
By J. Michael Jordan

Two nine-column, broadsheet newspapers were selected, the Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail. The study covered the election period from August 12 to September 17, 1975, inclusive, approximately five and a half newspaper weeks.

The stories which were selected appeared in the news columns and (1) concerned either a single leader or party spokesman's statements, movement, or actions; (2) were written by staff journalists; (3) and were not what could be deemed 'interpretative journalism'. Stories that appeared as "Analysis" were recorded but not coded for content, as were the editorials and Queen's Park columns. Pictures were also recorded and coded. (An explanation of the purpose and process for doing so will be presented later.)

The present study utilized essentially the same variables as the Klein and Maccoby study. (See Media Probings). However, the analysis was extended to the entire paper and not simply limited to the front page. The front page and certain pages allocated to election coverage, herein referred to as the "election pages", 
comprise 80% of the total newspaper election coverage in both papers. By observing the interaction of the two placement variables, the one being vertical placement and the other horizontal, a placement matrix was achieved. All that remained was to note then the individual party's representation in each cell of the matrix, measured in column inches. Once this had been accomplished, it would then be possible to plot further interaction with other variables such as time, page origin, and issue. What resulted was a method whereby a distinct event or issue of the election could be isolated and compared between papers, and parties, by some standard of importance or significance. The procedure also produced a graphic representation of the campaign's 'ups and downs', thus avoiding tables which try to present column inches across a large number of variables and are consequently unreadable, or merge measures of performance into one index and are incomprehensible.

Editorials and Columns

The Star was the first of the two papers to offer editorial endorsement. On August 27, it presented Robert Nixon, leader of the Liberal Party, as an alternative to Premier William Davis. The Globe did not respond until September 9, when it expressed its favour for the Progressive Conservatives. Throughout the campaign all parties were featured in editorials, and in the respective columns. The frequency of appearance, and how they were rated is reported below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.D.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen in the tables, editorial endorsement does not simply mean that the paper favours one party; it also means that it finds disfavour with others, and sometimes its own. What is of interest was the apparent attempt to balance criticism to the endorsed party. On August 14, the Star printed its only "negative" editorial about Nixon. It criticized his handling of the "integrity" issue. On that same day, Miller's column praised Nixon and the column headline read "Integrity is indeed a fair issue."

Column Inches

The basic measure of newspaper copy is the column inch. (One inch of type measured down one column). The distribution between the two papers for each of the parties is
Table 5
Globe Column Inches By Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Column Inches</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib.</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.D.P.</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2617</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6
Star Column Inches By Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Column Inches</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib.</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.D.P.</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add to these totals, the sums of that copy devoted to "Analysis" and the newspapers total coverage increased. The Star featured 1,395 column inches of 'analysis' bringing the paper's total 3,367. The Globe offered only 764 inches of 'analysis', the total of "news" and "analysis" being 3,381. Therefore, there was a difference of only fourteen inches between the two papers in total election coverage.

The Placement Matrix

Klein and Maccoby indentified two 'dimensions of placement'. The one measure which was specifically horizontal was 'Headline Type'. This variable is comprised of three values: (1) the one column head, (2) the two-three column head and (3) the most sought after, the four or more column head. This distribution between parties in the two papers is reported below.
Table 7
Headline Type By Party
Reported in Column Inches in the Star

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headline Type</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>Lib.</th>
<th>N.D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Column</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Columns</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+ Columns</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>763</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8
Headline Type By Party
Reported in Column Inches in the Globe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headline Type</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>Lib.</th>
<th>N.D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Column</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 Columns</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+ Columns</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vertical placement was identified by noting column origin of the story. In a nine-column broadsheet, column nine or the right-hand side of the paper assumes the preferred position; stories originating in column one are of second preference; and stories originating above the fold but not in column nine or one, are of third preference. Stories appearing below the fold would be those least preferred. Table 9 and 10 indicate the distribution between parties and vertical placement.

Table 9
Vertical Placement by Party
Reported in Column Inches in the Globe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vertical Placement</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>Lib.</th>
<th>N.D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below Fold</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 3-7</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 1</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 9</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10

**Vertical Placement by Party**

Reported in Column Inches in the Star

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vertical Placement</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>Lib.</th>
<th>N.D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below Fold</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 3-7</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 1</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column 9</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>763</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Racetrack

A campaign is restricted in time and once begun assumes the metaphor and vernacular of the race track. Each contestant's performance is monitored and reported at certain crucial lengths around the track. The press in particular are fond of this genre of analysis. The introduction of time as a variable allowed the analysis of placement to proceed to a higher level. It was then possible to speak of increase, stability, or decrease throughout the campaign. The method was as follows: to observe the party's total coverage throughout the campaign and then to divide that coverage into coverage which appeared above the fold and coverage which appeared below the fold. The latter curves utilizing the concept of placement therefore offering a means of comparison and party performance.

