Going Nuts in the Nutmeg State?

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Abstract

Joe Lieberman's victory in Connecticut's 2006 senate race as an independent over Democratic candidate Ned Lamont presents a challenge to many widely held tenets of senate elections literature. Or does it? This thesis first attempts to place Connecticut's senate race within the larger body of established senate elections scholarship, and then seeks to highlight its deviations from common electoral norms. The theoretical implications of the election's outcome are then explored through the analysis of media coverage, candidate advertisements, and survey data. Though the Lieberman-Lamont race followed normal patterns of candidate behavior, new scholarly techniques of media analysis yield a more detailed understanding of the campaign's dynamics, and challenge findings of previous scholars. Media analysis and survey data also complement and reinforce the well-established literature on incumbency advantage, and the uphill battle faced by challengers.

For Wu Pu.

Introduction

On November 7, 2006, the voters of Connecticut elected incumbent senator Joe Lieberman to a fourth term in the United States senate. With the highly unpopular Iraq war on the minds of voters, Lieberman, one of the war's lone Democrat supporters, faced a competitive primary against anti-war grassroots candidate Ned Lamont. Lieberman lost the primary to Lamont 48 percent to 52 percent, but vowed to fight on by forming his own party and running as an independent. In an election that handed Democrats the majority in both chambers of Congress, Lieberman's reelection as a vocal supporter of the Iraq war, and as a defector from the Democratic Party, struck many as a mystery. This work is an attempt to elucidate the reasons for, and the significance of, Joe Lieberman's success in November.

The outcome of this race touches on a number of broad theoretical questions currently debated within political science. These questions include: What are the demographics of the ever-increasing bloc of independent voters? How does the decline of party identification affect the role of primary elections? How much influence do national conditions hold over statewide races? Just how strong is the advantage of incumbency? How much of this incumbency effect relies on party labels? Which do voters weigh more: issues or characteristics? Because of its anomalous nature, the Lieberman-Lamont race provides me with an invaluable opportunity to test the various hypotheses academics have put forth to answer these questions.

The atypical nature of the Lieberman-Lamont race also complicates my task because it does not fit easily within established literature. The presence of three candidates—one of whom is an incumbent, former vice-presidential candidate running as an independent—defies typical senate election conventions. Throw into the mix an unpopular war, a self-funded multi-millionaire challenger, and a group of rowdy "bloggers," and the campaign bears even less resemblance to a normal senate race. For this reason, to address my set first questions, I must first ask another: in what ways is the Lieberman-Lamont race similar to a normal, high-intensity senate contest, and in what ways is it different?

An answer to this second question will not immediately yield an answer to the first; merely clarifying which aspects of the race were, and weren't, similar to other contests does not, in itself, answer any broader questions. But by making such distinctions, it becomes clear which findings are applicable to the "big picture," and which are truly anomalous. By framing the third question—Why did Lieberman win?—

in this manner, we can then apply the Lieberman-Lamont outcome to the broader questions, mentioned above, that remain unresolved among political scientists.

Reviewing the evidence reveals that Connecticut's senate race bore a greater resemblance to a typical contest than one might think. Republican Alan Schlesinger's failure to gain any traction during the campaign made Lieberman the de facto Republican candidate, even though he retained widespread appeal among independents, and a sizable portion of Democrats. With Schlesinger's marginal impact on the race, the campaign became the equivalent of a two-way race between Lieberman and Democratic challenger Ned Lamont. As with most two-way races between an incumbent and a challenger, the incumbent enjoyed a comfortable advantage. In fact, the entire election—news coverage, candidate behavior, and electorate evaluations—centered on Lieberman. Incumbency, in this case, not only overcame the effects of party label, but also outweighed Lieberman's association with the highly unpopular war in Iraq. Lieberman's approval rating—the single greatest predictor of an individual's vote choice—was indeed affected by a voter's opinion of Iraq, but the effect of the war was less than that of other traditional considerations, like the state of the economy.

The first chapter of this thesis provides an overview of the 2006 electoral context. This overview first explores the issues, both national and local, that were salient in Connecticut's race, including foreign policy, the war in Iraq, President Bush's low approval rating, immigration, and the economy. I then highlight the demographic characteristics of Connecticut that previous literature suggests would have a significant impact on the election's dynamics and outcome. In each case, I present the effects that previous scholarship predicts, and then the complicating factors of the Lieberman-Lamont race. Chapter one thus provides a framework for understanding the analysis that follows in subsequent chapters.

In chapter two, I analyze the role of newspaper coverage, and candidates' advertisement strategies. To analyze print media, I review pertinent existing literature, then use a number of different methods to measure the disparity in both quality and quantity of coverage between Joe Lieberman and Ned Lamont. My quantitative analysis explores the 467 campaign-related articles published in Connecticut's three largest papers, while my qualitative analysis explores a random sample of 100 stories, each coded for their tone towards, and content concerning each candidate. Both approaches reveal a significant bias towards the incumbent.

Advertisements are discussed with news coverage in chapter two because of their symbiotic relationship in the unfolding of a campaign. Newspaper content largely determines, and is determined by, the content of each candidate's ads. For this section, I

provide a review of relevant literature, and then analyze the tone and content of each candidate's advertisements. Through an in-depth coding of the campaign's 57 television ads, I chart the deployment of negative ads throughout the campaign's course, as well as explore the issues and candidate characterizations that both Lieberman and Lamont chose to highlight. This section on candidate advertisements reiterates the difficulties that challengers face in mounting effective campaigns, but also reveals aspects of Lamont's campaign that were less effective than they could have been.

The final chapter of this thesis uses data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study to analyze the election's outcome. I construct a vote choice model that incorporates the demographic measures and issues highlighted in chapters one and two. After finding that a survey respondent's approval of Lieberman is the strongest predictor of vote choice, I then construct a model of Lieberman approval. The Lieberman approval model shows that the Iraq war was a significant factor in evaluations of the senator, but that other well-established considerations, like the economy, were given greater weight. Most importantly, it also suggests that Lamont's support had little to do with Lamont himself, but was rather a product of dissatisfaction with Lieberman. The model leaves open the question of candidate characteristics and legislative achievements in approval and vote choice because of limits in the CCES data, but the measures that were available demonstrate a significant incumbency advantage.

I conclude by teasing out the significance of my findings, fitting them into the literature, and placing them within the broad questions presented above. With a clear picture of this thesis' direction, I now provide a brief narrative of the campaign to contextualize my research.

The 2006 Election

Ned Lamont officially announced his candidacy for senate in Hartford on March 13, 2006. His announcement set the tone of the race, as he pledged to be a "proud Democrat," as opposed to "Republican light" Joe Lieberman.[62] Lamont, an entrepreneur and cable company executive worth between $90 and 300 million, seemed an odd candidate of the grassroots. The Greenwich resident and grandson of a JP Morgan chairman graduated from Harvard College and the Yale School of Management, and founded Lamont Digital Systems in 1984.[62] But having no prior experience as an elected official—save his terms as a Greenwich selectman in the 1980s[44]—allowed Lamont to present himself as a Washington outsider, willing to "rock the boat" and challenge politics as usual.[62]

Even the earliest polls did not bode well for Joe Lieberman among Connecticut's Democrats. Despite his 18 years as a Democratic senator, his willingness to side with Republicans on visible and contentious issues rubbed many party members the wrong way. The central issue was the war in Iraq, but other stances damaging to Lieberman's liberal support included his membership in the "Gang of 14"—those senators that cleared a path for the up-or-down vote that put Samuel Alito on the Supreme Court—his support of free trade, his vote to support Catholic hospitals' right to refuse the "morning after" pill to rape victims, and his outspoken criticism of President Clinton in the wake of the Monica Lewinsky scandal.[63] Though he criticized Bush's handling of Iraq, Lieberman refused to back down from his broader support of the war, and as early as April 10, realizing his position might cost him the primary, refused to rule out a run as an independent.[63]

Ned Lamont's Beginnings

The seeds of Lamont's campaign were sown in early December of 2005 during a meeting with Tom Swan and John Murphy, two activists with the Connecticut Citizen Action Group. Lamont decided after Christmas that he would challenge Lieberman. Swan and Murphy took a leave from the CCAG to work for Lamont, and created a website aimed at enlisting 1,000 Connecticut volunteers.[44]

Ned Lamont's name did not appear in Connecticut newspapers until March 9, but an announcement of Lamont's intent appeared as early as January 6 on the popular liberal blog, *DailyKos*. A user by the name of "Political Junkie" wrote that he'd met "the progressive Dem that will dethrone Lieberman," proclaiming him "the real thing" after an hour-long chat he'd had with Lamont the previous day. Soon after, other popular blogs including *MyDD.com*, and Connecticut blogs, including *My Left Nutmeg* and *Connecticut Blog*, picked up the story.[30]

DailyKos, the Internet's largest political blog, boasts over 100,000 registered users, and between Lamont's announcement in early January and the election in November, attracted more than 150 million hits. Though the impact of blogs on politics is still relatively contentious, the size and attentiveness of their readership translates into an informed, opinionated, and active following. Precisely because of this attentiveness, the timing of Lamont's disclosure on *DailyKos* could not have been better. On January 30, Joe Lieberman cast a crucial vote for cloture that enabled the Republican majority to approve Samuel Alito's appointment to the Supreme Court. The vote provided a potent

reminder of Lieberman's conservative tendencies, and produced a groundswell of support for his progressive challenger.

The Primary Campaign

Ned Lamont's first hurdle was forcing a Democratic primary. The Connecticut Democratic Party's convention was scheduled to meet on May 18, 2006 to officially endorse their candidates for the 2006 election cycle. Though the threshold to win the party's endorsement was one vote over 50 percent, a challenger would need only to draw 15 percent of the vote—242 of 1607 delegates—to force a primary. Lieberman's unpopular stance on the war put this number well within Lamont's reach, prompting Lieberman to hit the radio airwaves with his first ad on March 28, just over two weeks after Lamont officially announced his intention to run. Three weeks later, on April 20, two ads, entitled "Go-To Guy" and "Common Ground" inaugurated Lieberman's television ad campaign. The former ad reminded voters of Lieberman's successes, like saving Connecticut's naval sub base along with the jobs of its 31,000 employees, and the latter expressed Lieberman's desire to maintain a dialogue with Connecticut voters, even if "we won't change each other's minds" on Iraq.

Despite Lieberman's early advertising, Lamont succeeded in attracting 33 percent of the delegate votes, well beyond the necessary margin.[15] With the impending primary contest made official, Lamont immediately debuted his first two television ads. One of these featured Markos Moulitsas, founder and proprietor of *DailyKos*, and set the tone for Lamont's off-beat ad campaign with the signature call and response between Lamont and various groups of enthusiastic supporters: "I'm Ned Lamont, and I approve this message—" "—And so do we!" A week later, Lieberman responded with the race's first negative ad, "Meet Ned Lamont," branding Lamont as a "Greenwich millionaire" and making note of his nearly non-existent political experience.

As awareness of Lamont's candidacy grew, Lieberman's lead in the polls began to shrink. On June 8, a Quinnipiac University poll showed an 8-point decline in Lieberman's overall support since the previous month, from 65 percent down to 57.[1] During the same period, Lamont benefited from a 13-point bump, jumping from 19 to 32

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[1] For this thesis, I have compiled a relatively complete collection of the polling data cited in Connecticut election news. A comprehensive spreadsheet and numerous charts can be found in Appendix E.

percent. The poll also showed that Lamont was within 15 points of Lieberman among registered Democrats.[25] Seizing on this favorable trend, the Lamont campaign debuted on June 13 a radio ad pledging to support the winner of the Democratic primary—whomever it was to be—and asking Lieberman to do the same. Lieberman ignored Lamont's request, making headlines in the following weeks first by receiving an endorsement from Connecticut's AFL-CIO, then by beginning the signature-collecting process that would allow him to run as an independent.

Lamont continued to draw a connection between Lieberman, Bush and the war through television ads as the July 6 nationally televised debate approached. One ad, "Speaking for Bush," displayed video of George Bush, dubbed over with audio of Joe Lieberman defending wartime presidential powers, and speaking of the "necessity" of the war in Iraq. The commercial ends with an image of Lieberman morphing into an image of Bush, while an announcer proclaims: "…if it talks like George W. Bush, and acts like George W. Bush, it's certainly not a Connecticut Democrat." Another ad, "Signs for Change," used images of Katrina to convey Bush's failure on domestic issues, then mentions Lieberman's support for the "Bush-Cheney energy bill," "unfair trade agreements" and social security.[2]

The sole debate of the primary race aired on MSNBC and CSPAN, and by most media accounts, there was no consensus about who emerged victorious. Newspaper coverage noted that Lieberman's aggressive style would likely "not stop the bleeding"[22] for the Democratic primary, but would resonate well with the state's Republicans and unaffiliated voters. Lamont, initially caught off guard, found his footing, and exceeded expectations in his ability to go "toe to toe" with Lieberman.[12] Even if the debate didn't end with a "knockout punch,"[16] many indicated that the debate was spirited and informative, one political science professor proclaiming it "the best he's ever seen."[12]

After several weeks of minor news stories—Lieberman urging Lamont to release his tax returns,[28] Lamont accusing Lieberman of misleading ads,[64] Lamont donating another $500,000 to his campaign[48]—analysts of the debate predicting a bump for Lamont were vindicated by a Quinnipiac poll showing Lamont with a 4-point lead over Lieberman among likely Democratic voters. The poll, released on July 20, gave Lamont 51 percent to Lieberman's 47 percent. The news for Lamont was less rosy among the general voting population, where Lieberman still polled at 51 percent, a full 24 points above Lamont's 27 percent share.[3]

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[2] For a complete listing of the race's advertisements, see Appendix C.

With the threat of a primary loss more imminent than ever, Lieberman looked to Washington for help. On July 22, a TV commercial began airing throughout Connecticut featuring an endorsement of Lieberman by Chris Dodd, Connecticut's highly popular senior senator. Between July 22 and 31, Lieberman supplemented this endorsement with visits from former President Bill Clinton and senators Barbara Boxer, Ken Salazar, Joe Biden, Daniel Inouye and Frank Lautenberg.[17, 47, 58] During the same period, Lamont received support from the Reverends Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson,[26] from consumer activist and former Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader,[13] and from Michael Schiavo, who fought against the intervention of Lieberman and Republicans in his decision to remove the life support from his brain-dead wife.[23]

These competing strings of endorsements and media events culminated on July 30 with the release of newspapers' editorial endorsements. Lamont gained the support of the *New York Times* editorial board, while Lieberman took the *Washington Post*, along with two of Connecticut's leading daily papers—the *Hartford Courant* and the *Connecticut Post*. The *Times* conceded that Lamont didn't "have his opponent's grasp of policy yet," but cited Lieberman's "warped version of bipartisanship" and his national defense positions as more important considerations. The *Courant* wrote that defeating Lieberman, a "vanishing breed" of moderate, would be a "terrible waste" and "a mistake." The *Connecticut Post* echoed these sentiments, asking whether Democrats were "ready to discard a proven leader."[7]

As the endorsement dust began to settle, Quinnipiac University released a poll on August 3—just 5 days before the primary—showing Lamont with a 13-point lead over Lieberman among likely Democratic voters.[14] The survey did not poll non-Democrats, but among likely Democratic voters, 54 percent indicated they would support Lamont, compared to 41 percent of voters supporting Lieberman. Unfortunately for Lamont, this favorable survey data shared a news cycle with a story about a supporter posting an offensive picture of Lieberman on another popular blog site, the *Huffington Post*.[49] As a response to Lieberman's self-portrayal as a civil-rights activist, the blogger posted an image edited to resemble Lieberman in blackface. Though the Lamont camp was quick to condemn the blogger, the incident only strengthened the image of Lamont drawing the majority of his support from the radical, left wing "net roots."

Even with an accusation that Lieberman was hiring college GOP canvassers in his get-out-the vote effort,[66] a Quinnipiac poll released on August 7th suggested that the margin between Lieberman and Lamont was narrowing. Survey respondents, polled over several days preceding the primary, still favored Lamont, but only by 6 points—51 to 45 percent.[65] The same day, Connecticut's Secretary of State revealed in a newspaper

article that between May and August, nearly 29,000 people registered as Democrats—14,506 unaffiliated voters who had changed their party, and 14,380 new voters—an increase of over 4 percent.[18]

On August 8, 2006, 43 percent of Connecticut's Democrats turned out to vote—nearly 20 points higher than the previous record for a Connecticut primary. Ned Lamont won the primary, capturing 52 percent of the vote to Lieberman's 48 percent, a difference of just over 10,000 votes.[19] With the defeat, Lieberman became only the fourth incumbent senator to lose a primary in 26 years. Lamont's victory, however, did not come cheaply. In the primary alone, he contributed $3 million to his own campaign—comprising more than half of the $5.5 million he raised[44]—and spent over $4 million.[43] Furthermore, it seemed as if Lamont would face an uphill battle in attracting supporters among the general electorate. In an interview, Douglas Schwartz, the poll director at Quinnipiac University, stated that 65 percent of Lamont's support among Democrats surveyed on August 4 was a "result of distaste for the three-term senator… not from any particular approval for Lamont as a candidate."[14] The lukewarm support for Lamont among the state's Democrats—comprising only 34 percent of the state's electorate—did not offer much hope for strong support among Connecticut Republicans, 21 percent of the population, or unaffiliated voters, the largest voting bloc at 44 percent of the population. It is little wonder, then, that at 11:20 pm on election night, Lieberman announced he would continue in the senate race as an independent, appearing on the ballot under the newly formed Connecticut for Lieberman party.[31]

The General Election

Lieberman, never having competed in a primary, had hired a new campaign staff to handle the challenge from Lamont. On the day following the primary, Lieberman let go of his primary staff, bringing back his former campaign manager, Sherry Brown, and communications director, Dan Gerstein. Speaking with the Associated Press, Lieberman said, "While I consider myself a devoted Democrat, I am even more devoted to my state and country," setting the campaign's bi-partisan theme.[69]

Even as national Democrats who had lent their support to Lieberman in the primary defected to Lamont, the potential for a Lieberman win in November ensured that their support of Lamont was tepid. Democratic senate leaders Harry Reid and Charles Schumer called Lamont's victory "encouraging," [46] while senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama each donated $5,000 to Lamont's campaign,[45] symbolic support aimed

at the avoidance of "doing anything… that might sour their relationships with senator Lieberman [were he to be] re-elected."[46]

Most contended that the outcome of November 7 was up in the air. Lamont supporters were encouraged by a Quinnipiac poll released August 12 indicating that Lieberman was losing ground among independents, and that "more than two-thirds of unaffiliated voters in Connecticut believe that the war is wrong and want U.S. troops withdrawn."[43] His supporters were also hopeful that the outspoken support of Lieberman by prominent Republicans—especially Dick Cheney—would push unaffiliated voters towards their candidate.[68]

Even with these glimmers of hope, electoral experts noted Lieberman's consistent and significant advantage amongst the general electorate in explaining their skepticism of Lamont's viability.[59] Though Lamont advanced to within 5 percentage points of Lieberman in the August 12 Quinnipiac poll, the margin returned to 12 points—53 percent to 41 percent among likely voters—just five days later.[20] The refusal of the White House, the Republican National Committee, and the National Republican Senatorial Committee to endorse Republican candidate Alan Schlesinger seemed to give Republicans tacit permission to support Lieberman, which they did, according to Quinnipiac, by a margin of 3 to 1. Unaffiliated voters remained skeptical of Lamont, preferring Lieberman by 22 percentage points.[24]

While slip-ups like Lamont's campaign manager's quote on August 12 saying Waterbury, Connecticut, was "where the forces of slime meet the forces of evil"[2] provided easy fodder for ridicule, talk of endorsements by the United Auto Workers Union and the Service Employees International Union suggested that Lamont's appeal might be widening.[21] Indeed, on August 23, two separate polls indicated that Lamont and Lieberman were in a statistical tie. Despite the seemingly good news for Lamont, the poll also indicated that 28 percent of unaffiliated voters were still undecided, and that overall, voters "[knew] Lamont, but [were] less apt to have any opinion of him."[67]

Labor Day—the traditional commencement of campaign season—began with an awkward parade in Newtown. Both candidates were initially invited, though Lieberman was told his invitation was a mistake, and it was rescinded. Defiant, Lieberman showed up to the parade and walked alone as Lamont marched several hundred yards ahead with Connecticut's Democratic leadership.[61]

The race intensified in the following weeks, with an onslaught of radio and television ads from both candidates and a pro-Lieberman 527 group, "Vets for Freedom."

Lamont continued to remind viewers of the unpopular war in Iraq, while also attempting to brand Lieberman a "turncoat."[3] Lieberman emphasized his experience and legislative successes, and continued to portray himself as a bipartisan willing to "reach across party lines" because, he said, "It's about people, not politics." Vets for Freedom began airing two ads in September featuring Iraq war veterans thanking Lieberman for supporting them and their mission. September also brought a number of new endorsements: Lamont enjoyed the support of pop musician Moby[1] and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, who supported Lieberman in the primary.[62] Lieberman benefited from an announcement that popular New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, a Republican, would campaign for him.[1]

Quinnipiac University released poll results on September 28 showing Lieberman once again with a comfortable double-digit lead.[10] Independent voters broke 50 percent to 36 percent in favor of Lieberman, resulting in a vote share of 49-39-5 for Lieberman, Lamont and Schlesinger, respectively, among likely voters. The poll also noted that of all likely voters, "62 percent said they believe Lamont was spending more time attacking Lieberman than explaining what he would do if elected," and that 83 percent of voters had already made up their mind about who they were supporting in November. The poll results shared a news cycle with an additional story that Lamont had contributed an additional $750,000 to his campaign—bringing the total to $6.2 million—and both offered sober indications of the difficulties Lamont faced in resonating with voters.[38]

October began with the release of several more advertisements, an endorsement of Lamont by former presidential candidate General Wesley Clark, and Lamont donating an additional $2.5 million to his campaign effort. Lamont's new ads sought to broaden his message and to attack Lieberman for the number of senate votes he missed. Lieberman reminded voters of the 31,000 jobs he saved when he fought the closure of Connecticut's submarine base, and attacked Lamont for his negative advertising. Two days after the debut of "Negative Ned," Lieberman rolled out his own negative ad, hitting Lamont for laying off 68 percent of his company's work force while paying himself a salary of over a half million dollars.

On October 11, the release of poll results again coincided with an embarrassing story for the Lamont campaign. The survey, conducted by the Center for Research and

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[3] Viewers were told that people throughout Connecticut were wearing their coats inside out as a statement about Lieberman's independent run. "It's not the most fashionable look, but some things are more important than fashion," one woman says.

Analysis, showed Lamont within 8 points of Lieberman—40 to 48—but still indicated that Lieberman enjoyed an overall approval rating of 57 percent.[53] Against this less-than-ideal backdrop, news emerged that during a campaign event for Lamont, former Connecticut treasurer Henry Parker criticized Lieberman for overstating his role in the civil rights movement, saying, "There's no evidence of what he's done." Only fanning the flames were additional reports that the Lamont campaign provided money for an open letter to Lieberman disputing his history in civil rights.[29] Lieberman seized on the opportunity to attack Lamont for continually distorting his record, while Lamont was forced to quickly disavow the former treasurer's comments.

The general election saw its first two debates the following week, on October 16 and 18. The first debate was limited to Lieberman, Lamont and Schlesinger, with Lieberman receiving the brunt of criticism from both opponents. Lamont continued to highlight Lieberman's support of the war, while Schlesinger tried to portray Lieberman as a liberal, with voting records similar to Hillary Clinton and Ted Kennedy.[11] Despite the attacks, no clear winner emerged, essentially maintaining the status quo; Lieberman was even able to extract another apology from Lamont over the civil rights debacle from the previous week.[42] The second debate included the race's two other independent candidates: Ralph Ferrucci of the Green Party, and Timothy Knibbs of the Concerned Citizens Party. Even as Lamont and Schlesinger took a coordinated jab at Lieberman during their closing statements, the debate ended in much the same way as the first—with no decisive winner.[61]

Lieberman accused Lamont of trying to "buy his way into the senate" on October 19 when his campaign learned that Lamont had recently purchased $1 million in television ad space. The buy ensured that Lamont's ads would run on every Connecticut network affiliate every half hour between 5am and 1am for one week. Lamont's campaign declined to discuss the buy, giving Lieberman ample opportunity to emphasize his portrayal of Lamont as negative and deceitful.[60] This story broke the same day as the Associated Press published a piece titled, "Democrat Lamont scrambles to broaden his pitch," which noted his continued inability to convey his broader issue positions to voters. The article, though relatively neutral towards both candidates, provided a succinct review of Lamont's gaffes throughout the campaign, and reminded voters that he'd spent over $10 million of his own money on the race.

Lamont's uphill battle grew steeper on the following day when Quinnipiac released a new poll showing Lieberman with a commanding 17-point lead. Lamont's numbers showed support from a majority—albeit a slim majority—of Democrats with 55 percent of their vote, while drawing support from 36 percent of independents and 9

percent of Republicans. Lieberman enjoyed support from 70 percent of Connecticut's Republicans, 58 percent of its independents, and only 36 percent of its Democrats. When aggregated, Lieberman drew the support of 52 percent of the poll's respondents, to Lamont's 35 percent and Schlesinger's 6 percent.[4]

It was with these recent poll numbers that Lieberman, Lamont and Schlesinger met for their third general election debate on October 23. Lieberman's opponents drew attention to, as they had in previous debates, his moderate stances—Lamont identifying his conservative tendencies, and Schlesinger accusing him of obscuring his liberal ones. This debate was distinguished from the others by a number of hecklers, escorted from the studio after breaking into a chant of: "Lieberman protects Cheney."[41] Earlier in the day, Lamont filed a complaint with the Federal Elections Committee citing nearly $400,000 in unaccounted expenditures by the Lieberman camp prior to August's primary.[40] Lieberman claimed that all expenditures were legitimate, and that the money was spent on canvassers. Though Lamont claimed Connecticut voters had a right to know how Lieberman was spending his money, Lieberman's campaign portrayed Lamont as "stop[ing] at nothing to win, including crazy charges of vote-buying and thuggery."[36]

Further signs of Lieberman's advantage became apparent in articles noting the dearth of support for Lamont among Democratic lawmakers. News stories on October 25 indicated that Lamont received a paltry $31,000 from Democratic congressional sources since his primary win.[32] A day later, Illinois senator Barack Obama sent out an e-mail of support for Lamont to a reported 5,000 Connecticut voters,[37] only for it to be later revealed that about 250 of the 5,000 recipients were actually from Connecticut.[35] The list of Lamont's campaign visitors—General Wesley Clark, Ralph Nader, Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, among others—conspicuously lacked any national Democratic lawmakers currently in office. Meanwhile, Lieberman enjoyed an October 26 visit from Louisiana senator Mary Landrieu, who thanked Joe for his help in the aftermath of Katrina.[55]

Election day rapidly approached, and Lamont, hoping to get one more chance to take on Lieberman, accepted an invitation to a fourth debate at Quinnipiac University, and pressed Lieberman to do the same. Alan Schlesinger also accepted the invitation to the November 2 debate, but the Lieberman camp declined to participate. Commenting on Lieberman's refusal, a Lamont spokesperson said that voters deserve to hear from the candidates, even if "Senator Lieberman doesn't like to defend his record of supporting stay the course, missing over 400 votes and having Connecticut fall to 49th out of 50th in return on federal dollars." Lieberman's campaign defended his choice by citing the senator's participation in the three agreed-upon debates in his decision, and said that

Lieberman would spend the rest of his campaign "out from behind the debate podium talking to real people."[35]

On October 29, the editorial boards of the *Hartford Courant*, *New Haven Register* and *New York Times* released their general election endorsements. As with the primary, the *Courant* endorsed Lieberman and the *Times*, Lamont. The *Register*, Lieberman's home town newspaper, sided with the *Courant*, citing Lieberman's strong record on environmental protection, women's reproductive rights, and energy independence.[6] Each paper's respective justification for their choice continued to portray the domestic versus international dichotomy that proved so difficult for Lamont to overcome. Instead of the primary cleavage being between Lieberman and Lamont, it was between Iraq and domestic policy (or anti-Iraq), with Lamont inherently falling on the anti-war side of the rift.

