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Mapping Narrative Transactions: A Method/Framework for Exploring Multimodal Documents as Social Semiotic Sites for Ethnographic Study

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Mapping Narrative Transactions: A Method/Framework for Exploring Multi-Modal Documents
as Social Semiotic Sites for Ethnographic Study

by

Anne W. Anderson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
with a concentration in Literacy Studies
Department of Language, Literacy, Ed.D., Exceptional Education, and Physical Education
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methodology, recursive and iterative

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Dedication

This paper is dedicated to cartoon journalists throughout the ages and around the world whose work catches our eyes and minds, causing us to rethink what we thought we knew and reminding us that there is more than one way to convey information.

This paper also is dedicated to the “interpretive community ... comprised of supervisors, peers and other qualified academics [and non-academics] who provide an external check of the research process, [who] keep the researcher honest by asking difficult questions about methods, meanings and interpretations, and [who] provide the researcher with an opportunity for catharsis (Creswell 1998)” (as cited in Seaton, 2011, p. 136).

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Learning is cumulative, and so this dissertation is not just the product of the past few years but has roots that are both broad and deep:

To my great-grandparents, known to me only through family lore, who left their homes more than once to move first to a new country and then west where they roamed a while before finding places to call home: Thank you for showing me how to leave what you know to explore what you don't know.

To my grandparents and parents, who filled their homes with such books, newspapers, magazines, musical instruments, and art as they could afford: Thank you for laying a foundation of learning in multiple symbolic systems (!) on which I could build.

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To my out-of-school teachers—Sunday School teachers, Girl Scout and Campfire Girls leaders, teachers of ice-skating, horseback riding, dance, librarians in many places, employers and colleagues in many fields, and especially to the many authors I have never met in person: Thank you for demonstrating that every moment is an opportunity to teach and to learn.

To the newspaper, book, and article editors, photojournalists, graphic designers, layout artists, webmasters, professors, and others in the commercial and academic publishing worlds with whom I have worked: Thank you for teaching me about the nuances of writing in different

genres and styles; for honing my writing, editing, and layout skills; and for teaching me that writing is a process of thinking that culminates in a never-perfect product that must be shared anyway.

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Abstract

This work grew from my attempts to find a method for studying a body of editorial cartoons—multi-modal documents producing cross-modal responses—that were created and published in an earlier time period, in order to answer questions about the culture in which the cartoons were produced and read. Initially my questions included wondering about the topics cartoonists addressed, the narratives cartoonists created to address the topics, how the narratives were framed, and in what ways the narratives might have been seen as attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse around the topics. However, given the number of possible combinations of information streams contained in any one document, I found myself becoming frustrated in the search for an applicable method. I realized I needed to create a method that made the narrative explicit, while noting the structural elements by which the narrative was conveyed. I also realized this combination of methods, if carefully crafted, could be applied to many types of documents and not just to editorial cartoons. This paper recounts my development of Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT), a method for systematically exploring narrative multi-modal documents as ethnographic artifacts, a method that acknowledges and captures the researcher’s own cognitive, cross-modal, and narrative responses to the individual documents, thus making the interpretive process of the documents more transparent and increasing the depth of the ethnographic study.

Built on an understanding that interpreting documents involves considering them from both an hermeneutical and a phenomenological perspective—that is, studying the structure of the document as well as the people and processes that produced the document—MNT inverted and expanded upon Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ethnographic content analysis (ECA). In turn, the concepts of symbolic interactionism and analytic realism informed the ethnographic

approach of ECA. In this paper, I discuss the structure of multi-modal documents, review literature on methods of studying multi-modal documents in general and editorial cartoons, in particular, and explain step-by-step how MNT developed and how it works. Finally, I discuss design choices I made along the way, note the method's limitations, and consider implications for use in literacy studies and in other fields.

Chapter One: Introduction

Information comes at us from all directions, most wrapped in multi-sensory packages designed to enter our brains primarily through our eyes and ears. Some information packages—ads, billboards, graphic novels, print cartoons, newspaper pages, and utility bills, to name just a few—present our eyes with print text and still images, while other packages include moving images and/or add aural streams meant to reach our ears. Each of these modes—visual and aural—can contain many layers. For example, an aural layer might contain one-voice narration, two-voice dialogue, or multi-voice conversation plus background music, sound effects, and/or ambient noise. Similarly, a visual layer might contain print text, drawn images in any of many styles, photographs or films, maps, graphs, tables, graphic indicators, colors, and patterns.

Not only must we process multiple incoming information streams entering separate intake portals, the streams soon mix, triggering inner responses involving other senses. Reading about a door closing, for instance, might recall the look or the feel of a particular doorknob a reader once handled, or it might recall the sound of a door closing. Such experiential and sensory—or cross-modal—recollections are part of the reader's contextual background. Added to the external information streams, these internal streams create a flood of information for readers to process and for literacy researchers to study. But how?

Statement of the Problem

This work grew from my attempts to find a method for studying a body of editorial cartoons—multi-modal documents producing cross-modal responses—created and published in an earlier time period in order to answer questions about the culture in which the cartoons were produced and read. Initially my questions included wondering about the topics cartoonists addressed, the narratives cartoonists created to address the topics, how the narratives were

framed, and in what ways the narratives might have been seen as attempts to shape the larger

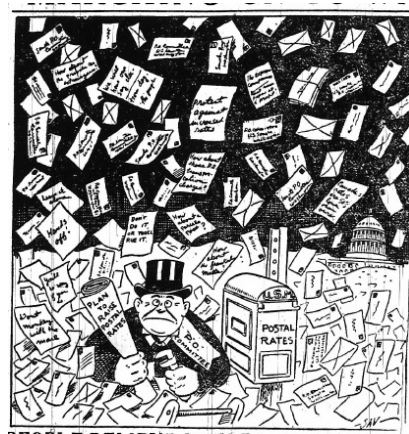


Figure 1.1. How the focus narrowed.

The focus of my study narrowed from being about the cartoons (top) to being about my interpretation of the cartoons (middle) to being about me as the researcher of cartoons (bottom).

cultural discourse around the topics. However, given the number of possible combinations of information streams contained in any one document, I found myself becoming frustrated in the search for an applicable method. Early on, I realized I needed to create a method that made the narrative explicit, while noting the structural elements by which the narrative was conveyed, in order to address the sorts of questions I hoped my ethnographic study of the documents would answer. I also realized this combination of methods, if carefully crafted, could be applied to many types of documents and not just to editorial cartoons.

Developing such a combination of methods proved complicated. At every stage of the process, I found myself challenged to explain how I could, for instance, be certain that a mouth drawn with the ends pointing down toward the chin signified sadness, disappointment, or disapproval rather than deep concentration or some other mental or emotional state. What was my basis for assuming that a figure poised half-standing and half-sitting intended to stand rather than to sit? What gave me the right to interject my own narrative voice into the description of the setting, the characters, and their actions? Gradually, the focus of my development of a method narrowed from the cartoons themselves to my interpretation of the cartoons to me as the interpreter of cartoons (Figure 1.1). I began to realize a method such as I envisioned required an

accounting of my own cognitive and cross-modal responses to the individual documents and not just a positioning of myself in relation to the body of documents. This paper, therefore, recounts my development of a method for systematically exploring narrative multi-modal documents as ethnographic artifacts, a method that includes the researcher's own cognitive, cross-modal, and narrative responses to the individual documents, thus making the interpretive process of the documents more transparent and increasing the depth of the ethnographic study.

Positioning Myself in the Field of Literacy Studies

I came to the academic field of literacy studies through a program located within a college of education at a major university. Although my background included decades of teaching children, youth, and adults as a volunteer in various out-of-school settings, I came into the program primarily as a reader, writer and creator of multi-modal documents rather than as a professional educator. A very early (posed) picture shows me as a toddler holding a copy of *Argosy*, an illustrated science fiction magazine published during the mid-twentieth century; my mother saved both my earliest kindergarten writings and my first summer library reading list. One of my fifth-grade teachers gave a group of us the task of producing a class newspaper, which involved writing, hand-drawing illustrations, and designing the layout. In an otherwise disastrous eighth-grade art class, I discovered an affinity for calligraphy, illustrated manuscripts, and printmaking.

Years later, as part of a family-owned construction business, I drew simple plot plans and building diagrams and wrote the descriptive text for sales contracts and building permit applications. During several decades of volunteer work and paid employment in non-profit settings, I created newsletters, manuals, forms, and other multi-modal documents using paper and pencil, typewriters of many types, and computer software programs for both print and online platforms. I also worked with numbers, accounting systems, and financial reports with their own formats and systems of conveying information. In my undergraduate creative writing program, I studied narrative structure, poetic structure, and literary devices used by nineteenth

and twentieth century British and American authors. In my work as a freelance journalist and consultant, and in my master's studies in a journalism program, I wrote articles and took accompanying photographs, created videos and podcasts, learned print page layout, and developed web pages. As a fiction writer, I have written stories for children's magazines, and I have written, produced, and directed short plays for multi-generational productions.

However, even though I made decisions about structure, content, format, and design as I produced multi-modal documents of many types, it wasn't until I entered a master's program in community journalism that I began considering why one type of layout design or font or article structure seemed more effective than another or why such types became industry standards until displaced by a newer design or structure, shaped by and shaping changes in the culture producing them. I discovered framing as it applied to what was included and what was left out of both written text and photographic images, and I considered the effects placement of text and/or image on a page and within a publication could have on visibility and on perceived importance. I recalled working with non-professional actors to explore the differences inflection and pacing, gestures, staging, and choreography could make in performing text and realized this, too, was a type of framing.

Later, in the literacy studies doctoral program, I encountered and grappled with similar questions, this time considering underlying theoretical approaches to each. How is it, for example, that a symbol perceived visually might be expressed orally and/or received aurally and ascribed some sort of commonly agreed upon meaning? How it is that systems of symbols develop and allow us to communicate many types of messages in many modes, and how it is that we shape both the expression and the interpretation of such systems of symbols through such intimate and yet culturally influenced devices as tone of voice, facial expression, body language, gesture, writing, and drawing? Is meaning inherent or constructed? While this study is presented from an interpretivist stance, which falls between the objective reality of the positivist and the subjective reality of the constructivist, I freely acknowledge that readers who staunchly

ally themselves at one or the other ends of that spectrum might find themselves arguing with some points I make, agreeing with others, and, as a result, accusing me of being contradictory. Finally, my own ontological stance is one of theological realism; that is, I allow for the possibility of an objectively real existence outside this empirically-perceived experience; epistemologically, I allow for the possibility that knowledge is as much revealed as it is discovered through both empirical and non-empirical means and/or constructed by individuals and societies through social interaction (Anderson, 2016).

Significance of the Study of Developing a Method

Such philosophical splitting of hairs might seem to be of little significance in the larger scheme of things, especially in resolving the question of how to systematically explore and interpret multi-modal documents. However, within the world of education there prevails a curious double-mindedness that says learning and meaning are social constructs but which then approaches assessment from, at best, a post-positivist stance that measures knowledge gained against pre-determined “right” answers and standards (Huot, 1996). Crotty (1998/2010) suggested that such wavering between the two views of reality, whether within individual people or, by extension, within the systems and institutions people create, causes contradictory behavior and confusion. While my study does not directly address this tension, it is important to know that it exists and that we sometimes bring our often-conflicting assumptions of reality unawares into discussions about interpreting documents.

What my study does address and provide is an in-depth example of a largely unexplored dimension of interpreting multi-modal documents, that is, the researcher’s cognitive interrogation of and narrative, cross-modal responses to the document, a process for accounting for these interrogated responses, and a cohesive process for conducting an interpretive, ethnographic study of a body of multi-modal documents. While the study would be useful to ethnographers in many fields, it also has implications for readers and teachers of reading and of literature who seek an in-depth example of one reader’s interrogation and interpretation of a

multi-modal document situated within a small body of similar documents.

Interpretation as Intersection of Map, Transaction, Narrative

Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) described the conceptual framework of a study as explaining, in step-by-step terms “either graphically or in narrative form” [p. 20]), what the study did and how. But they also provided a more metaphorical description of a conceptual framework as “the current version of the researcher’s map of the territory being investigated” (p. 20), a description that echoes Iser’s (2006) describing studies in the humanities as “an attempt at mapping” (p. 5) the subject of study. In Figure 1.2, I illustrate the conceptual framework of the method—Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT)—created through this study as involving maps and mapping, transactions and transacting, and narratives and narrating with the “I” of interpretation at the heart of where these elements overlap.

Maps and Mapping. Mapping can be approached a number of ways, some of which might involve a building block approach and some of which might involve a wandering-through approach. For example, a surveyor mapping a plot of land would determine and describe its boundaries. A developer might overlay a grid to facilitate a systematic examination of the surface area within the boundaries, while an archaeologist might overlay a similar grid to explore the area within the boundaries but under the surface. A transportation expert might chart the rivers and roads running through the plot of land. A passing satellite might take an

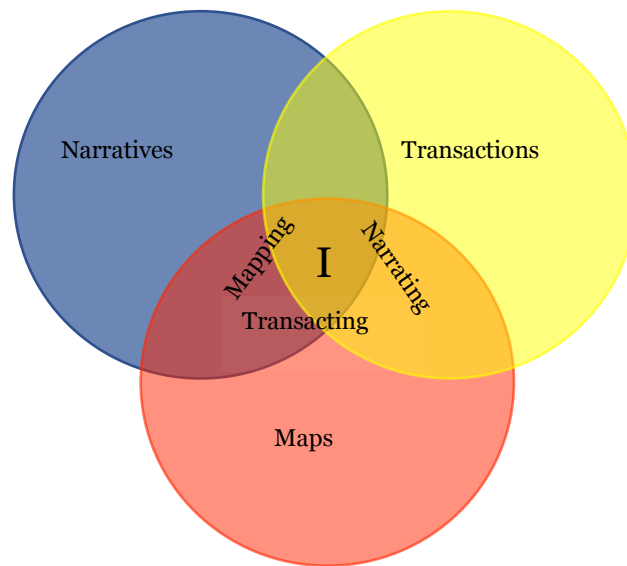


Figure 1.2. Conceptual Map of the MNT Method. This conceptual map illustrates how the mapping of narratives and transactions, the narrating of transactions and maps, and the transacting of maps and narratives combine in the “I” area of interpretation.

overhead snapshot of the land. Similarly, in mapping a document, one might examine the document starting in the uppermost left corner, move to the right across the top quadrant, drop to the upper left corner of the second quadrant, move to the right, and so forth until reaching the bottommost right corner. Or a researcher might consider all the words in the document first, then all the images, then all the graphic markings, then all the white space.

Each of these ways of mapping presumes a visual orientation and perception, but what might an aural map of the sounds made in this plot of land sound like—or what would an aural map of the document being read aloud sound like? What would a texture map, a scent map, a flavor map be like? What of a species map tracking the movements of each creature living in the plot of land, or of the movements of each user of the document? And how if all these maps could, somehow, be overlaid onto each other? How, too, if the thoughts of each mapmaker, as they encountered and responded to the plot of land, could be mapped and these maps included with the others? Recalling Heraclitus's thoughts about our inability to step in the same stream twice (Plato, 360 B.C.E./2007), how would maps created for each moment in time add to the overall record? And would it matter? Would not the plot of land still be the plot of land and the document still be the document regardless of whether they were mapped or not? Or would the act of mapping—the mapmakers leaving their footprints, their sounds, their scents, their shed hairs and bits of skin flakes—irrevocably change the plot of land or the document?

Transactions and Transacting. Rosenblatt (1978/1994) suggested as much, that a reader approaches a work differently at different times and leaves something of the self behind, in her discussion of what she called transactional theory, and she used the word *compenetration* to describe what she saw happening during the process of reading. Intentionally or not, Rosenblatt seemed to use procreative imagery here, perhaps in the same sense that we speak of something as being *pregnant with meaning* or of an idea *quickenning the mind*, to explain the interaction and exchange—the transaction (to use Rosenblatt's passionless term)—between document and reader. The result, according to Rosenblatt, is a *poem*, not in the sense of it's

being a piece of poetry but in the sense that something in the document has interacted with something in the reader's being—the reader's context—enough to provoke a response. A thought germinates and grows, and the reader makes something new, a poem, of the combination of text and context.

The question, of course, becomes, "To what extent must the reader respond to a text, alone or within a document, in order to 'make' something of it?" Is a casual glance at, for example, a Warhol painting of a soup can and a response of "I don't get it" sufficient for a transaction to have taken place and for the reader to have made something of the painting? Rosenblatt might disagree—her view (1978/1994) as an educator was that "the transactional view . . . assumes a close attention to the pattern of signs" (p. 137)—but I argue that, even in a glance and a dismissal, a transaction has taken place. Document and reader have inhabited each other's spaces, however briefly. The reader has acknowledged the existence of the document and has pronounced a judgment—the poem—on it; the document has received a thumbs-down vote in the greater scheme of a culture's deciding what is art and what is not. This idea that even a brief transaction can have value becomes important as we consider whether editorial cartoons, which are designed to—at a glance—convey both information and an opinion about a topic, can influence the larger discourse about the topic.

Narratives and Narrating. The third part of this conceptual framework consists of the narratives of the map, of the transactions, of the creation of the map and of the transactions involved, of the mapping of the transactions, of the narrating of the maps and of the transactions, of the narrators, mappers, and transactors, and so on both forward and backward through time and extending in all directions and dimensions. From this ocean of narratives and acts of narrating, researches select a portion on which to focus. In similar fashion, Smiley and Bert (2005), writing specifically about plays, noted, "The narrative consists of all the situations and events germane to the play, including many not actually shown on stage" (p. 102), and they used *play* in the sense of an enacted version of a story. A story, therefore, would consist of a

selection of events from the larger narrative that were conveyed in a particular sequence. Selecting different events from the same narrative, rearranging the events, or telling the same events from a different perspective would create a different story,

And, while we often think of narrative in conjunction with fiction, narratives are not confined to a particular format or genre or even discipline. Writing about the healthcare field, for example, Harter (2009) described the systemic narratives involved in interacting with patients and in documenting their treatments and noted:

Health care would be impossible if not for our human capacity to order and embody lived experience in narrative form. Narratives endow experience with meaning by temporally organizing events, distinguishing characters and their relations with one another, and ascertaining causality by virtue of emplotting otherwise disparate events. ... Over time, we become anchored in narratives that direct us toward particular choices and provide us with reasons for acting. Health care is shaped ultimately by which stories are heard and taken seriously, and what sense is made of those stories. (p. 141)

In the same manner, all of life is shaped by stories of narratives of stories of narratives, and so on, and that the making sense of those stories—the hearing and taking seriously of them—begins with how individuals interpret the stories they hear.

Interpretations and Interpreting. The visual representation of this study’s conceptual framework (Figure 1.2) is limited, as are most things we create in this world, by the constraints of time and space. To say that an interpretation is created at or that interpreting occurs at the intersection of maps/mapping, transactions/transacting, and narratives/narrating suggests that there is a definable moment when interpreting happens and an interpretation bursts forth fully formed. Rather, interpreting is an ongoing process that, in another work, Rosenblatt (1938/1995) likened to a “live circuit set up between reader and text” (p. 24). The switch goes on when the reader initially encounters the text, but does it ever truly go off when the book or other device is closed? I would argue the text lurks in the subconscious, sometimes

returning when summonsed and sometimes appearing unexpectedly to the conscious mind, where the interpretation is revisited and reshaped.

Then what of the processes of interpretation itself and of a method that accounts for those processes? In developing a method for interpreting multi-modal documents that also accounted for my own cognitive and cross-modal responses, I layered several theories of interpretation (Figure 1.3) to explain my processes. The word *method*, of itself, can conjure images of empirical processes that begin with a hypothesis and include an objective researcher, defined variables, and controlled testing conditions. By contrast, my method is based on what Iser (2006) called “soft theory [which] as practiced in the humanities ... is an attempt at mapping” (p. 5), and it begins with an unformed hypothesis, a subjective researcher, minimal and minimally defined variables, and flexible protocols. Still, as Miles and Huberman (1984), (as cited in Silverman, 2010, p. 85), pointed out, “any researcher, no matter how unstructured or inductive, comes to field work with *some* orienting ideas, foci, and tools, and I am no exception.

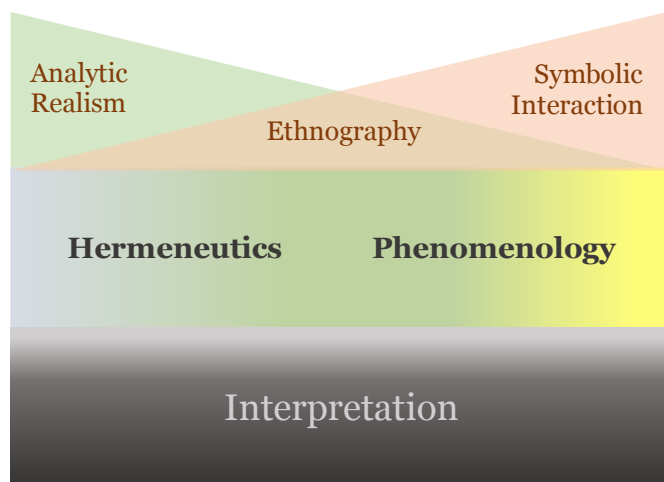


Figure 1.3. The theoretical layering of MNT. Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) is based in concepts of interpretation and those of hermeneutics and phenomenology, shown here as part of a continuum. From these concepts, the method draws more specifically on analytic realism, symbolic interaction, and ethnography.

In terms of orienting ideas, I began with Iser’s (2006) noting that phenomenology, which seeks to understand phenomena—in my case, texts—by observing peoples and processes, and hermeneutics, which seeks to understand texts by observing structures and patterns of thought, are two types of soft theory. In addition to concepts of hermeneutics and phenomenology, I have drawn on Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) conception of ethnographic content analysis (ECA), which, in turn, is built on three other

interpretive theories: analytic realism, symbolic interactionism, and ethnography. It is to these five theories that I now, briefly, turn.

Hermeneutics and the interpretation of texts. Hermeneutics assumes an author has created a document that, intentionally or unintentionally, communicates a message. Pokorný (2011) explained that *hermeneutics* “is derived from the Greek word *hermēneuō*, which seems to have meant ‘imitating Hermes,’ . . . the messenger of the gods” (p. 3). That the gods needed a messenger suggests their message either could not be delivered directly to humans or that humans could not immediately understand the message. Either way, the gods used a messenger, a go-between, to, as the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s (2016) etymology of *interpret* suggests, “expound the meaning of (something abstruse or mysterious); to render (words, writings, an author, etc.) clear or explicit; to elucidate; to explain” (*OED Online*). In the same sense, a reader becomes, to one degree or another, an interpreter or mediator between whatever constitutes the document and the meaning derived from the document.

Today, many disciplines use an hermeneutic approach toward understanding cultural artifacts of many types, but this is a recent development. Howard (1982) traced what he termed “the migration of hermeneutics from its subsidiary role in theology to its present status as a general name . . . in the epistemology of understanding” (p. 3). The phrase *epistemology of understanding*, as opposed to an epistemology of explaining, suggests a change in focus parallel to the change in literary theory from emphasizing the author and the context in which his/her work was created to emphasizing the reader and the context he/she brings to the reading of the work. That is not to say the two epistemologies are mutually exclusive; I would argue that each can and should inform the other. Each examines the document from a different end but using similar hermeneutical methods, such as those described by Pokorný (2011) who described examining different textual layers—including those of grammar, syntax, and rhetoric—alone, in various combinations, and with the contextual layers surrounding the text. Likewise, Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) thoughts about a grammar of visual texts informs an hermeneutical

approach to interpreting cartoons and other multimodal documents. However, while cartoons are made up of intentional messages transmitted through words and visual images, there is no one, infallibly correct interpretation of what a cartoon “means.” An interpretation is as strong or as weak as the argument constructed by the one doing the interpreting. As Ricoeur (1976) noted:

If it is true that there is always more than one way of construing a text [which Ricoeur termed a “quasi-individual”], it is not true that all interpretations are equal. The text presents a limited field of possible constructions. . . . It is always possible to argue for or against an interpretation to confront interpretations, to arbitrate between them and to seek agreement, even if this agreement remains beyond our immediate reach. (p. 79)

Methods of hermeneutics provide paths into documents that can help readers map texts within a document and, thereby, derive an understanding of a document that is grounded in the document itself, but one reader’s path may not be the same as another’s. Where readers’ paths cross is where arbitration and a seeking of agreement can occur. Through hermeneutics I view a document, created by an author, as a message I can excavate by examining its multiple layers and from which I can derive meaning as I interpret those layers singly and in combination.

Phenomenology and the interpretation of peoples and processes. While hermeneutics considers the document in and of itself, phenomenology, which is the study of one or more phenomena in terms of how people perceive it as opposed to what it objectively “is”, considers the document as a product of people and their processes. Spinelli (1989) described how two strains of phenomenology, one sociological and the other psychological, developed during the late 19th century. Sociologist and political economist Max Weber (1864-1920), from whose work sociological phenomenology developed, and philosopher and mathematician Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), from whose work psychological phenomenology developed, each recognized a middle ground between objective reality—objects exist and have meaning in and of themselves— and subjective reality—objects exist and having meaning only as each individual experiences them. Drawing on Husserl’s work, Spinelli (1989) noted, first, that we can never

completely know the full substance of an object—in this case, a document—and, second, that even an object we perceive at one point in time can never be perceived by us in exactly the same way a second time. Instead, Spinelli (1989) wrote, “Our experience of the world is always made up of an interaction between the raw matter of the world, whatever that may be, and our mental faculties” (Spinelli, 1989, p. 8). Because each of us is a unique individual with a unique contextual background, that interaction between object and mind will never be exactly alike for any two people.

I sought a method that operated in this middle ground between better understanding the cartoons in and of themselves (objects exist and have meaning) and better understanding the social context in which the cartoons were produced and read (objects have meaning as individuals experience them) and that accounted for how I mediated my understanding of both through my own experience. To help explain this mediation, I drew more specifically from Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ethnographic content analysis (ECA), which, in turn, is based on three additional interpretive theories: analytic realism, symbolic interactionism, and ethnography.

Analytic realism, symbolic interactionism, and ethnography. Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) method of analyzing documents to study people and their processes, ethnographic content analysis (ECA), grew from Altheide’s (1987) study of more than 900 televised news reports of the 1979-1981 period during which 52 Americans were held hostage by the Iranian government. Altheide’s (1987) main focus of the study was to determine the ways in which network journalists formatted the news reports in terms of “recognizing, selecting, organizing, and presenting information” (p. 69), to discover recurring themes, and to infer how such formatting shaped the public discourse around the events. Simply stated, Altheide studied documents to learn about people and processes and about the influences of all three on the larger discourse.

Although precepts of hermeneutics and phenomenology undergird ECA, Altheide and Schneider (2013) more specifically based their method on theories of analytic realism, symbolic interactionism, and ethnography. Sociologist Talcott Parsons (1937/1949) posited *analytical realism* as an “epistemological position” (p. 753) that acknowledges some aspects of this existence as being analytically perceived rather than being empirically perceived and asserts that “the adequate understanding of many concrete phenomena may require the employment of analytical categories drawn from more than one ... system” (p.). Altheide and Johnson (1994) summarized analytical realism as the “view that the social world is an interpreted world, not a literal world, always under symbolic construction (even deconstruction!) . . . informed by social contexts and uses of evidence” (p. 489) and placed the focus of their research on processes rather than on products. Altheide and Johnson (1994), suggested the processes of research become part of the constructed social world and, therefore, researchers become obligated to “substantiate their interpretation and findings with a reflexive account of themselves and the process(es) of their research” (p. 489). Rather than a bracketing of oneself outside of the study, as Spinelli (1989) had described phenomenological research, which presumed an objective researcher standing apart from the subjects of the research, analytic realism calls for researchers to bracket themselves, as one of the systems of analytical categories, within the study.

An analytical realistic perspective, wrote Altheide and Schneider (2013), is “consistent with symbolic interactionists’ perspective, which includes a focus on the meaning of activity, the situation [context] in which it emerges, and the importance of interaction for the communication process” (p. 14). Blumer (1966), a student of philosopher George Mead, who developed *symbolic interaction*, explained Mead’s concept more directly:

In non-symbolic interaction human beings respond directly to one another's gestures or actions; in symbolic interaction they interpret each other's gestures and act on the basis of the meaning yielded by the interpretation. An unwitting response to the tone of another's voice illustrates non-symbolic interaction. Interpreting the shaking of a fist as

signifying that a person is preparing to attack illustrates symbolic interaction. ...

Symbolic interaction involves *interpretation*, or ascertaining the meaning of the actions or remarks of the other person, and *definition*, or conveying indications to another person as to how he is to act. Human association consists of a process of such interpretation and definition. Through this process the participants fit their own acts to the ongoing acts of one another and guide others in doing so.

(pp. 537-538, emphasis in original)

For Altheide and Schneider (2013), this meant people in a particular profession—in this case, journalism—used particular processes to produce the televised news reports. The broadcast journalists and their processes affected how viewers interpreted not just the news reports but the world, which in turn led to changes in discourse about society in general. Analytical realism and symbolic interaction inform Altheide and Schneider's (2013) view of *ethnography* as including “the writing of culture” and their assertion that subject matter involving “human beings engaged in meaningful behavior” could be studied through “products of social interaction, such as documents . . . reflexively, looking at one feature in the context of what is understood about the other features” (p. 24).

Although an ethnographic project that studies people indirectly through the documents they produce seems to fall short of a classic ethnographic study, in which the researcher studies people directly through personal observation and face-to-face interaction, Leander (2009) used the terms *connective ethnography*, *social spatial ethnography*, and *traveling ethnography* in explaining his approach to the ethnographic study of online communities. Leander (2009) argued that connective ethnography conceives of “connections and relations as normative social practices and Internet social spaces as complexly connected to other social spaces” (p. 37). Similarly, Altheide and Schneider (2013) considered television news broadcasts as a social space (defined by the reach of transmitting devices) and practice. I argue that newspapers also create social spaces, defined by circulation, and practices, making it possible to conduct an

ethnographic study of the editorial cartoons as a way of studying the community in which they are produced and read.

