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The 1992 Conventions, the Newsmagazines and the Candidates: A Content Analysis

A Thesis presented to the
Department of Communication
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Christine Clifford Peschier

December 1996

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* during the 1992 national party conventions to investigate how the newsmagazines depicted George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot, and how these depictions contributed to the candidate's image. Through content analysis, the results of this study indicated distinct differences in how the candidates were portrayed, in the newsmagazines treatment of the candidates, and in the newsmagazines use of assertions.

Bill Clinton was portrayed positively and evaluatively in the newsmagazines. He was portrayed as a fighter, and an optimist; full of stamina, persistence and relentlessness. He received the most coverage of the three candidates. George Bush was treated significantly different in the newsmagazines, and was portrayed negatively and dynamically. The newsmagazines presented him as an unexciting, bland, clueless candidate. Ross Perot was also portrayed negatively in the newsmagazines, and evaluatively. He was portrayed as someone who was a quitter, was naïve and arrogant. He received the least amount of coverage of the three candidates. The study also found differences among the three newsmagazines in the type and amount of coverage.

This study contributes to the existing literature on election communication research and image research. Specifically, to our knowledge of the media's influence in political campaigns, and how this influence affects the public's impression of the candidates. These impressions have proven significant to study because they may influence what citizens have come to expect of their presidency, and may directly affect

their voting behaviors.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

During a presidential campaign, candidates are forced to work through many factors with their staff and consultants in order to claim victory in November. One challenge is to establish and maintain a favorable impression of the candidate in the eyes of the public. Candidates must try to conform to the public stereotype of goodness, and exemplify an image of trustworthiness, reliability, maturity and devotion to family, while appearing "normal" and "presentable" (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1996, p. 226). Presidential debates are one such example during the campaign where the candidates are given a chance, before the nation, to change or confirm a previous image. During the 1960 presidential debate between Richard Nixon and John Kennedy, television provided a chance to study how each candidate worked at portraying certain images in the minds of the public. Kennedy, who was labeled young and immature, hardly cracked a smile throughout the debate. Nixon, who was said to be stiff and frightening, with his darting eyes and five o'clock shadow, appeared jovial and friendly (Tannenbaum, Greensburg & Silverman, 1962; Schroeder, 1996). During the Carter/Ford debate in 1976, Ford depended on his own steady, trustworthy and presidential image to outdo Carter, who sought to maintain an image throughout the debates that he was relatively knowledgeable, a good manager and not a spendthrift (Bitzer & Reuter, 1980). During the 1992 campaign, George Bush was told to lower his voice to dispel the impression that he was a

"wimp," while Bill Clinton was told to "talk straight" and avoid smiling too much to counter his persona as too slick and insincere (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1996, p. 227).

These impressions of the candidates that are formed during the debates and throughout the campaign can be powerful, and can leave audiences with particular images of the candidates. The manner in which these impressions are brought to the public is also very powerful: television, radio and print media. These images of the candidates are created, enhanced and brought to the American public through media channels, providing a variety of ways for the public to see, hear and read about the candidates.

The importance of the mass media is basic to the study of politics. Referred by some as the "fourth branch of government," the role of the mass media in politics has gained much attention (Denton & Woodward, 1990). "The White House story is the President. Who he is, what he does, and what his programs, actions, and goals are... "he is of interest even when he is not active" (Grossman & Kumar, 1981, p. 263, 265).

In some cases, researchers have argued that election campaigns and presidential campaigns today are essentially communication or mass media campaigns, and that the mass media are playing an increasingly pervasive and visible role in the election process (Trent and Friedenber, 1983; Owen, 1991; Patterson, 1980). This argument is also supported through the many interdisciplinary efforts to bring researchers together from the fields of political science and communication. One result of this effort is a new publication entitled *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, based at the Joan

Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. This journal is the first of its kind to include articles from scholars and politicians, journalists, practitioners and theorists. Entitled "The Press and Presidential Campaigning," the first edition, published in early 1996, interviewed President Clinton, who responded to a question on the candidates comfort and exposure to the "new media" -- MTV, the Arsenio Hall Show, Larry King Live, etc. -- and if this tendency is likely to be intensified in the '96 campaign. He said that the "new media" may continue to play a role in the next presidential campaign, but probably not a greater role than in 1992. "Most people get information about politics the way they always have: watching the evening news, reading a morning paper, or listening to the radio on the way to work. No one who wants to lead this country should ever underestimate the mainstream media" (Kalb, 1996, p. 5).

One dominant interest of scholars within the field of political communication is the media coverage of political campaigns. Johnston (1990) points out that "of all the areas of election communication, the influence of media coverage of political campaigns is probably the one that has received the most attention" (p. 330). Graber (1993) says that media coverage is "the very lifeblood of politics" because it "shapes the perceptions that form the reality on which political action is based" (p. 292). In another study, Graber (1976) found the media's campaign coverage of the candidates served as opinion resources to the public in presidential campaigns. These statements lend support to the fact that mass media do play an important role in American politics, and certainly in the

election process.

Media coverage of presidential candidates has also been researched widely and has provided essential information on how people evaluate a candidate based on their qualifications. Graber (1976, 1993) has found that content analysis research of newspapers and television news broadcasts in the past have discussed the qualifications of presidential candidates more amply than campaign events and issues. These qualifications include personality traits, style characteristics, image characteristics, and professional qualifications. Since research shows that most people look to the media as sources of their opinions during presidential campaigns, and that the media are discussing mainly personality traits and characteristics of the candidates more than the issues, these findings warrant further investigation and can offer significant insight into how American mass media portray presidential candidates.

This study focuses on the media coverage of presidential candidates in one election, and how those candidates are portrayed by the mass media. As a way of contributing to the existing literature on media coverage of presidential candidates, this study examines one medium during one time period of the 1992 presidential election. The specific focus is how the print media depict the presidential candidates during the election period, with specific focus on the newsmagazines and the national nominating conventions. Among the electronic and print media, the print media have two definite advantages in their coverage of elections. First, the print media designate more space to

individual issues and more in-depth coverage (Newman, Just & Crigler, 1992). Second, magazines frame issues early with opinions, while newspapers frame issues with facts (Newman, Just & Crigler, 1992).

By looking at media coverage during an election, three main sections of literature must be examined. Research discussed in this thesis falls into the following three broad categories: how the media in general have portrayed presidential candidates in the past, how the nominating conventions have been studied in the past in terms of general media coverage and convention rhetoric, and how the newsmagazines specifically have covered political campaigns, the presidents and the national party conventions. Research in all three of these areas contribute to the knowledge of media influence in political campaigns, and to how this influence may have an effect on the public's impression of the candidates.

Image research and election communication research are two bodies of literature to which this study has contributed. These two areas of research have done much in answering questions of how the media portray presidential candidates during an election. Studying media coverage of the presidential candidates is important because the candidates are brought to the public by the news media, and therefore, it is vital to understand what the public sees, hears and reads about these candidates.

LITERATURE REVIEW

GENERAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

In the current study, general media coverage of presidential candidates refers to media portrayal of presidential candidates and how television, radio, newspapers, magazines and other mass media depict these political figures. Portrayals in the form of visual, audio and written words are contributed by the print and electronic media. These portrayals are presented to the public to decide how they want to use this information to form perceptions, opinions, assessments and evaluations of the candidates. Grossman & Kumar (1981) claim that news media provide most people with a "basis to judge the person who occupies the Oval Office and suggests the activities that may be needed to secure an individual or a general interest" (p. 299). The research that has been done on how people evaluate a candidate has fallen under two main areas: issues and images of the candidate. Studies have been most concerned with the ways in which media influence perceptions of images or of issue positions (Johnston, 1990). In terms of these two factors, the majority of studies suggest that more personal characteristics of the candidate had more influence on candidate evaluation, and that perceptions of candidates generally

focused on personality characteristics rather than issues (Marshall, 1983; Norrand, 1986). In examining how the media portray presidential candidates, it is necessary to look at the research that has focused on images of the candidates in the media.

Image Research

The use of the term "image" requires a definition. According to Nimmo (1976), a candidate's image consists of the qualities, traits, attributes, and views displayed to voters. Spragens (1978) defines image, as used in connection with mass media and political figures, as representing the impression or picture of political figures conveyed to the public through the mass media. Boulding (1956), suggests that the image of a candidate consists of the subjective impressions that voters have of that candidate.

Mass media provide images of presidential candidates. Most individuals are not able to come face-to-face with the candidates and have limited contact with them throughout the campaign. They are not able to see and hear for themselves what the candidate really looks like, what they have to say, and how they say it. This inability places a greater responsibility on the media for providing the public with an image of the candidates. Graber (1993) explains that "because direct contact with political actors and situations is limited, media images define people and situations for nearly all participants in the political process" (p. 292). As part of political campaigns, the creation and maintenance of a candidate's image is important because voters are faced with the

challenge of comparing their personal vision of an ideal candidate with their series of impressions they have received regarding the behavior of those who seek elective office (Trent & Friedenber, 1991). Understanding the public's reliance on the media for their impressions of candidates, these candidates are also concerned with their image and often must do and say whatever it is that will enhance voter perception of them (Trent & Friedenber, 1991). The candidates must try to "smooth out" the rough edges, in order to counter the most unfavorable impressions of specific aspects of their public image (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1996, p. 227).

The different types of images, and whether or not those images place the candidates in a positive or negative light, are some of the ways that image research has been studied in the past. This research provides essential information as to how the public perceives the candidates, and how this information reflects their attitudes and opinions toward a certain candidate or political party.

Patterson (1980) looked at the 1976 campaign for the stylistic and political impressions given to the candidates by the mass media. Stylistic impressions were also associated with the candidates' mannerisms and campaign performance. The candidates' personalities, campaign success and style, and personal backgrounds were also included. Political impressions influenced the candidates' governing capacities and actions, such as their leadership abilities, political backgrounds, and issue positions. Patterson found that general stylistic impressions easily outnumbered general political impressions. A month

before the election, people were twice as likely to mention Jimmy Carter's personality as they were to mention his leadership (Patterson, 1980).

Orman (1984) looked at coverage of the American presidency and valenced reporting, which are stories that add to or subtract from the "macho" presidential leadership image (p. 381). Stories portraying the president as winning, decisive, tough, strong, aggressive and able to lead were considered stories that add a positive valence to the presidential image. In overall campaign coverage from 1900-1980 of the presidency, Orman found that the Democrats had more negative coverage than positive coverage, while the Republicans had more positive coverage than negative. Orman also found that in overall press rankings of the candidates over 80 years, Warren Harding received the most favorable reporting from the periodical press, and Jimmy Carter received the worst overall press.

It is possible for the news media to convey either a positive or negative image of presidential candidates. Patterson (1980) determined favorable and unfavorable impressions of the candidates during the 1976 campaign by examining the direction of coverage from television and newspapers. He found the direction of images for candidates new to the campaign and the national electorate to be affected by press coverage, whereas the direction of images of well-known politicians was only marginally affected by press coverage.

The idea of determining positive or negative images has been a popular one. One

of the most comprehensive studies on images of the president in the media was done by Grossman & Kumar (1981). They looked at twenty-five years of *Time* and *New York Times* articles, and ten years of CBS News broadcasts to note the changes in coverage. "A striking feature," Grossman & Kumar note, "is the consistent pattern of favorable coverage of the President" (p. 253). Although each news source presented different information on a subject, the overall tone of the articles was quite similar. The knowledge gained by presidents and their staffs of these patterns of coverage, they note, is significant in developing strategies that aim to successfully continue the relationship between the news media and the White House.

The relationship between the news media and the presidential candidates begins as soon as the candidate declares candidacy, often times sooner. Public curiosity is piqued as the media and the candidate "get to know each other." Media coverage of the candidates continues through each stage of the campaign -- the pre-primary, the primary, the conventions and the general election. Each stage in the campaign makes a significant contribution to election communication (Trent & Friedenberg, 1991). Trent & Friedenberg (1991) refer to the first stage of the campaign also as "surfacing," which begins with candidates' initial efforts to create an interest and an image of themselves as candidates.

One significant change that has affected media coverage of the candidates during the campaign has occurred in both the primary and convention stages during the last

twenty years or so. The nominating function of the campaign now takes place during the primary, not during the convention. At one time the political parties presented their candidates at the conventions for nomination, but now the public decide during the primaries. News media are central to how nominees are chosen. This is true because news media have discovered the "glamor," the "excitement" and the "gamelike" stakes of the presidential primary (Trent & Friedenber, 1991, p. 34). Also, since voters lack the guidance that political parties provide when they endorse their candidates during general elections, media coverage of the candidates assumes considerable importance during the primary (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1996). This major change lends itself to further research and questions about how media coverage of the national conventions has responded to this change. The nominating function is no longer the main news story. The question becomes what have the media done to create more news in their coverage of the conventions.

GENERAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

The convention is no longer a nominating body that the Democrats, Republicans and most of the principle third parties use to choose their candidates for President and Vice President. Its role has changed from decision maker to legitimizer. Smith and Nimmo (1991) introduced the idea that the convention performs the function of "cordial

concurrence." This phrase pertains to a party's endorsement at the national convention of a candidate who was nominated elsewhere. Since the candidate is the product of primaries and caucuses, the conventions' primary function involves not the nomination of the party standard-bearer, but the mobilization of party resources in support of a decision rendered elsewhere. That is, "the first national convention in 1832 did not 'nominate' a candidate for president, but instead cordially concurred in repeated endorsements by various state legislatures" (p. 2). Smith and Nimmo looked at how political, media, and professional leaders in a telepolitical age orchestrate the appearance of cordial concurrence at the national nominating conventions. In doing this, they try to dispel the long used analogy that conventions are political dinosaurs by calling attention to the orchestration side of conventions. They also claim that it is the network television coverage of conventions, not the conventions themselves, that is the dinosaur, and that conventions are considered the "longest running production still in existence" that "showcases a microcosm of all that is American politics" (p. 228). Timmerman and Smith (1992) revisit this notion of cordial concurrence in their study of the 1992 conventions. They criticize the Republican party for ignoring their own principles of thematic speeches, stage theatrics, telegenic pacing, and inspirational films. Instead the convention produced an incoherent, mean-spirited show.

The convention period makes a large contribution to the shaping of the images of both parties and of the candidates in the minds of the voters (Westley, Higbie, Burke,

Lippert, Maurer, and Stone, 1963). The national nominating conventions have been studied largely by looking at two areas that affect these images of the candidates -- general media coverage of the conventions and the function of "storytelling" by the media and by the keynote speakers in the rhetoric of their addresses. These two areas contribute to the research on the shaping of images of the candidates during the conventions, and adds to the significance of these quadrennial events as an important stage of the political campaign.

Over the years, the electronic media have been responsible for shaping how the proceedings are conducted, influencing the behavior of delegates, and determining how the public's perception of the candidates may influence them in the voting booth. In 1952 the proceedings of both national conventions were continuously broadcast over all four major television networks throughout the entire period of the convention for the first time. About 18 million television sets were in use at the time, which accounted for approximately 40 percent of all American families who had access to this television coverage (Thomson, 1956).