Indicative of Lamont's struggle to portray his candidacy in a multi-dimensional light were ads his campaign debuted on October 30, appropriately titled "Why I'm Running" and "Why I'm Running II." Notably absent from these ads was first, any mention of the war, and second, the usual "—and so do we!" response to Lamont's message approval. Lamont's integrity, dedication, generosity and belief in the power of government were the spots' primary themes, aiming to present a tempered and moderate image, but the ads still lacked substantive issue positions.

The debut of Lamont's new ads coincided with a TV interview of George Bush during which he praised Lieberman for his unwavering support of the war.[33] The President's praise was fitting, considering Republican New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg's visit to Connecticut on the following day. Both events drew the ire of the Lamont camp—ire only exacerbated by the revelation that Lieberman's get-out-the-vote operation was being run by a staffer on "loan" from Bloomberg.[50]

Bloomberg's visit on October 31 kicked off the last week of the campaign, and between October 31 and November 2, each candidate debuted five additional television ads of various tones and content.[4] Quinnipiac University released a new round of polling information on November 1—exactly one week before Election Day—indicating that Lieberman still enjoyed a 12-point advantage over Lamont.[39] Comfortable with his lead, Lieberman campaigned at a Hartford bar the next evening, while Lamont and Schlesinger engaged in their fourth debate. This was an unfortunate decision for Lieberman; as his

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[4] See the timeline in Appendix A for the full list, and Appendix C for information about each.

opponents debated “Iraq, the federal budget, the origins of foreign policy, illegal immigration, the suffering in Darfur, [and] affirmative action,”[56] a group of Lyndon LaRouche supporters descended upon Lieberman’s gathering at Mayor Mike’s Bar, disrupting and ultimately shutting down the senator’s event.[27]

Events settled down in the days immediately preceding the election, with the campaign occurring primarily on the airwaves. Lamont aired an ad with an endorsement from Paul Newman, while Lieberman’s ads touted his newspaper endorsements. The candidates met briefly at Hartford’s Veteran’s Day Parade and shook hands before parting ways to continue campaigning. Lieberman ended the day with a “closing arguments” speech to supporters while peace activists held a vigil outside of his campaign office. Lamont held a rally in Middletown with Chris Dodd, Connecticut’s senior senator, following the march.[57]

Quinnipiac University released its final poll one day before Election Day. The poll continued to show Lamont trailing by 12 points, giving Lieberman 50 percent to Lamont’s 38 percent and Schlesinger’s 8 percent. These percentages would accurately reflect the final outcome of the election, with the four unaccounted for percentage points split evenly between Lamont and Schlesinger.[5]

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Chapter 1: The Electoral Context of Connecticut

In this thesis, I seek to uncover the causes behind, and significance of, Lieberman's victory in Connecticut. I do so by analyzing newspaper coverage, candidate advertisements, and survey data. But in order to fully understand and appreciate the media and survey data I present, it is important to have a firm grasp on the electoral context in which candidates and voters were operating. In this chapter, I discuss the election's two primary contextual considerations: issues and demographics. Clarifying the issues important to voters will reveal why the candidates and media behaved the way they did. Exploring the state's demographics will help to explain the audience that the media and candidates were targeting. My discussion of issues and demographics highlights the unprecedented way in which incumbency, ideology and issues interacted with one another in this seemingly anomalous race. The following chapters explore the complexities of these interactions.

Issues

The Democratic sweep of the 2006 general election extended far beyond congress and the senate. In addition to gaining 31 house and six senate seats—winning them majorities in each—Democrats won six new governorships, and four new bicameral majorities at the state level. Not since 1994 had a change of such magnitude occurred. Similar to the events in 1994, there were a number of highly contentious issues at play in 2006 that influenced these changes. Although these figures do not say anything about Connecticut directly, they speak generally to the charged nature of the election. In this section, I use survey data to explore the issues important in Connecticut prior to the election. A basic, yet nuanced, understanding of the electorate's concerns is important for understanding the candidates' behavior and voters' decisions.

The Issues of 2006

The Cooperative Congressional Election Study, conducted during the 2006 election, asked respondents to choose from a closed-ended list the issue they felt was most important during the election cycle. Figure 1.1 illustrates the eleven most cited responses in Connecticut, along with the percentage of respondents that chose each issue. Unsurprisingly, the Iraq war topped the list, drawing nearly 31 percent of the responses. Behind Iraq came terrorism, chosen as most important by 20 percent of respondents. Corruption, coming in third, was important to only about half as many people as

terrorism, drawing in nine and a half percent. Immigration and health care were numbers four and five, each chosen by roughly eight percent of respondents, and the economy was sixth with close to five and a half percent. Three and a half percent of survey respondents felt energy to be the most important issue, ranking it seventh, and pollution, education, inflation and poverty rounded out the list, all cited by less than two percent of respondents.

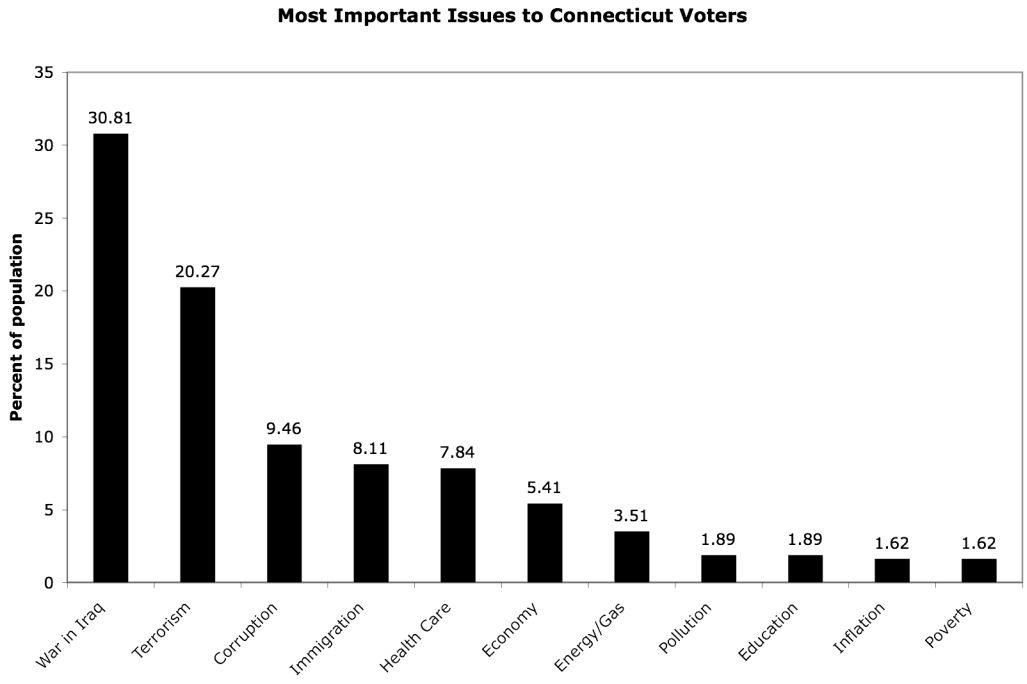

Figure 1.1. Most Important Issues to Connecticut Voters
The figure above illustrates a breakdown of the issues Connecticut voters defined as most important in the 2006 election. *Source: CCES*

Voters seemed willing to give Bush a second chance in 2004, even though many began reevaluating their support of the war. But in 2006, the collective patience had grown thin. In response, Democrats made the war a centerpiece of their electoral strategy, continually attacking George Bush, and connecting their Republican opponents to him. In Connecticut, however, the dynamics were slightly different. Though many Democrats running for reelection had initially voted for the war, by this time most had changed their position; Joe Lieberman had not. To the ire of Connecticut liberals, he not only supported the war, but also criticized the war's opponents.

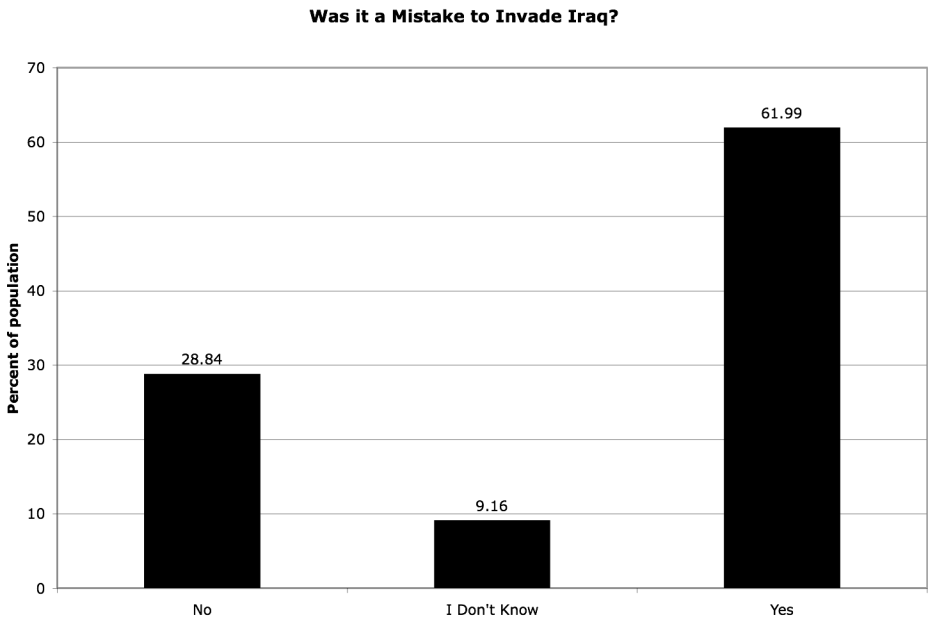

Figure 1.2. Iraq Sentiment in Connecticut
This figure presents the results of a CCES question asking whether the respondent felt that the Iraq war to be a mistake.

Anticipating the impact of the war, the CCES included a survey item that asked, "Was it a mistake to invade Iraq?" Figure 1.2 charts the responses to this question. Nearly 62 percent of the survey's respondents felt that involvement in Iraq was a mistake, while only 29 percent felt it was not. Furthermore, a cross tabulation reveals that nearly 87 percent of those who felt Iraq to be the most important issue of the election also felt the Iraq war was a mistake. This analysis reveals that respondents who felt most strongly about the war were also the most likely to disagree with Lieberman. And these data ultimately suggest that if the war had been voters' only consideration in the election, Lieberman's victory would have been unlikely.

Performing a similar cross tab with the second most cited concern among Connecticut voters—terrorism—yields a strikingly different result. Seventy-two percent of respondents identifying terrorism as most important felt the Iraq war was not a mistake, whereas only 12 percent felt it was. This suggests that although half of Connecticut's population felt very strongly about international affairs, they were divided as to whether Lieberman was taking the correct position.

Beyond issues of foreign policy, corruption was a prominent concern among Connecticut voters. However, most cases of impropriety prior to the election involved the Republican Party. High-profile cases included the trial of lobbyist Jack Abramoff,

the indictment of former house leader Tom DeLay, the resignation of congressman Randy 'Duke' Cunningham for bribery, and the scandal surrounding congressman Mark Foley's inappropriate interactions with an underage congressional page. Dissatisfaction with the Republican Party also tarnished opinions of President Bush. The CCES measure of Bush approval showed that 18.7 percent approved of Bush, and 15.1 percent strongly approved. In contrast, 56.5 percent strongly disapproved, while an additional 7.6 percent disapproved. The fact that only 2.2 percent of respondents neither approved nor disapproved of Bush's performance testifies to an unusually high level of political awareness surrounding the 2006 election. Connecticut's strong displeasure with Bush, and waning confidence in the Republican Party, explain Lamont's attempts to tie Lieberman to the President, and also show why Lieberman's friendly relationship with Bush could have been a political liability.

Complicating Factors

Although these issues, in isolation, seem to render Lieberman extremely vulnerable to Lamont's challenge, opinions about policy never operate in a straightforward fashion, and do not necessarily translate into a clear preference for one candidate over another. Voters' policy positions must be considered in relation to their opinions about the candidates. In Connecticut, there were three primary factors that complicated the effect of the war and other issues on the election: incumbency, seniority, and party.

Lieberman's 36-year history in Connecticut politics, including 18 years in the senate, meant not only that he was widely known, but also that he was widely supported. In 2000, while concurrently running for vice-president, Lieberman was reelected to his senate seat with 63 percent of the vote—only 4 points shy of the record-breaking 67 percent he won six years earlier. His laundry list of high-profile legislative achievements gave him an advantage that further diminished the impact of current issues in the 2006 election.

One aspect of Lieberman's advantage as an incumbent was his seniority. His ranking membership on the Homeland Security committee, among others, ensured both that he was visible, and that he could bring federal dollars home to Connecticut. Voters who were unhappy with Lieberman's stance on the war needed to be willing to forgo the influence he wielded, and the benefit Connecticut gained as a result. Such a concession would have tempered the influence of his controversial position on the war. Lieberman's extensive experience also meant that issue appeals or attacks from candidates without a basic level of substantive legislative experience were perceived as lacking authority.

A final complicating factor in the race was the unstable role of party labels. Though Lamont criticized Lieberman for being too close to Bush, throughout the primary, Lieberman continued to receive strong support from both state and national Democratic leaders. Though most Democratic leaders' official endorsements were rescinded once Lamont won the primary, it is unlikely that voters immediately forgot Lieberman's widespread support among prominent party members. Lieberman's additional promise to caucus with the Democrats should he be reelected only exacerbated the tension of conflicting endorsements, charges and labels.

The Playing Field

Issues can obviously play a very central role in elections, as they did in 2006, but the way in which those issues manifest themselves throughout a campaign is heavily dependent upon the electoral playing field. It is easy to imagine that senate candidates in California approach campaigning much differently than senate candidates in Rhode Island. Likewise, candidates in rural southern states are apt to highlight qualities different from their metropolitan New England counterparts. It is therefore necessary to take a brief look at Connecticut, to highlight the characteristics that shaped its senate contest. Below, I focus on three primary factors: state size, demographics, and partisan identification. State size is an important variable because of its impact on candidate and media behavior. Demographics, particularly different levels of diversity, education and income, affect the electorate's political activity. Finally, partisan identification is one of the best predictors of voting behavior, and provides a crucial complement to the discussion of campaign issues.

State Size

Extant literature tends to identify two measures of a state's size. The measure less studied is geographical area. Connecticut, with an area of 4,844 square miles, makes it the third smallest state in the U.S. Connecticut's relatively small size entails a number of effects, namely greater ease of face-to-face campaigning (Baker 2001)—relative to other states of similar population size—and more news coverage spillover between towns. Though these factors tend to complicate analysis between states, their impact is neutralized for candidates running against one another in the same state, so neither incumbent nor challenger should have an advantage.

Of greater consequence is the size of a state's population. With a population of 3.5 million residents, Connecticut ranks as the 29th most populous state in the U.S.

Though there are many less populous states, Connecticut's population is sufficiently small to impact a number of senate-related variables highlighted in previous scholarship. The emergence of viable challengers, for instance, is directly related to a state's population size (Adams & Squire 1997). With only five Congressional districts, the failure for a highly experienced challenger to emerge should not be surprising. Smaller states also tend to limit the pool of potential campaign donors (Snyder 1993). The cost of engaging in a hard fought campaign tends to vastly outweigh the small-state advantage of cheaper media markets and lowered outreach costs. In this sense, Lamont's vast wealth—between $90 and 300 million—presented a daunting challenge to Lieberman's fundraising apparatus. The response of special interests, lobbyists, and PACs to Lieberman's vulnerability—in the lead up to the primary, 80 percent of Lieberman's money originated from out of state[5]—presents a significant deviation from established literature on donor behavior (ibid.). A final impact that population size has on senate elections is the relationship between population and representation. Scholarship supports the intuitive proposition that larger bodies of individuals will naturally have more lines of cleavage. Low population states often translate into greater homogeneity, and thus broader representation, often leading to larger margins of victory among incumbents and victorious open-seat candidates.

Demographics: Wealth, Education, Race & Religion

Demographic characteristics play a significant role in shaping the dynamics of a campaign. Every variation in demographics, whether it be education or religion, has an impact on the way in which the electorate perceives, processes and utilizes political information. The informational outlets from which the electorate receives its information both shape, and are shaped by, these variations, lending a unique flavor to every electoral context. Candidates, hoping to win the most votes through the most successful strategy, must adjust their strategies accordingly. Thus, to fully appreciate candidates' strategies, media coverage, and the election's outcome, it is necessary to explore the demographics of Connecticut across four measures: wealth, education, ethnicity, and religion.[6] Figure 1.3 illustrates these demographic compositions.

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[5] *Associated Press*, 8/12/06

[6] Demographic measures are all from the US Census Bureau QuickFacts < http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/09000.html >

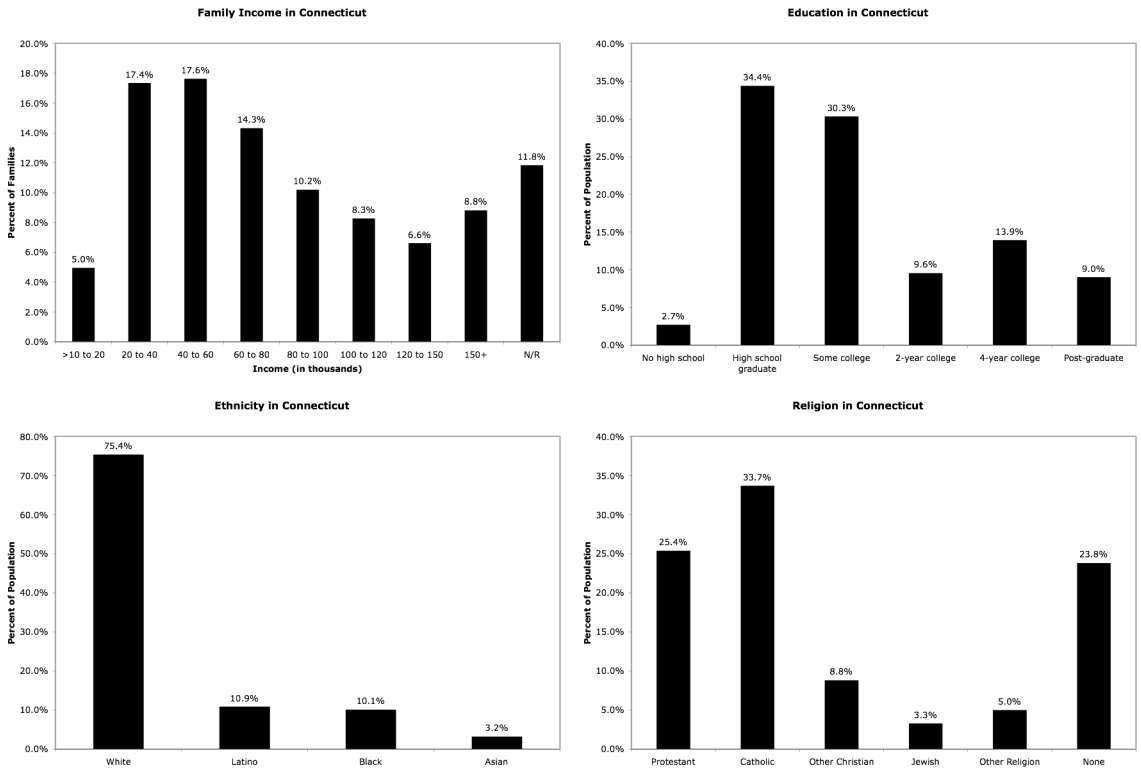

Figure 1.3. Connecticut Demographics
These figures represent four demographic measures of Connecticut: income, education, ethnicity, and religion. Income, education, and religious data is from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, and ethnicity data is from the US Census Bureau.

The wealth of a state's population has important political implications. The cost of becoming politically informed and active is, for many Americans, prohibitively high. Reading the newspaper, watching debates, and logging on to news websites all require time and resources that are not universally available (Rosenstone & Hansen 1993). It makes sense, then, that costs of political activity are lower for those with greater means, meaning that individuals with higher incomes tend to be more politically attuned. The median household income in Connecticut is $56,409—30 percent higher than the national median of $43,318. And according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis, Connecticut's personal per capita income of $47,519 puts it first in the nation. In addition, the poverty level, at eight percent, is four and a half points below the national average. These measures do not mean that all of Connecticut is wealthy. Though Fairfield ranks as the 5th wealthiest county in America, cities like Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport stand in stark contrast, with much lower per capita incomes, and much higher rates of poverty. That Connecticut remains one of the richest states, even with several poor metropolitan

areas, testifies to the wealth and political awareness of the majority of Connecticut's citizens.

Many of the characteristics that make wealthy individuals better equipped to become politically active derive in part from their generally higher levels of education. Highly educated people tend to read more, to reflect critically on what it is they are consuming, to discuss issues with friends and colleagues, and to become informed before making decisions (Rosenstone & Hansen 1993). According to the US Census Bureau, Connecticut exceeds the national median in both high school diploma and college graduate measures. Eighty four percent of Connecticut residents over the age of 25 have diplomas, and 31 percent have degrees, four points and seven points, respectively, above the national median. Considering that newspapers have been shown to be the public's primary source for state-wide political information (Kahn & Kenney 1999), and that the educated are much more likely to stay politically informed, an analysis of newspaper content is important to understanding the electorate's perception of the race.

As noted above, small population sizes often translate into relatively homogenous citizenries. The electoral consequence of homogeneity is that a single candidate is better able to represent a larger portion of the population. This makes it more difficult for challengers to attract a following that does not already feel as if it is represented. Therefore, Connecticut's degree of homogeneity has potential implications in the Lieberman-Lamont race. Though race is only one measure of diversity, it is nonetheless an important one, and a useful place to start. Just over 75 percent of Connecticut's population is non Hispanic Caucasian, about eight points above the national average of 66.9 percent. Connecticut's largest minority are Latinos, comprising close to 11 percent of the population—four and a half points below the national average—and are followed by African Americans, making up 10 percent of the population—about three percent below the average. These statistics suggest that, in relation to the rest of the country, Connecticut is indeed relatively ethnically homogenous. Neither of the state's largest minority groups constitutes a major portion of the electorate, and the effect of endorsements from nationally recognized black leaders like Al Sharpton or Jesse Jackson would have relatively little impact on the election's outcome.

For many voters, characteristics other than issue positions or experience play a significant role in candidate choice. One commonly utilized characteristic of this sort is religion. Religion, as a central component of an individual's identity, has the ability to foster feelings of personal connection or identification between a citizen and a candidate, especially if such a trait is made a major part of a candidate's identity. Joe Lieberman, as a devout Jew, made religion a defining aspect of his character. For this reason, it is

important to explore the religious composition of Connecticut. According to the CCES, Catholics constitute Connecticut's largest religious group, with 33.7 percent of the population. Protestants comprise 25.4 percent of the population, followed by those who do not affiliate with a religion, who make up 23.8 percent. Other Christian denominations constitute 8.8 percent, with another 5.0 percent identifying as "other." Jews are the state's smallest religious group, at 3.3 percent of the population.

Partisan Identification

Although Connecticut has the reputation of being a "deep blue" state, it is actually rather politically heterogeneous. Connecticut's ideological distribution is illustrated in Figure 1.4.

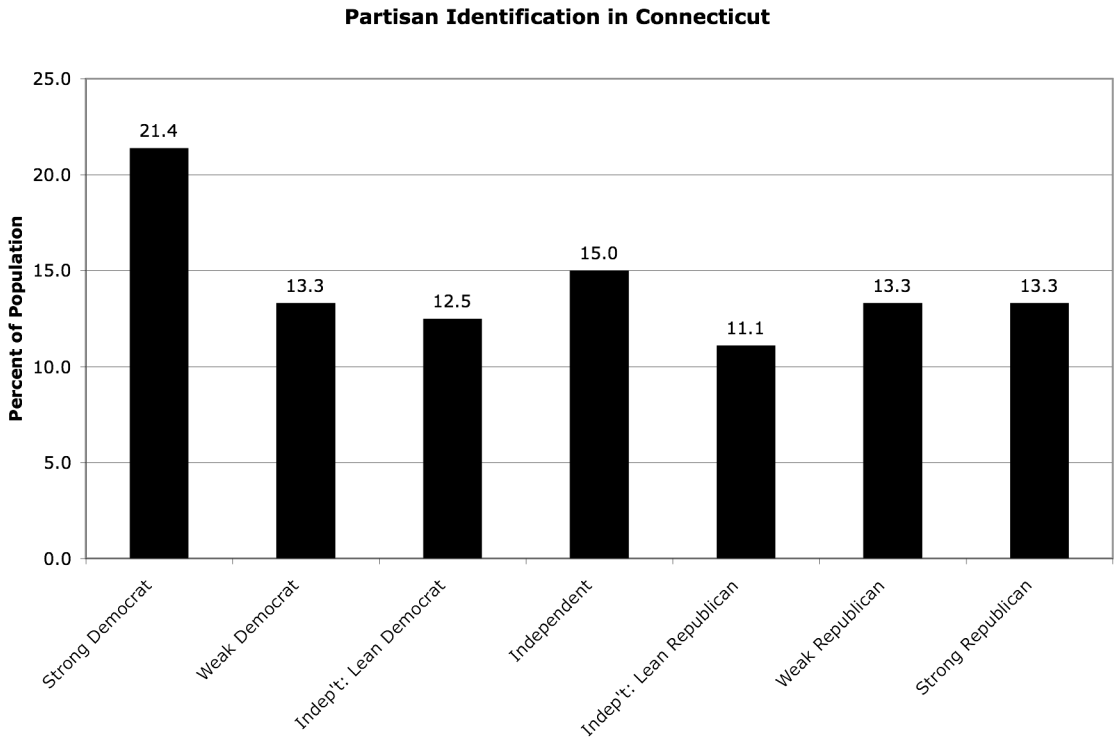

Figure 1.4. Partisan Identification in Connecticut
This figure represents the partisan identification of Connecticut. These data are from the Cooperative Congressional Elections Study and so may not match up completely with the state's official voting rolls. *Source: CCES*

Of the state's registered voters, 33.5 percent are listed as Democrats, 21.8 percent as Republicans, and 44.7 percent as independents.[7] A look at Connecticut's voting history highlights a predisposition toward moderates. Until the election of 2006, three Republicans and two Democrats represented Connecticut's five Congressional districts. And even as Connecticut voters reduced that Republican presence down to one Congressional seat, they reelected Republican governor M. Jodi Rell over Democratic candidate John DeStefano by a margin of 27.7 percentage points.[8] Connecticut's partisan independence is also evidenced in its presidential voting trends. Though Connecticut voters have supported Democratic nominees in the last four presidential contests, the state favored Republican nominees in every election of the 1970s and '80s.