#### Time and Placement in the Globe, Graphs 1 and 2

During the first half of the campaign, the P.C. Total Coverage Curve presented on Graph 1 can be generally classified by the ISD system as increase, as can both the Above The Fold Coverage curve and the Below The Fold Coverage curve presented in Graph 2. However, for the second half, The Total Coverage Curve suggests a decrease in column inches, particularly at Week 4. By examining
the other curves we immediately see that the suggested
decrease occurs below the fold, whereas above the fold
coverage actually increases to a peak at Week 5.

For the Liberals, a similar increase in the Total
Coverage Curve for the first half of the campaign is
discovered. But the Above Fold Coverage Curve and
Below Fold Coverage Curve deviate radically. The
Above Fold approximates a decrease while the Below Fold
indicates increase. The second half Total Coverage
Curve for the Liberals is classified as decrease over
time. The Above Fold replicates this trend while the
Below Fold is marked by gradual increase. Overall,
the Liberal performance in the latter period of the
campaign could be ranked as poor.

The N.D.P., unlike the Liberals, appear from their
Total Coverage to set off on the wrong foot; the Total
Coverage is marred by a sharp decrease at Week 3. The
first period summary is somewhat brightened by the
Above Fold peak at Week 2. The second period Total
Coverage indicates an N.D.P. recovery at Week 4. However,
the Below Fold shows clearly that any increases in this
period generally tend to originate below the fold.

In summary, the Globe begins all parties competi-
tively. The first period curves reveal a "jockeying for
position". However, the trend soon becomes clear. The
Conservatives take the lead and increase this lead in
the second half. The Liberals enjoy some success at
Week 3, but only to decrease above and below fold later.
The N.D.P., although apparently competitive in the
latter half, only manage to win the bottom half of the
paper.*

Time and Placement in the Star (Graphs 3,4)

The Total Coverage for the Liberals indicates stabi-
ity throughout the campaign. Time appears an irrelev-
ant consideration. The first half is marked by a
gradual increase to Week 3. The Above Fold, however, indicates a peak at Week 3, while the Below Fold is at a low at Week 2. The second half Total Coverage exhibits a general decrease. This, however, is not mirrored in the placement curves. The Above Fold suffers a decrease, whereas the Below Fold is marked by increase.

The Conservative Total Coverage is less irregular than its counterpart in the Globe. In the first period it is marked by a gradual increase. This differs from the Above Fold which indicates a decrease and the Below Fold which enjoys a sharp increase at week two because all the first week coverage was above the fold. The Total Coverage for the second period is a continuation of the first period increase until Week 4. The alternate curves indicate the Conservative second period performance to be generally above the fold with a substantial peak at Week 4.

The N.D.P. appears through their Total Coverage to depend on the Conservatives. That is, each Conservative increase is met by a proportionate N.D.P. decrease. The Below Fold offers some indication of where the N.D.P. coverage appeared, namely below the fold. The second half of the campaign is somewhat kinder to the N.D.P.; an increase at Week 4 occurs both above and below the fold.

Much as in the Globe, Week 3 in the Star appears to be that crucial period in the campaign. It represents the beginning of an increase for the N.D.P. Differences within the newspapers are evident however. In the Globe, the N.D.P. was relegated to below the fold coverage, whereas the Star appeared more generous with the better placement coverage. The difference was due to the fact that the Star was willing to sacrifice Conservative column inches above the fold to the N.D.P. in the latter weeks of the campaign, while the Globe was not. In fact, it was in Week 5 that the Conservative peaked above the fold in the Globe with a 37%
difference between their frequency and that of the... N.D.P.'s. In the Star, the Week 5 difference between the two parties was only 4%. The Star treated the Liberals with a certain consistency. Their performance in both time periods was balanced above and below the fold. The treatment of the Liberals in the Globe, was anything but consistent, the first period coverage in few ways resembling the coverage of the latter half.

