UC Berkeley

Working Papers

Title

Dominance and attention : images of leaders in German, French, and American TV news

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/50v5x2hm

Authors

Masters, Roger D.
Frey, Siegfried
Bente, Gary

Publication Date

1990

DOMINANCE AND ATTENTION
IMAGES OF LEADERS IN GERMAN, FRENCH, AND
AMERICAN TV NEWS

Roger D. Masters
Department of Government
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N.H.

Siegfried Frey
and
Gary Bente
Department of Psychology
Universitäte Duisburg, D-8100
Duisburg, West Germany

Working Paper 90-5

IGS

INSTITUTE OF
GOVERNMENTAL
STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

Dominance and Attention

Images of Leaders in German, French, and
American TV News

Roger D. Masters,[1] Siegfried Frey,[2] and Gary Bente[2]

Abstract

Since television has become the central medium of
communication in modern politics, power and dominance can
no longer be understood without reference to the way TV
presents leaders to the public. A cross-cultural study
of nightly newscasts in West Germany, France, and the
United States reveals that images (or "visual quotes") of
political leaders play a central role in TV news. As
temporal analysis reveals, the patterns of dominance in
each society are literally visible in the frequency and
pattern with which different leaders are shown on the
screen.

[1]Department of Government, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
03755

[2]Department of Psychology, Universität Duisburg, D-8100
Duisburg, West Germany

DOMINANCE AND ATTENTION:

IMAGES OF LEADERS IN GERMAN, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN TV NEWS

    It is often said that the mass media have transformed the
way citizens relate to political leaders, weakening such tradi-
tional bases of power as political parties and increasing the
importance of the leader's personality or style (Ranney, 1983;
Atkinson, 1984). Have the changes associated with the emergence
of television - a medium which injects the technology of mass
communications into the relationship between leaders and led -
also transformed the basic mechanisms underlying human social
organization? Or does television, by creating what McLuhan called
a "global village" (McLuhan, 1964), actually increase the impor-
tance of cues that evolved in the face-to-face groups that
characterized hominid evolution?

  . There is now abundant evidence that the presentation of
leaders on TV is highly evocative for viewers and that it can
play a role in the formation and maintenance of popular attitudes
toward rivals for power (Sullivan and Masters, 1988, 1989, in
press; Masters, 1989:Ch. 2). But since "the message is more than
the medium" (Schramm, 1979: 174), does the way that TV news
presents leaders reflect differences in political power, or do
the mass media merely communicate cues of status that are
independent of the medium?

    While politics seems to be a conflict over power, the
concept of power can hardly be reduced to material control over
the behavior or resources of others without ignoring the
attributes that seem to be shared by those with leadership status
in business, culture, sports, and other social dimensions [1]. One
common denominator of leadership in these different domains, and
an essential feature of political leadership, seems to be the
ability to focus the attention of the relevant audience. In small

1

groups, attention-structure has been defined in terms of the number of individuals who are looking at each member of the group and who are looked at by that individual (e.g., Strayer, 1981). So defined, attention can be measured either in terms of sequential behaviors (treating "looking at" as a behavioral category which includes a target as well as an actor), or by calculating the number of those serving as a focus of attention at any one moment. In either case, such objective measurements of attention structure provide a useful means of avoiding frustrating debates over the definition of human leadership.

While this behavioral pattern is now recognized as a central component even in the social organization of nonhuman primates and children (Chance, 1976, 1989; Montagner, 1978; Strayer, 1981; Barner-Barry, 1981; de Waal, 1982; Goodall, 1986), its role in politics is perhaps far more profound than is generally realized. In electoral campaigns as in the exercise of political office, leadership and power seem to be closely associated with the capacity to exercise control over the attention of meaningful others. If so, then a careful empirical study of patterns of attention in the mass media may be particularly illuminating in the study of complex human societies.

In a multi-person face-to-face situation, however, each individual has the option of focusing his gaze on any other member of the group. In television-mediated communication it is possible for the average citizen to view the nation's leaders on a daily basis, but without the ability to select those images presented on the screen; the viewer can either attend to what is on TV or ignore it, but cannot change the focus of what is transmitted over the air. The citizen watching television news is thus is in an unusal dyadic relationship with the screen in which the selection of others to be seen has been predetermined by TV journalists and producers.

The element of dominance associated with public attention can thus be measured by computing amounts of media coverage given to different political leaders, particularly in the TV newscasts

2

which function as the principal means of diffusing
information to the mass audience (Iyengar and Kinder,
1987). While sometimes calculated in terms of the news
coverage of rival candidates during electoral campaigns
(e.g., Masters, et al., 1987; Orren and Polsby, 1988),
between elections -- which is to say, most of the time --
individual leaders are not usually the explicit subject of
routine stories. Despite this fact, images of leaders are
an essential element in TV news stories about the entire
range of political information.

   In a month-long sample in the three different countries
(Frey and Bente, 1989), a political leader is visible on
the screen during a substantial portion of the main
nightly newscasts (France - 14.8%; U.s. = 17.3%; Germany =
30.4%). Excluding still photographs like those used in
the background while the anchor introduces a story,
dynamic images of leaders are on the screen for
approximately 10% of the total duration of newscasts in
France and the United States -- and almost 17% of the
nightly news in Germany (Bente and Frey, in press). Hence
it is possible to use the visual images of leaders shown
on television as a measure of public attention, adapting
the ethologist's concept of "looking at" a group member in
order to study how television presents political
information to the public.

   In television newscasts, the dynamic images (live
camera shots) of leaders -- which we have called "visual
quotes" to stress the analogy between the verbal
information transmitted by speech and the nonverbal cues
conveyed by a picture -- have temporal properties that
transcend the identity of the individual shown on the
screen. Because the impact of TV derives from the pre-
determined sequences of information which it presents to

the viewer, it is essential to measure these features by using a time-based coding system that records the length of every shot or sequence in the newscast (Frey and Bente, 1989; Bente and Frey, in press). In order to see how such visual imaging relates to the power structure, it is necessary to go beyond the study of a single society, using differences between political systems and cultures as an independent variable in order to see whether the presentation of leaders on television ...ffers from one

country to another in a revealing manner. Here we report on
data on the way visual quotes of political leaders structure the
attention of viewers of the principal nightly TV newscasts in
France, Germany, and the United States, in an attempt to directly
and visibly assess patterns of leadership and influence that have
hitherto been difficult to merasure in an objective manner.

