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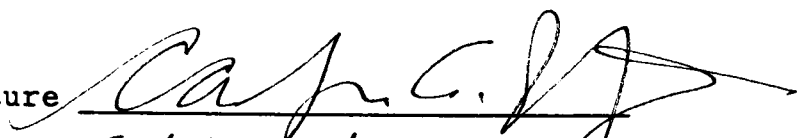
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LOOK, MOM, NO BIAS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Carolyn A. Fretz

May 1989

Dedicated to

Luci Baines Johnson

198?-1989

our very own yellow-dog Democrat

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ABSTRACT

It is common practice for newspapers in the United States to endorse candidates for public office. Several studies have looked for a correlation between newspaper endorsements and election results. Other studies have looked for an interaction between endorsements and photographic coverage of candidates at the local election level in newspapers and at the national election level in news magazines.

This study, conducted at the University of Tennessee in 1989, investigated the question: Is there any correlation between newspaper endorsements and photographic coverage of endorsed and non-endorsed candidates at the national election level?

A content analysis was performed on the news photographs of the 1988 Democratic and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates that appeared in 14 newspapers during the three weeks preceding and including election day. The newspapers were divided into three groups: those that endorsed the Democratic candidates, those that endorsed the Republican candidates, and those that did not endorse either party's candidates. The analysis took into account the number, size, placement and type of each photograph.

No pattern of bias in photographic coverage in favor of endorsed or non-endorsed candidates was found in any of the

three groups of newspapers. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that newspapers in the U.S. do achieve their stated goal of providing fair and equitable coverage of candidates for public office.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is common practice for newspapers in the United States of America, both independently owned and group owned, to endorse political candidates during local, statewide and national, including presidential, elections (Wackman et al., 1975; Radolf, 1988). Many studies have looked for a correlation between endorsements and the eventual vote of the electorate (Gregg, 1965; McCombs, 1967; Mason, 1973; McCleneghan, 1973; Robinson, 1974; Fedler, Counts & Stephens, 1982; Hurd & Singletary, 1984). However, only a few studies have looked for a correlation between endorsements of candidates and the intervening variables, such as news space (McCleneghan, 1973; McCleneghan, 1978) and photographic coverage (McCleneghan, 1973; McCleneghan, 1978; Moriarty & Garramone, 1986) that might also influence the vote.

Several studies have demonstrated that news photos are important conveyors of information (Kalish & Edom, 1951; Sanders, 1976; Blackwood, 1983), and other studies have suggested that editorial selection of news photos is not random (Miller, 1975; Blackwood, 1983; Lain, 1987).

McCleneghan's studies (1973 & 1978) of candidate endorsements and photographic coverage were conducted at the local election level, and he calculated photographic

coverage only in terms of column inches. Moriarty and Garramone's (1986) study of photographic coverage of presidential candidates considered only news magazines photos.

This study will examine editorial endorsements and photographs of the 1988 Democratic and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates that appeared in a selected sample of newspapers. The number, placement on the page, position in the paper and type, as well as the size, of the photographs of both endorsed and non-endorsed candidates will be considered for three groups of newspapers: those that endorsed the Democratic Party's candidate, those that endorsed the Republican Party's candidate, and those that endorsed no candidate.

This study seeks to provide additional data that may help to answer the research question: Is there a correlation between newspaper endorsements of presidential candidates and the favorability, i.e., the number, size, placement, and type, of photographic coverage of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the pages of the endorsing newspapers?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Section 1: Newspaper Endorsements

The Importance of Endorsements

The empirical evidence regarding the effects of newspaper endorsements is mixed. As Hurd and Singletary (1984, p. 332) put it, "As with many other mass communication effects, some newspaper endorsements appear to have some effect under some conditions some of the time."

The strongest effect of endorsements on voters seems to occur at the local election level. In one of the earliest studies of newspaper endorsements, Gregg (1965) found that candidates who were endorsed by 11 California newspapers between 1948 and 1964 received a significantly higher percentage of the vote than did non-endorsed candidates. Two years later, McCombs (1967) completed a similar study of California newspaper endorsements and voter behavior and obtained similar results.

Both Gregg (1965) and McCombs (1967) observed that the endorsements seemed to have more effect when the office sought by a particular candidate was nonpartisan. McCombs (1967) also suggested that the more confusing or contradictory the information from other sources about a candidate, the more likely a newspaper endorsement was to have a positive influence.

In another study of newspaper endorsements and local elections, McCleneghan (1973) found that in Texas elections between 1961 and 1971 the endorsed candidate was elected 88 percent of the time. McCleneghan's (1973) study included 10 Texas newspapers and he, like Gregg (1965) and McCombs (1967), acknowledges that many other variables, such as the candidates' religious affiliations and campaign spending, may have also correlated positively with the election results.

At the state election level Gregg (1965) found that endorsements were less influential than they were at the local level. Twenty years later, Rystrom (1987), also studying California endorsements and election results, found that newspaper endorsements as a whole had little apparent effect on the outcome of statewide elections. Rystrom's study included 51 California newspapers and 25 statewide candidate races. The lack of endorsement effect persisted even when the newspapers were divided into subgroups of independently owned and group owned papers. Despite these group results, Rystrom added the caveat that individual papers may well have had a significant effect on the elections of particular candidates.

At the national or presidential election level, several studies suggest that newspaper endorsements are influential, but other research finds that they are not. It is the more recent studies that find a lack of effect.

In a study published in 1972, Robinson reported that in the 1968 presidential election voters accurately perceived which candidate their newspaper endorsed, and these endorsements correlated positively with how people reported they had voted. Robinson's (1972) study found that a newspaper's endorsement was worth 6 percentage points to the endorsed candidate, which, in a close election, could easily create the margin of victory.

Robinson (1974) later studied the 1972 and four preceding presidential elections and corresponding newspaper endorsements using a different research design. In this second study, Robinson controlled for 12 other variables including age, sex, education and religion of the voters. He found that in each year studied newspaper endorsements correlated positively with the vote of registered Independents. He also found that in the 1972 election Democrats and Independents who read papers that endorsed George McGovern were significantly more likely to vote for McGovern than those who read papers that endorsed Richard Nixon.

Erikson (1976) compared newspaper endorsements with the results of the 1964 presidential election, the only presidential election in this century in which more newspapers endorsed the Democratic Party candidate than the Republican Party candidate (Wackman et al., 1975). Erikson (1976) found that in counties where the local newspaper

endorsed Lyndon Johnson, Johnson gained about 5 percentage points in the vote.

Fedler, Counts and Stephens (1982) studied the 1980 presidential election newspaper endorsements and results in the 100 largest American cities. They found that in 16 cities with one daily newspaper the endorsed candidate won in 10 of those cities. In nine cities with two dailies where one paper endorsed and the other did not, the endorsed candidate won in 8 of those cities. And in cities where both dailies endorsed the same candidate, that candidate received a higher percentage of the vote than in cities where endorsements were divided.

Hurd and Singletary (1984) compared the votes of a cross section of 1,005 citizens who voted in the 1980 presidential election with the endorsements of the newspapers they reported reading. They found, similarly to Robinson (1974), that Independents and Democrats both appeared to be influenced by endorsements, the Independents significantly so, but Republicans were not. However, when Hurd and Singletary analyzed their data to control for party identification, they found the endorsement effect to be so diminished as to be insignificant.

They concluded that the number of voters actually influenced by newspaper endorsements is so inconsequential that every newspaper in the United States would have to endorse the same presidential candidate in a race where the

candidates were separated by only 1 percentage point for the endorsements to actually affect the outcome of the election.

Counts (1985) compared newspaper endorsements for presidential candidates in 1948 and 1960 with voter behavior. In this study Counts' results were in agreement with Hurd and Singletary's (1984) findings that newspaper endorsements are unlikely to significantly influence voters in presidential elections.

In the studies where newspaper endorsements were found to have an effect on elections certain variables were found to strengthen that effect. For example, as mentioned, Gregg (1965) and McCombs both found in their studies of California elections that if the office or ballot issue was nonpartisan, newspaper endorsements had a stronger effect than if the race was partisan. McCleneghan's (1973) study of Texas elections revealed the same strengthening of the endorsement's effect in nonpartisan races, as did Hain's (1975) study of a New Mexico mayoral race. Mueller's (1970) study of the nonpartisan Los Angeles Junior College Board race also demonstrated a strong effect of newspaper endorsements.

Newspaper endorsements also appear to be influential in elections where the candidates are unfamiliar to voters. This was evident in Mueller's (1970) study in which 133 candidates were competing for only seven Junior College Board sears. Mason's (1973) study of an Illinois election

in which all 177 seats in the state House of Representatives were contested also found that newspaper endorsements had a significant effect on voter behavior.

St. Dizier (1984) found the same effect under laboratory conditions in which "voters" were asked to choose between "candidates." The subjects, or voters, were divided into three groups, each of which was given very little information about the candidates. In the two groups where a part of the information was a newspaper endorsement, those endorsements correlated positively with the vote of those groups.

Finally, the influence of newspaper endorsements appears to be stronger on undecided voters than on voters who have committed to one candidate early in the campaign (McCombs, 1967; Robinson, 1972). Thus, in elections where there are many undecided voters newspaper endorsements would be expected to carry more weight than in elections where many voters have made their decisions long before entering the voting booth.

In the 1988 presidential election, all three of these mitigating factors were at work to greater and lesser extents. While any presidential race is certainly a partisan affair, in recent years there has been a steady erosion of partisanship (Hurd & Singletary, 1984, p. 334), signified by terms such as Reagan Democrats.

Secondly, while a presidential candidate from either of the two major political parties can hardly be described as an unknown, to most Americans Michael Dukakis was relatively unknown. Unlike some governors, such as Mario Cuomo, who receives frequent coverage by national media, or former governor Ronald Reagan, who had been a movie star, Dukakis before 1988 was not familiar to the public outside New England.

Thirdly, in 1988 political analysts reported and political polls showed that as late as the last week in October many voters still had not decided whom they would vote for (The voters, 1988).

Thus, the 1988 presidential election may have been one of those elections where newspaper endorsements did have some effect. In the studies that found an endorsement effect in presidential elections, that effect was calculated at 5 to 7 percentage points in the vote (Robinson, 1972, 1974; Erikson, 1976). Newsweek's late October poll (The voters, 1988) showed George Bush and Dukakis separated by only 9 percentage points with a possible error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. Clearly a 5 to 7 endorsement effect could be influential under these conditions.