Definitions of Terms

Before turning to discussions of editorial cartoons and of the reader's cognitive and cross-modal responses, and of the development of a method to analyze the former while accounting for the latter, I offer here brief definitions of several foundational terms as I use them throughout this paper:

Document/text. Rosenblatt (1978/1994) defined *text* as “a set or series of signs interpretable as linguistic symbols” (p. 12). While she intended this definition to distinguish text from “the inked marks on the page” and from the “uttered vibrations in the air” when those inked marks were interpreted orally, the definition easily lends itself sets/series of signs of all kinds: letters, hieroglyphics, drawings, pantomimed gestures, graphic indicators, and so forth. Altheide and Schneider (2013) used the word *document* both to indicate a multimodal collection of sets of signs and to suggest intentionality or creativity is not necessarily a criteria for considering a set of signs as interpretable as “footpaths worn in grass [and] dog-eared pages in books” (p. 7) can yield information—can document an occurrence—and can imply a narrative.

I use *document* to refer to the collection of sets/series of signs contained in one artifact. I use *text* to refer to a single set/series of signs.

Interpretation. Gall, Gall, and Borg (2007) called *interpretive research* that which involves the “study of immediate and local meanings of social actions for the actors involved in them” (p. 31) and noted the similarities to qualitative research and constructivist epistemology. I consider *interpretation* both in the sense of the actions that comprise the study of the social actions involved in the production, publishing, and reading of cartoons, and in the sense of the product of the action of such study. Consequently, I examine my own interpretive acts as much as the resulting interpretation derived from those acts.

Narrative/story. In this paper, I use *narrative* to include the lived narratives of writer/cartoonist and reader/viewer, the historical and societal narrative(s) in which each reside, the created narrative produced by the writer and the created narrative produced by the reader as he/she and the text compenetrates, to use Rosenblatt's (1978/1994) term, the narrative of me as researcher, and the larger narrative of life in general. I make use of qualifying adjectives and contextual descriptors to clarify the subject of the narrative referenced at any given point. *Story* refers to the particular series of events selected from one or more larger narrative(s) and, captured within a given format such as a novel, memoir, documentary, painting, ballet, news feature or—particularly as pertains to this paper—editorial cartoon.

Read/reader/reading. Rosenblatt (1978/1994) distinguishes “between the reader's evocation of the work and his interpretation of that evocation” (p. 69), and I include both in the use of the terms read, reader, and reading. *Reading* presumes more than just viewing words or images and is not limited to information intake through the eyes. Reading involves the intake of information through, at the least, one or more physical senses (sight, sound, smell, taste, touch) and, possibly, one or more metaphysical senses (intuition, logic, revelation). Reading further involves processing the sensory (and, possibly, meta-sensory) information taken in through means such as decoding letters/images, sounds, smells, tastes, and tactile impressions into words and into spoken or unspoken descriptive thoughts—what Rosenblatt (1978/1994) included as the first part of “evoking” the text (p. 13); contextualizing symbols into culturally-informed metaphors; combining thoughts and metaphors into some kind of making sense (or, possibly, meta-sense) of the information; and ingesting the made-sense-of information into one's own thinking and responding to the world.

In this paper, therefore, *read/reader/reading* should be understood to encompass these broader, conceptual understandings of the words.

Guiding Questions

This work does not attempt to answer specific questions using an already developed method to study a particular sample; therefore, research questions are not appropriate to the work. Rather, in this work I explicate my process of developing a method of interpreting multi-modal documents for particular purposes, and I begin with, as Miles and Huberman (1984) put it “some orienting ideas, foci, and tools” (as cited in Silverman, 2010, p. 85). In Figure 1.1, I demonstrated visually how the focus of my work narrowed. In Table 1, I recall my initial questions and the second iteration of questions that developed as I searched for a method to analyze the cartoons.

Table 1.1

How the Questions Changed During My Search for a Method

Initial questions

- What topics did cartoonists address?
- What narratives did cartoonists create to address the topics
- How were the narratives framed?
- In what ways might the narratives have been seen as attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse around the topics?

Second iteration of questions

- How do I capture the narrative of a multi-modal document while acknowledging the structural elements conveying the narrative?
- How do I determine the framing of a topic?
- How do I account for my own cross-modal responses and their potential effect on my interpretation of the documents?
- How do I determine the shaping of discourse?

Overview of the Chapters

In this chapter, I have introduced the topic and stated the problem—finding a means of acknowledging and accounting for cross-modal responses in interpreting documents—and I have positioned myself within the field as both producer and consumer of various types of multi-modal documents and as a researcher of the processes of creating/consuming multi-modal documents and of the multi-modal products themselves. I have presented a conceptual framework involving the mapping of transactions of narratives, as well as the narrating of the mapping of the transactions and the transacting of the narratives of the mappings. I also have discussed the interpretive theories undergirding the method—hermeneutics, phenomenology,

analytic realism, symbolic interaction, and ethnography—and I have defined basic terms pertinent to the method.

In Chapter 2, I distinguish among comics, cartoons, and editorial cartoons and consider editorial cartoons, a type of multimodal document, as social semiotic sites suitable for ethnographic study. I discuss their content and their production, explore how editorial cartoons work in terms of narrative, non-linearity, multi- and cross-modality, and consider the contextual webs in which editorial cartoons are produced and read.

Chapter 3 is not as much a description of the method I developed as it is an explication of my journey towards a method for systematically exploring narrative multi-modal documents as ethnographic artifacts and for accounting for my own cross-modal and narrative responses to the individual documents. In this chapter I review of methods other researchers have used to study multimodal documents in general and editorial cartoons in particular. I also review studies using Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA

In Chapter 4, I describe the ways in which MNT inverted and expanded upon Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA, and I my processes for filling in gaps and creating tools as I discovered I needed them. I build on this foundation in Chapter 5, as I walk through each of the steps of MNT and, at the same time, the steps I took toward developing a protocol both sufficiently flexible and sturdy enough to collect the informative data, generate the narrative data, and capture the cross-modal response data.

In Chapter 6, I discuss MNT in light of Yin's (2011) questions qualitative researchers should consider when designing a study. I also note the limitations of the MNT and offer a range of possibilities for using MNT in other fields, with other types of multi-modal documents, and for other purposes. Finally, I return to the question of how I know that what I say I know is so.

Chapter Two: Multi-Modal Documents: Social Semiotic Sites for Ethnographic Research

Before I could begin mapping, transacting with, or narrating multi-modal documents and my interactions with them—while still keeping in mind the eventual goal of answering particular questions about the culture in which the documents were produced—I needed an understanding of how such documents work as social semiotic sites for ethnographic research. As, for the purpose of developing a method, I used multi-documents that took the form of newspaper editorial cartoons produced in a particular place and time, I begin this chapter by distinguishing among comics, cartoons and editorial cartoons. Next, I discuss editorial cartoons as content, editorial cartoons as processed content, how editorial cartoons function as social semiotic sites useful for ethnographic research, and how editorial cartoons can be read in terms of nonlinearity, multi- and cross-modality, and narrative. Finally, I describe the social/historical and disciplinary/professional contextual webs in which single-panel editorial cartoons are produced and read, and I discuss the implications of those webs on research.

Theorizing Comics, Cartoons, and Editorial Cartoons

Though often used interchangeably, the terms *comics*, *cartoons*, and *editorial cartoons* refer to different aspects of a type of communicative art/literature that shares common characteristics and that have, in many respects, moved beyond the terms themselves. For instance, the term *comics* has its roots in the burlesque comedic humor of the vaudevillian era during which the funny papers or comic strips became a popular feature in newspapers. Over the years, however, newspaper comic strips have become everything from serialized soap operas (*Mary Worth*, 1938-present) to quasi-documentaries (*Mark Trail*, 1946-present) to police procedural dramas (*Dick Tracy*, 1931-present), each of which rarely contained any humor. Once

editorial cartoons were found only on the opinion pages, but some comic strips, such as *Doonesbury* (1970-2014), with their more sardonic humor and more explicitly political themes, now appear on the comics pages. Generally speaking, comics art itself has always had a somewhat cartoonish or sketch-like look—the quick drawings matching snappy witticisms or spare dialogue—but even a quick glance at a current newspaper’s comics section reveals a wide range of drawing styles and levels of detail. Comic strips, single-panel cartoons, and editorial cartoons all have intertwined roots drawing from the fields of the visual arts (including graphic design), comedic performance art, narrative art, journalistic commentary, cultural criticism, and more. In this section, I discuss and differentiate among *comics*, *cartoons*, and *editorial cartoons*.

Comics. McCloud (2000) credited Will Eisner for seeing beyond the cartoonish drawings and slapstick humor of much of the comics art of the early 20th century and for suggesting “comics were a legitimate *literary* and artistic form” (p. 26, emphasis added). In other words, comics art is not just a visual art form. Comics art expresses a narrative sequentially, using panels containing both visual images and words in varying proportions, making them also a literary form. McCloud’s (1993) *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* was the first extended explanation, written using both words and images, of how comics work in terms of both its artistic and narrative elements to express events taking place over time and space—what Eisner (1985) had termed *sequential art*. McCloud (1993) more specifically defined this sequential art as “juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer” (p. 20). For McCloud, comics art’s use of frames around each scene in the sequence distinguished comics art from other forms of sequential art, such as the Bayeux tapestry’s pictorial recounting of the Battle of Hastings. The Bayeux tapestry’s absence of frames causes scenes to bleed into each other, and nothing alerts the reader that a different scene is depicted except randomly spaced fragments of text below. Conversely, McCloud (1993) also differentiated comics art from single-

panel cartoons by the latter's absence of consecutive frames. "There's no such thing as a sequence of one," wrote McCloud (1993. p. 20).

In addition to defining comics art by its use of sequential art, McCloud (2000) in a later work that was written/drawn in the same style, defined comics art as a language (Figure 2.1).

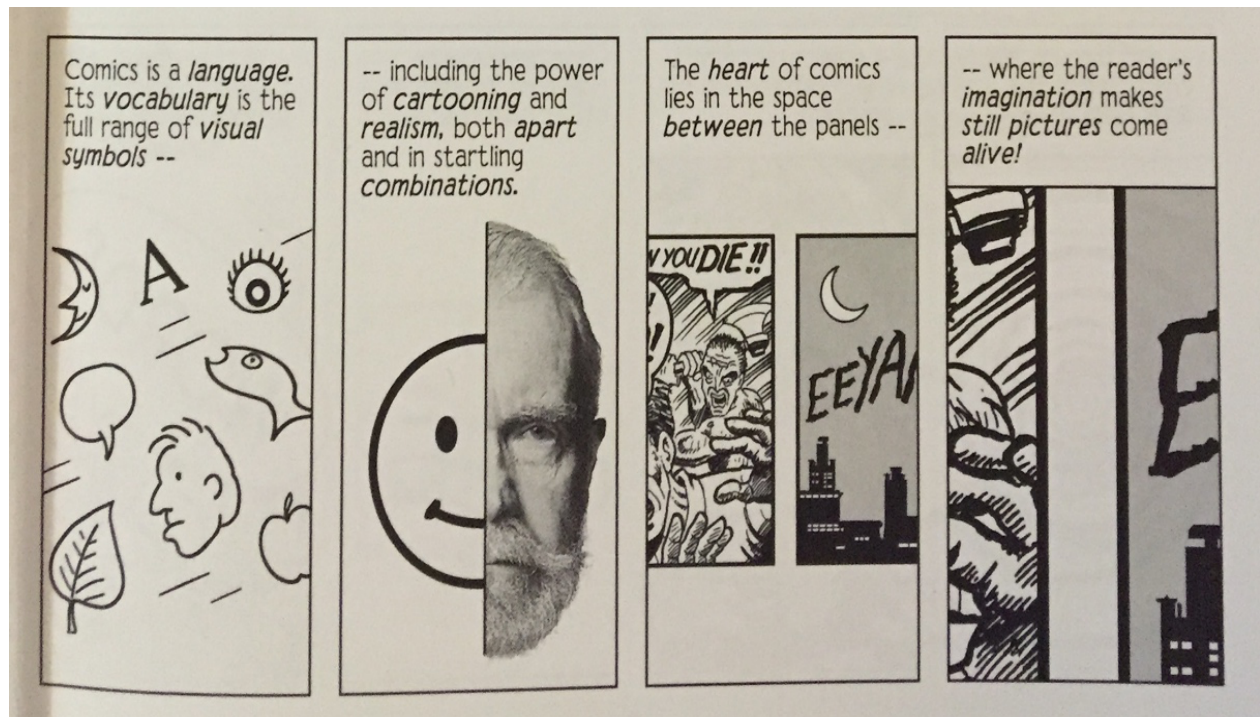


Figure 2.1. Comics as a language. Each of McCloud's works referenced in this paper are written in comics art. In this four-panel tier, I quote McCloud's comics language in full, that is, with all words, images, graphics, and framing intact. Elsewhere in the paper, I quote only McCloud's words—including punctuation, capitalization, italicization, and other calligraphic/typographic indicators—and I use a double-bar || to denote the space between two frames. What is missing when only part of McCloud's language is quoted?

Note that McCloud (2000) referred to comics, a seemingly plural noun, in the singular ("Comics is") and described it first as a "language [whose] vocabulary is comprised of the full range of visual symbols" (p. 1). Using this "full range of visual symbols" as tools, McCloud (2000) demonstrated that languages can be visually depicted in alphabetic (/A/), typographic (speech bubble, short lines, varying fonts), pictographic (moon, leaf, man, fish, eye, apple), and other written/printed systems of symbols, or signs, and that these systems can be woven "in startling

combinations” (p. 1), as in the case of comics, creating various effects to convey different types of messages. Similarly, Barthes (1957/1993) noted that written words and pictures “are both *signs* ... they constitute, one just as much as the other, a language-object” (p. 115, emphasis in original). But Barthes (1957/1993) also said that these signs, in and of themselves, are only the “raw material” (p. 114) from which concepts embedded in forms are built, and that these concept/form packages become, of themselves, signs to be interpreted. In the case of comics, the form package also includes spaces between panels. Far from being empty spaces, McCloud (2000) argued (Figure 2.1) that it is “in the space between the panels ...||... where the reader’s imagination comes alive” and that this space is the heart, not just of comics, but of interpretation itself. It is the reader’s imagination that fills in the gap between sign and meaning.

Cartoons and single-panel cartoons. The reader’s imagination also comes into play in attempts to define what constitutes a cartoon, either in terms of a style of art or in terms of the single-panel concept/form package. Writing more particularly about the sketch-style of drawing often associated with editorial cartoons, Harvey (2009) noted the word *cartoon* comes from the Italian *cartone*, or card, on which artists would draw a preliminary sketch, especially of larger-scale works. The word *cartoon* still is used in fields such as mural art, architecture, and fashion design to refer to a rough sketch that carries enough of the design to convey the idea of, but not the level of detail or even necessarily the style of, the finished product. McCloud (1993) described how a human face, abstracted to the level of a circle containing two dots above an upturned arc, can still be imagined, through a mental process of closure, as the face of a happy person. Used enough times, McCloud (1993) wrote, “such images begin to drift out of their visual context-- || --they drift into the invisible world of symbol” (p. 130) and he used the word *cartoon* to describe such symbols. No longer do we see a specific happy person. Instead we interpret the symbol as, in Barthesian terms, the concept of happiness.

Morris (1989) also defined the cartoon and its message in terms of the receiver, noting that “cartoons are designed for very quick reception. ... Much of the artist’s skill is devoted to ensuring that the receiver will *rapidly recognize* the character, setting, and humorous incongruity” (p. 4, emphasis added). Morris (1989) used the terms *glancer* or *skimmer*, rather than *reader* or *viewer*, to describe the receiver’s apprehension of the multiple modes of communication contained in a cartoon, and his use of the word *recognize* suggests a connoting of something not specifically denoted. In other words, the skimmer’s imagination creates closure between the incongruity of what is depicted and what is intended. As Hatfield (2009) noted, however, closure depends on the reader’s ability “to translate the given series [of panels] into a narrative sequence,” which sometimes seems “straightforward’ and at other times requires more “active effort on the part of the reader” (p. 135).

The term *single-panel cartoon* refers both to a narrative choice and to an artistic choice. Rather than expressing a narrative through the use of sequential panels or frames, the cartoonist has chosen to capture a single moment in the narrative and to comment on that moment. Sometimes a cartoonist will issue a series of single-panel cartoons about the same topic but which are meant to be published on different days. They are not intended to be read in the same manner as sequential comics art. Instead, as Morris (1989) explained, a collection of single-panel cartoons form an anthology that can be studied as a body of work. Additionally, the cartoonist conveys this narrative moment through some form of cartoonish, sketch-like, abstracted drawing. How to distinguish a cartoon from some other artistic form, such as an illustration, is a question not easily answered. Cartoons do not always contain words, are not always drawn in the minimalist style often associated with cartoons, and do not always contain good-natured humor or humor at all. For these purposes, I suggest a print *editorial cartoon* is a comics art document contained within a single panel or frame, intended to be read or skimmed at a glance, and conveying through narrative an argument about a social or political issue.

Editorial cartoons as content and as process. The term *editorial* used in conjunction with the word *cartoon* can refer to both the cartoon's editorial content and to the editorial process involved in publishing the cartoon. When a cartoon appears in a publication, it commonly is understood that the content is the cartoonist's commentary about a topic or an issue. *Family Circus* comics and single-panel cartoons are editorial in the sense that Bil (1960-2011) and Jeff (2011-present) Keane's depictions of family life are based on their perspectives of family life. However, the *Family Circus* comics and single-panel cartoons seldom explicitly address social issues related to family life and, therefore, are not typically considered editorial cartoons. For the purposes of this study, I consider *political cartoons*, which address primarily issues and institutions of governance, as being a subset of *editorial cartoons*, which address social issues and institutions, including political institutions. My referring to editorial cartoons should be read as including both editorial and political cartoons. And, because most editorial cartoons published in the opinion section of most newspapers are single-panel cartoons, the phrase *editorial cartoon* in this paper should be assumed to reference a single-panel cartoon.

More than just expressing the opinion or commentary of the cartoonist, an editorial cartoon also has gone through an editorial process of selection and placement involving other decisions and decision makers. Cartoonists often are not employees of the publication in which their cartoons appear but are freelancers who sell the cartoons either individually or in syndication to publications. In a sense, then, the topic or issue undergoes a process of mediation by the cartoonist to produce a cartoon (content) and the cartoon undergoes a process of mediation by the editors and publishers before it reaches readers in the pages of a newspaper (content within content). Readers, unaware of these distinctions, often perceive the cartoon as also reflecting the opinion of the publication, a perception that may or may not be entirely accurate, but which can affect editors' and publishers' decisions about whether to include cartoons and which cartoons to run.

Editorial cartoons as content. All documents are produced and are read within socio-cultural, historical, and professional/disciplinary contexts. While this is true of all documents, it may be more especially true with editorial cartoons, as these often comment more directly and more intentionally on social and political issues than do other types of multi-modal documents such as the utility bills Bateman (2008) studied. In considering newspaper editorial cartoons as rhetoric, Bush (2013) called cartoons “complex system[s] of symbols, pictures, and words put together in a way that newspaper readers, who understand the intended message of the cartoonist, will better understand the issue that the cartoonist addresses” (p. 63). Similarly, Abraham (2009), writing from the field of mass communication, noted editorial cartoonists use particular strategies when they “present society with visually palpable and hyper-ritualized depictions (selectively exaggerated portions of ‘reality’) that attempt to reveal the essence and meaning of social events” (p. 119). However, not everyone agrees that visualization and exaggeration guarantee meaningful cognitive understanding of issues. Tsakona (2009), for instance, identified six different humor-provoking strategies, or what he called *knowledge resources* (p. 1173), often used in editorial cartoons—script opposition, “distorted and playful” logical mechanism, situational incongruities, target ridicule, narrative strategy, and language. Considering that these six knowledge resources/strategies can be expressed verbally, visually, or in combination, and it is easy to see, as Tsakona (2009) noted, “cartoons are ... not always a direct and easy to process means of communicating a message” (p. 1184).

Humor, a social experience which tends to rely on shared contextual knowledge and on devices such as incongruity, word and image play, double meanings, and innuendo that twist or distort that contextual knowledge, adds layers of cognitive and emotional complexity (Freud, 1905/1960). And, just as the visual style of editorial cartoons can range from a crude sketch to a more refined drawing, the resulting emotional tone of a cartoon also can vary widely. Harvey (2009) termed as a *gag cartoon* the “humorously intended single-panel drawing with verbal caption beneath” (pp. 25-26), but he also noted that not all single-panel cartoons provoke

laughter. Irony, for example, relies on the same incongruities as does slapstick but not to the same degree or purposes. Humor can lighten the mood with giggles or belly laughs, but bitter humor can bite the reader or can goad the reader to spite and malice. The humor of political cartoons, wrote Mello (1998), “albeit often dark humor, concerning serious issues can help to alleviate the painful truth of some situations” (p. 318). Mello (1998) called political cartoonists “social judges who interpret the news” and “pundits” who create “a form of journalistic commentary designed to influence viewers regarding events of the day” (p. 381). Such cartoon commentary, according to Mello (1998) offers “simple interpretations of events” that “insinuate subtle messages, and thus sometimes say what others dare not” (p. 381).

In speaking of editorial cartoons as content, then, the content can be said to be as much about how a topic is addressed as it is about what topics are addressed. But the cartoonist’s creation of content is only the first part of the process.

Editorial cartoons as processed content. Cartoonists create editorial content in the form of cartoons through a process of selection, shaping, and placement. In turn, editorial cartoons act as part of an information “filtering system” (Abraham, 2009, p. 120; Mello, 1998, p. 380) that shapes readers’ understandings of and affects their responses to society and social issues to the point that society itself may be changed. While it might be argued that all news content—regardless of media platform—is part of the same filtering system, editorial cartoons occupy a niche within that system that differs from those occupied by other types of images, such as photos, and from print editorials. These differences are found in the processes by which each is produced, the processes by which each is published, and the status accorded to each.

Even though photographic images and editorial cartoons both contribute to the news stream, the processes by which photographs and editorial cartoons are created differ. At most news organizations, staff photographers, typically, are assigned by a news section editor during a staff meeting to take images of an event or occurrence being covered by a reporter, also assigned by the section editor. The photographer may crop the image or adjust the lighting

somewhat, but codes of ethics prohibit manipulating the images to suggest something other than what actually happened (National Press Photographers Association, 2020). Cartoonists, however, as Lamb (2004) noted, choose their own topics and “are not expected to break the news...[but] to satirize it” after it has been reported (p. 144). There is, as Lamb (2004) put it, “no need to present both sides of an issue and no need to be objective; in fact, these all are counterproductive to satire” (p. 144). News photographs strive to provide “accurate and comprehensive” (NPPA, 2020) images of people, places, and events. Cartoons, Dewey (2007) noted, “caricature, satirize, and otherwise question” public figures, ideas, and systems of power (p. 70) and, as such, can be more direct tools in the agenda-setting role the media plays in society (McCombs, 2004). News photographs capture whatever is within the frame of the camera’s eye; cartoonists create their frames and include within them whatever they choose. News photographs and editorial cartoons differ in other ways, too. Although both photographs and cartoons might be captioned outside the frame, news photographs contain text incidentally inside the frame—on signage, for instance—whereas cartoons often contain labels and speech bubbles deliberately inserted by the cartoonist and lettered by hand. Such graphic elements introduce, as Heller (2002) noted, a third element, making comics the “first real multimedia” (p. 69) because they rely not just on words and pictures but on words, pictures, and graphic design.

Once created, photographs and cartoons follow different paths to publication. The photographer writes the captions for the images and submits them, not to the reporter but to the copy editor and/or page designer. A copy editor and/or page designer, often without consulting either reporter or photographer, selects the number of images, sizes them according to the amount of space available, and determines where on the page they will be placed in relation to the article and to any ad copy on the page. By contrast, the cartoonist submits his/her work to the opinion editor who submits it to the page designer, sometimes with instructions on where to place it in the opinion section or page relative to his/her own print editorial. The opinion

editor's decisions may affect which cartoons appear and which cartoonists can find steady work (Dewey, 2007; Lamb, 2004; Hess & Kaplan, 1968/1975).

The differences between cartooned editorials and print editorials seem obvious. Cartoons are multi-modal, print editorials are comprised primarily of words. Cartoons more often include some kind of humor, print editorials use humor less often. Cartoons are tightly compressed implied narrative arguments, while print commentary develops arguments linearly and supports them explicitly with factual data. Other, less obvious differences, however, may stem from a privileging of words over images in many newsrooms. Altheide and Schneider (2013) noted that images, as a format for conveying news, rank second to words—whether in newspapers or in televised news broadcasts—in most newsrooms. Speaking specifically of photos, Altheide and Schneider commented that the visual image is “not the primary defining feature of what is selected as newsworthy” (p. 87) but is intended to accompany the words of a print or broadcast reporter. News images, according to Altheide and Schneider (2013) are “reflexive of the process that has produced them” (p. 87) and most often are used to “document, illustrate, and support [but not to tell] a news story” (p. 87).

Cartoons also are reflexive of the process that produces them, although that process is both less and more restrictive. Cartoonists have the freedom to select their own topics, but those cartoons are expected to stand on their own without further contextual explanation or commentary. Editorial cartoons are not assigned nor are they selected to complement or inform the print editorial, but they may be rejected because the publisher or editor fears they may offend advertisers or readers. Lamb (2004) called editorial cartoons “the most extreme form of expression found in daily newspapers” and claimed the content is subjected to “legal and newsroom pressures” (p. x) that sometimes amount to internal censorship. Navasky (2013), on the other hand, felt cartoonists’ work was given greater license in comparison to photographic images and to print editorials. For example, Navasky noted that a 1988 cartoon, “Enter Queen Lear, Triumphant,” by Edward Sorel, lampooned Frances Lear for suggesting all working

women needed to succeed was “vision and determination” when, in fact, she had just launched her new magazine using a \$112 million divorce settlement she had just received. Sorel’s cartoon visually depicted “a wacky but recognizable Lear getting increasingly disheveled, not to mention cross-eyed, as she was carried away by her own message” (p. 8). Navasky (2013) noted that if a print editorial had described Lear as “wacky and goggle-eyed (which she wasn’t) ... [a] copy editor would have crossed it out—all of which suggests either that editorial standards for prose are stricter than (or at least different from standards for images, or that there is no visual equivalent when it comes to eliminating the gratuitous insult” (p. 9).

Editorial cartoons as social semiotic sites for ethnographic study. Newspapers tend to be read by one reader at a time, which can mask the ways in which newspapers and their content, in this case editorial cartoons, also function as social sites. For example, one newspaper delivered to one house may be read individually but discussed communally by the household members, creating a shared social experience centered around the content of the newspaper. A newspaper’s circulation, actual and extended, connects people across a town, a region, a country, or even globally through the reading of common content and the creating of a common frame of reference. Newspapers that invite and print letters to the editor and responses to those letters can foster a shared social experience among readers who may never meet each other face to face. Editorial cartoons, by virtue of their often-polemic, iconographic content encapsulated within a document that can be skimmed quickly, can be especially effective in shaping a sense of commonality and community among readers. At the same time, that community also is based on some form of common agreement as to how the cartoons are read and what they mean, that is, how they are interpreted.

Cartoons, as a subset of comics, most often consist of at least three types of signs that readers must interpret in order to arrive at some sense of the meaning intended by the cartoonist: images, graphic symbols, and alphabetic text. Dimitriadis and Kamberlis (2006) explained that early 20th century linguist Saussure saw signs as having meaning only as they are

in “relationship to other words occurring at a particular time, within a particular system of relationships” (p. 39). While Saussure’s emphasis on meaning as synchronic and socially constructed departed radically from the previous emphasis of meaning as historically derived, it did not fully address the role of the individual in affecting changes in meaning over time. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) held that sign-making is not about arbitrarily selecting a pre-configured sign from some semiotic bin and using it to represent something. Rather they focused on the “process of sign-making, in which the signifier (the form) and the signified (the meaning) are relatively independent of each other until they are brought together by the sign-maker in a newly made sign” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006, p. 8). Sign-makers are free to choose an unconventional signifier and to imbue it with meaning relevant to their own contextual backgrounds, but they also must consider, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) pointed out, “the effect of convention [that] place[s] the pressure of constant limitations of conformity on sign-making” (p. 12). If sign-makers intend that other people understand a sign as conveying a specific meaning, then they cannot choose signs so obscure that only a few people make the connection. Neither, however, can sign-makers choose signs so overused they have become flat, especially if they want to catch a skimmer’s attention and to shape conversation.

In other words, sign-making is a process of both individual and social negotiation. Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) called this a “motivated and conventional relation” (p. 12) between signifier and signified as opposed to the “arbitrary and conventional relation” (p. 12) Saussure might have termed it, and they went on to say:

Where [Saussure] had seemingly placed semiotic weight and power with the social, we wish to assert the effects of the transformative role of individual agents, yet also the constant presence of the social: in the historical shaping of the resources, in the individual agent’s social history, in the recognition of present conventions, in the effect of the environment in which representation and communication happen. Yet it is the transformative action of individuals, along the contours of social givens, which

constantly reshape the resources, and make possible the self-making of social subjects.

(Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006, pp. 12-13)

One contemporary example of an individual sign-maker choosing an unconventional signifier and imbuing it with a very different contextualized meaning than it previously held is Steve Jobs' naming his technology company Apple and using the image of an apple on the company's products. Motivated by profits, Jobs—the sign-maker—then used branding strategies to reshape societal convention. Today, what once was an utterance designating a type of fruit now also designates a technology company and its products. Only within the context of the larger conversation is it readily apparent whether the utterance designates something to eat or something to use for communicating.