The tendency for Connecticut voters to split their ticket in the voting booth undoubtedly affected the dynamics of the campaign. Lamont, facing the difficult task of convincing Democrats to abandon Lieberman in the primary, failed in thinking forward to the general election when his base of support would need to broaden. Lieberman's narrow loss in the primary was an indication of the public's skepticism towards Lamont, and Lamont's tepid support among the party's mobilized and faithful boded well for Lieberman's viability in a three-way match.

There are a number of questions these data prompt. If the war was so unpopular, how was Lieberman able to win? Was it his incumbency or seniority? And if so, how did it work? Could Lamont have done a better job at challenging Lieberman, even considering his relative dearth in experience? And ultimately, what considerations did Connecticut voters make in selecting their preferred candidate? It is to these questions that I now turn.

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[7] Registration numbers: Democrats 696,823; Republicans 453,715; independents 929,005. Source *Connecticut Post*, 8/8/06

[8] Source: *New York Times*, < http://www.nytimes.com/ref/elections/2006/CT.html >

Chapter 2: Lieberman, Lamont and the Media

"There is no such thing as public opinion. There is only published opinion."
Winston Churchill

Prior to this point, I have provided a narrative account of the race, and a chapter detailing the race's important issues and contextual factors. I intended with the narrative to impress a general feeling for the campaign—its movements, tones, and events. In the first chapter, I sought to convey exactly what made the race unique and complicated—issues, candidates, and context. The underlying goal of these two previous sections, and of my thesis in general, is to make clear why Joe Lieberman won the election, and to draw out the implications of my findings. My hypothesis is that the election was almost entirely centered on Joe Lieberman; that a vote cast for Lamont was actually a vote cast against Lieberman. Because there was nothing inherently attractive about his opponent, Lieberman retained enough political capital—in spite of his unpopular stance on the war—to prevail in a three-way match up.

This chapter builds upon my narrative and previous chapter by providing support for my hypothesis. I collect evidence by scrutinizing newspaper coverage and candidate advertisements from throughout the campaign. The findings within this chapter support my Lieberman-centered theory by revealing a significant emphasis on Lieberman in both news coverage and candidate advertisements. News coverage I find to be heavily incumbent biased both qualitatively and quantitatively. Advertisement content is also heavily focused on Lieberman, with Lamont's campaign offering few positive appraisals of its own candidate. The Lieberman-centered findings of this chapter ultimately lay the foundation for my third chapter, which uses survey data to analyze the factors that voters considered in deciding upon which candidate to support.

Media & Campaign Literature

Before diving into an analysis of Connecticut's campaign media, it is important to become familiar with findings of previous scholars. In this section, I provide a brief survey of newspaper and advertisement literature, so that the Lieberman-Lamont race might be properly framed. The review of newspaper literature is divided into three sections—content, incumbency advantage, and coverage cycles—which approach coverage from a variety of angles. During the review, it becomes clear that the literature is often ill equipped to offer an explanation of Connecticut. Three-way senate races, the

Internet, cycles of competitiveness, and advances in polling are all factors that significantly limit the applicability of earlier scholarship. Likewise, analysis of advertisements—divided into the roles of challenger and incumbent, and content—has difficulty accounting for a challenger with such vast wealth, but insubstantial political experience. Nonetheless, it is important to survey this literature so as to identify how, why and when Connecticut deviates from themes identified by previous scholars.

Newspaper Coverage

Newspapers play an integral role in elections, both reflecting and shaping the contours of any particular race. During the last 15 years, political science has benefited from significant advancement in the field of senate elections scholarship, particularly with respect to studies of the media. A complete survey of the literature that could prove applicable to Connecticut's senate race is therefore impossible, considering limits on my time and writing space. But the literature that I do cover can be broken down into three main themes: content, incumbency advantage, and coverage cycles. These three general categories cover a broad range of literature, all of which has at least some bearing on the questions of my thesis. In noting my thesis' limits, it would be prudent to at least make brief mention of findings that qualify my analyses. A well-grounded body of research validates a close scrutiny of print media through exploring its significant role in informing the electorate (Weaver 1996; Kahn & Kenney 1999; Jamieson 2001), shaping the content of other media, and reflecting the ebb and flow of electoral races (Westlye 1991).

Content

Comparing and interpreting coverage of senate races is inherently difficult, considering the exceptional ranges in competitiveness, electoral landscapes, and sample sizes. A number of attentive and innovative scholars have taken on the challenge, and most have begun their analysis of electoral news coverage by dividing content into three categories: policy, personal characteristics, and "horse race" (Kahn & Kenney 1999). Policy analysis concerns coverage of issues that are of central interest to candidates and voters, including attacks by a candidate on his or her opponents' positions. Personal characteristic content has to do with the personality traits of each candidate, without reference to policy positions or the competitiveness of the race. Horserace content generally takes the form of articles explaining the closeness of the race, reporting poll results, or announcing endorsements. Each of these is shaped differently depending upon competitiveness, incumbency and electoral environment.

Policy

Newspaper coverage of senate races tends overwhelmingly to be policy oriented (Westlye 1991, 51). Further studies show that the attention to policy increases greatly with the intensity of a race (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 118). Westlye (1991, 120) notes, "as races become more hard-fought, the press is more willing to present detailed information about the candidates' standing on policy matters." Back-and-forth attacks on policy positions that are common to high-intensity races are a large contributor to the attention newspapers grant to policy positions. The issues addressed by candidates vary by state size, location and demographics, though recurring themes tend to include foreign policy and economics (Kahn 1995). The highly intense race between Joe Lieberman and Ned Lamont provides an excellent opportunity to test these established findings. Yet because the race was, in essence, two general elections—a phenomenon unstudied until this point—it is possible that coverage might differ between the primary and general election.

Traits

Though not as ubiquitous as policy coverage, discussion of candidate characteristics plays an integral role in campaign news content (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 117). Kahn & Kenney (122) note that "news media are not very interested in describing the candidates' personal characteristics," but, as with policy, attention to traits rises considerably "when the outcome of the campaign is uncertain" (Westlye 1991, 122). As will be discussed below, the amount of trait coverage is susceptible to influence by challengers and incumbents, though in these regards, incumbents have a clear upper hand simply through making experience and leadership a central theme of their election campaigns (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 117). Taking incumbency advantage and campaign intensity into consideration, trait coverage should feature prominently in Connecticut's senate race.

Horserace

Coverage of the horserace, while generally front and center in presidential contests, tends to take a back seat in senate races (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 124).[9] In hard-fought campaigns, policy can receive as much as three times more attention than articles concerning polls and competition (117). Interestingly, the relative proportion of attention

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[9] According to Kahn (1995), attention to the horse race is still greater in senate than it is in gubernatorial races.

to horse race aspects does not increase as electoral competition intensifies (124). Nonetheless, the particular dynamics of the Lieberman-Lamont race present new challenges to horse race literature, as national Democratic leaders and powerful labor unions were forced to reconsider their Primary endorsements while hedging their bets between the party rank-and-file and Lieberman's favorable poll numbers.

Incumbency advantage

The advantage of incumbency is one political phenomenon of which even the most disengaged of citizens is aware. The vast majority of sitting lawmakers, if choosing to run again, will retain their place in office. Though most mechanisms that contribute to incumbency are structural in nature—prohibitive costs associated with running, gerrymandered districts, district "pork," and so on—incumbency advantage takes many forms, including media coverage in electoral competitions. This section briefly discusses literature concerning the advantages that incumbents enjoy both in the amount and content of coverage they receive.

Quantity of coverage

Incumbency advantage, even in the limited scope of newspaper coverage, manifests itself in numerous ways. On the most superficial level, studies indicate that the number of stories about incumbents generally outnumber those about challengers (Westlye 1991, 50). This is especially evident when one considers the phenomenon of low-intensity races, where a challenger is unable to attract any meaningful media attention to his or her campaign. Westlye does go on to note that in hard-fought campaigns, coverage tends to reach a balance between challenger and incumbent, in both frequency of stories and headline mentions of either candidate (50).

Of course, attention must be paid to the processes by which campaigns become hard fought. Extensive scholarship (Westlye 1991; Shields et al. 1995; Kahn & Kenney 1999) elucidates the exceptional hurdles that a challenger must overcome if he or she wishes to be considered "viable," and thus worthy of a newspaper's resources. Among the relevant factors identified by Kahn & Kenny as affecting the decision of news agencies are "the competitiveness of the race" and "the behavior and experience of the candidate." The particular context of the Lieberman-Lamont race—Lamont's non-existent political experience, Lieberman's seniority, and Lamont's lost momentum following the primary—all offer interesting challenges to the relationship between the frequency of news coverage and incumbency.

Quality of coverage

Arguably, the greatest advantage incumbents enjoy in media coverage is in the coverage's content. Case studies suggest that in competitive races, where policy draws greater attention and scrutiny, the incumbent has the ability to campaign on his or her record of achievement—an advantage that can be particularly potent if the challenger is a political neophyte (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 118). Similar studies also find that the incumbent is able to increase the amount of this favorable attention through heavier spending (ibid.). Aside from issues, research finds that newspapers that endorse incumbents typically print significantly less criticisms of that candidate—a comfort not shared by endorsed challengers (129).

Once again, the quality of content about a challenger hinges entirely on his or her perceived viability. But Kahn & Kenney (1999, 142) note that if a challenger does succeed in gaining momentum, he or she can often times "compete with incumbents for coverage on… issues." And related to this, incumbents are often tied to their voting records such that it is difficult to shape the terms of debate, or offer ideas divergent from the status quo. Also, challengers—especially well-financed ones—are able to affect the amount of negative incumbent trait coverage. But there has been little work done on the interaction between issues—that is, how one issue might receive a disproportionate share of coverage to the detriment of others—which undoubtedly shaped coverage in Connecticut. Neither are these models able to fully explain an election between two candidates who diverge on a few larger issues, but who share roughly equivalent stances on the majority of smaller ones.

Coverage cycles

A line of inquiry that has received relatively little attention is concern for the ways that media content changes throughout the election cycle. Authors have observed, for example, that policy receives relatively little coverage in low-intensity races, but have left aside any exploration of how, or even if, policy coverage changes during the race's peaks and valleys in coverage, or in response to waxing or waning competitiveness. Analyzing the quantity of media coverage by looking simply at aggregate totals obscures the true dynamics of campaign reporting, just as totaling horserace, policy and trait ratios obscures how each is affected by—and affects—campaign occurrences. This paper presents the opportunity to test these qualitative waters, and perhaps present some new avenues of interest to senate election scholarship.

Larry Bartels (1988) employed a variety of quantitative, qualitative and anecdotal methods in advancing our understanding of the complex nature of presidential primaries.

Senate elections have been insulated from an approach like Bartels' for a number of reasons, and as a result, most studies on news coverage have been unable to conduct a comprehensive quantitative analysis. Many authors consider a wide sample of senate contests in an attempt to draw generalizations applicable to other races. By focusing on many campaigns at once, a study must necessarily narrow its selection of news sources, generally focusing on a state's largest newspaper. These studies tend to further hone their analysis by limiting the scope of time that is considered.

By focusing on one senate race, my analysis provides a more fine-grained approach, incorporating three of the state's largest news sources. In addition, the analysis extends the full length of the race, from March of 2006 through November, thereby giving a complete picture of the race's ebb and flow. My study also benefits from a number of important technological advancements unavailable to prior analyses. Kahn and Kenney required a small army of research assistants to look through microfilm, transcribe stories, and code content. In stark contrast, the use of online databases has made possible, in this thesis, the analysis of over five hundred articles, completed over the course of only a few months.[10]

Gaining a better understanding of the symbiotic relationship between news coverage and campaign occurrences would provide the foundation necessary to contextualize candidate and electorate behavior.

Television Advertisements

If newspapers—somewhat susceptible to, but largely independent of direct campaign influence—reflect and shape the dynamics of a campaign, then television advertisements demonstrate candidates' deliberate attempt to influence voter behavior. Advertisements can affect elections in two ways: turnout and vote choice. A conclusive answer concerning advertising's effect on turnout remains elusive—some scholars say that it increases participation (Finkle & Geer 1998; Wattenberg & Brians 1999; Jamieson 2001), others, that it decreases participation (Ansolabehere et al. 1994; Lemert 1996).

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[10] Though technological advancements allow for a more efficient and complete analysis of campaign news, this study is nonetheless weakened by the fact that another coder cannot independently verify my results. Though some quantitative measures may not be affected by this limitation, other qualitative measures will be more prone to individual judgment calls that could affect this thesis' results. The conclusions I draw are done so with this weakness in mind.

Empirical analysis exploring the relationship between advertising and vote choice has a somewhat sounder footing, though the heterogeneity of senate electoral contexts continues to confound the task of drawing many universal conclusions. Even so, any complete analysis of an election must include measures for both news media and advertisements (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 887). Even though "the effects of uncertainty about what works and what does not pervade campaign decision making," (Jacobson 2004, 87) patterns of incumbent and challenger behavior emerge nonetheless. This section provides a survey of these patterns so that the Lieberman-Lamont race might be compared and contrasted to them.

Challenger vs. Incumbent

One well established approach to analyzing campaign communications is to explore the ways in which incumbents and challengers differ in their respective media strategies. Here I discuss the various advantages and liabilities each candidate faces in a competitive senate race.

Incumbency Effect

Sitting senators engaged in a competitive race have a number of advantages at their disposal when it comes time to air political advertisements. Before an ad hits the airwaves, senators benefit from a strong donor base, which provides more money to wage an early and sustained ad campaign (Jacobson 2004; Malbin 1984). Even though the advent of television did not contribute significantly to the rise of the incumbency advantage, it nonetheless—for this reason—has the ability to perpetuate it (Ansolabehere 2004). When ads do finally hit the air, incumbent senators can draw on the record they've developed among constituents to make their case for reelection (Bianco 1984; Arbour 2005). If a senator is particularly visible, as Lieberman was in Connecticut's 2006 race, campaigns can cue voters through references to political accomplishments (Arbour 2005), and build credibility with voters (Kahn 1993).

Challenger Effect

Though incumbents enjoy a number of advantages in advertising, television ads, in many ways, also benefit the challenger. Jacobson (2004, 30) notes, "the marginal returns on campaign spending are greater for challengers than for incumbents." That is, every dollar a challenger spends does more to raise his status than does a dollar spent by an incumbent to maintain his status, and to lower his opponent's. Each challenger advertisement tells a voter why the incumbent senator should not be reelected, while also

increasing awareness of the challenger's candidacy and chipping away at the incumbent's name recognition advantage. Large expenditures on advertising also advance the perception of viability that the media looks for in deciding whether to give a candidate substantial coverage. For many challengers, this presents a problem, since viability is also generally necessary to draw campaign donations. But wealthy candidates, like Ned Lamont, can provide the seed money to generate news coverage and gain momentum. Studies also suggest that voters, when it comes to content, grant challengers a greater deal of leniency than they do incumbents, which makes their advertising tasks easier to achieve (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 30).

Content

Another way in which scholars approach advertising—and one not wholly divorced from the previous discussion—is through the analysis of its content. Discussion of this nature has become especially salient in the wake of declining voter participation, and the charge that "negative" advertising is a major contributor to that decline. For the sake of simplicity, the following discussion will distinguish between issues and tones in advertising, though as will become evident, the distinction is not as clear as many identify it to be.

Issues

Past analysis of the issues discussed in senate campaign advertisements suggest that ads overwhelmingly focus on candidates' records (Arbour 2005). Discussion of issues becomes blurred when attention shifts from a candidates' emphasis on his own record to that of his opponent. In races between an incumbent and a challenger with relatively little electoral experience, this distinction becomes even more complicated. While promoting his own accomplishments, it becomes difficult for an incumbent to attack an opponent's non-existent record in a manner that will not be perceived as "negative" or "sticking to the issues." Jacobson (2004, 91) notes the similar situation the challenger finds himself in: "The challenge [in winning an election] is to find some vulnerable point to attack, and challengers are happy to exploit whatever is available." Each candidate, in this sense, suffers a tradeoff with issue advertisements. Incumbents can campaign on their proven record—thereby distinguishing themselves from their inexperienced opponent—but a long voting record is at the same time extremely constraining since any deviation from a previous legislative trajectory will automatically be deemed suspect or considered pandering. Challengers benefit from the ability to poke

holes in the candidates record and adapt their own stances accordingly (Arbour 2005), but lack the credibility to support their own legislative ideas.

Tone

Scholarship concerning political knowledge, candidate choice, and voter turnout in elections all relate to political advertising, and especially advertisement tone. Whereas the effects and effectiveness of issue ads can be measured across the electorate, tone works in more subtle ways, which makes its impact less clear. For this reason, academics have spilt a great deal of ink in attempting to uncover just how significant a role advertising tone plays in elections, and why.

Positive

In advertising literature, "positive" advertising seems only to be defined as advertising that is not explicitly identified as "negative." Ads not identified as negative generally include substantive issue ads that make no reference to an opponent, positive character ads, and endorsements. If indeed one limits a definition of "positive" advertising to these constraints, it is easy to understand why positive ads tend generally to favor incumbents that possess a legislative history, a high level of name recognition, and relationships with other highly visible political actors. Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2001) takes issue with the notion that any ad that attacks an opponent is necessarily negative. In doing so, she highlights the existence of—and lack of attention paid to—contrast ads. Contrast ads highlight one candidate's stand on an issue while attacking the position of the opponent, and, according to Jamieson, have been mislabeled by critics as "attacks."

Negative

Regardless of its classification, perceived merits, or whether people "like" it, attacking one's opponent is clearly effective (Kahn & Kenney 1995, 75). Two reasons are cited for this unconscious digestion of negative political information. The first is that negative information is more unique than ordinary, or "positive," messages, and is therefore more memorable (Lau 1985). Indeed, campaign consultants often cite this in their justification for going negative, noting that positive ads must be aired over and over again before they "stick" (Jacobson 2004, 93). The second stems from literature suggesting that people are generally risk averse, and thus tend to retain information about the potential outcome of a particular race (Lau 1985). Ambiguity inherent in labeling advertisements as "negative," as addressed by Jamieson, might be one reason why Kahn & Kenney (1999, 887) conclude that "negative information does not have a uniform

effect" on political campaigns. Though beyond questions of categorization, advertisement tone—especially negativity—has an affect different for incumbents than it does for challengers, as well as a differing effect across electorate partisanship, attentiveness, preexisting political knowledge, and electoral context (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 887).

As mentioned above, incumbents run fewer negative ads than challengers (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 79) because achievements and recognition afford a greater opportunity to maintain a positive message. Studies show that incumbents that do resort to negative advertising often damage their own evaluations (Kahn & Kenney 2004, 28). Challengers, on the other hand, incur less risk by attacking opponents (ibid.), presumably because criticisms tend to be substantive, and related to less popular aspects of the incumbent's legislative history (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 79). Voters react negatively to "mudslinging" by either candidate—which is generally defined as attacking a candidate's traits, rather than policy positions (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 29). Campaigns that engage in a high level of mudslinging do tend to observe lower turnout (Jamieson 2001), especially among individuals with low interest in politics, with little political knowledge, and with no party affiliation (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 887). Conversely, hard-fought campaigns that utilize many substantive issue-based contrast ads will tend to see an increase in turnout among these groups (ibid).

Connecticut's Race: The Data

With this brief literature review as a foundation, I now explore media coverage and candidate behavior in Connecticut's senate race. I first discuss newspapers, revisiting content, incumbency, and cyclicality. Content, in Connecticut's case, is completely reversed, with an overwhelming emphasis on the campaign's horserace aspects. Incumbency advantage, historically non-existent in hard-fought senate campaigns, is extraordinarily prevalent, by a number of significant measures. And cyclicality, not previously analyzed, is found to be an important aspect of campaign coverage, and an important additional measure of incumbency bias. But most importantly, all of these approaches reinforce my Lieberman-centered interpretation. I then analyze Lieberman and Lamont's advertisements to explore their differences in strategy and content. Though there is less challenge to extant literature, this analysis, too, reveals the significant emphasis on Lieberman's history and character.

Newspapers

To compare the Lieberman-Lamont race to previous media scholarship, I compiled every relevant article from three primary Connecticut news sources: the *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post*, and the local Connecticut *Associated Press* wire.[11] Between Lamont's first mention by the *Associated Press* on March 9 and Election Day, these three sources published 468 campaign-related articles. My first pass at the data consisted of a cursory coding of all 468 articles, tallying the frequency at which each candidate's name was mentioned, and which candidates' names appeared in the title and first paragraph. The second pass involved a more in-depth coding of 100 randomly selected articles, logging the article's primary content focus, the number of paragraphs dedicated to each candidate, the overall tone towards each candidate, and mentions of various candidate and policy attributes.[12]

Content

My in-depth look at 100 randomly selected stories revealed a portrait of coverage remarkably different from previous scholars' findings. Whereas most coverage of high intensity races has been found to be policy-based, followed by traits and horserace, the Lieberman-Lamont coverage proved to be exactly the opposite. Articles focusing on the horserace were most common, followed by trait coverage, and then policy. Table 2.1 reflects these findings.

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[11] Stories were found and compiled through *Lexis-Nexis*, and saved by date and source as html files. Though this format loses much of its contextual information—placement on the page, pictures, etc.—it has the added benefit of easy cataloging, and lends itself to quick searches. See Appendix B for more information on these newspapers.

[12] The in-depth coding form was adapted from Johnson, Joslyn & Reynolds' *Political Science Research Methods* (2001). Modifications include coding for a number of potentially significant Lamont attributes, as well as mentions of the Iraq war. See Appendix B for each coding sheet.

Newspaper Content	
	Total
Horserace	68%
Policy	14%
Trait	18%
No. of Stories:	100

Table 2.1. Newspaper Content by Coverage Type
Content analysis for in-depth coding of 100 randomly selected Connecticut news articles.
Source: author

Remarkably, over three-quarters of these stories made mention of the Iraq war, but most only did so in providing context for Lamont's challenge of Lieberman. Much of the campaign's coverage focused on the race's frequent polling, and the constant string of endorsements from politicians and labor unions.[13] The harsh tone of the campaign, particularly with regard to charges of negative advertising and voter fraud, also decreased the emphasis on substantive issue coverage. It is entirely possible that this campaign reflects a broader trend towards horserace-centered coverage, made possible through the recent rise and spread of political polling, but whether this is the case or not, such coverage clearly gave Lieberman the advantage.

Lamont Characterizations	
	Total
Iraq mention	76%
"Anti-War"	32%
"Millionaire"	38%
"Blog support"	16%
No. of Stories:	100

Table 2.2. Lamont Characterizations in Connecticut News Coverage
This table details the most cited characteristics of Ned Lamont throughout the race.
These percentages reflect findings from the in-depth coding sample.

Table 2.2 reflects the negative tone of the race in detailing the common characterizations made of Ned Lamont in newspaper coverage. With over three-quarters of campaign-related articles mentioning the Iraq war, it is understandable that disengaged

[13] See Appendix A for a comprehensive timeline of events—culled largely from newspaper coverage.

observers might perceive the race—and Lamont's candidacy—as lacking depth. In my sample, nearly a third of the stories explicitly labeled Lamont "anti-war." Neither of the other most common descriptors was substantive—or flattering—either. Though a majority of articles referred to Lamont as a Greenwich businessman, 38 percent actually labeled him a "millionaire," or made a more explicit reference to his vast wealth. Further, 16 percent of the sample I coded made reference to Lamont's support among bloggers—an attribute generally portrayed by the media in a negative light. Pegging the challenger with descriptors of this sort inherently diminished the perceived legitimacy of his campaign, and was of enormous benefit to Lieberman.

Incumbency

A two-pronged approach to media coverage allowed me to measure for incumbency bias in a number of different ways. One approach I took to uncovering differences in relative coverage was to analyze the frequency with which each candidate's name appears in each story.