**Time and Placement on the Front and Election Page**  
(Graphs 5-12)

The front page of a newspaper presents to the public what the editors of a newspaper believe to be most newsworthy. It therefore serves as an indicator of editorial policy. On the Globe's front page, the Total Coverage Curve for the Conservatives increases in the first period, then decreases to a low at Week 4, only to increase again at Week 5. By examining the placement curves, we see that the first period increases occurred mainly below the fold. However, the second period coverage is predominately above the fold. The Above Fold Coverage Curve drops only in mid-campaign, weeks 3-4. The Liberal Total Coverage is at first typified by decrease but regains to peak at week 3. The second period performance shows continual decrease. The Above Fold mirrors this rapid decrease over time. The N.D.P. total coverage curve increases in the first period. However, the increase is minimal and the Above Fold indicates that it is not until week 3 than any N.D.P. column inches appear above the fold. The second period is somewhat better. The Total Coverage increases radically at week 4. Most of it, however, occurs below the fold. It is only at week 4 that the N.D.P. do reasonably well above the fold, and even this performance does not significantly outmatch the Conservatives or Liberals.

The front page of the Globe dramatizes the week 3 decline of the Liberals and week 4 increases of the N.D.P.
Of interest is the Conservative increases in the second period, and of special interest is the Liberal decline both above and below the fold in that same period. Also worth noting is the N.D.P. increase occurring below the fold.

The reason for this distribution in the latter weeks of the campaign is the virtual disappearance of the Liberals from the front page of the Globe.

The front page of the Star offered a somewhat different distribution. The Conservative Total Coverage remained high in the first period although classified as decrease. The Below Fold indicates that week 1 coverage was entirely above the fold. In the second period the Total Coverage remains high except for a drop at week 4. The Above Fold replicates this decrease at week 4 only to increase to a peak at week 5. Of interest is that this week 5 high occurred entirely above the fold. The Liberal Total Coverage indicates a decrease at week 2. However, the placement curves indicate that all column inches in the first period originated above the fold. In the second period, the Liberal Total Coverage decreases with the Above Fold, revealing that week 4 was the Liberal's lowest period above the fold. The N.D.P. total coverage curve exhibits increase in the first period because of the absence of any coverage in the first week. The Above Fold indicates that only at week 2 did the N.D.P. receive any above the fold coverage in the first period. The second period Total Coverage is again marked by increase, week 4 representing an N.D.P. high, the Above Fold indicating that the front page for that week was dominated by N.D.P. coverage. The balance of the Total Coverage is made up of below the fold coverage.

The Above Fold Coverage Curve for the Conservative and Liberal parties exhibit similar trends, both increasing and decreasing over time in a similar way,
although the difference in column inches remained considerable. Of interest in these curves is the fact that each decrease is responded to by an N.D.P. increase. The trend is much different than that of the Globe.

The Globe's front page coverage of week 4 was extremely competitive. It was not until week 5 that the Conservatives emerged supreme above the fold and the N.D.P. below. The Liberal performance in this period achieved an all time low. The week four coverage in the Star presented all N.D.P. column inches above the fold and at week 5, all column inches below the fold. The Liberals did considerably better at week 5 in the Star, while the Conservative reasserted themselves after their week 4 drop. In both papers as E-day approached, the N.D.P. was delegated to below the fold coverage. Above the fold, the Liberals remained more competitive in the Star than they did in the Globe.

The election page unlike the front page appears like an election journal. Differences in column inches should be minor while placement should remain important, to act as a balancing agent. The Total Coverage Curves bear this out. Each party had its peaks and troughs and they balanced performance on the front page. The Conservatives in the Globe did best on the election page in the period in which they did poorly on the front page. The campaign was typified by above the fold coverage, first beginning with the N.D.P., then the Liberals, and finally the Conservatives. As the campaign progressed, the N.D.P. were increasingly delegated to below the fold, while the Conservatives and Liberals appeared above the fold.

The Star election page is of interest. Front page performance is not reflected on the election page. The dramatic N.D.P. increase at week 4 appears as a decrease on the election page. The second period treatment of the Conservatives is most interesting and, quite
unlike that of the Globe, it is marked by decrease both above and below the fold. The Liberals are generally typified by increase.