Something similar happened in 1824 when an editorial cartoon about the presidential campaign, titled 'A Foot Race,' appeared in a publication. Cohen (2011) noted that, while cartoons before 1820 rarely included sports images, 'A Foot Race' sparked a trend toward sports-themed political cartoons that continues to this day. Similarly, Hess and Northrup (1996) explained how personifications of America in cartoons have changed over the years from that of a male or female Indian to a character called Brother Jonathan to a female named Columbia to today's Uncle Sam or Lady Liberty. To use a different metaphor, Altheide and Schneider (2013) defined documents as "any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis" (p. 5), including such documents as "footpaths worn in grass, dog-eared pages in books, and other unobtrusive indicators" (p. 7). In these cases, the mode by which the signs are received is visual, even if the form they take is not created with paper and pen. Where Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) might argue that motivation was lacking in the sign-making of the footpath, Altheide and Schneider (2013) might argue that the footpath is an indicator of the sign-maker's motivation to get from one place to another or, as Ingold (2015) termed it "footprints register emplaced movement" that become "clues to the [maker's] whereabouts and expectations, and for others to follow" (p. 63). Further, Ingold (2015) continued, "a series of

prints ... observed in sequence becomes a track [and] if the same track is trod often enough, the many individual prints merge into a common path. ... Footprints are individual; paths are social” (p. 63).

In the same way, while cartoons are individual documents, cartoons published in a newspaper and read by subscribers and others become social documents with traceable paths based on either distribution records or subscription records. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) discussed the types of signs found in what we typically think of as multi-modal documents, that is, those that are printed, recorded, filmed, staged. Altheide and Schneider (2013) and Ingold (2015) saw the same sign processes occurring in other kinds of documents humans create as byproducts of their interaction with the physical world. Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) description of documents embraces single-panel cartoons—and Altheide and Schneider (2013) included cartoons as a type of document that could be studied ethnographically—but the processes by which cartoons convey meaning, particularly in the way in which the repeated use of a symbol takes on greater social significance over time, may have more in common with Ingold’s (2015) understanding of how footprints become footpaths. Just as footpaths can be created, they also can be abandoned and new paths can be formed as social conventions change in response to individual inventions.

Having established single-panel cartoons as a comics art document contained in a single panel or frame and having discussed editorial cartoons in terms content/process and as social semiotic sites for ethnographic study, I turn now to how editorial cartoons invite nonlinear, cross-modal, and narrative approaches in the interpretive meaning-making processes.

Nonlinearity, Cross-Modality, and Narrative Approaches to Interpretation

Although, as Morris (1989) noted, editorial cartoons are typically read rapidly, several features of editorial cartoons guide the reader in this rapid understanding of the message, perhaps through heuristic means. Among these features are the nonlinear manner in which single-panel cartoons present information, the use of multiple modes (such as images, graphics,

and alphabetic text) that produce cross-modal responses even as they convey information, and the narrative structure in which the information is encapsulated. Throughout this section, I use as examples of these features the two editorial cartoons in Figure 2.2. Both cartoons appeared in 1910 on the front pages of *Appeal to Reason*, a Socialist newspaper with a national readership.

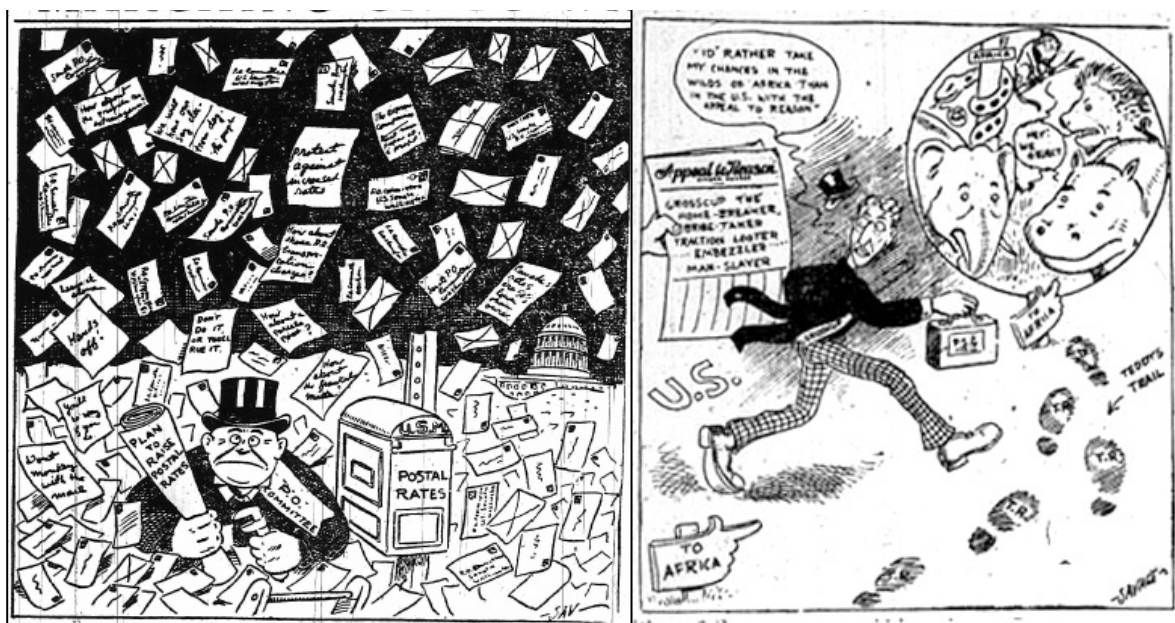


Figure 2.2. Two approaches to editorial cartooning. On the left is "Marching on to Washington," by SAV, published on page 1 of the February 12, 1910, issue of *Appeal to Reason*. On the right is "Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber," by Savage, published on page 1 of the April 16, 1910, issue of *Appeal to Reason*. Even though the cartoons are assumed to be by the same cartoonist, they depict different topics, use different visual and textual elements, invite different points of entry into the narrative of the cartoon, and suggest different patterns of reading movement.

Nonlinearity. Many people assume readers follow the linear arrangement of words on the page. That is, they assume readers in a Western culture begin at the beginning of the sentence at the uppermost left of the page, read each word sequentially until they reach the end of the sentence, and work sequentially, sentence by sentence, to the lower right of the page. Other cultures' texts also are arranged linearly, although the directionality—right to left or top to bottom—may be different. Even though actual reader behavior indicates patterns of non-

linearity (Smith, F., 2004), most authors arrange the words linearly according to grammatical and syntactic conventions in order to most clearly convey the meanings they intend.

Many images, however, invite a different type of reading. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) noted, images allow us to “choose the order in which [we] want to deal with the various elements: the page is ‘non-linear’. It does not impose a sequential structure” (p. 27). Intermingling images, text, and graphics on a page presents readers with even more choices in deciding the order in which to read the information (see Figure 2.2), and Tsakona (2009) suggested that cartoons, which use both verbal and visual elements each requiring different deciphering techniques, create a sort of cognitive non-linearity. Readers glance at whatever catches their attention first and move, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) discussed, in network fashion through “a vast labyrinth of intersecting local relations in which each node is related in many different ways to other nodes in its immediate environment” (pp. 84-85).

While no formal sequential structure appears to be imposed, the cartoons in Figure 2.2 demonstrate ways a cartoonist can suggest a pattern of movement to readers as well as various possible points of entry into the cartoon. For instance, the cartoon on the left, “Marching on to Washington” (SAV, 1910) seems to invite a top-down reading as the eye follows the descent of the falling letters and envelopes. But the point of entry—the element that first catches a reader’s attention—might well be the most legible text, “POSTAL RATES,” which the reader might then relate to the falling letters, or it might be the human figure, in the lower portion of the image, whose upward gaze leads the reader to observe the falling letters. Maintenance workers might focus first on the ladder or the wrench in the man’s hand as familiar tools of their trade, while architects’ eyes might be drawn first to the building in the background. By contrast, the cartoon on the right, “Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber” (Savage, 1910), seems to invite both a bottom-up reading, using the sign in the lower left corner as a starting point, and a left-right reading, following the human figure as he moves away from the newspaper and toward the circle of animals. However, readers trained to derive meaning more from text than from images might

well begin with the speech bubble in the upper left and work their way through the alphabetic text downward. Or a skimmer might focus on each of these possible paths either at the same time or with such rapidity that information seems to be taken in almost simultaneously.

Multi- and Cross-modality. Gee (2003) suggested expanding the understanding of literacy beyond just reading and writing to include the many ways, or modes, by which we receive and convey information about various practices and topics. Taken together, all the information conveyed via these many modes form what he termed *semiotic domains*. A semiotic domain, Gee (2003) said, is “any set of practices that recruits one or more modalities (e.g., oral or written language, images, equations, symbols, sounds, gestures, graphs, artifacts, etc.) to communicate distinctive types of meaning” (p. 18). Gee (2003) further claimed that semiotic domains involve both the consumption of and the acting on information and that they are “usually shared by groups of people who carry them on as distinctive social practices” (p. 23). One example Gee (2003) used to illustrate the idea of a semiotic domain was the game of basketball, with its rules, specific vocabulary, hand and body signals, court markings, various sounds, and play diagrams being some of the modes used by the people who populate the domain as players, coaches and other staff, and referees and other officials. Some of these communicative modes can be expressed and perceived through more than one sensory mode. Rules, for example, can be written down (embodied symbol making) and then perceived visually and read, verbally discussed, embodied (as when referees enforce a rule and when players respond with appropriate actions), signaled with sounds, such as a buzzer or whistle, and graphically signaled through court markings.

Drawing on Gee’s (2003) concept, Tsakona (2009) termed print cartoons semiotic domains because “meaning is produced either via two semiotic modes, the verbal and the visual, or solely via the visual mode” (p. 1171). By verbal modes, Tsakona meant the alphabetic text representing words found in speech bubbles, labels, and captions, all of which are apprehended visually but which can be expressed verbally. By visual modes, Tsakona meant the artistic

representations of objects and situations that also are apprehended visually. Further, Tsakona (2009) claimed it was the interaction of the visual and verbal codes that “result in the non-linearity of cartoon messages” (p. 1171). From these premises, Tsakona developed what he termed a multimodal theory of humor that worked from the interplay between the verbal and the visual and which relied on a distinct social group—readers of editorial cartoons—consuming and acting on the information contained. Like many other scholars studying print documents (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; Bateman, 2008; Swain, 2012; Hanada, 2016), Tsakona (2009) perceived cartoons as employing only verbal and visual modes.¹

Other scholars (Spence & Deroy, 2013; Hubbard, 2013; Bensafi, et al., 2013; Deroy & Spence, 2016; Newell & Mitchell, 2016), however, have begun to turn their attention to cross-modality, that is, to the evoking of implicit multisensory information (imagery) contained within one explicit modal representation (perception). McNorgan (2012), in his metanalysis of neurocognitive studies of multisensory imaging, in which imaging is not confined to just the visual sense, explained this as the intertwining of perception and imagery:

Perception describes our immediate environment. Imagery, in contrast, affords us a description of past, future and hypothetical environments. Imagery and perception are thus two sides of the same coin: Perception relates to mental states induced by the transduction of energy external to the organism into neural representations, and imagery relates to internally-generated mental states driven by representations encoded in memory. (p. 1)

In other words, a present-moment, lived encounter with even a single-modal document—using Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) expansive understanding of the term—triggers multi-modal memories that evoke the multisensory information implied by the document. Reading the word

¹ Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also spoke of naturalistic modality in terms of how close the graphic representation of something is to how it appears in nature/reality, but they still were speaking of a visual representation. Bateman (2008) included graphics as a separate modality from images and from written text; again, however, both are visually perceived. Hanada (2016) included a socio-cultural modality by which the context in which a cartoon was produced and was read.

cold, for instance—or seeing, as in “Marching on to Washington” (Figure 2.2), an image of letters falling from the sky and piling up like snowdrifts—might cause people to cognitively think of a temperature range, but they also might simultaneously recall the feeling of a cold blast of air conditioning against their faces or the crunching sound of walking in snow. McCloud (1993), speaking specifically of comics art, explained how *emanata*, a term coined by cartoonist Mort Walker (1980/2000) to refer to graphic lines that emanate from an object and connote an aspect of the object, act more as symbol or visual metaphor than as image because they depend on the context and they trigger particular responses. By way of example, McCloud (1993) noted that wavy lines rising from a tobacco pipe can connote both the visual smoke and the smell of smoke while similar wavy lines over a pile of garbage or over a wet dog evoke a particular stench.

Nor is the recollection confined to the senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and sound. Munzert and Lorey (2013), for example, noted that motor imagery, “the individual feeling of being the agent of an action and imagining how it would feel if one were to actually perform it without simultaneously moving one’s limbs” is a fairly common training technique among athletes, and they noted such imagery “relies mostly on kinesthetic images” rather than visual images (pp. 320-321). However, Munzert and Lorey (2013) also noted that visual and auditory imagery often accompany and/or stimulate kinesthetic sensations. In “Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber” (Figure 2.2), for example, the image of the man running may stimulate the leg muscles and/or the brain to recall the sensation of running as well as to hear the sounds of running footsteps and labored breathing and to see the scenery passing by.

Returning to Blumer’s (1973) discussion of Mead’s symbolic interactionism as a means of interpreting others’ motives by placing oneself in the position of another, I suggest this ability to recall and, in a sense, to relive, sensory information extends beyond one’s own perceiving and imagining and contributes to the empathic engagement with fictional characters discussed by Coplan (2004), who explained empathy as “a complex imaginative process involving both cognition and emotion” (p. 143). Coplan (2004) reviewed a number of studies demonstrating

that at least part of how adult and child readers engage with fictional texts is by “taking up the perspective of the characters” (p. 143) while retaining control of their own self-identities. Symbolic interactionism sees this “taking up” as more than just a cognitive action but as a putting of one’s whole self in the place of the character(s). “Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber” (Figure 2.2), for example, includes a speech bubble contained within the circle of animals depicted as being indigenous to Africa. The lines extending from the speech bubble to four of the five animals included in the circular frame suggest the text within the speech bubble is intended to be read as the individual but combined voices of the animals. The reader is intended to hear (auditory mode) a chorus of voices (internally vocalized mode) saying, “Hey! We object.” Nor are the words meant to be the flat representation of the visually apprehended alphabetic text where all letters are scaled and spaced in a flattened, strictly coded manner. Rather, the exclamation point at the end of the first word implies vocal inflection and emphasis. McCloud (2006), speaking more specifically of graphically-rendered onomatopoeic words such as *bang*, noted that such “SOUND EFFECTS || graphically BECOME what they describe || and give readers a rare chance to listen || with their EYES” (p. 146, emphasis in the original).

As a reader, I also can do more than hear the voices. I can put myself in the place of the lion and draw my eyebrows and mouth down to get an empathic sense of the emotion the lion is expressing. The downward slanting eyebrows and mouth of the lion and the raised eyebrows of the elephant and hippopotamus suggest indignation and consternation, indicating the three words are meant to be read with, at the least, a sense of surprise, and, possibly—given the words “We object”—a sense of disgruntled anger. The man in the center of the cartoon embodies (kinesthetic imagery) a sense of haste—he is striding, if not quite running, and is moving quickly enough that his hat has gone flying and his coattails are flapping (visual and auditory imagery). Here, visually apprehended images evoke information previously experienced through other sensory modes, information that adds layered nuances to the readings.

Because the evoking of remembered sensory experiences varies with the individual, individual interpretations of the same document will vary. At the same time, groups of people with common socio-cultural contexts may have similar referential experiences—people living in the midwestern states tend to have a common understanding of what snow is, for example, whereas they may not have experienced the ocean—which, again speaks to the social context in which documents are produced and read. For now, the idea of co-mingling present perception with the imaging of past experience leads me next to discuss narrative documents, which play with concepts of space and time, and theories of narratology.

Narrativity. Morris (1989) spoke of the editorial cartoon “artist’s skill in ensuring that the reader will rapidly recognize the *characters, setting, and humorous incongruity*” (p. 4, emphasis added), terms which suggest narrative features, and Huggins (2004), in writing about Victorian-era, sports-themed cartoons, called cartoons “highly compressed, visual and verbal narratives . . . [that] provided key interpretative frameworks for the construction of meaning” (p. 125). Narrative, then, is about more than just story or about the relating of events as they occur over time; narrative a way both cartoonist and reader construct meaning. But how? What is it about narrative that helps us understand something in ways non-narrative structures cannot?

Abbott (2008) suggested the key was in how narrative could play with time and space. Narrative, Abbott (2008) claimed, helps us “grasp what we see not just in space but in times as well . . . [and] gives us what could be called shapes of time” (p. 10). Moreover, narrative can play with time in ways that expository text cannot. Abbott (2008) explained that a non-narrative essay typically recounts information in real-time or discourse time, that is, “the only time involved is the time it takes to read, and the only order is that of the structure of the essay” (p. 14). But narrative text can compress time by covering, as Harper Lee (1960) did in her opening pages of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, two hundred years of local and family history in four paragraphs. Narrative also can slow time to a trickle, taking pages to describe the act of waking up in the morning, for example, and thus allowing us to fully explore a moment we usually take

for granted. Narrative also can play with space as it switches points of view by describing one's own waking up (first person), by describing another's waking up (third person), or even by inviting the reader to recall and align his own experience with the narrator's (second person). And narrative can move around in time through the use of flashback and foreshadowing. Narratives are not just spoken or written, they also can be enacted (pantomime or dance, for example) or illustrated, as in cartoons. Because narrative presents readers/viewers with interplaying layers of time and space and affords them the abilities to zoom-in/zoom-out and to shift perspectives, Abbot (2008) noted that narrative is both an instrument of "absorbing knowledge as well as expressing it" (p. 10). In describing the narrative of the text we also are creating a narrative about the text, both in terms of the processes and of the product. It is in this dual sense that Herman (2012) discussed "narrative's root function as a resource for world-modeling and world-creation" (p. 16) and, later, the ways "the study of narrative worldmaking can inform, and not just be informed by, the understandings of the mind" (p. 18).

In the examples in Figure 2.2, the cartoonists have stopped time by capturing a moment in a single-panel illustration. Yet the interplay of time and space within the single-moment yields narrative information about the moment, some of which is more explicitly rendered and some of which is more implicitly suggested through the use of the cultural conventions of left-to-right progression (Happonen, 2001; Nodelman, 1988). For example, in the cartoon on the right, "Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber" (Figure 2.2), the cartoonist's explicit portrayal of a man in the center of the panel caught in mid-stride establishes a present instant. At the same time, the action of striding implies a past and a future: At some point in the past, the man began striding, and, at some point in the future, the man will stop striding—or he will continue striding infinitely into the future. If the only object in the panel were the moving man, the spatial organization of time within the frame would suggest that the past and future lay outside the frame. That is, a second ago, the man would have been entering the panel from the left, and, in another second or so, the man will be exiting the panel at the right. The cartoonist, however, has

given the reader/viewer more explicit information to help him/her make that inference.

Intruding into the frame at the left is a hand holding a newspaper. The implied rest of the body outside the frame adds to the illusion of the man moving through time, as he apparently has left most of the person holding the newspaper behind in the past. To the right, ahead of the man spatially, lies a circular frame—identified, through the signs leading to and within the frame, as Africa. The man has not yet reached Africa, which is ahead, both spatially and in the future. Temporally, however, the actions taking place within the circular frame—a frame within a frame, not a frame extending into an unseen frame to the right—and the newspaper headlines (labeled US), all take place within the same moment. That is, even as the man moves away from the United States and some past incident that has led to the present newspaper headlines, the animals in Africa voice their objection to the man's impending intrusion into their space.

By contrast, the cartoon on the left, “Marching on to Washington” (Figure 2.2), shows a man, identified as a legislator, standing on a ladder, looking up at the sky, and seemingly frozen in time. Time in this cartoon is implied through the descent of the letters and envelopes falling around him. That they have been falling for some time (past) is evidenced by the mounds of mail already landed; that they will continue to fall, even if only for another few seconds (future), is evidenced by the depiction of the papers at the top of the frame that are only beginning to appear. More subtly, the cartoonist has implied two other passages through time and space. First, the letters themselves bear messages that are presumed to have been written by other unseen characters in other places and mailed some time ago. Second, the partially-buried-in-mail Capitol building in the back and the absence of a clear path from the back to the front suggests the legislator burrowed from there to the mailbox out front and climbed a ladder. Left to the reader/viewer's imagination is what the legislator will do next. Both cartoons, however, tell the events of what is happening (a man is going to Africa to escape negative publicity; people are writing letters to protest a postal rate increase) and, at the same time, help the reader/viewer understand (know, infer) the social, political, and cultural context of what has happened as well

as the implications of what is happening. Understanding the narrative expressed by the cartoonist, therefore, depends to some extent on understanding the contextual web in which the cartoons are created and read.

Considering the Contextual Web in which Documents are Created and Read

Although some of the information conveyed in words and images in the cartoons in Figure 2.2 can be interpreted by readers/viewers at more or less face value, other information can only be understood within the context of the times and the culture in which they were created. In Figure 2.2, for example, modern readers must ask what was happening with postal rates in 1910? Who was Grosscup, and why was he going to Africa? What clothing styles were in fashion in 1910? Additionally, the medium through which the narrative is expressed affects what kind of information is produced, how it is communicated to readers/viewers, and how it is interpreted. A ballet, for example, about 1910 postal rates will take a very different form than a cartoon in terms of the number of scenes depicted, the number of characters included, and the kinds of auditory imagery incorporated. The number of people involved in producing a cartoon in 1910 included the cartoonist, the editor, the etcher/engraver, the printer, the office and distribution workers, the postal workers, and the newsboys (or, rarely, newsgirls), far fewer than the number of dancers, musicians, theater managers and workers, plus the office workers and promoters. Viewing a ballet in 1910 was a more localized, synchronous social event, involving going to a theater and being part of a live audience, whereas reading a cartoon in a newspaper could be a solitary act in the privacy of one's own home but could also be an asynchronous, globalized social experience. In this sense then, interpreting a text also must consider both the socio-cultural/historical context and the professional/industrial context of the work.

Socio-cultural/historical contexts and distorting lenses. Societies and cultures are affected, to one degree or another, by changes in real time and space, and such changes tend to be reflected in the documents produced by the societies and cultures. For example, over time—an historical change—footpaths may become wagon-rutted trails then asphalt highways—

a socio-technological change. But it is not time that drives the socio-technological change, nor does a socio-technological change perceptibly affect the rate at which time passes, notwithstanding Einstein's theory of relativity. In this section, therefore, I consider the socio-cultural and historical influences on documents as one integral influence. Contextualizing a document involves more than just acknowledging the historical era and the geographic location in which it was produced. Rather, as Zevin and Gerwin (2010) noted, it involves the researcher's acknowledging of what they call the "blindness" (p. 2), but which might more accurately be termed the distorting lenses, of ethnocentrism, ego-centrism, and econ-centrism.

Ethnocentrism is a term coined by Sumner (1906/2014), who defined it as the "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p. 13). Ethnocentrism is what causes us to see as normal the customs and habits we grew up with. For example, people from Europe typically hold their forks in their non-dominant hands with the tines down. To some Americans, who typically hold their forks in their dominant hands with the tines up, the European practice may seem strange or even "wrong"—yet, to Europeans, the American way of holding a fork may seem equally strange. Not all normative assumptions involve such minor matters as eating utensils. Zevin and Gerwin (2010) also pointed out that the modern, Western ethnocentric perception of time that emphasizes "change and progress rather than basic human values and the eternal aspects of the human condition" (p. 11) is not universal and is a recent development (see also Zerubavel, 1982; Agacinski, 2000/2003; Anderson, 2013). As such, scholars studying historical documents must not assume that their priorities are the same as those of people living in another part of the world and/or in a different historical era.

Ego-centrism, according to Zevin and Gerwin (2010), is "looking at the world from our own self-centered, narrow perspective" (p. 3). Ego-centrism may limit what an individual researcher notices about a document or may cause the researcher to ascribe greater or lesser importance to elements contained in the document. For example, as noted earlier, an architect's

eye might be drawn first to the building in the cartoon “Marching on Washington” (Figure 2.2), or an architect might give greater weight to the presence of the building than might a non-architect interpreting the cartoon. When acknowledged and bracketed, an ego-centric approach to interpretation can be balanced with other perspectives or even used to advantage. For example, an architect’s discussion of the architectural details included by the cartoonist that help the reader perceive it as the Capitol building and, by extension, what it represents in the context of the cartoon as a whole, could be enlightening and interesting. Left completely unchecked, such ego-centrism might lead an architect to ignore everything else in the cartoon, leaving readers wondering about the significance of such a relatively small item within the larger context of the cartoon.

Zevin and Gerwin (2010) list a third distorting lens, *econ-centrism*, which they defined as “looking at the world from *our* perspective and self-interest, and from *our* history alone” (p. 3, emphasis in the original). Econ-centrism concerns not just monetary economics but our sense of security and “our sense of gain, making a living, getting ahead, or being left behind [which] motivates a lot of our attitude toward the world [but which] ... diminishes our ability to open up to global realities about economics and occludes our grasp of the economic system that governs the world” (p. 3). Econ-centrism affects both our macroscopic and our microscopic view of the world. Macroscopically, for example, those of us who have grown up in a modern, largely food-secure, non-agrarian culture have little understanding of the present-day food production and distribution systems that make it possible for us to spend our days working or playing at something other than subsistence level. We, as Marie Antoinette before us is reputed to have done, sometimes respond glibly (“They have no bread? Then let them eat cake!”) to economic conditions in other places and times, as well as to people living in poverty in our own culture. Microscopically, econ-centrism may cause us to view every proposed piece of legislation through the lens of how it will affect *my* paycheck or benefits instead of how it will affect the economic system’s ability to continue supporting conditions that produce checks or benefits at all.

The distortion from each of these lenses—ethnocentrism, ego-centrism, and econ-centrism—can be countered to some extent by the researcher’s acknowledging, or bracketing, their existence, actively interrogating the text, and reading other sources contemporary to the text. Because editorial cartoons express particular opinions about particular issues, for example, these readings should include background information on the issues themselves and from a variety of perspectives. Historic editorial cartoons, like other historic documents, present particular challenges. As Wineburg (2001) noted in writing about the particular difficulties of contextualizing the past, the tendency is for contemporary readers to either reshape the past to fit present understandings and sensibilities or to estrange the past to the point it becomes merely an irrelevant curiosity. But bracketing one’s own biases and actively interrogating the text are, in some respects, counterintuitive and require work. “Historical thinking,” Wineburg (2001) wrote, “in its deepest forms, is neither a natural process nor something that springs automatically from psychological development. ...[it] actually goes against the grain of how we ordinarily think....” (p. 7). Wineburg (2001) compared the “classic historicist stance” of “believ[ing] that we can somehow ‘know Caesar’ because human ways of thought, in some deep and essential way, transcend time and space” (p. 10), with the more contemporary idea that “the goal of historical study should be to teach us what we *cannot* see, to acquaint us with the congenital blurriness of our own vision” (p. 11). As an example, Wineburg (2001) suggested that ancient Egyptians may have drawn people in profile but with the full eye visible and facing the viewer not because their drawing skills were not as developed as those of modern artists but because their visual perception was different from ours and that actually is what they saw.

Similarly, Wineburg (2001) told observing the different approaches taken by college students versus the approach taken by a college history professor to reconciling apparent contradictions within three writings produced by Abraham Lincoln. The writings were intended for different audiences and were written at different times in his life. Wineburg (2001) noted that most college students he observed either responded simplistically and said Lincoln was

speaking the truth at one point and lying at others. Some college students, in trying to provide a context for the different writings, “borrowed a context from their contemporary social world” (Wineburg, 2001, p. 18) and attributed the disparities to “[Lincoln’s] goal is to get elected, and he has spin doctors to help” (p.19). That is, they based their assessment of Lincoln’s behavior on the behavior of what they knew about present-day politicians’ use of public relations specialists without questioning, for example, whether Lincoln had a speechwriter or a publicist. By contrast, the history professor marked passages that appeared contradictory, made notations indicating a need for further information, and worked back and forth between the various documents (including some documents contemporary to Lincoln’s time but not written by him), comparing and contrasting the different voices, vocabularies, and nuances of phrasing. Wineburg (2001) termed the professor’s method of “zigzagging comment” an “intertextual weave” rather than a “‘placing’ or ‘putting’ Lincoln into context, verbs that conjure up images of jigsaw puzzles into which pieces are slotted into pre-existing frames” (p. 21). Further, Wineburg (2001) wrote:

Contexts are neither “found” nor “located,” and words are not “put” into context.

Context, from the Latin *contextere*, means to weave together, to engage in an active process of connecting things in a pattern. [The professor] made something new here, something that did not exist before he engaged these documents and confronted his ignorance. (p. 21)

Contextualizing multimodal documents, then, does not mean embroidering them onto the fabric of a particular society, culture, place, or time as much as it means considering the multimodal documents as one of the many threads that both make up and produce the fabric, the textile, of that society/culture during that time.

Disciplinary/professional contexts. Along with the larger socio-cultural and historical contexts, documents must be considered in terms of the discipline, trade, or profession that produced them. Altheide and Schneider (2013) developed ECA to “help

researchers understand culture, social discourse, and social change...by studying documents as representations of social meanings and institutional relations” (p. 5), which, in this study in particular, includes the institutions of government and of a working press. Further, Altheide and Schneider (2013) based their method in the “symbolic interactionists’ perspective” and considered the “[c]ontext or the social situation surrounding the document[s] in question” (p. 14), the “*process* or how [the documents are] actually created and put together” (p. 14), as well as the meanings and patterns that “*emerge* or become clearer through constant comparison and investigation of the documents over a period of time” (p. 16). Symbolic interaction within the context of this study can be seen to occur cyclically as cartoonists interpret (process) the social situations or political/economic issues (context) of the news and events of their days and create cartoons (product), which they submit (process) to editors or publishers. Editors/publishers decide (process) whether and where to publish (in a product) the cartoons, which affects whether and how readers view the cartoon (context). Readers who respond to the cartoon by reinforcing or by changing (process) their perspectives (product) on the issue (context) may further shape (process) the larger discourse through the way they talk to others, write letters, or otherwise act on what they have read (products).