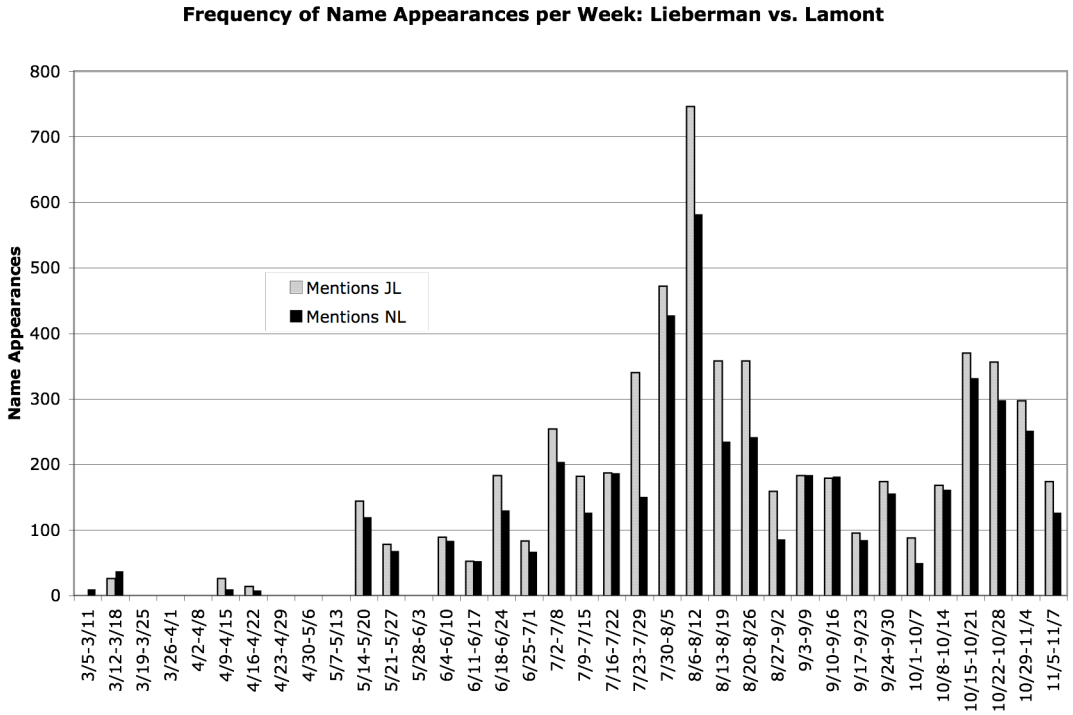

Figure 2.1. Frequency of Name Appearances per Week
This chart represents weekly totals of Lieberman and Lamont mentions over the course of the race. Data were collected from the *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post*, and Connecticut *Associated Press* wire. *Source: author.*

Figure 2.1, produced through a simple tally of how many times each candidate's name appeared in print each week, suggests that Lieberman did indeed enjoy an advantage in coverage. In fact, there were only five weeks throughout the election where Ned Lamont's name appeared with greater frequency. And of those five weeks, the total net difference between Lamont and Lieberman was 24 mentions, 19 of which occurred in March, when the race was receiving minimal attention. All told, Lieberman's name appeared 5,835 times, whereas Lamont's appeared 4,657 times—a difference of over 25 percent.[14]

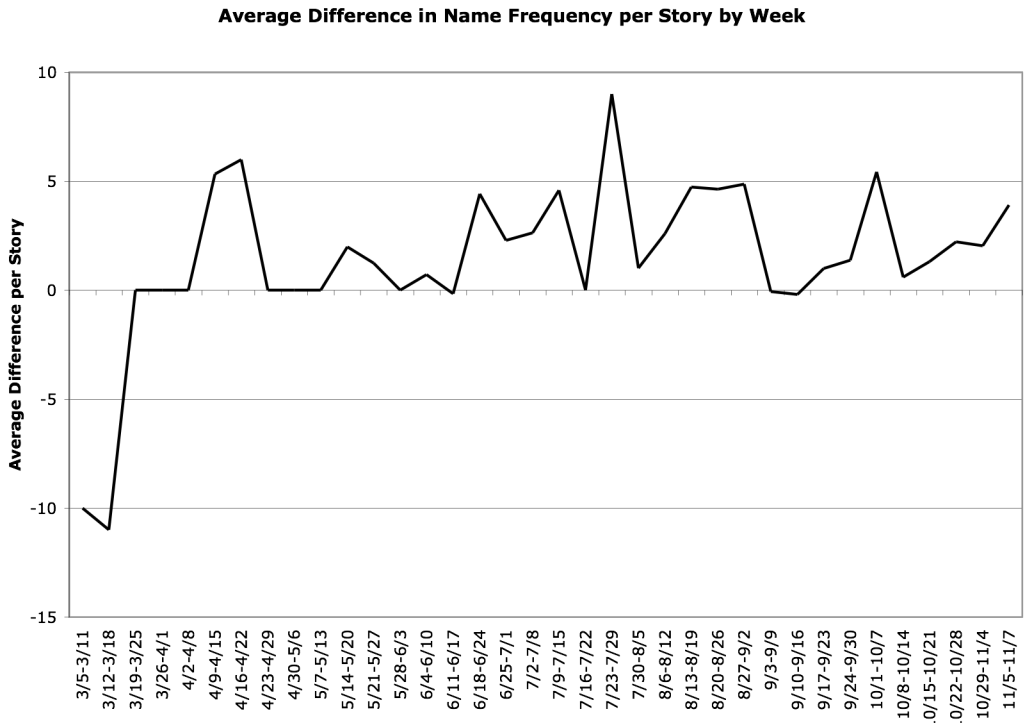

Figure 2.2. Average Difference in Name Frequency per Story, by Week
This chart was calculated by dividing the difference in Lieberman and Lamont name mentions each week by the number of stories published that week. Data were collected from the *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post* and Connecticut *Associated Press* wire. *Source: author.*

Figure 2.2 provides an additional illustration of the advantage Lieberman enjoyed in name mentions. Average disparity in coverage each week was calculated by tallying up the number of times that each candidate's name was mentioned, subtracting Lamont's

[14] For a full weekly breakdown of news data, see Appendix B.

total from Lieberman's, and dividing the difference by the number of stories in that week. As the figure suggests, though Lieberman's advantage was not always exceptional, it remained relatively persistent. His advantage peaks during the week of July 23—two weeks before the primary—where one could expect to observe, on average, Lamont's name appearing 9 fewer times than Lieberman's in any given story. Excluding the two articles in March, Lieberman's advantage dips below zero for only three weeks across the entire race. Even for these weeks, the greatest advantage Lamont experienced in average name mentions was 0.2 per story for the weeks of June 11 and September 10.

It is difficult to draw out the significance of this chart's specific peaks and valleys, even when comparing them to occurrences in the race. This most likely stems from the inherent crudeness of name frequency as an indicator of media content. Needless to say, the findings highlighted here are significant, even if only in so far as they indicate a clear and consistent disparity in coverage between Lieberman and Lamont. Of course, one should accept name frequency as a measure of incumbency bias only with a healthy dose of skepticism. Such a measure obscures a number of important considerations, including where names appear in the story, what an article is covering, or whether the candidate's name is being invoked for praise or criticism. The first of these issues, at least in part, can be accounted for by charting the frequency at which candidates' names appear in the title and first paragraph of a news item.

Figure 2.3 demonstrates an additional cursory, yet revealing, measure of incumbency bias over the course of Connecticut's senate race. The chart graphs the number of stories per week in which either Lieberman or Lamont was the sole candidate mentioned in both the title and first paragraph of a news item. Previous studies find such a measure useful as it addresses differing levels of political attentiveness—many individuals may skim a paper's headlines or read the first few sentences of an article, rather than read each story in its entirety (Westlye 1991). As is evident, Lieberman enjoys a comfortable advantage by this measure as well. Though the overall number of these stories is relatively small, the significant disparity between Joe Lieberman and Ned Lamont is worth noting. Throughout the race, 55 news stories, or 11.8 percent of the total coded, mention Lieberman—and only Lieberman—in both the title and first paragraph; the same measure yields only 19 stories for Lamont, or 4.1 percent. As does our first measure of incumbency bias, this second measure complicates previous findings that suggest high-intensity incumbents and challengers receive similar levels of coverage.

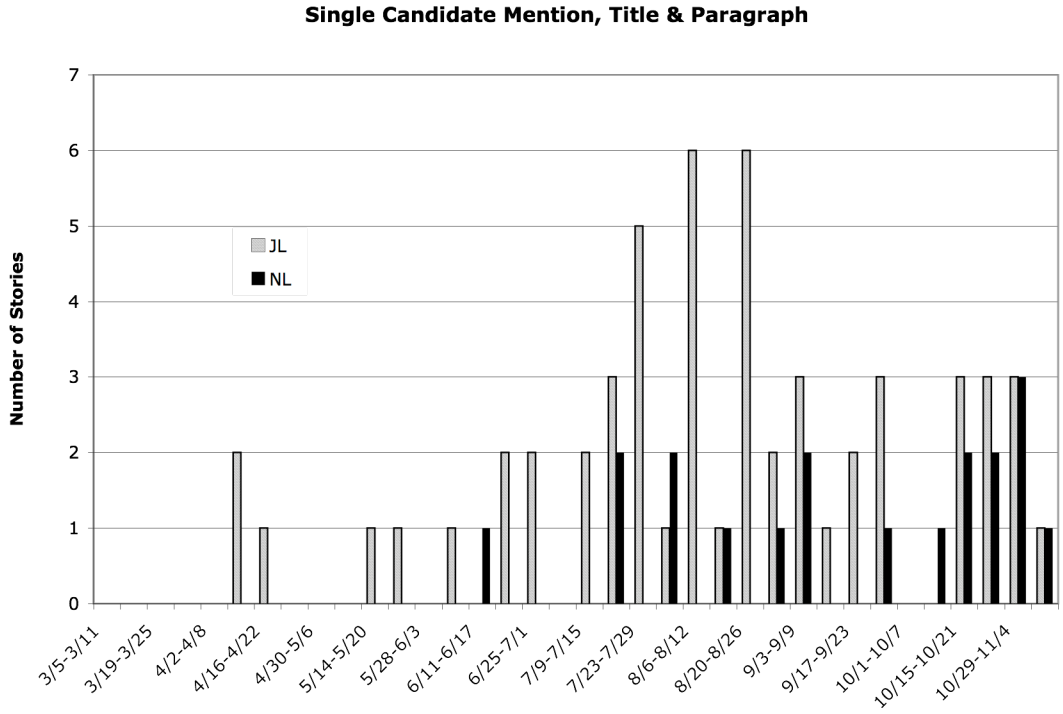

Figure 2.3. Single Candidate Mention, Title and First Paragraph
This chart represents the number of stories per week in which only one candidate was mentioned in both the title and first paragraph of a story. Data were collected from the *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post* and Connecticut *Associated Press* wire. *Source: author*.

My in-depth coding reinforces these brief and cursory passes at the campaign's news coverage. Table 2.3 lists the average number of paragraphs dedicated solely to each candidate in my 100-article sample. Lieberman enjoyed an advantage of nearly two and a half paragraphs in any given story. If taken over the average number of paragraphs, Lieberman typically commanded 27.5 percent of any given article's coverage, whereas Lamont received only 15 percent. Greater levels of coverage could potentially be offset if coverage was significantly less favorable, but coding for coverage tone reveals only slightly more negative coverage for Lieberman.[15]

[15] As noted earlier, these codings all suffer in that they were conducted solely by myself, and thus have not been independently verified.

Candidate Coverage	
	Total
Ave. Length	657
Ave. No. of Par.	19.3
Paragraphs JL	5.3
Paragraphs NL	2.9
Tone JL	3.4
Tone NL	3.6
No. of Stories:	100

Table 2.3. Candidate Coverage in Connecticut Papers
This table lists the average length of and number of paragraphs in each news story, as well as the number of paragraphs dedicated to and tone towards each candidate. These data were compiled from the in-depth coding of 100 randomly selected local news stories. *Source: author*

It is clear now by both quantitative and qualitative analysis that Lieberman enjoyed a distinct and significant incumbency advantage. His name appeared with greater frequency throughout each story, in addition to appearing alone more often in the title and first paragraph of articles. Substantively, he drew a larger portion of dedicated coverage in each news item, and received only a marginally less favorable tone. All of these findings reinforce my Lieberman-centered campaign thesis, and conflict with previous findings that incumbents and viable challengers received roughly equivalent coverage.

Cycles

In my attempt to expand on previous media scholarship, I monitored coverage throughout the entire election cycle. Figures 2.4a and 2.4b present a visual representation of the ebb and flow of coverage. Regular coverage began in early June, waxing and waning in an upward direction until the primary and its aftermath. The week of August 13—five days after the primary—coverage dropped below half of the previous week's levels. Coverage slowly declined over the next several weeks, until picking up again beginning in mid October, with heavy coverage continuing through to Election Day. These figures, though largely unique to this particular race, should raise questions concerning the capacity of a brief news sample to capture the true content and dynamics of a campaign's coverage.

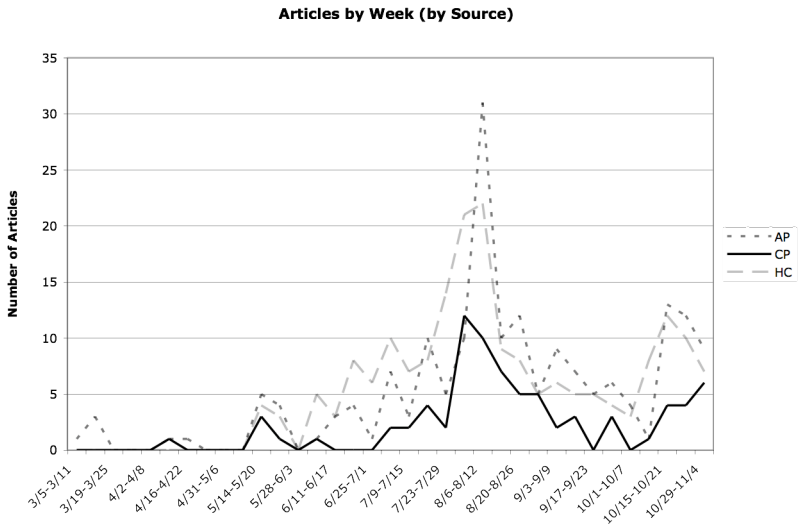

Figure 2.4a. Articles by Week (by Source)
Ebbs and flows are roughly parallel across various newspaper sources. The chart graphs the total number of campaign-related stories published each week by the *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post*, and the Connecticut *Associated Press* wire. *Source: author*.

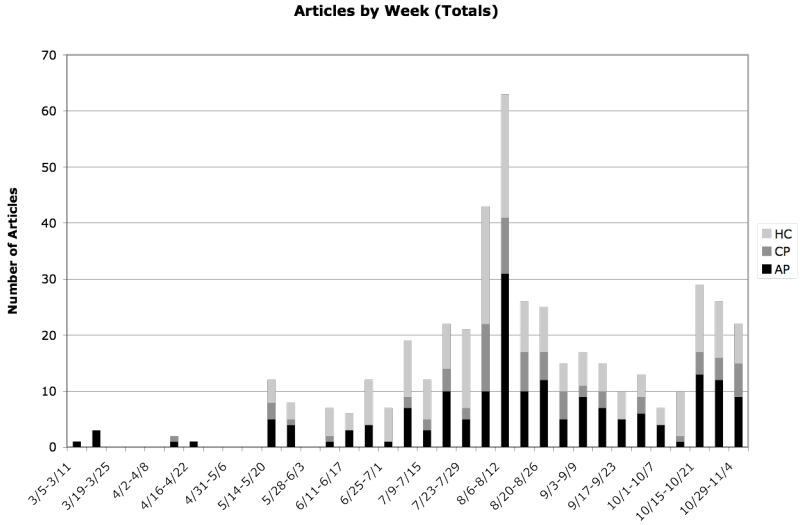

Figure 2.4b. Articles by Week (Totals)
By aggregating different news sources, the overall trend in coverage becomes clear. The chart graphs the total number of campaign-related stories aggregated by week. *Source: author*.

Casting a further shadow on that capacity are data from my in-depth coding. Table 2.4 replicates the three tables found earlier in this chapter, but breaks down their totals into primary and general election components.

Newspaper Coverage Cycles

	Total	Primary	General
Horserace	68%	69%	66%
Policy	14%	9%	23%
Trait	18%	22%	11%
Iraq mention	76%	77%	74%
"Anti-War"	32%	31%	34%
"Millionaire"	38%	45%	26%
"Blog support"	16%	18%	11%
Ave. Length	657	665	640
Ave. No. of Par.	19.3	19.3	19.5
Paragraphs JL	5.3	5.5	4.8
Paragraphs NL	2.9	2.9	3
Tone JL	3.4	3.4	3.5
Tone NL	3.6	3.6	3.5
No. of Stories:	100	65	35

Table 2.4. Newspaper Coverage Cycles
This table presents this chapter's previous three tables, but breaks down their data into its primary and general election components to demonstrate differences in coverage over time.

There are many clear differences in coverage between the primary campaign and the general election. Though the level of horserace coverage stayed relatively similar, the amount of policy attention greatly increased, while the emphasis on candidate traits diminished. And while mentions of the Iraq war, and Lamont's labeling as "anti-war," stayed more or less constant, there was a significant drop off in his portrayal as a "millionaire" and as the "blogger" candidate. In light of these shifting dynamics in coverage, it is worth noting that Lieberman's advantage in average paragraphs per story decreases only slightly. In the primary, Lieberman enjoyed a coverage advantage over Lamont of just over 2.5 paragraphs a story; this diminished to just below two paragraphs in the general election.

From this section on coverage cycles emerge two significant findings. The first is that there can be drastically different coverage, both qualitatively and quantitatively,

throughout the course of an election. Simply looking at election totals obscures the true nature of the coverage. The second is that Lieberman's incumbency advantage remained strong throughout the race, even as many other aspects of coverage changed.

Television Ads

Though manipulable to some extent, the content of news stories is largely out of the hands of campaign staffers. And once a paper runs the favorable story a communications director worked so hard to push, it is inevitably read only by the highly informed or highly opinionated citizen that picks up the paper, or logs onto a news website each day. For this reason, campaigns must rely on advertisements to compliment their coverage in the news, and to reach those who may be less attentive to political happenings. Advertisements' role as a deliberate and visible form of communication makes it an interesting and invaluable subject of inquiry. In this section, I will explore the content, nature and significance of the 57 television ads aired throughout the race by Ned Lamont and Joe Lieberman.

Ads were compiled and verified through various means. Ned Lamont posted on his website, and made available for download, every advertisement that his campaign produced.[16] Lieberman, more cautious in his approach, posted many—though not all—of his ads on YouTube.com.[17] All ads included in this analysis were verified to have run on television, generally through reference to *National Journal*'s AdWatch, but failing that, through references made in the media, or on political blogs.[18]

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[16] Much to the author's delight, Lamont's videos remained on his website for many months following the election. Lieberman's site was removed in the days following the election, with only a homepage remaining in its place.

[17] Though unverified, all signs indicated that the account belonged to an official Lieberman staffer.

[18] These methods were also used to identify the debut dates of advertisements. In some cases, an exact debut date could not be found, though all ads' debut dates could be placed within a time frame of 2-3 days. See Appendix C for ad statistics.

Challenger vs. Incumbent

With Lieberman drawing in, at times, over $100,000 a day[19], and with Lamont worth between $90 and 300 million, neither candidate faced budget constraints when planning their respective media strategies. In a sense, campaigns were free to pursue whichever course of action each deemed most desirable. For this reason, Lamont, as a challenger, was not faced with the same monetary hurdles that many challengers face in attempting to unseat an opponent (Kahn & Kenney 1999, 94). Likewise, Lieberman was less able to ignore Lamont's attacks in the way that an incumbent can avoid acknowledging the existence of a lesser known and poorly funded challenger.

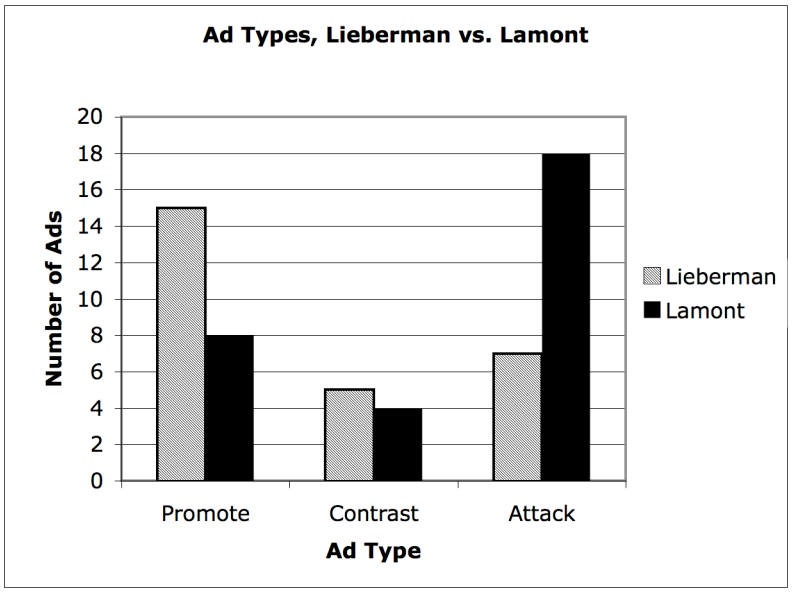


Figure 2.5. Ad Types, Lieberman vs. Lamont
Candidate advertisements can be sorted into three different categories: Promote, Contrast, and Attack. This figure represents each candidate's ads, sorted accordingly. *Source: author*. See Appendix C for additional details.

The figure above highlights the significantly different approach that incumbents and challengers take to advertising, even when in possession of roughly equivalent sums of cash. Figure 2.5 supports the prevailing literature regarding incumbency and negative advertising. As an incumbent, Lieberman had the luxury of promoting his accomplishments in the senate, while Lamont was faced with the task of simultaneously

[19] *Associated Press*, 8/12/06

gaining name recognition while portraying Lieberman as an undesirable choice. Lamont's strategy did not, however, follow the path suggested by Jamieson (2001), which involves challengers utilizing contrast ads in lieu of attack ads. As will become apparent later on in this chapter, many Lamont ads simply attacked Lieberman without offering any positive attributes to Lamont, either policy or character related.

Aggregate totals of negative and positive ads only provide superficial understanding of a highly competitive race's dynamics. A better understanding of each type's role is made possible by plotting their appearances across the race's timeline. Figure 2.6 illustrates the deployment of positive and negative advertisements over the course of the campaign. The black bars moving downward represent the number of negative ads that debut during a particular week; the white bars moving upward represent positive advertisements.

These charts support the earlier pass at negative-positive advertising and, to a great extent, reveal trends one would intuitively expect to find. Lieberman's advantage in name recognition allowed his campaign to release positive advertisements on a fairly regular basis, while airing only three negative ads before the month of October. Lamont's significant disadvantage—both in terms of name recognition, and political credibility—allowed him to release only three *positive* ads before October, and had him dedicating the majority of his airtime to attacking Lieberman. Also evident are the divergent paths that each candidate took in the run up to the primary and general elections. Lieberman made only a small escalation in his negative advertising during the month preceding the general election, and no increase preceding the primary. Lamont, however, debuted 3 negative ads before the primary, and 11 during the general election, five of which were released within one week of voting.

Though the variation is not stark, Figure 2.7 illustrates a rough measure of the overall difference in ad content. Lieberman was able to campaign both on his 18-year history in the senate, and on his familiar personality. Lamont, lacking the legislative credibility to wage a policy-centered campaign alone, resorted to personal ads aimed both at raising his name recognition, and attacking Lieberman's image and credibility. Much of the detail regarding ad target and tone is obscured here, but will become evident in the following section. For now, it is sufficient to note that both campaigns' relative resources, and relative political experience created a divergence from historically documented patterns of personal and policy advertisement use.

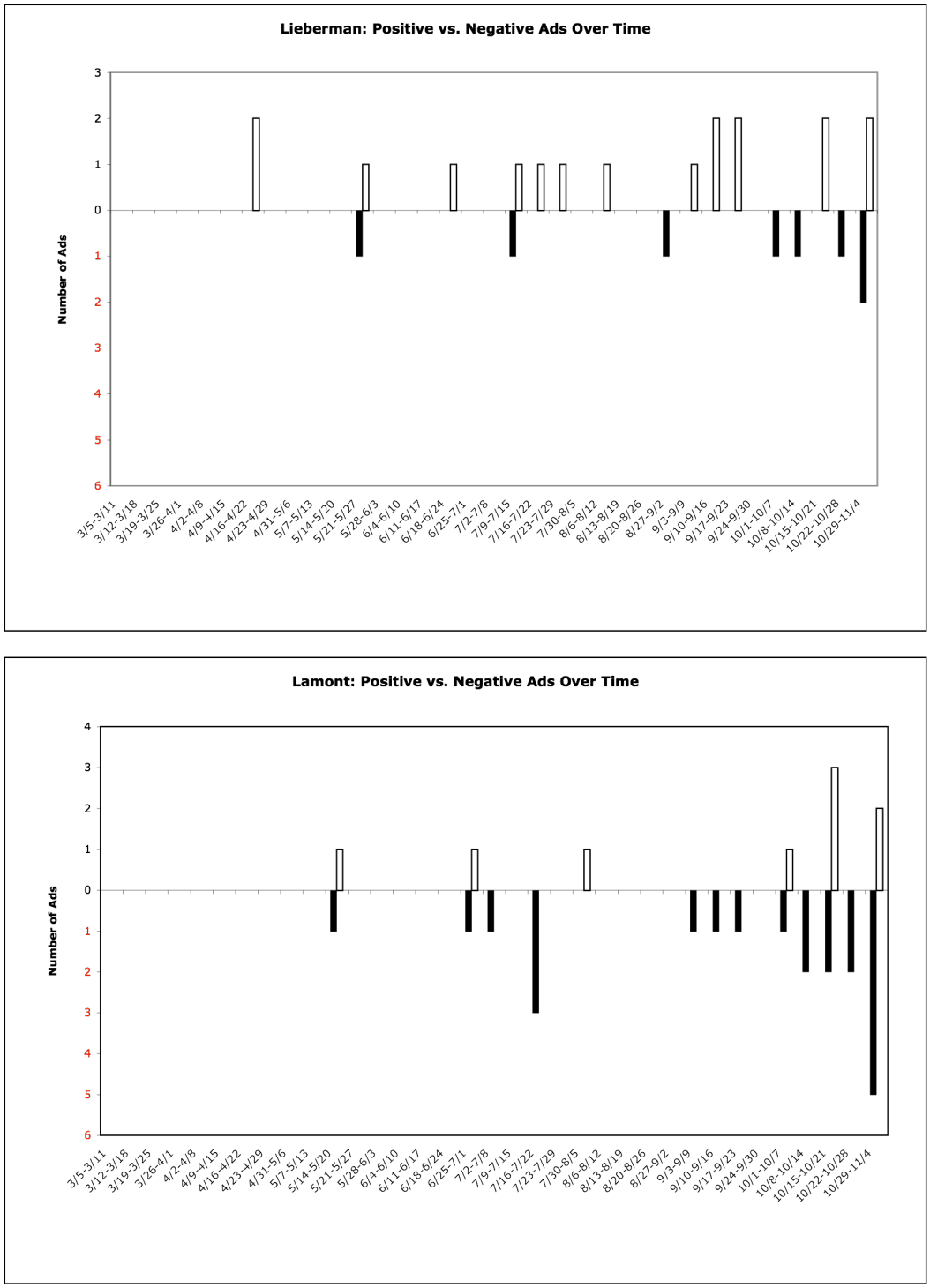
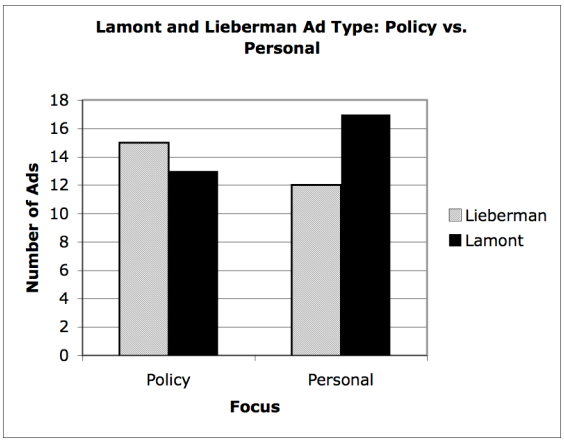


Figure 2.6. Positive vs. Negative Ads Over Time

Graphing the temporal deployment of negative and positive ads provides a better understand of candidate strategy, and advertising's relationship with media coverage. In these figures, white bas indicate positive advertisements, and black bars indicate negative advertisements. *Source: author*.