Intervening Variables Between Endorsements and the Vote

Though there have been many empirical investigations into the link between newspaper endorsements and the eventual vote in particular elections, there have been far

fewer studies that examine the intervening variables of news space, advertising and photographic coverage in newspapers that have endorsed candidates or issues. The question of whether or not newspaper endorsements are reflected in the amount and type of coverage given to candidates has not been adequately investigated. Or, put another way, are newspaper endorsements precursors of bias in news coverage?

Rosenbloom (1972) found that the public perceived bias in newspaper reporting during the 1964 presidential campaign, and Hofstetter (1979) made similar findings for the 1972 campaign. In both studies, however, the public seemed to hold the view that partisan stances were appropriate in newspapers. Hofstetter (1979) reported in his study that the electorate perceived more bias than actually occurred during the 1972 campaign.

Rosenbloom (1976) reported an extreme instance of a newspaper endorsement and corresponding bias in news coverage. During Boston's 1975 mayoral election, the publisher of the Boston Herald American told the paper's editors that the Herald was endorsing Joseph Timilty. Furthermore, the publisher directed, the paper would run page one stories attacking the incumbent, Mayor Kevin White. The publisher's orders were followed, and the paper launched an assault on White that lasted until election day, when White was elected to a third term by a 4.5 percent margin.

McCleneghan in his 1973 study of Texas newspaper endorsements and elections found that between 1960 and 1971 the Houston Post, the Houston Chronicle, the Dallas Times-Herald and the Dallas Morning News all favored the candidates they endorsed in news space. The endorsed candidates also received more advertising and editorial space and more space in the papers' letters columns.

In his more recent study of the effect of endorsements on news space in Texas papers, McCleneghan (1978) found that between 1975 and 1977 opponents, rather than the recipients of endorsements, received more news space and more advertising space. In both this study and his earlier investigation, McCleneghan found that pictorial coverage, in terms of column inches, favored opponents over the endorsed candidates.

Section 2: News Photos

The Importance of Photographs in Newspapers

> Often, people who either can't read, or who don't take the time to read many of the stories in newspapers do scan the photographs, and it is reasonable to assume that sometimes the photos are the only representation of world events to which some people are exposed. These factors make the photos in newspapers potentially important

conveyors of information and shapers of attitudes (Blackwood, 1983, p. 711).

These words, written in 1983, ring truer than ever six years later in 1989.

The Advertising Research Foundation has conducted newspaper readership surveys since 1939. One of the earliest analyses of the foundation's data clearly demonstrated that readership of pictures in newspapers is nearly always greater than readership of the text (Kalish & Edom, 1951, p. 21). Twenty-five years later Sanders (1976, p. 164), also using data collected by the Advertising Research Foundation, reported that three times as many men and four times as many women read the average one column picture as read the average news story. Sanders also found that readership of pictures grew with an increase in picture size.

Newspapers vary widely in the number, size and placement of photographs on their pages (Trayes & Cook, 1977, p. 597). Since the 1982 debut of USA Today, however, with its liberal use of color, graphics and photographs, the trend, especially among large metropolitan daily newspapers, is toward a stronger visual presentation. This trend includes a greater use of photographs (Utt & Pasternack, 1984).

Today many editors and publishers follow Mario Garcia's (1987) dictum that the foundation of successful newspaper

design is a center of visual impact used to draw readers into the written page. This center may be created with a photograph, graphics, the use of color or the lay-out of a story and its photographs.

> To think graphically means to invite the reader into each page with attractive, provocative and orderly use of photos, typography and illustrations. It also means to recreate a sense of graphic identity and consistency through every page of the newspaper everyday (Garcia, 1987, p. 21).

With the increasing emphasis on visual impact in newspaper design has come a resurgence in the use of front page mug shots (Lester, 1988, p. 6). Frequently, these mug shots are used without an accompanying story on page one, and Lester (1988, p. 8) suggests that today the mug shot is employed as the visual equivalent of a short, easily readable story.

Katz, Adoni and Parness (1977, p. 239) found that when news was broadcast, subjects were more likely to recall the news if the broadcast was seen and heard, rather than just heard. Their study indicated that any type of visual presentation--films, stills, or even just a talking anchor person--significantly improved retention of news items. It seems reasonable to assume that in the medium of print the impact of language and the retention of information would be

enhanced by the use of visuals, such as photographs, as well.

Research from the field of neurophysiology has demonstrated that even the most fleeting visual images are retained by the human mind exposed to them. Standing, Conezio and Haber (1970) found that subjects exposed to over 2,500 photographic stimuli for only 10 seconds each were, several days later, able to distinguish those stimuli from others they had never seen before at a performance rate of more than 90 percent.

The researchers later found that reducing the exposure time to as little as one second per picture did not significantly reduce the subjects' performance. Similar high rates of retention were maintained regardless of whether the photos were color or black and white and even when literally hundreds of the images were very similar. For example, 300 of the photographs were of solitary adult males and 200 were of solitary adult females.

Similar results have been obtained by Nickerson (1968) and Shepard (1967), whose subjects correctly distinguished the familiar from the unfamiliar photos at a performance rate of 98 percent. These studies all suggest that humans have a vast memory for pictures. Paivio, Rogers and Smythe (1968) demonstrated that humans' capacity to remember pictures exceeds their ability to remember words, and Shepard (1967) found that humans' ability to remember

pictures far exceeds memory for sentences. Thus, the importance of newspaper photographs may be even greater than one might intuitively suspect.

During a presidential campaign newspaper photographs of the candidates may play an important role in influencing the electorate. In particular, during the 1988 presidential campaign, newspaper photographs may have been especially important for two reasons.

The first of these is the nationwide phenomenon *Vanity Fair* magazine has dubbed Acceleration Syndrome.

> Rush, rush, rush. Suddenly everyone's a souped-up Renaissance man. As the technology of fax machines, car phones and home computers expands our potential, everyone's in overdrive to keep up. Once a Type A personality was considered aberrant; now you have to be Type A to survive (Schwartz, 1988, p. 144).

In the frenetic 1980s voters are probably less likely than ever to find the time to read candidates' position papers or lengthy news stories explaining the candidates' stances on various political issues. Many people, however, will take a few minutes every day to flip through a newspaper, reading here and there, and, of course, looking at the photos. Even those voters who do not lay their hands on newsprint, let alone open a paper, are nonetheless bombarded with the images displayed above the fold on page

one of newspapers sold from newsstands and vending boxes throughout the United States.

Secondly, in the 1988 presidential campaign voters were faced with deciding between two candidates, George Bush and Michael Dukakis, who, as political correspondent Walter Shapiro (1988, p. 19) put it, consistently refrained from raising or discussing issues. Jack Anderson, speaking as president of the International Platform Association, said that all the candidates were asked to fill out a questionnaire to identify where they stood on the issues (Gerber, 1988). "We've gotten a lot of resistance to filling out the questionnaires. . . They don't want to be pinned down. They like to appear to both sides of an issue to be friendly," Anderson said (Gerber, 1988).

"Deprived of realistic road maps as to how either candidate would behave in the White House, voters were almost forced to depend on factors of character and personality to predict presidential performance" (Shapiro, 1988, p. 19).

Editorial Selection of Photographs

Moriarty and Garramone (1986, p. 728) point out that a political candidate's image is created through a combination of how the candidate presents and projects him or herself and what of that presentation the media chooses to present.

Joseph Angotti, executive producer of NBC's election coverage, acknowledged, "Everything the candidates do the

minute they walk out the door in the morning--their every move--is designed to have a positive effect on people who are taking their pictures. That's hard to control" (Gerber, 1988).

Lain's (1987, p. 51) study of how readers view mug shots suggested that editors may base their selection of photos to accompany new stories on their own subjective impressions of the subjects in the stories. Readers of several news stories were in significant agreement, regarding the characters of the story subjects, with readers who viewed only the accompanying photos.

Miller (1975) and Blackwood (1983) both demonstrated the ability of editing to subtly distort the roles portrayed by men and women through the selection of news photos of non-political news-makers. Both studies found that the photographic portrayal of women's roles by *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* did not reflect the roles actually occupied by women in Washington and Los Angeles.

Certainly similar distortions could occur in photographic portrayals of an individual person such as a political candidate. One might especially expect to find such distortions in a situation, like the one that occurred in 1988, where a candidate, Bush's choice for vice president, Dan Quayle, was regarded contemptuously by much of the media (Salholz, 1988, p. 26).

Van Tubergen and Mahsman (1974) found, similarly to Lain (1987) empirical support for the natural assumption that the nature of a picture can influence readers' attitudes toward photographed subjects. In their study, positively, or flatteringly, presented photographic subjects were perceived as being safer and more personable than those who were pictured negatively or unflatteringly. Negatively presented photographic subjects were, however, perceived as being more dynamic than those who were presented positively.

In addition to their finding that reader perception of the attributes of photographic subjects is influenced by whether the picture is flattering or not, Van Tubergen and Mahsman (1974) found that unknown photographic subjects were rated as significantly more dynamic and personable than photographic subjects who were personalities.

Geraci (1984, p. 412) states that both photographic and editorial coverage of pictures has steadily increased since World War II. In a survey of 138 newspapers published between 1939 and 1950, only 2.13 percent of the photos were of political news. In 1983 in *USA Today*, 15.61 percent of the photographs were of political news (Geraci, 1984, p. 412).

Geraci's study indicates that the electorate is exposed to more candidate photographs than in previous years. And while there is no way to quantify the cumulative effect of all the images that may be stored in the minds of voters,

common sense and the literature both support the notion that an effect does occur.

Endorsements and Photographs

There are three possible relationships one might find between newspaper endorsements and news photos. The first and most obvious possibility is that a newspaper or group of newspapers would give more and more favorable photographic coverage to the candidates they endorse than to the opponents of those candidates.

A second possibility would be that newspapers give comparable coverage to both the candidates they endorse and to the opponents of those candidates. Moriarty and Garramone (1986), for example, found no significant differences in photographic coverage of Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale in three news magazines: Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report.

The third and least likely relationship one would expect to find is that newspapers, individually or as a group, actually give more and more favorable photographic coverage to the opponents of their endorsees. This was McCleneghan's finding in two separate studies of local elections in Texas (McCleneghan, 1973, 1978).

Though the empirical evidence for a link between newspaper endorsements and the vote is mixed, there may be a clearer correlation between endorsements and intervening variables such as photographic coverage of endorsed

candidates and their opponents. And, in turn, there may also be a clearer correlation between those intervening variables and the vote.

Van Tubergen and Mahsman (1974) have demonstrated that flattering and unflattering photos influence readers' attitudes toward the photographic subjects. And Katz, Adoni and Parness (1977) in their study of news recall found that the best educated group of subjects, those most likely to vote in any election, was the group most influenced by visuals presented with the news.