Additionally, Altheide and Schneider (2013) claimed the importance isn’t in the document itself or in its production but in the “interaction between the reader...and the [document] itself” (p. 16), i.e., not in how a specific reader perceives a specific document but in “how the document helps define the situation and clarify meaning for the audience member” (p. 17). Readers interpret the cartoon, based on the meanings and patterns within the cartoon (emergence) and within the contexts of their social situations and personal experiences. Readers assimilate (process) the cartoon into their reservoirs of knowledge and experiences (context), which, in turn, inform their responses to social situations and political/economic issues. Documents produced within a socio-cultural/historical and institutional context both reflect and affect that same context, or as Lowrey, Brozana, and MacKay (2008) wrote, “are media capable

of fostering the process of community ... [by the ways they] (a) reveal, or make individuals aware of, spaces, institutions, resources, events, and ideas that may be shared, and encourage such sharing and (b) facilitate the process of negotiating and making meaning about community” (p. 288). While *community* and *community media* often are defined geographically, Lowrey, Brozana, and MacKay (2008) noted that media can contribute to the formation of imagined communities (members of a particular ethnic group, occupation, or activity, for example) and interpretive communities (members holding particular beliefs or ideas), an idea similar to Leander’s (2009) argument that social spaces and practices are not limited to physically-defined places or practices of gathering.

The phrases ‘fostering the process of community’ and ‘facilitat[ing] the process of negotiating,’ used by Lowrey, Brozana, and MacKay (2008), connote a harmonious exchange of ideas leading to consensus or, at the least, compromise. Multi-modal documents, however, and editorial cartoons in particular, also are capable of fomenting acrimonious division within a community and a more violent exchange—to the point of murder (Hess & Kaplan, 1975; Morris, 1989; Hess & Northrup, 1996; Lamb, 2004; Dewey, 2008; Navasky, 2013). “Editorial cartoons,” Lamb (2004) wrote, “represent perhaps the most extreme form of expression found in daily newspapers” (p. x), so it is perhaps not surprising that they provoke extreme reactions. Additionally, Lamb (2004) noted that it was editorial cartoonists who “are supposed to keep a jaundiced eye on the democracy and those threatening it, whether ... from outside or inside the country” (p. 4). The question, of course, becomes who has appointed editorial cartoonists to this task and to this particular form of sounding the alert. Brunetti (2011), himself a cartoonist and a scholar of cartooning, dismissed editorial cartoons “with [their] facile and smug symbology, which often seems manipulative and insulting to the reader’s intelligence” (15) and suggested an editorial cartoonist’s self-appointed “aim is [at best] to polarize people by relying on extreme viewpoints, and at worst, to pussyfoot around the issues for fear of actually offending somebody” (p. 16). Journalists and others concerned with freedom of the press, however, see editorial

cartoons as fulfilling an important role in holding accountable people in power and the institutions they represent. Navasky (2013), a founding member of the Committee to Protect Journalists, cited examples from around the world and from various historic eras where cartoonists have been fired from their jobs, tortured, or killed for challenging the status quo. Sometimes, editors and publishers also have come under fire—literal and metaphorical—for publishing the cartoons. Sometimes they are the instruments of retaliation. Navasky (2013) suggested it was not just the content—the topic or subject—that caused extreme reactions but the combination of word and image producing a “one-two punch” (p. 18). Additionally, Navasky (2013) raised the possibility that the “totemic power of images, paintings, statues, and part per se” (p. 18) may cause a more visceral or more essential and emotional response than that caused by prose.

From Theory to Method

My discussion in this chapter of how multi-modal documents—here, specifically, editorial cartoons—function as social semiotic sites useful for ethnographic research might be considered comparable to reading a travel guide prior to actually visiting a new region. I have considered how comics, cartoons, and editorial cartoons are differentiated, and have described editorial cartoons as both content and as processed content. I have examined particular aspects of editorial cartoons—nonlinearity, multi- and cross-modality, narrativity and the socio-historical and disciplinary/professional webs in which they are created and read--as ones inviting a metacognitive, interrogative approach to their study.

Aside from a couple of brief jaunts into the features of two editorial cartoons, however, I have not discussed how to systematically examine a single cartoon, much less a body of cartoons, in order to answer my initial questions about topics, framing, and discourse. It is time now to turn to how Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) is situated among other methods of examining editorial cartoons and how it evolved over several iterations.

Chapter Three: Reviewing the Methodological Literature

The discussion thus far has been similar to reading travel guides about a country before visiting it. In this case, the “country” was a group of multimodal documents, specifically editorial cartoons, produced in a particular time for a particular readership. In Chapter 1, I explained my reasons for making such a visit and the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that I expected would guide my thinking as I explored the cartoons. In Chapter 2, I discussed features of the “country”: editorial cartoons as content and as processed content, characteristics of editorial cartoons—such as nonlinearity, multi- and cross-modality, and narrative—making the cartoons useful, as semiotic sites, for ethnographic study. And I discussed the larger social/historical and disciplinary/professional contextual webs in which editorial cartoons are produced and read. I had read the travel guides and other literature. Now I needed to consider how best to systematically explore the cartoons and to record my observations and my own cross-modal responses and cognitive interrogations of the documents. Should I do a fly-over, a drive-through, a hike, an immersion, or a combination? What tools and other gear should I pack? Did I need a passport or visa? Most of all, I wondered what travelers before me had found as the most useful way to explore editorial cartoons.

To that end, I begin this chapter with a brief review of my purpose, guiding questions, and conceptual framework and then consider conductive reasoning and implicit versus explicated interpretation in light of my theoretical layering. Next, I review ways other scholars have approached methods of studying multimodal documents, especially editorial cartoons, and my reasons for seeking another method of exploration. I end by discussing Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ethnographic content analysis (ECA) and review studies using ECA. In Chapter 4, I discuss ECA as a point of departure in building my own method, Mapping Narrative

Transactions (MNT). In Chapter 5, I explain my method from beginning to end. Finally, in Chapter 6, I evaluate my method in light of Yin's (2011) eight-point guide to qualitative research, and I discuss limitations and implications.

Recalling the Purpose, Guiding Questions, and Conceptual Framework

As I explained in Chapter 1, this study began as an attempt to review a body of editorial cartoons created and published in a newspaper from an earlier time period to learn what topics were addressed in the cartoons, what narratives cartoonists created about the topics and how these narratives framed the topics, and in what ways these narratives might be seen as attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse. These original questions suggested I intended to do more than just interpret a body of editorial cartoons. Rather, the questions—the last question, in particular—seemed appropriate to an ethnographic study, one that studied a culture indirectly by analyzing multimodal documents, specifically editorial cartoons, rather than by studying directly the people who produced and read them. Finding a method to facilitate such a study was difficult, and I realized I needed to address other questions first:

- How do I discern and capture the narrative of a multimodal document while acknowledging the structural elements used to convey the narrative?
- How do I determine the narrative framing of a topic?
- How do I account for my own cognitive interrogation and cross-modal responses and their potential effect on my narrativized interpretation of the documents?
- How do I determine how the narrative of the document attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse?

Each of these questions contained three common elements, which formed the basis for my conceptual framework. First, each question involved an 'I' and a 'document,' and, in Rosenblatt's (1978/1994) terms, one or more transactions between the two. Second, each question involved one or more narratives—the narrative of the cartoon, my narrativized interpretation of the document, and my own meta-narrative as I interrogated and responded to

the document. Third, the phrases *discern and capture*, *determine*, and *account for* implied a process of surveying and recording. Thus, my conceptual framework envisioned a continuous mapping of transactions and narratives, a transacting of narratives and maps, and a narrating of maps and transactions.

A Rationale for Explicating Interpretation

In some contexts, the answers to my questions about methods might have been moot. Scholars in some fields, such as history and literature, often accept that studies of texts, including cartoons, can be studied reflectively with the processes of reflection implied in the discussion. Gall, Gall, and Borg (2007), for example, wrote that reflective analysis “relies primarily on [the researcher’s] intuition and judgment” (p. 472) to either artistically portray an idea or concept or to critique the portrayal. Implicit reflective analysis does not require an explicitly stated, step-by-step method of deconstructing the component parts—or analysis—of a text. The etymology of the word *analysis*, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, indicates the word’s roots carry both the implicit idea of “to unloose or undo,” and the more explicit “method which employs deductive reasoning to establish the nature, structure, and essential features of something, starting from its constituent parts.” However, because the conclusions drawn by deductive reasoning are only as true as the premises are certain, and because it is impossible to be completely certain about the premises of a text, a complete and certain analysis of a text by any reasoning may not be possible. Conductive reasoning, however, gives shape to the explicated processes of reflective analysis.

Interpretation, conductive reasoning, and the role of the author. Explicated interpretation involves a conductive reasoning approach, which Groarke (2016) explained as one form of informal logic that “accumulate[s] non-decisive reasons in favour of a conclusion” (section 4.3). Conductive reasoning suggests that meaning can be inferred and explained, in essence through what Mello (1998), writing specifically about editorial cartoons, called “the presentation of studied opinion” (p. 381).

Studied opinion, whether explicated or not, in turn depends somewhat on the machinations of the author/illustrator. Iser (1974) claimed the author leads, to one degree or another, the reader toward an interpretation, and he traced how authorial attempts to control readers' interpretations of the literary novel have changed over the past four hundred years. Iser explained how earlier writers used devices, such as asides and dialogic discussions, to help ensure that readers clearly understood the points being made. Nineteenth century authors, however, used "cunning stratagems to nudge the reader unknowingly into making the 'right' discoveries" (Iser, 1974, p. xiv). Much more was expected of twentieth century readers, Iser said, as they were put through—by the author's deliberate lack of overt commentary—an elaborate process of discovering their own "hitherto unconscious expectations that underlie all [their] perceptions, and also the whole process of consistency-building as a prerequisite for understanding" (p. xiv).

Cartoonists, claimed Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), also used stylistic elements to "invite a certain interpretation of the cartoon message" by "giv[ing] . . . little hints" (p. 216) to readers through, for example, the relative size of characters and objects or through their placement within the frame of the cartoon. While the invitation may have allowed for a range of interpretations, Medhurst and DeSousa also suggested that all the stylistic elements working together "conspire to offer the reader an invitation to an ongoing political reality" (p. 219)—*conspire* connoting an intentional leading toward a particular perspective on reality. In like manner, Herman (2012) suggested creators of narrative use similar elements to produce "blueprints for world construction...the complexity of whose design varies [but which] prompt interpreters to construct [particular] worlds" in their minds (p. 17). Further, Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) claimed that, while individual readers can interpret the same cartoon differently and can ascribe a range of meanings to it, "the political cartoon is *hostage* [emphasis added] to interpretive skills, political orientations, and knowledge held by a reader" (p. 217). In other words, the relationships between author, text, and reader—and all the implied/constructed

variations of each that occur throughout the writing/reading/interpreting processes—are not neutral, especially in editorial cartoons. The weapons may be verbal and visual rather than physical, but the collision is no less real, as Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) claimed interpretation occurred through a “consideration . . . [of the cartoon’s] visual montage, the clash of constituent parts to form a coherent whole—the clash of distinctive elements, which, in their *conflict* [emphasis added], invite the reader to perceive an idea that is greater than the sum of the parts” (pp. 217-218).

Advantages to explicating the conductive process. While interpretive works based on implicit reflection meet the needs of certain audiences, some advantages exist to deliberately and overtly explaining one’s processes of systematically studying texts. As Bazerman and Rogers (2008) noted, setting something down in written form becomes “shared knowledge [that] forms common reference points for those who have access and who attend to it”—which then can contribute to the “advance of knowledge . . . built on organized contestation among claimants in structured forms based on mutually recognized criteria” (p. 143). In other words, explicating an interpretive method of analyzing a text provides a means for other scholars and reviewers to check for gaps, inconsistencies, and oversights in the data gathering, to identify other paths that have not been taken into a text and to pursue those, and to have greater assurance that the interpretation as a whole has accounted for the individual parts. Additionally and, to some extent, because writing down one’s own method also involves an internal form of “organized contestation among claimants” (Bazerman & Rogers, 2008, p. 143), observing one’s own self deliberately writing out the process may lead to unexpected, deeper discoveries both of the texts and of ones’ approach to studying texts.

Cautions against explicating the conductive process. At the same time, there are two dangers in committing an interpretive method to writing: First, the illusion of linearity inherent in a written explication of an interpretive method can mislead a reader into thinking readers apprehend and process their thinking about texts in an equally linear manner. For

example, Prior and Lunsford (2008) first discussed how writing moves from the act of writing (practice) to the development of a “metadiscourse . . . around it,” which leads to “reflective practice to theory and research” (p. 82). Prior and Lunsford (2008) also noted, however, that this progression is not a straightforward, linear occurrence and cautioned, “It is important to recognize that this arc traces *a recursive, nonlinear set of relations*” (p. 82 emphasis added). If writing about writing—an interpretive act—is recursive and nonlinear at the meta level, so, too, is interpretive writing at the micro level. A method may be explicated as a linear process, but its implementation may be nonlinear.

Second, the act of interpretation is deeply personal and cannot be replicated exactly by another person or even by the same person at a different point in time. Readers must find, as discussed more fully in Chapter 2, their own paths into and through the text and interpret it in the context of their own life experiences and thought processes at that moment (Rosenblatt, 1938/1995; Rosenblatt 1978/1994; Iser, 1974). Trying to follow one reader’s explicated method for interpreting a text—whether a footpath, a math equation, or an editorial cartoon—may be counterproductive and frustrating to a second reader whose interpretive processes differ from those of the first.

Conductive reasoning and the theoretical framework of this study. Each of the theories on which I built MNT (see Figure 1.3), is based on interpretation and, therefore, on conductive reasoning, the “accumulation of non-decisive reasons in favour of a conclusion” (Groarke, 2016, section 4.3). Hermeneutics explores layers of the document; phenomenology considers the document as a product of people and their processes. Analytic realism includes the researcher as a site of exploration; symbolic interactionism allows interpreters to put themselves into the document, i.e., in the place of characters, the author, and other readers. Ethnography considers the documents as social semiotic sites, the interpretations of which provide information about the culture. It is not my task to “prove” a hypothesis nor even to come to a

definitive conclusion. My task is to accumulate reasons and to elucidate why those reasons favor a particular conclusion.

The question then becomes what tools and processes I ought to use in mining meaning from the documents. In the next section, I review some methods other scholars have developed for studying multi-modal documents, especially editorial cartoons.

Methods and Frameworks for Studying Multimodal Documents/ Editorial

Cartoons

Multimodal is not a new word. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2019) indicated that, in 1727, lexicographer Nathan Bailey included *multimodous* in his English dictionary—suggesting it already was in use—as a word borrowed from the Latin and meaning “of divers Sorts, fashions, or manner” (OED). *Multimodal* began to be used more widely in the early 1900s as an adjective modifying the term *frequency curves*, before being applied in other fields including medicine (multimodal therapy) and commerce (multimodal transport). The concept of multimodal communication, however, developed more recently with Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) being among the first scholars to consider the ways in which visual images—and, later, graphic design, layout, and movement—combined with written text to create multimodal documents of many types. Here, I briefly consider three approaches to analyzing/interpreting the broad category of multimodal documents, then offer a more in-depth review of methods used to study editorial cartoons and conclude with a review of studies using ECA.

Methods for studying multimodal documents. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) applied their combined understandings of English language (Kress) and film production and communication (van Leeuwen) to create a “visual ‘grammar’ [that] will describe the way in which depicted elements—people, places, and things—combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension” (p. 1). At the same time, they recognized “grammatical forms as resources for encoding interpretations of experience and forms of social (inter)action” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006, p. 1). In other words, while the elements can

be analyzed for their contribution to the statement, the elements and the statements contain meaning only as interpreted by the encoder and the decoder. To the degree the encoder and decoder agree on each other's interpretations of meaning, a message can be said to have been transported effectively. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) did not propose a particular methodology; rather, they applied the elements being discussed—camera angles/perspectives, subjectivity/objectivity, or different types of gazes, for example—to their interpretations of many different types of images including children's drawings, diagrams, photographs, artwork, ads, websites, and more. In each of these examples, the topic and denotation of the image was assumed as already known—as having been clearly transported and delivered and, therefore, not needing explication—and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) explained the connotations afforded by the particular element in question. While I found some of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) terminology useful and their discussions on narrativity, nonlinearity, and connotations pertinent to MNT, I did not find a particular method that would help me answer my questions about determining topic, framing, discourse, and how to account for my own meta-narrative. Nor, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), did they intend to provide a method, instead “us[ing] the principles of provenance and experiential metaphor to create an interpretation” (p. 121).

At the other end of the spectrum, Bateman's (2008) *Multimodality and Genre: A Foundation for the Systematic Analysis of Multimodal Documents* promised “a framework for analysing in detail the particular contribution that such combinations [of “diverse presentational modes”] open up for a document's meaning” (pp. 1-2) or, rather, “[its] *new* meanings, ... a *multiplication of meaning*” (p. 2, emphasis in the original), as opposed to an addition of meaning upon meaning. Concerned that “sophisticated theories [could] overrun the information that we can actually extract from [multimodal, broadly construed] documents” (p. 8), Bateman (2008) limited his work to “*static* artefacts” working within a “*page* metaphor” and that “*combine* at least textual, graphical, and pictorial information in single composite *layouts*”

(p. 9, emphases in the original). Bateman (2008) saw layout as a mode because of the multitude of spatial possibilities by which other modes could be arranged within even one document. Bateman (2008) also suggested that multimodal documents are “both produced and interpreted predominantly by ‘non-native speakers’ or non-experts...[that is,] speakers who operate more ‘lexically’ [subjectively] than ‘grammatically’ [objectively]” within various modes” (p. 12) (see also Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). Bateman (2008) addressed questions of function—the potential of a multimodal document to convey meaning—rather than those of meaning itself, and he sought to create a method based on “a sound *empirical* and *scientific* basis” (p. 13, emphases in the original).

In so doing, Bateman (2008) directly countered Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2001) assertion that it didn’t matter “whether we are right or not” in their interpretation of a document. Bateman (2008) argued, first, that “apparently technical discourse” about a document could obfuscate a “relatively superficial interpretation” (p. 13) and, second, that the use of “rich interpretive schemes...may all too easily swamp the rather weak signal that we are currently capable of receiving from the multimodal artifacts themselves” (p. 13). Bateman (2008) used empirical corpus-based linguistic methods to propose what he called the GeM (Genre and Multimodality) Model, which boiled down to an attempt to assign increasingly miniscule units of analysis, ultimately including computer-coded tags, to various elements and to each of the modes and then to discuss the overall document in terms of genre, that is, in terms of the combined input from all the modes. Bateman’s (2008) goal was to create a method that would allow researchers to “make predictions concerning the form and content of multimodal documents...[predications that] will relate particular purposes that are to be achieved with a document” (p. 247), but he noted that “considerably more empirical analysis” (p. 247) was needed before that goal would be achieved, if ever.

Both Bateman (2008) and Bezemer and Kress (2010), however, used similar principles—if differing methods—to trace changes over time in different kinds of multimodal documents.

Bezemer and Kress (2010) conducted a social semiotic analysis of a selection of multimodal textbook passages published in the UK from the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 2000s. Bateman (2008) used four pages from birding field guides published in 1924, 1972, 1994, and 1996 to show “generic trajectories of change” (p. 229), implying both explicit and implicit interpretive methods can be used with historic studies. As with Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) work, Bateman’s (2008) method also was not designed to answer the questions I posed.

While Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) and Bateman’s (2008) works offered the broadest and most detailed considerations of most elements in multimodal documents, Heller’s (2002) work provided historical perspective on the development of graphic design and on the lack of development in theoretical studies and methods of analyzing graphic design. Heller (2002) called the introduction of the Apple Macintosh computer the “first major revolution in graphic arts...since old man Guttenberg moved his earliest type slugs around in fifteenth-century Mainz” (p. 4), primarily because it gave untrained individuals “the same opportunity [as professional graphic designers] to directly control the setting and printing of content while dabbling with form” (p. 4). Heller (2002) suggested this resulted in an emphasis on artistry at the expense of communication, something Bateman (2008) also mentioned in his discussion of the formatting of a utility bill. Along similar lines, Bezemer and Kress (2010) suggested the change in textbooks from, in the 1930s, primarily single-mode documents containing information produced by an author and with minimal changes in layout to today’s multimodal documents containing information produced by many people each working in a separate mode, may contribute to “the outcome of a less than carefully concerted effort to produce textbooks based on a shared understanding of learning” (p. 14). Heller (2002) also noted the speed by which graphic design styles change in the digital world, and Bateman (2008), too, expressed concern that his method could keep pace with the rate of change occurring in graphic design.

Like Heller (2002), Storkerson (2010) wrote on the paucity of theoretical and methodological material in the field of graphic design, suggesting that modern graphic design’s

roots lie in the “studio/atelier tradition of instruction as practiced eighty years ago at the Bauhaus [and similar schools which all] share a non-intellectual approach to education in which the knowledge acquired is largely tacit and not available for examination, even by the knower” (p. 8). That does not mean theoretical thinking about graphic design did not exist, just that much of it was unpublished and conveyed as instruction. Information design, which is a part of graphic design, is an exception, and Storkerson (2010) notes that “confusing ballots” in the 2000 US elections led to more awareness of design as a factor in communication. Storkerson (2010) discussed Manning and Amare’s (2006) use of Peirce’s (1934) categories (decorative, indicative, and informative) to discuss ways in which graphic designers can “promote comprehension” (p. 28) or, presumably, promote confusion. Again, however, all of these documents focused heavily on the document with almost no consideration of the community of people in which these the documents were produced or read. None of these methods addressed either my original questions or my secondary questions.

Methods for studying editorial cartoons. I retrieved the studies referenced in this section primarily from the university databases beginning in 2013 and continuing into the present. While I first attempted systematic searches of the databases using terms such as *multimodal documents*, *editorial cartoons*, *political cartoons*, *newspaper*, and *methods*, *methodology*, or *framework*—as well as more specific terms related to graphic design, historical era, humor, and others—I soon discovered this approach yielded haystacks of references requiring a great deal of sifting through in order to find one or two needles. Eventually, my approach became more serendipitous and rhizomatic. I read more broadly—largely relying on the recommendations of others in diverse fields—and, when I encountered a reference to cartoons, looked for that book or article, read it, scoured the reference list for other possible articles, and repeated the process. Often, it was the asides and the parenthetical remarks that led me to a new line of thinking or to a scholar in an unrelated field who was studying cartoons from a very different perspective. When I found a work that seemed particular relevant, I searched

Google Scholar for more recent works citing the first author. While many of the studies I found in this manner overlap with other reviews of the cartoon literature, I no doubt have missed some, and—more tellingly—others have missed some I have found. As Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart (2017), noted with regard to the difficulties of conducting an interdisciplinary review of the literature about political cartoons, not including multimodal documents or editorial cartoons, “The present situation is thus, frankly, messy” (p. 132).

While discussions of how to systematically study multimodal documents in general are fairly recent, scholars from many disciplines have used a wide range of methods since at least 1930 (Shaffer) to study editorial cartoons. Mello (1998), for example, reviewed eighty-two academic studies conducted of single-panel cartoons published in the United States between 1953 and 1995 and wondered how to “group and make sense of studies from divergent disciplines, with methods ranging from the presentation of studied opinion to statistical analysis to rhetorical inquiry” (p. 381). Mello (1998) divided the studies into three groups: historical studies of cartoons and cartoonists, studies related to the processes of publication, and studies focused more on rhetorical and persuasive messages. With regard to the historical studies of cartoons and cartoonists, Mello (1998) did not note any particular methods being used, although he mentions scholars’ uses of memoirs, letters, and similar primary materials, and he may have considered these historical studies as examples of “the presentation of studied opinion” (p. 381). In his discussion of process-related studies, Mello (1998) indicated scholars used both an historical approach (studied opinion) and methods such as surveys of contemporary cartoonists, editors, and publishers and content analyses of the cartoons themselves. Among the studies focused on rhetorical/persuasive messages, Mello (1998) found two broad categories of studies, those focused on rhetorical criticism and those focused on means of visual persuasion—including Medhurst and DeSousa’s (1981) development of a visual taxonomy for recognizing graphic rhetoric as a means of persuasion. Mello (1998) noted that “descriptive studies of editorial cartoons abound” (p. 393) among the studies focused on

rhetorical/persuasive messages—what we today call critical studies. Mello (1998) also used the term *mapping* (p. 393) in describing Thibodeau’s (1989) study tracing, over a 40-year period, changes in depictions of Black people in cartoons.

Lombard, Lent, Greenwood, and Tune (1999) reviewed sixty-two studies from the 1940s to the late 1990s. They noted that early studies from the 1940s involving comic art, which they defined as “comic strips, comic books, and cartoons” (p. 17), focused more on the “danger to youth, to morals, to the very fabric of American society” presented by the comic art format. By the 1970s, Lombard, et al., (1999) observed, European scholars had begun exploring the “semiotic, sociopolitical, psychological, and philosophical dimensions of the medium” (p. 17) using methods drawn from their particular disciplines, a practice which American scholars soon followed. Black’s (2009) review of studies of adult Japanese manga and anime conducted between 1983 and 2003 suggests similar approaches to research as Lombard, et al. (1999) found in their review, with scholars using various cultural and literary lenses to examine topics ranging from gender representation to patterns of global communications. Swain (2012) cited Harrison’s (1981) three-page listing of common topics addressed in editorial cartoons to that point, then categorized twenty-three other studies published between 1969 and 2011 in terms of whether they addressed particular topics or issues, visual/cartoon literacy, theories of humor and metaphor, and ethical questions about cartoons. As with the other reviews, the range of topics, methods, and perspectives was broad.

Writing more recently, Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart (2017) suggested little progress has been made in developing a framework for studying editorial cartoons across disciplines because the work too often has occurred “within separate silos where researchers have re-invented wheels for want of cross disciplinary knowledge of other developments” (pp. 125-126). For example, the field of comics studies excludes studies of single-panel cartoons which, therefore, have only a “small and peripheral presence” in the field (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 128). As a result, “no genuine dialogue on political cartoon research, its methodology and

problems has developed within comics studies” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 128).

Rather, studies of political cartoons are “scattered across other fields from political science and media studies, to history, art, and beyond” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 128), fields, in other words, where the structure of the cartoon may not be central.

Their comprehensive survey of 144 studies of print political cartoons, narrowly defined, found little agreement or consistency:

- Among the studies Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart (2017) termed meta-studies—those that “concern the methodology, approaches, and theories for political cartoon research” (p. 132), there was little overlap. Each researcher conceived the problem and solution independently and the studies “demonstrate the broad problem of fragmentation.... They do not reliably speak to each other and they conceive the field in incompatible ways” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 132).
- Studies addressing the form and function of political cartoons disagreed on definitions of such foundational terms as *caricature*, leading to a “collapsing of multiple meanings into a single muddled conception when scholars have drawn without due caution on past research from differing disciplines” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 132).
- Studies from the fields of rhetoric, satire, and linguistics often discuss *metaphor*, although not always with the same definition or understanding of the term.
- Studies from sociological and historical perspectives tend to use political cartoons to trace trends or the ways cartoons “function as mechanisms for social control” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 137). Such studies, however, tend to be topically driven and vary in the frameworks and methods used.
- Studies from communication and media studies, which tend to focus on the political impact of cartoons based on how readers interpreted them, have, for the most part demonstrated only that “effects are notoriously difficult to determine and measure,

due in part to the polysemic nature of cartoons, which give rise to multiple interpretations” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 139).

- Studies approaching cartoons from a reception theory perspective, often psychological, consider ways in which readers categorize, process, and interpret the information found in cartoons. One study (El Refaie, 2011) in this section was referenced in terms of multi-modality, which was the only time the term was used by the authors in this study.
- Finally, some studies considered the contexts in which print cartoons are produced, purchased, disseminated, and challenged—what the authors called the “cartoon ecosystem” (Chen, Phiddian, & Stewart, 2017, p. 142)—a context which is changing as content becomes digitally produced and distributed.

Frameworks for studying editorial cartoons. Some scholars reviewed studies of editorial cartoons in order to create their own framework for studying editorial cartoons with or without an explicitly stated method. Other scholars took a more theoretical approach in developing a framework. The scholars I include in this next section are ones who considered editorial cartoons in general.

Taxonomy of rhetorical devices in graphic discourse. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) noted that scholars had studied many forms of what they termed non-oratorical works (songs, movies, fiction, for example) for the ways in which they sought to persuade people, but they found only one study (Morrison, 1969) that discussed persuasive techniques used in editorial cartoons. Accordingly, Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) drew on classical rhetoric to identify possible “taxonomic categories for recognizing and analyzing the available means of graphic persuasion as embodied in the political cartoon” (p. 236) and their effectiveness. The inventional *topoi* or metaphorical arguments Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) identified as being used by cartoonists were “political commonplaces, literary/cultural allusions, personal character traits, and situational themes” (p. 200), and they noted these “first order enthymemes...invite

the reader to respond in accord with certain values, beliefs, and predispositions” (p. 204).

However, the cartoonist can guide the reader/viewer toward particular responses, Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) claimed, by use of one major form of graphic disposition—that is, contrast, both ideological and visual, which creates tension—and two minor forms of the contrast, commentary (little obvious contrast) and contradiction (contrast to the point of dichotomy). Further, Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) claimed contrast is expressed through up to six stylistic choices: the use of *line and form* to create tone and mood; the *relative size of objects* within the frame; the *exaggeration or amplification of physionomical features* (caricature, in the narrow sense); *placement* within the frame; *relation of text*, both caption and balloon, *to visual imagery*; and *rhythmic montage* within the frame which arises from the interaction of invention, disposition and stylistic elements (p. 212).

Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) applied their taxonomy to a collection of 749 cartoons depicting the 1980 presidential campaign and appearing in newspapers published in different geographic regions within the United States. While they presented most of their findings through discussion laced liberally with examples from specific cartoons, they also offered a “quantitative analysis of the dominant physical features parodied by cartoonists” (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, p. 214). However, they also noted that a discussion of findings, without an understanding of “context, imagery, and audience predisposition” could lead to “diverse and sometimes contradictory” conclusions (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, pp. 214-215). For example, they asked, does the fact the Jimmy Carter was depicted as smiling four times more often as Ronald Reagan mean that Carter actually smiled four times more often? Or was Carter’s smile just his dominant physical feature regardless of what provoked the response?