During the 1968 Democratic convention, television provided on-the-spot monitoring of one of the most distasteful and embarrassing events in the history of the political process, according to Kraus & Davis (1976). On Wednesday, August 28, 1968, 90 million television viewers were shocked and frightened to see spectators clubbed to the ground, reporters being assaulted, and photographic equipment smashed (Fant, 1980).

While the amount of time devoted to violent scenes was small in comparison to total convention coverage time, the events tended to overshadow all other information (Fant, 1980).

Much has changed since the 1952 conventions when television coverage made its first appearance. The structure and the function of the conventions have been altered as a result of the combined efforts of the major parties and the television networks.

Television coverage became the means by which public presentations at the conventions could be turned explicitly to the task of advertising the candidate, his party, and their program (Shafer, 1988). Agendas are modified to increase their television appeal. Live coverage enables reporters control over the sequence of events, and when the networks feel as if the event is not generating any news, they take it upon themselves to generate that news (Fant, 1980).

Besides reporting the news of the conventions, the media perform another role in their coverage of this event: storytelling. Graber (1993) says that dramatic storytelling of the unfolding events at the conventions is the aim of most people covering the event. The practice of storytelling has been used by both the networks and keynote speakers during the conventions. Storytelling is significant to the study of media coverage of the conventions because it offers evidence that the media and the keynote speakers are telling their own stories of the conventions. These stories have an impact on the public's perception of what goes on during the conventions, and a perception of the presidential

candidates. These perceptions contribute to the voter's knowledge of the candidates and the political parties, which in turn may form the basis of their decision of who they will vote for. Smith (1988) developed an understanding of storytelling practices, offering insight into the content and style of the network news, based on the perspective of the narrative paradigm. Smith's analysis suggests that once the networks turned away from the podium they assumed distinctive styles of storytelling. ABC offered a narrative that stressed interpretation through discussion. They used a "Laugh In" story line that featured a rapid fire series of segments separated by commercial advertising. CBS featured an anchor-centered narrative that used Dan Rather as the central figure, or the "Father Knows Best" story line. NBC used a style that focused on the events occurring inside the convention hall, similar to the "Wild World of Sports" story line. Smith claims the news media "tell their own stories," while the two parties provide input into these tales.

Scholars have also studied the function of storytelling by analyzing the speeches during nominating conventions. The stories emerging from the conventions serve as organizing principles for the general election and may provide the basis for victory or defeat in the November election (Smith, 1987). Smith (1987) examined the oratory of the 1984 nominating conventions from the perspective of Kenneth Burke's sociological criticism, with an emphasis on "ritual drama" which is at the foundation of this criticism, and the "hub" for which one of its "spokes" is storytelling. Smith claimed that of the four

basic functions of a convention -- the nominating function, platform-drafting function, campaign-rally function, and the governing body function -- the last three provide for the "telling of stories through means tailored to those ends--all in pursuit of consubstantiality with their audiences" (p. 254). This consubstantiality being an identification or "oneness" with the audience. While the Democrats employed the "fear" portion of their convention theme as a means of expressing what may happen if the Republicans are not defeated, the Republicans organized a reality based on individual prosperity, which cannot survive if "big government" is allowed to prosper (p. 259).

In another look at the 1984 conventions, Smith (1989) examined the party platforms from the perspective of Fisher's narrative paradigm. The primary function of this paradigm is interpreting and assessing human communication, and determining whether or not a given instance of discourse provides a reliable, trustworthy, and desirable guide to thought and action in the world. Smith claims that the 1984 platforms represent two coherent constructions of political reality. The Democrats told a story of victimage and justice, and the Republicans told a story of individual prosperity. Smith concludes that "audiences could order their experiences through the logic and good reasons displayed within these two story lines. Both platforms provided a consistent guide to action based on values that were not only relevant but of consequence to all Americans" (p. 98).

In another analysis of convention oratory, Smith (1990) studied the institutional

discourse of the Democrats and Republicans of 1988. Smith described a narrative synthesis as a way of evaluating a story's content - in this context the convention rhetoric. At the 1988 convention, the Democrats relied on group-oriented rhetoric to mold a tale of victimage produced by elitist abuses. The Republicans focused on a patriotism theme based on "Party of Lincoln" grammar (Smith, 1990).

The convention is an important stage during the campaign. It serves to legitimize each party's candidate, while performing a symbolic or ritualistic function. As evidenced in the literature, media have a strong influence in the order of events during the convention as well as what is considered newsworthy. Since conventions no longer decide who will represent each political party in the general election, it is necessary to study how the media reports the news during this time.

While it was necessary to review the literature on general media coverage of presidential candidates and general coverage of the national nominating conventions for this study, it is also necessary to examine the literature specific to newsmagazines. The literature that discusses their significance as a news medium, and the coverage they provided of past political campaigns, of the presidents and of the national nominating conventions, support the fact that they contribute much to the study of media coverage of presidential candidates.

ROLE OF THE NEWSMAGAZINES

Of the various mass media, newsmagazines carry with them a different audience from television and newspapers. Newsmagazines seem to be more “sober” than televised news and more colorful than newspaper reporting (Hart, Smith-Howell & Llewellyn, 1991). Magazines tend to highly target their audience, an audience which falls under the "well-off, well-educated stratum of the population that the promotion departments of newspapers and magazines like to describe as the 'opinion-makers'" (Grossman & Kumar, 1981, p. 62). Sociologist Herbert Gans declared that the newsweeklies, along with the national TV networks, dictate who constitutes the Knowns from the Unknowns-- those who are in the public consciousness, from those who only enter the news as victims of violence, voters, or statistical aggregates (Gans, 1979).

Due to the frequency these magazines are printed (weekly), they tend to cover long-term trends of political information, unlike television or newspaper. As Grossman and Kumar (1981) contend, “Presidential assistants may call the *Post* and *Times* when their objective is primarily to inform the Washington community, but when the objective is to resonate the message of the President’s accomplishments throughout the land, they are more likely to go to the newsweeklies” (p. 62). John Kennedy once told Hugh Sidey, a former *Time* Washington bureau chief and White House correspondent, “Wherever I go, they [reporters] quote to me what was said in *Time* magazine. It seems that is where the world gets its news” (Grossman & Kumar, 1981, pg.63).

Newsmagazines also have a different agenda from that of television, radio and newspapers. With weekly deadlines, the focus of writers and editors is that of analysis and discussion of trends, rather than a quick fix of the news. "Newsmagazines provide the news background and analyses that are precluded by the brevity of network television news and that are more difficult for newspapers with daily deadline pressure" (Jamieson and Campbell, 1992, p. 155). Jamieson and Campbell (1992) claim that the newsweeklies may have some influence on the public's opinions of information and policies. "Their [newsmagazines] leading stories, which interpret major news events, can influence public opinion about administrative policies because they are written for a mass popular audience" (p. 155). Former editor of *U.S. News & World Report* Roger Rosenblatt claims that the job of each newsmagazine is to try and apprehend this "tremendous mass of information that occurred in the last seven days" give it back to you in a form that you can readily understand and that gives you what you need to live in your world" (Porter, 1989, p. 27). Henry Muller, editorial director at *Time*, also said that "I accept the fact that people get their news from TV and other sources," "but, our [newsmagazines] singular strength is that we can bring thought and analysis to the news, not just a packaging of what happened the previous week... We've got to help readers think" (Porter, 1989, p. 25).

The existence and longevity of the newsmagazines has been questioned by some journalists. Skeptics claim that due to a heavy amount of competition from week-in-

review sections of newspapers, as well as from television talk shows, magazine shows, and weekend insider programs about economics and Washington politics, the newsmagazines have become the prime victims of their own success (Porter, 1989).

Scott and Sieber (1992), on the other hand, contend that the big three newsmagazines will survive. Newsmagazines, along with other large-circulation consumer magazines, “will evolve rather than expire, and in doing so will be part of the modern redefining of the nature of news” (Scott & Sieber, 1992, p. 192). Scott and Sieber (1992) also contend that the newsmagazine evolution will affect all media, “influencing patterns of information distribution into the twenty-fifth century” (p. 192).

As evidenced in the literature written on the role of the newsmagazines, the information they provide their readers is different from other media. News background and a discussion of analysis and trends, targeted toward a well-educated population, make the newsmagazines an important medium to study. One context of newsmagazine research we need to understand is the coverage they provide of the candidates during a political campaign. Specifically, the coverage they provide during a presidential election.

Newsmagazine Coverage of Presidential Campaigns

In the past, newsmagazine coverage of political figures and events has been a popular subject to study. Political content analyses of magazines have been one such approach to studying these subjects, and have contributed to research on how magazines

transmit information, how a political message is sent, and how it is depicted in words and pictures. Topics of these studies have ranged from biographical sketches of political figures in newsmagazines (Lewis, 1965), to how the Birmingham civil rights crisis was depicted (Lentz, 1987), how issues of the 1960s were depicted (Funkhouser, 1973), and how the Kennedy brothers were depicted in each of their presidential campaigns (Fedler, 1982). Magazine analyses have also focused on how Senators and the Supreme Court are depicted (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1974; Bowles & Bromley, 1992; Solimine, 1980; Tarpley, 1984).

One political event that has gained significant attention as a subject to study is newsmagazine coverage of presidential campaigns. There have been different approaches to this research, and one widely discussed subject has been the content of the coverage, and more specifically on political bias and the coverage of the candidates themselves. Political bias involves slanting the news for partisan reasons (Graber, 1993). The study of political bias has been soundly criticized (Mullen, 1994). One reason is that "bias" is an extremely "slippery" concept to get a handle on because "truth" or "what actually happened" is disputable (Mullen, 1994, p. 4). In addition, it ignores the fact that any account of an event is necessarily going to be different from the event. That does not necessarily make it "biased"; it simply makes it "different" (Mullen, 1994). Yet another criticism of studying bias states that academic researchers generally find little evidence of systematic bias of any kind in content analyses of media products (Buchanan, 1991).

"Cautious and overwhelming objectivity shows up in study after study" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 131). Studies searching for political bias in media coverage have done this by defining the specific categories of bias, discussing types and number of assertions made about the candidates, and computing the number of attributed and unattributed references made about the candidates. In the following studies, researchers considered visual presentation of candidates as a hidden means of potential bias in the newsmagazines. Moriarty and Garramone (1986) studied newsmagazine photographs of the 1984 presidential campaign. Looking at *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* in terms of candidate behavior, the context for that behavior, and the observer's perspective, they found Ronald Reagan received significantly more photos and more favorable visual coverage than did Walter Mondale. In the 1988 campaign, Moriarty and Popovich (1991) found that the Republicans again received more photo coverage. Photos of George Bush were significantly larger and he was presented more positively than was Michael Dukakis. In the 1992 campaign, Moriarty and Popovich (1993) found that the three newsmagazines did a better job of balancing presidential candidate coverage than they did in the previous two elections. Although Bill Clinton appeared in more photos in the three newsmagazines than did his two opponents, George Bush and Ross Perot, all three candidates did receive virtually the same consideration by all three newsmagazines.

Woo (1991) looked at *Newsweek* and *Time* from 1947 to 1990 for visual images of U.S. politicians. The newsmagazines gave significantly greater emphasis to the

Democratic politicians than to Republican politicians, as a result of larger photographs of Democrats in both magazines. Democratic politicians also tended to be presented in newsmagazines more favorably in early time periods, while Republicans tended to be presented more favorably in later time periods (Woo, 1991). Politicians of each party received similar scores for their perspective indices measuring their activity, facial expressions, and the context of photographs. Politicians of each party were presented in a relatively even way in the newsmagazines (Woo, 1991).

The following studies looked at direction of coverage and attribution as two criteria for determining biased coverage of presidential candidates in the newsmagazines. In a study on the 1972 campaign, Evarts and Stempel (1974) looked at nine random issues from the three newsmagazines between Labor Day and Election Day. Of these nine issues, 47.7 percent of the sentences the researchers coded were favorable toward the Democrats, and 52.3 percent were favorable toward the Republicans. *Newsweek* was the most favorable of the newsmagazines to the Republicans, *Time* the least favorable, with *U.S. News* in between, but still giving more favorable sentences to the Republicans by 14 percent (Evarts & Stempel, 1974).

Another study compared *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines' fairness and coverage in the various presidential campaigns of the three Kennedy brothers (Fedler, 1982). Recording instances of attribution and adverbial and adjectival bias, as well as statements about their ages, appearance, personalities, families, religion, and wealth, statements were

rated favorable, neutral or unfavorable. Approximately 20 percent of the statements were favorable, 50 percent neutral, and about 30 percent unfavorable. Both magazines treated President John Kennedy more favorably than they treated either of his brothers.

A study of the 1976 campaign looked at the newsmagazines and third party and independent candidates, with a focus on Senator Eugene McCarthy (Einsiedel & Bibbee, 1979). The researchers used the assertion as their unit of analysis, defining it as a "single thought unit or idea unit that conveys a single item of information extracted from a segment of content" (Einsiedel & Bibbee, p. 103). Results were only reported for *Time* and *Newsweek*, since *U.S. News & World Report* did not have any stories solely on the candidate. *Time* and *Newsweek* reported a majority of neutral statements -- over 60 percent in each magazine. Other results showed that *U.S. News* devoted the least amount of space to McCarthy but the most to third-party and independent candidates as a whole. *Time* had the most amount of space for McCarthy - about 2 percent. All three newsmagazines gave proportionately very little space to McCarthy or to third-party candidates in general.

A study of the 1984 and the 1988 elections found that neutral and balanced stories dominated in the three newsmagazines, and that the supposed political slant was not reflected in their coverage (Stempel, 1991). "Neither side had any applicable advantage in either year, and in 1988 there were almost equal numbers of Democratic, Republican, and neutral stories" (p. 112). Another study of the 1988 campaign and the coverage by the

newsmagazines analyzed coverage of the vice presidential candidates as well as coverage of the presidential candidates. Popovich, Moriarty & Pitts (1991) found that *U.S. News* carried the most neutral statements on the candidates, issues, the campaign and the parties, but still was the only newsmagazine to provide more positive than negative statements about George Bush. The majority of *Time*'s coverage was negative toward the Republicans and a majority of coverage was positive toward the Democrats (Popovich, Moriarty and Pitts, 1991). In fact, *Time*'s coverage of Dan Quayle was 100 percent negative, while it gave Lloyd Bentsen the highest percentage of positive coverage as compared to *U.S. News* and *Newsweek*. In *Newsweek*, percentages of negative coverage of the two presidential candidates and two vice presidential candidates was fairly close, with the exception of Dan Quayle (88 percent). Then President Bush received 55 percent negative coverage, Michael Dukakis received 54 percent, and his vice presidential nominee Lloyd Bentsen also received 54 percent. *Newsweek* had the highest percentage of negative coverage of Bentsen. In terms of attribution, 81 percent of the statements carried in *Newsweek* were contributed by the writers/reporters of the magazine.