Section 3: Visual Perception and Content Analysis Categories

The Importance of the *Type* of Photograph

In his studies of newspaper endorsements and photographic coverage of political candidates, McCleneghan (1973 & 1978) found instances where an endorsee's opponent actually received more photographic coverage by the endorsing newspaper than did the endorsee. The explanation for these surprising findings could be that the newspapers involved were bending over backward to be fair on their news pages.

However, if one could study the *type* of photographs run of each candidate, another explanation might emerge. For example, the majority of the photographs of the endorsee may have been flattering, while those of his or her opponent may

have been unflattering. Under these circumstances the actual column inches of photographic space may have favored the non-endorsed candidate, but the overall impression on regular readers could have favored the endorsee.

Moriarty and Garramone (1986) took this variable of type of photograph into account in their study, and there are good reasons from several fields of scientific endeavor for doing so.

The most recent archaeological, anthropological and genetic research places the emergence of woman on earth at about 198,000 B.C. (Tierney, 1988). The earliest record of a written language is Sumerian, a language spoken in Mesopotamia between 4000 and 3000 B.C. (Ruesch and Kees, 1972, p. 26). The earliest records of pictorial representations, however, date back 40,000 years to when the cave dwellers of Altamira, Lascaux and Palermo covered their walls with magnificent and ethereal paintings and engravings of bison, ibex and their own kind (Janson, 1970, pp. 18-22).

Though the archaeological record is far from complete, it seems reasonable to conclude that humans have a long history and thousands of years of practice observing pictures and processing information from them. In contrast, the human mind has dealt with the abstract symbols of language relatively briefly.

There are many theories regarding the purpose of these early pictures. One of the many proposed that the drawings

were efforts by the artists to gain magical control over the animals they represented (Hartt, 1985, pp. 34-41). Control for what purpose is unclear, though, since other archaeological evidence indicates that humans of that period ate reindeer and not bison or ibex (Hartt, 1985, pp. 34-41).

The theme of control or dominance or status is, of course, quite common throughout human history. That theme is equally common in representations of our world from the cave paintings of prehistoric times to the news photos of today.

Many scientists believe that human behavior evolved from animal behavior (Ardrey, 1966; Lorenz, 1966; Maltzman, 1967; Mehrabian, 1972). Animal and human behaviorists see in our present day bodily postures and facial expressions, that may be captured in a wire service photo, the same quest for status, dominance and control believed to be present not only in the paintings at Lascaux, but in any gathering of primates, human or otherwise (Piaget, 1960; Hall, 1966; Sommer, 1967).

The importance of these non-verbal, visual cues in the modern day political and media arenas was perhaps most strikingly demonstrated by audience reactions to the Kennedy-Nixon debates in 1960. Kraus (1962) reported that people who listened to the first debate on the radio rated it as a draw, but people who watched the debate on television regarded Kennedy as the clear victor.

Tannenbaum, Greenberg and Silverman (1962) found that viewers' opinions of Kennedy and Nixon changed on dimensions that the researchers considered likely to be derived from visual, rather than verbal, cues. That is, viewers did not cite Kennedy's superior reasoning regarding a particular issue discussed in the debate. Instead they described Kennedy as strong, handsome, relaxed, etc.

Moriarty and Garramone (1986) based their categories for classifying news photos by type on concepts derived from the person perception literature. Person perception is a part of that area where the studies of human psychology and communication overlap. It is the study of how we, as humans, perceive and judge one another through an almost unconscious exchange of non-verbal signals (Schneider, Hastorf & Ellsworth, 1979).

Put another way, person perception is the process of attributing personality traits to a stimulus person based on both static and dynamic visual cues, including the person's appearance and behavior. As a part of the process we recognize that behavior to be caused by a combination of internal factors, such as the person's personality and state of health, and external factors--the situation or context in which the behavior occurs (Schneider, Hastorf & Ellsworth, 1979).

Hastorf, Schneider and Polefka (1970) state that the person perception process has structure, stability and

meaning. That is to say there is a predictable order to the way we categorize or stereotype other people. For example, endomorphs are commonly judged to be lazy (Sleet, 1969). Our perceptions of other people tend to be stable because in the person perception process we seek cues that reveal the invariant intents and purposes that lie behind a person's multivaried behaviors (Hastorf, Schneider & Polefka, 1970).

In the person perception paradigm a news photograph of a person is the equivalent of a stop-action slice of behavior. A person has been captured performing a behavior in a context (Schneider, Hastorf & Ellsworth, 1979). The impressions we can form about the photographic subject will be bound by our cultural upbringing, which will tell us whether the subject's appearance and behavior are appropriate to the context in which he or she has been photographed.

Our impressions are also influenced by what we are looking for regarding the future interaction we anticipate with the photographic subject (Schneider, Hastorf & Ellsworth, 1979). For example, we would probably attend to certain aspects in photographs of potential presidents and other features in photos of candidates to play in the NBA All-Star Game.

According to Asch's Gestalt paradigm (1946), person perception can be summarized as a two-step process in which stimulus traits of a person lead the observer to form an

impression of the stimulus person, and then, from that impression, predict the stimulus person's future behavior. Hastorf, Schneider and Polefka (1970) point out that once we have coded a particular person's behavior in a similar way several times and responded with the same inferences about the causes of that behavior, that impression is likely to become meaningful, stable and resistant to change.

Schneider, Hastorf and Ellsworth (1979) made the further observation that when we draw inferences from static cues, such as appearance, which are emphasized in still photos more than in film or real life where dynamic cues are also present, they are likely to be about negative qualities. The researchers hypothesized that this tendency to make negative snap judgments may have developed because evolutionarily avoidance cues were more important for survival than approach cues.

In the context of the present study, this research suggests that a series of unflattering news photos of a candidate has the potential to seriously damage that candidate's image in the minds of the electorate.

The person perception field, like the rest of its parent field of psychology, may lack the rigor of the hard sciences. It is much easier to control the variables when studying frogs or daisies or DNA than when studying humans. Even in the social sciences attention can be focused on

something concrete like column inches of newspaper space. The ethical study of humans is not so convenient.

Nonetheless, many researchers, from James (1932) to Mehrabian (1972), Clore, Wiggins and Itkin (1975) and Bruce and Green (1985) have found that human subjects can reliably and predictably scale many non-verbal behaviors along an evaluative, positive to negative scale. Burgoon (1980) states that these evaluations of non-verbal behavior are consistent within a culture. Burgoon (1980, p. 189) and Mehrabian (1972, p. 187) state that non-verbal cues are used regularly by observers, such as voters, to form first impressions and by sources, such as candidates, to put forward the most favorable impression, even to the point of deception.

Content Analysis Categories

The content analysis categories for the photographs analyzed in this study will include three broad categories: (1) Candidate Behavior, (2) Photographic Context, and (3) Reader's Perspective.

Candidate Behavior

Torso. Bruce and Green (1985) have reported extensively on the ability of many species of animals, including humans, to detect and assign meaning to the postures of other members of their own species. As early as 1932 James found that a bowed or contracted body posture

communicated dejection, weakness and low status. An erect torso, on the other hand, communicated pride, strength and high status (James, 1932). Forty years later Mehrabian (1972) made similar findings.

Arms and Hands. Machotka (1965) found that figures with closed arm positions were judged as being rejecting, cold, shy and passive. Figures with open arms were judged as warm and accepting. Mehrabian (1972) found that closed or folded arms also communicated dislike.

Clore, Wiggins and Itkin (1975) found that one of the most positively rated non-verbal behaviors was the use of expressive hand gestures. And Machotka and Spiegel (1982, pp. 89-107) found that subjects, asked to view a group and then interpret the status of various individuals in the group, consistently rated as most important, or the leader in the group, the individual whose arms and hands were in a raised position.

Face. Ruesch and Kees (1972, p. 64) observed that while still photographs impose certain limitations on the person perception process, they also have certain advantages. Repeated contractions of particular voluntary or involuntary muscle groups leave their imprint on the skin and skeletal system. Photography freezes for inspection postures that might normally be disguised or concealed by movement.

In general, Ruesch and Kees (1972, p. 64) suggest bodily posture is likely to reflect the underlying fixed attitudes and moods of the subject, whereas facial expressions, as captured in photographs, tend to be mirrors of the momentary experience occurring when the picture was taken.

Ekman and Oster (1982) found that even people of diverse nationalities and varying degrees of literacy were in nearly universal agreement in assigning emotional labels, such as happiness, anger and surprise, to facial expressions. Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1982) found evidence that even when subjects could not make fine distinctions regarding the emotion behind a facial expression, they could accurately categorize the emotion as either positive or negative.

Clore, Wiggins and Itkin (1975) found that facial movements of widely opened eyes, raised eyebrows and smiling were rated very positively. Facial behaviors of averted eyes, frowning or sneering were rated most negatively.

Photographic Context

Schneider, Hastorf and Ellsworth (1979) acknowledge that many non-verbal behaviors can be ambiguous when viewed in isolation. However, the researchers state that ambiguity is frequently alleviated when the observer takes the situation in which the behavior occurs into consideration.

In fact, the meaning of a particular behavior may very well depend on the context in which it occurred. For example, a closely cropped photograph of a candidate nearly doubled over could make the viewer wonder whether the candidate was caught leaving a fast-food restaurant. A wider shot could reveal that the candidate was actually on stage and was bending over to reach the outstretched hands of his or her admirers.

Thus, contexts serve as further cues for judgments about the person in them. In this study the presence or absence of other persons in a photograph and the behavior of those persons will comprise the context for evaluating each particular photographic portrayal of the candidates.

Reader's Perspective

As every photographer, professional or amateur, knows, the visual information communicated by a particular shot can be radically manipulated through slight changes in composition. Even small adjustments in camera angle, depth of field and aperture setting can restructure a scene to communicate different information and create a different emotional impact (Dondis, 1973).

Different observational perspectives can lead to different interpretations about what transpired in a particular scene, what personality traits can be attributed to the various people in the scene, and even who was the dominant actor in the scene (Taylor & Fiske, 1975).

The effects of perspective can be further confounded by cultural preferences (Adams et al., 1980) and by the observer's mental state (Leuba & Lucas, 1965). However, certain aspects of the viewer's, or reader's, perspective can be reliably scaled along a positive to negative dimension.