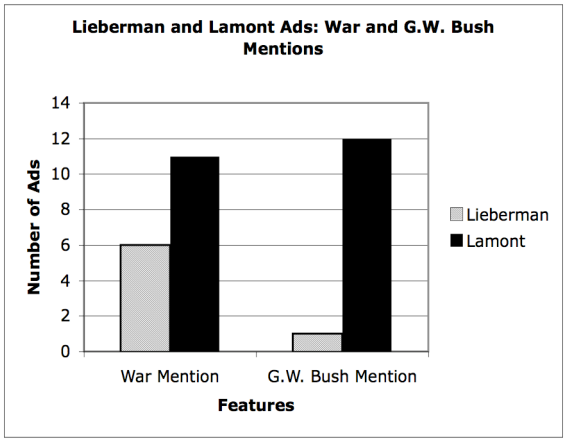


Figure 2.7. Ad Types: Policy vs. Personal
Another common conceptual distinction groups advertisements by whether they focus on policy or personality traits. This figure presents the extent to which each candidate relied on policy and personal ads. *Source: author*.

Figure 2.8. Ad Content: Iraq War and George Bush
Oftentimes media campaigns will develop themes aimed at undermining support for the incumbent. In 2006, the unpopularity of George Bush and the war in Iraq made these themes particularly salient among the electorate, and thus, popular campaign themes. This figure presents the extent to which each candidate invoked the Iraq war and George Bush in his advertisements. *Source: author*.

As we have already discussed, mention of both George Bush and the war in Iraq was ubiquitous among newspaper coverage. Figure 2.8 illustrates their use in each candidate's advertisements. Lamont regularly invoked George Bush in criticizing Lieberman and the direction of national politics. As the chart demonstrates, twelve of Lamont's thirty ads made explicit reference to Bush, in half of these cases appealing to Lieberman's policy stances, and in the other half criticizing Lieberman's personality traits.[20] Lieberman, in contrast, made one reference to Bush in his second television ad, "Go-To Guy," which debuted in mid-April. Lamont also made frequent mention of Iraq, mentioning the war in over one third of his ads. Lieberman, who discussed the war in six different ads, generally attempted to undercut the issue's saliency while acknowledging disagreement and respect on the issue, and often concluded by reminding voters of other areas of agreement.

[20] See Appendix C for comprehensive advertisement data.

Content

In adding nuance to the overall trends highlighted above, I now turn my focus to the substance of Lieberman and Lamont's ads. Paralleling the previous discussion, this section looks at three different measures of advertisement substance: characterizations of the opponent; characterizations of the favored candidate; and mentions of policy positions or accomplishments. The coding format used to quantify ad content was modeled upon the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Advertising Project coding sheet.[21]

Figure 2.9 lists different characterizations that Lieberman and Lamont made of one another throughout the race.[22] The results are striking, even if not wholly unexpected. One of Ned Lamont's recurring campaign themes was Joe Lieberman's relationship with George Bush. Nearly one-third of Lamont's advertisements made mention of Bush, occasionally accompanied by a now infamous clip of Bush kissing Lieberman on the cheek before the 2005 State of the Union address. Lamont's second most favored characterization of Lieberman was that of incompetence. Though "incompetence" can plausibly take many forms, many of Lamont's criticisms stayed true to the common use of the word. Two advertisements actually criticized Lieberman for his ineffectiveness in bringing federal dollars back to Connecticut. Overall, only about 28 percent of Ned Lamont's ads did not make any negative characterization of Joe Lieberman.

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[21] Wisconsin Advertising Project makes available on their website their coding questions. I created a FileMaker interface based upon these questions to facilitate easy data entry. Visit < http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/tvadvertising/ > for Wisconsin's coding questions. The coding sheet used for this thesis can be found in Appendix B. As was the case with newspaper articles, an additional independent coder could not substantiate these results. In an attempt to raise the base level of confidence, advertisements were each checked three times to ensure an accurate reflection of characterizations and policy content. By this account, only qualitative measures, such as negativity/positivity, should remain problematic.

[22] For the sake of simplicity, some terms may have been rolled together into a category of like characterizations. E.g. A Lamont ad pointing out Lieberman's "failed" war policy would fall under the category of "incompetent."

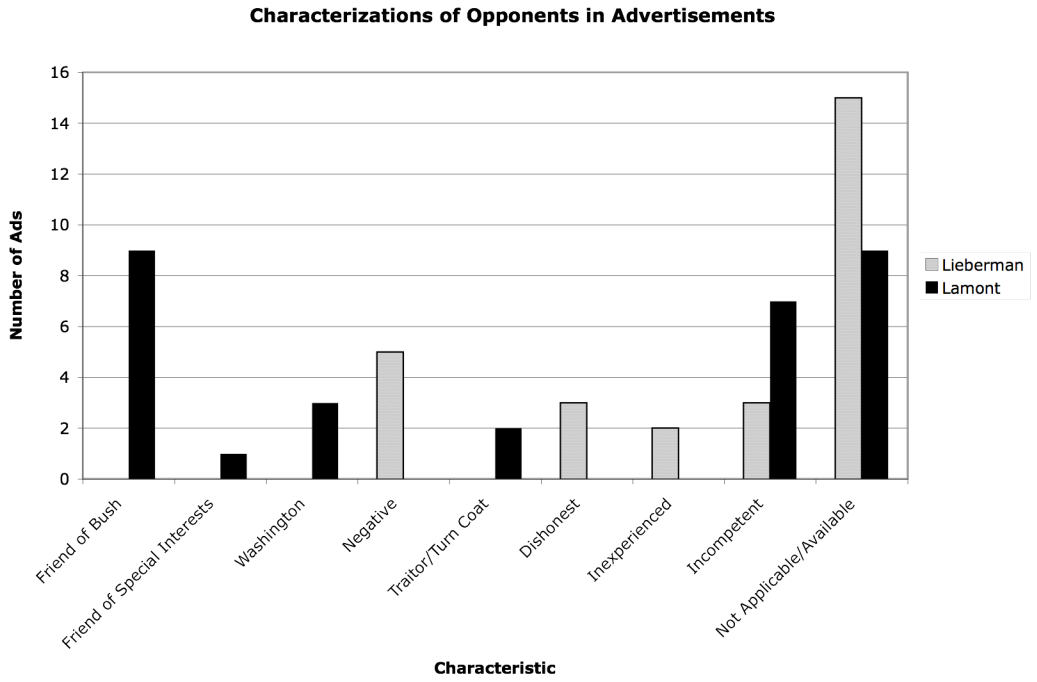

Figure 2.9. Characterizations of Opponents in Advertisements
In an attempt to reduce the favorability or credibility of an opponent, candidates often make characterizations of their opponents. This figure represents the characterizations each candidate made of their opponent, and the frequency at which each characterization was made. *Source: author*.

Lieberman's share of non-negative ads, at 56 percent, is nearly twice that of Lamont's, and reflects the advantage of his incumbency status. Indeed, his most frequent criticism of Lamont was Lamont's negativity, followed by dishonesty in distorting Lieberman's record. Lieberman's characterizations of Lamont do conform to some established trends in political advertising. The relatively small number of ads in which Lamont was criticized for his inexperience and incompetence indicate Lieberman's ability to draw emphasis away from the viability of Lamont's campaign by not even acknowledging his qualifications. An alternate explanation for this trend might be that it was a response to Lamont's initial attempt to define himself as an outsider—a role later assumed by Lieberman after filing as an independent, which allowed him to portray his candidacy as challenging "politics as usual."

At this point, I turn to the characterizations that the Lieberman and Lamont campaigns used to define their own candidate. The traits that campaigns choose to highlight are not meant only to shape the image of their candidate in a way that will be most attractive to the public; these characterizations are also meant to contrast the

favored candidate from his supposedly undesirable opponent. This objective is apparent in Figure 2.10, which lists the characteristics that each campaign projected upon their candidate throughout their respective media campaigns. Among the list of characterizations, there is very little overlap in the traits that each campaign chose to highlight.

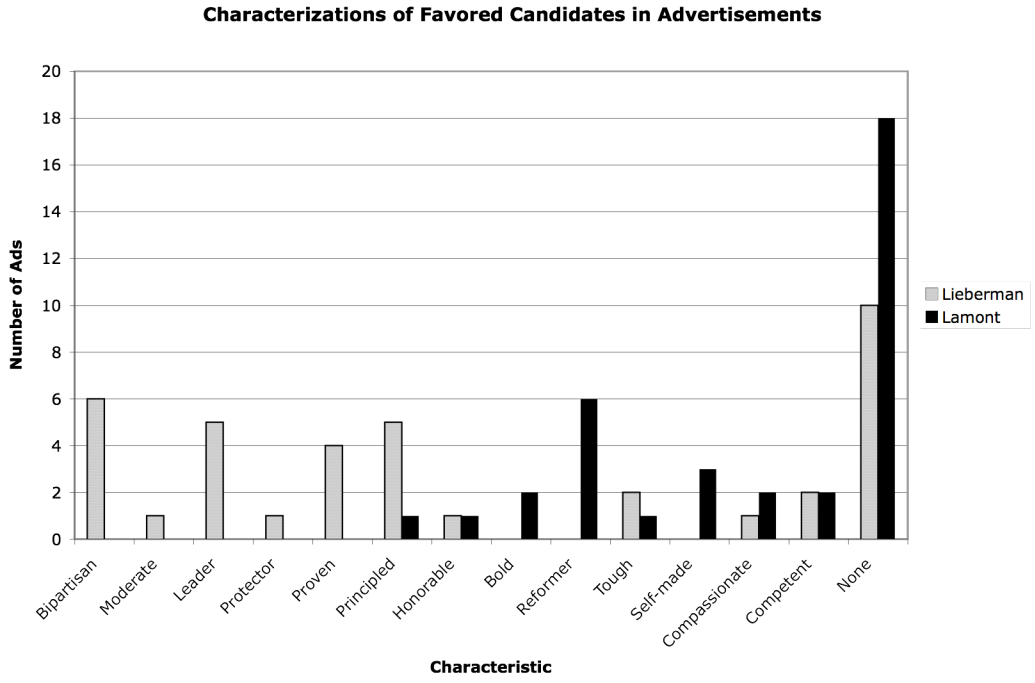

Figure 2.10. Characterizations of Favored Candidate in Advertisements
This figure relates that characterizations that advertisements made of their favored candidate. There is also a measure included for advertisements that made no positive characterizations of the sponsored candidate. *Source: author*.

Lamont's primarily negative media strategy becomes extremely apparent in this figure. Indeed, eighteen of Lamont's ads failed to convey any positive attributes at all, save that of not being Joe Lieberman.[23] Lamont's most common characteristic was that of being a reformer, taking on Joe Lieberman and the Washington establishment. He also highlighted his business experience and work ethic—as manifest in the "Self-made" and

[23] These ads generally asked viewers if they were tired of Joe Lieberman, and if the answer was "yes," then to vote for Ned Lamont.

"competent" measures—and a number of ads portrayed him as "bold" for standing up to Lieberman.

Lieberman's advertisements stressed those attributes one might expect from an incumbent. His 18 years in the senate, and 36 years of lawmaking in general, indicate his proven leadership qualities. Lieberman's support of the war, even in the face of opposition from his own party, was used as an example of his deeply held principles—principles that, besides the war, were generally moderate. In returning to the question posed above, Lieberman used his loss in the democratic primary, and subsequent run as an independent, to poise himself as outside the realm of partisan politics. All six advertisements portraying Lieberman as bipartisan—in addition to the one labeling him as moderate—were all aired in the wake of his loss in the Democratic primary.

My final measure of advertisement content concerns the issues that each campaign chose for his media strategy. Figure 2.7 has already indicated the central role that policy advertisements played in the campaign—comprising just below 50 percent of candidates' advertisements. Figure 2.11 details the content of these policy ads.

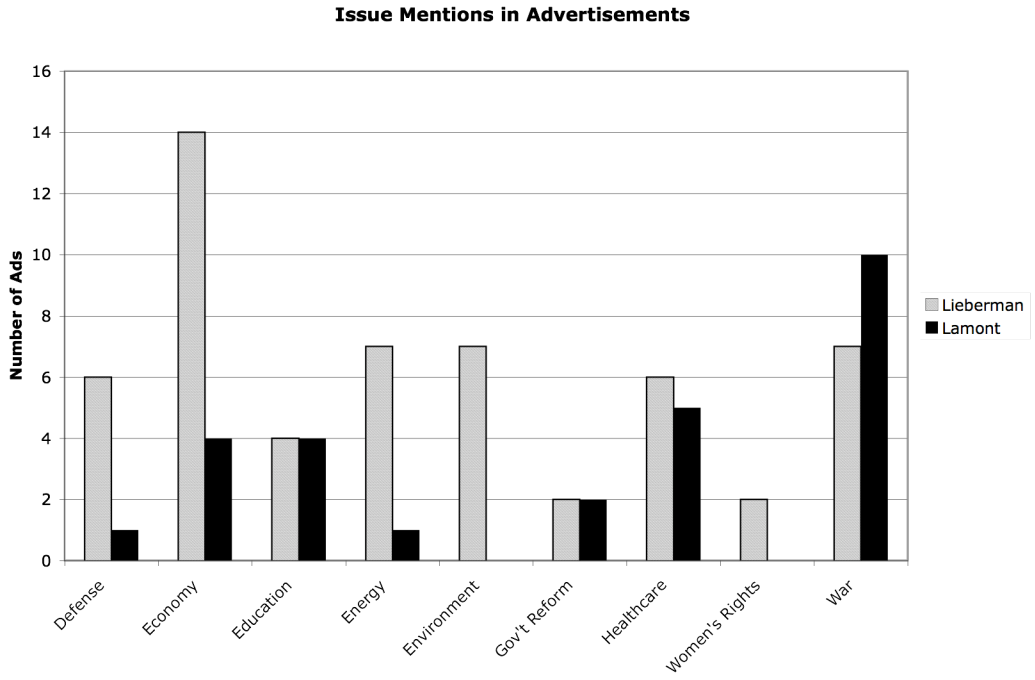

Figure 2.11. Issue Mentions in Advertisements.
Roughly half of the campaign's advertisements were policy oriented. This figure details the content of Lieberman and Lamont's policy advertisements. *Source: author.*

As one would expect, and as has been documented in senate literature, Lieberman's incumbency status afforded him the opportunity to invoke a wide range of policy successes in presenting his case for reelection. Creating and saving jobs, particularly 30,000 jobs at a Connecticut sub base, was a mainstay of Lieberman's strategy. He also pressed his advocacy for the Long Island Sound, and support for energy independence. As indicated in Figure 2.8, he did shy back from acknowledging the war, often incorporating it into a wider, and more palatable, goal of maintaining a strong national defense. The invocation of these policy objectives and accomplishments remained relatively constant throughout the course of the race.[24]

Lamont, as evidenced in Figure 2.11, made far fewer references to policy. As one might expect, Lamont's number one cited policy concern was the war in Iraq. Coming in second was healthcare, followed by education and economy. In many cases, Lamont argued that the money being spent on the war could be better spent on domestic problems. Very few of Lamont's ads made specific criticism of Lieberman's non-war policy stances—except when criticizing his support for Bush's Medicare and Social Security privatization plans—tending instead to advocate for increased spending.

This chapter contains an exceptional quantity of data. I apologize if it is initially overwhelming, but I also hope that each measure served its role in unpacking the election, and in substantiating my claims. High-intensity races are not always incumbent-challenger neutral—some are far from it. And not all coverage of hard-fought races is policy oriented—policy can even be the least emphasized form of content. The primary limitation of my analysis—that it is a case study—prevents me from making any claims about wider trends towards horserace coverage or increased incumbency attention, but there are no obvious, convincing reasons why the anomalous characteristics of the Lieberman-Lamont race would affect either one of these coverage aspects. To this end, further research is warranted to test the viability of earlier campaign media scholarship.

But the data in this chapter do not only present new challenges to previous literature. They also reflect, and bolster, my claim of a Lieberman-centered election. Newspapers gave Lieberman more coverage and greater prominence, while essentially pinning his opponent for him, and reminding the public that Lamont was still trailing in the polls. Lamont, pigeonholed as the "anti-war" candidate, and unable to gain traction

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[24] This can be seen in the ad data, found in Appendix C.

on any other fronts, persisted in his Lieberman oriented issue and character attacks. The substance of his appeal hinged entirely on the fact that he was not Joe Lieberman.

Still, media coverage and candidate advertisements only present one side of the equation. Voters perceive and digest this information, or they don't, and eventually come to some decision in the voting booth. Merely identifying the Lieberman orientation of the campaign does not automatically make the election a referendum on Joe Lieberman; the considerations of the electorate must be accounted for. And it is this to which I turn next.

Chapter 3: Analyzing the Outcome: Candidates, Issues & Vote Choice

In chapter one, I highlighted the important contextual considerations of Connecticut's race. These considerations included the prevalent issues of the election, as well as Connecticut's important demographic factors. Topping the list of most important issues was the Iraq war—which was shown to be unpopular among the electorate—with terrorism coming in at a close second. Demographically, I found that Connecticut is not as liberal as many perceive it to be—Connecticut voters are distributed relatively evenly across the ideological scale, which is reflected in the state's moderate voting history. I also noted that Connecticut's small geographic area, and its relatively small population size, would work to the benefit of the incumbent, and entail a more personality-based campaign. Connecticut's above average levels of income and education suggest a politically informed and involved electorate—especially considering the high-intensity nature of the Lieberman-Lamont race—which qualified the media analysis in my second chapter.

In chapter two, I explored newspaper coverage and candidate advertisements. The campaign's coverage in Connecticut newspapers was heavily biased towards Lieberman by both quantitative and qualitative measures. Senator Lieberman's name was mentioned more often throughout news stories and article titles, and he enjoyed a greater number of dedicated paragraphs, on average, in any given news item. The overwhelming focus on the campaign's horserace aspects also benefited Lieberman, as Lamont never came closer than eight points behind during the general election.[25] Most stories briefly mentioned the Iraq war before turning to those horserace aspects, and in many cases, articles reduced Lamont to brief characterizations, such as "millionaire" or "anti-war candidate." Candidate behavior mirrored the heavy emphasis on Lieberman revealed in newspaper coverage. Whereas Lieberman campaigned on his legislative successes and personable character, Lamont ignored his own personal attributes and focused most of his energy on Lieberman as well.

The conclusion from the second chapter is that the election was about Lieberman. Whether it was Lieberman himself promoting his long legislative history, or Lamont attacking Liebeman's support of the Iraq war, the subject of scrutiny was the same. But as noted at the beginning of chapter two, media is only half of the story. How did the

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[25] See Appendix D.

election's events and coverage impact its outcome? In this chapter, I construct a quantitative model aimed at unpacking the considerations that voters employed in deciding which candidate to support. It will become clear that Connecticut's senate race was, in fact, a referendum on Joe Lieberman. Lieberman's approval rating was the most important factor among both Lieberman and Lamont supporters, and was heavily shaped not just by Lieberman's stance on Iraq and foreign policy, but also by economic factors and certain partisan indicators.

Data & Methods

The vote choice model that I construct for this chapter incorporates measures historically found to have a significant impact on senate election outcomes. These can generally be divided into three categories: partisan identification, character assessment, and issue effect. To test these measures, I draw on survey data collected before and after the 2006 election by the Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Before exploring the results of my analysis, it is important to define and qualify the factors that I am considering, as well as note the limitations of my model.

Individual Senate Choice

Decades of vote modeling show that, together, partisan identification, character assessments, and issue positions capture nearly all of the variation in vote choice during any given election. In many ways, the Lieberman-Lamont race fits this paradigm, but in many ways, it does not. This section will briefly reiterate these similarities and differences before discussing the measures used in my CCES analysis.

Party ID

Partisan identification is typically the strongest predictor of vote choice. Self-identified liberals almost always vote for the Democratic candidate, while self-identified conservatives almost exclusively vote for the Republican candidate. Most surveys measure this ideological spectrum—from strong liberal to strong conservative—along a seven-point scale. Because such scales are two-dimensional and are often applied to races between two candidates, it is commonly assumed that as one moves along the scale, there will be an increase or decrease in support of each candidate, depending on each candidate's party affiliation. This is an important point to remember, for applying such a simple scale to a complicated race like Connecticut's is almost certain to encounter difficulties.

Character Assessment

Character assessment is another well-established predictor of vote choice (Kinder 1986). Contemporary literature divides these assessments into four distinct categories: competence, leadership, integrity, and empathy (Funk 1999). Though these categories are generally applied to measuring presidential vote share, it is reasonable to assume that senate candidates would also be assessed by similar measures. It is also plausible that incumbent senators, like incumbent presidents, would have a distinct advantage on a number of measures, especially those pertaining to leadership. Because of the high visibility of both presidential incumbents and presidential challengers, one can imagine that the advantage of incumbency would be exaggerated in senate races where the public is less acquainted with the positions and record of the challenger. If this were the case, a measure for character assessment would likely favor Lieberman, an experienced incumbent, over Lamont, a political novice.

The Cooperative Congressional Election Study is exceptional in that it allows for state-level analysis, but unfortunately the survey did not include measures of character trait and affect. The significance of this limitation, and some potential solutions for working around it, are offered later in my analysis. But in the absence of such measures, we are left to infer the role of character assessment in the race, especially with regard to the candidates' respective themes. Lieberman balanced his policy advertisements with "feel good" ads, whereas Lamont provided very few positive character appeals about himself. Even if Lieberman's character appeals were to fail, it is unlikely that voters would develop positive assessments of Lamont absent a conscious effort, on his part, to portray himself in a positive light.

Issues: Local & National

There still exists a lack of consensus on the precise role of issues in vote choice. Efforts to test theories are inevitably limited by inadequate surveys that only measure vote choice on the highest levels of aggregation. In addition, many issue positions are highly correlated with party identification, thus obscuring both issue stances' cause and impact. Nonetheless, many issues seemed to play an important role in 2006—independent of party affiliation—and survey data reveals what those issues were. In chapter one, I outlined the issues identified by Connecticut survey respondents as most important, which were, in descending order: the Iraq war, terrorism, corruption, immigration, healthcare, and the economy.

An issue's highly salient status, however, does not necessarily mean that voters will tie candidates to those issues—it is unlikely, for instance, that Connecticut voters

would factor terrorism into their evaluation of governor M. Jodi Rell just because of her Republican party affiliation. Even so, the effect of issues, while potentially obscure in normal cycles, clearly had an effect in 2006, as demonstrated by the massive swing of support in favor of Democrats. The differing and context-specific effect of issue positions has, until this point, been obscured by the crude aggregate measures offered by the National Elections Study. The CCES, for this reason, provides an important advancement over the NES in its ability to test the effect of both local and national issues in the Lieberman-Lamont race.

Survey

With the role of partisan identification, character assessments, and issue positions defined, a model of voting behavior emerges. The model presented below was tested with data from the MIT/CalTech Cooperative Congressional Elections Survey, access to which was made possible by the generosity of the Charles McKinley Fund.[26] The sample size from Connecticut was comprised of 361 survey participants, the representativeness of which was verified through a number of demographic comparisons.[27]

Measures

Table 3.1, below, presents the measures included in this chapter's vote choice model. Each variable is categorized under either "partisan ID," "demographics," "issues," or "other." The "other" category was added to test for the effects of approval ratings for other elected officials, in this case, Connecticut governor M. Jodi Rell, and senator Lieberman. A measure for Bush Approval was omitted because of its high 0.55 correlation with Lieberman approval and -0.82 correlation with "Iraq Mistake." Most measures are dummy variables, but those that are not have all been recoded such that they range from 0 to 1.

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[26] The Cooperative Congressional Election Study, organized by the Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology and conducted by Polimetrix, was a 30,000-person national stratified sample survey. Half of the questionnaire consisted of Common Content asked of the entire 30,000-person sample, and half of the questionnaire consisted of Team Content designed by an individual team and asked of a subset of 1,000 people. Its participants were chosen from every state in the nation, making this state-level analysis possible. More information is available here: < http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/ >

[27] These included gender, race, partisan identification, and vote choice.

Regression Variables

Category	Variable	
Partisan ID	Democrat	(dummy)
	Independent	(dummy)
Demographics	Gender	(dummy)
	Married	(dummy)
	Race: Black	(dummy)
	Race: Hispanic	(dummy)
	Rel: Protestant	(dummy)
	Rel: Catholic	(dummy)
	Rel: Jewish	(dummy)
	Education	
Issues	Iraq a Mistake?	
	Terrorism Important	(dummy)
	Iraq Important	(dummy)
	Economy	
Other	Gov. Approval	
	Lieb. Approval	

Note: All variables coded from 0 to 1. Dummy variables are coded such that 0 = no and 1 = yes.

Table 3.1. Regression Variables
The table above presents the variables considered in this chapter's vote choice model. These include measures of partisanship, demographics, issues and approval.

Partisan ID

As mentioned previously, the standard measure of partisan identification assumes a linear movement in partisan ideology. Such a measure is inadequate for analyzing the Lieberman-Lamont results for two reasons. First, the presence of a third candidate, Alan Schlesinger, disrupts the one-dimensional direction of the scale. Second, Lieberman's status as an "independent Democrat" frontrunner, and as an incumbent, complicates the assumption that there will be a linear relationship between partisan identification and candidate support. For my regression, using a linear scale such as this would obscure the actual effect of partisanship across the Democrat, independent, and Republican categories. The relatively large number of unaffiliated voters in Connecticut only exacerbates this problem. In Figure 3.1, the complications of Connecticut's three-way race are illustrated.

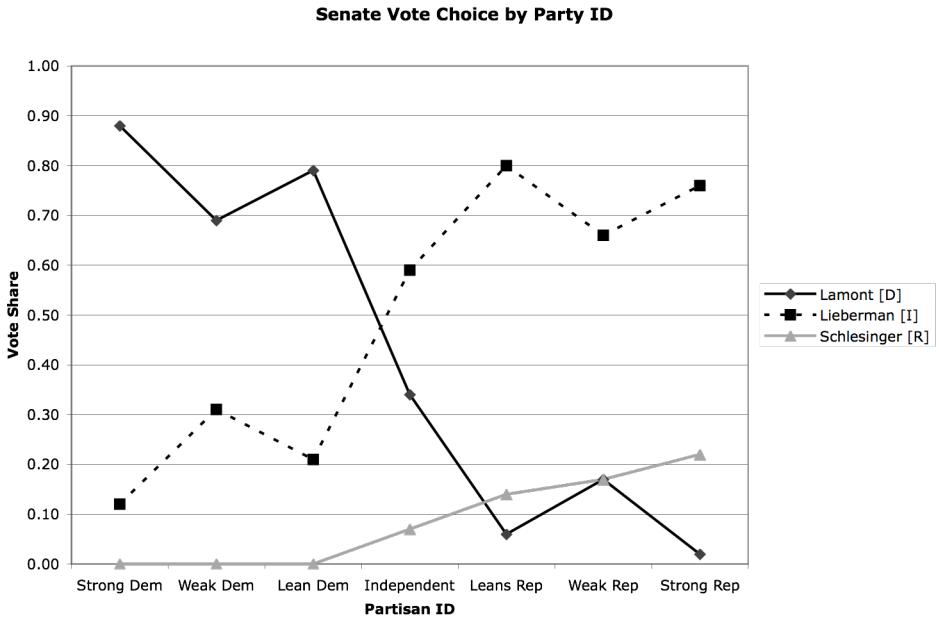

Figure 3.1. Senate Vote Choice by Partisan ID
This figure illustrates the vote choice along the 7-point partisan scale. The figure represents the non-linear relationship between ideology and votes cast for Lieberman and Lamont, qualifying the creation of "Democrat" and "Independent" dummy measures for party effect.