Issue Interaction

The discussion of column inches to this point has purposely avoided mention of the nature of that content. Observation has indicated that parties experience increases and decreases throughout the campaign. It has been noted that in the Globe, Liberal performance decreases at week 3 whereas at the beginning of the campaign the Liberals enjoyed a competitive position with the Conservatives. These increases and decreases correlate with specific issues. The first period of Liberal coverage centered on Integrity and Education, issues that Nixon attempted to link directly with the Premier. The Liberal strategy was to attack; the "nice guy" image of Nixon disappeared completely in a TV debate in which he and the Premier clearly exhibited their dislike of each other. The second period peaks experienced by the N.D.P. indicate a different approach to conducting a campaign and gaining headlines. From the outset, Lewis refused to endorse Integrity as an issue. Instead, he began to center on a small number of issues, the most newsworthy being rent increase in Metro. The Conservative peaks early in the campaign center around Davis defending his integrity. In a campaign in which he was not going to make promises, he began to effectively utilize the resources of an incumbent (Wilson, J. 1975). It was these promises that dominated the Globe's front page in the second period of the campaign. This can be demonstrated by comparing the Globe's and the Star's coverage of Davis policy announcements. The Globe coverage of Davis' new program statements totaled 165 column inches, of which 35% made it to the front page. The Star reported 191 column inches of Davis promises. However, only 3% of this coverage appeared on the front page.
Another grouping of column inches that is of interest was that generally devoted to the leaders' tour, party organization and such. In the Globe, the Conservatives received 186", the Liberals 122", and the N.D.P. 169"; the percentage that made it to the front page was: P.C. = 34%, Lib. = 0%, and N.D.P. = 7%. In the Star, the totals were: P.C. = 116", Liberal" 167", and N.D.P. = 154", the percentages of front page coverage were: P.C. = 21%, Liberal = 24%, and N.D.P. = 0%. The data would seem to indicate that the newspapers' determination of what was newsworthy regarding the leaders' tours interestingly corresponds with the party they had endorsed.

The one issue that differentiated the two papers was 'rent control'. The N.D.P. was responsible for fueling this fire and therefore received the majority of coverage. In the Globe, this issue accounted for 23% of the N.D.P. 's total coverage. In the Star, rent control comprised 36% of the N.D.P. total coverage. In fact, one out of every 3 N.D.P. column inches concerned rent control. It is this revealing fact that explains the curious N.D.P. placement matrix.

The Star's handling of this issue is of interest. Over a three-day period from September 6 to 9, the paper not only featured this issue on the front page, but turned over all of page three to "rent gouging analysis". It also made appeals to readers to contribute their personal accounts of "rent gouging" and consequently turned over the entire "letters page" to these accounts. It featured photos of homeless families, of pensioners standing with the linings of their pockets hanging out. At this time, it also editorially endorsed rent control. This copy, it must be remembered, is in addition to the coverage given Stephen Lewis and his "horror stories" concerning rent gouging. The Star's presentation of this will be returned to at a later time.

It must be remembered that a newspaper in selecting
crucial issues during an election may be incorrect. Pamlett (1975) discusses how the country's newspapers misread the 1974 federal election. This fact is worth remembering in discussing the Star's handling of the rent control issue.

An Analysis of Photographs

The analysis to date has revealed that both newspapers presented the campaign differently. These differences indicate not only that the newspapers endorsed different political parties, but also suggest individual styles. The Globe's editorial pages appear more balanced, neutral and consistent than the Star's. The presentation of the rent control issue in the Star remains open to allegations of sensationalism. In seeking another source of data to validate these conclusions, a source which would not only reveal political bias but also remain sensitive to differences in style, an analysis of the newspaper's photographs was undertaken. Webb et al (1965), in their examination of unobtrusive measures suggest pictures to be a "fine, relatively unused" indicator of political bias. Editors select each photograph from a very large number of possible choices, and the particular one that is chosen should be of interest. Matthews (1957) noted in his examination of the British Press:

The (photographs) can be made to lie... as Lord Northcliffe was one of the first to discover. When he was using the Daily Mail to try to get Asquith out as Prime Minister and Lloyd George, in, he once issued this order: "Get a smiling picture of Lloyd George, and underneath put the caption 'Do it now', and get the worst possible picture of Asquith and label it 'Wait and see'. (15)
The pictures were not only rated in terms of what they portrayed and the accompanying caption (or in the Globe's case, accompanying description). An attempt was also made to tap the most prevalent manner of presentation, in purely a descriptive way. Each photo of a leader was coded to ascertain his type of clothing, situation, activity and disposition. By then noting the frequency of each, a general picture of the presentation of each leader could be made. In the Globe, Premier Davis was customarily presented in formal clothing, remaining dominant, but usually surrounded by a small number of people to whom he was either speaking or listening. They were usually all smiling. Nixon also appeared formally clothed. However, he was usually accompanied by a Liberal candidate and the picture presented them both as campaigning. They were shown actively shaking hands and smiling. Lewis on the other hand, appeared formally dressed an equal number of times as casually dressed. Rather than appear with other politicians, he was with his family and usually involved in some playful or relaxed activity. He too was smiling.

