

Studying Media Bias: Print Coverage of the Top 2004 Presidential Candidates

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News bias between two leading candidates, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Fernando Poe, Jr., of the Philippine Daily Inquirer and Philippine Star during the 2004 Presidential Elections were compared. Both newspapers were content analyzed extracting a specified sample of 30 issues for each, those from April 11, 2004 through May 11, 2004. The study used frequency of names of each candidate and adjectives used to describe each candidate on the publication. Results showed difference in adjective use for each candidate indicating that Philippine Star used more positive adjectives describing GMA by 86.11% compared to positive adjectives associated with FPJ which depicted 30.49%. The findings confirm the existence of media bias, particularly in print media, affirming media's significant role in Philippine society.

The Philippines 2004 presidential elections were marked by the close rivalry of two relatively strong candidates: the incumbent president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and the popular movie star Fernando Poe, Jr. A large amount of political posturing in this highly contentious race took place in the arena of mass media, through coverage by television, newspapers, radio, and the

internet. Amidst widespread coverage of this hotly contested race, issues about media bias were raised by different political camps. This study investigated whether media bias existed in newspaper accounts about the character of the top two presidential candidates.

Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt (1998) claimed that media norms emphasize balance and objectivity, especially when the news is political in nature, and the best way to achieve this is by mixing positive and negative accounts in an article. Dalton et al. (1998) further highlighted that partisan information, particularly during the election period, takes the form of multiple messages, providing voters a vast collection of evaluative clues from which they formulate their own judgments. Further, even if media do not manifest great persuasive influence in preferences, they still latently sway cognitive agenda-setting and outline how candidates and the surrounding events are perceived.

Why study media bias in relation to candidate-character coverage? First, character issues during high profile events, such as campaign periods or elections, can turn assiduous giving rise to bias. As biased imageries of character arise, associated evaluations or labels then elicit affect that subtly alter preferential candidate choice (Howard & Pike, 1986). In the use of adjectives in describing the candidates, Howard and Pike (1986) stressed that the influence of status characteristics on judgments are highly viable. For example, stereotyping results in behavioral expectations that eventually shape intergroup relations. Howard and Pike (1986) further emphasized that cognition, emotions, and reactions occur in variable social contexts where a considerable influence is exerted in forming attributions, evaluations, or labels. In view of bias in the context of descriptions or providing imagery for a certain character/person, attribution assumes a significant role in influencing prejudice or discrimination which may elicit subtle effects in terms of decision-making or preference.

Second, studies show the voting public tend to emphasize people rather than issues (Mendelsohn, 1996; Seib, 1994) or political parties. This is due to the inevitable reality that the people surrounding the issues in the news are more interesting. The highly personalized nature of Philippine politics (Cuarteros, 2004) corroborates the importance of a candidate's character portrayal during electoral campaigns. For Seib (1994), character is idealized as the competence to hold office and a clear dominant issue in the context of campaign elections, shared largely and proliferated diversely in broadsheets. However, character evaluation still depends on the reader or audience since they are the perceivers of attributes with which they are to judge based on their own personal values. Thirdly, journalists tend to be preoccupied with character. In an election campaign context, since character is most often linked to competence in holding public office, issues may be displaced in forming judgments about candidates. Lippmann (as cited in Willis, 1991) explained that due to the nature of the media, there are rarely opportunities for the audience/readers for intimate familiarization of these subjects. Instead, a particular trait or description is perceived through a familiar lens-type, in conjunction with personal labels and perceptions to complete the picture. According to Seib (1994), many may vote based on character evaluation of a candidate rather than issue position or political party. Journalists or the media, more often than not, are preoccupied with character. In addition, newspapers may be lenient in proliferation of character issues, factual or not, of politicians or high profile individuals because this strategy may increase publication sales. Attaching characteristics, again either factual or not, may block issues from influencing judgments or evaluative attempts toward politicians.

Media bias is often latent rather than manifest because overt media norms emphasize balance and objectivity in delivering the news especially when it is political in nature. Although subtle and latent, media influences the public mind as

the messages media conveys reach a large number of persons in a short period of time.