II. METHODS

Our analysis is based on a month-long sample of the evening
news on the two most widely viewed channels in Germany (ARD and
ZDF), France (TF1 and Antenne2), and the U.S. (NBC and CBS).
One-half inch VHS videotapes were made nightly of the prime-time
evening news (between 1830 and 2030 each night) for the month of
March 1987; in all, 181 newscasts (a total time duration of 73
hours and 34 minutes) have been analyzed. Table 1 shows the date
and the duration of the different newscasts, and the total amount
of video information recorded on each channel.

Insert Table 1

The starting and ending times of each video quotation, from
the first to the last video frame in which the politician was
continuously visible from the same camera, were measured by
copying a digital time code into the video material frame by
frame ex post facto   .· ι.··   ‿.· ¦‿ For the purpose of
analysis, time codes have been rounded to half second intervals.
Table 2a and b show the content of this raw data base, using as
an example the evening news of ZDF and A2 oñ March 11, 1987.

Insert Table 2

To study the visual quotes of political leaders in the
context of TV's temporal structure, the identity of political
leaders shown, the exact date, time, and duration of each visual

4

quote, and the chronological position and relative frequency of
visual quotes of that leader, were tabulated for all 181
newscasts. The basic unit of analysis is a single visual
presentation (or, in technical language, a "shot") during which
an identifiable political actor on the screen, either alone or
together with other persons. The temporal limits of a visual
quote are defined by the continous visibility of the political
actor as well as by the uninterupted operation of a single
camera.

III. RESULTS

The analysis yielded 4739 visual quotes (individual
camera shots) of 5̶3̶3̶ different political leaders (*number per country:*
Germany =
146; France = 176; U.S. = 222). Most of these visual quotes are
surprisingly short: the average length was 8.4 seconds, with the
distribution highly skewed toward brief shots; the mode is 4
seconds, and about half of the visual quotes are shorter than the
6 seconds conventionally defined as the minimum time for
effectively processing verbal information. Thus visual quotes of
leaders do not seem to be used primarily as a platform for the
leader to address substantive messages to the public. Rather, in
all three countries these images seem to function as a means of
facilitating the viewer's information processing, providing
easily decoded and evaluatively significant visual cues that make
it easier to understand the story (Bente, Frey, and Masters, in
prep.)

Total time devoted to visual quotes was not significantly
different in the three countries (average per newscast: Germany
= 172.77 seconds; in France = 169.61 seconds; in U.S.A. = 169.33;
p = n.s.). American newscasts split the time among a larger
number of political leaders, averaging 12.2 leaders per newscast
compared to 9.2 in Germany and 8.6 in France (difference between
the U.S. and two European countries significant, p < .05; France
and Germany not significantly different). Hence the average
visual quote is much shorter in the U.S. (6.9 seconds) than in
Germany (11.5 seconds) or France (11.0 seconds), again

5

a highly significant difference between the United States and the two European countries (p < .001 for US - France and US - Germany; France-Germany, p= n.s.).

At first it might seem that the American pattern, being open to a larger number of leaders, is more "democratic" than that observed in France or Germany.
In fact, however, the distribution of visual quotes in the United States is sharply skewed, presenting a very different allocation of attention to American viewers than to those in the two European countries.

The most obvious measure of the focus of attention in TV news is the total time devoted to visual quotes of different political leaders. In Figure 1a-c, the percent of each country's newscasts devoted to political leaders is presented in graphic form, showing the number of individuals with any given share of the total time allocated to visual quotes of leaders; for convenience, the figures also provide the name of the two most frequently shown individuals in each country. As will be immediately evident, these graphs provide a concrete picture of the hierarchy of political leadership in Germany, France, and the U.S.

Insert Figure 1a-c Here

For each country, during the month of March 1987 there was a sharp difference between the attention devoted to the principal national leaders and that allocated to other members of the elite. Most leaders are shown in 1% or less of the visual quotes in TV news during the entire month; a few are shown more often; Presidents and Prime Ministers receive disproportionate visual coverage. Despite the way passing events propel individuals into the limelight for a moment, there is a "pyramid" of attention that seems to correspond with status and conventional definitions of political power. For this very reason, it is especially interesting to look at the distributions in Figures 1a-c with more care.

While the individual generally perceived as most powerful in each country has a disproportionate share of visual quotes in the news, the extent to which leaders dominate the public's attention seems to mirror the constitutional and political structure. The country whose leader has the most disproportionate share of attention is the U.S., where President Reagan was shown in over 20% of the visual quotes. Given Reagan's reputation for effectiveness on television, it might be thought that this is due to his personality. Further inspection of the data suggests that more may be at issue.

At the time of our study, the mixed Presidential system in France was generally characterized by as the "cohabitation" of a Socialist President (Francois Mitterand) and a Gaullist Prime Minister (Jacques Chirac); Figure 1b represents this division of power graphically, with the Prime Minister (responsible for day-to-day decision-making) shown slightly more than the President. As in the U.S., these national leaders completely outshadow others in the political system. In contrast, Germany has a Parliamentary system in which the President (von Weizsaecker) serves functions that are more symbolic than powerful. As Figure 1a shows, attention in such a system is more broadly diffused: not only is the head of the government less likely to dominate the political scene, but there is a larger proportion of leaders who are shown in more than the 1-2% of visual quotes (the share for most political figures in all three countries). In the United States and France, the dominance gradient is thus steeper than in Germany, where a multi-party parliamental system gives a broader group of leaders access to substantial media attention.

Because the length of coverage could be influenced by the tendency to devote attention to formal statements by those in positions of authority, it is equally interesting to consider the frequency of visual quotes. Since the average length of each shot is so much shorter in the United States (6.9 seconds) than in the other countries (11.5 seconds in Germany, 11.0 seconds in France), absolute numbers of visual quotes make it possible to

see whether any differences in Figures 1a-c are due to cultural patterns in the use of the medium and merely reflect a few very long sequences.

Table 3 presents the absolute number of visual quotes for all leaders who were shown thirty times or more in at least one of the three countries. Since this represents a rhythm of approximately one visual quote per day, it provides a supplementary measure of the quantity of visual quotes that might be associated with dominance or power. Not only do patterns of frequency mirror overall proportions in the duration of visual quotes, but the precise identity of those shown most often provides some surprising insights.