Prominence. Editors and readers alike recognize that the prominence of a photograph in a newspaper gives that photo more or less importance, impact and readership (Stovall, Self & Mullins, 1984; Harriss, Leiter & Johnson, 1985). The position of a photograph on a particular page, likewise, gives that photo more or less impact. A photo that is predominantly on the upper part of a page, above the fold, is more prominent than one placed on the center of the page, which, in turn, dominates a photo on the lower half of the page, below the fold (Geraci, 1984; Utt & Pasternak, 1984). Readers also like and are attracted to the use of color in and around news photos (Utt & Pasternak, 1984).

Camera Angle. Camera angle has also been shown to affect the viewer's perspective. A low-angle shot makes the subject appear taller and more powerful. A high-angle shot compresses the subject and makes him or her appear diminutive (Tiemens, 1970).

Mandell and Shaw (1972) found that a person photographed from even a slightly low angle is more likely

to be judged as a powerful figure than those photographed from a medium or a high level. In their experiment, as the camera angle was moved from high to medium to low, subjects changed their evaluations of the photographic subjects. Those photographed from a low angle were rated significantly more favorably than those photographed from a medium angle, who, in turn, were rated significantly more favorably than those photographed from a high angle. These significant differences in judging the photographic subject occurred even when the subject was viewed for only ten seconds.

Section 4: This Study and Its Hypotheses

This study will look for correlations between newspaper editorial endorsements of presidential candidates in the 1988 election and photographic coverage of those candidates and their opponents. This is a study of an intervening variable between endorsements and the vote, similar to Moriarty and Garramone's (1986) study, but different from their study in three important respects.

First, this study will be of newspaper photographs rather than news magazine photographs. A second difference between the two studies will be that this study will examine endorsements and photographic coverage of two new presidential candidates, George Bush and Michael Dukakis, rather than for an incumbent and a contender.

Thirdly, the time period covered by this study will be the three weeks of intensive campaigning immediately preceding and including election day, October 19 through November 8, 1988, rather than the two months preceding the election in Moriarty and Garramone's (1986) study.

This study will be similar to Moriarty and Garramone's study and different from McCleneghan's (1973 & 1978) studies in that not only the number and size of news photographs of the candidates will be studied, but also the type, flattering or unflattering, of each photograph will be considered.

The research question this study will address is: Is there a correlation between newspaper endorsements of presidential candidates and the number, size, position, and type of candidate photos run by newspapers?

Hypothesis 1:

George Bush and Dan Quayle were photographically portrayed more favorably than Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen in newspapers that endorsed Bush.

Hypothesis 2:

Dukakis and Bentsen were photographically portrayed more favorably than Bush and Quayle in newspapers that endorsed Dukakis.

Hypothesis 3:

The opposing candidates were photographically portrayed in comparable manner in newspapers that endorsed neither candidate.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Newspapers

Newspapers were selected partly on the basis of their availability at the Hodges Library at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. National newspapers, such as *USA Today* and *The Wall Street Journal*, were not included in the study, nor were tabloid newspapers. Papers from the candidates' home states were also eliminated from the study. This left a pool of about 20 newspapers.

The endorsements of three newspapers in the pool, the *Chicago Tribune, The Atlanta Constitution* and *The Seattle Times* appeared in Editor & Publisher's October 29 poll of presidential endorsements (Radolf, 1988). Telephone calls were made to the editorial offices of all the remaining newspapers on the afternoon of November 7, 1988, the day before the election, to learn whether each paper was making an endorsement of a presidential candidate, and, if so, who. The papers were then divided into three groups: (1) those that endorsed Bush, (2) those that endorsed Dukakis, and (3) those that chose to endorse neither candidate.

In order to make each group of newspapers geographically diverse, no group includes more than one paper from a single state. No two papers in the study are from the same city, and only California is represented in

more than one group. The endorsed-Bush group and the endorsed-Dukakis group both include papers from northern, eastern, western and southern cities. This diversity was not obtained in the neutral group, but both coasts are represented. Newspapers from the two 1988 political convention cities, Atlanta and New Orleans, are split, Atlanta in the endorsed-Dukakis group and New Orleans in the endorsed-Bush group.

The resulting three groups of newspapers is shown in Table 1.

The New York Times, which fell into the Dukakis group, was not available in hard copy. In order to maintain the geographic balance between the group of papers that endorsed Dukakis and the group that endorsed Bush, a northeastern paper, *The Plain Dealer*, was eliminated from the Bush group. This manipulation left both the Bush and Dukakis groups each with one large-circulation paper from the northeastern quadrant of the country, the *Chicago Tribune* in Bush's group and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in Dukakis'.

The final three groups of newspapers used in the study, along with their owners and their circulations, are shown in Table 2.

Time Period Covered

The weeks preceding and including election day 1988 were selected for the study. This time period, October 19, 1988 through November 8, 1988, represents the final campaign

Table 1

ENDORSEMENTS

Bush	Dukakis	Neutral
Chicago Tribune	The Atlanta Constitution	Los Angeles Times
The Commercial Appeal	The Charlotte Observer	The Washington Post
The Denver Post	The Courier-Journal	
The Miami Herald	The New York Times	
The Plain Dealer	The Philadelphia Inquirer	
San Francisco Chronicle	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	
The Times-Picayune	The Seattle Times	

Table 2

ENDORSEMENTS, OWNERS AND CIRCULATION

Newspaper	Owner	Daily Circulation
	Endorsed Bush	
Chicago Tribune of Chicago, Illinois	Chicago Tribune Co.	758,464
The Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tennessee	Scripps Howard	224,248
The Denver Post of Denver, Colorado	Media-News Group, Inc.	227,105
The Miami Herald of Miami, Florida	Knight-Ridder Inc.	437,233
San Francisco Chronicle of San Francisco, California	Chronicle Publishing Co.	568,088
The Times-Picayune of New Orleans, Louisiana	Newhouse	278,248
	Endorsed Dukakis	
The Atlanta Constitution of Atlanta, Georgia	Cox Enterprises	264,812
The Charlotte Observer of Charlotte, North Carolina	Knight-Ridder, Inc.	218,501
The Courier-Journal of Louisville, Kentucky	Gannett Co., Inc.	237,660
The Philadelphia Inquirer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc.	508,496
St. Louis Post Dispatch of Saint Louis, Missouri	Pulitzer Publishing Co.	357,314
The Seattle Times of Seattle, Washington	Seattle Times Co.	231,207
	Did Not Endorse	
Los Angeles Times of Los Angeles, California	Times Mirror Corporation	1,136,813
The Washington Post of Washington, D.C.	The Washington Post Co.	796,659

push to the election. During this period both candidates were campaigning vigorously, and both candidates were heavily covered by both national and local media, including newspapers. The presidential election race was among the lead stories every day during this time period.

Thus, every day many photos of both candidates and their running mates were available to newspapers through the wire services and/or their own photographic services. During this time period, then, differences in photographic coverage of the candidates were less likely than at other, earlier times during the campaign to reflect availability of the candidates to photographers or geographic location of the candidates. Wherever the candidates were and whatever they were doing during these last weeks, they were making news as they ran the final stretch of the race for the presidency.

Coding Procedures

Every page of every section of every newspaper included in the study was examined for photographs of George Bush, Michael Dukakis, Lloyd Bentsen, and Dan Quayle. Pages on which there were news photographs of a candidate or candidates were torn out of the papers and set aside for coding later. Photographs of the candidates that were part of advertisements were not included in the study.

In instances where a paper or a portion of a paper was missing, a substitution was made, drawing from the October 1-

October 18 editions of the same newspaper and by selecting an edition of the same day of the week as the missing paper. A list of the replacements made is shown in Table 3.

Each photograph was coded, and photos that included more than one candidate were coded once for each candidate and treated as separate photographs in the analysis.

Each photo was coded for newspaper, publication date, candidate and nine visual attributes. The visual attributes were divided into three broad categories: (1) the reader's perspective, (2) the candidate's behavior, and (3) the photographic content.

Each visual attribute was ranked on a three-point scale. The most favorable visual presentation of each attribute was coded 3, and the least favorable was coded 1. Neutral or indeterminant visual presentations were coded 2.

The coding sheet and the instructions to the coders are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Reliability Test

The coding procedure was pretested on ten photos that appeared in *The Miami Herald* in the first week of November 1988. The photos were coded by the researcher and then by a second coder. The average percentage of intercoder agreement across all nine of the visual attributes was 92. A reliability test employing Scott's Pi (Singletary & Stone, 1987) was conducted on the scoring of the ten photographs' visual attributes by the two coders.

Table 3

REPLACEMENTS FOR MISSING NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Missing Date	Missing Section	Replacement from edition of
Endorsing Bush			
Chicago Tribune	11/1	entire paper	10/4
Endorsing Dukakis			
The Charlotte Observer	10/21	entire paper	10/7
	10/27	entire paper	10/6
The Courier-Journal	11/5	entire paper	10/8
The Seattle Times	10/24	entire paper	10/8
Endorsing Neither Candidate			
The Washington Post	10/26	front section	10/5

1. Newspaper and Date _____

2. Candidate Bush Quayle
Dukakis Bentsen

Reader's Perspective

3. Position in paper . . . . . (1) Inside page
(2) Front of section
(3) Page one

4. Position on page . . . . . (1) Bottom half
(2) Middle
(3) Top half

5. Photo size . . . . . (1) One column wide or less
(2) One-two columns wide
(3) Larger than two columns wide

6. Use of color . . . . . (1) Black & white photo
(2) Border color
(3) Color photo

7. Camera angle . . . . (1) Looking down on candidate
(2) Level shot
(3) Looking up at candidate

Candidate's Behavior

8. Torso . . . (1) Standing with bowed or contracted torso
(2) Sitting or unclear
(3) Standing with erect torso

9. Arms/hands. . . . . (1) Folded or down
(2) Midbody or unseen
(3) Gesturing above waist

10. Face . . . (1) Unhappy, worried or tired
(2) Serious or indeterminant
(3) Cheerful or happy

Context

11. Context. . (1) Inattentive crowd or colleagues
(2) Alone or indeterminant
(3) Cheering crowd and/or attentive colleagues

Figure 1. CODING SHEET

For the most part, the coding sheet is self-explanatory. However, these few additional directions were given to the coders regarding items 4, 5, 7 and 11:

4. Position on the page refers to the position on the page of the majority of the photo. If it is mainly above the center fold, score it (3). If it is more or less centered on the fold, score it (2). If it is predominantly below the fold, score it (1).

5. Column width refers to the width of the usual column in the particular paper in which the photo being coded appears. It does not refer to the unusual column widths, such as those that might appear on the editorial page. Use the ruler provided, if necessary, to determine either the usual column width and/or the column width of a photo.

7. Pay particular attention to this feature. Accuracy is important because research show that even slight variations in camera angle can affect judgments about the photographic subject. Looking down on, level and looking up at refer to the reader's view of the candidate.