In the 1992 election, it seems coverage shifted toward neutral coverage of the candidates by the three newsmagazines and *People* magazine in one study. Coding for length, topic, direction of slant, and who the story was about, Rodgers (1993) found no evidence that the magazines were biased with regard to any candidate or party. No significant differences were found among the parties and the candidates in the amount of

coverage they received or the slant of the coverage between Labor Day and Election Day.

Newsmagazine Coverage of Presidents and the Presidency

Media coverage of presidents and the Presidency is another focus area of newsmagazine research. The following studies have looked closely at how *Time* magazine has portrayed past presidents in terms of biased stereotypes, and how the American presidency has been rhetorically constructed through *Time*.

As early as 1955, portrayals of Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy were studied in *Time* magazine (Merrill, 1965). By looking at ten consecutive issues of *Time* chosen with a random start, Merrill (1965) set up six bias categories -- attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, outright opinion and photographic bias. Instances of bias were noted either as positive (favorable) or as negative (unfavorable). Merrill found that the personality of the President gets more emphasis through the colorful and subjective language of the magazine than the President's news activities. Also, the study showed that *Time* was clearly anti-Truman, strongly pro-Eisenhower, and was neutral or moderate toward Kennedy (Merrill, 1965).

In a replication of Merrill's 1965 study, Fedler, Meeske and Hall (1979) found that *Time* continued to use most of the bias categories reported by Merrill, although the manner in which some of the categories are used had changed. The researchers conclude that the language patterns used by *Time* were designed to lead the reader's thinking, while

this style of writing "obscures the preferential positions taken by the magazine" (Fedler, Meeske & Hall, 1979, p. 359).

Another approach to analyzing what is written about presidential candidates by the news media is to focus on the nature and quality of the ongoing relations between the presidency and the media (Hart, Smith-Howell & Llewellyn, 1991). Hart, Smith-Howell & Llewellyn (1990 & 1991) used a rhetorical approach in conjunction with a variety of content analytic approaches to focus on the human aspects of presidential portrayals. They also examined how portrayals of the president might influence what citizens come to expect of the presidency. The results supported two general trends in *Time's* coverage: the presidency was described in "psychological" terms that emphasize the human qualities over the nonhuman qualities and the mental or emotional qualities over the physical qualities, and the U.S. presidency has become a highly reliable site for public drama.

A final area of research on newsmagazine coverage of candidates has focused on the national party conventions. Very few studies have been done, and two such studies compare how coverage changed of the candidates before, during and after the conventions.

Newsmagazine Coverage of the National Party Conventions

One of the few studies looking at newsmagazine coverage of the national party conventions used the 1960 nominating conventions and *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*. Using evaluation assertion analysis, which measures the intended meaning of statements of opinion, and taking assertions from six different issues before, during and after the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions, the researchers hypothesized the following: the newsmagazines tend to put Republican candidates in a more favorable light than Democratic candidates, that they tend to put conservative candidates in a more favorable light than the more liberal candidates regardless of party, and that they tend to treat the candidates of a given party more similarly after the nomination than before (Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer, and Stone, 1963). Only one hypothesis was supported. The conservative candidates were put in a more favorable light than the more liberal candidates. *U.S. News* made significantly more assertions about the Republicans, favoring them in both evaluative assertions (good-bad) and activity or potency assertions (strong-weak, active-passive). *Time* also favored the GOP candidates evaluatively but assigned greater dynamism (referring to an activity or potency assertion) to the Democrats. *Time* also made more total assertions about the Democratic candidates (140) than about the Republicans (74). *Time* also made the most number of positive assertions about John F. Kennedy. *Newsweek* favored the Democrats evaluatively, but assigned more potency-activity to the Republicans. Overall, the total

number of assertions (both evaluative and potency-activity) was significantly higher for the Democratic candidates than it was for the Republicans. *Newsweek* also had the highest proportion of positive assertions about Lyndon Johnson in the evaluative dimension, than the other two magazines (Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer & Stone, 1963).

More recently, another content analysis looked at coverage of George Bush in the three newsmagazines in the time periods before and after the 1988 Republican National Convention (Stuckert, 1992). The hypothesis stated Bush would be portrayed more positively in the total coverage of the newsmagazines after the convention than he was portrayed prior to the convention. The hypothesis was not supported, as the findings showed there was no apparent difference in the coverage of Bush between the time periods, and the overall coverage of him was neutral (Stuckert, 1992).

As evidenced in this literature, the newsmagazines have gained respect from politicians, journalists and scholars as being public opinion leaders, popular with a well-educated niche, and able to analyze long-term trends of political information. Studies on the newsmagazines coverage of political campaigns, the presidents, and the national nominating conventions have also provided significant insight to how the presidential candidates are portrayed. This research also enables one to note the differences in coverage by the three newsmagazines, and any trends that may have developed over the years.

Statement of Purpose

The previous research indicated that the newsmagazines have contributed to how media portray presidential candidates during an election. It is necessary to extend our knowledge of this research, focusing in on one particular time frame during the election. There has been very little research that looks at the national party conventions as a time frame for analyzing the three newsmagazines' portrayals of the candidates. The study that looked at the 1960 conventions and the three newsmagazines was one of the few. This current study will be a partial replication of that study, mostly of its methodology. The 1960 study focused on the political parties and changes in coverage before and after the convention. The intent of the current study is to simply analyze and report how the newsmagazines depict the candidates throughout the conventions. Since the 1960 study was done 36 years ago, and the conventions serve a different function today, there is a need for more recent research.

Questions that still need to be answered on media coverage of presidential candidates are: what type of assertions do mass media make about the candidates' traits, characteristics and qualifications? Do mass media use these assertions to evaluate the candidates? Do these assertions depict the candidates in a negative or positive light? In order to better understand how the three newsmagazines portray the three presidential candidates, and to note any differences in coverage among the three newsmagazines, these questions need to be addressed. From that, the following research questions were

formulated to focus this thesis on the newsmagazines and the 1992 presidential candidates during the nominating conventions:

RQ1: How did the three newsmagazines portray George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot during the 1992 national conventions through assertions?

1a. In the popular press, there were discussions of the press corp favoring Bill Clinton. Therefore, this study expects to find differences in the treatment of the candidates.

RQ2: What are the differences in assertions among *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* in their coverage of the three presidential candidates during the 1992 national conventions?

2a. Previous research indicates that there are differences in newsmagazine coverage, therefore this study expects to find differences.

The 1992 presidential campaign was not unlike presidential campaigns that had preceded it. The 1992 campaign was filled with character attacks, allegations and mudslinging -- similar to previous campaigns. A brief background on the candidates in this election and the media coverage of this election is important in understanding the

purpose of this study. As Germond and Whitcover (1992) remark, the significant difference in this campaign was in "the hunger of voters for straight answers from the candidates and in the innovative ways that hunger was expressed, and was responded to by those candidates" (p. vii). In the end, it was three candidates, not just two, representing the Republicans, Democrats and Independents, that were placed on the ballot from which the American people could choose. The three "players" in the race and the issues of this campaign made 1992 an intriguing and unpredictable political year.

Bill Clinton, Democratic governor from Arkansas, represented change to the American people. Bill Clinton offered the public ambitious proposals to improve the economy and to reform the health care system and the welfare system (Germond & Whitcover, 1992). This candidate, however, did carry some "baggage" with him; some character issues that the media forced him to address, making even one of his staff members believe "we're through" (Germond & Whitcover, 1992, p. 197). Character issues included his avoidance of the military draft -- based on his opposition of the Vietnam War, the alleged extra-marital affair with Gennifer Flowers, and his image of wanting to please everyone all of the time, which coined him the name "Slick Willie." Despite these obstacles, Clinton's determination was dogged (Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, 1992). He had money to spend, the primary schedule favored him, and his opponents were poorly funded and eventually withdrew from the presidential race, enabling him to continue on to New York in July of 1992 to the Democratic National

Convention to represent his party (Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, 1992).

Incumbent Republican President George Bush seemed confident in his chances to be re-elected. In the primaries, he peaked early, with his strongest showing in the first primary in New Hampshire (Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, 1992). However, as Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde (1992) point out, George Bush and his advisors underestimated several key factors crucial to winning the election. First, Bush and his advisors underestimated the dissatisfaction in the nation in general, and the dissatisfaction within his own party over his handling of domestic issues. They also underestimated the ability of Patrick Buchanan to serve as a focal point for expressing his dissatisfaction with the party. Finally, the extent and duration of the decline in the economy, and how long it would take to set his campaign in motion once he began it were also overlooked (Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, 1992). Whereas as Clinton represented fresh and exciting proposals for change, Bush offered continuity, and modest proposals for change.

Independent candidate H. Ross Perot made the 1992 election a three-way race, when during a live television interview with Larry King, Perot invited all fifty states to register him to be placed on the ballot, if the American public was interested in Perot for President. Just when support seemed strong and the momentum seemed to pick up for Perot, he announced he would not seek nomination and withdrew his name on July 16, 1992, the day the Democratic National Convention began. But the candidate never really went away, and he re-entered the race in October, just in time for the first presidential

debate. Perot used a variety of devices to get his message across, from half-hour "infomercial" style television advertisements, to late night talk radio (Abramson, Aldrich & Rohde, 1992). But it was his surprising showing in the public opinion polls that seemed to generate much of his media coverage. His showing in the polls helped place Perot as a serious contender in the eyes of the public, and a threat to the other candidates. "It was this showing [in the polls] that was the source of so much of the media coverage and that helped sustain the elite's conviction that 1992 was a three-person race" (Thurber & Nelson, 1995, p. 100).

Media coverage of the 1992 presidential candidates was claimed by some to be fair, and by others to be unfair. One journalist claimed that the press crossed an important line, "casting off even the pretense of fairness that in campaign years past had restrained them, making their work much more 'actively' biased" (Eastland, 1993, p. 72). On the other hand, Everette Dennis of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, claimed the press coverage of the 1992 election may well be the best election coverage in the history of the United States (Dennis, 1993). The nonpartisan Center for Media and Public Affairs (CMPA) conducted an exhaustive analysis of all network television news coverage from January 1, 1992 through election day. It found that 41% of all on-air evaluations of Clinton were positive compared to 32% for Bush (Smith, 1993). *Washington Post* ombudsman Joann Byrd examined all of her newspapers' campaign pictures, headlines, and news stories for a 73-day period ending on election day. She

found that Clinton was depicted positively in 195 of these news elements, and negatively 52 times. George Bush was depicted positively in 175 of these news elements, and negatively in 184 (Smith, 1993). Another survey of 250 print and broadcast journalists was conducted by the Times Mirror Center for the People and Press in October, 1992. 55% of those surveyed thought "George Bush's candidacy" had been "hurt by the way the press has covered him", while 3% thought it "helped" (p. 36). In contrast, 36% thought press coverage had helped Bill Clinton's candidacy, compared to only 11% who thought it "hurt" his candidacy.

In terms of media coverage and the 1992 conventions, there were several "firsts" by both the print and electronic media. Thanks to a variety of television outlets including the networks, the number of homes watching the proceedings was more than ever before (Moshavi, 1992). During the Democratic convention, 20.7 million homes were reached, which included the three networks reaching 15.9 million homes, CNN reaching 1.8 million and PBS -in its first convention - reaching 3 million (Moshavi, 1992). In addition to these more traditional outlets for providing the public with convention highlights, other sources of news were C-SPAN, Music Television's (MTV) reports aired on its Day in Rock program, and Comedy Central's two hours a night of parody. This, in addition to the traditional coverage, resulted in more of the electorate watching the convention proceedings than ever before.

The *National Journal Convention Daily*, of the same news organization that

publishes the *National Journal* magazine, was the first daily paper exclusively devoted to covering the national political conventions. It made its first appearance in 1984, and was later joined by another such convention paper at the 1992 conventions, *Congressional Quarterly* (Case, 1992). Geared as a publication for convention attendees, the *National Journal Convention Daily* also covered hard news with a total commitment to the conventions, and more detail than the other media operations present at the convention. The publication also had its entire editorial operation at both convention sites during the week, and plans on expanding these operations for the 1996 conventions (Case, 1992). Entering into this untapped market could bring a new perspective to convention coverage, for the attendees and the public, and could force the other print media to change the way they cover the events and the candidates. This is important because the intent is for coverage of the conventions to focus not only on the spectacle side -- which provides us with certain images of the candidates and of the keynote speakers -- but also focus on covering the "hard news" which includes content of the speeches made during the convention, and the significant issues that are discussed pertaining to the voting public.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis was the research method used for this study. Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer & Stone (1963) used an evaluation assertion analysis for their study on the newsmagazines and the 1960 conventions to measure the manifest content of statements of opinions - which refers to the intended meaning. This method was developed by Osgood and associates, and was based upon Osgood's mediation hypothesis and the attitude factors revealed by the Semantic Differential (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957). The semantic differential was not used in this study, only the attitude factors that were revealed from it. One of the advantages to this method is that it allows the researcher to distinguish between the evaluative (good-bad) dimension of opinion statements, the activity dimension (active-passive) and the potency dimension (strong-weak). As Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer & Stone (1963) note, this distinction appears to be especially relevant to the "analysis of statements about the worth and strength of political candidates" (p. 526). However, the researchers in the 1963 study chose to combine the potency and activity dimensions into Osgood's "dynamism" dimension. Their reasoning was based on the fact that their coders had difficulty in separating the two but had little difficulty in agreeing when the two were combined. They also note that "Osgood had frequently found that the two are empirically identical anyway" (p. 526). Therefore, the current study also combined and labeled the potency

and activity assertion combination "dynamism."

Sample

In this study, the issues from *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* that were published two weeks before the Democratic National Convention through two weeks after the Republican National Convention were examined in order to get a comprehensive look at how the newsmagazines portrayed the three candidates. This time frame was chosen based on a preliminary look at when coverage of the candidates and the conventions began. The intention was to begin looking at newsmagazine coverage before the first convention began and after the second convention ended, in order to note how the newsmagazines portrayed the candidates throughout the conventions. In all, eight weeks of the three newsmagazines were examined, totaling twenty four issues from July 13 to September 7, 1992.

Coding

The units of analysis were the story featuring the candidate(s), and the assertion made about the candidate. The criteria for coding was the headline of a story or the first three paragraphs of the story containing words about the convention and one of the candidates. Once a story was accepted that met this criteria, an identification number was assigned to each story, and the following information about the story was recorded: (1) the magazine where the story appeared, (2) the year, month and date of the magazine

issue, (3) article length - calculated both in column inches and in number of paragraphs, (4) the candidate(s) featured in the story, and (5) if a metaphor was used in the title- and if so that metaphor was listed. The information regarding the assertion was also recorded on the same coding sheet, and included the assertion ID number, the number of assertions in the story, and who the assertion was about (see Appendix for coding sheet). (The dimension and direction of the assertion were filled in at a later time, once this information was completed by the primary coder). Once the stories were selected, every reference to the candidate which describes qualitative characteristics of the candidate or the qualities of the candidate was transcribed. The researcher then masked each assertion in order to ensure neutrality from the other two coders. They were "masked" by substituting the words "the candidate" for the person named.