Insert Table 3 Here

The ratio of the visual quotes of the person shown most frequently and the individual with the next highest number of visual quotes is a simple indication of the extent to which the media is focusing differential attention on a powerful leader. In the U.S., this ratio is approximately 5:1, whereas in Germany it is about 1.4:1 -- again suggesting that the difference in executive power in Parliamentary and Presidential systems is mirrored in media attention. And in France, the "cohabitation" of Mitterand and Chirac led to an even closer ratio between the two principal leaders (1.2:1) combined with a very sharp difference (roughly a 7:1 ratio) between the frequency of visual quotes of either the Prime Minister or the President and all others.

In the United States, both Figure 1c and Table 3 show that the second most frequently shown leader in March 1987 was Howard Baker, White House Chief of Staff at the time. Even though this position is neither formally established by the Constitution nor self-evident as a major base of power, Baker had extraordinary influence at this time due to the Iran-Contra controversy and the difficulties that it posed for President Reagan. Perhaps more surprising, the other leaders with the highest number of visual

quotes were Bush (who subsequently defeated such Republican rivals as Haig and Dole in gaining the 1988 Presidential nomination and then won the 1988 election), former President Carter, and -- perhaps most suprising -- then Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts (whose nomination for the Presidency in 1988 was hardly predictable in March of 1987).

The results reported here are not due to a few very long, unrepresentative visual quotes, as is evident from time series analysis. To illustrate this point, Figures 2a-d present time-series data for the two highest ranking leaders in France (Mitterand and Chirac) and the U. S. (Reagan and Baker) for all newscasts during the month on one channel (Antenne2 and NBC respectively). In these graphs, the vertical dimension (zoom) represents the camera focus on the leader (higher = larger image of the face) and the horizontal represents real time throughout the newscast, with a separate line from left to right representing each day.

As Figures 2a-b show graphically, throughout the month Reagan was shown in repeated short visual quotes on many days, and received far more attention than the second ranking leader on American TV. In contrast, Baker was shown much less often, with gaps of several days with no visual quotes at all. The difference between the U.S. and France (Figures 2c-d) is evident, since both Chirac and Mitterand are shown with similar frequencies. Note also that on French TV news, visual quotes are often either longer or shorter than those in the U.S., and rarely come at the outset or the end of the newscast.

These findings suggest that media attention over a month-long period provides a valuable measure of power and influence. To be sure, some individuals are prominent in our sample due to passing events that occurred during the month of March 1987: at another time, it is not likely that Max Kampelman, given great media coverage in the U.S. because of his role in arms negotiations with the U.S.S.R., would have ranked fifth in percent of total time and sixth in number of visual quotes on

9

American TV news. On the whole, however, the data show a
surprisingly strong association between an intuitive sense of
leadership or power and the extent to which television focuses
public attention on an individual.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

   Television news presents images of leaders that focus public
attention in a way that can be measured objectively as an
indication of leadership or dominance. It has often been assumed
that television coverage is a key to power and political success.
Could it be that, in a deeper sense, gaining and keeping media
attention IS a form of power (rather than merely a means to
power)? Insofar as human leadership shares attributes derived
from our evolutionary past, it should hardly be surprising that
the behavior of looking at one particular member of the group
more than others has profound importance in organizing social
interactions.

   Paradoxically, the development of television as the
principal medium of political communication may involve increased
reliance on fundamental processes of face-to-face interaction
that have been characteristic of hominid evolution and primate
social behavior generally. With the emergence of printing,
political communication by the written word became dominant
in the form of gazettes or journals -- sometimes directly under
the patronage of those in power [2] -- later in pamphlets,
broadsides, and books as well as newspapers and magazines. From
the middle of the 18th century to the 1950's, therefore, politics
was generally associated with conflicts over programs,
ideologies, and principles disseminated by the printed word.
Rather than injecting something entirely new into political life,
therefore, perhaps television entails a return to the use of
visible and especially nonverbal cues of leadership that were
salient for the longest part of human history (Masters, 1989).

Even if true, the renewed importance of seeing others -- and particularly others in leadership roles -- involves a major transformation of human social interaction. In the face-to-face group, immediate feedback can indicate the effects of one individual's behavior on others in the group. Not only can rivals for leadership assess each others' emotional and cognitive responses, but by-standers can redirect their attention in ways that are under each individual's control.

From this perspective, television provides a deceptive sense of immediacy insofar as the viewer has an impression of direct contact with society's leaders. In fact, the media, and most notably TV newscasts, present a sequence of images that has been "produced" according to cultural norms and can be managed to suit economic or political needs. One consequence may well be that leaders have gained greater power and responsibility (since the mass public defers to the leader as a personality with whom policies or principles are associated rather than to programs or ideologies in their verbal form). If the press made it possible to mobilize populations on a scale previously impossible, radio and especially television have further enhanced the potentiality of manipulating the public.

The ultimate irony of television may well be that this potential for political manipulation is a double-edged sword. When politicians can use television to create the impression of speaking directly to each citizen, media attention becomes a form of dominance that is all the more attractive because it seems so easily controlled by those in power. But the very features that create this potential may also limit a leader's ability to modify outcomes (cf. Masters, 1983). Not only do the attributes of TV as a communicative medium limit those who use it, but the concept of a free press that prevails in the West gives immense influence to those who control the technical production of TV news.

While the attention of the public at large can readily be controlled by television, it is therefore not entirely clear to what extent the effectiveness of democratically elected leaders

11

is limited by the medium itself. Increasingly, political campaigns are organized around "media events." Because the mass public has come to depend on television for its information, appeals have to be simplified so that they can be communicated by visual as well as by verbal means. This process may both reduce the leader's ability to articulate complex policy alternatives, and generate shallow and more easily reversable public attachments to the leader and his program.

President Reagan's career illustrates the vulnerability of a modern leader that can arise from the power of television as a medium of communication. While Reagan was especially effective in his ability to control the focus of TV attention, this power was associated with -- and perhaps facilitated by -- a "hands off" style which put the former President at the mercy of those who were managing detailed affairs. Was the debacle of the Iran-Contra affair in some way a result? Leaders as diverse as the Ayatollah Khomeini, Mikhael Gorbachov, and Margaret Thatcher have exhibited an exceptional ability to use the media as a means of controlling public attention and the social agenda of their societies. What is not entirely evident is whether the forms of leadership and power that depend on media images guarantee successful outcomes and political stability.