Since vote choice was coded such that 1 was a vote for either Lieberman or Lamont, and 0 was a vote against that candidate, Schlesinger's presence would have skewed measures towards the independent and Republican end of the spectrum. To avoid obscuring the relative effects of party identification, I created for this chapter's regressions dummy variables for Democrats and independents. This allowed each bloc of voters to be considered independently of one another.

Demographics

Demographic variables measured the effects of gender, marital status, race, religion, and education. Gender was coded as a dummy variable, where 0 indicated a male respondent, and 1 a female respondent. Marital status was coded similarly, so that 0 indicated the respondent was not married, while 1 indicated he or she was married. Race measures were included for Connecticut's two largest minority populations, blacks and Hispanics, such that a 1 indicated that the respondent was of that race. Dummy variables

for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish respondents also followed this coding pattern.[28] Education was coded such that 0 indicated education up to the attainment of a high school diploma, 0.5 indicated the completion of some college, or of a two-year college, and 1 indicated the completion of a four-year college or graduate school.

Issues

The issues that I include in my model concern the Iraq war, terrorism, and the economy.[29] Both 'Iraq Important' and 'Terrorism Important' measures are dummy variables, indicating whether the respondent felt either of those issues to be the most important in the election.[30] The 'Iraq Mistake' measure asks the respondent whether he or she felt it was a mistake to invade Iraq. Respondents answering "no" were given a value of 0, whereas those who said "yes" were given a 1. Respondents who answered that they did not know were given a value of 0.5. The economic variable is an aggregate of national and state-level measures. The national-level question asks whether the nation's economy has become better or worse in the last year. The state-level question is identical, except that it replaces "nation's" with "state's." The two variables were aggregated because of their high .65 correlation, and coded such that a 0 indicates the respondent felt the economy was worse, and a 1, better.

Other

Included in this model are measures of approval for Lieberman and Connecticut governor M. Jodi Rell. Both were coded from 0, "strongly disapprove," to 1, "strongly approve," and were added to capture voter considerations not included in the other variables.

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[28] These three religions comprised 62.4 percent of the population. The survey's other religious categories—other Christian, other, and none—were not controlled for in this model.

[29] Other highly-salient issues, including immigration and corruption, were considered, but found to be statistically insignificant. This is most likely due to overlap between Lieberman and Lamont, considering that both were Democrats. I test these variables again in the regression of Lieberman's approval rating.

[30] The correlation between 'Iraq Important' and 'Iraq Mistake' was .32—low enough to consider both in the model without too much concern for collinearity.

Results

With my variables defined and qualified, I now turn to my voting models. As will become evident, a number of the above measures overlap, which necessitates additional analyses to draw out the nuances of their relationships. This section begins with a comprehensive probit regression, where all variables are included. Upon finding that a number of variables I expected to be significant were not, I remove Lieberman's approval rating—an all-encompassing measure—and run the probit again. The second model reveals a number of important observations. First, a voter's approval—or disapproval—of Lieberman was the most significant factor influencing his or her vote choice. Second, that a number of the campaign's most contentious issues and themes played a large part in Lieberman's approval rating. Considering these findings, I then construct a model of Lieberman approval to uncover what factors were and were not considered in his approval evaluations. I conclude by drawing out the implications of my findings, namely, that the Iraq war did in fact play a significant role in the election, but that other factors historically found to benefit incumbents—like the economy—also played a prominent role, to the advantage of Lieberman.

Model One

For my first model of vote choice, I ran three probit regressions that included each of the variables listed in Table 3.1. For each candidate, the dependent variable—vote choice—was coded such that 1 indicated a vote for that candidate, and 0, a vote against. The probit for the governor race was included as a control, considering its closer resemblance to a normal two-candidate race.[31] The results of this regression are presented in Table 3.2.

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[31] In a number of respects, the governor's race is a useful control. It was a two-candidate general election with a highly popular Republican incumbent, challenging a Democrat bruised during a bitter primary race. But in a number of other important respects, its comparison value is complicated. Whereas normal gubernatorial races draw greater media attention than coinciding senate campaigns (Westlye 1991), the Rell-DeStefano race took a back seat to Lieberman and Lamont. This affected the race's intensity, which lowered its overall competition and enabling Rell to win by a substantial margin.

Vote Choice in Connecticut

	Lieberman	Lamont	Governor
Constant	-1.444 0.020	-0.255 0.744	-2.678 0.001
Democrat	-0.166 0.583	0.236 0.477	-0.284 0.331
Independent	-0.058 0.842	-0.788 0.051	1.041 0.013
Gender	-0.030 0.901	-0.026 0.932	0.119 0.664
Married	0.112 0.646	-0.382 0.207	-0.023 0.932
Black	0.260 0.578	0.111 0.831	0.383 0.487
Hispanic	0.521 0.309	0.339 0.572	-0.132 0.845
Protestant	-0.049 0.872	0.419 0.269	0.670 0.044
Catholic	-0.249 0.389	0.630 0.084	0.581 0.068
Jewish	1.671 0.052	-1.501 0.095	0.279 0.652
Education	0.016 0.963	-0.320 0.442	-0.509 0.162
Iraq Important	0.030 0.916	0.288 0.360	-0.277 0.338
Terror Important	0.758 0.036	-1.513 0.030	0.294 0.534
Iraq Mistake	-0.540 0.114	1.793 0.000	-0.778 0.099
Economy	-0.094 0.885	1.324 0.110	2.172 0.005
Governor Approval	0.629 0.117	-0.550 0.290	3.559 0.000
Lieberman Approval	2.816 0.000	-3.375 0.000	0.225 0.575
Pseudo-R^2:	0.56	0.70	0.62

P-values appear under each coefficient

Grayed coefficients are fall below the statistical threshold of 95%, or $p < 0.05$

Source: CCES

Table 3.2. Vote Choice in Connecticut, Model 1

The figure above presents probit analyses of vote choice in the 2006 Connecticut senate race for incumbent senator Joe Lieberman, challenger Ned Lamont, and governor M. Jodi Rell.

Three statistically significant variables in vote choice for Lieberman appeared: whether or not the voter was Jewish; whether or not the voter thought that terrorism was the most important issue; and, the strength by which the voter approved of Joe Lieberman's job as senator. The variables that were shown to be significant should not altogether be surprising. In refusing to campaign on the Sabbath, Lieberman made his religious piety a defining aspect of his character, which translated into strong support

from Connecticut's Jewish population. In fact, Jewish voters, all else held equal, were 48.2 percent more likely to vote for Lieberman.[32] Lieberman's emphasis on the importance of national security and the war against terrorism translated into strong support from those who identified terrorism as the election cycle's most important issue. On average, those who considered terrorism the most important issue were 29.1 percent more likely to vote for Joe Lieberman than those who did not. Approval, as an aggregate measure of—among other things—character and effectiveness, covers many of the themes that Lieberman campaigned on. The full spectrum of impact for Lieberman approval, all else being held equal, was 112 percentage points—by far the strongest indicator of a respondent's vote choice.[33]

What is surprising, however, are the variables in this model that are not significant. Party affiliation, for instance, had no statistically significant impact, nor did the Iraq war or the economy. Neither party measure seems to be approaching significance, and the economic variable is highly insignificant. A correlation matrix reveals that there is a correlation of 0.51 between Lieberman approval and the economy, which could be an explanation for part of this phenomenon. Likewise, the correlation between Lieberman approval and 'Iraq mistake' is -.52. This indicates that the presence of Lieberman's approval rating is weakening the explanatory power of a number of the model's other measures.

The statistically significant variables in vote choice for Lamont were: whether or not the voter was registered as an independent; whether or not the voter thought terrorism was important; whether or not the voter thought the war in Iraq was a mistake; and, the strength by which the voter approved of Joe Lieberman's job as a senator. There are a number of important differences in Lamont's model that support my thesis. The most glaring difference is the large, and statistically significant, impact of the Iraq war. According to the model, those who felt the Iraq war was a mistake were nearly 53 percent more likely to vote for Lamont, indicating that his supporters weighed the war much

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[32] This statistic—as well as the similar statistics throughout the rest of this chapter—was produced through a d-probit analysis. These probit models show the actual magnitude of the coefficient. D-probits for all of this chapter's models can be found in Appendix D.

[33] This number is due to the non-binary scale of the measure. Because the level of a respondent's approval can fall on a number of points between 0 and 1, the d-probit for this coefficient is skewed. Nonetheless, the variable remains the strongest consideration in vote choice.

more heavily than did Lieberman's. Another difference is the significance of the independent voter variable. Independents, according to a d-probit analysis, were 20.1 percent less likely to support Lamont, reflecting his narrow base of support.

My thesis is also supported by the similarities between these two models. Terrorism's effect on Lamont's vote share, for instance, was almost the exact inverse of Lieberman's—those who indicated that terrorism was most important were 30 percent less likely to vote for Lamont. This illustrates Lieberman's success in portraying Lamont as inexperienced and soft on terror, and likely reflects the predominately anti-war theme of Lamont's campaign. More importantly, the influence of Lieberman approval—significantly, the model's most important variable—on each candidate's vote is roughly equivalent. This indicates that Lamont supporters weighed Lieberman approval just as much as Lieberman supporters did, lending strong support to my Lieberman-centered campaign theory.

The results for governor Rell indicate that the voter's independent status, religion, approval of the economy and approval of her job performance were all statistically significant factors in her evaluation. Rell clearly benefited from the Protestant and Catholic vote, but their impact was relatively small when compared to measures of economy and job approval. These findings fit well within extant findings. Also worthy of mention is the near statistical significance of the war in Iraq, which finds less precedent, but will be addressed later.

It should be clear that the Iraq war and terrorism were significant factors in Connecticut's senate election, but beyond that, there are two important findings to extract from this discussion. First, Lieberman's approval rating is the single largest factor in both senate candidates' models. This supports the Lieberman-centered theme I've highlighted throughout previous chapters. But the second important finding is that there are variables insignificant in this model that we should expect to have a significant impact. The most probable cause for this finding is an overlap in what the model's variables are measuring. A second, refined, model is necessary to explore this possibility.

Model Two

Noting the high correlation between Lieberman approval and a number of the other initial vote model measures, this second voting model replicates the first, but removes the Lieberman approval variable. Such a change will reveal which variables are "diluted" by the Lieberman approval variable's presence. It will also give insight into

what factors are important to Lieberman's highly significant approval rating. The results of this regression are presented in Table 3.3.

Vote Choice in Connecticut

	Lieberman	Lamont	Governor
Constant	-0.766 0.122	-0.619 0.295	-2.615 0.001
Democrat	-0.558 0.022	0.608 0.016	-0.300 0.292
Independent	-0.119 0.623	-0.442 0.151	1.024 0.015
Gender	-0.158 0.420	0.158 0.491	0.135 0.618
Married	0.101 0.611	-0.225 0.325	-0.061 0.820
Black	0.331 0.402	-0.117 0.778	0.364 0.510
Hispanic	0.402 0.369	0.321 0.548	-0.152 0.822
Protestant	0.471 0.054	-0.252 0.371	0.728 0.034
Catholic	0.325 0.159	-0.144 0.588	0.652 0.036
Jewish	1.926 0.003	-1.743 0.009	0.359 0.552
Education	0.135 0.619	-0.319 0.315	-0.492 0.174
Iraq Important	-0.299 0.193	0.530 0.027	-0.289 0.304
Terror Important	0.344 0.237	-0.612 0.217	0.299 0.527
Iraq Mistake	-0.866 0.002	1.870 0.000	-0.841 0.066
Economy	0.730 0.163	-0.259 0.664	2.290 0.002
Governor Approval	1.110 0.001	-0.992 0.010	3.591 0.000
Pseudo-R^2:	0.36	0.52	0.61

P-values appear under each coefficient

Grayed coefficients are fall below the statistical threshold of 95%, or $p < 0.05$

Source: CCES

Table 3.3. Vote Choice in Connecticut, Model 2

The figure above presents probit analyses of vote choice in the 2006 Connecticut senate race for incumbent senator Joe Lieberman, challenger Ned Lamont, and governor M. Jodi Rell.

In this second analysis, the measure of fit (Pseudo-R^2) for Lieberman's vote drops .20 below model one. This means that where the first model could account for 56 percent of the variance in vote choice for Lieberman, the model without Lieberman approval can explain only 36 percent—a significant drop. The variables for Democrat voters,

Protestants, governor approval, and the Iraq war all became statistically significant for Lieberman vote choice. The rise to significance of the Democrat variable likely stems from some overlap between Democratic voters and Lieberman approval—their correlation is -0.38. A d-probit analysis shows that Democrats were 21.6 percent less likely to vote for Lieberman, after the removal of his approval rating measure. It is unclear why the removal of Lieberman's approval causes a rise in support among Protestants, but my analysis shows that Protestants were 18.6 percent more likely to vote for Lieberman. Governor approval soaks up a great deal of the Lieberman approval variation. This is primarily due to both Rell's and Lieberman's wide support among Republicans and independents, and the limited, but significant, support they both drew from moderate Democrats. The most important finding, however, is the emergence of Iraq as a significant variable, confirming that the war was a significant factor in Lieberman's approval. Disregarding his approval, those disapproving of the war in Iraq were 34.4 percent less likely to vote for Lieberman.

In terms of each measures' impact, both Jewish identity and Governor approval still outweigh the impact of the Iraq war. Those who approved of the governor were 44.2 percent more likely to vote for Lieberman, whereas those who disapproved of the war were 34.4 percent less likely to support him. Even so, the impact of the Iraq war on Lieberman's vote share demonstrates its saliency among Connecticut's electorate.

When the Lieberman approval measure is removed from the Lamont vote model, its measure of fit drops by .18. This indicates that the explanatory power of Lieberman's approval in the Lamont model was nearly identical to its explanatory power in the Lieberman model—further supporting my Lieberman-centered hypothesis. Partisan-wise, the independent voter measure is replaced by the Democrat voter measure, in terms of statistical significance. This is most likely a product of the marginally high negative correlations between independents and Democrats, and between Democrats and Lieberman approval. The Jewish dummy variable also becomes significant, as do the variables for the importance of Iraq and governor approval. This change suggests that all of these measures are at least partially related to Lieberman's approval rating.

A d-probit analysis shows that, in this model, the strongest variable in Lamont's support is disapproval of the Iraq war, with war opponents 66.9 percent more likely to support him. This shows that the removal of Lieberman's approval causes a rise of 14.2 percentage points in Iraq's vote impact. The war is followed by governor approval and Jewish identity, detracting from Lamont's support by 35.5 percent and 32.5 percent, respectively. The model further indicates that registered Democrats were 22.4 percent more likely to support Lamont, and those who felt that the Iraq war was the most

important issue were 19.7 percent more likely to cast their ballot for him as well. Interestingly, the variable for the importance of terrorism drops below the threshold of significance. Terrorism is only significant in Lamont's vote when Lieberman's approval is held constant, so terrorism's insignificance in its absence suggests that terrorism is more correlated with vote choice than it is with Lieberman's approval rating.

In my previous model, I noted the Iraq war's near significance for governor Rell. The removal of Lieberman's approval edges Iraq even closer to the 95 percent confidence threshold. D-probit analysis reveals that opponents of the Iraq war were 24.6 percent less likely to support Rell, everything else held equal.[34] The near significance of Iraq as a factor in Rell's vote share is consistent with the wider outcome of the midterm election. In 2006, six governorships and numerous state legislatures changed from Republican to Democrat hands, indicating that the war had an impact far deeper than the national level politicians directly associated with it. If anything, this finding should make all the more remarkable the fact that Lieberman remained relatively insulated from the war's effect.

There are a number of important points to extract from this second model. First, it strengthens my theory that Lieberman approval is the most important measure of vote choice. The large drop in explanatory power—for both senate candidates' models—provides the strongest evidence for this conclusion. From analyzing how variables change when Lieberman approval is removed, it is clear that the Iraq war was a significant factor in his job evaluation, but other typically significant factors in vote choice remain insignificant. The question that emerges from these findings is, "What comprises Lieberman approval?" As we've seen, using model two to infer the components of Lieberman's approval is tedious and imprecise in providing an answer for this question. It is for this reason that I now assign Lieberman's approval as the dependent variable, with the aim of uncovering what factors constitute the election's most predictive explanatory measure.

Lieberman Approval

In constructing a model of Lieberman's approval, I chose to include both variables already found to be significant, like the Iraq war, and variables we would have expected to be, but so far have not been, like the economy. The final list of variables is illustrated in Table 3.4. These measures are the same as above, except that two additional variables have been added. The corruption and immigration measures were included

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[34] For this d-probit, p = .067. See appendix D.

because of their high status on the list of "most important issues." Both are dummy variables that indicate whether or not the respondent felt that either issue was most important in the 2006 election.

Lieberman Approval

	Lieberman
Constant	0.463 0.000
Democrat	-0.108 0.009
Independent	-0.038 0.407
Jewish	0.210 0.020
Iraq Mistake	-0.181 0.001
Iraq Important	-0.188 0.000
Terrorism Important	-0.010 0.849
Corruption Important	-0.183 0.003
Immigration Important	0.012 0.857
Economy	0.404 0.000
R^2:	0.39

P-values appear under each coefficient

Grayed coefficients are fall below the statistical threshold of 95%, or $p < 0.05$

Source: CCES

Table 3.4. Lieberman Approval
This table illustrates the factors contributing to Lieberman's approval rating.

Table 3.4 clarifies important partisan and demographic information that was lost in models one and two. Here we see that a voter's affiliation with the Democratic Party lowers his or her overall approval of Lieberman, which explains why the Democrat variable became significant when Lieberman approval was removed in model two. A respondent's status as an independent had no statistical relationship with Lieberman's approval, due in large part to the ideological spread of the independent voting bloc.[35]

[35] See Figure 3.1.

And, as we found in both previous models, Jewish voters felt much more favorably towards Lieberman.

The model above also reveals the role of issues in Lieberman's approval, and by extension, the senate race. Neither voters who felt terrorism to be most important, nor those who felt immigration to be—the second and fourth largest groups among the population respectively—were more or less likely to approve of Lieberman. Immigration's insignificance should not be surprising, considering that the majority Republican Party received most of the criticism from immigration opponents, but terrorism's insignificance is surprising. Terrorism, which moved from significant in model one to insignificant in model two, would seem at first glance to be negatively correlated with Lieberman approval. But the regression of Lieberman's approval demonstrates that this is not the case. The conflicting findings regarding terrorism's role seem to be a product of the high negative correlation—-0.52—between those who felt terrorism to be most important, and those who felt the Iraq war to be a mistake. A probit of the terrorism variable also finds that survey respondents identifying as independents were much more likely to identify terrorism as their number one concern, also confounding my results.

Voters who felt corruption to be the most important issue—the third largest bloc in the electorate—were statistically less likely to approve of Lieberman. The fact that Lieberman was not implicated in any high-profile scandals, and that most of 2006's scandals involved Republicans, indicate that Lamont's attempt to tie Lieberman to the Republican establishment was at least somewhat successful. But a breakdown of this voting bloc by partisan identification reveals that the corruption appeal resonated primarily among strong Democrats and Democratic leaning independents.

Table 3.4 confirms the important role that Iraq played in the election, but also reveals the significant role of the economy. Voters who identified Iraq as the most important issue, on average, approved of Lieberman 19 percentage points less than those who did not. This conforms to our expectations, considering that most who felt the war to be important were against it. In addition, those who felt the Iraq war was a mistake could be expected to give Lieberman an approval rating 18 percentage points lower than those who did not. This also conforms to our expectations. But what is of great interest is that both Iraq war coefficients combined do not match the strength of the economy variable in Lieberman's overall evaluation. Those who felt the economy had become better over the previous year gave Lieberman, on average, an approval rating 40.4 percent higher than those who felt it had become worse.

The weight given to the state of the economy testifies to the advantage of Lieberman's incumbency. His success in the election hinged on his ability to draw support from voters unhappy with his Iraq stance, but willing to overlook it because of his other, proven attributes. The limitations of the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey prevent me from fully fleshing out this point, but the economy variable demonstrates that Lieberman was not evaluated solely on his support for the Iraq war. I would hypothesize that the inclusion of trait and affect measures would only strengthen this finding.

The first model in this chapter suggested that the Iraq war was only salient in decisions to vote for Lamont. It also revealed that voters concerned about terrorism greatly preferred Lieberman to Lamont, that Lamont was less popular among independents, and that Lieberman's identity as a devout Jew mattered a great deal to Connecticut's Jewish population. But its most important finding was that approval of Joe Lieberman was the most influential factor in both candidates' regressions. Though the model provided a useful starting point, it still left unanswered a number of questions. Did Iraq really have no effect on Lieberman's vote share? Did a voter's party really have no effect on his or her decision? And most importantly, what factors contributed to Lieberman's approval?

The second model removed Lieberman's approval measure in an attempt to shed light on some of these questions. The jump in Iraq's overall impact indicated that Lieberman's approval was, in fact, affected by the war. The similar jump to significance of the Democrat voter measures suggested that Democrats were generally less approving of Lieberman's job performance. But the drop in R-square values meant that the removal of Lieberman approval weakened the model, demonstrating approval's significance.

The third model sought to explain which factors contributed to the election's most important variable. The regression of Lieberman's approval indicated that Democrats were overall more critical of the senator, that Lieberman's religiosity mattered to Jews, and that, while corruption and the Iraq war were important, the economy was Connecticut's number one consideration. But what the model doesn't show is just as important as what it shows. The Lieberman approval regression's R-square is a respectable .38, but it is conceivable that had there been trait and affect measures, this value could have been higher. Considering Lieberman's extensive history in state politics, Connecticut's moderate electorate, and the particular themes Lieberman highlighted in his campaign, it is likely that such measures would exhibit a strong and

favorable impact on the approval measure, and perhaps approach or exceed the impact of the war or corruption.

Conclusion

Reflecting back upon these chapters, and on the questions I posed in the Introduction, it seems as if answering, "Why did Lieberman win?" is the best place to begin my conclusion. Lieberman's success is attributable to four primary factors: himself, as a candidate; his competition; the campaign; and the electoral environment. The strength of his candidacy was not solely based upon some nebulous idea of incumbency advantage. Lieberman's history in the civil rights movement, his 36 year career in Connecticut politics, and his bid for vice-president all contributed to his viability. His long list of legislative achievements, his seniority on the Homeland Security committee, and his ability to "bring home the bacon" during a Republican-controlled Congress all testified to his experience. And his soft-spoken, yet clear and direct manner of speaking conveyed a disarming, yet principled character.

The competition Lieberman faced in the election also contributed heavily to his victory. Alan Schlesinger's inability to gain momentum, coupled by the GOP's refusal to field a different candidate, handed Lieberman the state's Republicans. And there was no specific quality in Ned Lamont that made him a strong candidate with a particularly good chance of defeating a long-serving incumbent. Lamont's Ivy League background was similar to Lieberman's, but whereas Lieberman entered politics, Lamont built a vast fortune selling cable to college students. The extent of his political involvement—save his stint as a Greenwich selectmen—was making campaign contributions, $2000 of which had gone to Lieberman.

Perhaps it was this lack of substance that shaped the Lieberman-friendly campaign. Lamont had more than $100 million to spend, but no broad message or attractive alternative to spend it on. Though there were other, well documented, reasons to be dissatisfied with Joe Lieberman, Lamont lacked the credibility to take advantage of any of them. This was reflected in his eventual characterization as a Greenwich millionaire concerned only about the war in Iraq and his distaste for George Bush, an image precluding the discussion of other salient issues.

Then again, the environment in which the election was taking place was not one that would have been automatically receptive to a well-qualified liberal anti-war candidate. Connecticut's electorate, though possessing a higher share of strong Democrats, favors moderation. Republican congress members, up until the election, represented more than half of the state's citizens, and the Republican governor was reelected overwhelmingly. To this end, Lieberman may have been damaged less by

Lamont's attempt to tie him to Bush than Lamont would have hoped. It certainly didn't damage his favorability among Republicans. And independents—subsets of which are often found to be more politically attuned than partisans—probably perceived such charges with incredulity.

My account of the reasons for Lieberman's victory may obscure many of the nuanced factors that were at work, but those were the details I highlighted throughout my thesis. What may be less apparent, because of their delivery in a piecemeal fashion, are the ways in which this election was similar, and different, from a normal senate election. There were two primary factors contributing to its seemingly anomalous nature: the occurrence of two general elections, and the absence of party cues. For all practical purposes, the candidates running in the primary election were the same two candidates that ran in the general election. As evidenced in chapter two, this caused confusion in the way the race was covered by the media, since discussion of issues was likely to become stale the second time around. Candidates were presented with a similar problem—targeting messages to maintain interest. Lamont's plateau in support should not be all that surprising, considering that both candidates had made their pitch by the primary election.

Lieberman, after liberated from his Democratic label, became a member of whichever party the voter chose. On the one hand, he'd been a Democratic lawmaker for 36 years, ran on the vice-presidential ticket only six years earlier, and even promised to caucus with the Democrats. But on the other, the national Republicans weren't jumping at the chance to replace him. In fact, George Bush and Dick Cheney even heaped praise upon him. Not to mention the adoration and support Lieberman enjoyed among most of Connecticut's Republicans. Lieberman's ambiguous party affiliation was the unintentional consequence of Lamont's success in the primary. Yet considering Connecticut's partisan composition and Lieberman's characteristics, that ambiguity ultimately played to Lieberman's advantage.

In most other respects, however, the Lieberman-Lamont election resembled a normal campaign. It was a two-candidate race between a moderate and a liberal. The moderate was an incumbent with the weight of experience and political connections behind him. The liberal was an inexperienced but wealthy businessman, campaigning against an unpopular position of the incumbent. Both candidates suffered and benefited from those advantages and disadvantages typically associated with being an incumbent or challenger.

That leaves unaddressed, at this point, the broader implications of Connecticut's senate election. Certainly, Lieberman's win calls into question the role of closed party primaries. If independent voters comprise 44 percent of the electorate, then less than 56 percent of Connecticut's voters have a role in choosing a typical race's candidates. The rise in independent voters over the last several decades has brought this theoretical question a greater deal of attention, but Lieberman's defiance of the primary election, and eventual victory in the general election, makes the issue's relevance undeniable. Lieberman often endured criticism for flouting the "democratic process," yet such charges were made as a majority of the state's voters expressed their willingness to vote for him. Considering the trend toward party independence, and the resulting disenfranchisement of larger numbers of people in the primary process, voters and lawmakers might do well to reconsider primaries' place in our democratic system.

