or the reference to the past (e.g., publishing of a book, revelations from former associates, etc.) that go into the construction of the media frame. The memory

Graph 5.1: Model of News Media Framing of Collective Memories



represented in that frame is measured against the public interpretations and frame interactions before ultimately contributing to the public understanding or rejection of particular objects within the collective memories. The process model begins with a generalized knowledge of memory about past events which are then activated either by public reference in political discourse or by contemporary events as reported in news media. The activation of the components of memory are then cited or neglected within a memory frame that provides a temporal link between the past events as accessed through collective memory and the contemporary circumstances as described in the frame. This newly structured memory is then cognitively processed and shaped by an amalgam of competing frame experiences and

interpretations of both past and present. This collective processing either accepts, acknowledges, or discards components of the revised memory into a revised generalized knowledge about the past that does not wholly replace the antecedent memory, but most often augments that memory with new or revised information.

Conclusion

This study makes a significant contribution to understanding the role of media in constructing collective memory. In particular, this study not only elevates the significant role of media in the construction of collective memories, it traces the complex interactions between different sources and news media influences in the structuring of collective memories.

First, the study is important for providing evidence of the dominant role of news media in constructing and reconstructing of memory. For too long media has been neglected as a location of memory construction in and negotiation. Previous assertions for looking to museums (Katriel, 1997) or public statues and street names (Nora 1989) as sites of memory are unsatisfying, since they are end products of the decision making process, and provide nothing that describes the back stories and negotiations that preceded the ultimate cultural product. News media provide the necessary discursive space to permit public negotiations between varying meanings of the past. The open forum of dialogue and assertion put forth in the news media provides a much clearer and accessible means of identifying frames of collective memory—and the advocates who are promoting them. This study demonstrates that journalism may provide a critical forum for the negotiation of shared meanings when a hegemonic understanding of the past has yet to emerge.

Second, the study broadens our approaches to understanding who is involved in promoting memory change, adaptation, or resistance over time. While there are a number of

social and political actors who seek to engage in framing collective memories of former presidents, the study found ample evidence to support Zelizer's (1992) contention of the role of journalists (both as named sources and asserting memory within news stories) in constructing memories of national events. Beyond newswriters, however, are a cast of publicists, historians, political activists, guardians, and others actively participating in the construction and protection of certain memory constructs. In this sense the public arena model to understanding discourse—which has received little attention outside the field of social constructivist theory—was important to this study. Recognizing the increasing level of dispute in the political space to define the content and values of a common cultural history, the public arena of competing frame advocates perfectly informed the frame-building theory advanced by Scheufele (1999, 2000) and underscores the argument that news media framing should be seen from the perspective of competing and influential sources (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Carragee & Roefs 2004).

The study was limited by the sheer volume of media involved in the construction of modern collective memory. By relying upon the news media, a strong representative sample of what constituted our memories of former presidents, the increasing tide of communicative power found in digital media, especially through social media, has yet to be explored. For example, tremendous amounts of communal memory construction was engaged for Reagan at the time of his funeral, by common citizens reflecting and arguing through chat rooms, web publications, etc. that was not directly expressed through the mainstream news media, but certainly affected the construction of memory. It is reasonable to speculate that the level of contestation of Reagan's memory was due, in part, to the increasing freedom of opinion that people are able to voice on the Internet. This increased vocalization has seeped into the more traditional and limited forms of citizen-level vocalizations in the public dialogue, such as letters to the editor and public commentaries. Although this study was limited to the construction of collective

memories of presidents over time, it would be informative for similarly structured longitudinal analyses to see if such memory construction patterns existed for other memory constructs, such as political campaigns, policy initiatives, or prominent figures in popular culture.

Appendix I: Coding Book

COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF PRESIDENTS CODEBOOK

General Guidelines:

This codebook is designed to guide the process of identifying frames and frame sources in news media coverage of former U.S. Presidents who have passed away since 1970 (Truman, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, and Ford) in the seven days after their passing. This codebook should provide direction for each coder to identifying frames, sub-frames, sources, and other variables to support the analyses and answer the research questions posed by this study. In particular:

- Read this codebook thoroughly;
- Read the entire story assigned for coding, within the dominant frames identified;
- Code the paragraphs where the name of a president is present or highlighted. If necessary, read the paragraphs immediately prior or subsequent to the identified paragraph to ensure interpretation of the sub-frame and/or source category that is being identified;
- If uncertain about coding category, please contact the primary investigator for clarification.