NOTES

[1] Conventional definitions of political power have focused on one of two major approaches: either power is defined as the capacity to control the behavior of others as measured by outcomes or responses that would not have occurred if the actor had lacked "power" at the time (Dahl, 1963), or power is viewed as the access to scarce goods or resources which would otherwise not be available to the actor (Lasswell, 1945). In ethological studies, a similar duality exists: for some, power or dominance is measured in terms of the outcome of agonistic encounters or the capacity to resolve conflict among subordinates (de Waal, 1982), while for others the dominant member of a group is one with a greater probability of access to females, food, or valued nest sites and shelters (DeVore, 1965). From either perspective, public attention is critical in politics: media coverage is obviously a scarce and valuable resource, precisely because communication is necessary if one is to change the behavior of other members of a society.

[2] It is not generally remembered that the first regular newspaper of lasting importance, the GAZETTE DE FRANCE, was originated in 1631 by under the patronage of Richelieu to provide broader distribution of political information from the the Royal court (and that the King himself often wrote anonymously in it). See Encyclopedia Brittanica, s.v. Newspapers (9th Ed., Vol. XVII, pp. 412, 423-24). The mere fact that the media have political effects -- and indeed that they can be consciously manipulated with this in mind -- is thus hardly an innovation due to television.

Table 1

Duration of Newscasts by Date and Channel
March 1987 Sample - West Germany, France, and the U.S.

MÄRZ 1987	BRD		FRANKREICH		USA	
	ARD	ZDF	TF1	AN2	NBC *	CBS *
1.3	14:34	11:19	26:33	28:15	18:59	28:17
2.3	15:54	21:53	26:08	26:50	27:50	28:51
3.3	14:52	22:17	27:02	30:19	27:26	28:52
4.3	15:34	21:31	30:20	28:37	28:23	28:53
5.3	16:02	22:12	27:38	28:60	28:12	28:52
6.3	16:26	21:42	29:00	29:17	28:09	28:52
7.3	15:44	27:35	27:58	30:14	28:03	28:42
8.3	14:23	10:31	26:36	35:48	28:37	28:24
9.3	15:06	21:24	25:20	29:31	28:26	28:51
10.3	15:09	21:11	26:17	28:45	28:07	28:51
11.3	14:48	21:54	26:03	29:32	28:11	28:45
12.3	15:47	20:25	27:14	29:29	28:10	28:51
13.3	15:35	21:13	27:40	26:32	28:11	28:52
14.3	14:53	21:05	26:52	28:30	28:23	**
15.3	14:40	10:27	27:17	28:07	28:23	**
16.3	14:12	21:11	26:52	27:53	28:27	28:53
17.3	15:25	21:12	26:20	27:15	28:10	28:26
18.3	13:05	21:16	28:06	30:55	28:23	28:46
19.3	15:26	21:57	29:43	26:21	28:17	28:55
20.3	15:21	21:38	29:49	26:02	28:33	28:52
21.3	16:25	21:12	28:37	25:52	27:44	28:54
22.3	15:23	10:57	27:20	28:35	28:33	28:42
23.3	16:47	22:12	26:10	27:06	28:23	28:51
24.3	15:09	21:28	31:47	27:26	28:15	28:43
25.3	15:20	12:22	25:05	22:34	28:22	28:41
26.3	14:50	21:20	28:37	26:49	28:23	28:48
27.3	14:59	21:02	29:59	27:49	28:12	**
28.3	14:14	21:39	27:44	28:16	27:44	**
29.3	13:58	10:14	18:18	27:48	28:21	**
30.3	15:50	21:03	25:03	27:56	28:23	28:52
31.3	16:25	21:37	27:13	26:52	28:04	28:42
SUM:	07:52:18	10:08:59	14:04:40	14:34:15	14:25:47	12:27:59

* Die Werte enthalten die Werbezeit im Umfang von etwa 6 Minuten pro Sendung.
** Nicht auswertbare Videoaufzeichnungen (bedingt durch Sendeausfälle und Kabelprobleme).

Source: Bente and Frey, in press (Tabelle 1).

Table 2a

Visual Quotes of German Political Leaders

ZDF - March 11, 1987

Z#	ID Clip	Pos	Name	D#	Beginn Ende	Dauer
1)	3251.001	1	BANGEMANN	1	02:13.0-02:17.0	4.5
2)	3001.001	1	KOHL	1	02:13.0-02:17.0	4.5
3)	3020.002	3	GEISSLER	1	02:17.0-02:24.5	8.0
4)	3042.003	4	JENNINGER	1	02:28.5-02:56.5	28.5
5)	3001.004		KOHL	2	02:59.5-03:11.5	12.5
6)	3070.004	5	STRAUSS	1	03:00.5-03:12.0	12.0
7)	3031.004	6	DREGGER	1	03:04.0-03:11.5	8.0
8)	3055.004	7	VOGEL B.	1	03:11.5-03:12.0	1.0
9)	3031.005		DREGGER	2	03:12.0-03:18.5	7.0
10)	3251.005		BANGEMANN	2	03:12.0-03:20.5	9.0
11)	3001.005		KOHL	3	03:12.0-03:24.5	13.0
12)	3055.005		VOGEL B.	2	03:12.5-03:16.0	4.0
13)	3070.005		STRAUSS	2	03:15.5-03:24.0	9.0
14)	3255.005	8	MISCHNIK	1	03:17.0-03:24.5	8.0
15)	3250.005	9	GENSCHER	1	03:20.0-03:24.5	5.0
16)	3453.005	10	BRANDT	1	03:20.5-03:24.5	4.5
17)	3031.006		DREGGER	3	03:24.5-03:29.0	5.0
18)	3070.006		STRAUSS	3	03:24.5-03:30.5	6.5
19)	3453.006		BRANDT	2	03:25.0-03:30.5	6.0
20)	3020.006		GEISSLER	2	03:25.0-03:30.5	6.0
21)	3250.006		GENSCHER	2	03:25.0-03:30.5	6.0
22)	3001.006		KOHL	4	03:25.0-03:30.5	6.0
23)	3001.007		KOHL	5	03:33.5-03:44.5	11.5
24)	3000.007	11	WEIZSAECKER	1	03:39.0-03:44.5	6.0
25)	3001.008		KOHL	6	03:49.5-03:52.0	3.0
26)	3000.008		WEIZSAECKER	2	03:50.0-03:52.0	2.5
27)	3001.009		KOHL	7	03:54.0-03:59.5	6.0
28)	3000.009		WEIZSAECKER	3	03:54.0-03:59.5	6.0
29)	3042.010		JENNINGER	2	04:07.0-04:30.5	24.0
30)	3001.010		KOHL	8	04:07.0-04:30.5	24.0
31)	3001.011		KOHL	9	04:39.5-05:11.0	32.0
32)	3001.012		KOHL	10	05:15.5-05:22.0	7.0
33)	3010.013	12	BLUEM	1	05:22.0-05:28.5	7.0
34)	3001.013		KOHL	11	05:23.5-05:28.5	5.5
35)	3001.014		KOHL	12	05:37.0-05:43.0	6.5
36)	3031.014		DREGGER	4	05:40.5-05:43.0	3.0
37)	3002.015	13	STOLTENBERG	1	05:43.5-05:48.0	5.0
38)	3010.015		BLUEM	2	05:43.5-05:55.5	12.5
39)	3020.015		GEISSLER	3	05:43.5-05:55.5	12.5
40)	3006.015	14	SUESSMUTH	1	05:46.0-05:55.5	10.0
41)	3211.015	15	3211	1	05:47.5-05:50.5	3.5
42)	3002.015		STOLTENBERG	2	05:50.0-05:55.5	6.0
43)	4544.016	16	JUAN CARLOS	1	11:37.0-11:54.0	17.5
44)	1500.016	17	MITTERRAND	1	11:37.5-11:54.0	17.0
45)	4544.017		JUAN CARLOS	2	12:00.0-12:02.5	3.0
46)	1500.017		MITTERRAND	2	12:00.5-12:02.5	2.5
47)	1500.018		MITTERRAND	3	12:03.0-12:16.5	14.0
48)	4544.018		JUAN CARLOS	3	12:03.0-12:16.5	14.0