Before presenting the assertions to the coders, a sample of assertions were taken from one of the newsmagazines during a later time period in the election. This was done in order to ensure that the primary coder understood the difference between the evaluative and dynamism assertion dimensions, and the differences between the positive, negative and neutral assertions. Once it was agreed that these differences were understood, the other two coders were given the instructions and were asked to proceed. The three coders consisted of this researcher as primary coder, and two other Master's students (one with a degree in communication, the other in business administration).

All three coders designated each assertion as primarily an evaluative assertion or

primarily a dynamism assertion. Each assertion was judged as plus, minus or neutral to designate its judged direction. A plus on the evaluation scale means the assertion was regarded as describing a favorable quality of the candidate; a minus refers to an unfavorable quality of the candidate. Neutral was used when the assertion could be taken as either favorable by some or unfavorable by others. For example, "the candidate is 43" would not be selected as an assertion, since it does not refer to a quality of the candidate. "The candidate is young" would be selected as an assertion but would be coded neutral, since being young may be regarded by some as an asset and by others as a liability (Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer & Stone, 1963). "The candidate is too young" would be coded as a minus. The judges were instructed to consider the direction of the statement on its dimension as it would be understood by most readers, not attempting to determine the probable intent of the writer or the magazine (see Appendix for coding instructions).

Reliability

In order to establish judgmental procedures, several steps were followed to assess the reliability of the coding process. First, clarification of the assertion dimensions were made in the coding instructions, with a list of words or phrases that fell under the evaluative and dynamism categories. Second, a pretest was performed on a sample of the material. Third, a list of coder instructions including illustrative examples was provided,

to eliminate any uncertainty (see Appendix for coding instructions). Fourth, a pretest of the instructions was performed to analyze the inter-coder reliability. These steps were all taken in order to prevent disagreement among the coders as much as possible.

Considering Holsti's coefficient of reliability (.85), reliability was set at .8 (Holsti, 1969). Reliability was computed by using the coefficient of reliability formula, which is the ratio of coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions (Holsti, 1969). The formula is: $C.R.(\text{coefficient of reliability}) = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$. In this formula, "M" is the number of coding decisions on which the two judges are in agreement, and N_1 and N_2 refer to the number of coding decisions made by judges 1 and 2 respectively. Although this formula is designed for two judges and this study involved three judges, the formula yields the same results. Since the coders can repeat coding the sample of assertions until the desired rate of reliability is achieved, content analysis lends itself to a high rate of reliability.

Coding Procedure

This section explains, in chronological order, the coding procedure that took place during this study. The three coders were asked to code 50 of the 271 total assertions. The first time, the 50 assertions were chosen in increments of five, beginning with the fifth assertion and ending with the 250th assertion. Working independently, the coders chose both the dimension of the assertion (either evaluative or dynamism) and the

direction of the assertion (either positive, neutral or negative). Once they completed this, their answers were tabulated to determine what percentage of the time the three coders agreed with each other by choosing the same answer. Computing the coefficient of reliability formula for the dimension, 46% of the time all three coders chose the same answer. For the direction, 76% of the time all three coders chose the same answer. Using the coefficient of reliability formula, the assertion dimension numbers in this first attempt looked like this: $2(23)/50 + 50 = 46/100 = 46\%$. For the direction, the formula reads: $2(38)/50 + 50 = 76/100 = 76\%$. Considering these numbers fell below the desired 80% for reliability, a second attempt was made.

The second time, the procedures changed a bit. Each coder completed two sets of assertions and proceeded twice. Each set contained 50 new assertions, with the first set of assertions chosen in increments of six, beginning with the sixth assertion and ending with the 270th assertion. (Anytime an assertion came up that was a multiple of five, it was skipped and the next assertion was chosen). In the first set, the coder had the option of choosing only the dimension of the assertion, while in the second set -- with the same 50 assertions in a jumbled order -- only the direction of assertion could be chosen. The results did not improve overall. For the dimension, 48% of the time all three coders chose the same answer. For the direction, 62% of the time all three coders chose the same answer. However, the primary coder agreed with one other coder 82% of the time when coding for direction.

At this point it was decided that a third attempt would be made. Similar to the second attempt, there were two sets of assertions, each containing the original 50 assertions in a jumbled order. The procedure differed, however, and followed that of the 1960 study of the newsmagazines and the conventions. Working together, the coders in the 1960 study designated each assertion one by one as primarily an evaluative assertion or primarily a dynamism assertion. For the first set of assertions, the coders in the current study followed this same procedure, discussing only the assertion dimensions that they disagreed on. This process enabled them to discuss those answers they disagreed on, and to choose the best possible answer once they reached a consensus. The second set of assertions coded for direction only, and was done by each coder separately. The results from this attempt yielded a 68% reliability, in which all three coders agreed on the same option. However, 82% of the time the primary coder agreed with one other coder when coding for direction, and 98% of the time, any two of the three coders agreed on their answers for the direction.

At this point, it was agreed that the primary coder would proceed and code all 271 assertions, followed by a test-retest. Once all the coding was done and a master set was completed, the test-retest was performed using both the primary coders' choices from the 50 assertions of the third attempt, choosing only assertion direction, and the choices from the same 50 assertions of the recent master set. When these two sets of answers were compared to each other, 82% of the time the primary coder was in agreement, which

exceeded the designated 80% reliability that was set. This left nine "problem" assertions that were still causing disagreement. The primary coder pulled those nine assertions and reviewed them in order to identify and resolve the single assertion that was causing disagreement.

Statistical Analysis

In order to answer the research questions regarding how the newsmagazines portray the three presidential candidates during the nominating conventions, the following information was collected for each research question. For research question one, which focused on the candidates, the following information was collected: (1) the number of assertions made about the candidates, (2) the number of stories featuring the candidates, (3) number of evaluative, dynamism, positive, negative and neutral assertions made about the candidates, (4) average story length for each candidate, and (5) the assertion dimensions and directions found in each newsmagazine specific to each individual candidate. For research question two, which focused on the newsmagazines, the following information was collected: (1) the number of assertions found in each newsmagazine, (2) the number of stories found in each newsmagazine, (3) number of evaluative, dynamism, positive, negative and neutral assertions in the newsmagazines, and (4) the assertion dimensions and directions for each candidate specific to each newsmagazine.

Descriptive statistics were run once the gathered data had been completed. First,

frequencies were run for the number of evaluative and dynamism assertions, the number of positive, negative and neutral assertions, and the number of stories as described above. Since the data collected was nominal, and measurement involved nothing more than assigning observations to different categories in well-defined categories, it was necessary to contrast how samples differ in terms of assignment into the categories. Cross-tabulation was the appropriate program for this. The level for rejection of the null hypothesis was set at probability $p > .05$. Chi-square analysis was the most appropriate type of nonparametric test, since its calculation is based on the discrepancy between observed frequencies for a set of categories (the three newsmagazines) and some alternative theoretical set of frequencies by the researcher (assertions) (Carmines & Zeller, 1982). The variables used for this analysis included the three presidential candidates featured in the story by dimension, direction, number of paragraphs, column inches; the three candidates about whom the assertions were made by dimension, direction, magazine, paragraphs, column inches, and by month; and the three newsmagazines by dimension, direction, paragraphs, column inches, and by month.

Descriptive Analysis

In addition to the statistical analysis, the discussion of the results also included a descriptive analysis of each candidate and of each newsmagazine. This type of analysis offered insight to how each candidate was portrayed in each newsmagazine by looking

directly at what was said about the candidates. From this, certain recurring image characteristics were found in the newsmagazines and assisted in answering the research questions.

The methodology of this study provided the essential information for answering the research questions. By using a content analysis as the research method and the evaluation assertion analysis, as described by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, the researcher measured the content of opinion statements, which are the assertions that were coded in the newsmagazines. Both the statistical analysis and the descriptive analysis provided a look at how the candidates were portrayed in the newsmagazines. The results from this statistical analysis are found in the next chapter, and the discussion of the descriptive analysis are found in chapter four.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

This study examined how the newsmagazines portrayed the three presidential candidates during the 1992 national conventions through assertions. The assertion dimensions and the direction of the assertions were examined in order to note any differences among the candidates and the newsmagazines to determine how these assertions may contribute to the readers image of the candidates. An assertion is any reference or statement of opinion made about the candidate by the newsmagazine. The assertion dimensions include the evaluative dimension of opinion statements, and the dynamism dimension of opinion statements. The evaluative dimension refers to the value or worth of the candidate being described. The dynamism dimension includes activity and potency assertions, which describe a candidate as active or passive, strong or weak. The direction of the assertion was judged as either plus, minus, or neutral. A plus means the assertion described a favorable quality of the candidate, a minus refers to an unfavorable quality of the candidate, and a neutral designation was chosen when the assertion might be seen as favorable by some and unfavorable by others.

A two-tiered approach was taken in order to examine significant data at both the assertion level and the story level. At each level, descriptive statistics were used to report data representing frequency of the following eleven variables: dimension, direction, magazine, year, month, date, number of paragraphs in the story, column inches in the

story, candidates featured, metaphor in the title, and who the assertion is about. Also at each level, the chi-square statistic was run to test the relationships between the variables and was used to indicate any significant differences among these variables.

In this chapter, the two research questions and the relevant data needed to formulate answers for each question are provided. Specific answers to each question are included in the discussion section.

RQ1: How did the three newsmagazines portray George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot during the 1992 national conventions through assertions?

1a. In the popular press, there were discussions of the press corp favoring Bill Clinton. Therefore, this study expects to find differences in the treatment of the candidates.

For research question one, which focused on the candidates, it was necessary to look at the results from frequency tests showing the number of assertions made about the candidates, and the number of stories featuring the candidates. In addition, it was necessary to look at the results from cross tabulation tests between the candidates and the following: assertion dimension, assertion direction, story length, and newsmagazines. The results from these tests can be found in the tables, along with a discussion highlighting some of the important results that will help answer research question one in the discussion.

The Candidates, the Assertions and the Stories

There were a total of 271 assertions that were coded from a total of 56 stories in all three newsmagazines. In terms of number of stories the candidates were featured in, meaning who the story was written about and focused on, George Bush was featured the most times, in 32% of all stories. A combination of one or more candidates (labeled "multiple") was featured in 27% of all stories, Bill Clinton was featured in 25% of all stories, and Ross Perot was featured in the remaining 16%. Of the total assertions, 43.2% were about Bill Clinton, 39.5% were about George Bush, and 17.3% were about Ross Perot (see Table I).

Table I: Frequency of stories featuring the candidates, and frequency of assertions targeting the candidates

<u>Candidates</u>	<u># of stories</u>	<u>% of total stories</u>	<u># of assertions</u>	<u>% of total assertions</u>
Bill Clinton	14	25.0%	117	43.2%
George Bush	18	32.1%	107	39.5%
Ross Perot	9	16.1%	47	17.3%
Multiple	15	26.8%		
TOTALS:	56	100%	271	100%

In terms of the dimensions and direction of the assertions, most of the total assertions were evaluative in dimension and negative in direction. Of the 271 total coded assertions, 61% of them were of the evaluative dimension and 39% were of the dynamism dimension. Regarding assertion direction, negative assertions were made the

most, making up 48% of the total. Positive assertions made up 39% of the total, and neutral assertions accounted for 13% of the total.

With assertion dimension, Bill Clinton had the most evaluative assertions made about him of the three candidates, 46.7% of the total evaluative assertions, while George Bush had the most dynamism assertions made about him, 44.3% of the total dynamism assertions. Ross Perot had more evaluative assertions made about him than dynamism assertions ($\chi^2=2.26$, $df=2$, n.s.) (see Table II).

Table II: Percentage of assertions (dimension) made about the candidates

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total evaluative assertions	n=number of evaluative assertions	% of total dynamism assertions	n=number of dynamism assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of total assertions
Clinton	46.7%	77	37.7%	40	43.2%	117
Bush	36.4%	60	44.3%	47	39.5%	107
Perot	16.9%	28	18.0%	19	17.3%	47
Dimension Totals:	100%	165	100%	106	100%	271

With assertion direction, Bill Clinton had the most positive assertions made about him (68.6% of all positive assertions) and the most neutral assertions made about him (42.9% of all neutral assertions). George Bush had primarily negative assertions made about him, and the majority of the assertions about Ross Perot were negative ($\chi^2= 50.9$, $df=4$, n.s.) (see Table III).

Table III: Percentage of assertions (direction) made about the candidates

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Candidate totals:	
	% of total positive assertions	n=number of positive assertions	% of total negative assertions	n=number of negative assertions	% of total neutral assertions	n=number of neutral assertions	% of total assertions	n=total assertions
Clinton	68.6%	72	22.9%	30	42.9%	15	43.2%	117
Bush	21.0%	22	55.7%	73	34.3%	12	39.5%	107
Perot	10.5%	11	21.4%	28	22.9%	8	17.3%	47
Totals:	100%	105	100%	131	100%	35	100%	271

The Candidates and Story Length

Story length was determined by number of paragraphs and number of column inches in each story. This data was recoded into categories of short, medium, and long. Bill Clinton was featured in the longest story, which ran 26 pages in *Time* magazine. It was 123 inches long and contained 51 paragraphs. The average number of paragraphs in all 56 stories was 13.8, and the average number of inches per story was 32. George Bush was featured in the most stories of shorter length, the shortest being five paragraphs or nine inches long. All of the nine stories Ross Perot was featured in were considered short -- under 41 inches long.

Individual Candidates, Assertion Dimension and Direction

A final look at the treatment of the candidates combined the newsmagazines with assertion dimension and assertion direction to determine how each individual candidate

was portrayed. When the three newsmagazines were cross tabulated with assertion dimension and assertion direction, differences arose among the candidates and among the newsmagazines' use of assertions.

Bill Clinton

Results in the following two tables indicate that most of the total assertions made about Bill Clinton came from *Newsweek*, in both dimension and direction. As Table IV indicates, there was an uneven balance among the types of assertions made about Bill Clinton in the newsmagazines. He received more evaluative assertions than dynamism assertions ($\chi^2 = 1.15$, $df = 2$, n.s.) (see Table IV).

Table IV: Percentage of assertions (dimension) made about Bill Clinton in the newsmagazines

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Newsmagazine totals:	
	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton
<i>Time</i>	14.5%	17	10.3%	12	24.8%	29
<i>U.S. News</i>	13.7%	16	7.7%	9	21.4%	25
<i>Newsweek</i>	37.6%	44	16.2%	19	53.8%	63
Dimension totals:	65.8%	77	34.2%	40	100%	117

These numbers also indicate a large unbalance among the three newsmagazines in their use of assertions about Bill Clinton. Looking at the total number of assertions made about him, *Newsweek* made more assertions than *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report* combined. Table V indicates the uneven distribution among positive, negative and neutral assertions about Bill Clinton ($\chi^2 = 8.82$, $df = 4$, n.s.).