Purpose of Study

This study seeks to identify how memories of former presidents are presented at the time of their deaths and then transformed over time. Specifically, coders will help identify three specific questions: What qualities about a former president or their presidencies are remembered in the news media? Who are the news media sources responsible for asserting these memories? And what is the purpose or context in which these memories are recalled (i.e., To describe a contemporary situation? Reveal a previously unknown fact or event? To help people to locate something to a particular period in time?).

Datasets

The study is divided into two datasets. The first dataset will consist of news articles concerning presidents in the seven days following their deaths. The second dataset will consist of stories about each president subsequent to their deaths. Coders will be assigned to code only one dataset at a time. The datasets will rely on archived news media from four nationally recognized newspapers, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and the *Washington Post*; three news magazines *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*; and five television news networks NBC, ABC, CBS, and CNN and Fox News. The stories for coding will include all non-advertising content that includes staff and non-staff-produced news stories, feature stories, columnists, editorials, op-eds, letters to editors, and broadcast transcripts. There should be no duplication of stories. For example, if two news outlets reprint the same Associated Press wire story, that story should only be coded once.

Data Set A: Presidential Funeral News Stories

The first dataset is drawn from news media articles and broadcast transcripts of about the funerals, eulogies, obituaries, and remembrances of U.S. presidents that appear in the seven days following the public announcement of their deaths. Specifically, these stories focus on recalling past events, personal recollections, and interpretive analysis of the political or historical influences of the president as their primary focus. This would include pieces by or about people who had a relationship with the president (either as a staffer member, family member, colleague, opponent, etc.) that provides a biographical representation describing the president's personality, abilities, or performance--regardless of whether such experiences occurred during the presidential term.

Dataset B: Subsequent President References

The second dataset is drawn from a series of news media articles that specifically reference the deceased presidents in the years subsequent to their deaths. This dataset will *start* by drawing upon the frames/attributes and sources identified from the first dataset for coding the frames/attributes and sources. However, when a frame/attribute or source type appears in the news story that *does not correspond* with categories already on the coding sheet, coders are asked to define the frame/attribute *and* the type of source in the space marked OTHER. Should these added frames/attributes or sources continue to appear in subsequent news stories, coders should continue to mark code for them through the rest of the dataset. (For example, several years after his death, stories about President John F. Kennedy's philandering began to appear in news stories referring to the former president. These frames/attributes were not present during the news coverage of his funeral, but subsequently reshaped and became part of the collective memory of President Kennedy once the revelations were made and confirmed.)

Units of Analysis

This study seeks to identify and code four main variables of content: the main thematic frames of each story, the sub-frames/attributes ascribed to each president, the supposed purpose of sub-frame/attribute, and the sources asserting the frame/attribute. To achieve these results, the study employs a two-stage level of content analysis for each story. The first stage identifies the primary particular thematic frame or narrative about the presidency that the story is about (i.e., presidential as communicator, president as commander in chief, etc.). Often of this information can be gleaned within the first few paragraphs that provide a focus or purpose to the story.

The second unit of analysis looks more specifically for the sub-frames or attributes about the former presidents at the *paragraph(s)* level comprising the story. In most instances, the

investigator will have highlighted or otherwise indicated the paragraph to be coded. The coder will be responsible for answering three questions:

- a) What is the specific attribute/action is being referenced to this president (for example: Nixon and Watergate? Reagan as skilled communicator? Truman/Firing of MacArthur)?
- b) Is the reference to locate a particular event or time in the past (e.g., Johnson as an emblematic point for the 1960s; Eisenhower as a symbol of the 1950s)? Or is it being used as an analogy to describe a contemporary person or event (using Kennedy attributes to describe Bill Clinton; using Nixon/Watergate to describe the Reagan/Iran-Contra Affair)?
- c) Is there a source asserting the frame, or is just a non-attributed statement? If there is a source, type of source is it?