Table 2b

Visual Quotes of French Political Leaders
Antenne 2 - March 11, 1987

Z#	ID Clip	Pos	Name	D#	Beginn Ende	Dauer
1)	4544.001	1	JUAN CARLOS	1	02:11.0-02:26.0	15.5
2)	1500.001	2	MITTERRAND	1	02:15.5-02:26.0	11.0
3)	4544.002		JUAN CARLOS	2	02:26.0-02:35.0	9.5
4)	1500.002		MITTERRAND	2	02:26.5-02:35.0	9.0
5)	4544.003		JUAN CARLOS	3	02:36.5-02:48.5	12.5
6)	4545.003	3	GONZALES	1	02:37.0-02:53.5	17.0
7)	1500.003		MITTERRAND	3	02:37.0-02:53.5	17.0
8)	1500.004		MITTERRAND	4	02:54.0-04:12.0	78.5
9)	1500.005		MITTERRAND	5	04:12.5-05:32.5	80.5
10)	1500.006		MITTERRAND	6	05:33.0-05:36.0	3.5
11)	1500.007		MITTERRAND	7	05:36.0-05:38.5	3.0
12)	2561.008	4	LEROY	1	11:52.0-11:54.5	3.0
13)	1501.009	5	FABIUS	1	11:54.5-11:57.0	3.0
14)	2585.010	6	BONNEMAISON	1	11:57.0-12:00.5	4.0
15)	2586.010	6	DESIR	1	11:57.0-12:00.5	4.0
16)	2587.011	8	2587	1	12:25.0-12:28.5	4.0
17)	1546.012	9	MALHURET	1	12:58.0-13:11.0	13.5
18)	1546.013		MALHURET	2	13:13.0-13:34.5	22.0
19)	1502.014	10	CHIRAC	1	15:55.5-16:21.5	26.5
20)	4545.014		GONZALES	2	15:56.5-16:21.5	25.5
21)	4546.015	11	JAUREGI	1	26:55.0-27:16.5	22.0

Key

Z#:   Number of visual quote in newscast

ID: Identification number of political leader's name (For full   co

Clip: Number of film sequence in newscast. (Leaders with the same   cl

Pos: Rank order of the political leader's appearance in this
       newscast.

Name: Name of political leader

D#:   Number of visual quote of each leader in this newscast

Beginn
/Ende: Start and stop of visual quote

Dauer: Length of visual quote (rounded to the nearest half-second).

Source: Bente and Frey, in press (Tables 2a-b)

TABLE 3: MOST FREQUENTLY SHOWN LEADERS IN GERMAN, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN TV
(30 or more Visual Quotes during March, 1987)

	# V.Q.	Ave Length	Total Length	# V.Q Germany	France	U.S.
UNITED STATES						
Reagan	351	7.8	2723.5	22	47	383
Baker	88	7.0	560.5	2	3	75
Bush	77	6.1	467.0	4	4	69
Carter	46	7.7	352.0	0	0	46
Dukakis	43	5.5	235.5	0	0	43
Haig	42	6.0	252.5	0	4	38
Schultz	41	6.0	248.0	10	4	27
Poindexter	39	6.1	238.0	0	4	35
Kampleman	37	9.4	347.5	0	0	37
Dole	36	4.6	164.5	0	0	36
FRANCE						
Chirac	277	9.2	2554	1	271	3
Mitterand	244	10.9	2657	23	220	1
Seguin	36	4.2	150	0	36	0
Giraud	30	11.1	333.5	0	30	0
GERMANY						
Kohl	138	10.7	1473	123	14	1
Weizsacker	89	9.8	876	89	0	0
Bangemann	63	11.1	697.0	63	0	0
Genscher	59	10.8	635.0	58	1	0
Bluem	48	7.7	369.0	48	0	0
Geissler	31	13.4	415.0	31	0	0
Brandt	31	9.3	298.5	23	8	0
INTERNATIONAL						
Thatcher	143	7.9	1133.0	56	49	38
Gorbachev	70	8.2	336.0	22	18	30
Qaddafi	50	13.1	653.0	0	32	18
Honnecker	41	8.2	336.0	41	0	0
Aquino	36	5.5	197.0	14	0	22

Figure 1a

Rank Order of Political Leaders by Media Visibility
Germany (N = 146)

VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
DEUTSCHLAND (N=146 PERSONEN)
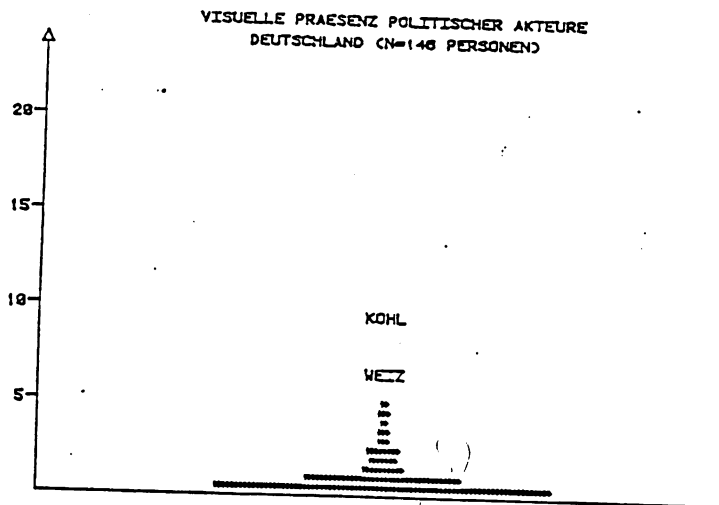
KOHL

WEIZ

Figure 1a: Rank order of media visibility in Germany,
measured as percent of all visual quotes of political leaders
devoted to each individual leader (March 1987). Each *
indicates a different individual leader. Kohl = Chancellor
Kohl. Weiz = President von Weizacker.

Figure 1b

Rank Order of Political Leaders by Media Visibility
France (N = 176)

VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
FRANKREICH (N=176 PERSONEN)
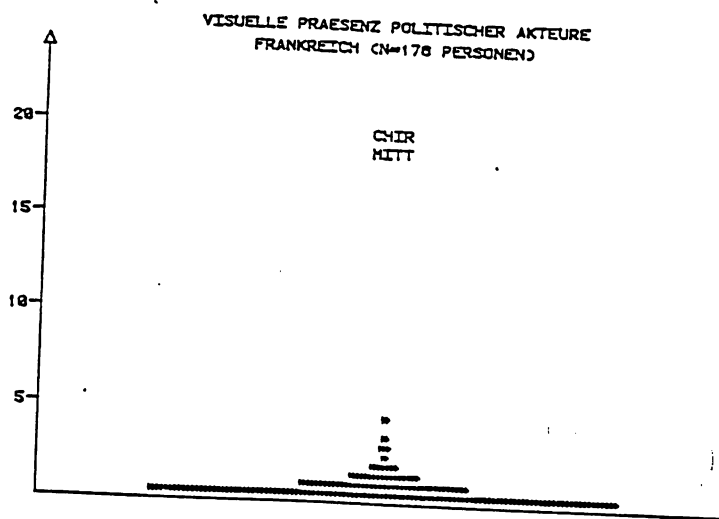
CHIR
MITT

Figure 1b: Rank order of media visibility in France, measured
as percent of all visual quotes of political leaders devoted
to each individual leader (March 1987). Each * indicates a
different individual leader. Chir = Prime Minister Chirac.
Mitt = President Mitterand.

Figure 1c

Rank Order of Political Leaders by Media Visibility
U.S. (N = 222)

VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
AMERIKA (N=222 PERSONEN)

REAG

20

15

10

5   BAKE
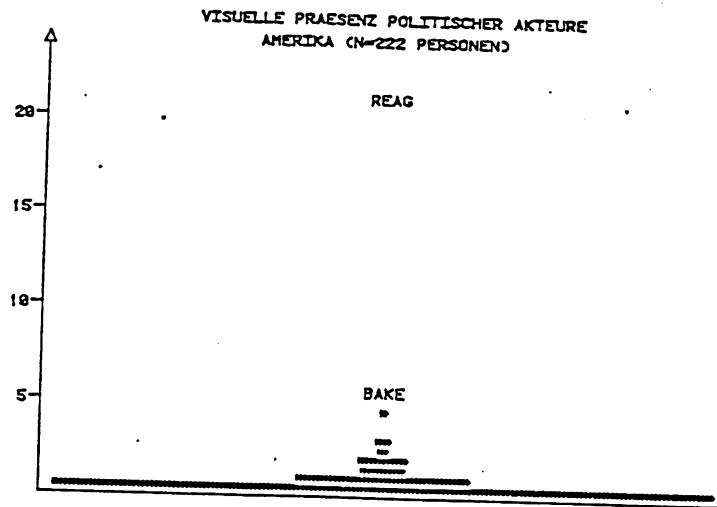
Figure 1c: Rank order of media visibility in U.S., measured
as percent of all visual quotes of political leaders devoted
to each individual leader (March 1987). Each * indicates a
different individual leader. Reag = President Reagan. Bake
= White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker.

Source: Bente and Frey, in press.