Media bias can also be extracted from the practice of priming and framing. Kyuper (2002) views priming as contextual cues and criteria by which the audience evaluates an issue or a political figure. Priming works in high profile issues or events because by focusing attention to specific aspects of an individual or information while ignoring others, it allows standards to be determined and used to evaluate and judge people and issues.

On the other hand, for Parenti (1986), framing takes on the forms of emphasis, impression establishment, the way news is packaged, even placement of issues on broadsheets, headlining, labeling, and vocabulary use. This may cause the reader or the viewer to be misled, oftentimes eliminating the opportunity for in-depth expansive evaluation or assessment of the focused individual or issue. Parenti (1980) suggested that framing may be through labeling which conveys designed positive or negative cues of events or individuals, usually with a lack of more substantial information. Both print and broadcast media succumb to such strategic presentation of news, events, or persona. Oftentimes such presentation tells us what to think about a person or story before we get to think about the entirety of it for ourselves. Kyuper (2002) further views framing as the relationship between priming (certain contextual cues) and how the public sphere interprets them. It is a central organizing idea that holds the facts of the news or issue together, which may either allow emphasis or omission of certain facets of descriptions and meanings of facts. Frames in turn, define the understanding of particular news issues. Framing holds its efficiency not by the frequency of a word or concept, but rather how it is consistently framed over time in the news.

Media shapes social cognition in two broad ways: what people think about and how they think about these things. Media bias in relation to influencing what people think about has been

referred to as biased selection (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000; Smith, McCarthy, McPhai, & Augustyn, 2001), gatekeeping (Adams, 1994), and agenda-setting (McCombs, 2002). Kyupers (2002) elaborated that agenda setting explains the complex intercourse of political discourse and public perceptions of such discourse. The media practices an agenda-setting role where it allows the public to perceive political reality as to how it is layered in several themes and contexts. Furthermore, agenda setting paves the way in focusing the public's attention upon an issue over another issue in relation to how much the media can solicit as much attention to such issue. McCombs (2002) agreed that agenda-setting of the media allows the public to form images and perspectives regarding issues and public figures. He further posited that media's agenda-setting paves the way for public agenda, as supported by his psychological view on every individual's need for orientation—the innate need to understand the environment around us. With agenda-setting, the media becomes the catalyst in providing comfort for the individual who is drawn to the civic arena of politics or campaign elections where he or she is faced with unfamiliar candidates. In turn, the voting public feeds on this need, where media agenda-setting provides the influx of information. Amidst the interplay of agenda setting of the media and the public, second level agenda-setting emerges. Kyuper (2002) suggested that it explains how the media can focus attention on particular attributes of a particular issue or figure where it would most likely influence the public sphere's thinking since these highlighted attributes can be used to evaluate a particular political figure's actions. Hence, second level agenda-setting is defined by what attributes of characters are to be stressed in the news spread.

Bradenburg (2003) maintains that the media selects certain details to mention and omit many others. Mass media then provides its audience with a condensed and interpreted depiction of that social reality (Jackson, 2003). Their choice to highlight and put emphasis on some aspects of events and obscure others

may result in distortion or misleading reports even though this is not the intention at all (Singer, 1990). Media's capacity to choose which news to cover influences the public's cognitive agenda, creating mental salience of these special issues.

In presidential contests, salience is important because the voter needs to remember the name of the candidate during the act of voting. Studies showed that the accessibility of stored information increased when it was recently or frequently primed (Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Srull & Wyer, 1979). Hence, in a presidential campaign the more frequently a candidate's name is mentioned, the higher the probability of name recall at the voting booth.

Media bias likewise influences how people think about the things that are salient in their minds. This second type of media partiality is called descriptive bias (Extavour, Green, & Kirsh, 2004), which involves patterned preferences in favor or against the target of media coverage, as the story is presented to the public (Extavour et al., 2004; Hofstetter, 1976; Robinson & Sheehan, 1980; Smith et al., 2001). Media's descriptive bias frames the public mind. As selectivity relates to cognitive salience, descriptive bias influences the direction of this salient issue, toward a more positive or negative frame (Sheufele, 1999). One study on media reports of protest events illustrated how descriptive bias can be more problematic than selection bias. Findings showed that media sufficiently covered protest actions, yet reported such episodes in an undermining way (Smith et al., 2001). In such instances, salience was less of an issue than the problem of negative framing. This further supports the categories used in this study to identify and quantify media bias between the two sampled broadsheets.