However, while Medhurst and De Sousa (1981) noted that Carter’s smile “invite[d] a wide array of meanings ranging from conceit and arrogance to embarrassment” (p. 214), they did not trace their thinking in how they arrived at those interpretations. Additionally, the narrative of the cartoons was assumed rather than being explicated, and discussion was

conducted in terms of the rhetorical choices, stylistic elements, or socio-political or professional context and not in terms of the overall narrative and how it was framed. Still, Medhurst and DeSousa's (1981) taxonomy deepened my understanding of how visual rhetoric works and it, thus, proved useful in my interrogation of editorial cartoons.

Metaphor and mixed methods. Morris (1989) traced the role of modern editorial cartoonists from their ancient counterparts, fools and jesters, who “defied the basic social distinctions of medieval Europe [and] would step across social boundaries...and treat the profane and the outcast as equal in value to the sacred and the socially prized” (p. 8). Sometimes fools and jesters went beyond conversational repartee or spontaneous performances and presented a fool show, a more extended form of entertainment that “would set up an imaginary world into which members of the court ... encountered familiar persons in unfamiliar guises and relationships” (p. 13). Fool shows could tell of “a certain ruler who lived once upon a time” (Morris, 1989, p. 15) and point out the folly of a situation, provoking thoughtful laughter instead of defensive anger.

Having established the metaphor of the cartoonist and cartoon as jester and fool show, Morris (1989) drew on Burke's (1954) literary “theory of symbolic action [that claims] humans are distinguishable from other animals primarily by their dependence on, and their skill in, symbolizing” (pp. 32-33) and on Goffman's (1974) discussion of image framing as, also, symbolic to discuss editorial cartoons. Having established this background, Morris (1989) compared depictions of business and government in Canadian political cartoons published between 1960 and 1979. Morris (1989) presented his work both qualitatively, as studied opinion, and quantitatively, as a content analysis. It should be noted, however, that the scope of this in-depth, mixed-methods project could not be contained within an academic article and required book-level treatment to both contextualize his work and to present his findings. Morris's (1989) discussions of editorial cartoons as story and as static theatre affirmed my ideas about the narrative of cartoons and of the multiplicity of narratives behind and around an individual

cartoon, but Morris, too, assumed the narrative did not need to be explicated, perhaps because he was intimately familiar with the situations and persons depicted. To me, that was not a given.

Critical sociological analysis. Dines (1995), addressing the “sub-field of the sociology of media” (p. 237), noted that sociologists previously had studied [editorial] cartoons only in terms of humor but that cartoons must be considered as first and being produced and read by people. Having noted that “critical communications theory is anything but organized” (p. 239), Dines (1995) then “tease[d] out those strands of critical theory that are most relevant...[for] developing a framework for a sociological analysis of cartoons” (p. 239). Dines’ (1995) applied Thompson’s (1988) framework for studying television programming to develop her own three-part framework for studying cartoons, one which considered cartoon production and related influences, textual analysis of the cartoon itself, and reader reception in terms of encoding and decoding.

Of particular interest to my purposes, are Dines’ (1995) comments regarding textual analysis in the field of sociology, as she noted, “[R]esearchers have tended to over-emphasize statistical data at the expense of more qualitative, descriptive accounts of cartoon content. Conventional quantitative content analysis has clearly been the dominant method of choice” (p. 244). Dines (1995) argued that a more qualitative approach “would afford sociologists a rich resource for getting at the more oblique belief systems that reside under the surface, but nonetheless inform collective definitions of reality” (p. 245). While she did not espouse or develop a specific method, Dines (1995) wrote at length about the need for more descriptive textual analysis and suggested considering qualitative methods from semiotics or linguistics in addition to quantitative methods. In particular, Dines (1995) noted Goffman’s (1979) “scrutiny of facial expressions, body language, placement, size, and particularly his notion of the ‘glimpsed world’ could easily be applied to cartoons” (p. 246). While Dines (1995) did not mention any scrutiny of the narrative, the idea of scrutinizing elements rather than just counting their presence or absence resonated with my own ideas about capturing the narrative.

Topic/perspective/method framework. Lombard, et al. (1999) found in their review of studies using editorial cartoons that typically one particular topic was studied, from one particular perspective, and using one particular technique (method), and they proposed this triangular approach as a framework for studying editorial cartoons in general. Lombard, et al. (1999) identified several possible perspectives from which a topic could be studied: sociological, psychological, art and aesthetics, business and economics, historical, philosophical, and health and medical. Next, Lombard, et al. (1999) described studies that used various techniques—semiotic analysis, discourse analysis, literary analysis, rhetorical analysis, content analysis, historical analysis, case studies, surveys, interviews, experiments—but they did not find one particular method to be predominant or more effective than others. They suggested that, because no specific method of analyzing cartoons had been developed and because cartoons contained so many different layers of information, scholars could, as they had been doing, adapt methods used in their particular fields to examine cartoons. See Appendix A for a representative listing of studies conducted after 1999 that indicates scholars, regardless of field, continue to use this three-fold topic-perspective-method framework. Further, Lombard, et al. (1999) also raised the possibility that “an especially intrepid researcher could combine a micro-level, textual analysis with a macro-level one” (p. 22) and referenced Dines’ 1995 work.

Elements of humor. Tsakona (2009) demonstrated how the *General Theory of Verbal Humor* (GTVH) developed by Attardo and Raskin (1991) could be extended to multi-modal documents. Tsakona (2009) understood cartoons as semiotic domains consisting of at least two semiotic modes, verbal and visual, and he applied GTVH to cartoons. Tsakona (2009) noted that GTVH identified six “knowledge resources” (p. 1173) used to analyze two basic units of verbal humor: the *punch line*, a final comment or retort incorporating the element of surprise, and *jab lines*, non-disruptive humorous elements incorporated into the text. The six knowledge resources were: *script opposition* or some kind of incongruity, *logical mechanism(s)* that cause the script opposition, the *situation* and narrative elements that comprise the situation, the

target or butt of the humor, *narrative strategies* through which the humor is conveyed, and the actual *language* used in the punch line and/or jab lines. Tsakona (2009) applied an iconographic code, developed previously (Gavriilidou and Tsakona, 2004-2005, as cited in Tsakona, 2009) and based on visual metaphors and graphic conventions, to each of the six knowledge resources in his analysis of 561 cartoons.

Tsakona captured the coding of each cartoon in a few, brief words, phrases, or—rarely—a sentence or two; however, Tsakona (2009) preceded each example of coding with a description of what was happening in the cartoon. It can be argued that Tsakona provided the description both to translate the Greek words comprising the verbal portion of the cartoon and to contextualize the visual elements that often related to Greek politics. Yet in trying to describe the visual elements, Tsakona (2009) discovered that “a cartoon may consist of several jokes, namely script oppositions contributing to the humorous effect of the cartoon as a whole [and that] this could be one of the reasons why cartoons cannot always be paraphrased verbally without any loss” (p. 1186). Tsakona (2009) attributed this difficulty of conveying visual humor in verbal terms to “the non-linearity of the visual mode and its inherent potential often result in complex messages which are not always easy (or even possible) to transfer to the verbal mode without killing the joke” (p. 1186). Finally, Tsakona (2009) discussed the humor found in both modes in terms of enhancement and complementarity, counterpoint and contradiction, and juxtaposition and reversal.

Appraisal theory/method. Swain (2012) applied appraisal theory to editorial cartoons “to map the range of visual resources for making evaluative meanings [to] provide a more solid basis from which to discuss the phenomena with which most cartoon research...is concerned: point of view, effects, persuasive power and style” (p. 83). Situated within systemic functional linguistics (SFL), Swain (2012) said appraisal theory “groups lexogrammatically disparate resources onto three types of evaluative meaning potential: attitude, graduation and engagement” (p. 83), each of which is subdivided into categories, scaled by various dimensions

of the categories, and expressed in various ways (see Table 3.1). This very complex approach helped me consider the different voices heard—whether by facial expression, gesture, or speech bubble—in the cartoons, but the narrative became lost in the process of analysis.

Table 3.1

An Outline of Swain's (2012) Appraisal Theory

Type of EMP	Categories of the Type	+/- Dimensions of the Categories	Expressions of the Type
Attitude	Affect: Emotional states and responses	Un/happiness Dis/satisfaction Dis/inclination	Implicit/evoked Provoked by verbal imagery (metaphor)
	Judgement: moral and ethical assessments of behavior in relation to some standard or code	Social esteem: Normality, capacity, tenacity	Flagged by non-core vocabulary ("swooped in")
	Appreciation: aesthetic evaluations and social value	Social Sanction: Moral propriety and veracity Reaction: Impact and quality Composition: Balance and complexity Valuation: Worth and value	Afforded by verbal ideation ('attacked")
Graduation	Force: High or low	Quantification: Number, mass, extent (time/place) Intensification: Degree	Explicit/inscribed Non-Core Vocabulary Lexical imagery Conventionalized metaphors
	Focus: Sharpening or softening	Non-core vocabulary: Subjective vs. objective (semblance or actual) Attitudinal meanings Authorial alignment with value position Bare, unmoderated assertions	
	Monoglossic utterances: Authorial point of view only		
Engagement	Heteroglossic utterances: Other voices	Disclaim	Reject or substitute alternative views
		Proclaim	Concur, pronounce, endorse

Each framework approached editorial cartoons from a different perspective while drawing on similar premises of symbolism and of the interaction between alphabetic text and graphic image. Yet there was little overlap and few common references. I discussed these frameworks in more or less chronological order, yet I found no sense of vertical building. The understanding of editorial cartoons had been broadened, perhaps, by the varied approaches, but still missing were discussions of discovering topics, of explicating narratives, and of capturing the researcher's responses to cognitive wonderings and cross-modal stimuli.

A Review of Studies Using Ethnographic Content Analysis

Altheide (1987; 1996) and Altheide and Schneider's (2013) Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) offered a methodological path toward studying documents of all types, multi-modal documents in particular. Essentially, ECA involved twelve steps:

1. Determine a topic for study
2. Conduct an ethnographic study or literature review of the topic to narrow the research question
3. Find a few documents about the topic for preliminary study
4. Draft a protocol for collecting pertinent data from the documents
5. Examine the documents using the drafted protocol
6. Revise the protocol, as indicated by the needs of the documents
7. Determine a theoretical sample of documents for the study
8. Collect data, using the revised protocol, from the sample documents
9. Code the data using either codes found during protocol development or codes that emerge from the data during the collection process or a combination
10. Compare items (documents, data, codings) to ensure thoroughness and to begin shaping the final report
11. Select case studies from among the documents and data
12. Create a final report

Although ordered in a linear list here, Altheide and Schneider (2013) emphasized that the steps flowed together. While most of the ethnographic study or literature review listed in Step Two may have taken place near the beginning, such study may have occurred throughout. Steps Five and Six were considered iterative and recursive, meaning it may have taken several drafts of the protocol before the researchers felt the tool helped them record sufficient data from the documents. Steps Eight and Nine also were somewhat iterative and recursive. For example, if, during the process of collecting data from the twelfth document, the researcher realized the

document contained a pattern not noticed before, the researcher would make note of it and also reexamine the previous eleven documents to see if a similar pattern had been overlooked. Further, the sample documents noted in Step Three may actually have sparked the idea for the topic listed in Step One. Once those documents have been studied, as described in Steps Four, Five, and Six, they may yield the terms used to search for the larger sample of documents noted in Step Seven. Altheide and Schneider (2013) termed this approach a “double loop of analysis” or “developing a general approach to relevant information as documents and...placing these documents in a context of meaning to interpret them” (p. 84).

Altheide and Schneider (2013) analyzed primarily broadcast news reports (audio, video, text) and newspaper reports (print text, images). However, they included editorial cartoons as a list of other types of documents to which ECA could be applied (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 87), but they did not give examples. In this section, I discuss studies claiming to use Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA to analyze documents other than news accounts as well as studies using ECA to analyze editorial cartoons.

Studies using ECA to analyze non-journalistic documents. Because Altheide and Schneider (2013) had given examples of ECA that almost exclusively were drawn from televised newscasts, I wanted to see how other scholars used ECA to study other types of documents. A simple search of the phrase *ethnographic content analysis* in quotes, alone and as a keyword, yielded several hundred results published since 1987, the year after Altheide’s first paper about ECA was published. Of these, however, a cursory review of the first several documents, listed by order of relevance, raised questions as to the reliability of the search software (EBSCOHOST.com), as not all the documents retrieved contained the intact phrase *ethnographic content analysis* as one of the title phrases, keywords, or subjects listed. The documents were sorted by the default setting of relevance, which also led me to question how relevance was determined. The first two items (Kuhn-Wilken, Zimmerman, Matheson, Fanning, & Pepin, 2012; Bernhard & Futrell, 2010) included the intact phrase in the title; the third item

(Rhoades & Jernigan, 2012), however, did not, and *qualitative research* was the only methodological term listed among the subjects. As I read through the first several articles listed, I discovered ECA being used in multiple, ill-defined ways.

The Rhoades and Jernigan (2012) study, for example, termed the method a “content analysis” in the abstract (p.1), yet in the paragraph before the methods section, the authors wrote, “Ethnographic content analysis (ECA) was used to examine how often alcohol advertisements portrayed risky behaviors. In addition, we examined the advertisements for other examples of violations of industry guidelines....” (p. 2). Later, the authors said “...a fixed coding scheme was developed, consisting of the four *a priori* risk codes [derived from other studies] and two codes developed through ECA, which we termed sex-related codes” (Rhoades & Jernigan, 2012, p. 2). No explanation was given regarding how ECA was used to develop the codes. The analysis included intercoder reliability figures using Cohen’s K values (pp. 2-3), multiple linear regression, and bivariate correlations (p. 3) of the first data and a descriptive analysis of the ECA-developed and coded data (pp. 4-5). Rhoades and Jernigan then quantified the ECA-generated data, using descriptive statistics, and those quantifications were added into the multiple linear regression process to derive results from “the generalized estimating equation model” (p. 5). Altheide’s (1996) was the only methodology cited, but the use of *a priori* codes and inferential statistics, with little descriptive analysis, suggests the authors may have misunderstood ECA or had applied quantitative methods to the data after the fact.

Similarly, “Here Comes the Bride: An Ethnographic Content Analysis of Bridal Books” (Besel, Zimmerman, Fruhauf, Pepin, and Banning, 2009), that purported to study advice given to brides in bridal books, included ECA in the title but referenced a different methodology in all but one paragraph. That one paragraph explained that ECA “allows messages to emerge from the data and is used to examine the messages given in both the explicit advice...as well as in the style of writing, the pictures shown, and comments made throughout the book that are not explicit advice” (Besel, et al., 2009). The messages that were supposed to emerge from the data,

however, had already been discussed in the literature—gendered roles, rites and rituals—and at least one book was excluded because the advice “was significantly different from the other wedding books selected for the sample” (Besel, et al., 2009, p. 104). Coding was not explained, but intercoder reliability was established (see also McCullick, Belcher, Hardin, and Hardin, 2010) and the data were quantified. No discussion was included about the style of writing, and no pictures were referenced, much less described.

Bernhard and Futrell (2010) used ECA to study two centuries worth of anti-gambling documents including “sermons, speeches, books, pamphlets, and web sites produced by anti-gambling advocates” (p. 17). The authors provided a descriptive rationale for using Altheide’s (1987; 1996) form of ECA, writing, for instance, that “ECA conceptualizes document analysis as field work, allows concepts to emerge inductively during analysis,” etc. (Bernhard & Futrell, 2010, p. 17), and they noted their primary sources were “sermons, speeches, books, pamphlets, and web sites produced by anti-gambling advocates” (p. 17). Bernhard and Futrell (2010) then coded these sources for various themes used to “frame gambling as a social problem” and then “enumerated, charted, and analyzed [the coded data] both qualitatively and quantitatively” (p. 17). However, they did not provide a description of the field in terms of how many documents were analyzed, how many documents of which type were analyzed, how the themes were stratified by percentages, or any of the other descriptive data that would have helped put the qualitative descriptions—an exploration of broadly constructed themes—into context. Additionally, Bernhard and Futrell (2010) approached the documents with a pre-determined topic in mind and, possibly, pre-determined codes or frames, as well.

Forte (2002) came to his study of a newspaper’s depictions of homelessness with an acknowledged agenda: to expose how the newspaper used various mediated messages to argue for closing a local homeless shelter and to show “how ‘intelligent social reconstruction’ might help social workers function as sympathy brokers for the vulnerable” (p. 131). Forte listed Altheide’s (1987; 1996) earlier versions of ECA as a method for studying media, which began

with “identif[ying] the public problem to be investigated...and the major sources of and forums for claims” and which ended with “data analysis, coding, and summarization” (pp. 139-140). Forte (2002) collected 150 documents from four newspapers published over a three-year period, entered the content of all news article into a qualitative analysis software program, and used both manifest coding and latent coding to produce detailed studies of 79 of the documents. From there, Forte (2002) identified themes, which he cross-coded by newspaper, by speaker affiliation, and by other variables. Finally, Forte summarized each theme, giving examples and direct quotes to support each finding. While Forte’s methods seemed to follow the method Altheide and Schneider (2013) described, the pre-determined agenda raised questions about what data emerged and what data possibly was prevented from emerging.

Sandefur and Moore (2004), in their ECA of teacher images in picture books, provided an accounting of their processes as well as descriptions—not just labels—of the categories and representations plus the rationale for each. However, Sandefur and Moore did not describe what data they captured from the images nor how. With very few exceptions, none of the examples given in their findings included a description of an image or a verbal quote from the book. By contrast, McCullick, Belcher, Hardin, and Hardin (2003) used ECA as one method among several to study images of physical education teachers in movies. McCullick, et al. (2003) wrote that they “used a naturalistic qualitative paradigm that allowed for relevant meaning to emerge from collected data” (p. 7). Additionally, they described the study as “qualitative in nature [partly] because...each researcher’s insight [was] the key instrument of analysis” (p. 7). Altheide’s (1996) ECA was used by McCullick, et al. (2003) to aid “in the identification of the themes and categories that emerged from the data” as well as “to assist in the assessment and grouping of themes and categories” (p. 8). However, McCullick, et al. (2003), also referenced other sources (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Bogden & Biklen, 1998) in piecing together their means of analysis.

Kuhn-Wilken, et al. (2012), on the other hand, studied fifteen episodes of the reality television program *Supernanny* using ECA to identify, to describe, and to discuss themes and sub-themes of parenting advice that emerged from the viewings of the episodes. The study described specific instances of both visual actions and verbal comments to support the themes and sub-themes, and the authors used descriptive statistics to help readers contextualize the demographics of the families depicted and the frequencies with which the themes and sub-themes were referenced. Kuhn-Wilken, et al. (2012) described the first author “typing detailed notes” as each of the first three episodes was watched and then creating a synopsis from the notes. Rather than computing intercoder reliability, other researchers from the Kuhn-Wilken, et al. (2012) team also watched the first three episodes, created synopses, and then compared their synopses with those created by the first author to “ensure the first author [had] captured the essence of the program” (p. 321). Additionally, Kuhn-Wilke, et al. (2012) noted that peers were involved at each stage of the coding process, and an audit trail was kept in regard to method decisions, particularly the development of codes and themes” (p. 321). This idea of the audit trail resonated with my accounting background and helped me create a means of tracking changes not just to codes and themes but to the protocol itself.

Studies using ECA to analyze editorial cartoons. In this section, I examine the two studies I found using ECA to examine editorial cartoons. But I begin with Warburton & Saunders (1996) study of editorial cartoons using a method developed by the authors that in many ways anticipates ECA.

During a time of public debate over “traditional” versus “trendy” teaching methods, Warburton and Saunders (1996) studied editorial cartoons published in the U.K. in 1976 that depicted teachers. They framed their study in terms of cartoons (semiological in nature) as embodiments of public opinion (phenomenological in nature), and they discussed both the denotative and the connotative aspects of working within a language system. “Interpreting what is signified is both qualitative and judgmental and therefore problematic,” wrote Warburton and

Saunders (1996), continuing, “However, the methodology we develop addresses these issues” (p. 307). Warburton and Saunders began by “creat[ing] an inventory of both signifiers and signifieds [with] denotative references...taken directly from visual and textual material contained within the cartoon ‘sign’” (p. 307). Next, Warburton and Saunders looked for supporting text—headlines, adjacent articles, captions, and cartoon titles, for example—to confirm internally the denotative and connotative meanings “by identifying where the linguistic message is duplicated and amplified [which] allows the construction of ‘narrative threads’” (p. 307). Warburton and Saunders (1996) claimed: “These [narrative threads] are essentially mythic in nature conforming to what Barthes (1972) describes as ‘modern myths’. A myth is the message held within a system of communication. It is a system of values read as if it were a system of facts” (pp. 307-308). While Warburton and Saunders acknowledged they did not analyze how the process worked, they “more simply, describe[d] the process itself” (p. 308). As with a few other studies presented in this chapter, I will return to Warburton and Saunders’ (1996) work in Chapter 4. For now, I turn to the two studies found that used Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA to study editorial cartoons.

Eko (2007) used a protocol based on Altheide’s (1996) ECA to study 350 “single-frame cartoons and multiple-frame narrative comic strips comic strips” (p. 226) published between 1995 and 2004 for their use of “cross-species transilience, an African folk narrative device whereby plants, animals, material objects and natural phenomena are ascribed human attributes, and human beings are animalized for purposes of satire” (p. 220). Although he cited both Altheide’s (1987) article, which is titled *Ethnographic Content Analysis*, and Altheide’s (1996) book, Eko (2007) termed his method *qualitative document analysis* (p. 226). Eko (2007) described coding the name of the newspaper, the “political theme or subject of each cartoon” (p. 226), the cartoonist’s name, written text in the cartoon, the type of cartoon, date published, and page number. Eko (2007) then added, “A brief description of each cartoon was included in the data” (p. 226). However, Eko did not elaborate on what the description included

or excluded, nor did he explain how he determined the political theme or subject, only that the themes emerged during analysis. Later, Eko (2007) wrote, “The protocol was further modified and refined to address the theoretical perspectives of the study” (p. 226), and he noted that he conducted member checks with some of the cartoonists to verify his interpretations—that is, an instance of external confirmation as opposed to Warburten and Saunders’ (1996) use of internal confirmation.

Fernando (2013) examined 168 editorial cartoons appearing in six major Sri Lankan newspapers during a thirty-three-day period in 2009 for their depictions of an upcoming presidential election. Fernando (2013) began with four hypotheses, expecting to find more focus on personalities than issues, “overwhelmingly negative” depictions, differences in depictions of incumbent and challenger, and unbalanced bias representations overall. From there, Fernando (2013) developed six research questions and a protocol containing twenty indicator queries, based on Altheide’s (1996) qualitative content analysis and on Medhurst and DeSousa’s (1981) taxonomy of rhetorical devices. Items coded included the name of the newspaper, the date, and the page number where the cartoon appeared (Items 1 and 2). Item 3 asked the researcher to note “the political theme or subject matter of the cartoon” (p. 242), while Item 4 called for a “brief description of each cartoon” (p. 242). Item 5 asked about written text, and Item 6 asked for the approximate size of the cartoon. The remaining Items, 7-20, required interpretive answers. Two of the questions asked about the presence of any of Medhurst and DeSousa’s (1981) four intentional topoi used in political cartoons. All questions could be answered in a few words or brief phrases, and the analysis reflected the brevity of the descriptions.

I searched the phrases *ethnographic content analysis AND editorial cartoons*, *ethnographic content analysis AND political cartoons*, *editorial cartoons AND Altheide*, and *political cartoons AND Altheide*, and found only Eko’s (2007) and Fernando’s (2013) studies that met the criteria of *ethnographic content analysis AND editorial cartoons OR political*

cartoons. This suggests that ECA's potential for document analysis, especially of editorial cartoons, has been untapped.

Summary

I began this chapter by asking what vehicle or mode of transportation I ought to use in mapping a set of editorial cartoons. My goals were to learn how I could discern and capture the narrative of the cartoons while acknowledging the structural elements used to convey the narratives, how to determine the narrative framing of a topic, how to account for my own cognitive interrogation and cross-modal responses, and how to determine how the narrative of the document attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse. I discussed conductive reasoning and the roles played by both cartoonist and reader in amassing reasons toward a conclusion.

Based on my review of the methods literature, I considered Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) development of a visual grammar for multi-modal documents and Bateman's (2008) more genre-based approach to micro-coding and analyzing multimodal documents for their generic attributes. I also noted Heller's (2002) and Storkerson's (2010) concerns that the field of graphic design is just now beginning to be theorized and appropriate methodologies developed. Next, I considered how scholars from various fields have approached studying editorial cartoons. I reviewed meta-studies of editorial cartoons as well as individual studies on particular topics. I discovered myriad ways in which editorial cartoons have been explored, depending on the field of the researcher and the question being asked. I found little consistency and little overlap. With Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart (2017), I concluded, "The present situation is thus, frankly, messy" (p. 132). The situation did not become any less messy when I reviewed studies using ECA (Altheide, 1987; Altheide, 1996; Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Here, too, researchers applied ECA—or their versions of it—wholly or in part to a variety of media and topics, and I found only two studies where researchers identified ECA as the method they used to study editorial and/or political cartoons.

Very few of the methods addressed the means by which we know what the narrative of the cartoon is—what story is the cartoonist telling and how and for what purpose? Most of the methods, frameworks, and studies assumed the narratives were self-evident and not in need of explicating. But that was because most of the researchers began with specific topics or specific foci in mind—they already knew the original story or stories and may even have lived parts of them. What if we began with a body of documents from an unfamiliar culture, with little or no knowledge of the stories, and unsure of what topics were being addressed? How would we go about determining the narrative and the topic? Even if thought we knew the stories, the narratives, what might we overlook because we assumed we already knew everything there was to know?

Nor did any of the methods consider cross-modal responses on the part of the researcher and how those responses might consciously or subconsciously affect the interpretations of the cartoons. How do we account for those responses, and how do we track and acknowledge them?

These questions are not intended to disparage or discredit any of the studies reviewed in this chapter. From each, I gleaned ideas that addressed methods questions I had not considered, found confirmation for methods questions I had pondered, and/or was challenged to articulate why a usage seemed problematic. In the next chapter, I address the ways in which Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) filled methodological gaps and addressed my concerns about narratives, topics, and cross-modal responses.

Chapter Four: Inverting ECA to Determine Topics, Narratives, Frames, Discourses

While Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA offered a path toward a method for studying editorial cartoons and a pattern to follow in collecting data, I soon found that the path was based on a study that began from a different starting point than did mine and that the pattern was a size too small for my study's needs. Rather than abandon the path or throw out the pattern, however, I saw the potential in each and determined to adapt them rather than to scrap them. After a couple of false starts, I realized I was operating from an inverse perspective than had Altheide and Schneider (2013), a perspective that led to my reordering their process. Second, I discovered the list-style protocol Altheide and Schneider (2013) used for data collection was insufficient for capturing the processes of mapping the narratives transacted within the cartoons. Third, I sought a more nuanced means of determining the frame through which the topic was narrativized than Altheide and Schneider (2013) had provided. Finally, I also sought an expanded means by which to consider the cartoons as shaping the larger discourse. In this chapter, I examine each of these four areas. In Chapter 5, I walk through, from beginning to end, the method I developed and address the question of how to account for the researcher's own cognitive wonderings and cross-modal responses to the document.

Faulty Assumptions about Topics

Faulty assumptions can lead to faulty conclusions, but sometimes underlying assumptions have been part of the substructure of our practices for so long that we forget they are, in fact, assumptions. As I studied the articles noted in Chapter 3, I began to wonder if the reason I found very few studies that sought to discover topics in editorial cartoons was because of an underlying assumption within academia that research topics must be pre-determined. As I thought back over writing instruction I have received and that I have given, the starting-point

phrase that most often came to mind was “choose your topic.” We ask students what they are interested in or what in the course readings has caused them to reflect upon or to want to rebut. If one topic doesn’t work out for whatever reason, we might narrow it or broaden it or even abandon it for another—but we seldom discuss the idea that a research topic could be about discerning or discovering a topic ... or about a topic discovering us. Among the studies reviewed in Chapter 3, both those included as part of other literature reviews and those I found, most were written by a researcher who chose a topic or wanted to argue a point and used editorial cartoons as a means of proving their point. Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart (2017), for example, noted that the 144 studies they reviewed came from five different fields within the humanities, from six different fields in the social sciences, from six professions ranging from law to nursing, and from a few interdisciplinary fields. They wrote that this breadth brings multiple voices to the table but that “studies of cartoons are all too often brief flirtations, introduced as a novel way to test or challenge a current theory; or because cartoons have suddenly become a hot topic.... In either case, cartoons are soon dropped as a topic” (Chen, Phiddian, and Stewart, 2017, p. 144).

But what do we miss by assuming we know what the topic is or should be? Some people might argue that my study is more about determining the main idea in a piece of writing, that is, that the topic is actually the finding of a topic. Possibly. But, as Kucer (2014) and Lord (2015) have pointed out, misconceptions abound—even among teachers—about what a main idea is in written text, that there might be more than one main idea in a piece of text, about how they can be identified, or the differences between a main idea and a topic. And we might assume that working with predominantly visual text makes it easier to identify main ideas or a topic. Abraham (2012), however, disagreed, noting, “While language (reading and writing) literacy became compulsory, visual literacy was relegated to the background” (p. 123), and he further maintained, “Moriarty² [1994, p. 20] argues that ‘visual interpretation can be ... more complex

² Abraham (2012) consistently misspells *Moriarty* as *Morarity* both in the text and in the list of references. I have used the correct spelling in this quote and in my list of references.

than verbal interpretation’... further making the case for developing visual literacy and dismissing the erroneous notion that we do not need to learn how to interpret images because they are easy to understand” (p. 123). Abraham (2012) used the word *develop* or a derivative several times in reference to visual literacy and visual intelligence, implying effort, learning, and practice are involved. Ironically, of course, part of developing visual literacy also involves developing verbal literacy by learning to articulate what one sees, increasing one’s vocabulary and stretching one’s descriptive abilities. That said, my challenging the assumption that a topic must be pre-determined led to the first area in which my method, Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT), diverged from Altheide’s (1987; 1996) and Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) conceptions of ECA.