Figure 2a

Visual Quotes of Reagan
NBC – March 1987

VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
NBC : REAGAN

Z
O
O
M

zeit

Tage

DUISYS, Mod. 7, Rev. Mar 89
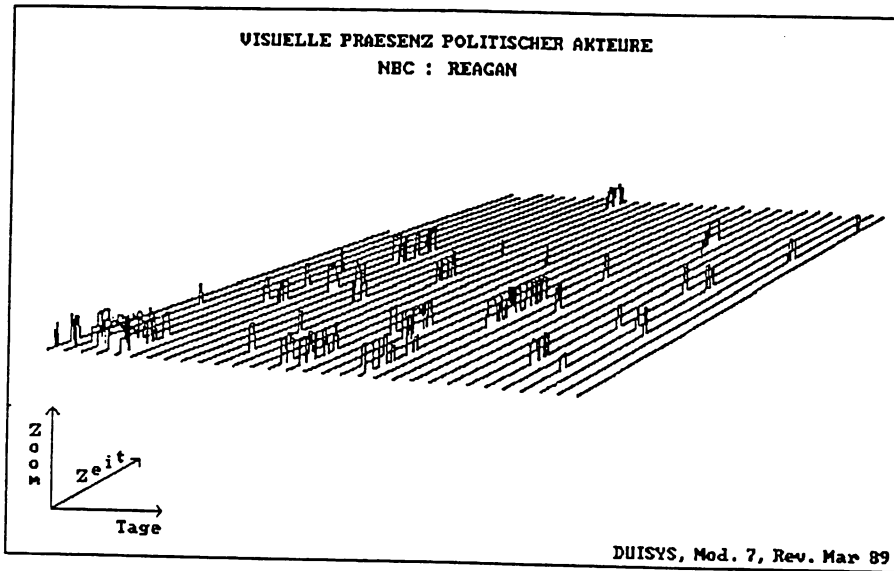
Figure 2b
Visual Quotes of Baker
NBC – March 1987
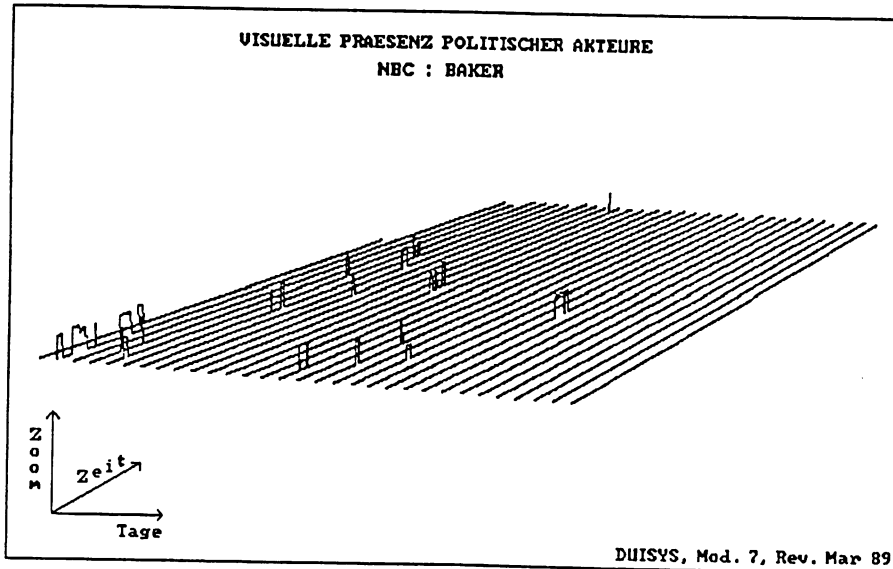
VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
NBC : BAKER

Z
O
O
M

zeit

Tage

DUISYS, Mod. 7, Rev. Mar 89

Key: Each line, from left to right, represents one day (from
March 1 to 31). Temporal flow of newscast is represented by
length of line. Vertical dimension represents presence of a
visual quote showing the leader, with height proportional to
close-up of image.

Figure 2c

Visual Quotes of Mitterand
Antenne 2 - March 1987

VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
An2 : MITTERRAND

Z
o
o
M
zeit

Tage

DUISYS, Mod. 7, Rev. Mar 89
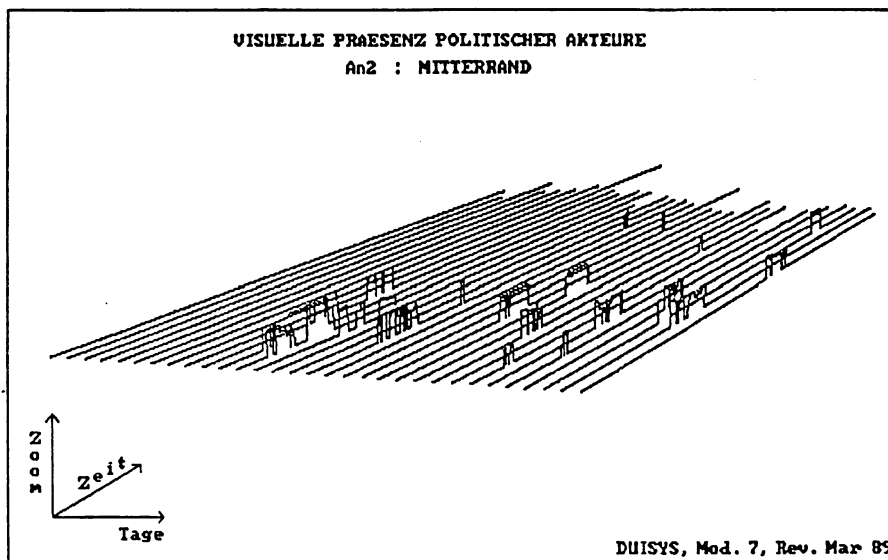
Figure 2d
Visual Quotes of Chirac
Antenne 2 - March 1987
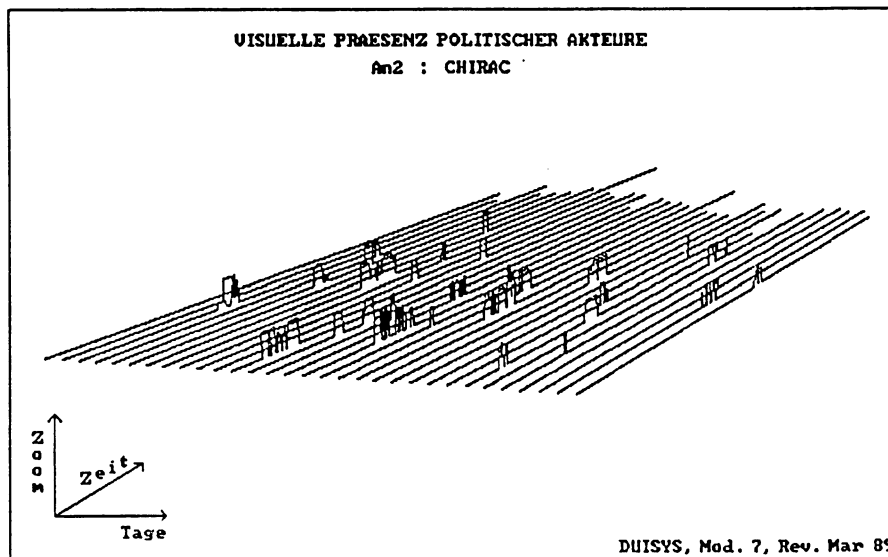
VISUELLE PRAESENZ POLITISCHER AKTEURE
An2 : CHIRAC

Z
o
o
M
zeit

Tage

DUISYS, Mod. 7, Rev. Mar 89

Key: Each line, from left to right, represents one day (from
March 1 to 31). Temporal flow of newscast is represented by
length of line. Vertical dimension represents presence of a
visual quote showing the leader, with height proportional to
close-up of image.