Biased framing strategies can take the form of emphasis, impression establishment, the way news is packaged, even placement of issues on broadsheets, headlining, labeling, and vocabulary use (Entman, 1989; Mendelsohn, 1996; Parenti, 1986;

Wagner, 1983). This may mislead the readers or viewers of the news item eliminating the opportunity for deeper analytical processing. For example, labeling conveys positive or negative cues about events or individuals usually with lack of more substantial information. Such presentations tell the target audience what to think about a person or story before one gets to think about the bigger picture. For example, if media calls a presidential candidate “just an actor” or “an arrogant person”, the labels already convey to the reader significant cues and judgments about a presidential candidate. Descriptive media bias has also been referred to as biased statements (D’Alessio & Allen, 2000), ideologies, and spins (Mullainathan & Shleifer, 2002).

We hypothesized that during the 2004 presidential campaign, media bias existed only in the form of description and not selection partiality. We did not predict any selection bias because both candidates appeared to be salient in the campaign. GMA was the incumbent president, while FPJ was a popular movie actor.

METHOD

To study media bias during the GMA-FPJ presidential race in 2004, we content analyzed the top two Philippine national newspapers. We used the operational definitions of media bias proposed by D’Alessio and Allen (2000). These authors distinguished between selection and description bias. They viewed selection bias as a deviation from a 50-50 coverage split for each side of an issue. On the other hand, description bias involved a deviation from a 50-50 split of as many overtly opinionated statements about one side as the other. The following sections describe our sample’s coverage and the details of our content analysis.

Newspaper Sample-Selection

Our research covered all the printed issues of The Philippine Daily Inquirer and The Philippine Star one month before election day,

from April 11, 2004 to May 11, 2004. We bracketed this month on the assumption that electoral campaigning peaked during this period.

We narrowed our text sample to the news and the editorial sections of the newspapers since these were the focal areas of newspapers' campaign coverage. Further, we considered only news articles and editorials that pertained to the elections because one of the sampled candidates (Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo or GMA) was also the incumbent President. We limited our sample to articles that referred to GMA as presidential candidate and not as the incumbent leader.

Measuring Media's Selection and Descriptive Bias

To measure selection bias, we counted the number of times each presidential candidate's name (President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Fernando Poe, Jr.) was mentioned in our sample texts. Abbreviated names of the candidates (e.g. PGMA/GMA and FPJ), nicknames or shortened names (e.g., Mrs. Arroyo/Gloria or Mr. Poe/Poe) and associated names (small but terrible Gloria and "Da King"/"Panday") were considered and also counted. We then ran a chi-square test to find out whether there was a significant difference in the number of times GMA and FPJ were mentioned in *The Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *The Philippine Star*.

To evaluate descriptive bias, we counted the number of positive and negative descriptive nouns and adjectives used to portray the presidential candidates. We borrowed this measurement strategy from Howard and Pike's (1986) research that used adjectives as an instrument for studying bias in describing candidates. We categorized the descriptive terms using the political context and the nature of its use in a sentence about the candidate (derogatory or complimentary). Positive and negative categories were used to sift through the descriptive terms, congruent with the conjectures of Sheufele (1999), Smith et al., (2001) and D'Alessio and Allen (2000). Further, the noun-adjective "actor/movie star" in describing Mr. Fernando Poe, Jr. was categorized as negative only when it was

used in a derogatory context. We found texts that contained the term *actor/movie star* in a positive or neutral context. Appendix A lists examples of positive, neutral or negative connotations of the word “actor” in describing FPJ. Separate chi-square tests on data from the two newspapers measured whether there was indeed a 50-50 split in the number of negative and positive statements written about the two-presidential candidates.

RESULTS

Our results support the prediction that selection bias did not exist in leading print media during the 2004 presidential elections. Findings show that both *The Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *The Philippine Star* covered candidate Arroyo and Poe with a 50-50 split. Table 2 presents the number of times either GMA or FPJ were mentioned as candidates in the two comparative newspapers. Chi square tests per newspaper showed insignificant results (chi square $_{STAR} = .468$; $p = > .05$; chi square $_{PDI} = 1.05$, $p = > .05$), indicating no significant differences between the number of times GMA and FPJ were name-cited in the selected newspapers.