Operating from an inverse perspective. Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA, which studies documents in order to learn about people, began with an underlying assumption that researchers would have a predetermined topic to be explored through as-yet-to-be-selected media, including editorial cartoons. My study, on the other hand, began with a set of preselected editorial cartoons with undetermined topics, which led to my reordering ECA’s twelve-steps. Why the difference? Altheide, a sociologist, has devoted most of his professional work to studying a topic: how the media, as an institution and through its products, shapes our world, our responses to that world, and our responses to the shaping itself. Altheide’s earliest book listed is titled *Creating Reality: How TV News Distorts Events* (1976); a more recent book is titled *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis* (2002). In the 1987 article in which he first presented ECA, Altheide’s data were from his 1981 study of Iranian versus U.S. news broadcasts of the Iranian hostage crisis (November 1979-January 1981). In each study contributing to each iteration of ECA, Altheide (1976; 1981; 1987; 1996; 2002) and Altheide and Schneider (2013) began with a topic— how the contemporary news media presented a particular issue—and then they searched for a sample of media products, many of which they had already viewed as news consumers, with which to study the topic.

By contrast, I began with a sample of cartoons from early in the previous century, appearing in a newspaper I had never read, and published in a state I had passed through once. I wondered what topics were presented and through what narratives, how the narratives were framed, and how they attempted to shape the larger discourse. Frustrated in my initial attempts to follow Altheide and Schneider's (2013) steps, I rearranged and modified them. Table 4.1 compares the order of Altheide and Schneider's (2013) method with the method that emerged during my study. Note that, while Altheide and Schneider (2013) produced case studies of what the media produced by studying topics, my method produced a topical overview from which later studies could investigate how the media presented those topics.

Table 4.1.

Inverting Altheide and Schneider's (2013) 12-step process for Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)

Altheide & Schneider's (2013) studies were based on preselected topics in search of samples.	My study was based on a preselected sample in search of topics.
1. Topic	1. Theoretical sample
2. Ethnographic study or literature review	2. Locate & identify documents
3. A few documents	3. Ethnographic study & literature review
4. Draft protocol*	4. Collect & examine documents
5. Examine documents*	5. Draft protocol*
6. Revise protocol*	6. Collect/generate & code data*
7. Theoretical sample	7. Revise protocol*
8. Collect data	8. Collect/generate & code data
9. Code data	9. Compare items
10. Compare items	10. Summarize & compare summaries
11. Case studies	11. Topical overview
12. Final report	12. Final report

Note. *Steps 4 - 6 of Altheide and Schneider's (2013) method are iterative and recursive throughout, as are steps 5 - 7 of my adaptation. In my method, Step 3 occurred somewhat simultaneously with step 4. In both methods, the protocol can be revised at any point, but previously examined documents must be revisited in light of the revisions.

Adapting the Protocol to Articulate the Narrative(s)

My protocol development began with letting go of my previous experiences with quantitative content analysis (QCA). I briefly considered creating a spreadsheet and codebook, as I had with QCA, describing each narrative element, artistic element, rhetorical device,

humorous strategy, and other elements in order to note the absence or presence of the various elements as well as how they contributed to the cartoons overall. I quickly recognized, however, that with spreadsheets and codebooks, I was becoming mired in minutiae and overlooking the obvious—what was the narrative being told in the cartoon. I searched for other protocols used to study editorial cartoons and found only a few (Table 4.2), most of which were designed for use with elementary and secondary students or with visitors to collections.

Table 4.2.

Other protocols used to study editorial cartoons

Source, Title, (Date Accessed or Copyright Date)	Organization Pattern	Criteria: Section Headings (Underlined) and Guiding Questions, Labels, or Thoughts
Eastern Illinois University > Teaching with Primary Sources, “Cartoon Analysis,” (2014; 2019)	Linear list with three sections (glance, look, explain)	<u>First Glance</u> : Title, Objects/People, Words/ Phrases, Dates/Numbers, Sensory Qualities (Lines bold, fussy, light, hard, soft) <u>Taking a Closer Look</u> : Images (Symbols, representation, exaggeration, realistic/abstract, describe emotion) Words (which appear to be important and why) <u>Cartoon Purpose</u> : Describe action, explain how the words explain the symbols, what is the message, who might agree, what might be public reaction
Library of Congress, “Cartoon Analysis Guide: Cartoonists’ Persuasive Techniques,” (2013; 2019)	Linear reflective guide based on five persuasive techniques	<u>Symbolism</u> : Simple objects stand for larger concepts; what symbols are seen? <u>Exaggeration</u> : Facial features and clothing, especially; why? <u>Labels</u> : What items or people are labeled? <u>Analogies</u> : Comparisons between unlike things; what is main analogy and what is point? <u>Irony</u> : Difference between way things are and way they are supposed to be Finally: What is cartoon about? What is cartoonist’s opinion on issue? What opinions might others have? Is cartoon persuasive? What other techniques would make it more persuasive?
National Archives and Records Administration, “Cartoon Analysis Worksheet,” (2013; 2019)	Three Levels with Visuals / Words side by side in first two levels	<u>Level 1</u> : Visuals (list objects or people; Words (list caption/title, three labels or identifiers, important dates or numbers) <u>Level 2</u> : Visuals (which objects are symbols, what do they mean); Words (which words/phrases most significant, list adjectives describing emotions portrayed) <u>Level 3</u> : Describe action taking place; explain how words clarify symbols; explain message; what special interest groups would agree/disagree with message and why)
National Archives and Records Administration, “SOAPS Primary Source ‘Think’ Sheet,” (c. 2006; 2019)	Two-Column List: Document: Subject, Purpose / Reviewers: Occasion & Audience, Speaker	<u>Document</u> : Subject (general topic, three important things author says); Purpose (why document created and what in document supports this, what does document convey about life in U.S. at time it was created, what questions does document raise) <u>Reviewers</u> : Occasion & Audience (Checkboxes to indicate type of document and unique physical qualities, who is intended audience, when was document created/circulated); Speaker (Who created document and how do we know, position/title, insider/outside, whose voice not represented and why)

These sample protocols suggested possible categories for study. Each began by having students list various items and, with only a couple of exceptions, didn't consider the cartoons as verbal or visual narratives with plot, setting, and characters. Except for one mention of irony and two mentions of exaggeration, elements of humor were missing, as were most stylistic elements (how objects were drawn). The protocols seemed to struggle with finding balance between the verbal and the visual elements without privileging one over the other. These one- or two-sheet simple guides developed between 2006 and 2014 were still being used without change in 2019. Altheide and Schneider (2013), however, noted researchers should "treat the development of [the] protocol as part of the research project and [should] let it emerge over several drafts" (p. 46), and Appendix B shows my first attempt at developing a protocol and Appendix G shows the most recent iteration of the protocol as used with the sample cartoons.

An ECA protocol, according to Altheide and Schneider (2013), is "a way to ask questions of a document ... [and] is a list of questions, items, categories, or variables that guide data collection from the document" (p. 44). For Altheide and Schneider (2013), that list included document identifiers (date, title, author, etc.), sub-topics, and categories that seemed largely predetermined. For example, while the overall topic of Altheide's 1981 study was the broadcast news coverage of an ongoing situation, the sub-topics that emerged included predictable ones such as hostages, families of hostages, leaders of each country, international reaction, and others. Not only were the categories predictable, Altheide's (1987; 1996) descriptions of the indicators for each topic consisted of just a few words, perhaps because he had the transcript—a verbal document—of each broadcast with which to work and could capture visual categories from the footage—who was depicted, what they were doing, what kind of camera shot was used—in brief terms. Altheide and Schneider (2013) provided a similar example of a protocol used to collect data from photographs that appeared in several publications for a study on how news reported a military conflict. In addition to the document identifiers, the categories included in the protocol were the location of the photo within the publication, the size of the

photo, the caption (verbatim), and whether an article related to the photo was included.

Following these categorical data collection points, Altheide and Schneider (2013) said the researcher should include “a detailed description of the photo” (p. 88). However, the examples given contained cursory, one- to three-sentence descriptions devoid of details. One “scene-setting” photo, taken of an anti-war protest, was described thus: “US CIVILIANS, ANTIWAR, Simply a picture of a crowd of demonstrators burning an American flag. Behind the burning flag are other demonstrators holding signs and banners” (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 89). Perhaps the researcher’s questions did not require recording details about the number or type of people in the crowd, the expressions on their faces, how they were grouped, and what the signs and banners said because he/she had recorded them when analyzing the related article, or perhaps the researcher’s study focused only on counting numbers of photos containing anti-war, US civilian demonstrators.

While the separate and categorical listing of each of these choices in narrative, artistry, and design in the protocol seemed logical, in practice I found this approach to data generation/collection cumbersome, fragmenting, and limiting. When I tested a draft protocol on a cartoon, I generated minute descriptions of font, lines, and character descriptions, but I lost the sense of the narrative at the heart of the cartoon—the descriptions were out of context. Additionally, I became concerned that listing the elements in a particular, linear order privileged some elements over others. In particular, I wondered whether describing written text first affected the way I viewed and described the images and vice versa. Although Altheide and Schneider (2013) noted the protocol “provide[d] both numeric and narrative (descriptive) data collection” (32), their construction of the “narrative portion” was mostly in relation to its being “helpful for ... developing a framework for dealing with *visuals*” (p. 32, emphasis in the original). Accordingly, Altheide and Schneider (2013) commented, “Qualitative media analysis protocols are often fairly concise” (p. 47), and their examples were just that.

However, because my approach differed from theirs, my protocol also was different. Rather than using a list format, I next tried creating tables in Microsoft Word to collect the secondary source

document identifiers and the narrative data (Figure 4.1), as this format allowed for both sophisticated formatting and flexibility in making changes. Over the course of several iterations, some of this secondary source information was added

and/or rearranged, but it remained as a constant header at the top of each page, regardless of how many pages the rest of the data required. Below the issue information, I placed the cartoon itself and a section in which to record the description of the cartoon's narrative, although I still was not sure what that would look like.

At first, I tried separating the narrative and stylistic elements from the description of the narrative, but that proved cumbersome. Eventually, in a chapter devoted to qualitative methods unrelated to ECA, I discovered Altheide and Schneider's (2013) example of embedding codes into field notes. Their lengthy first-person narrative descriptions of observed scenes dovetailed with my approach to describing the cartoons. Instead of beginning with categories of descriptors, then extracting words and phrases from the narrative, and then attaching the disembodied words and phrases to the descriptors in a table, Altheide and Schneider (2013) inserted the descriptors, using bold font and asterisks, into the narrative, thus integrating the elements with least intrusive method of recording them. In this way, the narrative retained its

Cartoon #: C002.APR.0212.1910		From Front Page #: FP007	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason.</i>		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/27/15 / 07/09/15 / 07/10/15 / 07/21/15	
Issue Information: Date: February 12, 1910 Number: 741			
# Subscribers: 346,236 (as of January 29, 1910)		# Printed: 430,990 (February 5, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	<u>J.A.</u> Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: "Marching On To Washington": People Believe In Freedom Of Press: Fact Is Shown by Letters Protesting Against Higher Second Class Mail Rates.—Protests Carry Weight.			
Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Left: Tremendous Meetings: At Akron Hundreds Are Turned Away From Meetings For Lack Of Room (2 Columns)			
Placement of Cartoon (Upper Right, Upper Left, Lower Right, Lower Left, Center): Upper Right			
Copyright/Reprint Information: None			
Cartoonist: <u>SAV</u> (Savage)		Number of Panels: One	
Cartoon Title: "Marching on To Washington" ... assumed title (see notes at end)			
Caption(s): None			

Figure 4.1. MNT protocol showing secondary source identifiers. The portion shaded in gray indicates header rows that repeat at the top of each page.

structure and flow, and the descriptors became embedded within the context of the narrative. As I read the example given, I realized something else: During my first attempt at data collection, I had been coding elements of an assumed narrative based on my interpretation of the images and words I saw, a narrative that existed largely in my head. Before I could identify and note verbal and visual elements, I needed to generate a narrative articulating what I saw in the cartoon. But how?

Generating a narrative of the cartoon. I found little in the visual methodologies I consulted that included writing a narrative based on what was occurring in an image—most of these assumed the researcher was coding separate elements. For example, Burn (2008), in analyzing production of video games, described the “conventional sense” of multimodal media texts as “being experienced as a synthesis” of various modes, including those involving visual representation, sound, and written text (p. 161). Burn (2008) mentioned the “narrative system” inherent in most action games (p. 161) but only as it paralleled or was influenced by the ludic, rule-based system of gaming (p. 161) and not as a source of study itself. When Burn (2008) strayed into the realm of the narrative, he only noted it was “*possible* to subject the representational matter here to forms of critical reading” (p. 164, emphasis added) and he did not discuss what might be revealed by articulating the narrative of a video game or how to do so.

In similar manner, Rose (2012) in her treatise *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Methodologies*, described in detail such elements as *screen ratio*, *focus*, *angle*, *pan*, *zoom*, and more in the section devoted to spatial organization. In the next section, devoted to elements in film, Rose (2012) discussed *montage*, *editing*, *cutting*, and similar features. Each of the elements I have italicized here appeared in bold text in Rose’s work, and each element was also listed in bold text in the margin, making it easier for readers to locate the description of a particular element within the text. Rose (2012) included the element *narrative structure* in section on film and in the same paragraph in which she also discussed *montage* and *editing*. However, the only place in the paragraph about narrative structure where

the phrase itself was mentioned—in bold font—was the last sentence, and it was enclosed in parentheses: “(A quite distinct aspect of the temporal organisation of a film is its narrative; describing its **narrative structure** can also be an important way of interpreting a film)” (p. 71, emphasis in original). Perhaps Rose (2012) recognized narrative structure as an element of one type of multi-modal work, film, but she perceived it as a non-visual element. Rose (2012) did not mention narrative structure in her discussions of still images. Rather than offering a method or methods of analyzing visual media, Rose (2012) described elements and demonstrated analysis of images through various critical lenses. The closest she came to a “how to” was in her instructions in an earlier chapter for the reader to view a particular photograph and to “[t]ake a good look at it now and note down your immediate reactions. Then see how your views of it alter as the following sections discuss its sites and modalities” (p. 20). Note that Rose (2012) did not instruct readers to describe what it is they were reacting to but only to describe their reactions. Note also that Rose (2012) assumed the readers’ reactions would change based on her more knowledgeable interpretation, an interpretation that might have been based on her more detailed observation and a mental or written description of the image.

Bal (1985/2009), in her work on the theory of narrative, delved deeply into various constructions of the narrator, implications of spatial orientation within narrative, and similar topics. More useful for my purposes, however, was her afterword on how to use the information presented to do the work of analysis. Bal (1985/2009) wrote that establishing categories “is all very nice as a remedy to chaos-anxiety” (p. 226), and she argued, “[T]he pervasive taxonomical bend of narratology is epistemologically flawed; it entails skipping a step or two” (p. 226), namely, the gaining of insight into a text. Such insight, however, also cannot be based just on a “description of ‘things,’ mostly elements like words, characters, speaking styles” because, without the narrative itself, the elements “are unsystematically related” (Bal, 1985/2009, p. 226), resulting in a type of circular logic. Rather, Bal (1985/2009) wrote, “The point is to ask meaningful questions [of the narrative]” (p. 228), questions such as “what, in the game of make-

believe, is being proposed for us to believe or see before us, hate, love, admire, argue against, shudder before, or stand in awe of” (p. 229). For me, this meant (1) continually questioning the cartoon, as I described the narrative I perceived emanating from the synthesis of the elements, and (2) recognizing the narrative’s being comprised of various elements but not to the point that the elements defined the narrative.

Warburton and Saunders’ (1996) study of cartoons depicting changes in education, referenced in Chapter 3, in which they discussed “the construction of ‘narrative threads’” (p. 307), gave the closest glimpse of how to capture the narrative of a cartoon. They, too, however, began with categories:

Initially, we create an inventory of both signifiers and signifieds. Denotive references are taken directly from visual and textual material contained within the cartoon ‘sign’.

Secondly, both denoted and connoted meanings are ‘confirmed’ by identifying where the linguistic message is duplicated and amplified in supporting text. This allows the construction of ‘narrative threads’. These are essentially mythic in nature.... Finally, we describe and contextualize the ‘process of signification’. We do not analyze how this process works.... Rather, more simply, we describe the process itself.

(Warburton & Saunders, 1996, pp. 307-308)

These brief lines were the extent of their methodology. In practice, Warburton and Saunders (1996) demonstrated their process in an eight-paragraph analysis of the first cartoon included in their study. The information included in each paragraph can be summarized as follows:

Paragraph 1: The first sentence noted the cartoonist, the publication, and the date of publication. The second sentence gave the rationale for the study, i.e., the cartoon was published shortly after a book was published about the same controversial topic.

Paragraph 2: The first eight sentences described in detail the setting, minor characters, headlines, and caption. The ninth sentence connected the caption to a quote in the book.

The tenth sentence noted a word in the caption that is in all capital letters, which Warburton and Saunders (1996) stated “signals disagreement” (p. 312).

Paragraph 3: The first sentence referred to the two main characters in the foreground as “the two examples of opposing methodology personified” (Warburton & Saunders, 1996, p. 312). The next eleven sentences described the two main characters in detail.

Paragraph 4: In these thirteen sentences, Warburton and Saunders (1996) discussed connotative interpretations of the cartoon by referencing headlines and articles published in the same newspaper the day before and by tying quotes from prominent authorities cited in the articles to text in the cartoon.

Paragraphs 5 and 6: Warburton and Saunders (1996) contextualized the cartoon through headlines, quotes, and content from articles on the same topic that were published in three other newspapers a few days before the cartoon was published.

Paragraph 7: Warburton and Saunders (1996) made observations, using indirect language, about the cartoonist’s intended message. For example, they noted, “The strongest signifiers in the cartoon, they are producer-directed as being the prime subject....” (Warburton & Saunders, 1996, p. 313), and then provided examples from the cartoon and/or from secondary sources to support their observations.

Paragraph 8: Warburton and Saunders (1996) listed fifteen different “[r]ecognisable narrative threads” (p. 314) in the cartoon, then described how “the emphasis in public narratives had become more confrontational” (p. 314) less than two months later. The list of narrative threads could, in a sense, be considered a topical overview, as each thread contained an idea or argument that could be carried into a different study. For example, several threads dealt with the portrayals of teachers as “not producing the required standards” or as “not seeing the 3Rs as important” or as “not having high standards themselves” (Warburton & Saunders, 1996, pp. 319-320). Other threads involved parents, taxpayers, and the government.

As with most of the other studies I discussed in Chapter 3, Warburton and Saunders' (1996) study began with a pre-determined topic. They briefly explained their interpretive process, then used the process to describe and discuss the cartoons they had selected for study. In explaining their process, Warburton and Saunders (1996) elevated their method from unexplained "studied opinion" (Mello, 1998, p. 381) to a stated process of using denotative description and supported connotative inferences to determine narrative threads within a multi-modal text.

After working through these questions about the narrative of a cartoon, and after trial and error, I became comfortable using the format seen in Figure 4.2, that of describing in detail what is denoted and connoted in the cartoon and embedding notations indicating how my observations were

supported by various

elements. Bal

(1985/2009), noted that

comic strips—and, by

extension I include single-

panel cartoons—fall under

a broad construction of

the concept of text and

that a "*narrative text* is

one in which an agent or

subject conveys to an

addressee ('tells' the

reader) a story in a

particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings or a combination thereof" (p.

5). Later, however, Bal (1985/2009) wrote that "while there is no reason to limit narratological

analysis to linguistic texts only," narratology in art history is "not very popular" because of the

Cartoon Title: "Marching on To Washington" ... assumed title (see notes at end)	
Caption(s): None	
	Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [July 9-10, 2015] Descending from an inky sky, which occupies more than half but less than two-thirds of the upper space **contrast, space** , a steady snowfall of letters and envelopes (I count 61, including one bundle of multiple items, in the upper space) **main character, metaphor** blankets the lower third of the frame, including the foreground and the area in front of the U.S. Capitol building **setting, symbolism** , seen in the distance (on the horizon at the far right of the frame). The letters and envelopes falling from the sky, join others that have piled up on the ground; so heavy has been the storm, that mounds have formed as far as the eye can see and the Capitol building itself is partly obscured by one rounded pile **plot, metaphor, space, symbolism** .

Figure 4.2. Protocol showing a portion of the narrative description of the cartoon. The elemental categories, in bold font, are embedded into the narrative but are and separated from the narrative by double asterisks at each end.

perception—perhaps true—that such action results in “subordinating the visual to literary narrative” (p. 165). For me, mapping the cartoon in narrative terms that recognized both the linguistic and the artistic elements seemed to provide a way of not privileging either.

Capturing the cognitive and cross-modal narratives. Neither the cognitive interrogation of the texts nor the cross-modal responses to the texts were explicitly discussed as part of Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA. Implicitly, it is highly likely such interrogation and responses directed the research—we assume scholars look up words they aren’t sure they understand and investigate cultural practices with which they are unfamiliar—and informed the analysis, as interpretation occurs through the lenses of our previous experiences and of our very being. As with assumptions about pre-determined topics, however, perhaps we assume too much in not articulating both cognitive interrogations and cross-modal responses—types of narratives in themselves—in the processes of interpretation. The questions, one of which presented itself early in the study while the other arose near the end, became how to include the narratives of both within the protocol but without disrupting the narrative of the cartoon itself.

Because I was unfamiliar with many of the situations depicted in the cartoons published in this somewhat obscure publication more than a century ago, I realized early in the study that the cartoons required that I “confront my own ignorance,” to paraphrase Wineburg (2001, p. 21). For example, the first cartoon I studied included a drawing of what looked like a large canon mounted atop what appeared to be the roof of a castle—*battlement* was the word that popped into my mind ... but was that the correct word? The title of the cartoon referenced a *13-inch gun*, which meant little to me beyond a vague remembrance of something to do with naval warfare. I could have quickly looked up the word *battlement*, confirmed that my initial word choice was correct, and move on. But the looking-up seemed, in and of itself, integral to the process of interpretation. So, I highlighted the word in light gray, added a superscript numeral (similar to those used in footnotes), and created a section below the narrative in which I could document

my findings and sources. I followed the same procedure with the term *13-inch gun*. In this way I mapped my interrogative transactions with the narrative.

Becoming aware of the need for and finding a way to document and capture—to map—my cross-modal responses to the narrative of the cartoon came much later in the study. I had already worked through analyzing four cartoons and had started a fifth, consequently revisiting and revising the protocol multiple times, when I was challenged to justify how I was assigning particular attitudes and intentions to movements, gestures, and facial expressions. Although studies have been done in the fields of coding body posture (Dael, Mortillaro, & Scherer, 2012, for example), coders didn't always agree how to classify nuanced isolated postures much less combinations of postures or what they might mean in a series and within various contexts. Additionally, while scholars have discussed how to convey and interpret emotion through emoticons and physical characteristics (McCloud 1993 and 2006; Ackerman & Puglisi, 2012), such depictions also can have multiple meanings depending on the context. For example, Ackerman and Puglisi (2012) listed "clenching the jaw" as an indicator of both anguish (p. 24) and annoyance (p. 26), and they listed a related indicator, "a hard, distinctive jaw line" as depicting contempt (p. 38).

As I discussed in Chapter 2, however, Blumer's (1966) discussion of Mead's symbolic interactionism suggested I could do more than just read the document passively. I could actively put myself in the place of the characters within the cartoon. In Branscombe's (2019) words, I could "transfer ... key content from informational text into an embodied structure—a tableau" (p. 13) through a process of *transmediation*, which she defined as "transferring content across media" (p. 13). I was transferring the content from the printed page to my own body and mediating the narrative by acting out portions of it, physically and/or mentally. I was embodying the transaction (see also Branscombe & Schneider, 2013). Beyond that, however, I became aware of the degree to which sensory cues in the cartoons evoked visceral, sensory cross-modal responses. For example, when I looked at the letters from falling from the sky in

“Marching on to Washington” (Savage, 2010), I was no longer sitting in my office in Florida on a hot day. Rather, I was walking with my husband and two young sons on a snow-covered dirt road in a small town in Wyoming on a crisply cold Halloween night. I could hear the crunch of the snow under our boots, the sound of which was muffled by the big flakes of snow falling around us. I could feel the sting of cold air against my face and in my nose and lungs as I breathed. This was more than just a vivid memory. These cross-modal responses helped me put myself in the place of the hapless senator pictured in the cartoon as standing on a ladder and having just emerged from a mound of letters into a similar dark, crisp cold night with letters falling softly around him. Was I reading too much into the scene? Perhaps, but this lived-experience, combined with reading news accounts about snowfalls so heavy that people had to tunnel their way from house to barn elicited the joke of the narrative.

How and where to place this narrative on the map of the cartoon’s narrative was more problematic. These cross-modal responses were part of the transactions between my contextual narrative and the cartoon narrative, but would it be confusing to be jumping from one to the other in the same section. Placing the contextual narrative below the narrative of the cartoon seemed more logical, and I considered doing so, but would the immediacy of the connection between points in the narrative and the cross-modal responses be lost if the entire cartoon narrative was read and then the contextual narrative was read? I found a solution in Hovey and Paul’s (2007) article in which they argued for “mak[ing] a case for a place for [the patient’s] story within biomedical discourses and practices” (p. 54) and discussed the importance of paying attention to narrative notes, not just procedural notes, from each visit. Instead of placing my contextual narrative below the cartoon, I created a column to the side, and positioned my cross-modal responses as close to the reference point within the description of the cartoon’s narrative as was reasonable.

Both the mapping of the cognitive questioning and the mapping of the cross-modal responses changed the nature of my transactions with the narratives and with the document. My

cognitive interrogations of the text, C. H. Smith (2012) claimed, led me past a deferent stance toward the text, one in which I might “defer [my] interpretations of texts to other readers or defer to the counter-productive emotions ... experience[d] during the ... reading” (p. 59), and into an efferent stance. Attending to my cross-modal responses and noting them on the protocol pulled me from the sidelines of observation into an active dance with the text.

Determining How the Cartoonist Framed the Narrative

In the general protocol Altheide and Schneider (2013) developed for use with broadcast news reports and for print news articles, they included categories for both theme (topic) and frame, i.e., what the theme/topic of the report was and with what perspective it was discussed, as well as “how it will *not* be discussed” (p. 52). As an example, they mentioned “treating illegal drug use [theme/topic] as a ‘public health issue’ [frame] as opposed to a ‘criminal justice issue [alternative frame]” (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 51). Both of these are types of problem frames that, Altheide and Schneider (2013) argued, are “a key component of the entertainment logic used in all news, but especially TV news” (p. 52). While Altheide and Schneider discussed the importance of determining the way in which a theme/topic is framed, they did not describe how they made such determinations beyond noting they involved a number of elements common to “story telling ... narrative structure, universal moral meanings, specific time and place, unambiguous, focus on disorder, culturally relevant” (p. 30). A similar gap identified by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) led to their studying literature about framing, particularly framing of news as reported visually, and to their compiling a four-tiered process for identifying visual frames and for determining the meaning conveyed by those frames. Their method began with Goffman’s (1974) concept of frames as a means of organizing information—also discussed by Altheide and Schneider (2013)—and drew on Entman’s (1991) understanding of frames as used both by readers to understand information and by communicators to present information.

Calling the news frame “an ever-present discursive device that channels the audience as it constructs the meaning of particular communicative acts” (p. 49), Rodriguez and Dimitrova

(2011) noted, “Visuals, like text, can operate as framing devices insofar as they make use of various rhetorical tools—metaphors, depictions, symbols—that purport to capture the essence of an issue or event graphically” (p. 51). Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) included drawings and illustrations—although not specifically cartoons—in their definition of “‘visuals’ or ‘images’ that can be evaluated for the frames they convey” (p. 51), but they used photographic images for most of their examples. In Chapter 2, I noted some of the differences between editorial cartoons and photographs in terms of production choices; additionally, Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) pointed out that audiences perceive visual images as more closely representing an actual object than they do a word naming the object. For example, a picture of an apple is more analogous to a real apple than is the word ‘apple.’ Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) also noted that while audiences tend to perceive photographs as depicting a situation more truthfully than other types of images and without considering the choices a photographer and editor make in taking and presenting the images, audiences also may have a harder time discerning propositional frames implicit in any image unless text is present to help explain what they are seeing. The limited amount of text contained in most editorial cartoons may mitigate this difficulty somewhat, but editorial cartoons tend to rely heavily on symbols that may be specific to a particular time period and/or culture to convey a particular point (Hess & Kaplan, 1975). Combined, these made interrogating the text to generate a detailed description of the cartoon all the more important in determining how the cartoonist framed the topic portrayed through the visual narrative.

Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) identified “four levels of visual framing that progressively become more sensitive to the assignment of meanings to visual depictions as a basis for the identification of frames” (p. 52), and they discussed each level conceptually and practically in terms of a system of processes working together:

The denotative system. The denotative system includes what literally is present in an image that the viewer sees and processes, regardless of what it means to the viewer. In explaining how a viewer processes visual images, Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) discussed

Barthes' (1957/2001; 1977) concepts of the denotative combined with Kearsely's (1998) gestalt-theory-based work in how viewers organize what they see and Hochberg's (1970) constructivist-theory-based work in how what viewers see translates into an overall impression—a frame—of what the image is about (as cited in Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, pp. 53-54). In writing a detailed narrative translation of each cartoon, I was describing the cartoon's literal aspects even as I organized them into an overall impression—a frame—of what the cartoon was about.