Table V: Percentage of assertions (direction) made about Bill Clinton in the newsmagazines

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Newsmagazine totals:	
	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton	% of total assertions made about Bill Clinton	n=number of assertions made about Bill Clinton
<i>Time</i>	13.7%	16	4.3%	5	6.8%	8	24.8%	29
<i>U.S. News</i>	12%	14	6.8%	8	2.6%	3	21.4%	25
<i>Newsweek</i>	35.9%	42	14.5%	17	3.4%	4	53.8%	63
Direction Totals:	61.5%	72	25.6%	30	12.8%	15	100%	117

Although these results in Table V are not significant, there appears to be a tendency toward a greater number of positive assertions than negative assertions toward Bill Clinton. This difference may be accounted for by the large disparity in the newsmagazines treatment of Clinton. These unequal cell sizes may create problems and account for the fact that the test did not turn up significant.

George Bush

Although the next two tables indicate a more balanced use of assertions among the newsmagazines coverage of George Bush than of Bill Clinton, these tests proved significant. In the analysis of assertion dimensions made about George Bush, the chi-square was significant ($\chi^2=13.43$, $df=2$, $p < .001$). (See Table VI).

Table VI: Percentage of assertions (dimension) made about George Bush in the newsmagazines^a

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Newsmagazine totals:	
	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush
<i>Time</i>	11.2%	12	22.4%	24	33.6%	36
<i>U.S. News</i>	26.2%	28	8.4%	9	34.6%	37
<i>Newsweek</i>	18.7%	20	13.1%	14	31.8%	34
Dimension totals:	56.1%	60	43.9%	47	100%	107

(Note: ^a Chi-square was significant at $p < .001$)

As the chi-square is designed to indicate, there are significant differences between categories -- evaluative and dynamism -- in comparison to what one would expect. These results reveal that George Bush may have been treated differently by the newsmagazines. The next table shows the percentage of assertions made about George Bush in terms of direction. In this analysis, the chi-square was also significant ($\chi^2=12.03$, $df=4$, $p < .017$) (see Table VII).

Table VII: Percentage of assertions (direction) made about George Bush in the newsmagazines^a

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Newsmagazine totals:	
	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush	% of total assertions made about George Bush	n=number of assertions made about George Bush
<i>Time</i>	10.3%	11	15.9%	17	7.5%	8	33.6%	36
<i>U.S. News</i>	5.6%	6	27.1%	29	1.9%	2	34.6%	37
<i>Newsweek</i>	4.7%	5	25.2%	27	1.9%	2	31.8%	34
Direction Totals:	20.6%	22	68.2%	73	11.2%	12	100%	107

(Note: ^a Chi-square was significant at $p < .017$)

Once again, these results indicate that there are significant differences between the positive, negative and neutral assertion categories, and that George Bush may have been treated differently in the newsmagazines. Tables VI and VII also indicate that *U.S. News & World Report* carried slightly more assertions toward George Bush than the other two newsmagazines, and again, there was much more of a balance in use of assertions by the three newsmagazines than there were for Bill Clinton.

Ross Perot

An unbalanced use of assertions is again evident in looking at the results for Ross Perot. As Tables VIII and IX indicate, most of the total assertions made about Ross Perot came from *Time*, for both dimension and direction. *Time's* total number of assertions toward Perot exceeded that of both *U.S. News & World Report* and *Newsweek's* total assertions combined ($x^2 = 3.45$, $df = 2$, n.s.) (see Table VIII).

Table VIII: Percentage of assertions (dimension) made about Ross Perot in the newsmagazines

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Newsmagazine Totals:	
	% of total assertions made about Ross Perot	n=number of assertions made about Ross Perot	% of total assertions made about Ross Perot	n=number of assertions made about Ross Perot	% of total assertions made about Ross Perot	n=number of assertions made about Ross Perot
<i>Time</i>	34.0%	16	19.1%	9	53.2%	25
<i>U.S. News</i>	17.0%	8	6.4%	3	23.4%	11
<i>Newsweek</i>	8.5%	4	14.9%	7	23.4%	11
Dimension totals:	59.6%	28	40.4%	19	100%	47

Table IX indicates that the majority of assertions made about Ross Perot were negative -- 59.6% of the total assertions about Perot. This number exceeds the number of positive and neutral assertions combined, and again indicates an unbalanced use of assertions towards Perot ($x^2 = 4.58$, $df = 4$, n.s.).

Table IX: Percentage of assertions (direction) made about Ross Perot in the newsmagazines

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Newsmagazine Totals:	
	% of total assertions made about Perot	n=number of assertions made about Perot	% of total assertions made about Perot	n=number of assertions made about Perot	% of total assertions made about Perot	n=number of assertions made about Perot	% of total assertions made about Perot	n=number of assertions made about Perot
<i>Time</i>	14.9%	7	34.0%	16	4.3%	2	53.2%	25
<i>U.S. News</i>	4.3%	2	14.9%	7	4.3%	2	23.4%	11
<i>Newsweek</i>	4.3%	2	10.6%	5	8.5%	4	23.4%	11
Direction Totals:	23.4%	11	59.6%	28	17%	8	100%	47

Similar to the results for Bill Clinton, the results for Ross Perot are not significant, although there appears to be a large difference between the negative assertions and the positive assertions toward Perot. The opposite is true for Perot that was true for Clinton - there are several small cell sizes, and the disparity is too great. The range of assertions is from two positive assertions in *U.S. News & World Report* and *Newsweek*, and two neutral assertions in *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*, to 16 negative assertions in *Time*. This may account for the reason this test did not turn up significant.

As these results indicate, the three candidates were depicted differently in the three newsmagazines during the 1992 conventions through assertions. By looking at the

results from frequency tests and cross tabulation, these differences in treatment were found between the candidates and number of assertions, number of stories, assertion dimension, assertion direction, story length and newsmagazines. Bill Clinton received the most coverage. He had the greatest number of positive assertions, neutral assertions, evaluative assertions, was featured in the longest story, and had the most assertions made about him. Although there was an unbalance among the newsmagazines in their use of assertions toward him, *Newsweek* gave him the most coverage. George Bush had the greatest number of negative assertions, dynamism assertions, assertions in *Time* and *Newsweek*, was featured the most in *Time* and *Newsweek*, was featured in the shortest story, and was featured in the most stories. George Bush was treated significantly different in the newsmagazines than the other two candidates as indicated in the results. Although the newsmagazines use of assertions was nearly balanced, the types of assertion dimension and direction differed significantly. Ross Perot received the least amount of coverage of all three candidates, appeared the most in *Time* magazine by a large margin, and was portrayed in a negative light overall.

The newsmagazines also contained differences in coverage through assertions and stories of the candidates. The results that illustrate these differences are found in the next section along with research question two.

RQ2: What are the differences in assertions among *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* in their coverage of the three presidential candidates during the 1992 national conventions?

2a. Previous research indicates that there are differences in newsmagazine coverage, therefore this study expects to find differences.

In order to answer research question two, which focused on the newsmagazines, it is necessary to look at the results from frequency tests showing the number of assertions in each magazine, and the number of coded stories found in each magazine. It is also necessary to look at the results from cross tabulation tests between the newsmagazines and the following: assertion direction, assertion dimension, story length, and the candidates. The results from these tests can be found in the tables, along with a discussion highlighting some of the important results that help answer research question two.

The Newsmagazines, the Assertions, and the Stories

There were several differences in newsmagazine coverage of the candidates through assertions. The most stories featuring the candidates and the most coded assertions were found in *Newsweek* magazine- 37.5% and 39.9% respectively. A combination of these results can be found in Table X.

Table X: Frequency of stories in the newsmagazines, and of assertions in the newsmagazines

<u>Newsmagazine</u>	<u># of stories</u>	<u>% of total stories</u>	<u># of assertions</u>	<u>% of total assertions</u>
<i>Time</i>	19	33.9%	90	33.2%
<i>U.S. News</i>	16	28.6%	73	26.9%
<i>Newsweek</i>	21	37.5%	108	39.9%
TOTALS:	56	100%	271	100%

In terms of the newsmagazines and assertion dimensions, *Newsweek* contained the most evaluative assertions, 68, and *U.S. News & World Report* contained 52. *Time* magazine was split evenly with the same number of evaluative and dynamism assertions, 45. In this case of analysis, the chi-square was significant ($\chi^2=7.95$, $df=2$, $p < .01$), which indicates a significant difference between the evaluative and dynamism assertion categories. This further reveals that the candidates were not treated the same. The results for each individual newsmagazine and their percentages of evaluative and dynamism assertions can be found in Table XI.

Table XI: Percentage of assertions (dimension) in the newsmagazines^a

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Newsmagazine Totals:	
	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions
<i>Time</i>	16.6%	45	16.6%	45	33.2%	90
<i>U.S. News</i>	19.2%	52	7.7%	21	26.9%	73
<i>Newsweek</i>	25.1%	68	14.8%	40	39.9%	108
Dimension Totals:	60.9%	165	39.1%	106	100%	271

(Note: ^a Chi-square was significant at $p < .01$)

With assertion direction, *Newsweek* contained the most positive and negative assertions. Of the three newsmagazines, *Time* had the most neutral assertions, 18. In this case, the chi-square was also significant ($\chi^2=10.92$, $df=4$, $p < .02$), indicating a significant difference between the positive, negative and neutral categories. The results for each newsmagazine and their percentages of positive, negative and neutral assertions can be found in Table XII.

Table XII: Percentage of assertions (direction) in the newsmagazines^a

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Newsmagazine Totals:	
	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions
<i>Time</i>	12.5%	34	14.0%	38	6.6%	18	33.2%	90
<i>U.S. News</i>	8.1%	22	16.2%	44	2.6%	7	26.9%	73
<i>Newsweek</i>	18.1%	49	18.1%	49	3.7%	10	39.9%	108
Direction Totals:	38.7%	105	48.3%	131	12.9%	35	100%	271

(Note: ^aChi-square was significant at $p < .02$)

The Newsmagazines and the Candidates

Two of the newsmagazines featured the same candidate the most. *Time* and *Newsweek* featured George Bush the most, and *U.S. News & World Report* featured multiple candidates the most ($x^2 = 6.67$, $df = 6$, n.s.) (see Table XIII).

Table XIII: Percentage of the newsmagazines' stories featuring each candidate

	<i>Time</i>		<i>U.S. News</i>		<i>Newsweek</i>		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total stories	n-number of stories	% of total stories	n-number of stories	% of total stories	n=number of stories	% of total stories:	n-number of stories:
Clinton	8.9%	5	5.4%	3	10.7%	6	25.0%	14
Bush	12.5%	7	7.1%	4	12.5%	7	32.1%	18
Perot	7.1%	4	1.8%	1	7.1%	4	16.1%	9
Multiple	5.3%	3	14.3%	8	7.1%	4	26.8%	15
Newsmagazine Totals:	33.9%	19	28.6%	16	37.5%	21	100%	56

In terms of number of assertions about the candidates, two of the magazines made assertions about the same candidate. *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report* both made assertions about George Bush the most, and *Newsweek* made assertions about Bill Clinton the most ($\chi^2 = 22.73$, $df = 4$, n.s.) (see Table XIV).

Table XIV: Percentage of the newsmagazines' assertions made about each candidate

	<i>Time</i>		<i>U.S. News</i>		<i>Newsweek</i>		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions	% of total assertions	n=number of assertions
Clinton	10.7%	29	9.2%	25	23.2%	63	43.2%	117
Bush	13.3%	36	13.7%	37	12.5%	34	39.5%	107
Perot	9.2%	25	4.0%	11	4.1%	11	17.3%	47
Totals:	33.2%	90	26.9%	73	39.9%	108	100%	271

Individual Newsmagazines, Assertion Dimension and Direction

A similar cross tabulation to the one used in Tables IV -IX to answer research question one for the individual candidates and assertion dimension and direction, was used for the individual newsmagazines and assertion dimension and direction. These various tests provided another look at the how coverage of the candidates differed in the newsmagazines.

Time

Tables XV and XVI reveal the total assertions made about the candidates that appeared in *Time* magazine, for both dimension and direction.

Table XV: Total assertions (dimension) made about the candidates in *Time*

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>
Clinton	18.8%	17	13.3%	12	32.1%	29
Bush	13.3%	12	26.7%	24	40.0%	36
Perot	17.8%	16	10.0%	9	27.8%	25
Dimension Totals:	50.0%	45	50.0%	45	100%	90

As Table XV indicates, *Time* had an even balance of evaluative and dynamism assertions, 45 of each, and a fair amount of balance in the use of assertions. The direction of assertions found in *Time* indicate a fairly close balance only among the positive and negative assertions, with a difference of only four assertions, whereas the neutral assertions fell considerably short of that balance. The assertions were also distributed differently among the candidates (see Table XVI).

Table XVI: Total assertions (direction) made about the candidates in *Time*

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Time</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Time</i>
Clinton	17.8%	16	5.6%	5	8.9%	8	32.3%	29
Bush	12.2%	11	18.9%	17	8.9%	8	40.0%	36
Perot	7.8%	7	17.8%	16	2.2%	2	27.7%	25
Direction totals:	37.7%	34	42.3%	38	20.0%	18	100%	90

U.S. News & World Report

Of all *U.S. News & World Report's* assertions made about the candidates, there is an unbalanced number of evaluative and dynamism assertions, and more of an unbalance in the use of those assertions than in *Time*. Table XVII shows the total assertion dimensions made about the candidates in *U.S. News & World Report*.

Table XVII: Total assertions made about the candidates in *U.S. News & World Report*

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>
Clinton	21.9%	16	12.3%	9	34.2%	25
Bush	38.4%	28	12.3%	9	50.7%	37
Perot	11.0%	8	1.4%	3	12.7%	11
Dimension Totals:	71.2%	52	28.8%	21	100%	73

Similar to *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report* also had more negative assertions than positive or neutral assertions, and a more uneven distribution among the three categories.

Table XVIII: Total assertions (direction) made about the candidates in *U.S. News & World Report*

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	% of total assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>USN&WR</i>
Clinton	19.2%	14	11.0%	8	4.1%	3	34.2%	25
Bush	8.2%	6	39.7%	29	2.7%	2	50.7%	37
Perot	2.7%	2	9.6%	7	2.7%	2	15.1%	11
Direction totals:	30.1%	22	60.3%	44	9.6%	7	100%	73

Newsweek

Newsweek appeared to have the most unbalanced use of assertions among the three newsmagazines, containing more evaluative than dynamism assertions (see Table XIX).

Table XIX: Total assertions made about the candidates in *Newsweek*

	Evaluative		Dynamism		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>
Clinton	40.7%	44	17.6%	19	58.3%	63
Bush	18.5%	20	13.0%	14	31.5%	34
Perot	3.7%	4	6.5%	7	10.2%	11
Dimension Totals:	63.0%	68	37.0%	40	100%	108

With assertion direction, *Newsweek* was balanced evenly with use of positive and negative assertions, but differed in how it treated the candidates, as indicated in Table XX.