Table 1. Number and percentage of times presidential candidates names appeared in the news and editorial sections of the top two national newspapers (April 11- May 11, 2004)

Candidate	Newspaper	
	Philippine Star f (%)	Philippine Daily Inquirer f (%)
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	978 (51%)	669 (49%)
Fernando Poe, Jr.	948 (49%)	707 (51%)

Table 2. Comparison of the number of times presidential candidates were mentioned in the Philippine Star between April 11 and May 11, 2004 for Chi-Square Analysis

Candidate	<i>Philippine Star</i>			
	f_o	f_e	$f_o - f_e$	$(f_o - f_e)^2 / f_e$
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	978	963	15	.234
Fernando Poe, Jr.	948	963	-15	.234
" _{STAR} = 1926	chi square (χ^2_{STAR}) = 0.468			

We further hypothesized that description bias was present in print media coverage. To test this prediction, we ran separate significance test of proportions for both newspapers, comparing the number of times positive and negative descriptions appeared for GMA and FPJ. Our findings partially support our hypothesis, showing that descriptive media bias thrived only in one newspaper, and not the other. Tables 5 and 6 show the number of favorable and unfavorable statements about the presidential candidates printed by the two leading newspapers. Significance tests on *The Philippine Daily Inquirer* exhibited no significant differences between the number of positive and negative descriptions associated with GMA and FPJ ($z = 0.848$; $p = >.05$). On the other hand, data from *The Philippine Star* indicated that FPJ received significantly more derogatory newspaper descriptions than did his rival GMA ($z = 6.042$; $p = <.01$).

Table 3. Comparison of the number of times presidential candidates were mentioned in the Philippine Daily Inquirer between April 11 and May 11, 2004 for Chi-Square Analysis

Candidate	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer</i>			
	f_o	f_e	$f_o - f_e$	$(f_o - f_e)^2 / f_e$
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	669	688	-19	.525
Fernando Poe, Jr.	707	688	19	.525
" _{PDI} = 1376	chi square (χ^2_{PDI}) = 1.05			

Table 4. Number and Percentage of Positive and Negative Adjectives describing the Candidate

Candidate	<i>Newspaper</i>			
	Philippine Star		Philippine Daily Inquirer	
	+	-	+	-
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	31 (86.11%)	5 (13.9%)	10 (55.56%)	8 (44.4%)
Fernando Poe, Jr.	43 (30.49%)	98 (69.5%)	21 (43.75%)	27 (56.2%)

Table 5. Comparison of Positive and Negative Adjectives describing the candidate in The Philippine Star

Candidate	<i>Philippine Star</i>					
	(frequency)		N	(proportion)		
	(+)	(-)		(+)	(-)	(-)
GMA	31	5	$N_1 = 36$	.861	.139	(1.00)
FPJ	43	98	$N_2 = 141$	.305	.695	(1.00)
	(74)	(103)	$N = 171$	(.418)	(.582)	(1.00)

$$z = .861 - .305$$

$$\sqrt{(.418)(.582) [(1/36) + (1/141)]}$$

$$z = 6.042, p = < .01$$

Table 6. Comparison of Positive and Negative Adjectives describing the candidate in The Philippine Daily Inquirer

Candidate	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer</i>					
	(frequency)		N	(proportion)		
	(+)	(-)		(+)	(-)	(-)
GMA	10	8	$N_1 = 18$	.555	.445	(1.00)
FPJ	21	27	$N_2 = 48$	.438	.562	(1.00)
	(31)	(35)	$N = 66$	(.470)	(.530)	(1.00)

$$z = .555 - .438$$

$$\sqrt{(.470)(.530) [(1/18) + (1/48)]}$$

$$z = 0.848, p = > .05$$

DISCUSSION

Our research investigated media bias during the hotly contested 2004 presidential race between Arroyo and Poe. We derived sample text from news and editorial sections of the top newspaper dailies. Results showed an absence of selection bias, because both newspapers mentioned GMA and FPJ an equal number of times. However, *The Philippine Star* showed a preference toward GMA, when descriptions about each presidential contender were analyzed in terms of the positive and negative terms associated with each candidate.