Each coder should take responsibility for ensuring that the theme and source of the story is identified and properly coded. Coding sheets will be provided that already identify thematic frames, attributes, and sources you can use for coding. Should story frame or attributes appear that *do not* fit within the provided categories, an “other” space is provided for coders to account assign their own coding category, and can use those categories in subsequent analyses. The principal investigator will review the to ensure that additional codes are valid for analysis.

CODING

Coders may find the topic and attribute paragraphs already highlighted or otherwise identified when receiving their coding packets. This not only facilitates the coding process, but takes advantage of the principal investigator's previous journalistic experience of writing style that other coders may lack. Coders can then analyze stories and paragraphs for thematic frames, sub-frames, sources, etc. as indicated below:

Dominant Frames

The dominant presidential frames are those that are most often identified in academic literature as a means of assessing presidents and/or presidential performance. These frames can be based either in the institutional function of the office (e.g., commander in chief, head of state, etc.), or characteristics/traits (e.g., integrity, charisma, etc.) as listed below.

Institutional Frames

Head of State: Role of the executive office, including ceremonial and official functions (hosting state dinners, state of union speeches, etc.)

Chief Diplomat/Foreign Policy: Leading U.S. foreign diplomacy, negotiating treaties, directing diplomatic missions, developing policies that involve economic or military alliances, etc.

Chief Executive/Manager: President as chief administrator of the machinery of government by appointments, executive regulations, and oversight.

Legislator: President not only proposes legislation but actively works for passage by negotiating and persuading members of U.S. Congress..

Domestic Policymaker. Identified with setting or promoting/opposing specific domestic

policy objectives, putting forth specific legislation, and adapting policies to unforeseen developments.

Law Enforcer: Enforcing U.S. laws (e.g., FBI, Homeland Security, Justice Department, immigration, the Securities and Exchange Commission) or extraordinary circumstances (e.g., deploying National Guard, establishing extraordinary courts for terrorism suspects, etc.).

Commander/Protector in Chief: Commander of the armed forces, including foreign intelligence gathering (e.g., CIA, NSA, Department of Defense Intelligence) with the intent to protect and pursue U. S. interests and citizens.

Economic Manager: *De facto* financial manager of the U.S. economy by setting domestic and international economic policy, drafting the federal budget, setting tax policy, unemployment programs, appointing financial regulators (i.e., chair of Federal Reserve Board, etc.)

Chief of Party/Ideology. Leader of his party or, more specifically, an ideological wing of his party in engaging in political rhetoric or partisan activity (e.g., campaigning for other candidates, party fundraising, etc.), pursuing policies that are closely identified with party constituencies.

Characteristics/Traits Frames

Moral authority/Integrity: This is the relative degree to which the president upholds/ falls short in the moral authority of his office through character, values, and conduct.

Persuader/Communicator: The extent to which a president articulates his policies, inspires public consensus, and exerts charisma to transform the needs, values, preferences, and aspirations of followers.

Intelligence: Reference to president's required intellectual capacity. This is not necessarily

limited to educational attainment, but also political cunning or common sense.

Experience/Background. Either political or “real world” experience prior to being elected (often seen as guiding his worldview and decisions. This includes previously held elected office, non-politically oriented activities, life experiences, military service, education, functions, etc.

Adaptability/Negotiator: This frames the president as political dealmaker for either achieving political goals or public needs through compromise or the *realpolitick* means of social power and influence.

Equality/Fairness: This frame is conceptually defined and operationalized as instances in which a president did or did not act as champion of promoting political and social unity and in advocating for specific social groups interests, showing sensitivity to both common and specific concerns/issues.

Creative: This frame involves the relative ways presidents can be innovative problem solvers, within the constraints of political norms and expectations.

Leadership: This frame is the relative extent to which presidents act decisively and with effect, particularly during a crisis or difficult circumstances while in office.

Appearance. This frame is conceptually defined as the relative extent to which presidents possess physical appearance/personality and the whether that contributes to positive or negative assessments or remembrances of them and their administrations.