Table XX: Total assertions (direction) made about the candidates in *Newsweek*

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Candidate Totals:	
	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	% of total assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>	n=number of assertions in <i>Newsweek</i>
Clinton	38.9%	42	15.7%	17	3.7%	4	58.3%	63
Bush	4.6%	5	79.0%	27	1.9%	2	31.5%	34
Perot	1.9%	2	4.6%	5	3.7%	4	10.2%	11
Direction totals:	45.3%	49	45.4%	49	9.3%	10	100%	108

As the results indicated from the data specific to research question two, there are also differences in newsmagazine coverage of the candidates through assertions. By looking at the results from frequency tests and cross tabulation, these differences were found between the newsmagazines and number of assertions, number of stories, assertion dimension, assertion direction, story length and the candidates. *Newsweek*, with the greatest number of assertions, stories, evaluative assertions, positive and negative assertions, had a balance of positive and negative assertions toward the candidates, but was uneven in its use of assertions. *Time*, with the most dynamism assertions, neutral assertions, and the longest story, had a balance of evaluative and dynamism assertions, with somewhat of a balanced use of assertions. *U.S. News & World Report* did not have

a balance in either use of assertions or in types of assertions.

The information from these results has indicated certain dominant findings, and will be used in the next chapter to assist in answering the research questions. A discussion of how these findings relate to previous studies on newsmagazine coverage of presidential candidates will also be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

It has been noted throughout this study that the impressions we get from mass media of the candidates may affect who we vote for, or may play an important role in the decision-making process. Based on that information and the results of this study, individuals need to be made aware of the differences in coverage of the presidential candidates, so they may make their own well-informed decisions at election time. In Chapter One of this study, it was noted that the significance of the media's ability to provide images of presidential candidates is great, because "direct contact with political actors and situations is limited, media images define people and situations for nearly all participants in the political process," (Graber, 1993, p. 292). Graber (1993) found that media are discussing mainly personality traits and image and style characteristics of the candidates more than the issues. This last point is also true of the conventions. They no longer fulfill the nominating function but more of the campaign rally function, and mass media has come to cover not only the issues addressed during this event, but also these campaign rally aspects. Therefore, the newsmagazines coverage of the candidates during this time frame may reflect the spectacle of the event itself rather than the issues. The storytelling function of the conventions and media was also been discussed in Chapter One, and will be discussed in the next chapter as an important factor when trying to understand why the newsmagazines may have portrayed the candidates the way they did.

One may assume, based on Smith (1987) and Burke's definition of storytelling and ritual drama, that the candidate and political party who succeed at fulfilling this storytelling function will appeal to the newsmagazines and other media.

In this chapter, two major conclusions are drawn and discussed. Support from the statistical tests, previous studies and a descriptive analysis of some of the assertions will be included.

RQ1: How did the three newsmagazines portray George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot during the 1992 national conventions through assertions?

1a. In the popular press, there were discussions of the press corp favoring Bill Clinton. Therefore, this study expects to find differences in the treatment of the candidates.

1. The candidates were depicted differently.

The evidence in this study indicates that there were indeed differences in how the three candidates were depicted in the three newsmagazines. Their images differed, the amount of coverage differed, the types of assertion dimensions differed, and the assertion direction differed. This conclusion can be supported by looking at the results from various statistical tests, and at some specific assertions made about each candidate. In this section, each candidate will be discussed in terms of these differences.

Bill Clinton

The evidence in this study indicates that there were several advantages Bill Clinton enjoyed in coverage during the 1992 conventions. He had the most assertions made about him -- 43.2% of the total coded assertions were about him, while 39.5% of the total coded assertions were about George Bush and 17.3% were about Ross Perot (see Table I). Clinton also received a larger amount of coverage in terms of story length. Of the 56 stories that were chosen to be coded, the longest story was a feature about Bill Clinton in *Time* magazine, which was 123 inches and contained 51 paragraphs about the governor from Arkansas. George Bush was featured in the most stories of shorter length, the shortest being five paragraphs or nine inches long, and Ross Perot was featured in all short stories. In terms of assertion direction, Bill Clinton had the most positive assertions made about him overall: 68.6% of the total positive assertions coded were toward Clinton, compared to 21% of the total positive assertions toward Bush, and 10.5% toward Perot (see Table III). Differences in assertion dimensions were also evident. Clinton was portrayed more evaluatively than the other two candidates -- referring to the value or worth of the candidate. 46.7% of the total evaluative assertions were about him, compared to Bush who had 36.4% of the total evaluative assertions made about him, and Perot who had the remaining 16.9% of the total evaluative assertions made about him (see Table II). From these two results, it can be concluded that Bill Clinton was depicted more positively and more evaluatively than the other two candidates. In order to get a

sense of what these results mean to the readers, it is necessary to look at examples of the assertions that were made about Bill Clinton.

The newsmagazines depicted Bill Clinton as an optimistic candidate, who appealed successfully to the younger generation, was full of stamina, was persistent and relentless. *Time* portrayed him as someone who "may be able to offer a coherent, optimistic future for a nation apoplectic about decline" (July 20, p. 23). Who, in his speech at the national convention, "very deliberately looked forward with optimism and described a tomorrow that will be appealing to many Americans, especially in the younger generation" (July 20, p. 23). *U.S. News & World Report* also saw the candidate and his running mate as appealing successfully to the younger generation. "Their appeal seemed to lie in their sunny optimism and steady purpose. Both exuded confidence about the future, a sense that their policies would provide an orderly framework in which people could live their lives" (July 27, p. 40). *Newsweek* claimed "the all-baby-boomer ticket quickly developed into an appealing team, energetic yet serious. It was an image Clinton aides had hoped to project" (July 27, p. 26).

Two prominent images of Clinton also revealed in the three newsmagazines were that of a "fighter" and an "agent of change." These two images were in contrast with the images of the other two candidates: Perot as a "quitter," and Bush as an agent of the "status quo." The comparison of Clinton's fighter image and Perot's quitter image was summed up in *Time* on July 27: "unlike Perot, he (Clinton) does not quit when he tires of

the ordeal or blame others for his troubles" (p. 43). *Time* went on to say that "his (Clinton) mere perseverance, the resolution and stamina he demonstrated through six grueling months at the hands of the tabloids and his primary opponents, is answer enough for those who doubt his toughness." *U.S. News & World Report* asserted similar claims and wrote that Bill Clinton has a "golden opportunity" to "demonstrate the will to grapple with the hard choices and to be seen as a tough-minded and plausible alternative to the incumbent." *Newsweek*, who favored Clinton the most of the three candidates, praised the candidate's positive side during his upcoming appearance at the convention:

The positive side will be on display this week at Madison Square Garden: a remarkably skilled politician, a man of persistence and intelligence who has managed to survive a personal ordeal unlike any other in the history of presidential campaigning and showed more than his share of grace under pressure in the process (July 20, p. 24).

In the same issue, *Newsweek* described the candidate as "a smirk young guy, blow-dried hair, providing complicated answers on the draft and adultery" (p. 25), as a candidate who had the "bull-session stamina of a frat-house lounge lizard" (p. 30), and who was "intellectually secure" (p. 41). *Newsweek* also named him the Relentless Suitor: "solid, persistent, maybe even dependable. He was beginning to seem the very opposite of a philanderer -- a dogged suitor, not too good on the sweet talk, but earnest, thoughtful, well intentioned" (July 27, p. 26).

These positive portrayals, however, were not without caution by two

newsmagazines. There was a feeling that since Clinton was the "fresh new face," and a virtual unknown in national politics, there were questions about his capacity to lead. *U.S. News & World Report* wrote that "Clinton has an admirable capacity to come bounding back from hard knocks, but we don't yet know enough about his capacity to lead a vast, troubled nation. There are a wealth of questions still to be pursued about Clinton -- his courage in asking for sacrifice, his backbone in standing up to Congress, the kinds of people who will surround him" (August 17, p. 64). *Newsweek*, being the largest contributor of the three newsmagazines to Clinton's positive portrayal, also contributed negative statements to his image as illustrated in the following example: "The trouble is, the same determination that brought victory invites ridicule. He is all too easily reduced to caricature: the generic American politician, straight out of Central Casting, a faux Kennedy with tin charisma, ever anxious to please, ever ready to say (or fudge on) anything to win a vote" (July 20, p. 24).

Overall, Bill Clinton was portrayed positively and evaluatively in the newsmagazines. The images that were portrayed of him in the newsmagazines were as a fighter -- persistent and optimistic -- willing to use his stamina to lead the country in new directions if elected. Bill Clinton maintained the status of being a serious contender in the race to the White House from the primaries through to Election Day. He also was a new face to national politics, thereby inviting the media to investigate his past and present. Media coverage of him reflected this intrigue. Although coverage was mainly

positive, it was not without some caution as to how this newcomer would lead the country if elected as the next President.

George Bush

While Bill Clinton was portrayed in the newsmagazines as an energetic candidate, George Bush came out looking stale, bland, and unwilling to steer away from the path he had started to lead the country down in 1988. As *U.S. News & World Report* wrote on August 24, "Bush's blandness, set against the energetic image of the Clinton-Gore ticket, is having a particular impact on young voters" (p. 33).

Although George Bush was featured in more stories than the other two candidates, most of the assertions that described him were negative in tone; 55.7% of the total negative assertions coded in this study were made about Bush (see Table III). This compared to the 22.9% of the total negative assertions toward Clinton, and the 21.4% toward Perot (see Table III). He did have the highest percentage of dynamism assertions made about him -- 44.3% of the total dynamism assertions were made about Bush, as compared to 37.7% toward Bill Clinton, and 18% toward Ross Perot (see Table II). When George Bush was singled out as a candidate and a cross tabulation was run with assertion direction, assertion dimension and the newsmagazines, the results proved significant. With assertion direction, the test showed that there was a significant difference ($\chi^2=12.03$, $df = 4$, $p < .017$). This finding means that George Bush may have

been treated differently in the newsmagazines (see Table VII). In this analysis, the results showed that there was somewhat of a balanced use of assertions among the newsmagazines, but it was in the types of assertions that the newsmagazines differed. *U.S. News & World Report* and *Newsweek* showed a heavy use of negative assertions, while *Time* contained fewer negative assertions when targeting George Bush.

The test analyzing percentage of assertion dimensions made about George Bush in the newsmagazines also showed a significant difference ($x^2 = 13.43$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$). These results once again show that the newsmagazines were nearly similar in their use of assertion dimensions, but differed in types of assertions. *U.S. News & World Report* and *Newsweek* contained more evaluative assertions toward Bush, while *Time* contained more dynamism assertions (see Table VI).

As mentioned earlier, George Bush was portrayed as being out of touch with the public, "clueless," as the newsmagazines depicted him as tired, bland, and as someone who failed to recognize change while clinging to the status quo. *U.S. News & World Report* wrote, on July 13, that "Bush has failed to establish a new direction for the country," "he seeks to recast himself as the agent of change. The only things he seems to change are his own positions" (p. 72). The newsmagazine attributed Bush's inability to change as being out of touch with so many of the middle class, causing him to lose support from that particular group and others.

America perceives in George Bush a President who does not fathom the depth of their anxiety and pain, and who cannot enunciate a coherent set of policies. That is why so many of the middle class feel that Bush is no longer on their side and why his support has withered, so that it is even lower after Ross Perot's withdrawal than it was before (*U.S. News & World Report*, August 3, p. 64).

U.S. News & World Report also depicted Bush as being "physically drained" by the presidency (August 24, p. 26), a candidate who is "too familiar, too unexciting" (p. 34).

Another contrast among the two candidates was written in *Newsweek*, "while Bill Clinton motors through the heartland with a cheerful middle-of-the-road message, Bush is conspicuously stroking the party's conservative wing, echoing the cutting rhetoric of yore" (August 17, p. 28). In the next issue, *Newsweek* echoes that same sentiment, portraying Bush as someone who "doesn't have a clue about what the new world might mean -- economically, politically, or spiritually -- to the American people" (August 24, p. 24). The same story, however, seeks a return of the other Bush, "the one who always seems to shine in a crisis" (p. 25).

The results from previous studies vary in regard to coverage of George Bush in the newsmagazines. Other studies from the 1992 campaign have shown a fair amount of balance and neutrality toward George Bush (Moriarty & Popovich, 1993; Rodgers, 1993). Studies of the 1988 presidential campaign vary. A study of the 1988 Republican National Convention looked at coverage of George Bush before and after the convention to see if there was a difference in how the newsmagazines portrayed Bush. There was no apparent

difference in coverage of Bush between the time periods. Overall coverage of Bush was neutral (Stuckert, 1992). In another study of the newsmagazines and the candidates in 1988, coverage of Bush was significantly different ($x^2 = 26.93$, $df=4$, $p < .001$). Coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* was over 50 percent negative, while *U.S. News & World Report* displayed more balanced coverage toward him (Popovich, Moriarty & Pitts, 1991).

Incumbent George Bush was treated significantly different in the newsmagazines in this study. He was portrayed negatively and dynamically overall, with such characteristics as "clueless," "bland," "out of touch" and "stuck in the status-quo" associated with his image. Whether George Bush underestimated a few key factors crucial to winning the election, as pointed out by Aldrich & Rodhe (1992), or he underestimated Bill Clinton's ability to keep bouncing back after reports of his character issues, George Bush was portrayed in the newsmagazines as someone unable to move the country where it needed to go in the next four years.

Ross Perot

In this study, Ross Perot was also portrayed unfavorably by the newsmagazines. Of the total assertions made about him, 59.6% were negative, 23.4% were positive, and 17% were neutral (see Table IX). 59.6% was also the number of total assertions made about him that were evaluative, and 40.4% of his total assertions were dynamism (see Table VIII). Perot was only featured in 16% of the total stories coded in this study, and

17.3% of the total assertions coded in this study were about him. All of the stories he was featured in were short in length. Although the third party candidate seemed to take a backseat to the other two candidates in terms of amount of coverage, his depiction in the newsmagazines was noticeable. Ross Perot was portrayed as someone who was a quitter, was naive and arrogant; as someone who betrayed his supporters. When he withdrew from the race on July 16, the first day of the Democratic National Convention, the newsmagazines labeled his departure a "tease," claiming the public should have known better. As *Time* magazine reported on July 27, "oblivious to the stunned cries of betrayal, Perot insisted, as he tiresomely does with every gesture, that he was interested only in the good of the country. The most probable explanation for Perot's reversal is simple: he couldn't take the heat" (p. 30). *Time* also claimed him to be a "petulant autocrat who apparently expected a grateful nation to crown him without dissent" (p. 30). On August 3, *Time* wrote

you should have known not only that Ross Perot, for all his verbal machismo, has always walked away from fights once they got too tough: that he seemed to have delusions of grandeur, fed by our curious habit of treating successful entrepreneurs as geniuses: that in politics he was both amazingly naive and obnoxiously arrogant (p. 78).