11. An attentive colleague is defined as one who is either looking at the candidate or directly engaging the candidate--by touching the candidate, for example. The focus of the candidate's attention, gaze or touch is not what is important here. What is important is the focus of those around him.

Figure 2. INSTRUCTIONS TO CODERS

The results of the reliability test are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Following the reliability test the instructions for item 7, camera angle, were expanded in the hopes of improving the reliability of the coding for that item.

Because the second coder and one committee member felt strongly that a serious expression should receive a more positive evaluation than an indeterminant one, the face category was expanding choice (2) into two categories: (2) for indeterminant and (3) for serious. Choice (3), cheerful or happy, became (4).

Item 8, the torso category, also had a low reliability, but the researcher guessed that might be a fluke peculiar to the ten photos used in the pretest.

Though item 9, arms/hands, had a very high reliability, instructions were added for that category in anticipation of confusion about how to score a photograph of a candidate shaking hands, at the suggestion of the second coder.

The coding sheet and the instructions to the coders used in the study are shown in Figures 3 and 4.

Following the pretest, each of the remaining photographs was coded by the researcher, and a final reliability test, also using Scott's Pi, was performed on ten percent of the total sample. The final reliability sample included 57 photographs chosen at random from among the November 1-8 editions of all 14 newspapers included in

Table 4

RESULTS OF RELIABILITY PRE-TEST
BY PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT
N=10

Visual Attribute	Percentage Agreement
3. Position in paper	100
4. Position on page	100
5. Photo size	100
6. Use of color	100
7. Camera angle	80
Reader's Perspective Overall	96
8. Torso	80
9. Arms/hands	100
10. Face	80
Candidate's Behavior Overall	87
11. Context	90
OVERALL RELIABILITY OF CODING PROCEDURES	92

Table 5

RESULTS OF RELIABILITY PRE-TEST
BY SCOTT'S PI
N=10

Visual Attribute	Had a Reliability of
3. Position in paper	1.00
4. Position on page	1.00
5. Photo size	1.00
6. Use of color	1.00
7. Camera angle	0.69
Reader's Perspective Overall	**0.94**
8. Torso	0.68
9. Arms/hands	1.00
10. Face	0.67
Candidate's Behavior Overall	**0.76**
11. Context	0.84
OVERALL RELIABILITY OF CODING PROCEDURES	**0.88**

1. Newspaper and Date _____

2. Candidate Bush Quayle
Dukakis Bentsen

Reader's Perspective

3. Position in paper . . . . . (1) Inside page
(2) Front of section
(3) Page one

4. Position on page . . . . . (1) Bottom half
(2) Middle
(3) Top half

5. Photo size . . . . . (1) One column wide or less
(2) One-two columns wide
(3) Larger than two columns wide

6. Use of color . . . . . (1) Black & white photo
(2) Border color
(3) Color photo

7. Camera angle . . . . (1) Looking down on candidate
(2) Level shot
(3) Looking up at candidate

Candidate's Behavior

8. Torso . . . (1) Standing with bowed or contracted torso
(2) Sitting or unclear
(3) Standing with erect torso

9. Arms/hands. . . . . (1) Folded or down
(2) Midbody or unseen
(3) Gesturing above waist

10. Face . . . (1) Unhappy, worried or tired
(2) Indeterminant
(3) Serious or indeterminant
(4) Cheerful or happy

Context

11. Context. . (1) Inattentive crowd or colleagues
(2) Alone or indeterminant
(3) Cheering crowd and/or attentive colleagues

Figure 3. IMPROVED CODING SHEET

For the most part, the coding sheet is self-explanatory. Here are a few additional directions regarding items 4, 5, 7, 9 and 11:

4. Position on the page refers to the position on the page of the majority of the photo. If it is mainly above the center fold, score it (3). If it is more or less centered on the fold, score it (2). If it is predominantly below the fold, score it (1).

5. Column width refers to the width of the usual column in the particular paper in which the photo being coded appears. It does not refer to the unusual column widths, such as those that might appear on the editorial page. Use the ruler provided, if necessary, to determine either the usual column width and/or the column width of a photo.

7. Pay particular attention to this feature. Accuracy is important because research show that even slight variations in camera angle can affect judgments about the photographic subject. Looking down on, level and looking up at refer to the reader's view of the candidate. For example, if you can see the top of the candidate's shoulders, you are looking down on him. If you can see inside the candidate's nostrils, you are looking up at him.

9. If the candidate is shaking hands in the usual manner, score his Arms/hands (2) for midbody.

11. An attentive colleague is defined as one who is either looking at the candidate or directly engaging the candidate--by touching the candidate, for example. The focus of the candidate's attention, gaze or touch is not what is important here. What is important is the focus of those around him.

Remember: Photographs that include more than one candidate should be coded once for each candidate in the photo.

Figure 4. IMPROVED INSTRUCTIONS TO CODERS

the study. The results of the reliability test are shown by percentage agreement in Table 6 and by Scott's Pi in Table 7. The overall reliability of the coding procedures remained unchanged from the pretest: 92 percent agreement with a reliability of 0.88 when adjusted to account for chance agreements by Scott's Pi.

The results of the reliability test show that the reliability of visual attribute (7), camera angle, was improved from 0.69 in the pre-test to a more acceptable 0.74 in the final sample. The reliability of visual attribute (10), face, however, dropped from the barely acceptable 0.67 in the pre-test to an unacceptable 0.60 in the final sample. This lack of reliability for the face category, of course, negatively effects the reliability of the overall index score for the candidate's behavior category of visual attributes, and, to a lesser extent, the reliability of the total index scores. As will be seen, though, reliability was not the outstanding issue regarding the numerical data.

Index Construction

For each candidate and for each newspaper, a mean rating was obtained for each of the nine visual attributes. An overall index was then constructed for each of the three broad visual categories for each candidate and for each newspaper by summing the mean ratings for the attributes included in that category. For example, an overall

Table 6

RESULTS OF RELIABILITY TEST
BY PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT
N=57

Visual Attribute	Percentage Agreement
3. Position in paper	100
4. Position on page	95
5. Photo size	100
6. Use of color	100
7. Camera angle	88
Reader's Perspective Overall	97
8. Torso	84
9. Arms/hands	95
10. Face	75
Candidate's Behavior Overall	85
11. Context	91
OVERALL RELIABILITY OF CODING PROCEDURES	92

Table 7

RESULTS OF RELIABILITY TEST
BY SCOTT'S PI
N=57

Visual Attribute	Had a Reliability of
3. Position in paper	1.00
4. Position on page	0.88
5. Photo size	1.00
6. Use of color	1.00
7. Camera angle	0.74
Reader's Perspective Overall	0.95
8. Torso	0.71
9. Arms/hands	0.89
10. Face	0.60
Candidate's Behavior Overall	0.78
11. Context	0.83
OVERALL RELIABILITY OF CODING PROCEDURES	0.88

candidate's behavior index was found by adding the mean ratings for the torso, arms/hands and face items.

A fourth, total, index was created for each candidate for each newspaper by adding the index figures for all three categories.

Figure 5 shows how the indexes were constructed for individual newspapers, and Figure 6 shows how indexes were constructed for the three groups of newspapers: those that endorsed Bush, those that endorsed Dukakis, and those that did not endorse.

The indexes for each candidate were compared for the three groups of newspapers.

Mean Photo Attribute Ratings by Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate

Example: The Miami Herald

	Bush N=	Dukakis N=	Quayle N=	Bentsen N=
Reader's Perspective				
Position in paper		A = $\frac{(1)s + (2)s + (3)s}{N}$		
Position on page		B		
Photo size		C		
Use of color		D		
Camera angle		E		
OVERALL INDEX	A+B+C+D+E=X			
Candidate's Behavior				
Torso				
Arms/hands				
Face				
OVERALL INDEX		Y		
Context				
Context				
OVERALL INDEX		Z		
TOTAL INDEX	= X+Y+Z			

Figure 5. MODEL FOR INDEX CONSTRUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL NEWSPAPERS

Mean Photo Attribute Ratings by Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate

Example: Newspapers the Endorsed Bush

	Bush N=	Dukakis N=	Quayle N=	Bentsen N=
Reader's Perspective				
Position in paper				
Position on page				
Photo size				
Use of color				
Camera angle				
OVERALL INDEX				
Candidate's Behavior				
Torso				
Arms/hands				
Face				
OVERALL INDEX				
Context				
Context				
OVERALL INDEX				

$A = \frac{A\ (Tribune) + A\ (Post)\ etc.}{N = Newspapers\ in\ Group = 6}$

$X = \frac{X\ (Tribune) + X\ (Post)\ etc.}{N = Newspapers\ in\ Group = 6}$

$\underline{TOTAL\ INDEX} = \frac{Total\ Index\ (Tribune) + Total\ Index\ (Post)\ etc.}{N = Newspapers\ in\ Group = 6}$

Figure 6. MODEL FOR INDEX CONSTRUCTION FOR GROUPS OF NEWSPAPERS

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

A total of 575 photographs were coded. Two hundred and thirty of the photographs were of George Bush, 247 were of Michael Dukakis, 58 were of Dan Quayle, and 40 were of Lloyd Bentsen. The group of newspapers that endorsed Bush and the group of newspapers that endorsed Dukakis both ran a few more photographs of Dukakis than of Bush and more pictures of Quayle than of Bentsen. The group of newspapers that did not endorse a presidential candidate ran more photographs of Bush than of Dukakis and more photographs of Bentsen than of Quayle.