Sub-Frames

Sub-frames will be identified to correlate *specifically* to each of the five presidents under study. Each must be coded for 1) the particular sub-frame/topic specific to the president; 2) whether the sub-frame is cast as being positive, negative, or neutral; 3) the specific source

asserting the sub-frame; and 4) whether the sub-frame appears to validate/reinforce an existing memory of the president, revises an existing memory, or reveals new information that had previously not been part of common knowledge.

Because sub-frames will differ between particular presidents, each coding sheet will reflect specific sub-frames to be coded for a particular president. For example, the dominant frame of persuader/communicator would likely cite sub-frames of Ronald Reagan or Bill Clinton as positive examples of communication, while Richard Nixon or Lyndon Johnson may be used as negative examples. In the case of Reagan, the coding sheet will reflect those communication sub-frames specific to him (e.g., citing particular speeches/performances, personal style, “Hollywood-style” stage management, media strategies, etc.). In some cases, incidents or attribute sub-frames could be used to describe any number of different dominant frames. **It is important that the coder identifies the sub-frame as it is being used that explains, validates, or challenges the dominant frame of the story.**

Lastly, there will be instances where new sub-frames may appear or change over time. Coders will also need to account for changing sub-frame by adding a new sub-frame to the list of sub-frame categories (*see Units of Analysis above*). In each case, the coder should do his/her best to identify the way in which the sub-frame is used to inform the dominant frame of the story.

Source Fields

Sources linked to the frame/sub-frame have been divided into common categories of individuals who commonly comment on the past actions or meanings of former presidents, which are provided as part of the coding sheet. If a source appears who does not fit into the coding categories, the coder should insert them as “other” and present to the principal investigator for determination. If a source is cited without clear identification of his status (i.e.,

former colleague, academic researcher, institutional representative, etc.) or it is unclear in which category a source belongs, the coder should make a nominal effort (Google search) to identify the source. The sources to be identified are as follows:

Politico-Historians are political or ideological sources who assert certain interpretations to “celebrate and reaffirm local, state, regional ethnic, party or national solidarity. . .and routinely use the past. . .” to justify their actions in the present and to invent “. . . pasts to suit their own needs” (Schudson, 1992, p. 212-213). Examples of these type of sources could be pseudo-historians (non-academic writers not subject to peer review publication), popular historians/biographers, politically affiliated pundits /media personalities (e.g., Michael Moore, Sean Hannity, D’nesh D’Souza), or fellows of politically affiliated think tanks and foundations.

Guardians: Sources who generally invested in promoting particular reputational memory frames. Guardians would include those who had some personal relationship or attachment to former president, (e.g., descendents, friends, employees, former colleagues) or who simply have a psychological/financial attachment to the president and particular interpretations of his memory (e.g., tourism promoters, fans, presidential libraries and museums, visitor centers, etc.)

Witnesses: Sources due to their proximity to particular events or issue being recalled even when those interpretations may be transitory, biased, or limited in scope. This is not limited to actual eyewitnesses, but also those who possessed some relative proximity to, or experience of, events or circumstances of the past. This category excludes journalists, whose experiences as first-hand witnesses to events are a distinctively qualified in memory construction.

Scholar/Educator Historians: Normatively objective proprietors of an authentic historical record due to their topical expertise and adherence to professional standards of evidence and analysis. They include academic/professional historians, biographers, political scientists, or museum curators, whose authority is based on gathering and interpreting information through archival research, interviews, oral histories, and analysis.

Official Authorities: Sources of memory frames by virtue of their professional/institutional position and the perception of providing temporal continuity within the boundaries of their organizational interests. This would include agency officials, party spokespersons, or the representatives of professional or special interest organizations (e.g., White House press secretaries, American Bar Association, AARP, National Rifle Association, etc.).

Social Authorities: Sources by virtue of their capacity to speak as descendents of past ideologies, ethnic/social subgroups, or experiences who pass down traditions and provide an appearance of temporal continuity even when lacking direct involvement to the subject at hand. For example, this may include contemporary leaders of cultural or political movements, etc.

Journalists: sources who served as personal witnesses or participants in past events that become the collective memory by means of professional observations and recording of events and then subsequent recall and reconstruction;

Citizens: sources who have no professional, personal, or tangible attachments to an event or memory other than being constituent members of the overall memory culture through participating or commenting through letters to the editor, man-in-the-street interviewees, etc.);

No attribution: No source can be identified with or linked to the main paragraph that contains the frame of story under analysis.