U.S. News & World Report also labeled him with similar attributes, claiming the " 'can-do' executive" to be a " 'can't-won't candidate" (p. 30). They also claimed that his many volunteers didn't buy into his "lame explanation" of not wanting to disrupt the country "by forcing the election into the House of Representatives" (p. 30). Although

Newsweek (July 13) called him a "helium-filled" candidate (p. 66), they also pointed out that he seemed "refreshingly blunt," and that his "moral uprightness and plain-spoken style account for much of his appeal" (p. 26). But *Newsweek* was also the same magazine to headline one story "The Quitter: Why Perot Bowed Out" (July 27, p. 28). The story goes on to say that Perot became a "blank screen on which millions of American voters could project their discontents, an empty vessel into which they could pour their hopes for a government that is free from partisan conflict and brokered compromise." In another *Newsweek* story, entitled "Ross Perot's New Tease" (August 31), the magazine sides with his volunteers, calling Perot's action "singularly cruel" and is "bound to diminish the impact of his idea" (p. 50).

There have been few studies on coverage and treatment of third party candidates during a presidential election. In Einsiedel and Bibbee's (1976) study they found similar results to the results in the current study. In that study, Eugene McCarthy was running against Ford and Carter in the 1976 election. They found that all three newsmagazines gave proportionately very little space to McCarthy or to third-party candidates in general. There were only 3 of 27 stories about his campaign, and therefore no statistical analyses could be done.

For Ross Perot, it would seem that any media coverage was good media coverage for the Texas businessman turned politician. However, as this study indicates, that media coverage was largely negative, and portrayed him as a quitter, as a liar, and with the same

amount of coverage most third-party candidates have received in the past -- very little.

As evidenced in the previous assertions and the results, the three candidates were portrayed quite differently in the newsmagazines during this time period. Bill Clinton was portrayed more positively and evaluatively than the other two candidates. His image in the newsmagazines was one of optimism, persistence, and stamina -- a fighter willing to lead the country in a new direction. By contrast, George Bush was portrayed more negatively and dynamically than the other two candidates. He was seen as bland, out of touch, and unwilling to change. Independent candidate H. Ross Perot was also portrayed negatively; as a quitter, a liar, and betrayer of the hopes of his supporters.

There were also differences in the newsmagazines treatment of the candidates, as the next section discusses.

RQ2: What are the differences in assertions among *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* in their coverage of the three presidential candidates during the 1992 national conventions?

2a. Previous research indicates that there are differences in newsmagazine coverage, therefore this study expects to find differences.

2. **The newsmagazines differed in their treatment of the candidates and in their use of assertions.**

The above prediction proved to be true in this study -- there were significant differences in newsmagazine coverage. Overall, the newsmagazines portrayed the candidates evaluatively and in a negative light. Of the total assertions, 60.9% were evaluative, and 48.3% were negative (see Tables XI and XII). In Table XI, the analysis between percentage of assertion dimensions in the newsmagazines proved significant at the .01 level. Table XII also indicates statistical significance at the .02 level between assertion direction and the newsmagazines. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the differences were in the treatment of the candidates and in the newsmagazines use of assertions. By looking mostly at the statistical analysis and the newsmagazines individually, this conclusion is supported.

Time

Time magazine was fairly balanced in its use of positive and negative assertions, although there were more negative statements (see Table XVI). The magazine used 90 assertions, of those 37.7% were positive, 42.3% negative, and 20% were neutral in direction. With assertion dimensions, *Time* provided an equal number of evaluative and dynamism assertions -- 45 of each (see Table XV). Overall, most of *Time's* assertions were made about George Bush, as he was also featured the most in the magazine. Bush also had the most negative assertions about him in *Time* (see Table XVI). Much of *Time's* coverage of Bush focused on the person they claimed could help him come from

behind in the election, who could save his campaign like he had done before: Secretary of State James Baker. "The engineer of Bush's 1988 election victory could have to put aside his diplomatic portfolio and bail out his old friend once again" (July 27, p. 44).

Time made mention of Baker several times throughout, and credited him for playing an important role in this campaign as a "highly organized and disciplined manager" expected to "quickly shape up the White House and campaign staffs" (August 24, p. 20). *Time* also wrote about his "crisp decisiveness" and ability to "stop Bush from sounding whiny and petulant when he blames everything on Congress" (p. 21). Where there were headlines mentioning Bush, there were pictures featuring Baker that followed.

Time portrayed Bill Clinton favorably -- they gave him the fewest negative assertions of the three candidates and the most positive assertions. *Time* also featured Clinton in the longest story of all the stories coded. It was a feature story that discussed Clinton's past and upbringing in Arkansas. Although there were few coded assertions in the story, the magazine did depict him as having discovered a "dangerous talent:" a "puppylike eagerness and drive to please" (July 20, p. 57). Also, as a "quintessential politician," and as a man who "builds compromises and is accused of being slick," but has "instilled a new sense of pride in many citizens of his state" (p. 59).

Of the three candidates, Perot received the opposite treatment from *Time* than Clinton received. He had least number of positive assertions made about him in *Time* and nearly the most negative assertions of the three candidates in *Time* (see Table XVI). With

headlines that read "Dallas on the Line," "Ross Perot and the Call-In Presidency," and "Memorandum to Perot Supporters" which began, "Frankly, my heart doesn't bleed for you: you should have known better" (August 3, p. 78), the tone was largely negative. *Time* also called him a liar about certain public matters, "and a businessman given to questionable tactics and ethics" (July 27, p. 46).

U.S. News & World Report

U.S. News & World Report, unlike *Time*, was not balanced in its use of assertions. The magazine used 73 assertions, and of those, 30% were positive, 60.3% were negative, and 9.6% were neutral (see Table XVIII). There was also a large difference among its use of assertion dimensions, 71.2% of *U.S. News & World Report's* total assertions were evaluative, and 28.8% of its total assertions were dynamism (see Table XVII). Similar to *Time*, however, was the fact that it made the most assertions about George Bush. Bush had the most evaluative and the most negative assertions made about him in *U.S. News & World Report* of the three candidates. Statements such as "he has yet to offer the public a reason to re-elect him" (July 13, p. 72), "voters won't be impressed unless Bush comes up with something more urgent and bolder" (July 20, p. 39), and headlines that read "Prisoner of Washington" (August 24, p. 22) and "Commander in Need" (August 3, p. 22), contributed to Bush's image as a desperate candidate in trouble. With only six positive assertions in the magazine toward Bush, four of them came from one editorial

entitled "Don't Count Bush Out" (August 17, p. 64). Even the editor agreed that voters will not change and should bring in Clinton and Gore if the President will not supply the change.

U.S. News & World Report made the most positive assertions about Bill Clinton, 19.2% of the total assertions, compared to 11% of the total assertions made about the three candidates (see Table XVIII). The magazine did much to add to Clinton's image of being youthful and full of energy and optimism. One headline entitled "America's new generation gap" seemed to capture Clinton and Gore's "sunny optimism and steady purpose" and "appeal to the young," (July 27, p. 40).

U.S. News gave Ross Perot very few assertions as a whole -- only 15.1% of its total assertions. Of those, 9.6% of the total assertions were negative, 2.7% were positive and 2.7% were neutral. A majority of the assertions toward him came from an article entitled "The End of Perot's Crusade" which declared that "it turned out that the can-do candidate really couldn't after all" (July 27, p. 30).

Newsweek

Newsweek made 108 assertions, the most of the three newsmagazines. Of those, 45.4% were positive, 45.3% were negative, and 9.3% were neutral (see Table XX). *Newsweek* also had the most evaluative assertions about the candidates than the other two newsmagazines. Unlike the other two magazines, *Newsweek* made most of their

assertions about Bill Clinton. There were 63 or 58.3% of *Newsweek's* total assertions about Bill Clinton. Of those, 38.9% were positive, 15.7% were negative and the rest were neutral. *Newsweek* also gave the most dynamism assertions to Bill Clinton of the three candidates.

As discussed in the earlier section, the image of Bill Clinton in the newsmagazines was that of a fighter, an optimist and as an agent of change. *Newsweek* contributed to this image as well, referring to him as the "relentless suitor" (July 27, p. 34), considered him a candidate with a "clean well-lighted mind, a virtuosity that seems almost bionic; there is no policy question he can't answer seamlessly" (July 20, p. 24), and he's "intellectually secure" (p. 41).

Newsweek made the most negative statements about George Bush. Of the 34 total assertions *Newsweek* made about George Bush, 79% were negative (see Table XX). The assertion dimensions for George Bush were closer to a balance -- 18.5% of *Newsweek's* total assertions about Bush were evaluative, and 13% of *Newsweek's* total assertions about him were dynamic (see Table XIX). In the August 31 issue of *Newsweek*, some of the more negative assertions of the study were found, and were made about George Bush. One writer, who attended the Republican National Convention and was writing about Bush's comments there, summed them up as "more mush from the wimp," as he seems to be "in the clueless mode again." She goes on to say "But Bush's hopeless incoherence whenever he speaks without a Teleprompter does seem to me related to some impairment

in his ability to think clearly. I suspect the reason no one knows what he really stands for (except a capital-gains tax cut) is because he doesn't either" (p. 33). Another example occurs in the same issue, by another writer, who also comments on his persona. "His ham-and-cheese-sandwich folksiness, his pork-rind and 'kicking a little ass' and 'read my lips' tough-guy stuff never quite fit" (p. 78).

Ross Perot again did not receive much coverage from *Newsweek*. He had only eleven assertions made about him, or 10.2% of the total assertions in *Newsweek*. The direction of assertions were fairly balanced between negative and neutral statements -- 5 and 4 respectively. One sentiment in the newsmagazine, despite the negativism, seemed to be that he was "refreshingly blunt" with his "moral uprightness and plain-spoken style accounting for much of his appeal" (July 13, p. 26). Another sentiment was Perot the quitter, the "banty billionaire" who "jilted millions of eager followers by abruptly abandoning his quest for the presidency" (July 27, p. 28).

It is probably justifiable to conclude that the newsmagazines, in their coverage of the 1992 election, did not portray the candidates favorably during the national nominating conventions. The newsmagazines differed in how they treated the candidates and in their use of assertions. Although the sentiment was mostly negative toward George Bush in all three newsmagazines, Bill Clinton enjoyed positive coverage in all three newsmagazines. Ross Perot was also portrayed unfavorably, with a closer balance toward neutrality at least in one newsmagazine.

Results from previous research on campaign coverage by the newsmagazines differed from the results in this study for the most part. In their 1992 study of the newsmagazines and visual images of the three candidates, Moriarty and Popovich found more balance and more neutrality from the newsmagazines than years past. In the Rodgers (1992) study of the newsmagazines and the candidates, the newsmagazines were found to be more neutral overall, with no significant differences among the parties and the candidates in the amount of coverage they received or the slant of the coverage. Yet another study by Stempel (1988) of the 1984 and 1988 elections, found that neutral and balanced stories dominated. "Neither side had any applicable advantage in either year, and in 1988 there were almost equal numbers of Democratic, Republican, and neutral stories" (p. 112). However, in the 1988 study by Popovich, Moriarty and Pitts, coverage of the candidates in general by the three newsmagazines was negative. The researchers claimed that "a negative undertone to the election was evident in all three newsmagazines" (p. 12). Results from this study also differed from the results in the Westley, Higbie, Burke, Lippert, Maurer and Stone study based on the newsmagazines and the 1960 conventions. *Time* assigned the Republicans more evaluative assertions but assigned more dynamism assertions to the Democrats, which is the exact opposite of this study's findings. *Newsweek* assigned the Democrats more evaluative assertions but assigned more dynamism assertions to the Republicans, and *U.S. News & World Report* favored the Republicans in both dimensions.

This chapter has attempted to discuss some of the important and significant findings in the study of the newsmagazines and the candidates during the 1992 national party conventions. The two conclusions drawn from the results, reveal that: **the candidates were depicted differently in the newsmagazines, and the newsmagazines differed in how they characterized the candidates and in their use of assertions.** Through discussions of the statistical analysis, the descriptive analysis, and results from previous research, these conclusions have been supported.

In Chapter One of this study, it was noted that media coverage of political campaigns is the "very lifeblood of politics" because it "shapes the perceptions that form the reality on which political action is based" (Graber, 1993, p. 292). Graber also found that people look to the media as sources of their opinions during presidential campaigns, especially for those image and style characteristics. These perceptions of the candidates provide the American public with a glimpse of who the candidate is, what they stand for, and how they are perceived by the media. If this coverage leads us to political action, then the study of images is most crucial to a voting public. These issues and a final look at this study's strengths and weaknesses are subjects for the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to build on the limited research of how newsmagazines portray presidential candidates during the conventions. Previous research shows that these portrayals can contribute much to a candidate's image during the election, which may be a significant factor in the public's eyes. As Polsby & Wildavsky (1996) wrote, as stated in the introduction, "candidates must try to conform to the public stereotype of goodness, and exemplify an image of trustworthiness, reliability, maturity, and devotion to family, while appearing 'normal' and 'presentable' " (p. 226). The print and electronic media are the medium in which these images are delivered, thereby placing these outlets in a pervasive and visible role in the election process. Media coverage of political campaigns provide essential information on candidate evaluations and qualifications, specifically, on image characteristics (Graber; 1976, 1993). These characteristics, it has been noted, provide a necessary function: they define the candidates in a way that most individuals are not able to do for themselves. Individuals are not able to come face to face with the candidates, thus relying on the media for these images. In examining how the three newsmagazines portrayed George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot through assertions during the 1992 conventions, and the differences among *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* in their coverage of the three candidates, the results of this study yielded two major conclusions.

In this chapter, some possibilities for why the results came out the way they did will be discussed. This chapter also discusses the study's strengths and weaknesses, suggestions for future study, and how this research contributes to our understanding of how presidential candidates are portrayed in the newsmagazines.

In answering research question one, the results indicated that the candidates were portrayed differently in the newsmagazines. Bill Clinton was portrayed more positively and evaluatively than the other two candidates, and he also received the most coverage of the three candidates. His image characteristics in the newsmagazines included optimism, persistence, stamina, hard-working and leader of change. One of the reasons for this treatment may have to do with the conventions as the chosen time frame and the notion of storytelling. As discussed in Chapter One, the national party conventions no longer serve the nominating function, they serve more of a campaign-rally function, since the nominating is done during the primaries. Therefore, mass media has changed the way in which it covers the conventions, with a focus on certain aspects. One of these aspects is the notion of storytelling -- the practice of describing the unfolding events of the convention by mass media in a dramatic way, and of telling the story of each political parties situation by keynote speakers. Smith (1987) claims that every four years the two parties gather to tell stories about their situations, all in pursuit of providing a sense of "belonging" among the members of these two organizations (p. 254). The newsmagazines may have recognized that this identification or "oneness" with the

audience was somehow achieved by the Democrats during the primaries and again at the convention through ritual drama. Smith explains that Kenneth Burke's conceptualization of "ritual drama" is at the hub of storytelling. The ritual drama conveyed through storytelling provide people with knowledge of life's "roles" through identification with the contents of those portrayals (p. 253). The ritual drama in the storytelling during the Democratic National Convention and throughout the campaign may have been the story of their nominee's life and childhood. They told the story of the man from Arkansas with a humble upbringing, an abusive father, and a determined mother who had to struggle to make ends meet. Their candidate had to struggle to get to where he was, but was now about to live out his dream. It may be that Bill Clinton and the democrats, in the eyes of the newsmagazines, succeeded in their pursuit of identifying with their audience. This candidate could identify with a struggling nation and recognized the need for change.