The findings in this thesis greatly support the electoral impact of incumbency. Iraq certainly played a significant role in the election, and were Lieberman less well-established and powerful, it is likely the war's effects could have resulted in his defeat. But the structural advantages available to him were immense. The failure for strong, qualified challenger to emerge, Lieberman's experience in campaigning, and his legislative history were all components of his incumbency advantage crucial to his success. And further, the advantage seemed to operate just as powerfully in the absence of clearly defined party labels.

The last question I posed in the Introduction concerned the role and efficacy of trait and character evaluations, as compared to issues. Though I was unable to empirically substantiate their role in this race, one could deductively reason that they had a significant effect. The model of approval that I present has only a few issues measures, many of them—save economics—trending unfavorably for Lieberman. Considering his prominence, legislative successes, and campaign themes, there is little doubt that additional measures for job performance, competence, and leadership would have greatly enhanced the model.

If there are any broad, succinct lessons to learn from this race, they are: a.) Don't blow $20 million on a bid for senate if bloggers tell you to, unless b.) you are competing for an open seat, or c.) aren't challenging a grandfatherly moderate, deeply-rooted incumbent with lots of financial backing, even if he supports an unpopular war.

Appendices

A: Timeline

Below is a general timeline of events for the 2006 Connecticut senate race between Joe Lieberman, Ned Lamont, and Alan Schlesinger. Shaded entries indicate the debut of new advertisements; boxed entries indicate a donation from Ned Lamont to his campaign.

01/06/06	The first mention of Ned Lamont appears on Daily Kos
01/17/06	*CT Local Politics* has Q&A with Lamont, blog says he's running
01/30/06	Lieberman votes for cloture on Alito (gang of 14)--fuelling anger against him
	Kos directs readers to NedLamont.com to [draft] Ned
02/07/06	Kos: Ned identifed as officially in the CT primary
	Said he would run if 1,000 CT voters signed up on his site, which happened
02/27/06	Lamont receives 1,000th donation via Kos's ActBlue page
03/13/06	Lamont announces he is entering the senate race
03/28/06	Lieberman airs first radio ad: "Patty"
04/10/06	Lieberman refuses to rule out an independent run
04/20/06	Lieberman airs first television ad: "Common Ground"
	Lieberman airs television ad: "Go-To Guy"
05/18/06	Lieberman wins endorsement of state Democrats
	Lamont gains 33% of delegate votes, forcing a primary
	Lamont airs first TV ads: "Right Now"
	Lamont airs first TV ads: "Underdog"
05/25/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Big Oil"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Meet Ned Lamont"
06/08/06	Polls show Lieberman leading Lamont 55-40 among Dems
	Polls show Lieberman leading Lamont 57-32 among all Cters
	Polls the previous month showed Lieberman ahead 65-19
06/13/06	Lamont runs first radio ad: "Pledge"
	Asks Lieberman to pledge to drop out of race if he loses the primary
06/18/06	Former CT GOP Senator/Gov Weiker holds fundraiser for Lamont
06/21/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Fight"
06/27/06	AFL-CIO endorses Lieberman
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Speaking for Bush"
06/30/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Students"
07/02/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Signs for Change"
07/04/06	Lieberman announces he will begin collecting signatures for independent run
07/06/06	Debate between Lieberman and Lamont--televised on MSNBC & C-SPAN
07/09/06	?Lieberman airs TV ad: "No More Joe"?
07/10/06	Lieberman files forms to initiate signature collecting for independent run
07/11/06	Minor flack over truthfullness of a bumpersticker in anti-Lamont ad
07/13/06	Lieberman releases tax returns--urges Lamont to do the same
07/14/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Flip-Flop"
07/16/06	Lamont contributes $500,000 to his campaign over the 15/16 weekend
	It is reported Lamont has contributed $1.1m to his campaign in previous 2 mo.
	30% of money from CT residents
	Total contributed to his campaign: $2.5m

07/18/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Where's Joe"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Who's Joe"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "The Issue"
07/19/06	National Action Committee (Jewish lobby/PAC) endorses Lieberman
07/20/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lamont ahead among likely Dem voters 51-47
	Among all voters: Liberman 51%, Lamont 27%, Schlesinger 9%
07/21/06	Lamont releases his 2005 tax returns
	Returns show a 2005 earnings of $2.8m
	Release: Lamont owned between $15,000 and $50,000 in Halliburton stock
	Manager said the stock was sold
	Lamont donates $500,000 to his campaign ($3m total)
07/22/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Dodd Endorsement"
07/24/06	Bill Clinton campaigns for Lieberman--though not against Lamont
	Barbara Boxer camapigns for Lieberman
07/28/06	Michael Schiavo campaigns for Lamont
	Campaign finance shows Lieberman receiving more than $100k a day
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Clinton"
07/30/06	New York Times endorses Lamont
	Hartford Courant endorses Lieberman
	Connecticut Post endorses Lieberman
	Washington Post endorses Lieberman
	Ken Salazar, Christ Dodd, Joe Biden, Dan Inouye campaign for Lieberman
	Maxine Waters (D-CA) campaigns for Lamont
07/31/06	Frank Lautenberg campaigns for Lieberman
08/01/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Well Wishing"
08/02/06	Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson campaign for Lamont
	Nader campaigns for Lamont
08/03/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lamont ahead among likely Dem voters 54-41
	Poll did not collect information about non-Democrats
	Internet blogger posts a "blackface" photo of Liberman on the Huffington Post
	Lieberman and Lamont both speak out against WalMart at a union rally
08/04/06	Bloggers & Lamont campaign suggest Lieberman hired GOP student canvassers
	Lieberman campaign denies the charge
	44-percent of prospective Lamont voters: war is main reason
	Between May and August 4, 11,496 unaffiliated voters became Democrats
	The state still had 900,000 unaffiliated voters
08/07/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lamont's lead slipping among likely Dem voters 51-45
	14,506 unaffiliated voters registered as Democrats since May
	14,380 new voters registered as Democrats since May
	Total number o fregistered Democrats: 696,823
	?Lieberman airs TV ad: "Sharon"?
08/08/06	Ned Lamont wins Democratic Primary 52% to 48%
	At 11:20pm, Lieberman told supporters he would run as an Independent
	Becomes 4th incumbent since 1980 to lose a primary
	Believes he will draw support from 453,715 Ind. And 929,005 Unafil. Voters
	Secretary of State predicted turnout of 35-40 percent
	Number of newly registered Democrats: 28,886 (14,506 Unaf., 14,380 Unreg.)
	Number of newly registered Republicans: 4,399 (521 Unaf., 3,878 Unreg.)
08/09/06	H. Clinton asks Lieberman to "search his conscience", though not to quit.
	Experts suggest Lieberman still maintains upper hand in general election
	Exit poll from primary showed 61% of D's against a Lieberman Indie run
	Lieberman camp claims Lamont supporters sabotaged website before election
08/10/06	Mark Pryor, Vice-Chair of DSCC, sticks with Lieberman after primary loss

	Harry Reid pledges support for Lamont
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Unity"
08/12/06	Lamont campaign manager apologizes for disparaging comment
	Said of Waterbury: "where the forcesof slime meet the forced of evil"
	Rasmussen poll: Lieberman leading Lamont by 5 points in general election
	46% Lieberman, 41% Lamont, 6% Schlesinger
08/14/06	White House declines to support Schlesinger
	CT Speaker of the House James Amann endorses Lieberman
	John Kerry sends a fundraising e-mail out for Ned Lamont
08/17/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman leading 49 to 38 to 9 (Registered voters)
	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman leading 53 to 41 to 4 (Likely voters)
08/20/06	Lieberman calls for Rumsfeld to resign
08/21/06	Bush says he has no intention of campaigning in Iraq
08/22/06	New Haven Peace Council tries to have Lieberman's D indentification removed
	Lamont writes a $500k check to his campaign
08/23/06	American Research Group poll shows Lieberman ahead 44-42-3 (Likely voters)
	Rasmussen Report poll shows Lieberman ahead 45-43-6 (Likely voters)
08/24/06	Lamont endorsed by United Auto Workers Union
	Reported that Lieberman's name will be fifth/last on the ballot
08/29/06	Daniel Inouye endorses Lamont (endorsed Lieberman before primary)
	Service Employees International Union endorses Lamont
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Break"
09/04/06	Lieberman, Lamont invited to Newtown Labor Day Parade
	Lieberman invited accidentally, and invitation recinded. Marched anyway.
09/05/06	Lieberman begins door to door voter canvassing
09/06/06	Lamont softens stance on Iraq:
	Rejected calls to impeach Bush
	Wouldn't vote for witholding funds as a way to end war
	Vets for Freedom begin airing ads in support of Lieberman: "We're CT Veterans"
	Group spending $60,000 to run the ad
	Lamont campaign called the ads "swiftboating"
09/07/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Patriot"
09/09/06	Michael Bloomberg announces he will campaign for Lieberman
	Singer Moby endorses Lamont
	1998 e-mail from Lamont emerges praising Lieberman for his Clinton remarks
	Lamont receives a luke-warm reception at a Veterans' picnic/fundraiser
09/10/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Connecticut Values"
09/11/06	Lamont writes a $1m check to his campaign
09/13/06	Lamont uses Lieberman's 1988 "Sleeping Bear" ad to criticize vote absenteeism
	Lamont airs radio ad: "Fear Itself"
	Lamont airs radio ad: "Once Upon A Time"
09/14/06	Lieberman criticizes Lamont's portrayal of himself as a teacher
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Blackboard"
09/16/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Turncoat Baseball"
09/18/06	AFSCME switches endorsement from Lieberman to Lamont
09/20/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Turncoat"
09/21/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Real Experience"
09/22/06	Vets for Freedom airs TV ad for Lieberman: "Brian"
09/28/06	Lamont donates $750k to his campaign ($6.2m total)
	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman leading 49-39-5 (Likely)
	Support for Lieberman vs. Lamont among Independents is 50-36
10/03/06	Lamont writes $500,000 check to his campaign ($6.75m total)
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Message"

	Lamont airs TV ad: "Day Care"
10/04/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Sub Base"
10/06/06	General Wesley Clark campaigns for Lamont
10/10/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Missed Votes"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Negative Ned"
10/11/06	Lamont writes a $2m check to his campaign ($8.75m total)
	Center for Survey Research and Analysis poll: Lieberman 48 - Lamont 40
	60 percent of voters say war is wrong
	Lieberman: 57% approval rating, 67% of Rs, 35% of Ds, 45% (to 37%) of Us
	Former Treasurer Henry Parker questions Lieberman's civil rights history
	Lamont campaign also pays for open letter criticizing his commitment
	Lamont forced to quickly divorce itself from the comments
10/12/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Horror"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Job/Bad Business"
10/15/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "18 Years"
10/16/06	Lieberman and Lamont (and Schlesinger) engage in first post-primary debate
10/18/06	All 5 candidates participate in general election's second debate
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Wages"
10/19/06	Lieberman accuses Lamont of trying to "buy" a senate seat
	$1m Lamont ad buy: spot every half hour, 5am-1am, every station next week
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Senator Dodd"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Protect"
10/20/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman with a 17-point lead: 52-35-6 (likely voters)
	Lieberman: 70% of Rs, 58% of Is, 33% of Ds
	Lamont: 9% of Rs, 36% of Is, 55% of Ds
10/21/06	Lamont writes a $2m check to his campaign ($12.7m total)
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Fix Washington"
10/23/06	Lamont files FEC complaint against Lieberman for $387,000 in unaccounted spending
	Lieberman says the money was spent for GOTV canvassers
	Lieberman, Lamont and Schlesnger debate
10/24/06	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Losing"
10/25/06	Campaign filings show Lamont received only $31k from Congress member in primary
10/26/06	Obama sends an email out to 5000 CT Dems on behalf of Lamont
	Turns out later that the e-mail went to Obama's mailing list, only 250 CT residents
	Obama donates $5,000 to Lamont through a PAC
	Lieberman wins support of LA Senator Mary Landrieu for Katrina support
10/27/06	Lamont presses Lieberman for a fourth debate
	Debate scheduled for November 2--only Lamont and Schlesinger confirmed
	Lieberman turns down invitation
10/28/06	Lamont airs TV ad: "Card Game"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "General Clark"
10/29/06	New Haven Register endorses Lieberman
10/30/06	George Bush praises Lieberman's Iraq stance in a TV interview
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Why I'm Running"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Why I'm Running II"
10/31/06	Comments draw a "swift rebuke" from Lamont campaign
	Michael Bloomberg campaigns for Lieberman
	Bloomberg loans Korinne Kubena, GOTV coordinator, to Lieberman
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Left Behind"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Find Joe"
11/01/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman with a 12-point lead: 49-37-8
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Insanity"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Patriot II"

11/02/06	Lamont and Schlensinger debate without Lieberman
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Paul Newman"
	Lamont airs TV ad: "Mr. Lamont Goes to Washington"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Doubt"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Outsourcing"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Endorsement"
	Lieberman airs TV ad: "Diner"
11/05/06	Lieberman and Lamont appear, shake hands in the Hartford Veterans' Day Parade
11/06/06	Quinnipiac poll shows Lieberman maintaining his 12-point lead: 50-38-8
11/07/06	Lieberman wins senate seat as an Independent: 50-40-10

B: News

This Appendix contains information on the newspapers utilized in my study, and presents the statistical data I collected. It also provides the coding sheets I used in my data collecting procedure.

Sources

Hartford Courant

The *Hartford Courant*, with a circulation of 264,539, is Connecticut's most widely read newspaper.[36] It is owned by Chicago based Tribune Company, which owns 26 television stations, and 14 other newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Newsday*, and the *Baltimore Sun.* The paper received two Pulitzer Prizes in the 1990s, and has recently won an award from the Society for News Design. The paper is known for its in-depth coverage of local news, and the paper maintains several bureaus throughout the state. Historically, the editorial board has split its endorsements relatively evenly between Democrats and Republicans. The *Hartford Courant* published 197 stories mentioning Lieberman and Lamont over the course of the campaign.

Connecticut Post

The *Connecticut Post*, with a circulation of 85,168, is Connecticut's third largest newspaper.[37] It is owned by Denver based Media News Group, which also owns 50 other newspapers in nine states. Its distribution area covers Bridgeport—Connecticut's largest, and one of its poorest, cities—and its suburbs. The *Post*'s content is generally comprised of starkly contrasting subject matter: reports of crime from poor inner city Bridgeport, and arts and cultural content aimed at the suburbs' white and affluent population. The *Connecticut Post* published 83 stories mentioning Lieberman and Lamont over the course of the campaign.

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[36] Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, < http://www.accessabc.com >

[37] The second most circulated paper is the *New Haven Register*, whose circulation is slightly higher. The *Register* was not used in this thesis because it was not cataloged on *LexisNexis*, and therefore inaccessible.

Associated Press

The *Associated Press* is a New York City based cooperative that provides news stories and images to over 1,700 newspapers and 5,000 television and radio outlets, worldwide. With 3,700 employees, it has bureaus in most major U.S. cities, including three in Connecticut: Hartford, New Haven and Stamford. In terms of reputation, the *Associated Press* is often cited as setting the standard for modern journalism. The *Associated Press* published 187 stories mentioning Lieberman and Lamont over the course of the campaign.

Data

	Title				1st Paragraph				Mentions		Title + Paragraph		Neither + Paragraph		Both Title + Paragraph			Total	Freq. Diff.	Ave. App/story		
Dates	JL	NL	B	N	JL	NL	B	N	JL	NL	JL	NL	JL	NL	JL	NL	B	#	Diff.	JL	NL	Diff.
3/5-3/11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-10	0	10	-10
3/12-3/18	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	26	37	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	-11	26	37	-11
3/19-3/25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
3/26-4/1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
4/2-4/8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
4/9-4/15	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	26	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	16	8.667	3.333	5.333
4/16-4/22	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	14	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	14	8	6
4/23-4/29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
4/30-5/6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
5/7-5/13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
5/14-5/20	3	0	5	2	3	1	6	1	144	120	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	12	24	12	10	2
5/21-5/27	3	2	1	2	2	0	4	0	78	68	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	10	9.75	8.5	1.25
5/28-6/3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	#####	#####	#####
6/4-6/10	1	2	2	2	1	0	3	3	89	84	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	5	12.71	12	0.714
6/11-6/17	0	3	1	2	0	1	4	1	52	53	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	6	-1	8.667	8.833	-0.17
6/18-6/24	3	0	6	3	4	0	4	4	183	130	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	12	53	15.25	10.83	4.417
6/25-7/1	2	0	3	2	2	1	2	1	83	67	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	16	11.86	9.571	2.286
7/2-7/8	3	1	7	8	1	0	14	4	254	204	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	19	50	13.37	10.74	2.632
7/9-7/15	5	1	3	3	5	1	5	1	182	127	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	12	55	15.17	10.58	4.583
7/16-7/22	4	8	3	6	7	2	11	1	187	187	3	2	2	0	1	0	2	22	0	8.5	8.5	0
7/23-7/29	5	3	6	7	11	1	9	0	340	151	5	0	1	1	3	0	3	21	189	16.19	7.19	9
7/30-8/5	7	9	4	23	4	6	24	9	472	428	1	2	1	3	1	0	2	43	44	10.98	9.953	1.023
8/6-8/12	16	6	20	21	15	1	38	9	746	582	6	0	3	1	5	0	14	63	164	11.84	9.238	2.603
8/13-8/19	5	4	5	12	1	1	18	6	358	235	1	1	0		0	0	5	26	123	13.77	9.038	4.731
8/20-8/26	8	4	5	8	12	0	8	5	358	242	6	0	2	0	2	0	1	25	116	14.32	9.68	4.64
8/27-9/2	2	2	5	6	3	1	8	3	159	86	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	15	73	10.6	5.733	4.867
9/3-9/9	3	3	8	3	5	3	5	4	183	184	3	2	0	0	2	1	4	17	-1	10.76	10.82	-0.06
9/10-9/16	2	4	6	3	4	2	8	1	179	182	1	0	2	0	1	2	2	15	-3	11.93	12.13	-0.2
9/17-9/23	2	1	4	3	2	0	7	1	95	85	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	10	10	9.5	8.5	1
9/24-9/30	5	3	2	3	4	1	8	0	174	156	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	13	18	13.38	12	1.385
10/1-10/7	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	88	50	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	7	38	12.57	7.143	5.429
10/8-10/14	0	3	4	3	2	1	4	3	168	162	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	10	6	16.8	16.2	0.6
10/15-10/21	4	4	11	10	7	3	13	6	370	332	3	2	3	0	0	1	8	29	38	12.76	11.45	1.31
10/22-10/28	4	7	11	4	5	4	15	3	356	298	3	2	0	0	1	1	7	26	58	13.69	11.46	2.231
10/29-11/4	3	4	12	4	5	6	8	4	297	252	3	3	0	1	2	2	6	22	45	13.5	11.45	2.045
11/5-11/7	3	1	3	5	3	2	4	3	174	127	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	12	47	14.5	10.58	3.917
	99	76	141	148	114	40	236	74	5835	4657	55	19	20	7	27	10	84	465				

Table B.1. Connecticut Newspaper Data (Short Coding), March – November
Compiled data for all three analyzed newspaper sources: *Hartford Courant,* the *Connecticut Post* and the *Associated Press*.

			Paragraphs					Tone		Issues/Characteristics						
#	Date	Words	Total	JL	NL	AS	Content	JL	NL	Iraq	Anti	$$$	Blog	Title	First Par	Source
1	03/09/06	293	10	2	4	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
2	03/13/06	352	11	2	5	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
3	03/16/06	382	13	5	3	0	Traits	4	3	Yes	No	No	No	Neither	Lieberman	AP
4	04/20/06	480	16	10	2	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lieberman	Lieberman	AP
5	05/14/06	777	19	1	1	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Neither	Both	HC
6	05/18/06	322	10	2	2	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	Yes	Neither	Lamont	AP
7	05/20/06	1064	39	18	7	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
8	05/21/06	504	20	4	10	0	Traits	3	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lieberman	Both	CP
9	05/23/06	395	11	7	1	0	Horserace	2	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lamont	Lieberman	AP
10	05/23/06	395	11	7	1	0	Horserace	2	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lamont	Lieberman	AP
11	05/24/06	262	8	4	1	0	Horserace	4	4	No	No	Yes	No	Neither	Both	AP
12	06/19/06	510	15	4	4	0	Horserace	3	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Neither	Both	AP
13	06/22/06	473	18	7	2	0	Policy	3	4	No	Yes	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
14	06/23/06	650	20	3	6	0	Policy	4	3	Yes	Yes	No	No	Both	Both	HC
15	06/24/06	841	28	8	10	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Lieberman	HC
16	06/25/06	732	23	1	0	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	Yes	Neither	Both	AP
17	06/27/06	957	29	5	4	0	Horserace	2	2	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
18	07/03/06	234	5	3	0	0	Horserace	4	3	No	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
19	07/06/00	451	12	3	2	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	AP
20	07/06/94	260	9	1	0	1	Traits	4	4	No	No	No	No	Neither	Neither	AP
21	07/07/06	981	24	0	0	0	Policy	3	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Neither	Neither	AP
22	07/07/06	982	19	2	3	0	Horserace	2	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Both	Both	CP
23	07/07/06	556	14	2	0	1	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
24	07/07/06	600	16	3	3	0	Horserace	3	2	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Both	HC
25	07/08/06	861	24	1	3	0	Traits	3	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	HC
26	07/09/06	738	13	12	0	0	Traits	1	4	No	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	HC
27	07/09/06	889	25	3	4	0	Traits	3	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Both	Both	HC
28	07/10/06	618	19	14	0	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Lamont	Lamont	AP
29	07/11/06	698	23	8	2	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Neither	Both	HC
30	07/17/06	78	3	1	1	0	Horserace	4	3	No	No	No	No	Lamont	Both	HC
31	07/20/06	438	15	8	1	0	Horserace	4	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	AP
32	07/20/06	729	20	10	2	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Lieberman	Lieberman	AP
33	07/21/06	747	21	2	10	0	Traits	3	3	No	No	Yes	No	Lamont	Lamont	AP
34	07/21/06	713	20	10	2	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Lieberman	Lieberman	AP
35	07/21/06	675	23	5	5	0	Traits	2	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Neither	Lieberman	CP
36	07/23/06	749	27	3	7	0	Horserace	3	5	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
37	07/23/06	723	19	0	0	0	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Neither	Neither	HC
38	07/24/06	813	20	13	1	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Lieberman	Lieberman	HC
39	07/25/06	915	23	14	1	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Neither	Lieberman	CP
40	07/27/06	663	17	9	1	0	Traits	3	3	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Lieberman	HC
41	07/29/06	1046	31	5	6	0	Horserace	2	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	HC
42	08/01/06	739	15	11	0	0	Policy	5	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Lieberman	HC
43	08/02/06	571	16	2	0	0	Policy	3	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Neither	AP
44	08/02/06	996	40	16	1	0	Traits	4	5	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Lamont	Lamont	HC
45	08/02/06	422	20	3	3	0	Traits	2	2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Neither	Both	HC
46	08/03/06	675	19	6	3	0	Policy	3	3	No	No	Yes	No	Neither	Both	CP
47	08/03/06	344	11	3	0	0	Horserace	4	3	No	Yes	No	Yes	Lamont	Both	HC
48	08/05/06	1080	25	0	0	0	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
49	08/05/06	1080	30	0	0	0	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
50	08/06/06	1231	34	4	9	0	Horserace	2	2	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	HC

Table B.2a. Connecticut Newspaper Data (Long Coding), March – August
Compiled data for all three analyzed newspaper sources: *Hartford Courant,* the *Connecticut Post* and the *Associated Press.*

			Paragraphs					Tone		Issues/Characteristics						
#	Date	Words	Total	JL	NL	AS	Content	JL	NL	Iraq	Anti	$$$	Blog	Title	First Par	Source
51	08/08/06	680	16	6	1	0	Horserace	5	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lamont	Both	CP
52	08/08/06	867	24	10	5	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Both	Both	CP
53	08/08/06	656	12	0	0	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Neither	HC
54	08/09/06	540	17	2	9		Traits	4	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Lieberman	Both	AP
55	08/09/06	625	19	7	0	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
56	08/09/06	1002	29	11	5		Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	Lieberman	AP
57	08/09/06	507	9	2	3	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
58	08/09/06	718	19	7	4	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
59	08/09/06	1118	33	17	2	0	Horserace	4	3	No	Yes	Yes	No	Lieberman	Lieberman	AP
60	08/09/06	456	16	4	2	0	Traits	2	3	No	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	CP
61	08/09/06	366	20	7	7	0	Traits	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Neither	Both	HC
62	08/09/06	1093	30	4	10	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Both	Both	HC
63	08/10/06	811	25	2	2	0	Horserace	5	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lamont	Lieberman	AP
64	08/12/06	798	19	9	3	0	Horserace	4	3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
65	08/12/06	330	11	2	2	0	Horserace	4	5	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
66	08/13/06	711	17	4	1	0	Traits	2	4	Yes	No	No	Yes	Neither	Both	HC
67	08/15/06	486	14	6	3	0	Horserace	4	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lieberman	Both	CP
68	08/15/06	769	20	8	3	0	Policy	5	2	Yes	No	No	Yes	Lamont	Both	CP
69	08/16/06	365	12	2	4	0	Horserace	4	5	Yes	Yes	No	No	Lamont	Lamont	AP
70	08/18/06	511	19	2	1	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	CP
71	08/20/06	881	25	2	11	0	Traits	3	4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Lamont	Both	AP
72	08/22/06	923	25	6	0	1	Horserace	4	3	Yes	No	No	No	Neither	Lieberman	CP
73	08/24/06	616	18	3	6	0	Policy	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Neither	AP
74	08/30/06	487	14	5	2	0	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Neither	Both	AP
75	08/30/06	1037	29	12	2	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
76	09/02/06	827	27	6	1	1	Horserace	4	4	No	No	No	No	Neither	Both	CP
77	09/08/06	889	27	6	4	0	Policy	2	3	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
78	09/09/06	287	10	4	3	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
79	09/11/06	275	10	3	1	0	Policy	3	3	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Both	AP
80	09/14/06	501	14	3	1	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
81	09/26/06	1351	43	13	2	0	Policy	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Lieberman	Lieberman	HC
82	09/28/06	460	11	1	0	3	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Both	AP
83	09/29/06	642	20	6	4	0	Horserace	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Lamont	Both	AP
84	10/04/06	311	10	4	2	0	Policy	5	4	No	No	No	No	Both	Lieberman	AP
85	10/10/06	606	22	8	0	0	Horserace	2	3	Yes	No	No	No	Lamont	Both	HC
86	10/11/06	321	10	1	2	0	Traits	3	3	No	No	Yes	No	Lamont	Both	AP
87	10/15/06	686	13	3	4	0	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Neither	Lieberman	HC
88	10/18/06	362	14	3	0	2	Policy	4	4	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Lieberman	AP
89	10/19/06	973	32	3	14	0	Horserace	4	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lamont	Lamont	AP
90	10/20/06	375	13	1	4	0	Traits	3	3	No	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	AP
91	10/23/06	252	9	3	1	0	Horserace	2	3	No	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
92	10/23/06	383	10	3	3	0	Horserace	2	3	No	No	No	No	Both	Both	AP
93	10/24/06	365	10	2	1	0	Horserace	3	3	No	No	No	No	Lieberman	Both	HC
94	10/24/06	935	39	9	4	2	Horserace	3	3	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Neither	HC
95	10/25/06	560	15	0	4	1	Horserace	3	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	Lamont	Lamont	HC
96	10/28/06	469	14	5	3	0	Horserace	4	3	No	No	Yes	No	Both	Both	AP
97	11/02/06	633	21	5	1	0	Horserace	4	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Both	Both	AP
98	11/05/06	1248	37	13	5	0	Policy	3	3	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neither	Both	HC
99	11/07/06	1068	30	7	2	2	Horserace	4	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Lieberman	Both	AP
100	11/07/06	838	27	7	7	2	Horserace	4	4	Yes	No	No	No	Both	Both	HC
	Total:	65654	1933	526	294	16				76	32	38	16			
	Average:	656.5	19.3	5.26	2.94	0.16		3.4	3.57							
	Percent:									0.76	0.32	0.38	0.16			

Table B.2b. Connecticut Newspaper Data (Long Coding), August – November
Compiled data for all three analyzed newspaper sources: *Hartford Courant*, the *Connecticut Post* and the *Associated Press*.