Other: Sources mentioned cannot be classified into one of the above.

CODING SHEET

Subject ID: **Code assigned to each president**

TRU/1=Truman

LBJ/2=Johnson

NIX/3=Nixon

GIP/4=Reagan

FRD/5=Ford

Story Date: **Date that the story was published (Month/Day/Year, 01/10/1984)**

Media/Newspaper: **Identification of media outlet**

NYT/1=*New York Times*

WPO/2=*Washington Post*

Media/Magazines: **Identification of News Magazines**

NWK/1=*Newsweek*

TIM/2=*Time*

Story Type: **Identification of type of story:**

NEWS/1=News story

ED/2=News Column

OPED/3=Guest Column Advertisement

LTR/5=Letter to the Editor

QUO/6=Quote

EDIT/7=Editorial

REV/8=Book/Arts Review

EXPT/9=Book Excerpt

Policy/Action (Reference to an circumstance, event, action)

___ *Mid East Terror/Lybia/Quaddafi*

___ *Lebanon*

___ *Cold War/Berlin Wall*

___ *Soviet negotiations/Gorbachev*

___ *Cold War/Hard liner*

___ *Managing Executive Branch/Departments/Agencies*

___ *Government Appointments*

Dominant Story Frame/Sub-Frame

DIP/1=Foreign Policy

CEO/2=Chief Executive/Manager

LEG/3=Legislator (e.g., vetoes, congressional relations/negotiations)

POLICY/4=Domestic Policymaker (e.g., domestic policy initiatives)

LAW/5=Law Enforcer (i.e. Justice Department, War on Drugs, etc.)

CHIEF/6=Commander in Chief (e.g., Pentagon, War, defense spending)

ECO/7=Economic Manager (taxes, deficit spending, appt. Fed Chair, etc.)

POL/8=Campaigner/ Head of Party/Ideology

MOR/9=Moral authority/Integrity (e.g., personal morality, religion, etc.)

COM/10=Persuader/Communicator

INTEL/11=Intelligence (e.g., intelligence, or lack of intelligence)

EXP/12=Experience/Background (e.g., previous experience/background)

PUBAD/14=Justice/Advocate

ADAPT/15=(e.g., creativity/adaptability to circumstances)

LEAD/16=Leadership (e.g., actions/behavior)

LOOK/17=Appearance/Personality

HEAD/18=Head of State

Source (Choose one):

POL/1=Politico-Historians

GUARD/2=Guardians

WIT/3=Witnesses

SCH/4=Scholar/Educator Historians

OFF/5=Official Authorities

SOC/6=Social Authorities

JOURN/7=Journalists

CIT/8=Citizens

NA/9=No attribution

Attribute 1 (e.g., personal attribute, behavior, or characteristic that describes the president)

Attribute 2 (e.g., personal attribute, behavior, or characteristic that describes the president)

Appendix II: Sub-Frame Attributes

Ford Sub-Frame Attributes

POLICY/ACTION

General presidency
Presidential Pardon
Betty Ford
Post Watergate
Accidental Presidency
Personal Biography
SNL
Civil Rights
Vietnam
Energy Policy
ColdWar Leader, Soviet Negotiations,
Helsinki Accords
Connect to common man
MidEast Terror
1976 Campaign General Campaign,
Political experience
Fed Appts, Supreme Court Nominee
Mayaguez Incident
Economic Policies
Assassination Attempt
Pardon draft dodgers

CHARACTERISTIC/ATTRIBUTE

Decent, Fair, Loyal, Gracious, Kind
Everyman
NA
Honest
Healer, Wise, Studious
Detached, Boring
Inexperienced
Religious
Controversial
Hardworking
Shrewd, Decisive