Another reason for more coverage of Bill Clinton in the newsmagazines during this time frame may stem from the fact that the dynamic candidates and the dynamic conventions appeal to the newsmagazines. Bill Clinton may have appeared to be more presentable, and the Democratic National Convention may have also appealed to the newsmagazines. Since mass media does not report on the issues of the election during the convention and more on the spectacle of the event, the party with the most "hoopla" may have an advantage. As indicated in Chapter One, newsmagazines seem to be more "sober" than televised news and more colorful than newspaper reporting (Hart, Smith-

Howell & Llewellyn, 1991). The Democratic National Convention seemed to be very colorful. As *Time* magazine reported on July 27, this convention was "Bill's Big Bash" (p. 34), and went on to say that "in a rare show of unity and Hollywood razzmatazz, the Democrats pull off a perfect G.O.P. convention" (p. 34). The magazine also referred to the event as "a hundred Fourth of July parades rolled into one", with "silver confetti falling from the sky like diamonds and 60,000 balloons" waiting to be released (p. 34). These visual aspects of the convention were conveyed to the readers through colorful pictures and words in the newsmagazines. In the age of television, and especially at the national party conventions, organizers must appeal to their audience, especially since the convention has lost its primary nominating function and must compensate to hold the attention of mass media as well.

George Bush was portrayed significantly different in the newsmagazines- more negatively than the other two candidates. Characteristics that described his image included: bland, out of touch, clueless, and unwilling to make changes. One reason for this negative portrayal may have been that the newsmagazines were comparing Bush's personality traits with Clinton's personality traits. While the newsmagazines portrayed Clinton as a presentable candidate, Bush was not. Clinton was portrayed as energetic, Bush was dull; Clinton proposed a proactive approach to change, Bush demonstrated a reactive approach to proposals he felt did not need to be changed. The ritual drama, or lack of, in the media's storytelling of the Republic National Convention and in the

campaign may have been how the Republicans did not achieve this "oneness" with their audience, how they did not identify with them. It was Bush the politician from a well-to-do family, with the silver spoon image, educated in the elite, expensive schools, versus Clinton, the struggling Democrat from Arkansas. The media may have speculated that the average American citizen would not have felt a "oneness" or be able to identify with Bush. Another storyline the newsmagazines reported on which may have contributed to the type of coverage Bush received, was his lack of recognition of his challengers. Bush may have underestimated Clinton's ability to push forward in the campaign despite the number of allegations made about Clinton, and it appeared that Bush may have underestimated the support that Perot had generated throughout the election and his surprise showing in the polls. These factors may have also contributed to the newsmagazines portrayal of him as "clueless" and "out of touch."

Ross Perot was also portrayed negatively in the little amount of coverage he received from the newsmagazines. An arrogant businessman, quitter, and betrayer were a few of the characteristics used to describe his image. The time frame for this study may have been disadvantageous for Ross Perot. He dropped out of the race on July 16, 1992, the day the Democratic National Convention began, which may account for the little coverage he received. What coverage the newsmagazines did give him, was fairly negative, possibly because he was perceived as a "quitter" by many, including his supporters. Although Perot ended up doing a lot better than any other third party

candidates in a long time, in this current study, the amount of coverage he received fell considerable short of Clinton and Bush. Another reason for the lack of coverage of Ross Perot in this study specific to the time frame could have been because his party had no convention. There was no chance for "storytelling" or "ritual drama" by mass media or the keynote speakers, no colorful images or visual aspects that the newsmagazines could report.

Overall, the newsmagazines contributed to an evaluative, negative image of the three candidates. George Bush was portrayed negatively by all three newsmagazines and Bill Clinton as positive by all three. Past research on media coverage of presidential candidates shows no consistent trend toward one candidate or political party. Although most of the literature reviewed in this study showed evidence of more balance and neutrality on the whole, evidence of negative coverage has showed up in other studies (Popovich, Moriarty & Pitts, 1988).

One of the strengths of this study was use of the different types of research methods. This study used a two-stage research method to answer the research questions, a quantitative analysis and an descriptive analysis, similar to a qualitative analysis. The descriptive analysis in this study was very useful in providing a more meaningful understanding of the investigated images of the candidates. There were dominant trends from recurring words and phrases that developed throughout the stories and provided a general sense of how the candidates were being portrayed. By looking at the assertions

themselves and the context in which they occurred, it was possible to gain a better understanding of how a reader of the newsmagazines may take away an opinion or evaluation of the candidate. Previous studies of newsmagazine coverage of the candidates have spent little to no time on this type of analysis, providing only a discussion of the results a quantitative analysis yielded. Whereas most studies provide frequency tables of the number of assertions or characteristics identified with each candidate, this study provided actual examples from the stories in each newsmagazine.

The quantitative analysis also proved useful for a number of reasons, specifically in determining the amount and type of coverage each candidate received. Based on the chi-square analysis, it was possible to determine any significant difference in coverage of one candidate or by one newsmagazine. The frequency test provided relevant information on the number of times a candidate was featured in a story and the number of assertions made about each candidate, aiding in answering research question one regarding how each candidate was treated. The frequency test also provided information on the number of stories and assertions found in each newsmagazine, which helped in determining which newsmagazine used more assertions in their stories. Cross-tabulation tests were also helpful in determining how the candidates were treated differently, and how the newsmagazines differed in their treatment of the candidates by their uses and types of assertions. Specifically, the assertion dimension and direction variables, the candidates and the newsmagazine variables were all useful in formulating a basis for the

discussion.

The methodology, including the coding process, provided some weaknesses in this study, and proved difficult at times. Of most difficulty was distinguishing the differences between the semantic dimensions, or those dimensions labeled evaluative and dynamism. One of the implications of this problem was the low reliability. It took three attempts at coding before the primary coder proceeded and attained the desired reliability. A few changes may have helped clarify these differences. Although some time was spent training the coders, it may have been helpful to spend more time reviewing the different assertion dimensions, and discussing the examples that were provided in the coding instructions. By bringing all the coders together initially before coding separately, a consensus of the assertion dimension and direction may have been determined and discussed, eliminating any possible uncertainties. This process just described was done after two coding attempts were made, and it provided several opportunities to discuss and understand the reasons why a coder chose a certain assertion dimension. Second, there were a few cases where the coders expressed an interest to see more than just the assertion or reference made of the candidate. It was difficult to designate the dimension or direction of the assertion with only the few words that were provided. Since we make our judgements based on the context of the situation in most cases, this information would have been helpful during the coding process in deciding whether or not the reference made was evaluative, dynamic, positive, negative or neutral toward the

candidate.

The coders background was also a factor in their decision of which assertion dimension and direction to choose. This methodology relied on the coders knowledge of certain assertions and the meaning they attached to those assertions. Although a consensus was reached in most cases, there were a few times where a negative assertion to one person meant a neutral assertion to another, and no consensus was reached. This limitation may not only be specific to this study, but to any study in which coders are asked to consider a certain single thought unit that conveys a single item of information understood by most people.

Research discussed in this thesis fell into three broad categories: how the media in general has portrayed presidential candidates in the past, how the nominating conventions have been studied in the past in terms of general media coverage and convention rhetoric, and how the newsmagazines specifically have covered political campaigns, the presidents and the national party conventions. Research in all three of these areas contributes to the literature on image research and election communication research. Specifically, to our knowledge of the media's influence in political campaigns, and how this influence affects the public's impression of the candidates. As evidenced from the literature reviewed, the public does form images of the candidates throughout the four stages of the campaign, as the media provides these images from the pre-primary stage through to the general election stage of the campaign. These portrayals have

proven significant to study because they may influence what citizens have come to expect of their presidency, and because these portrayals may directly affect their voting behaviors. From the research in this study, we know that the newsmagazines present a different image of the candidates in their coverage during the national nominating conventions.

One suggestion for future research should look at the possibility of how these portrayals may affect the public's voting behaviors. As pointed out in Chapter One, media coverage is "the very lifeblood of politics" because it "shapes the perceptions that form the reality on which political action is based" (Graber, 1993, p. 292). Based on Graber's assessment, this political action she refers to may be voting. Do the voters evaluate these images of the candidates in order to determine how they will vote? As the results from this study indicate, the three newsmagazines provide us with an overall negative image of the candidates. Was this a factor in the outcome of the 1992 election? These questions could be the basis for another study.

Another suggestion for future research would be to conduct a comparative study with other print and electronic media to determine how the results would differ from the results of this study. Do television newscasts provide negative images of the candidates? How do newspapers portray presidential candidates? The answers to these questions would provide information that could be compared to the results of this study of how the newsmagazines portray the candidates.

Another comparative study could be done that looks at the visual portrayals as well as the written assertions made about the candidates to determine how the newsmagazines depict the candidates. Chapter One discussed several studies in which visual images of the candidates were reviewed to determine the direction of coverage. Again, it would be interesting to compare the results from what was written about the candidates to how pictures of the candidates were presented in the newsmagazines.

One final suggestion for future research would be to look at possible factors that may determine newsmagazine coverage of presidential candidates. A candidate's showing in public opinion polls may have an effect on how a newsmagazine covers the candidate and how much coverage they receive. One may look at where the polls were at this point during the election to determine if these outcomes had anything to do with newsmagazine coverage. Also, since recent presidential candidates have chosen to utilize the "new media" more and more -- as pointed out in the introduction and the statement of purpose -- this may also be a factor in newsmagazine coverage.

In the introduction, it was documented that during the 1992 campaign, George Bush was told to try and dispel the impression that he was a "wimp," while Bill Clinton tried to counter his persona as too slick and insincere (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1996). Responding to these claims, the current study examined how three newsmagazines portrayed the three presidential candidates during the 1992 national party conventions. Specifically, this study provided analyses of the types of assertion dimensions and

assertion directions made about the candidates, and provided an illustration of the specific assertions made about each candidate. Certain recurring image characteristics of the candidates were found in the newsmagazines and may have contributed to the readers impression of them. This study revealed two major conclusions: the candidates were depicted differently in the newsmagazines, and the newsmagazines differed in their treatment of the candidates and in their use of assertions.

Although the newsmagazines are only one medium in which the public receives their information during an election, the results from this study suggest that an individual must be made aware that there are differences in coverage of the presidential candidates. Other media channels should be utilized in order to formulate a balanced opinion of each candidate, in order for the voter to make a well-informed decision on election day.

APPENDIX

Coding Sheet

Assertion ID# ____ (col. 1-4)
(skip a space- col. 5)

Dimension _ (col. 6)

Evaluative = 1
Dynamism = 2

Direction _ (col.7)
(skip a space- col. 8)

Positive = 1
Negative = 2
Neutral = 3

Story ID# ____ (col. 9-12)
(skip a space- col. 13)

Magazine _ (col. 14)

Time = 1
US News & World Report = 2
Newsweek = 3

Year __ (col. 15-16)

Month __ (col. 17-18)

July = 07
August = 08
September = 09
Double Issue = 10

Date __ (col. 19-20)

Number of paragraphs ____ (col. 21-23)

Column inches ____ (col. 24-26)

Candidate(s)**Featured** __ (col. 27-28)Clinton = 1
Bush = 2
Perot = 3
Multiple = 4**Metaphor** _ (col. 29)Yes = 1
No = 2**# of Assertions** __ __ (col. 30-32)**Assertion made about** _ (col. 33)Clinton = 1
Bush = 2
Perot = 3

Coding Instructions

The assertions you will code have been masked to read "the candidate" to avoid any bias. Your job is to read each assertion and do two things, determine the **dimension** and **direction** of each assertion. More specifically, designate each assertion as primarily an evaluative assertion or primarily a dynamism assertion by circling the appropriate one. Second, designate the direction of each assertion as either positive, negative or neutral.

In this study, the evaluative dimension of an opinion statement refers to the value or worth of the candidate being described. Some examples of these adjectives that would be considered evaluative would include but are not limited to the following: good-bad, high-low, fair-unfair, honest-dishonest, pleasant-unpleasant, rich-poor, valuable-worthless, optimistic-pessimistic, positive-negative, successful-unsuccessful, and true-false.

The dynamism dimension of opinion statements include activity assertions and potency assertions, and have been collapsed in this study. Some examples of these adjectives are any active-passive adjectives, and any strong-weak adjectives. Other descriptions include fast-slow, sharp-dull, large-small, hot-cold, hard-soft, deep-shallow, rough-smooth, thick-thin, or long-short.

In determining the **direction** of each assertion as either positive, negative or neutral, you should consider the direction of the statement on its dimension as it would be understood by most

readers. Do not attempt to determine the probable intent of the writer or the magazine and **do not attempt to read too much into the assertion**. A plus on the evaluative scale would normally be regarded as describing a favorable quality of the candidate; a minus refers to an unfavorable quality of the candidate, and a neutral designation should be chosen when an assertion might be seen as favorable by some and unfavorable by others.

The following assertions and their selected direction and dimension (underlined) are examples of how they would be coded.

1. The candidate is highly polished

<u>Evaluative</u>		Dynamism
<u>±</u>	0	-

2. The candidate betrays a striking ignorance

<u>Evaluative</u>		Dynamism
<u>+</u>	0	=

3. The candidate has nothing at stake but his prodigious ego

<u>Evaluative</u>		Dynamism
<u>+</u>	0	=

4. The candidate telegraphed his insensitivity with a stance that still rankles

<u>Evaluative</u>		Dynamism
<u>+</u>	0	=

5. The candidate is almost smart-alecky

Evaluative Dynamism

+ 0 =

6. The candidate is again posing as a selfless Cincinnati

Evaluative Dynamism

+ 0 -

7. The candidate's vigorous demeanor

Evaluative **Dynamism**

± 0 -

8. The candidate's confident demeanor

Evaluative **Dynamism**

± 0 -

9. The candidate had a bemused attitude

Evaluative **Dynamism**

± 0 -

10. The candidate's resilience persevered

Evaluative **Dynamism**

± 0 -

11. The candidate's toughness persevered

Evaluative **Dynamism**

± 0 -

12. The candidate seemed passive

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 =

13. The candidate seemed too unemotional

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 =

14. The candidate seemed far too casual

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 =

15. The candidate was almost listless

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 =

16. The candidate is young

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 -

17. The candidate was coherent

Evaluative **Dynamism**

+ 0 -

18. The candidate can be a fiesty interlocutor

Evaluative

Dynamism

+

0

-

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