Data Coding

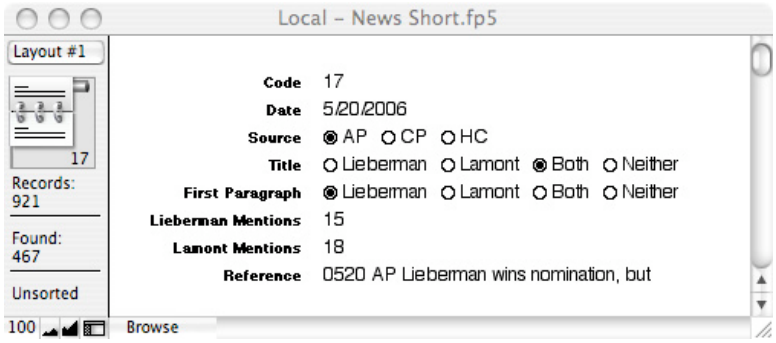

Figure B.1. Coding sheet: Newspaper, first pass
This is the input for superficial newspaper coding. Compiled via FileMaker Pro.

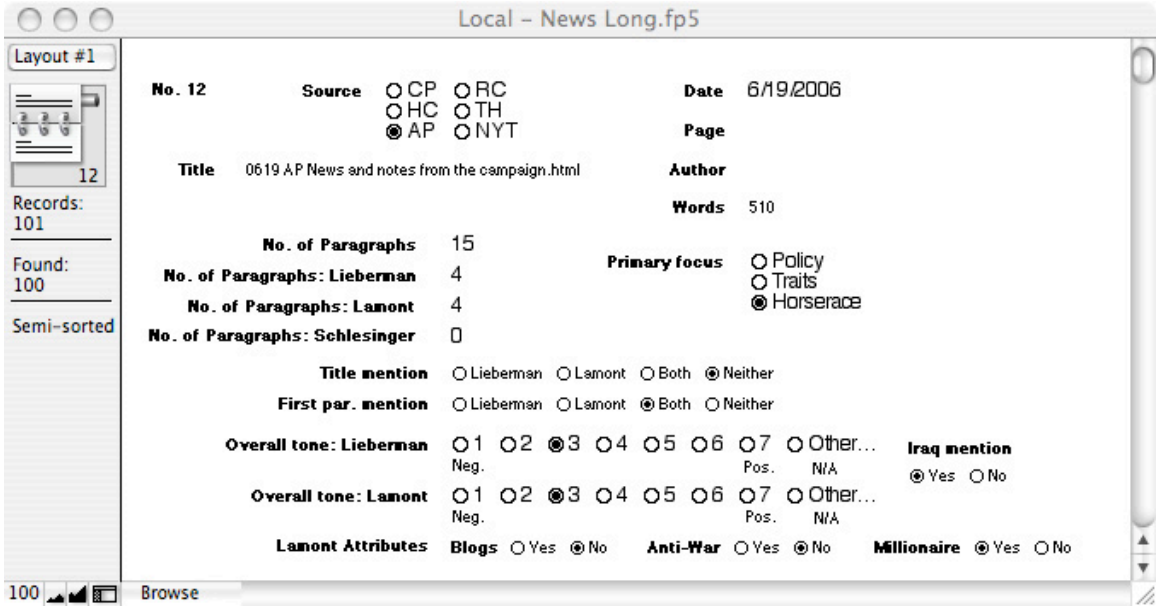

Figure B.2. Coding sheet: Newspaper, in-depth
This is the input for in-depth newspaper content coding. Compiled via FileMaker Pro.

C: Advertisements

This Appendix presents senate race advertisement data. It also provides the coding sheets I used in my data collecting procedure.

Data

Date	Candidate	Medium	Title	Promote / Attack / Contrast	A	End	Favored Cand. Mentioned	Favored Cand. Appear	Opponent Mentioned	Opponent Party Label Mentioned	Humorous?	Mention negidirty campaigning	Policy / Personal	Mention of War?	Mention/Picture of G.W. Bush?	Endorsements?	Political figure / Celebrity Support?	By Whom?
04/20/06	Lieberman	TV	Common Ground	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	
04/20/06	Lieberman	TV	Go-To Guy	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
05/18/06	Lamont	TV	Right Now	C	25%	P	Yes	Yes	No		Yes	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Markos Zuniga
05/18/06	Lamont	TV	Underdog	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	Yes	No	No	
05/25/06	Lieberman	TV	Big Oil	P			Yes		No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
05/25/06	Lieberman	TV	Meet Ned Lamont	A			No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
06/21/06	Lieberman	TV	Fight	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
06/27/06	Lamont	TV	Speaking for Bush	A			Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
06/30/06	Lamont	TV	Students	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Per	No	No	Yes	No	
07/02/06	Lamont	TV	Signs For Change	C	25%	A	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
07/09/06	Lieberman	TV	No More Joe	C	75%	P	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Pol	No	No	No	No	
07/14/06	Lieberman	TV	Flip-Flop	A			No	No	Yes	No	No		Per	No	No	No	No	
07/18/06	Lamont	TV	Where's Joe	A	25%	P	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
07/18/06	Lamont	TV	Who's Joe	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
07/18/06	Lamont	TV	The Issue	A			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
07/22/06	Lieberman	TV	Dodd Endorsement	P			Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	Yes	No	
07/28/06	Lieberman	TV	Clinton	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	Yes	Bill Clinton
08/01/06	Lamont	TV	Well Wishing	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	
08/10/06	Lieberman	TV	Unity	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	
08/29/06	Lieberman	TV	Break	A			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Per	No	No			
09/06/06	Lieberman	TV	We're Connecticut Veterans	P			Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Per	Yes	No	No	Yes	Connecticut veterans
09/07/06	Lamont	TV	Patriot	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
09/10/06	Lieberman	TV	Connecticut Values	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
09/14/06	Lieberman	TV	Blackboard	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
09/16/06	Lamont	TV	Turncoat Baseball	A			Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
09/20/06	Lamont	TV	Turncoat	A			Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
09/21/06	Lieberman	TV	Real Experience	C	75%	P	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
09/22/06	Lieberman	TV	Brian	P			Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Per	Yes	No	No	No	
10/04/06	Lieberman	TV	Sub Base	C	75%	A	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
10/10/06	Lamont	TV	The Promise/Worst Attendance	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/10/06	Lieberman	TV	Negative Ned	C			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/12/06	Lamont	TV	Horror	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Per	No	Yes	No	No	
10/12/06	Lieberman	TV	Job/Bad Business	A			Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/15/06	Lamont	TV	18 Years	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	Yes	No	No	
10/18/06	Lamont	TV	Wages	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/19/06	Lamont	TV	Senator Dodd	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Per	No	No	Yes	No	
10/19/06	Lieberman	TV	Protect	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
10/21/06	Lieberman	TV	Fix washington	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
10/24/06	Lieberman	TV	Losing	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/28/06	Lamont	TV	Card Game	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	
10/28/06	Lamont	TV	General Clark	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	Yes	General Westly Clark
10/30/06	Lamont	TV	Why I'm Running	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
10/30/06	Lamont	TV	Why I'm Running II	P			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	Yes	No	Yes	George Jespen
10/31/06	Lamont	TV	Left Behind	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Pol	No	Yes	No	No	
10/31/06	Lieberman	TV	Find Joe	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	No	No	No	No	
11/01/06	Lamont	TV	Insanity	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	
11/01/06	Lamont	TV	Patriot II	A			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	Yes	No	No	
11/02/06	Lamont	TV	Mr. Lamont Goes to Washington	C			Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Per	Yes	No	No	No	
11/02/06	Lamont	TV	Paul Newman	A			Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	Yes	Paul Newman
11/02/06	Lieberman	TV	Doubt	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Per	No	No	No	No	
11/02/06	Lieberman	TV	Outsourcing	A			No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	No	No	
11/02/06	Lieberman	TV	Endorsement	C			Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Per	No	No	Yes	No	
11/02/06	Lieberman	TV	Diner	P			Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Pol	Yes	No	No	No	

Table C.1. Ad Data, Pt. 1, April – November

Compiled data for each candidate. Data collected by author from candidates' personal site, *National Journal*'s AdWatch, and YouTube.com. Data verified through news coverage.

Candidate	Title	Characterizations: Favored Candidate														Characterizations: Opposing Candidate								Policies Mentioned							
		N/A	BIP	MOD	LED	PRT	PRV	PRI	HON	BOL	REF	TOG	SEL	COM	CPT	N/A	FoB	FoI	WAS	NEG	TRA	DIS	INX	INC	DEF	ECN	EDU	ENR	EVT	GOV	HLT	WAR	WMN
Lieberman	Common Ground	•														•										•		•	•	•		•	•
Lieberman	Go-To Guy														•	•										•	•	•	•		•	•	•
Lamont	Right Now	•														•											•				•	•	
Lamont	Underdog	•															•																
Lieberman	Big Oil				•			•				•				•												•	•				
Lieberman	Meet Ned Lamont	•														•											•				•		
Lieberman	Fight							•				•				•										•							
Lamont	Speaking for Bush	•															•													•		•	
Lamont	Students												•	•		•																	
Lamont	Signs For Change	•															•									•					•		
Lieberman	No More Joe						•	•							•					•						•		•					
Lieberman	Flip-Flop	•																		•											•		
Lamont	Where's Joe	•																	•														
Lamont	Who's Joe	•																	•														
Lamont	The Issue	•															•															•	
Lieberman	Dodd Endorsement				•											•										•			•				
Lieberman	Clinton				•											•									•	•		•					
Lamont	Well Wishing	•														•										•	•				•	•	
Lieberman	Unity		•		•											•									•	•		•			•	•	
Lieberman	Break								•											•					•	•					•		
Lieberman	We're Connecticut Veterans	•														•																•	
Lamont	Patriot	•														•																•	
Lieberman	Connecticut Values		•				•									•													•				
Lieberman	Blackboard		•					•								•									•	•			•		•		
Lamont	Turncoat Baseball	•																			•												
Lamont	Turncoat	•																			•												
Lieberman	Real Experience		•				•																	•									
Lieberman	Brian	•														•																•	
Lieberman	Sub Base						•																	•		•							
Lamont	The Promise/Worst Attendance	•																						•									
Lieberman	Negative Ned																			•		•											
Lamont	Horror										•						•																
Lieberman	Job/Bad Business	•																						•									
Lamont	18 Years	•															•																
Lamont	Wages												•		•	•																	
Lamont	Senator Dodd										•					•																	
Lieberman	Protect				•	•								•		•																	
Lieberman	Fix washington		•																								•		•		•		
Lieberman	Losing	•																				•			•	•						•	
Lamont	Card Game	•																						•		•					•	•	
Lamont	General Clark	•																						•								•	
Lamont	Why I'm Running													•		•																	
Lamont	Why I'm Running II							•	•				•				•																	
Lamont	Left Behind	•																						•			•						
Lieberman	Find Joe	•														•																	
Lamont	Insanity	•																						•		•		•			•	•	
Lamont	Patriot II										•						•							•								•	
Lamont	Mr. Lamont Goes to Washington									•	•	•						•												•		•	
Lamont	Paul Newman										•								•														
Lieberman	Doubt	•																		•			•										
Lieberman	Outsourcing	•																				•				•							
Lieberman	Endorsement		•	•																			•										
Lieberman	Diner							•								•									•	•	•			•		•	

Table C.2. Ad Data, pt. 2

Compiled data for each candidate. Data collected by author from candidates' personal site, *National Journal*'s AdWatch, and YouTube.com. Data verified through news coverage.

Data Coding

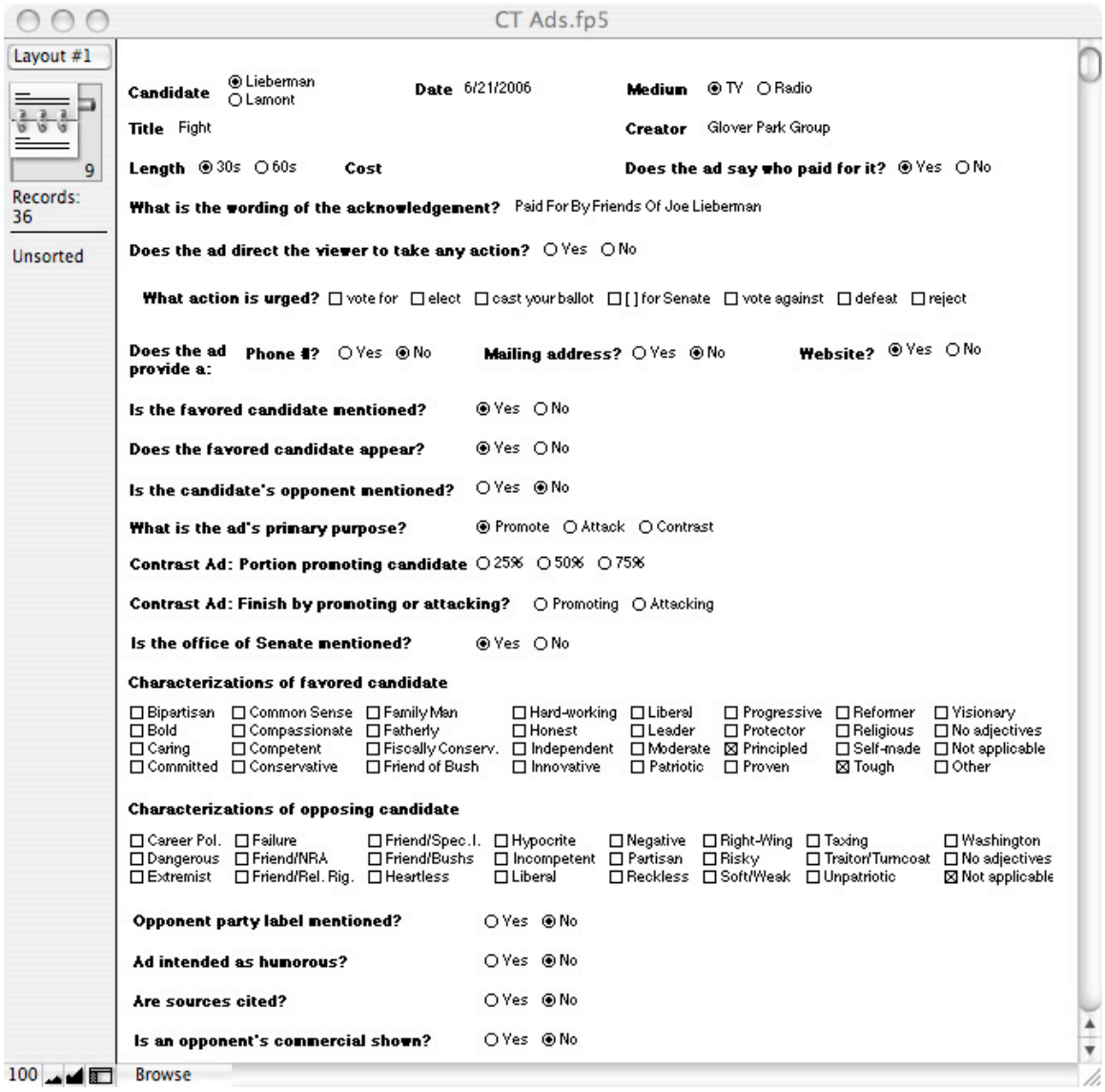

Figure C.1. Coding Sheet: Advertisements, pt. 1

This is the first half of the advertisement-coding window. Data compiled via FileMaker Pro

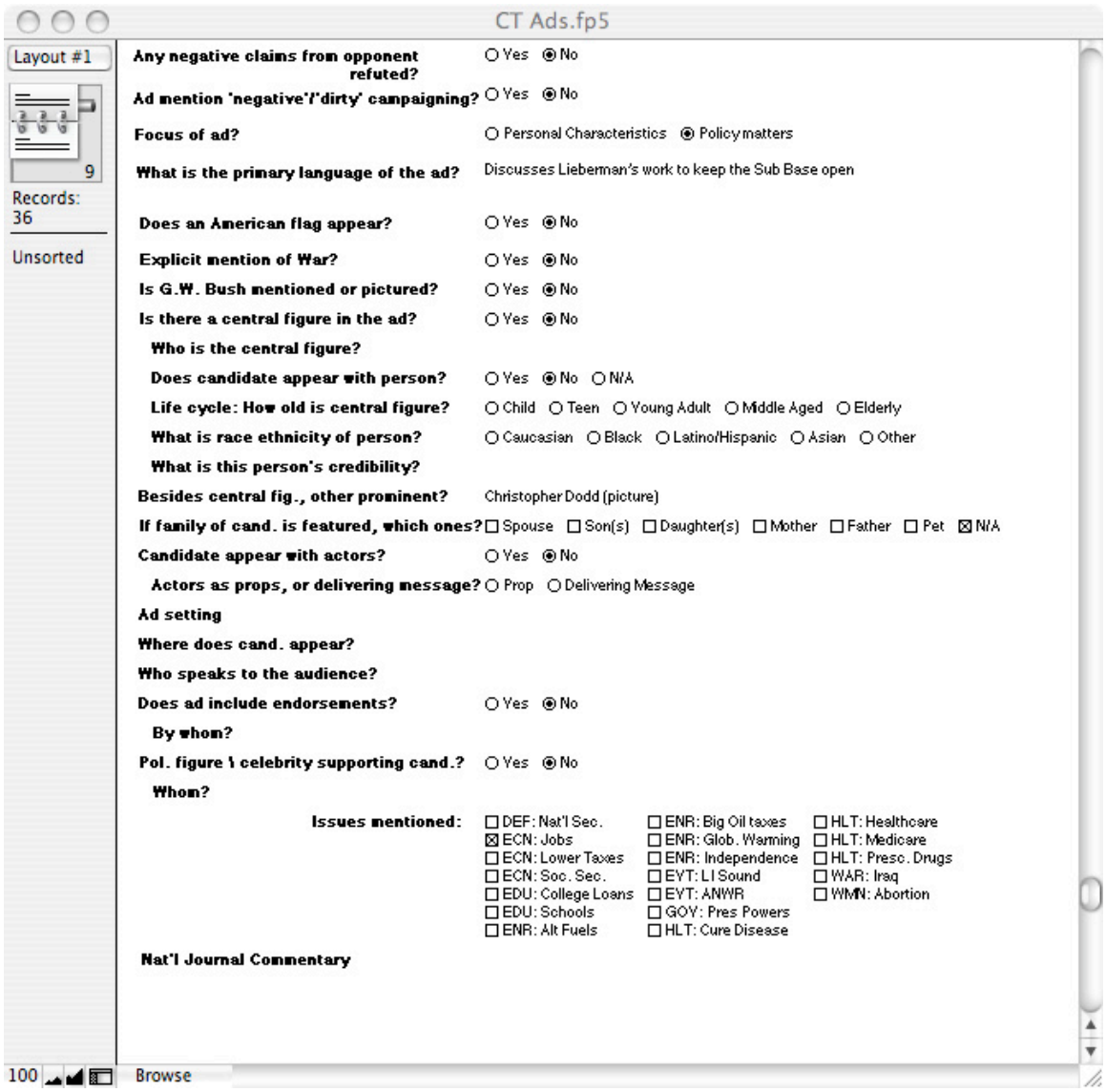

Figure C.2. Coding Sheet: Advertisements, pt. 2

This is the second half of the advertisement-coding window. Data compiled via FileMaker Pro.

D: Survey Data

D-Probit: Effects on Vote Choice

	Lieberman	Lamont
Democrat	-0.662 0.583	0.071 0.477
Independent	-0.023 0.842	-0.201 0.051
Gender	-0.012 0.901	-0.008 0.932
Married	0.045 0.646	-0.117 0.207
Black	0.013 0.578	0.034 0.831
Hispanic	0.202 0.309	0.111 0.572
Protestant	-0.020 0.872	0.131 0.269
Catholic	-0.099 0.389	0.198 0.084
Jewish	0.482 0.052	-0.219 0.095
Education	0.006 0.963	-0.094 0.442
Iraq Important	0.012 0.916	0.088 0.360
Terror Important	0.291 0.036	-0.300 0.030
Iraq Mistake	-0.215 0.114	0.527 0.000
Economy	-0.037 0.885	0.389 0.110
Governor Approval	0.251 0.117	-0.161 0.290
Lieberman Approval	1.122 0.000	-0.991 0.000
Pseudo-R^2:	0.56	0.70

P-values appear under each coefficient

Grayed coefficients are fall below the statistical threshold of 95%, or $p < 0.05$

Table D.1. D-probit: Vote Choice in Connecticut, Model 1

This table illustrates the d-probit values for each variable in Table 3.2. The coefficients listed represent the actual estimated effect of each variable. For example, by this model, Jewish respondents are 49.6 percent more likely to vote for Joe Lieberman.

D-Probit: Effects on Vote Choice

	Lieberman	Lamont
Democrat	-0.216	0.224
	0.022	0.016
Independent	-0.047	-0.150
	0.623	0.151
Gender	-0.063	0.057
	0.420	0.491
Married	0.040	-0.082
	0.611	0.325
Black	0.131	-0.041
	0.402	0.778
Hispanic	0.159	0.121
	0.369	0.548
Protestant	0.186	-0.088
	0.054	0.371
Catholic	0.129	-0.051
	0.159	0.588
Jewish	0.521	-0.325
	0.003	0.009
Education	0.054	-0.114
	0.619	0.315
Iraq Important	-0.117	0.197
	0.193	0.027
Terror Important	0.137	-0.197
	0.237	0.217
Iraq Mistake	-0.344	0.669
	0.002	0.000
Economy	0.290	-0.093
	0.163	0.664
Governor Approval	0.442	-0.355
	0.001	0.010
Pseudo-R^2:	0.36	0.52

P-values appear under each coefficient

Grayed coefficients are fall below the statistical threshold of 95%, or $p < 0.05$

Table D.2. D-probit: Vote Choice in Connecticut, Model 2

This table illustrates the d-probit values for each variable in Table 3.3. The coefficients listed represent the actual estimated effect of each variable. For example, by this model, Jewish respondents are 52.9 percent more likely to vote for Joe Lieberman.

E: Polls

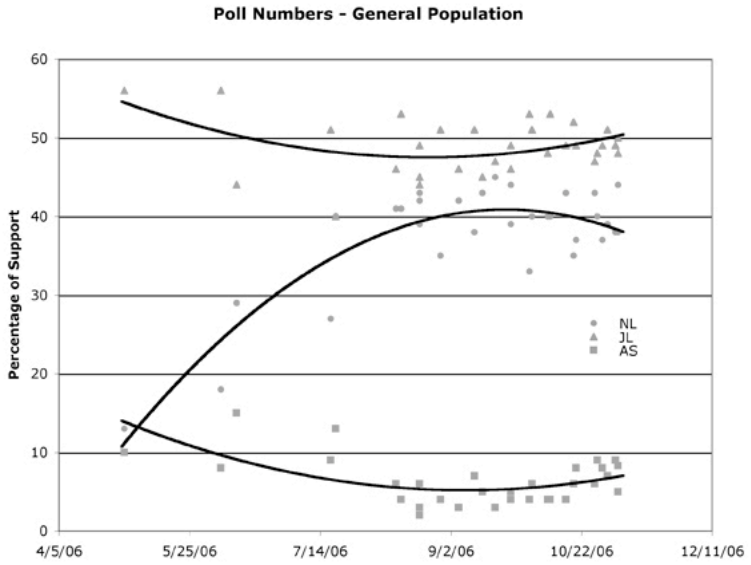

Figure E.1. Poll Chart, Aggregate Totals, April – November
These data were compiled by the author, and gathered by Mark Blumenthal of Pollster.com

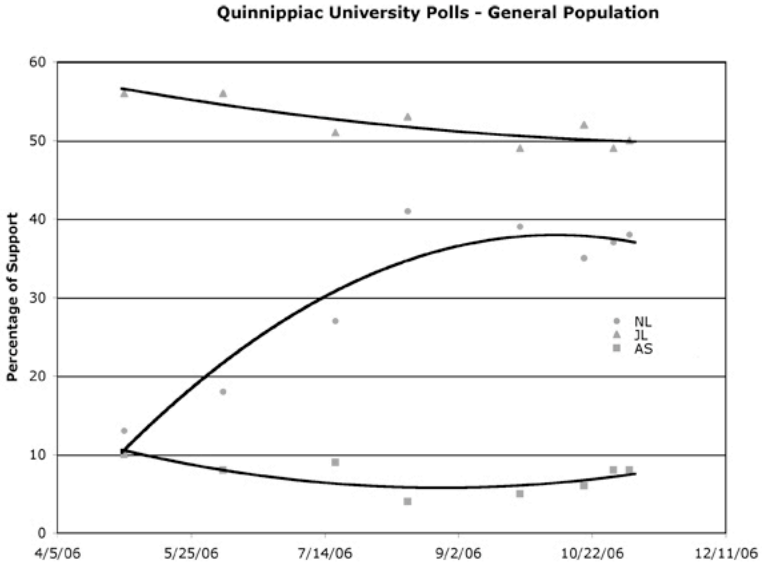

Figure E.2. Poll Chart, Quinnipiac University, April – November
These data were compiled by the author, and gathered by Mark Blumenthal of Pollster.com

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