References

Atkinson, Max. 1984. *Our Masters' Voices: the Languge and Body Language of Politics* . London: Methuen.

Barner-Barry, Carol. 1981. Longitudinal observational research and the study of the basic forms of political socialization. In Meredith Watts, ed., *Biopolitics: Ethological and Physiological Approaches,* 51-60. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.

Bente, Gary and Frey, Siegfried. In press. "Visuelle Zitate" als Mittel der Fernsehberichterstattung in Deutschland, Frankreich und den USA.

Chance, Michael R. A. 1976. Attention structures as the basis of primate rank orders. In Michael R. A. Chance, and Ray R. Larson, eds., *The Social Structure of Attention.* N.Y.: John Wiley.

Chance, Michael R. A., ed. 1989. *Social Fabrics of the Mind.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dahl, Robert. 1957. The Concept of Power *Behavioral Science* 2:201-215.

DeVore, Irven. 1985. *Primate Behavior* . New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

de Waal, Frans. 1982. *Chimpanzee Politics: Power and Sex among Apes.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Frey, Siegfried and Bente, Gary. 1989. Mikroanalyse Medienvermittelter Informationsprozesse. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft 30-1989: Massenkommunikation,* pp. 515-33.

Goodall, Jane. 1986. *The Chimpanzees of Gombe. Patterns of Behavior.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald R. 1987. *News that Matters.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lasswell, Harold. 1945. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* . New York: Meridian

Masters, Roger D. 1983. Evolutionary Biology and the Welfare State. In R. F. Thomasson, ed., *Comparative Social Research* 6:203-41. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Masters, Roger D. 1989. *The Nature of Politics.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Masters, Roger D., Denis G. Sullivan, Alice Feola, and Gregory J. McHugo. 1987. Television Coverage of Candidates' Display Behavior during the 1984 Democratic Primaries in the United States, *International Political Science Review*, 8:121-30.

Masters, Roger D., Bente, Gary, Frey, Siegfried, and Pöhls, Uwë. 1988. Kodierungsmanual zur Zeitreihennotation medienspezifischer Inhalts-, Kontext- und Präsentationsvariablen. Psychologisches Forschungsberichte 1988-1. Dusiburg: Universität Duisburg

McLuhan, Marshall. 1964. *Understanding Media.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Montagner, Hubert. 1978. *L'enfant et la communication.* Paris: Stock.

Orren, Gary R. and Polsby, Nelson W. 1988. *Media and Momentum* . Chatham, MA: Chatham House Publishers.

Ranney, Austin. 1983. *Channels of Power* . New York: Basic Books.

Schramm, Stuart. 1979. in Gumpert, Gary and Cathcart, Robert, eds. *Inter/Media* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Strayer, Fred F. 1981. The organization and coordination of asymmetrical relations among young children: A biological view of social power. In Meredith Watts, ed., *Biopolitics: Ethological and Physiological Approaches,* 33-49. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sullivan, Denis G. and R. D. Masters. 1988. "Happy Warriors": Leaders' facial displays, viewers emotions, and political support. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32:345-68.

Sullivan, Denis G. and Masters, Roger D. In press. Emotions and Trait Attributions in the Evaluation of Political Leaders: Experimental Evidence. To appear in S. Peterson and A. Somit, eds. *Research in Biopolitics*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

IGS Working Papers

1987

87-1   THE ROCKY ROAD TO PRIVATIZATION
        Lyle C. Fitch
87-2   TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF NEW SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS IN
        INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
        Ivo D. Duchacek
87-3   INFORMAL PLURALISM AND LDP GUIDANCE--EXAMINATION OF JAPAN'S
        PROTECTIONISM OF RAW SILK IMPORTATION
        John Q. Zhao
87-4   THE RELUCTANT REVIVAL OF LANDOWNER RIGHTS
        Dennis J. Coyle
87-5   A CRITICAL THEORY OF COMMUNITY
        Dennis J. Coyle
87-6   THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY AFTER SIX YEARS
        Eugene C. Lee (moderator)
87-7   THE POLITICS OF THE AIDS VACCINE OR HOW THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
        SEARCHED FOR THE MAGIC BULLET--AND WOUND UP SQUABBLING WITH THE TRIAL
        LAWYERS THE BUDGET-CUTTERS AND THE ALZHEIMER'S ESTABLISHMENT
        David L. Kirp and Hugh Maher

1988

88-1   WHAT DO DECISION MODELS TELL US ABOUT INFORMATION USE?
        Evert A. Lindquist
88-2   EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING AND PUBLIC POLICY: KEY STRATEGIES FOR SEISMIC
        POLICY
        Stanley Scott
88-3   RESEARCH APPLICATIONS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CALIFORNIA SEISMIC SAFETY
        COMMISSION
        Stanley Scott
88-4   CORPORATE CAMPAIGN SPENDING AND INITIATIVE OUTCOMES IN CALIFORNIA
        Tom E. Thomas
88-5   AMERICAN ALL-MAIL BALLOTING: A SUMMATION OF A DECADE'S EXPERIENCE
        Randy H. Hamilton
88-6   DO YOU HAVE TO BE CRAZY TO DO THIS JOB? CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF
        JOB SATISFACTION AMONG LOCAL LEGISLATORS
        Edward L. Lascher Jr.
88-7   CALIFORNIA AGENCY RECONNAISSANCE PROJECT REPORTS
        Todd R. La Porte, David Hadwiger, Steven Stehr
88-8   ARE CHICANOS ASSIMILATING?
        Jorge Chapa
88-9   WHITE REACTIONS TO BLACK CANDIDATES: WHEN DOES RACE MATTER?
        Jack Citrin, Donald Philip Green, David O. Sears
88-10   ISSUES IN RURAL AND SMALL DEVELOPMENT, CASE STUDY: WATSONVILLE SANTA
        CRUZ COUNTY CALIFORNIA
        Trish Ramos, Lakshmi Srinivas, Miriam Chion, Ana Lopez, Harry Hecht,
        Chris Broughton, Robert Murray
88-11   THE UNITED STATES AIR TRAFFIC SYSTEM: INCREASING RELIABILITY IN
        THE MIDST OF RAPID GROWTH
        Todd La Porte

Please add my name to the *PAR* mailing list (free). _____

TITLE	QUANTITY/COST

SUBTOTAL _____
SALES TAX _____
HANDLING (20%) _____
TOTAL _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
_____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____