It was found in the *Philippine Star* that there were less positive adjectives or attributes describing FPJ as opposed to GMA; positive adjectives and noun-phrases such as *strong*, *competent*, *experienced*, and *educated* were associated with her. This implies that news bias existed in terms of positive cues in describing GMA during her candidacy in the 2004 National elections and campaign coverage. In contrast, negative adjectives such as *strict*, *insensitive*, *greedy*, and *incompetent* comprised only 13.89% of the frequency count found in the news publication. Furthermore, in the *Philippine Star*, positive adjectives associated with FPJ such as *popular*, *leading rival*, *frontrunner*, and *actor* (which was used in a positive context describing him, refer to Appendix A and B), was less prominent than that of the negative cues associated in describing him such as *actor*, (which was used in a negative context describing him, refer Appendix A and B), *no experience*, and *high school dropout*.

On the other hand, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* showed unremarkable results where no apparent news bias in terms of adjective used on either candidate can be seen. Both negative and positive cues describing FPJ showed no remarkable difference. Therefore, in comparison, the *Philippine Star* was more positively biased towards Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and negatively biased with Fernando Poe Jr. during their news and editorial coverage of the campaign and elections in 2004.

The implications of the results are congruent with that of Parenti (1986) that media bias can be seen in broadsheets in the form of labeling, headlining, and vocabulary use. In addition, Mendelsohn (1996) posited that during elections, media may tend to evaluate candidates or leaders based on character traits as seen in use of words and biased cues in describing them. Although in media norms or convention, it stressed that there should be balance and objectivity (Dalton et al., 1998) and that media must contribute but not control (Entman, 1989), there still exist some manifest or contextual news bias particularly in broadsheets as the results of this study have shown. Upon such, this supports that media does still manifest some degree of bias, whether it be positive or negative, which may influence readers or as in the overview of this study, the voting public. However, the impact, nature or effect of the influence cannot be further elaborated by this study. As Wagner (1983) postulated, information relayed by the media may influence or affect an individual or even a group in differentiating and consequently choosing a candidate. Hence, an existence of media bias may lead an individual or group to evaluate a particular candidate in terms of the image it hopes to project which may eventually affect their line of thinking, judgments, expectations, or decision-making, further supporting Howard and Pike's (1986) point. For these reasons, this comparative study was able to affirm the earlier theories regarding the existence of media bias in high profile events such as the elections.

The latent and interdependent nature of media bias and its effects on the public also reflects the view of McNair (2000) that politics, media, and audience spheres do not exist in isolation from one another. In particular, the effects on the audience/readers is brought about by numerous factors such as appeal, subjectivity, and interpretation (Seib, 1994), perceived political reality (Kyupers, 2002) and persuasion from other readers/audience (Curran & Seaton, 2003).

Media Bias and Show-Business Candidates

Our study demonstrated that media's selection and description bias can stand independent of each other. This finding is particularly useful in the Philippines, as our country experiences a spate of movie personalities running for electoral posts. For example, President Joseph Estrada, a popular movie personality, won the 1998 presidential race. The 2004 senatorial race likewise resulted in the political victory of two more action stars, Ramon Revilla, Jr. and Lito Lapid, Jr. (Comelec, 2004). During electoral campaigns, media coverage of movie-star candidates runs high, perhaps due to the natural glitter provided by showbiz personalities. Unless electoral rivals of movie personalities are incumbents, selection bias may tilt in favor of the show-business candidate.

On the other hand, description bias or what is said by media about an electoral candidate, may work against a show business political contender. The existence of descriptive bias against FPJ by one leading newspaper shows how media electoral coverage can downgrade a popular actor by using negative nouns and adjectives to describe the celluloid personality. When a candidate is labeled a movie actor, she/he falls into a category associated with incompetence. Repeated media association of an actor-candidate and personal incompetence downgrades the public image of someone running for public office.