The table below shows the frequency of the various ratings of each leaders photograph.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Davis</th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Lewis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photos in the Globe are not presented with a caption and as can be seen from the table, the treatment of photographs was neutral, and balanced.
In the Star, Davis was presented again in formal attire. However, this time he was accompanied by his wife and daughters. They were all shown speaking and smiling. Robert Nixon was again dressed formally. However, in the Star he was either shown in one-to-one situations with voters or in large crowd shots. In all cases he was smiling. Lewis dressed casually for the Star. He was portrayed as dominant in most photos and most often speaking with a serious expression, although occasionally with a smile on his face.

The Star photo ratings appear below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Davis</th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Lewis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rating pictures in the Star was made easier by its use of the caption. The distribution across parties is not balanced, nor is it neutral. For example, when Stephen Lewis refused a debate with Robert Nixon, the Star selected a picture of a 'confused, angry Lewis' leaving the CFTO studio and presented it with this head, "Lewis Debates With Himself". A picture of Davis, apparently arguing with a man was captioned with, "He'd Clip the Premier". The man was a barber. Nixon, on the other hand, was presented on the front page in a scene where he was one-to-one, leaning over an elderly lady. They were shaking hands.

The Star's photographs substantiate earlier findings regarding political bias. They also show that this is a paper earnestly concerned with marketing a product, and not beneath sensationalizing an issue and distorting
Conclusion

The data has presented as well as answered numerous questions. The concept of placement has proven an interesting indicator of newsworthiness. Earlier indices of bias equated fair and representative coverage with equal treatment. Inherent in the concept of placement was that coverage would be unequal and that certain coverage should be preferred. The placement matrix hypothesized that the endorsed party could expect a significant Tau C value. This prediction held true for the Globe and Mail. However, the Toronto Star produced values for Tau C which required explanation. These unexpected values were welcome. It was posited that an explanation of these curious distributions would be of greater heuristic value. Consequently, the N.D.P. placement matrix was broken down and it revealed that the presentation of a single issue over a short period of time accounted for the significant Tau C value.

This discovery awakens concern, particularly in the light of recent research investigating the impact on voters of image oriented content compared to factual, issue oriented content, (Patterson, McClure; 1976). The authors concluded that regular viewing of television network news had little or no influence on how voters learned about the candidates' stand on issues. However, newspapers were far more effective in making voters better-informed on the issues. The researches state: "The minutes people spent reading their newspapers, unlike the minutes they gave to watching network news, clearly increased their awareness...and they learned substantially more." (16) The interesting aspect of this research—I would argue—is that newspapers are capable of increasing awareness. If this is the case, then readers of the Star must have perceived the rent issue rather differently than readers of the Globe. Of course, the Star might rationalize its
treatment of "rent control" by assessing it solely as a Metro Toronto issue, the retail area which it serves. The Globe, on the other hand, makes claim to being "Canada's National Newspaper". Nevertheless, the fact remains that this issue's presentation in the Star as the number one concern in Metro, and breaking as it did in the later weeks of the campaign, it must have substantially aided swing voters in deciding upon a particular party. This may, in part, help explain the N.D.P. success in Metro Toronto. Ironically, the Star may have killed any chances the Liberals had of becoming the government of Ontario.

Footnotes

(Editorial Note: In reducing Mr. Jordan's thesis to publishable proportions - 42 pages with graphs to 21 pages of text without graphs - some footnotes fell by the wayside or were disarranged. Two remained relevant:

15. E. Webb, p.78
16. R. McClure, T.E. Patterson

The author also mentioned the statistical tool, Tau C, which is an ordinal measure of association based on the conceptualization of the data as a universe of ordered (and "tied") pairs of cases on the two variables being considered.)

* All underlinings are by Media Probe to stress a final significant finding arising from much data.

References

(Total of 25 in all, reduced to those below by abridgement.)


**Media Probe**

The Canadian Journal of Communication
85 Thorncliffe Park Drive, #1403, Toronto M4M 1L6

Research, analysis, and comment on mass media and communication. Published quarterly for Academics, media practitioners, students and the public.

Editor: Earle Beattie, Atkinson College, York U.

Associates: June Callwood, Harry Crewe, Richard Lunn, Don Montgomery, Bruce Rogers, Rick Eutler (Ottawa), Liora Salter (Vancouver), Claudine Luran

Subscription: $3 yearly. Back issues 75¢. Contents copyrighted for the authors. The Ontario Arts Council has assisted publication with a $500 grant.