The semiotic-stylistic system. The semiotic-stylistic system considers the ways in which the image is composed and how these choices affect how the image is interpreted. Because Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) focused particularly on photographic images, they referred to Berger's (1991) discussions of camera distance, Archer's (1983) work on prominence given to faces, Hall's (1966) work on the psychology of personal space, Bell's (2001) work on such visual modalities as tonal shades and representational detail, Goffman's (1979) thoughts on body poses combined with Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) work on the "interaction between the viewer and the people shown in the images" (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 55), plus Lister and Wells' (2001) work on proximity and Lester's (1995) and Meggs (1992) work on focal point (as cited in Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, pp. 54-56). Each of these "stylistic conventions and technical transformations ... [which] gain social meanings," as Rodriguez & Dimitrova (2011, pp. 54-55) termed them, suggest both production choices and viewer interpretations; each can be applied to illustrations, albeit cautiously because of the analogical (how real an image is) and indexical (how true an image is) differences between photographs and drawings. More specific to comics and cartoon art are the concepts of iconic and non-iconic abstraction (the degree of realism in the drawings) and of what happens between the panels (McCloud, 1993) or, as I argued in Chapter 2, in the narrative spaces/times outside the frame of single-panel cartoons. Again, in writing a detailed narrative translation of each cartoon, I described the composition or stylistic choices—a frame—through which the cartoonist presented the cartoon.

The connotative system. The connotative system considers the ideas, moods, emotions, and opinions conveyed by the content of the images together with the ways in which the images are composed. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) included in this “content-driven tier” (p. 56) Pierce’s (1868) identification of “three non-mutually exclusive types of signs—iconic, indexical, and symbolic,” particularly how the latter, as “symbols...combine, compress, and communicate social meaning...that often evoke stronger responses...than iconic or indexical signs” (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 57). Other works cited by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) in terms of connotation were Panofsky’s (1970) work in layers of symbolic meaning, van Leeuwen’s (2001) work in identifying frames through how and where symbols are placed or made conspicuous within the image, and Lule’s (2003) work in visual metaphors, i.e., “a representation of an abstract concept through a concrete image that bears some relation to the concept” (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 58). The examples given by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) went beyond, for example, simply identifying a flag as symbolic of patriotism. Where the flag was placed, how it was highlighted or not highlighted, who was pictured with the flag, etc., all might connote anything from approval of a particular policy to tacit fear of unbridled power. When I considered both denotative and semiotic-stylistic systems together with the use of symbols in the cartoon, I was able to distill the narrative descriptions into an identification of the theme(s) the cartoonist was addressing. For example, while the topic of the cartoon included in Figure 4.2 (Savage, 1910) was a proposed bill to increase postal rates—a topic that continues to be monitored today by various press associations—the themes were ideological warfare and the suppression of First Amendment freedom-of-the-press rights.

The ideological system. The ideological system considers the “why” behind the “what” and the “how,” returning the focus to the processes and purposes of journalism. Drawing on Barthes’ (1970) discussion of “iconographical symbolism” (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 57), Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) considered “how news images are employed as instruments of power in the shaping of public consciousness and historical imagination” (pp. 57-58). At this

level, according to Pieterse (1992), questions of power and access—in terms of the voices heard in the images captured, edited, and published—are considered. Nor are the questions confined to a simplistic consideration of whose voices are heard or not heard. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) also gave examples of how issues can be framed by the ways in which particular voices are represented. For instance, poverty framed in terms of reporting about one race produces a different response than poverty framed across several races; aggression can be framed in terms of perpetrator or in terms of protector, depending on what images are published and how often particular types of images are published. Such framings do not occur in isolation. Cartoonists not only influences but also is influenced by the society in which they operate. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) included in this system Panofsky's (1970) thoughts about images revealing underlying attitudes—ideologies—of individuals, groups, and philosophies.

While Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) conception of framing, based largely on Goffman's (1974) view of framing as a means of organizing information, gave me a methodological outline to follow, I also was influenced by Goodall's (2008) discussion of framing as a narrative literary device. Goodall (2008), writing primarily to qualitative researchers, noted that framing "establishes a unique perspective on the storyline that follows from it [and] it provides a way to wrap up the account , which is why most writers think of beginnings and endings as inherently connected" (p. 30). Goodall (2008) suggested four types of framing devices tend to be used by writers: the individual, evocative word; an image or scene used as a metaphor; a literary or stylistic allusion; and a personal experience applied to a larger sphere. Thinking about framing as a literary device, not just an organizational technique, drew attention back to the holistic nature of the narrative. While Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) method helped me evince the frame, Gooddall's (2008) discussion reminded me that framing is "crafted" by the narrator/cartoonist and, as such, "must attract attention without taking away from the content of the work, and yet it must be understood as *part* of the work" (p. 34, emphasis in the original). Additionally, Goodall (2008) noted that the frame provides space

between the device (word, image, allusion, or experience), the reference, and the theoretical themes in which the narrator/cartoonist can “play” with the relationships between them (p. 36). In this sense, examining the four systems of visual framing—denotative, stylistic, connotative, and ideological—through which the cartoonist presents and plays with a narrative of a topic, leads to the next section in which I discuss how cartoons work not just to present an opinion but to shape and drive the conversation itself.

Determining How the Cartoon Attempts to Shape the Larger Discourse

Altheide and Schneider (2013) wrote that they developed ECA to “help researchers understand culture, social discourse, and social change...by studying documents as representations of social meanings and institutional relations” (p. 5). While they discussed social discourse as part of their analyses of news broadcasts, produced in large part through the relationship of the institutions of media and government (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 29), Altheide and Schneider were more interested in tracking how a particular discursive stance—as with their other examples, fear—became more prominently articulated in news reports over time. As with other parts of their study, Altheide and Schneider (2013) assumed a discourse from the outset, whereas I was more interested in learning what particular discursive stances were promulgated through the editorial cartoons that were part of my study and how those stances addressed both individual readers and the larger community of readers.

Although interpretation is primarily an individual action, this does not mean that each person’s interpretation of the same text must or will differ drastically from that of others. As Fish (1980) noted, there is a sense in which people of similar backgrounds, or what he called “interpretive communities . . . made up of those who share interpretive strategies . . . for writing texts . . . determine the shape of what is read” (p. 14). At the same time, Fish (1980) continued, the notion of community also explains “the stability of interpretation among different readers (they belong to the same community) [as well as] why there are disagreements” when people belong to one or more different communities (p. 15). Jenkins, Shresthova, Gamber-Thompson,

and Kilgler-Vilenchik (2016) suggested authorial interpretive communities can shape the “‘civic imagination,’ which we define as the capacity to imagine alternatives to current social, political, or economic conditions” (pp. 291-292), and they assumed that such imaginings would lead toward changing the world for the better through action. “One...can’t change the world until one can imagine oneself as an active political agent,” they noted (Jenkins, et al., 2016, p. 292). Burn (2008) wrote that discourses are “generically structured” in ways that “make meanings recognizable, possible, and accessible, though in other ways, they constrain reproducing familiar patterns and resisting change” and that “discourses are themselves multimodal and need to be rethought beyond the language model” (p. 155). In other words, cartoonists use multimodal strategies and devices in the narratives of editorial cartoons that draw readers toward imagining the current and potential world(s) in particular ways. Because of the multimodality of cartoons, and because of my more holistic approach to them, I also discarded the idea of using formal notation to choreograph conversations, as presented by Bloome, et al. (2008). Rather, I chose to continue focusing on the narrative as a whole. Rodriguez and Dimitrova’s (2011) four-tiered method for determining framing gave me the language to identify the discourse of the narrative, but I needed something that helped connect the discourse of the narrative with the cultural discourse of the readers. For this, I turned to Gee’s (2000) four-strand consideration of discourse in terms of identity, a framework colleagues and I had used in autoethnographic work related to the world of education (Anderson, Branscombe, & Nkrumah, 2015).

Gee (2000) suggested viewing identity—seen here as one’s “performances in society” as opposed to one’s internal “core identity” (p. 99)—through four lenses: “Nature ... a state [of being] developed from forces in nature; Institution ... a position authorized by authorities in [official] institutions; Discourse ... an individual trait recognized in the [unofficial] discourse/dialogue of/with ‘rational’ individuals; Affinity ... experiences shared in the practice of ‘affinity groups’” (p. 100). Gee (2000) maintained that each of the four strands of identity could be viewed positively or negatively, according to the norms and mores of particular societies) and

in terms of how actively the individual accepted, cooperated with, resisted, or refused the externally imposed identity. Additionally, Gee (2000) saw all four strands operating in concert, with different ones becoming more prominent at different times. Important for the purposes of this study, is Gee's describing of *affinity groups* as "made up of people who may be dispersed across a large space....may share little besides their interest in, say, *Star Trek*....[and must share] a focus on distinctive social practices that create and sustain group affiliations, rather than on institutions or discourse/dialogue directly" (p. 105). Gee's (2000) description of affinity groups corresponds with Lowry, Brozana, and MacKay's (2008) imagined or interpretive communities and Leander's (2009) understanding of social spaces and places transcending proximity, both of which I mentioned in Chapter 2 in discussing the community of readers of a nationally-distributed newspaper. Identity as culturally constructed by these four strands, singly and in combination, is based to a large extent on the external interpretation of others, and Gee (2000) differentiated between the discourse of "connected stretches of talk or writing" (p. 110) and the discourse of identity, that is, "any combination that can get one recognized as a certain 'kind of person'" (p. 110). Gee (2000) and such a combination as a "Discourse...with a capital 'D'" (p. 110). Recognition of this constructed identity depends on the degree to which the individual so identified performs for others the portrayal of the DI which, in turn, drives the interpretation. As Gee (2000) noted, "... one and the same combination could be a bid to be recognized one way (e.g., as a concerned community activist) and yet be recognized by others in a different way (e.g., as ... a ... gang member)" (p. 110).

Gee (2000) then went further and traced changes over time in what he called "achieved D-Identities," henceforth referred to as one's DI, as opposed to "ascribed D-Identities" (p. 113). According to Gee (2000), one's DI in pre-modern times was proscribed by tradition and institutions. Caste systems, religious laws, monarchical rule, and similar forces determined one's place in society and, therefore, one's DI; little was required of the individual other than to fill an ordained spot in society. The Renaissance and the Enlightenment led to political and social

changes that shifted the origins of one's DI from being pre-determined to being something the individual became responsible for discovering, which is a characteristic of the modern era. As Gee (2000) noted, however, some people had more time and opportunities to spend on the journey toward identity discovery than did other people, which created a different kind of hierarchy based on a somewhat mythical idea of meritocracy. Further, Gee (2000) discussed the more recent shift from individual identity to the identity that comes from belonging to a particular kind of people-group that is not tied as much to geographical or political boundaries as to affinities of various types. In a sense, Gee (2000), wrote, "... signs and simulations often detach themselves from any 'reality' they signify or simulate and come to be the primary meanings and values themselves. 'Things' (the material world) drop out" (p. 116).

My question regarding the discourse of the cartoons was "How do I determine how the narrative of the document attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse?" Gee's (2000) discussion of individual identity helped me view the larger cultural discourse in terms of forces shaping identity. In particular, Gee (2000) asked two questions:

What institution or institutions, or which group or groups of people, work to construct and sustain a given Discourse—that is, work to ensure that a certain combination, at a given time and place, is recognized as coming from a certain kind of person? This is a "macro-level" question. ... We can always also ask a crucial "micro-level" question: How, on the grounds of moment-by-moment interaction, does recognition work such that some specific combination is recognized (or not) in a certain way, or contested or negotiated over in a certain way?

I realized my initial question assumed two precursory questions:

- In what ways did the cartoon/ist present individual Discourse-Identities and
- in what ways did the cartoon/ist present the larger cultural forces at work in the constructing of Discourse-Identities?"

Only when I had considered these two questions could I consider in what ways the cartoon/ist used the narrative to shape the larger cultural discourse.

While Gee's (2000) work provided direction and questions with regard to understanding discourse in terms of identity, Greenberg's (2002) discussion of framing and temporality in political cartoons helped me link Gee's thoughts more specifically to the multi-modal documents that are editorial cartoons. Greenberg (2002) noted that political cartoons are part of the "claims-making arena where the cultural meanings of circumstances and events are constructed...[and where] everyday issues or events come to be defined as 'social problems'...and how meaning will be negotiated and understood by the public" (p. 182). As part of the opinion-expressing side of journalism, Greenberg (2002) claimed, "Political cartoons offer newsreaders condensed claims or mini-narratives about 'problem conditions'" (p. 182), and they "provide metalanguage for discourse about the social order" for the purpose of "persuading readers to identify with an image and its intended message" (p. 182). Greenberg (2002) drew on Morris's (1989) "sociology of visual rhetoric" (p. 186) that works by presenting the cartoon in a publication seen to some extent as an authority on a problem and "certain 'other' elements as troublesome" (p. 186), by creating or inciting fear or a sense of crisis about a problem and then providing a solution, by "constructing a normative agenda" (p. 186) readers can use to gauge the morality of the issue and/or the characters involved, and by making readers want to take action of some sort. Greenberg also drew on Morris's (1993) discussion of rhetorical devices used in cartoons to discuss four in connection with framing and discourse:

- *condensation*, or "the compression of disconnected complexly related events to a common singular frame (p. 187)
- *combination*, or the "construction and organization of various elements or ideas from different domains" (p. 187);
- *opposition*, or the reducing "the complexity of a problem or event to a binary struggle" (p. 187); and

- *domestication*, or translating “distant events remote from the everyday experiences of the reader...into concrete happenings that can be experienced as close and familiar” (p. 187).

To these four rhetorical devices, Greenberg (2002) added a fifth: *transference* or the “implicit [means] that absolves the cartoon’s actors of their absurd actions or commentary by displacing blame to another, normally non-visible, actor (p. 187). These tools—a focus on individual discursive identity especially as it related to affinity groups, an understanding of how editorial cartoons published in newspapers act on society, and an awareness of rhetorical devices that are common to many modes of communication but particularly cartoons—gave me a clearer setting in which to situate a discussion of how the narrative of a cartoon attempted to shape the larger cultural discourse.

Summary

After reading this chapter, the reader may wonder why I began with Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA at all, if I found so many supposed faults or shortcomings with it and if I were going to make so many changes to it. My short answer is, to use the words of a Richard Rogers (1965) song, “Nothing comes from nothing; nothing ever could.” Everything has a source or sources, acknowledged or unacknowledged. Even though I dabbled with using other methods for this study, it wasn’t until I read Altheide’s (1987) first explanation of ECA Analysis that I could see my own study taking shape. Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) version filled in some of the gaps they had identified in Altheide’s (1987; 1996) earlier works, giving me even more direction as I began my study.

In particular, Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA encouraged an iterative and recursive approach both to studying the cartoons and to the development of the protocol used to collect data from studying the cartoons, which resolved the previously insoluble paradox I faced in trying to determine in advance what data to collect from cartoons I had not yet studied. Rather than presenting the protocol as a template to be determined before beginning the study,

Altheide and Schneider (2013) included the development of the protocol as part of the study itself. The researcher, not the protocol, became the tool through which the cartoons were studied. The researcher could modify the tool as needed and at any point in the study, recursively revisiting previously studied cartoons with the newly modified protocol. Finally, Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA offered a broad conception of documents, an awareness of framing and discourse, and an ethnographic approach to "help[ing] researchers understand culture, social discourse, and social change...by studying documents as representations of social meanings and institutional relations" (p. 5).

For these reasons, I am indebted to Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA. Even as it became evident that their focus and their purpose was different from mine, it still was Altheide and Schneider's (2013) method against which I was measuring and making adjustments to my own method. Nor should the changes I made to Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA be seen as "corrections." ECA met the purposes for which Altheide (1987) created it, and it appears to have met the purposes of the studies to which it subsequently was put. My purposes, as I have noted throughout this chapter, were different, so it should not be surprising that my method, MNT, while originating in Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA, took on a different form and shape.

First, I questioned the assumptions on which it appeared most cartoon studies and methods, including Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA, were based: that the topic was pre-determined and that a sample of documents ought, therefore, to be located in order to study the topic. I had the sample of documents and needed to determine the topics; hence, my method inverted Altheide and Schneider's (2013) order of study. Second, Altheide and Schneider (2013) assumed the narrative of the document was explicit in and of itself and didn't address nonlinearity or cross-modality; therefore, the protocols they developed tended to capture cursory bits of information from the news broadcasts as the researcher viewed them. I needed to develop a different kind of protocol, one that could capture both the narrative and the pertinent structural elements, as well as capturing my own meta-narrative consisting of my cognitive

interrogating of and cross-modal responses to the text. Third, while Altheide and Schneider (2013) discussed how the news broadcasts they studied were framed, their discussions often required readers to leap over conceptual gaps in following their thinking. I found a more explicit, four-tiered means of examining framing in Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) work, one that, along with Goodall's (2008) identification of framing devices, worked well with the data I was collecting. Finally, as with framing, I sought a deeper, more nuanced means of discussing how cartoonists sought to shape discourse through their work than Altheide and Schneider (2013) provided. I found Jenkins, Shresthova, Gamber-Thompson, and Kilgler-Vilenchik's (2016) concept of the civic imagination and Gee's (2000) discussion of discourse and identity offered language for examining the cartoons' potential for shaping discourse.

In the next chapter, I describe how my method, MNT, developed through my study of five editorial cartoons published during the first few months of 1910. In Chapter 6, I evaluate the method and discuss its limitations and implications.

Chapter Five: From Idea to Implementation

In the previous four chapters, I explained the conceptual and theoretical bases on which this method is built, and I discussed the theories underlying Altheide and Schneider's (2013) Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), the theories underlying aspects of multimodal documents such as editorial cartoons, and theories of cross-modality as pertaining to interpreting documents. I reviewed previous studies of multimodal documents in general and of editorial cartoons in particular, and I explained how my method departed from and grew beyond Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA. In this chapter, I leave the *why* and turn to the *how*, both in terms of how my method, Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT), developed and of how it works. I begin with the idea for the study, walk through each of the twelve steps noted in Chapter 4, part of which is included here (Table 5.1), and end by discussing framing and the shaping of discourse.

Before commencing, however, I offer a disclaimer and a word of caution: Neither the journey thus far nor the method itself is as linear as either the previous sentence or the text that follows suggests. Research—the attempt to discern order from and/or to impose order on a disordered world—is a messy business. Developing a method of research is even messier and keeping track of all the twists and turns is challenging. I confirmed most events and dates through emails, Interlibrary Loan records,

Table 5.1.

Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT)

MNT is based on a preselected sample with as yet undiscovered topics.

1. Theoretical sample
2. Locate & identify documents
3. Ethnographic study & literature review
4. Collect & examine documents
5. Draft protocol
6. Collect/generate & code data
7. Revise protocol
8. Collect/generate & code data
9. Compare items
10. Summarize & compare summaries
11. Topical overview
12. Final report

Note. All steps are iterative and recursive.

handwritten notes, file dates, and similar artefacts. As part of my annual review process, I also created a web page, “Evolution of a Dissertation,” in which I posted outlines, PowerPoint slides, excerpts from emails, and my own reflective thoughts, and I drew on this page in recounting this process (Anderson, 2013-2020).

Steps 1-3: Sample, Documents, Ethnographic Study/Literature Review

This enquiry into the development of a method to observe a community of people from a particular time period by studying multimodal documents they produced and read was spurred by a challenge to explain how I knew what I claimed to know about particular editorial cartoons that appeared on the front-pages of *Appeal to Reason*, one of the most widely read early 20th century Socialist newspapers in this country, if not in the world. Writers such as Helen Keller and Jack London contributed to the *Appeal*, and Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* was first serialized in its pages. I wondered about the people who read this newspaper. What topics were important to them, and what were the people who wrote the articles and created the cartoons feeding readers in terms of ideologies, that is, how to think about the topics?

Theoretical sample and locating/identifying documents. In a sense, this germ of an idea and these wonderings were the first steps in the ECA process, as they gave shape to my initial theoretical sample: the front-page cartoons found on the *Appeal to Reason*. The next step was locating the documents—the cartoons—in the context of their environment, the *Appeal* itself. I needed to determine whether the copies of the newspapers during the time period that interested me (1900-1920) had been archived, where they were located, and whether they were available for study.

I began searching electronic databases for any references to *Appeal to Reason*, at the time, one of the most widely read Socialist newspapers in the United States. I found—rather easily—one book, John Graham’s (1990) “*Yours for the Revolution*”: *Appeal to Reason 1895-1922*—and promptly requested it through Interlibrary Loan. By the time the book had to be surrendered, I had found a used copy online and purchased it. Graham’s (1990) work included a

history of the newspaper, biographical information about the main producers of material for the paper, and a plethora of primary source material: cartoons, ads, excerpts from articles, letters from readers, and editorials. I was intrigued, but I skimmed—rather than read—it, as I wanted to explore the original material in context and on my own without first having been overly influenced by Graham’s excerpts, interpretations, and comments. The book noted that actual and microfilmed copies of the newspaper from 1895 to 1922 had been archived by the Kansas Historical Society (KHS). However, I learned from the KHS website that I could only access them in person or through a third party if I had a valid Kansas ID. Another university offered to make a copy of the article for which I was searching—presuming I only was interested in a particular article—but also would not loan the microfilm reels. I then sought help from LeEtta Schmidt, manager of the Interlibrary Loan and Document Delivery department of our University of South Florida library, who searched World Catalogue and sent me a list of other libraries who held copies of the paper. She also suggested I use the Center for Research Libraries, which had copies from 1909-1912 and 1912-1915 and would send them to me on request because the university was a subscriber. Lesson learned. I felt I was ready to begin observing the cartoons in context with the rest of the publication.

Once the microfilm arrived (Figure 5.1), and after I had scrolled through a few issues, I realized I needed to further identify and refine my definition of a cartoon for the purposes of this study, as the *Appeal* included a number of types of illustrations that could be considered cartoons. For example, in addition to single-panel cartoons that were two or more columns wide and were most often found on the front page, multiple-panel cartoons often appeared on interior pages.



Figure 5.1. The first two reels of microfilm. The first two reels of microfilm I received were in such poor condition, that we had to return them and request them from a different source.

Complicating the question of what to include were the many tiny, unframed cartoonish illustrations on the front pages that often took up less than a column width and accompanied specific text. These sketches clearly illustrated the text in the column, but many were more than just illustrations. Some included a character who voiced a comment about the text in the column, and the tone of the illustrations often was sardonic. Additionally, ads on the interior pages sometimes contained cartoonish characters but were not editorial in nature except in a commercial sense—which could be another topic for future study. Rather than making a decision at this point, I continued my concurrent literature review and examination of issues of the paper, the beginnings of the ethnographic field observations.

Review of relevant literature. Concurrently with this search for the original publications, I began reviewing literature relevant to conducting the ethnographic study of the community environment in which the cartoons lived, that is, the publication and its readers. It is important to distinguish between the review of literature relevant to the development of a method of analyzing multi-modal documents and of including cross-modal responses in that method, which comprises Chapter 3 of this treatise, and the review of literature relevant to the study of particular cartoons. Here I briefly discuss, as one step in studying the particular multi-modal documents used to demonstrate the method, how I conducted the literature review, but I do not include the findings of the literature review, as those findings are not relevant to the development of the method.

From previous history courses and from my own readings, I had a sense of the time period—late nineteenth and early twentieth century American history. I searched for and began reading articles and books—both contemporary to the times and written from a later perspective—about the political, economic, and social climates of the era; about Populism, Progressivism, and early Socialism; and about media developments of the time, about the publication *Appeal to Reason*, and about public figures associated with the publication. However, I did not complete the readings before beginning the ethnographic study of the

artefacts or before working on a protocol for collecting data. Rather, the three occurred in synchrony, with each step feeding and informing the other. For example, news articles in the *Appeal* about mining strikes and farming legislation sent me searching for information about events obscured by time. Reading government reports drawn from three centuries' of census data gave me an overview of how the social and economic landscape changed. To read, in the pages of the *Appeal*, ads seeking agents to sell the latest model bicycle and articles about Hawaii becoming a territory and other changes happening in real time and to real individuals and communities gave life to the government reports. In Wineberg's (2001) terms, I was not placing facts and events into context but was creating context; I was "weav[ing] together...engag[ing] in an active process of connecting things in a pattern," and I was "ma[king] something new ... that did not exist before [I] engaged these documents and confronted [my] ignorance" (p. 21).

Each time I encountered new topics and found related literature, my own sense of the era was enriched, and I became more immersed in the virtual world depicted in the pages of the newspaper. Observing changes over time in the appearance of the newspaper gave me a more informed picture of the next iteration of a protocol for collecting data; thinking about changes to the protocol expanded my concepts of data generation and how to capture the data, a process Altheide and Schneider (2013) termed a "reflexive analysis of documents" (p. 23). By the time I finished the ethnographic observations of the artefacts—the field in which the documents lived—I understood that, while the background literature review had given me a broader and deeper understanding of the field, the iterative search for information would continue until data on all the cartoons had been collected and, perhaps, beyond. I should note here that I searched for articles about the cartoons themselves but did not find many. The few references I did find that were specifically about the cartoons, I left for later, as I felt those should be read after I had experienced the cartoons for myself.

Ethnographic field observations. Ethnographic studies typically involve an immersion into a physical community populated by living people, but in this case I was

observing the community through the medium of a newspaper published for and about—and, in some respects, by—a community of long-dead people. The cartoons “lived” in the newspaper in the sense that the cartoonist, also a part of the social community (Leander, 2009), fed off of the community’s concerns and interests as well as off of the publisher’s vision for the community and its newspaper. As such, the cartoons needed to be studied in the context of their habitat and the habitat studied, as well. Earlier, I had scrolled through part of one reel to get a sense of how the publication was laid out, what kind of content was included, and what kinds of editorial cartoons were included and where. Now I needed to decide how to immerse myself into the microfilmed newspapers, what information to record, and what to scan and save for future study.

From a practical standpoint, I also need to learn to use the somewhat dated microfilm readers in the university library (Figure 5.2). My previous archival work, studying digitized copies of newspapers dating as far back as the early 1800s, had been online. There, I could search for particular topics, authors, and dates with relative ease, and the print quality was mostly good. But *Appeal to Reason* had not been digitized. It had been photographed, page by page, and reduced to reels of microfilm, which arrived in worn cardboard boxes, some featuring typewritten labels. The microfilm readers themselves were vestiges of a previous era in archival technology, ones that no longer were well-maintained—or even cleaned. Using them, however, was a way of stepping

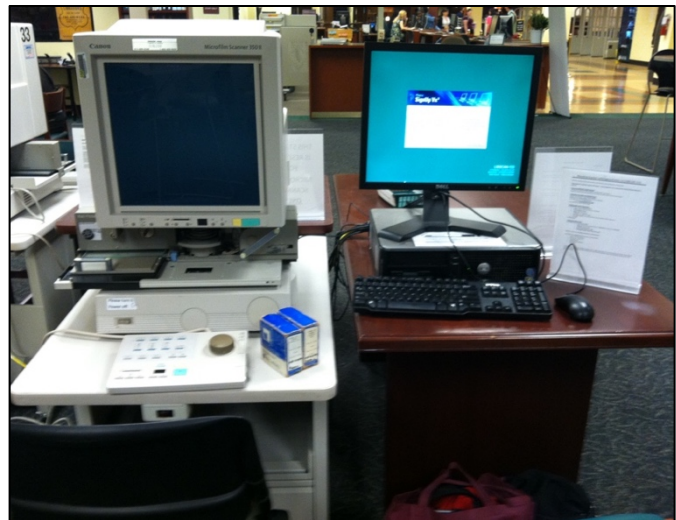


Figure 5.2. The microfilm equipment in the USF library. The microfilm reader, on the left, was connected to a scanner, on the right. I was both literally and metaphorically working with one foot in the 20th century and one in the 21st century.

back in time. In manipulating the reels, scrolling from page to page, and switching lenses to zoom more closely on an individual cartoon or news item, I felt a little more connected to the physicality of what it must have been like to hold the newspapers in my hands and to turn their pages while seated at a hand-built kitchen table similar to one my grandparents had had in their home and at which I had sat as a child. I often worked on the microfilm late at night, after my classes had ended and when the library was less busy and less well-lit because of the absence of ambient light from outside. Because the microfilm readers were near a study area space, study groups sometimes would seat themselves at a table near where I was working. The mixes of languages and accents provided conversational background accompaniment to my work, but they also sometimes evoked images of the people about whom I was reading, many of them immigrants from around the world. Discussions at nearby tables about capitalist oppression and Marxism sometimes paralleled commentary in the newspapers. My thoughts often turned to the long-ago workers and their families reading these newspapers after coming home from work or in surreptitious meetings at a tavern or other meeting place.

I quickly realized that scanning every page of every issue would be impractical. Most issues consisted of four pages, but a few were longer. Because I had difficulty controlling the zoom feature on the microfilm reader, I sometimes needed to scan multiple parts of the page separately—and the scanning was not instantaneous. But I also needed enough representation of the content that I could go back and place the cartoons within the context of the times and of the publication. I also realized I needed more clear parameters as to what I would include as an editorial cartoon in this study. I discuss this part of the process in Steps 4 and 5. However, once I had decided to include only front-page, single-panel cartoons spanning two or more columns in width, my process for collecting ethnographic field observations became to:

- Skim all the pages of all the issues as I scrolled to get a sense of the content; jot cursory notes about items that caught my attention, the tone of the paper, and the layout of the paper; note the presence or absence of a single-panel, front page cartoon for each issue (see Figure 5-4).

- Scan and save the front page of each issue, whether or not a cartoon was present to provide a means of cross-checking that I had not overlooked any front-page cartoons.
- Scan and save all pages of the first issue of each month, regardless of whether a cartoon appeared on the front page.
- Scan and save all pages of an issue in which a single-panel cartoon appeared on the front page.
- Scan and save pages containing content referring to a cartoon from a previous issue, if I happened to see it as I skimmed.
- Scan and save pages containing information about particular cartoonists, if I happened to see it as I skimmed.
- Scan and save pages containing information about historical events that I found of interest.