The findings were tabled in three different formats. The indexes for the visual attributes for all four candidates for the fourteen individual newspapers included in the study are displayed in Appendix A. The indexes for the visual attributes for all four candidates for the three groups of newspapers are displayed in Table 8: Newspapers Endorsing Bush, Table 9: Newspapers Endorsing Dukakis and Table 10: Non-Endorsing Newspapers. Finally, the results are also displayed by the indexes obtained for the nine visual attributes for the three groups of newspapers for each of the four candidates in Tables 11-14; Table 11: Photographic Portrayal of George Bush, Table 12: Photographic Portrayal of Michael Dukakis, Table 13:

Table 8

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (BUSH)

	Newspapers Endorsing Bush N=6			
	Bush N=88	Dukakis N=100	Quayle N=22	Bentsen N=15
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.50	1.62	1.25	1.08
4. Position on page	2.54	2.46	2.54	2.45
5. Photo size	2.02	2.12	2.08	2.22
6. Use of color	1.26	1.31	1.08	1.00
7. Camera angle	2.09	2.01	1.90	2.04
OVERALL INDEX	9.41	9.53	8.85	8.79
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.24	2.22	1.94	2.33
9. Arms/hands	2.38	2.43	2.33	2.61
10. Face	2.74	2.82	3.19	3.31
OVERALL INDEX	7.53	7.46	7.46	8.25
Context				
11. Context	2.38	2.36	2.60	2.50
OVERALL INDEX	2.38	2.36	2.60	2.50
TOTAL INDEX	19.31	19.35	18.92	19.54

Table 9

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (DUKAKIS)

	Newspapers Endorsing Dukakis N=6			
	Bush N=97	Dukakis N=104	Quayle N=30	Bentsen N=15
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.62	1.58	1.43	1.61
4. Position on page	2.65	2.61	2.39	2.66
5. Photo size	2.07	1.94	1.78	1.74
6. Use of color	1.12	1.12	1.17	1.17
7. Camera angle	2.06	1.97	1.99	1.70
OVERALL INDEX	9.51	9.21	8.76	8.86
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.32	2.20	2.21	2.15
9. Arms/hands	2.44	2.27	2.14	2.36
10. Face	2.55	2.67	3.06	3.03
OVERALL INDEX	7.30	7.15	7.41	7.54
Context				
11. Context	2.42	2.39	2.26	2.57
OVERALL INDEX	2.42	2.39	2.26	2.57
TOTAL INDEX	19.23	18.75	18.44	18.97

Table 10

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (NON-ENDORSING)

	Non-Endorsing Newspapers N=2			
	Bush N=45	Dukakis N=43	Quayle N=6	Bentsen N=10
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.65	1.61	2.25	1.62
4. Position on page	2.85	2.85	2.88	3.00
5. Photo size	2.23	2.28	2.00	2.00
6. Use of color	1.04	1.05	1.00	1.00
7. Camera angle	1.98	1.96	2.25	2.38
OVERALL INDEX	9.75	9.75	10.38	10.00
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.25	2.26	2.63	2.72
9. Arms/hands	2.33	2.38	2.00	2.24
10. Face	2.79	2.76	3.13	2.67
OVERALL INDEX	7.37	7.40	7.75	7.62
Context				
11. Context	2.54	2.61	2.75	2.62
OVERALL INDEX	2.54	2.61	2.75	2.62
TOTAL INDEX	19.65	19.76	20.88	20.24

Table 11

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAYAL OF GEORGE BUSH
BY THE THREE GROUPS OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers that endorsed:	Bush N=6	Dukakis N=6	did not endorse N=2
No. of Photos	88	97	45
Reader's Perspective			
3. Position in paper	1.50	1.58	1.65
4. Position on page	2.54	2.65	2.83
5. Photo size	2.02	2.07	2.23
6. Use of color	1.26	1.12	1.04
7. Camera angle	2.09	2.06	1.98
OVERALL INDEX	9.41	9.51	9.75
Candidate's Behavior			
8. Torso	2.24	2.32	2.25
9. Arms/hands	2.38	2.44	2.33
10. Face	2.74	2.55	2.79
OVERALL INDEX	7.53	7.30	7.37
Context			
11. Context	2.38	2.42	2.54
OVERALL INDEX	2.38	2.42	2.54
TOTAL INDEX	19.31	19.23	19.65

Table 12

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAYAL OF MICHAEL DUKAKIS
BY THE THREE GROUPS OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers that endorsed:	Bush N=6	Dukakis N=6	did not endorse N=2
No. of Photos	100	104	43
Reader's Perspective			
3. Position in paper	1.62	1.58	1.61
4. Position on page	2.46	2.61	2.85
5. Photo size	2.12	1.94	2.28
6. Use of color	1.31	1.12	1.05
7. Camera angle	2.01	1.97	1.96
OVERALL INDEX	9.53	9.21	9.75
Candidate's Behavior			
8. Torso	2.22	2.20	2.26
9. Arms/hands	2.43	2.27	2.38
10. Face	2.82	2.67	2.76
OVERALL INDEX	7.46	7.15	7.40
Context			
11. Context	2.36	2.39	2.61
OVERALL INDEX	2.36	2.39	2.61
TOTAL INDEX	19.35	18.75	19.76

Table 13

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAYAL OF DAN QUAYLE
BY THE THREE GROUPS OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers that endorsed:	Bush N=6	Dukakis N=6	did not endorse N=2
No. of Photos	22	30	6
Reader's Perspective			
3. Position in paper	1.25	1.43	2.25
4. Position on page	2.54	2.39	2.88
5. Photo size	2.08	1.78	2.00
6. Use of color	1.08	1.17	1.00
7. Camera angle	1.90	1.99	2.25
OVERALL INDEX	8.85	8.76	10.38
Candidate's Behavior			
8. Torso	1.94	2.21	2.63
9. Arms/hands	2.33	2.14	2.00
10. Face	3.19	3.06	3.13
OVERALL INDEX	7.46	7.41	7.75
Context			
11. Context	2.60	2.26	2.75
OVERALL INDEX	2.60	2.26	2.75
TOTAL INDEX	18.92	18.44	20.88

Table 14

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAYAL OF LLOYD BENTSEN
BY THE THREE GROUPS OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers that endorsed:	Bush N=6	Dukakis N=6	did not endorse N=2
No. of Photos	15	15	10
Reader's Perspective			
3. Position in paper	1.08	1.61	1.62
4. Position on page	2.45	2.66	3.00
5. Photo size	2.22	1.74	2.00
6. Use of color	1.00	1.17	1.00
7. Camera angle	2.04	1.70	2.38
OVERALL INDEX	8.79	8.86	10.00
Candidate's Behavior			
8. Torso	2.33	2.15	2.72
9. Arms/hands	2.61	2.36	2.24
10. Face	3.31	3.03	2.67
OVERALL INDEX	8.25	7.54	7.62
Context			
11. Context	2.50	2.57	2.62
OVERALL INDEX	2.50	2.57	2.62
TOTAL INDEX	19.54	18.97	20.24

Photographic Portrayal of Dan Quayle and Table 14: Photographic Portrayal of Lloyd Bentsen.

Individual Newspapers

Individual Newspapers that Endorsed Bush

Among the six newspapers that endorsed Bush, two, the *Chicago Tribune* (Table A-1) and *The Times-Picayune* (Table A-6), followed the pattern McCleneghan (1973 & 1978) observed in his studies of endorsements and news space in Texas newspapers. In this study, though both the *Tribune*, which endorsed early enough to be reported in Editor & Publisher's endorsement poll (Radolf, 1988), and *The Times-Picayune* endorsed Bush, Dukakis and Bentsen received more favorable photographic coverage than Bush and Quayle. The two Democratic party nominees both scored higher than their opponents in the overall indexes for two categories of visual attributes, and both scored higher in the total index category.

The Commercial Appeal (Table A-2) and the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Table A-5), both of which endorsed Bush, gave Bush more favorable photographic coverage than they gave Dukakis, reflected in Bush's higher overall index scores in two categories and in his total index scores in both papers. However, *The Commercial Appeal* and the *Chronicle* both gave Bentsen more favorable coverage than they gave Quayle, as reflected in Bentsen's higher overall index scores in two

categories of visual attributes and in his total index score in both papers.

The Denver Post (Table A-3), which endorsed Bush, favored Dukakis over Bush in two categories of visual attributes and Dukakis' total index score was higher than Bush's. *The Post* did, however, photographically portray Quayle more favorably than it did Bentsen.

The Miami Herald (Table A-4) came closest to following the pattern predicted in Hypothesis 1. Bush was photographically portrayed more favorably than Dukakis in the reader's perspective category, and Bush's total index score was higher than Dukakis's. And, though Bentsen scored higher than Quayle in two categories of visual attributes, Quayle's coverage outscored Bentsen's in one category and in the total index.

Individual Newspapers that Endorsed Dukakis

Among the six newspapers that endorsed Dukakis, three, *The Charlotte Observer* (Table A-8), *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Table A-10) and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Table A-11), followed the McCleneghan (1973 & 1978) pattern of giving more favorable photographic coverage to their endorsee's opponents. *The Observer* favored Bush in two categories of visual attributes, and Bush's total index score was higher than Dukakis'. *The Observer* also favored Quayle in one category of visual attributes, and Quayle's total index was higher than Bentsen's. *The Inquirer* favored

Bush in one category, and his total index was higher than Dukakis'. Quayle scored higher than Bentsen in two overall indexes for visual attributes in *The Inquirer*, and Quayle's total score was higher than Bentsen's. In the *Post-Dispatch* Bush and Quayle both scored higher than Dukakis and Bentsen in the overall indexes of two categories of visual attributes and in the total index.

The Courier-Journal (Table A-9) and *The Seattle Times* (Table A-12) also portrayed Bush more favorably than they did Dukakis. In both papers Bush's overall index scores were higher than Dukakis' in two categories of visual attributes, and Bush's total index score was higher than Dukakis'. However, both papers also portrayed Bentsen more favorably than Quayle in all three categories of visual attributes, reflected, of course, also in Bentsen's higher total index scores in both papers.

Among the newspapers that endorsed Dukakis, only *The Atlanta Constitution* (Table A-7) followed the pattern predicted in Hypothesis 2. Dukakis and Bentsen were both photographically portrayed more favorably than Bush and Quayle, respectively, in two categories of visual attributes. And both Dukakis and Bentsen also both had higher total index scores than their opponents.

Individual Newspapers that Did Not Endorse

The *Los Angeles Times* (Table A-13) portrayed Dukakis more favorably than Bush in all three categories of visual

attributes, and, thus, Dukakis' total index was higher than Bush's. The *Times* also portrayed Quayle more favorably than Bentsen in all three categories, and Quayle's total index was higher than Bentsen's.

The Washington Post's (Table A-14) photographic portrayals of the candidates did follow the pattern predicted in Hypothesis 3. Bush scored higher than Dukakis in overall indexes in two categories, but Dukakis outscored Bush in one category and in the total index. Quayle outscored Bentsen in one category and in the total index, but Bentsen's overall index scores were higher than Quayle's in two categories of visual attributes.

For all 14 newspapers and all four candidates there were a total of 224 overall and total index scores. The differences in index scores between Bush and Dukakis and between Quayle and Bentsen ranged from a low of zero to a high of three index points. However, in only 19 instances were the differences in scores between Bush and Dukakis and between Quayle and Bentsen greater than one index point. *The Charlotte Observer*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *The Washington Post* had no differences between presidential or vice-presidential candidate index scores that were greater than one index point.