Labeling a Candidate as 'Actor'

In order to appreciate the power of labeling, we need to understand the meaning of a category. A category is a cognitive structure that binds things in one group on the basis of coherence (Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994). There is no one-to-one correspondence however, between a categorized person and the real person. Inaccuracy arises because the categorization process extrapolates from little evidence, and then interprets fuzzy information to fit the schema. The very act of labeling generates the power to impose on the other a set of characterological

attributes and behavioral scripts associated with the category. For example, once FPJ was categorized as an actor, his public image in the electoral race took on the traits associated with actors, such as incompetence and unintelligent. However, there was no empirical evidence that he was indeed incompetent or dumb. As Seib (1994) concludes, mere character allegation without resort to actual proof can oftentimes stain reputations.

Political handlers of show business personalities who participate in electoral contests perhaps recognize the need to get themselves beyond the category 'just an actor', due to the negative traits associated with this category. During campaigns, show personalities attend to projecting themselves as persons who possess high native intelligence, if not some kind of respectable educational background. Otherwise, their political salience which comes as a positive pay-off to show business candidates may be tinted with unfavorable descriptive statements.

Kurtz (as cited in Seib, 1994) claimed that media can be judged by its daily outpouring of words and images. Further, journalists are perceived as volatile in inclinations and partiality. However, this study does not focus on the intent of the writer/s of the broadsheets. Hence, intentional bias of journalists is not highlighted. Rather, we are bound by the criteria for media bias defined by Sheufele (1999), Smith et al., (2001) and D'Alessio and Allen (2000).

The implications of this study in view of the Philippine media during high profile events or crisis situations verify the significant role of the media in the collective consciousness and decision-making behavior of the public. The Filipino public is in continuous interface with the media and the impact of which allows further researches to be designed to come up with empirical answers to pressing questions regarding this. The results of this study will hopefully be used for further researches and studies which can provoke remarkable change as the media and the Filipino society continues to co-exist.

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APPENDIX A

Comparative Frequency and Percentages of adjectives describing FPJ in the Philippine Star - News and Editorial sections

FPJ <i>Positive</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	FPJ <i>Negative</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	Total frequency = 141
Popular	15		Actor	61		
Chief Rival/Leading rival	15		No experience	32		
Frontrunner	9		High school dropout	9		
Actor	4					
Total	43	30.49%	Total	98	69.50%	

Comparative Frequency and Percentages of adjectives describing GMA in the Philippine Star - News and Editorial sections

GMA <i>Positive</i> adjectives	Frequency adjectives	Percentage	GMA <i>Negative</i>	Frequency	Percentage	Total frequency = 36
Strong	10		Strict	1		
Competent	8		Insensitive	2		
Experienced	7		Greedy	1		
Educated	6		Incompetent	1		
Total	31	86.11%	Total	5	13.89%	

APPENDIX B

Sample context use of the word "actor": positive, negative and neutral

Positive:

"The **actor**, Fernando Poe Jr., who is not used to the dirty ways of politics, must have grown tired of the superstars orbiting around him buzzing around with this and that suggestion that he would hide behind a cordon sanitaire." (Philippine Star, April 15, 2004)

Negative:

"We don't need someone who fight criminals only in the movies, we don't need an **actor**."
(Philippine Daily Inquirer, April 16, 2004)

Neutral:

"Both President Arroyo and **actor** Fernando Poe, Jr. have made no secret of their courtship of deposed President Estrada, who so far has not changed his mind about endorsing his close friend Poe." (Philippine Star, April 19, 2004)

APPENDIX C

Comparative Frequency and Percentages of adjectives describing FPJ in the Philippine Daily Inquirer News and Editorial sections

FPJ <i>Positive</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	FPJ <i>Negative</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	Total frequency = 48
Charismatic	8		Actor	9		
Sincere	8		Not Experienced	13		
Calm / Cool	5		High School Dropout	5		
Total	21	43.75%	Total	27	56.25%	

Comparative Frequency and Percentages of adjectives describing GMA in the Philippine Daily Inquirer News and Editorial sections

GMA <i>Positive</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	GMA <i>Negative</i> adjectives	Frequency	Percentage	Total frequency = 18
Competent	5		Dishonest/Thief	3		
US-Trained Economist	3		Hot-tempered	4		
Kind	2		Anxious	1		
Total	10	55.56%	Total	8	44.44%	