Klutz/Clumsy
Cold Warrior
Inept, Failed

Patriotic
Partisan/Ideological
Athlete

Truman Sub-Frame Attributes

POLICY ACTION

MacArthur
1948 Election Dewey
ColdWar Leader, Truman Doctrine,
Marshall Plan, Gouzenko Spy Case,
Creating CIA
New Deal Liberal
General Presidency
Eisenhower
Unpopularity
Vice presidency
Medal of Freedom
Political experience
Post-presidency
Farm policy
Running Against Congress
National Health Insurance
Potsdam
Economy/Fair Deal, Slump, recession
Foreign Policy Criticism
PR Assassination Attempt
Hoover
Invoking Taft-Hartley Act
Create Israel
Korean War
Dropping the Bomb
Civil Rights
Biography
McCarthy
Creating NATO
scandals
Dealing with Press
Ascending to Presidency

CHARACTERISTIC/ATTRIBUTE

Everyman
Cold Warrior
Redeemed

New Dealer
Inexperienced
PlainSpeaking/Give 'em Hell
Tenacious
Accountable/Buck Stops Here
Just/Fair
Decisive, Shrewd
Racist
Honest
Partisan, Ideological
Studious, self-taught
Loyal, Kind
Temper, Rash
Controversial
Hardworking
Great/Near Great
Failed
Courage

Johnson Sub-Frame Attributes

POLICY ACTION

Kennedy Assassination
General Presidency
Great Society/General
Great Society/Poverty
Great Society/Civil Rights
Great Society/Health Care
Economic/Budget Policy
Vietnam
Campaign/Election 1964
Stevenson Election 1948
Nuclear Power
Management/Personality
National Security
Victim of Vietnam
Campaigns/ Elections (Gen)
Vice Presidency
Relationship with Kennedys
Senate majority Leader, Congressional
Experience
Press Relations
Education policy
Faith
Environmental policy
White House recordings
Credibility Gap
Dominican Revolt
Refuses Re-election
Scandals
Supreme Court Appts
NASA
Victim of Vietnam

CHARACTERISTIC/ATTRIBUTE

Pragmatist
Everyman
Inferiority Complex
Kind/Caring/Sentimental/humane
Paranoid
Strategic/ Manipulative
Ambitious, Determined, Tenacious
Ruthless
Peace seeker
Experienced Practitioner
Failed
Boisterous
Uncouth/Unsophisticated
Emotional
Deceptive/Dishonest/Liar
Complex
Dealmaker/negotiator
Sad/Tragic

Idealist
Unappreciated
Achievement/Accomplishment
Disliked/Unpopular
Patriotic
Obsessed/Consumed
Sycophant

Nixon Sub-Frame Attributes

POLICY ACTION

General Presidency
Resignation
Political Comebacks
Watergate
Vietnam war
Personal Psychology
Frost Interview
Jack Anderson
Budget Policy
Soviet Detente
1960 Campaign
Progressive Policies
Courting Conservatives
Southern Strategy
Civil Rights
Arms Reduction Treaty
biography
1968 Campaign
War on Drugs
Foreign Policy General

CHARACTISTIC/ATTRIBUTE

Hardworking
Insecure/Inferiority complex
Ambitious
Anti-communist
Vindictive/vicious
Tenacious/Determined
Intelligent/keen intellect
Awkward/Shy/Unlikeable
Defiant
Self destructive
Desperate
liar/dishonest/deceitful
Racist/Antisemitic
mentally unstable/paranoid
Strong/tough/hard
Kind
Impatient
Neurotic, obsessive
Self centered
Ruthless
Sad
Conservative

Reagan Sub-Frame Attributes

POLICY ACTION

ColdWar Leader
MidEast Terror/Lybia
General presidency
General Campaign
Lebanon
Soviet Negotiations/Gorbachev
Political experience
Truman Doctrine
Iranian Hostages
Supreme Court Nominee
Reduce Federal Spending
Reaganomics
Foreign policies
Deregulation
Cutting Fed Programs
Alzheimer's
Anti-Environmental
Entitlement Reform
Drugs/Just Say No
Gun Control Opposition

CHARACTISTIC/ATTRIBUTE

Everyman
Cold Warrior
Detached
Militaristic
Inexperienced
Decisive
Inept
Fair
Decisive
Shrewd
Fighting Congress
Honest
Partisan/Ideological
Studious
Loyal
Temper
Controversial
Wise
Hardworking
Kind
Everyman
Cold Warrior

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