Groups of Newspapers

The Group of Newspapers that Endorsed Bush

In the group of newspapers that endorsed Bush, Bush received more favorable photographic portrayal than Dukakis in the overall index categories of candidate's behavior (7.53 to 7.46) and context (2.38 to 2.36). Dukakis, however, scored higher than Bush in the reader's perspective category (9.95 to 9.41) and in the total index (19.35 to 19.31). Quayle received more favorable treatment than Bentsen in the categories of reader's perspective (8.85 to 8.79) and context (2.60 to 2.50), but Bentsen took the lead in candidate's behavior (8.25 to 7.46) and the total index score (19.54 to 18.92). Among the overall and total index scores for this group, there was no instance where two opposing candidates' scores were separated by more than one index point.

Thus, the newspapers that endorsed Bush did not, even as a group, support Hypothesis 1. If anything, these papers as a group seemed to give both presidential and both vice presidential candidates equitable photographic treatment.

The Group of Newspapers that Endorsed Dukakis

In the group of newspapers that endorsed Dukakis, Bush was portrayed photographically more favorably than Dukakis in all three categories of visual attributes, and Bush's total index score was higher than Dukakis' (19.25 to 18.75).

Bentsen, however, was portrayed more favorably than Quayle in all three categories, and Bentsen's total index score was higher than Quayle's (18.97 to 18.44). In this group there was no instance where the differences between the overall or total index scores of opposing candidates exceeded one index point.

Thus, the newspapers that endorsed Dukakis did not follow the pattern predicted by Hypothesis 2 regarding their photographic portrayal of Dukakis. However, they did follow the pattern predicted by Hypothesis 2 regarding Bentsen.

The Group of Newspapers that Did Not Endorse

In the group of newspapers that did not endorse a presidential candidate in 1988, Dukakis was portrayed more favorably than Bush in two categories, candidate's behavior (7.40 t0 7.37) and context (2.61 to 2.54), and portrayed equitably with Bush in the reader's perspective category. Dukakis' total index score was higher than Bush's (19.76 to 19.65). Quayle was portrayed more favorably than Bentsen in all three categories of visual attributes, and Quayle's total index score was higher than Bentsen's (20.88 to 20.24). However, there was no instance where the overall or total index scores of opposing candidates differed by more than one index point.

In fact, in the data obtained from the newspapers that did not endorse a presidential candidate, there is only one instance where the difference in overall or total index

scores of opposing candidates exceeds even one-half of an index point. Thus, Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Photographic Portrayals of Individual Candidates

The most favorable photographic portrayals of Bush, Dukakis and Bentsen, in every category except candidate's behavior, were provided by the group of newspapers that did not endorse a presidential candidate. In the category of candidate's behavior, the most favorable photographic portrayal of Bush, Dukakis and Bentsen was provided by the group of newspapers that endorsed Bush. The total indexes for Bush, Dukakis and Bentsen were also highest in the group of newspapers that did not endorse.

Among the three groups of newspapers, there was no instance in their portrayal of Bush where the overall or total indexes differed by more than one index point. In their portrayal of Dukakis, the total index of non-endorsing newspapers was just over one index point greater than the total index of the newspapers that endorsed Dukakis (19.76 to 18.75).

In their portrayal of Bentsen, the overall index for reader's perspective in the non-endorsing newspapers was more than one index point greater than the overall index for reader's perspective in both the newspapers that endorsed Bush and the newspapers that endorsed Dukakis. The total index for the portrayal of Bentsen in non-endorsing newspapers was also greater than one index point than the

total index in the newspapers that endorsed Dukakis (20.24 to 18.97).

The photographic portrayal of Dan Quayle was best by the non-endorsing newspapers in all three visual categories. In the reader's perspective category, the overall index of the non-endorsing newspapers was more than one index point higher than the overall indexes in either the endorsed-Bush or the endorsed-Dukakis groups. Quayle's total index in the non-endorsing group was almost two index points greater than his total index in the endorsed-Bush group (20.88 to 18.92) and over two index points greater than his total index in the endorsed-Dukakis group of newspapers (20.88 to 18.44).

Thus, when the data is examined in terms of portrayal of each candidate by the three groups of newspapers, neither Hypothesis 1 nor Hypothesis 2 is supported. This arrangement of the data did not address the third hypothesis.

Summary of the Findings and a Few Words About the Numbers

The above-described findings could be said to give virtually no support to Hypothesis 1. The group of newspapers that endorsed Bush did not give more favorable photographic coverage to Bush and Quayle than they did to Dukakis and Bentsen. Individually, only one newspaper that endorsed Bush, *The Miami Herald*, approximated the pattern of photographic coverage predicted in Hypothesis 1.

The findings could be said to partially support Hypothesis 2. The group of newspapers that endorsed Dukakis did give Bentsen more favorable photographic coverage than Quayle, but Dukakis was not favored over Bush. Individually, again only one paper, *The Atlanta Constitution*, ran true to the predicted form and gave both Dukakis and Bentsen more favorable photographic coverage than Bush and Quayle.

The findings do not seem to support Hypothesis 3 except when one notes how small the differences are in the index scores for the opposing candidates in the group of newspapers that did not endorse a presidential candidate. Individually, *The Washington Post* did follow the pattern predicted in Hypothesis 3. The two presidential and the two vice-presidential candidates were portrayed comparably in *The Post*.

The very small differences among the index scores in the group of papers that did not endorse a candidate is actually just the extreme instance of what is the true pattern in the numerical data: an absence of large differences in the total index scores, in the overall indexes for the three broad categories, and even in the indexes for the nine individual visual attributes. The small differences in index scores that do exist between the candidates in individual newspapers, the candidates in

groups of newspapers, and in the candidates' portrayals from group to group could all be due to random variation.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, reliability was not the outstanding issue regarding the numerical data. Because the differences in index scores for the four candidates and the three groups of newspapers are so small, it seems very unlikely that an improvement in the reliability of the coding for one visual attribute, such as facial expression, would alter the finding of an absence of any meaningful pattern in the numerical data.

Thus, this study finds no support for its first and second hypotheses. Rather, this study lends support to the idea that there is little and infrequent correlation between newspaper endorsements of political candidates and the favorability of the photographic coverage of those candidates. Hypothesis 3, however, is supported. The broadest statement of the findings of this study is that newspapers, in general, appear to give even-handed photographic coverage to the Democratic and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In the context of this overall finding, the support of Hypothesis 3 is consistent with the lack of support for Hypotheses 1 and 2.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study is another brick in the wall of evidence that suggests that the newspapers in the United States do attain their stated goal of providing fair and equitable coverage of candidates for political offices. McCleneghan (1973 & 1978) failed to find evidence of bias in photographic coverage of political candidates in newspapers at the local election level; Moriarty and Garramone (1986) failed to find evidence of it in news magazines at the national election level; and this study has failed to find evidence of it in newspapers at the national election level in politics.

In instances where a newspaper may slightly favor its endorsed candidate or candidates in photographic coverage, there is another newspaper in another city that is slightly favoring those candidates' opponents. In this study, for example, if *The Miami Herald* was, in fact, favoring the Republican candidates for president and vice president in photographic coverage, *The Atlanta Constitution* was favoring the Democratic candidates.

As Hurd and Singletary (1984) observed, newspapers nationwide would have to agree on how to bias their coverage in order for there to be an even measurable, let alone a significant, effect on the democratic process. Rather than

any trend in that direction, this study found little and infrequent, if any, correlation between newspaper endorsements of presidential and vice-presidential candidates and the number, size, position and type of candidate photos run by the endorsing newspapers.

Thus, when and if newspaper endorsements do have an effect on the vote in presidential elections, that effect does not appear to be amplified, diminished or confounded by the intervening variable of photographic coverage.

Three other intervening variables in the chain of events between the newspaper's endorsement and the national vote that could be investigated are: (1) the captions under the photographs of the candidates, (2) the headlines of the news stories covering the candidates and the campaign race, and (3) the text of those stories. Where photographic coverage is even-handed, perhaps caption, headline or textual coverage is not.

If evidence of bias was found, for instance, in a content analysis of the text accompanying the photographs included in this study, one could look further for a positive or negative correlation of that bias with the endorsements of the individual newspapers and the groups of newspapers. However, there would remain a question of effect.

Whereas voters are exposed to newspaper photographs of candidates even when they are skimming the paper looking for

a good sale on appliances, it takes an act of will on the part of the voter to become exposed to the caption of the photograph, the contents of a news story, and all but the largest headlines. That is to say, bias in photographs or headlines might be more likely to have an effect on the electorate, and, thus, be of greater concern, than bias in photo captions or news stories.

Of the newspapers included in this study, the only two that would seem likely to reveal evidence of bias in coverage of national political candidates are *The Atlanta Constitution* and *The Miami Herald*. However, before further investigation of these two papers is undertaken, it would be best to submit the findings of this study to more rigorous statistical analysis to determine whether the perceived bias or leanings of these papers toward the candidates they endorsed is likely to be real or just an artifact of chance variation.

Finally, it is possible that the fairness in photographic coverage of presidential and vice-presidential candidates found in the newspapers included in this study, while admirable in many respects, may actually be a contributing factor to the general dullness of politics in the United States and to the ever-increasing voter apathy. Paradoxically, though, it is through this even-handedness, however dull, that our newspapers fulfill their critical role in perpetuating our democratic system of government.

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APPENDIX

Table A-1

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(Chicago Tribune)

	Bush N= 16	Dukakis N= 17	Quayle N= 8	Bentsen N= 4
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.875	1.941	1.250	1.000
4. Position on page	1.937	2.235	2.500	2.500
5. Photo size	1.813	2.294	2.250	2.750
6. Use of color	1.625	1.588	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.313	2.059	2.125	1.500
OVERALL INDEX	9.563	10.117	9.125	8.750
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.188	2.294	2.375	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.375	2.588	2.500	3.000
10. Face	3.063	2.824	3.125	3.250
OVERALL INDEX	7.626	7.706	8.000	8.250
Context				
11. Context	2.250	2.294	2.125	2.750
OVERALL INDEX	2.250	2.294	2.125	2.750
TOTAL INDEX	19.439	20.117	19.250	19.750

Table A-2

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Commercial Appeal)

	Bush N= 5	Dukakis N= 7	Quayle N= 4	Bentsen N= 4
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.400	1.429	1.500	1.500
4. Position on page	3.000	2.714	2.500	2.500
5. Photo size	2.200	2.286	2.250	2.250
6. Use of color	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.000	2.000	1.500	2.250
OVERALL INDEX	9.600	9.429	8.750	9.500
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.200	2.000	2.000	2.500
9. Arms/hands	2.800	2.286	2.250	2.500
10. Face	2.000	2.143	3.500	3.250
OVERALL INDEX	8.000	6.429	7.750	8.250
Context				
11. Context	2.000	2.143	2.500	2.250
OVERALL INDEX	2.000	2.143	2.500	2.250
TOTAL INDEX	19.600	19.001	19.000	20.000

Table A-3

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Denver Post)

	Bush N= 11	Dukakis N= 15	Quayle N= 2	Bentsen N= 2
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.636	2.000	1.000	1.000
4. Position on page	2.364	2.400	2.500	2.000
5. Photo size	1.636	2.133	2.000	2.000
6. Use of color	1.727	2.067	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.455	1.867	2.000	1.500
OVERALL INDEX	9.818	10.467	8.500	7.500
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.364	2.200	2.500	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.000	2.600	2.500	2.500
10. Face	3.455	3.000	4.000	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.819	7.800	9.000	7.500
Context				
11. Context	2.727	2.733	3.000	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.727	2.733	3.000	3.000
TOTAL INDEX	20.364	21.000	20.500	18.000

Table A-4

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Miami Herald)

	Bush N= 26	Dukakis N= 24	Quayle N= 4	Bentsen N= 1
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.346	1.542	1.750	1.000
4. Position on page	2.500	2.250	2.750	3.000
5. Photo size	2.038	1.742	2.000	2.000
6. Use of color	1.077	1.083	1.500	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.192	1.917	1.750	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	9.153	8.584	9.750	10.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.192	2.208	2.250	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.192	2.333	2.250	2.000
10. Face	2.730	2.833	2.000	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.114	7.374	6.500	7.000
Context				
11. Context	2.231	2.292	2.500	1.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.231	2.292	2.500	1.000
TOTAL INDEX	18.494	18.250	18.750	18.000

Table A-5

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(San Francisco Chronicle

	Bush N= 15	Dukakis N= 17	Quayle N= 2	Bentsen N= 1
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.467	1.529	1.000	1.000
4. Position on page	2.733	2.765	3.000	3.000
5. Photo size	2.267	2.235	2.500	3.000
6. Use of color	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.000	2.176	2.000	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	9.467	9.705	9.500	10.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.333	2.235	1.000	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.333	2.294	2.500	3.000
10. Face	2.600	2.647	3.000	4.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.266	7.176	6.500	9.000
Context				
11. Context	2.600	2.294	3.000	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.600	2.294	3.000	3.000
TOTAL INDEX	19.333	19.175	19.000	22.000

Table A-6

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Times-Picayune)

	Bush N= 15	Dukakis N= 20	Quayle N= 2	Bentsen N= 3
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.267	1.300	1.000	1.000
4. Position on page	2.733	2.400	2.000	1.667
5. Photo size	2.133	2.000	1.500	1.333
6. Use of color	1.133	1.100	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	1.588	2.050	2.000	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	8.854	8.850	7.500	7.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.133	2.350	1.500	3.500
9. Arms/hands	2.600	2.500	2.000	2.667
10. Face	2.600	3.450	3.500	3.333
OVERALL INDEX	7.333	8.300	7.000	9.500
Context				
11. Context	2.467	2.400	2.500	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.467	2.400	2.500	3.000
TOTAL INDEX	18.654	19.550	17.000	19.500

Table A-7

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Atlanta Constitution)

	Bush N= 23	Dukakis N= 26	Quayle N= 3	Bentsen N= 1
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.174	1.538	1.000	1.000
4. Position on page	2.522	2.577	2.333	3.000
5. Photo size	2.000	1.769	1.667	2.000
6. Use of color	1.087	1.077	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	1.913	2.000	2.000	1.000
OVERALL INDEX	8.696	8.961	8.000	8.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.391	2.231	2.333	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.696	2.385	2.667	3.000
10. Face	2.739	2.692	2.667	4.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.826	7.308	7.667	9.000
Context				
11. Context	2.391	2.692	2.333	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.391	2.692	2.333	3.000
TOTAL INDEX	18.913	18.961	18.000	20.000

Table A-8

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Charlotte Observer)

	Bush N= 6	Dukakis N= 9	Quayle N= 9	Bentsen N= 5
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.500	1.333	1.777	1.800
4. Position on page	3.000	3.000	2.556	2.600
5. Photo size	1.667	1.444	1.556	1.600
6. Use of color	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.333	2.000	1.778	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	**9.500**	**8.777**	**8.667**	**9.000**
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.167	2.111	2.333	2.400
9. Arms/hands	2.167	2.000	1.889	1.800
10. Face	1.833	2.333	2.778	2.200
OVERALL INDEX	**6.167**	**6.444**	**7.000**	**6.400**
Context				
11. Context	2.500	2.111	2.333	2.400
OVERALL INDEX	**2.500**	**2.111**	**2.333**	**2.400**
TOTAL INDEX	18.167	17.332	18.000	17.800

Table A-9

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Courier Journal)

	Bush N= 8	Dukakis N= 7	Quayle N= 7	Bentsen N= 3
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.875	1.714	1.286	1.333
4. Position on page	2.125	2.000	2.143	2.333
5. Photo size	2.000	1.571	2.143	2.333
6. Use of color	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.125	1.857	2.000	1.667
OVERALL INDEX	9.125	8.142	8.572	8.666
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.375	20001	2.429	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.625	22850	2.143	2.333
10. Face	2.000	2.857	3.571	4.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.000	7.143	8.143	8.333
Context				
11. Context	2.625	2.000	2.571	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.625	2.000	2.571	3.000
TOTAL INDEX	18.750	17.285	19.286	19.999

Table A-10

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Philadelphia Inquirer)

	Bush N= 35	Dukakis N= 36	Quayle N= 6	Bentsen N= 2
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.600	1.528	1.500	1.500
4. Position on page	2.371	2.444	2.667	3.000
5. Photo size	2.343	2.417	2.167	2.000
6. Use of color	1.057	1.056	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.086	2.111	2.167	1.000
OVERALL INDEX	**9.457**	**9.556**	**9.501**	**8.500**
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.314	2.306	2.667	2.500
9. Arms/hands	2.429	2.194	2.667	2.500
10. Face	3.000	2.639	3.833	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	**7.743**	**7.139**	**9.167**	**8.000**
Context				
11. Context	2.314	2.583	2.167	3.000
OVERALL INDEX	**2.314**	**2.503**	**2.167**	**3.000**
TOTAL INDEX	**19.514**	**19.278**	**20.835**	**19.500**

Table A-11

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

	Bush N= 14	Dukakis N= 16	Quayle N= 2	Bentsen N= 2
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	2.000	1.875	2.000	3.000
4. Position on page	2.857	2.813	3.000	2.000
5. Photo size	2.214	2.125	1.500	1.000
6. Use of color	1.571	1.375	2.000	2.000
7. Camera angle	1.929	1.938	2.000	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	**10.571**	**10.126**	**10.500**	**10.000**
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.571	2.375	1.500	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.429	2.375	1.500	2.000
10. Face	2.786	2.375	1.500	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	**7.786**	**7.775**	**6.500**	**6.500**
Context				
11. Context	2.143	2.375	2.500	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	**2.143**	**2.375**	**2.500**	**2.000**
TOTAL INDEX	**20.500**	**20.251**	**19.500**	**18.500**

Table A-12

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Seattle Times)

	Bush N= 11	Dukakis N= 10	Quayle N= 3	Bentsen N= 2
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.545	1.500	1.000	1.000
4. Position on page	3.000	2.800	1.667	3.000
5. Photo size	2.182	2.300	1.667	1.500
6. Use of color	1.000	1.200	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.000	1.900	2.000	2.500
OVERALL INDEX	9.727	9.700	7.334	9.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.091	22001	2.000	2.000
9. Arms/hands	2.273	2.400	2.000	2.500
10. Face	2.909	2.500	2.000	2.500
OVERALL INDEX	7.273	7.100	6.000	7.000
Context				
11. Context	2.545	2.600	1.667	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	2.545	2.600	1.667	2.000
TOTAL INDEX	19.545	19.400	15.001	18.000

Table A-13

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(Los Angeles Times)

	Bush N= 11	Dukakis N= 13	Quayle N= 2	Bentsen N= 3
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.818	1.692	2.500	1.667
4. Position on page	3.000	2.923	3.000	3.000
5. Photo size	2.273	2.231	2.000	2.000
6. Use of color	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	1.818	2.077	2.000	2.333
OVERALL INDEX	9.909	9.923	10.500	10.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.182	2.154	3.000	3.000
9. Arms/hands	2.273	2.462	2.000	2.333
10. Face	2.545	2.692	2.000	3.333
OVERALL INDEX	7.000	7.308	9.000	8.666
Context				
11. Context	2.455	2.615	3.000	2.667
OVERALL INDEX	2.455	2.615	3.000	2.667
TOTAL INDEX	19.364	19.846	22.500	21.333

Table A-14

MEAN PHOTO ATTRIBUTE RATINGS BY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(The Washington Post)

	Bush N= 34	Dukakis N= 30	Quayle N= 4	Bentsen N= 7
Reader's Perspective				
3. Position in paper	1.471	1.533	2.000	1.571
4. Position on page	2.706	2.767	2.750	3.000
5. Photo size	2.176	2.333	2.000	2.000
6. Use of color	1.088	1.100	1.000	1.000
7. Camera angle	2.147	1.833	2.500	2.429
OVERALL INDEX	9.588	9.566	10.250	10.000
Candidate's Behavior				
8. Torso	2.324	2.366	2.250	2.429
9. Arms/hands	2.382	2.300	2.000	2.143
10. Face	3.029	2.833	2.250	2.000
OVERALL INDEX	7.735	7.499	6.500	6.572
Context				
11. Context	2.618	2.600	2.500	2.571
OVERALL INDEX	2.618	2.600	2.500	2.571
TOTAL INDEX	19.941	19.665	19.250	19.143

VITA

Carolyn A. Fretz was born in Boston, Massachusetts. Her mother is a southerner, and her father is a Bostonian. Mrs. Fretz attended elementary schools in Boston and in Little Rock, Arkansas. Her junior high school was Dana Hall in Wellesley, Massachusetts. She graduated from Wellesley Senior High School. She received an Associate in Arts in Liberal Arts from Lasell Junior College in Auburndale, Massachusetts; Bachelor of Arts in biology and in psychology from Reed College in Portland, Oregon; and, with this thesis, a Master of Science in communications from the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Tennessee.

In between undergraduate and graduate school Mrs. Fretz fought forest fires for the United States Forest Service; traveled through Europe, North Africa and Greece; and married a sailor.

Mrs. Fretz is a member of Kappa Tau Alpha, the national society for recognition of scholarship in communications.