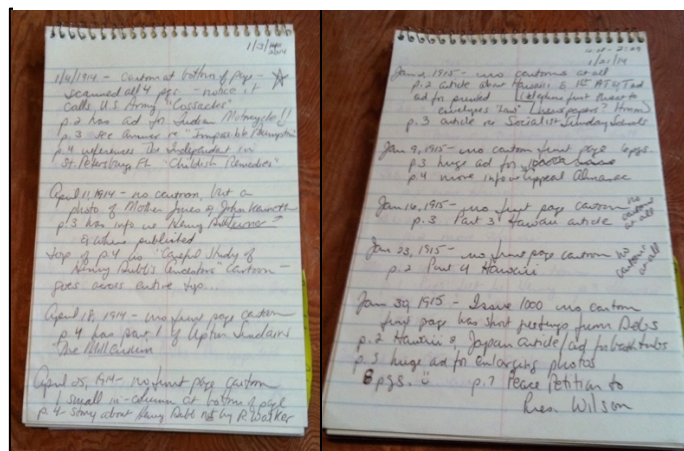


Figure 5.3. Pages from my field observations. These pages from my field observations show the kinds of notations I made as I skimmed the issues. The example on the left shows how I became aware that 1/3/14 was not a sufficient observation date to record, as I was working with issues whose publication dates also ended in '14.

Steps 4-5: Collect and Examine Documents; Draft Protocol

Once I had completed some of the skimming, scanning, and saving of the secondary documents—the front pages and/or complete issues of the artefacts (the complete set of archived newspapers)—I began collecting the primary documents—the single-panel cartoons appearing on the front pages of the issues—in separate files. To do this, I exported the PDF file of the page as a .jpg file then cropped the image to isolate the cartoon, hereafter termed ECI (export, crop, isolate process). ECI also made it possible to resize the images to fit the spaces allocated in the protocols and in this dissertation. Saying “once I had completed the skimming, scanning, and saving,” may suggest I finished the ethnographic field observations of the entire

archive before beginning to ECI the primary documents. Rather, as I needed them, I ECI-ed the PDF files I needed to develop this method. Further, even as I completed each of these steps—skimming, scanning, saving, and collecting—I also was beginning to examine the cartoons’ narratives. Even though I wasn’t yet capturing data from the cartoons in the form of written descriptions of the cartoons, I could not help but think about them and mentally describe them. I also was thinking about the logistics of capturing the data, meaning I also was mentally planning a protocol (see protocol discussion in Chapter 3).

However, again I struggled with a conundrum: how to demonstrate the method, especially in the context of a dissertation proposal, using an already developed protocol or data-capturing tool that would work with these specific cartoons, without actually using any of the cartoons that I planned to include in the original study. Part of Altheide’s (1987; 1996) and Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA method was that protocol development began with the first item analyzed and ended with the last item analyzed. In between, the protocol was to take shape in response to the documents themselves. How could I determine the end product at the beginning of the process? After some consideration, I selected, from Graham’s (1990) book, a four-panel cartoon to analyze, rationalizing that, in choosing a more complex cartoon I could anticipate more situations I might encounter. Using this four-panel cartoon, I intended to develop sufficiently a protocol to demonstrate the essence of ECA. At this point, I had not yet considered that the focus of my study might be different from other studies’ using ECA for other purposes, nor had I settled on a way to capture the data from the documents. As the listings of elements in the right column of Table 5.2 indicate, despite my claiming a grounded theory basis, I still was imagining the method more from a position of imposing elemental categories on the document to derive the data rather than from a position of letting the data emerge from the document and then determining the relevance, if any, of categories that surfaced. I was not thinking of the cartoon as a whole.

Table 5.2

Resources Informing the First Iteration of the Protocol

Resources Informed By	Categories & Concepts to Consider
Previous experience with quantitative content analysis / coding and codebook	<i>Issue information:</i> Name of publication, date, issue number, headline(s), placement on page, size <i>Categories:</i> text, narrative, humor, visuals, graphics, and elements of each
Altheide (1987;1996)	Descriptions (minimal) of coding broadcast news segments
Sample Selection	Editorial cartoon from Graham's (1990) " <i>Yours for the revolution: The Appeal to Reason, 1895-1922</i> "
<i>Preliminary Literature Review:</i> See Chapter 2	Cartoons as verbal and visual narratives, political and social commentary, satire and parody, caricature, cultural indicators
<i>Ethnographic Study:</i> Scrolling through microfilmed issues of <i>Appeal</i>	<i>Primary sources:</i> Cartoons vs. illustrations; front-page context <i>Secondary sources:</i> Ads, letters to editor, news sources, graphics and layout [for later use]
<i>Other Protocols:</i> Eastern Illinois University (2014), Library of Congress (2013), National Archives and Records (2006)	Cartoons as primary source documents; historical context and occasion, what can be seen/read, symbolism, meaning, issues, audience, message, voice
Kiefer's (2010) children's literature textbook	<i>Narrative elements:</i> plot, setting (time/place), characters and characterization, style, tone, theme <i>Visual elements:</i> line and shape, use of color, value (light/dark), space, point of view/perspective, overall composition, and media
Cuddon's (1999) dictionary of literary terms and theories	<i>Literary elements and devices:</i> Including, but not limited to, analogy, foreshadowing, irony, metaphor, satire, etc.
Heller (2002)	<i>Design elements:</i> typography, speech bubbles, and other design choices
<i>Note.</i> This table lists the resources informing the first attempt, or first iteration, of creating a data collection protocol to use with editorial cartoons from <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .	

The first protocol I developed (see Appendices B-G, which contains protocols in various stages of development) reflects this categorical approach. That I abandoned the use of the protocol without even completing one attempt at using it reflects how quickly I realized it was too cumbersome and was not addressing my research questions: what topic was the cartoonist presenting, through what narrative, with what framing, and for what discursive purpose? I kept coming back to two problems: How, for the purposes of this study, to decide what constituted a cartoon, and how to capture the narrative of the cartoon.

Defining sample documents. In Chapter 2, I discussed editorial cartoons as ones “addressing social issues and institutions, including political issues and institutions of

governance” and as “referenc[ing] ... single-panel cartoon[s].” I further limited my study to single-panel cartoons appearing on the front page, as those would have the widest audience, and I arbitrarily defined single-panel cartoons as those spanning at least two columns in width. This definition eliminated the single-column sketches that illustrated some articles, making the sample more homogenous in terms of format. Thus, the first iteration of the process concluded, and I began the second iteration by returning to a previous step—in this case, Step 1—with a refined definition of my sample. This simple iterative, recursive action demonstrated an important commonality between MNT and Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ECA. At each step I could return to an earlier point to refine or redefine the study and could then revisit previously studied documents in light of the new information, using “constant comparison for discovering emergent patterns, emphases, and themes” (Altheide and Schneider, 2013, p. 23). Having defined single-panel editorial cartoons more clearly and having narrowed my study to front-page, single-panel editorial cartoons, I was ready to continue the ethnographic field observations (see Step 3a), the skimming, scanning, and saving of the newspaper pages—some of which contained primary documents, that is, the cartoons. And I was in a position to begin the next steps

Step 6: Collect/Generate and Code Data

Once I defined and narrowed the sample and had developed protocols for scanning and saving the secondary documents (the newspaper pages), I turned my attention to how to collect/generate and code the data. I realized the protocol also would be revised during the process (see Steps 7-8) and I also considered how to document these changes. Even though I describe them here separately, they should be understood as having occurred, at least in some sense, concurrently as well as iteratively and recursively.

Collect/generate and code data. Some data—issue information, editorial staff listed, headline of article most closely tied to the cartoon—was collected by copying the data into the protocol. Other data pertaining to the narrative, the determining of a theme or themes and the

framing of the narrative, and the analysis of the narrative to determine a discursive stance required a method other than collection. My *aha!* moment came when I realized that *collect*, while appropriate for Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA method was the wrong word for MNT. Rather, the data lay in the space between me and the cartoons or, to use Rosenblatt's (1978/1994) term, within the transactions between me and cartoons. That space was somewhere in my being –not just in my brain, as I first conceptualized it—but, crossmodally, it was in every part of my being. To carry Rosenblatt's (1978/1994) terminology further, in some sense as the verbal and visual narrative of the cartoon penetrated my being, I had become pregnant with meaning. By generating a description of the narrative in verbal and visual terms, I would give birth to data about the cartoon that, in some sense, would penetrate the cartoon with meaning. The cartoon and I would be co-parents of the data. The data would carry traits of us both but would be a separate entity from either of us.

Generating the narrative to determine the topic. Meaning was not just in the narrative, however, it was in the verbal and visual elements that made up the narrative. As Kiefer (2010) wrote about another combining of verbal and visual texts, “In a picture storybook, the message is conveyed equally through two media—picture and word,” and she noted that “the total format establishes the meaning of the story” (p. 156). Kiefer (2010) also described element-by-element how image and word work together. From discussing the choices of style, layout, color scheme, framing, and point of view to noting the “use of crosshatched lines [to set up] emotional tensions that ebb and flow across the pages” (p. 157), Kiefer (2010) demonstrated that picture books are built on a sort of symbiotic relationship between verbal and visual elements, a relationship that exists in cartoons, as well. Kiefer (2010) included cartoon art in her discussion of artistic conventions particular to eras, cultures, subject matter, and individual proclivities.

Narrative elements Kiefer (2010) discussed included plot and plot development, character delineation and character development through expression (verbal and visual) and gesture, setting as both time and place, and mood as a reflection of point of view. Stylistic

elements, Kiefer (2010) noted, “harmonize with and enhance meaning to the text” and may even “extend or add a new dimension to the meaning of the story” as well as “create an aesthetic experience for the reader” (p. 160). Elements of design—line and shape, use of color, value (amount of lightness or darkness), space, point of view or perspective, and overall composition—convey meaning as do choices of media. The phrase *choices of media* imply a chooser, so it is worth reiterating here discussions of hermeneutics, phenomenology, analytic realism, and symbolic interaction as implying an author who also encountered and transacted with events, people, media, and their narratives (See Chapter 1). That author, in turn, conceived a narrative mapped in the form of a cartoon, chose its features, imbued it with meaning, and birthed it to the world (Chapter 3). These were the kinds of details—literary and artistic elements, cultural and historical context—that I needed to note in my description of each cartoon’s narrative but not at the expense of bogging down the description of the narrative. Figure 4.2, is an example of how I embedded coding the literary and artistic elements into my description of the narrative, using bold font and separated from the narrative by a double asterisk at each end.

Capturing the cognitive

wonderings. I approached investigating the cultural and historical context differently.

Rather than interrupt the narrative a second time, I highlighted in gray any word or phrase that I felt needed further scrutiny, explanation, or confirmation. For example, in this excerpt from the narrative of the first cartoon I studied (Figure 5.4), the word *battlement* is highlighted in gray:

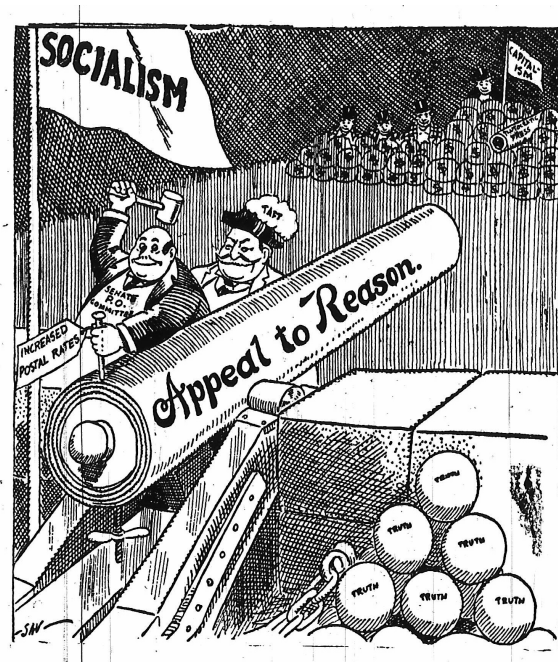


Figure 5.4. The first cartoon studied. “Spiking Socialism’s thirteen-inch gun.” SAV. (January 29, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 739, p. 1.

A huge artillery gun **“(passive) main character, symbolism”**, facing away from the reader and securely mounted in a heavy framework chained to the thick block wall of a battlement¹ **“setting”**, sits under the flag of Socialism, flying overhead at the left.

The cartoon included a piece of artillery mounted to what appeared to be the roof of a castle, and the word *battlement* came to mind as I described the setting. However, I am not a military historian nor a medievalist, so I marked the word as a reminder to double-check the meaning later, not in the middle of the narrative. After I had generated the narrative, I returned to the highlighted words, numbered each using superscript font, and recorded the dictionary definition in a separate section of the protocol itself (Figure 5.5).

After generating this coded narrative, I then collected data by copying the words on labels and dialogue contained in speech bubbles into a separate area of the protocol. I also noted whether the overall topic dealt with an internal matter affecting the newspaper or one of its staff or whether it dealt with an external issue (Nord, 1978).

Explanation of highlighted words/phrases:	
¹ Battlement.	(1984). <i>Webster's new world dictionary of the American language: Second college edition</i> . New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. (p. 120, with illustration)
² “Spiking Socialism’s thirteen-inch gun.”	(1910, January 29). <i>Appeal to Reason</i> . No. 739, p. 1. The article explains the headline is a quote from a Philadelphia paper referring to the <i>Appeal</i> as “Socialism’s big thirteen-inch gun” and a 1908 bill (Penrose Bill) designed to disrupt the <i>Appeal</i> ’s distribution. The article refers to other attempts in the U.S. and in Canada to restrict mail delivery of the newspaper and calls on readers to write to the members of the House (not Senate) Post Office committee and includes their names and states in a boxed insert.
³ Spike.	(1984). <i>Webster's new world dictionary of the American language: Second college edition</i> . New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. (p. 1371, def. 3 “to make a cannon unusable by driving a spike into the touchhole [used to set off the charge]”)

Figure 5.5. Recording my cognitive wonderings. This section of the protocol contained the words and phrases that I marked for further investigation and then researched after capturing the narrative of the cartoon.

Generating themes and identifying narrative framing. Next, I summarized the coded narrative and examined it for possible theme or themes, looking for how the literary and artistic elements worked together—triangulated, to use Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña’s (2014)

term—with labels and speech-bubble text to convey a main idea, in this case ideological warfare as related to the First Amendment’s freedom of the press clause.

Having generated themes, I used Rodriguez and Dimitrova’s (2011) method of determining how a document was framed by examining the data I had generated at four levels:

- **Denotative:** I listed the elements supporting the themes of ideological warfare. In this case those elements were the 13-inch gun (labeled ‘Appeal to Reason’ and shells (labeled ‘Truth’); another artillery gun (labeled ‘Plutocratic Press’) and sandbags (labeled ‘\$’); flags labeled ‘Socialism’ and ‘Capitalism’; figures labeled ‘Senator’ and [President] ‘Taft’ actively seeking to prevent the Socialist artillery gun from firing.
- **Semiotic-stylistic:** I noted the semiotic-stylistic elements supporting the themes of ideological warfare. In this case, those elements were the script font on the barrel of the gun labeled *Appeal to Reason*, which matched the font used on the paper’s masthead;; the murky crosshatching over the Capitalist camp contrasted with the white space around the Socialist side; the disproportionate size—based on perspective—of the *Appeal* gun to the Plutocratic Press gun.
- **Connotative:** Next, I thought more deeply about the denotative and semiotic-stylist elements—particularly items I had coded as symbolic and descriptions where I had used the word *suggests*—and identified “the ideas attached to them” as the semiotic signs became “symbols ... able to combine, compress, and communicate social meaning” (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 56). I generated a third, more interpretive narrative of the cartoon, which read:

Rich Capitalists have bought the voice (think of the mouth of the cannon) of the Plutocratic Press, and they also have infiltrated (bought) the legislative and executive branches of government. The *Appeal*, the voice of Socialism operating in the light of Truth, is threatened by government action...and not impartial government action, as the self-satisfied smiles on the Senator’s and the

President's faces indicate. Nevertheless, the *Appeal* is securely anchored to a stone battlement whereas the Plutocratic Press is placed behind a more vulnerable wooden stockade; even if the *Appeal* is silenced, the flag of Socialism will still fly above a firmly grounded platform. The role of the reader is speculative.

- **Ideological:** The fourth and last level of Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) method for evaluating how a document was framed, was for the researcher to consider how the news image, in this case a cartoon, is "employ[ed] as a[n] instrument of power to shape the public consciousness and historical imagination" (57-58). Why did the publisher grant space to this particular cartoon? While some of the questions raised by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) were relevant—who might benefit from this stance, whose voices and ideas dominate—I felt it important to articulate the answers to at least two other questions: What isn't discussed [in the cartoon]? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented? Here is the data generated in response to both sets of questions:

The cartoonist contended and the publisher concurred that wealthy plutocrats owned and ran the government and thus it did not represent the non-wealthy general public. Both arguments—raising postal rates was a direct attack aimed at killing *Appeal to Reason* and was perpetrated by a non-representative government bought by the wealthy to protect their interests—speak to a shaping of the public consciousness. Depicting the issue in terms of the recently concluded Spanish-American War, during which the 13-inch gun was introduced and thus was considered state-of-the-art military weaponry ("Our new thirteen-inch guns," June 11, 1898), appeals to national historical imagination. Combining both thoughts with the perspective from which the cartoon is presented—the reader is placed in the position where he could load shells labeled "Truth" into the gun—suggests the ideological frame through which this issue is being

presented is that of a call to arms: Each reader must recognize this proposed legislative action for what it is—an act of war—and must man the battlement of Socialism and help prevent the corrupt, plutocratic government from spiking the *Appeal*. Clearly missing was the voice of the other side. The cartoonist contended and the publisher concurred, without proving [within the context of the cartoon], that the government's sole reason for raising postal rates was to destroy *Appeal to Reason* (which was mailed to working-class subscribers across the nation) and that there were no neutral financial reasons for the rate hike. An alternate ideological stance could be that government was trying to protect the postal service from financial stress and/or the nation from a perceived ideological threat (Socialist anarchy) to its continued growth and stability.

Capturing the cross-modal data. How to record my own cross-modal responses to the editorial cartoons eluded me for some time. Unlike the editorial cartoons which I could view with my eyes and, to some extent, handle with pen and paper or computer keyboard, these responses to the editorial cartoons were internal. Sometimes the responses extended directly from my reading the document, as when I 'heard' a character's voice in my head complete with inflection, intonation, rhythm, pacing, and volume. Because they directly related to the editorial cartoon, I included some of these types of responses in the narrative I generated. Sometimes, however, the responses were more subliminal. I was aware of them, but to pay attention to them would interrupt my generating of the narrative. To some extent, they also seemed irrelevant—and yet, who was I to decide what was relevant? I, the researcher, was accountable to record not just the geography through which I traveled but also to acknowledge the lenses through which I was perceiving that geography. Again, I was faced with finding a way to map the sub-narrative present in my transactions with each editorial cartoon. I tried entering the sub-narrative in a column running parallel to the main narrative (see Figure 5.6), but giving equal weight to the two resulted in the main narrative losing primacy of place. I also considered a putting the sub-

narrative in a separate block under the block housing the main narrative, but what would be lost then was the sense of the two happening concurrently.

The answer came unexpectedly during a conversation about a poem that had caught the public imagination. The poet had

written part of the poem in

traditional lined format, but for

most of the poem the lines began

flush left but contained a gap

midway then continued to the end of

the phrase. The technique was

similar to the way some double-

voiced poems are written; and, in a

sense, that was what I needed—a

way to distinguish the voice of this

sub-narrative from the voice of the

main narrative. Thinking about the

two narratives in terms of voice

brought other options to mind.

Eventually, I found that creating a

column running parallel to the

column housing the main narrative,

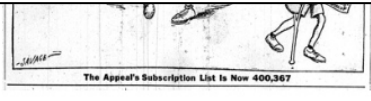
and using italicized, smaller font

suggested visually the idea of a

secondary narrative (Figure 5.6).

Writing in words and phrases,

rather than complete sentences,

		Number of Panels: One
		Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW
		Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367
<p>Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [October 16, 2016] In the center of a boxing ring **setting, metaphor**, a smiling <i>Appeal</i>, anthropomorphized into a boxer **main character, characterization**, puts two opponents to flight, while a third throws in the sponge in a corner of the ring, and a fourth limps off with the aid of a crutch in the opposite direction **plot, conflict, characters**. The title of the cartoon, THEN AND NOW, mirrors the **layout** of the cartoon with, in the upper right, a cloud containing a scene labeled "40 Weeks Ago" representing the past (THEN) and the main scene representing the present (NOW). The word "Now" in the caption below the frame further confirms the contrast **tenses, passage of time** between then and now. [December 3, 2018] Within the scene representing the past,</p>		<p>[Section added November 27, 2018] Cross-modal responses (In any order and including both sensory responses and my own wonderings and thought processes.): [November 29, 2018] I cannot look at any boxing scene without hearing the clang-clang of the bell signifying the end of a round, a sports announcer calling the action, and the ambient noise of the crowd egging the fighters on—most likely the result of watching televised boxing matches when I was growing up, as I don't recall ever watching a match in person. So, even though there is no bell visible in this cartoon, I hear the bell that signaled the end of this round and of the fight. I wonder whether the very shadowy crowd is cheering the victory of the <i>Appeal</i> or is silently watching the departing opponents and arm-chair strategizing about the next match. And I realize that, in a sense, my role is that of the sports announcer calling the action.</p>

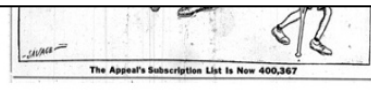
		Number of Panels: One
		Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW
		Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367
<p>Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [October 16, 2016] In the center of a boxing ring **setting, metaphor**, a smiling <i>Appeal</i>, anthropomorphized into a boxer **main character, characterization**, puts two opponents ([August 16, 2020] labeled Pollock, wearing a top hat, shorts, shoes/socks, and boxing gloves, and Bone, wearing belted shorts, shoes/socks, and with drops of cold sweat [labeled] flying off of him) to flight, while a third (labeled Phillips) throws in the sponge (labeled "I resign") **metaphor** in a corner of the ring, and a fourth (labeled Lothario Grosscup) limps off with the aid of a crutch in the opposite direction **plot, conflict, characters, symbolism**. The title of the cartoon, THEN AND NOW, mirrors the **layout** of the cartoon with, in the upper right, a cloud containing a scene labeled "40 Weeks Ago" representing the past (THEN) and the main scene representing the present (NOW). The word "Now" in the caption below the frame further confirms the</p>		<p>[Section added November 27, 2018; modified August 15, 2020] Cross-modal responses (In any order and including both sensory responses and my own wonderings and thought processes.): [November 29, 2018; revised August 16, 2020] <i>ambient rumbling of crowd egging fighters on [and cheering who?] ... bell's harsh clang-clang [but no bell pictured] ... end of end of round, end of fight ... Howard Cosell calls action "chases the last two out of the ring as a third hobbles off and the fourth is down for the count" [or is it me channeling Cosell?] ... black-and-white grainy TV images ... Olympics? title matches? where's the ref? ... replay previous bout... "it was 40 weeks ago, folks, when these fighters last met" ...</i></p>

Figure 5.6. Iterative changes in capturing the cross-modal responses. (*Top*) The first iteration had my cross-modal responses running parallel to my narrativization of the cartoon, using the same font, same size font, and similar style, i.e., complete sentences and analytic voice. (*Bottom*) The second iteration retained the parallel columns, but the narrative column was wider and used larger and non-italicized font.

gave the sense that these were thoughts extraneous responses triggered by my work with the cartoon but not integrally related to the narrative of the cartoon.

How the cross-modal responses affect interpretation. Next I needed to consider how those cross-modal responses might affect my interpretation of the cartoon (Altheide and Johnson, 2011). For example, the second cartoon showed a man partially buried under a pile of envelopes while other envelopes drifted down against a dark sky. Earlier I described reliving a moment when we had taken our two young sons for a walk after dark on a snowy evening. I could feel the cold air sharp against my cheeks and burning my nose and throat as I inhaled. I could hear against the stillness—for there were no cars, no other people out, nothing but the occasional whisper from one of our children who were awed by the silent snow—the muffled sound of the falling flakes and the crunch of our boots packing the fresh flakes into the snow-packed roads. Whereas we had stepped from our log house, the man in the cartoon had emerged from under drifts that were so high he had, presumably, had to tunnel his way from the building far in the background. And, yet, I recognized his upward gaze at the falling letters, as I had once gazed at the falling snow—although I hope I was not as disgruntled as this man seemed to be! In this case, my cross-modal responses helped me empathize with the character in the cartoon. However, I felt I also needed to substantiate the connection, if possible. I recalled reading fiction stories where blinding snowstorms had covered people’s houses and farmers strung ropes between house and barn so they wouldn’t get lost walking from one to the other. Could I base this in fact? A quick search revealed a number of blizzards—ranging from the 1880s to the 2020s—where people, in fact, had been buried in their houses and had to tunnel their way out. I documented these sources in the protocol along with my cognitive wonderings.

A second example offered an inverse perspective on how cross-modal responses might affect an interpretation by their opposition to the cartoon. The fifth cartoon I analyzed was set in a boxing ring. Almost immediately I recalled my childhood, watching prizefights—mostly heavyweight class, as the more massive fighters drew bigger crowds—on a black-and-white

television set. I saw the spectators crowding around the ring, egging the fighters on, and I heard the clang of the bell signifying the end of the fight as well as Howard Cosell's distinctive voice calling the action. In the cartoon, however, there was no bell and the vaguely drawn spectators were seated in a grandstand more usually seen at a horserace. Howard Cosell hadn't been born yet. And the boxers in this cartoon were scrawny or rotund and far from athletic. Did any of this matter? After reading about boxing in the early 1900s (Austin, 1904), I decided I could not use any metaphor referring to a bell, such as *saved by the bell*, even though bells were in use at that time. Second, although I could not reference Howard Cosell, I realized that, as the interpreter, I was, in effect, calling the action. I marked this insight for possible further consideration.

Steps 7-8: Revise Protocol; Repeat data collection and revision

Elsewhere, I described creating the protocol using Microsoft Word tables. Here I explain how I tracked changes to the protocol. As Altheide and Schneider (2013) noted, the protocol's evolution should be considered "as a part of the research project" and should be allowed to "emerge over several drafts. Accordingly, the protocol I developed during this project became shaped by the data itself, and documenting the shaping was an integral part of the research process, one I incorporated into the protocol itself by including at the end a section dedicated to recording Process/Observation Notes (Figure 5.7).

Tracking changes to the protocol. The earliest change I made involved

collecting information on the newspaper issue itself, and I described both the change and the

		Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367
Process/Observation Notes [for use in making observations and/or changes in the collection process and/or protocol itself]:		
<p>04/27/15: This front page contained two headlines of somewhat equal weight. One appeared over two columns at the upper left of the front page; the other appeared over three columns (two occupied by the cartoon, one by text) at the upper right of the front page. Both had a headline and a sub-headline. The one at the upper right, however, was split in two. The main headline "Marching On To Washington" (in quotation marks) appeared at the top of the three columns. What appeared to be a secondary headline and sub-headline (People Believe In Freedom of Press: ...Rates) appeared below the cartoon.</p> <p>Problem/Solution: I need to define more clearly what constitutes a "main headline" and "other headline. In the first cartoon analyzed, I ignored headings above single-columns, terming them "column headings." This time, I felt I should include them under "Other Headlines." However, the point of this study is to analyze the cartoons, not the paper as a whole. So, I am revising the protocol. What formerly was labeled "Main Article Headline" will become "Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon." "Other Headlines" will become "Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns," indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.]</p>		

Figure 5.7. How changes to the protocol were recorded. One of the last sections of the protocol was dedicated to capturing changes to the protocol itself and the reasons for the changes.

rationale behind the changes. For the purposes of documenting the processes during this initial work of developing and documenting the method, I kept a copy of each of the protocols used to document a cartoon before revising the protocol due to subsequent problems encountered or discoveries made. For example, I saved the completed analysis of the first cartoon in the first iteration of the protocol. I used this same template to begin analysis of the second cartoon. If I decided to make any changes to the protocol while analyzing the second cartoon, I did so, and recorded the reasons at the end of the protocol. Then I saved this analysis and used the revised protocol—including notes made about previous changes to the protocol—to analyze the third cartoon. By the fifth cartoon, therefore, I had a record of all the changes made to the protocol over the course of the five analyses, and I also had intact copies of each iteration (See Appendices).

The final step would be the recursive step of using the most recent version of the protocol to capture data for each of the previous four cartoons. Were I to use this method now to conduct a similar study, I would be much further along in understanding the possibilities for collecting/generating data and the shape a protocol might take. On the other hand, I might not be as open to giving the particular data being studied its own determining voice in creating a new protocol.

Steps 9-10: Compare Items; Summarize and Compare Summaries

These two steps—that of comparing items and of summarizing and comparing summaries—occupied the least time, because much of the work had been done in the previous steps. I had coded the data by element as I generated the narrative, and after considering how the narrative had been framed, I had summarized the narrative in terms of a theme (Steps 6-7). To make the comparison of the summaries easier, I added a section to the protocol to note any connections among the cartoons (Figure 5.8). While obvious connections might be easy to spot, less obvious connections might be noticed during analysis but then overlooked during this process of comparison. Additionally, while connections might be easily remembered with a

sample of five cartoons, remembering connections among a larger collection would likely become progressively more difficult.

<p>[Section Added 07/21/15] Connections to other cartoons</p> <p>[09/03/16] Cartoon 04, which shows the Appeal as the impetus for Grosscup's departure, seems to directly follow Cartoon 03, which showed the Appeal pointing an accusing finger at Grosscup.</p> <p>[07/21/15] Cartoon 01 depicted the government used military warfare imagery to depict an attack on the <i>Appeal</i> through raising postage rates on 2nd class mail. By contrast, Cartoon 02 shows citizens responding peacefully through a letter-writing campaign.</p> <p>Cartoon 01 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a weapon firing truth shells against an oligarchy. Cartoon 03 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a tool of divine justice shedding light on evildoers. [July 9, 2016] Cartoon 04 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a tool of cleansing, causing the evildoer to leave the country. [September 3, 2016]</p>

Figure 5.8. Showing connections made among the cartoons

Steps 11-12: Topical Overview; Final Report

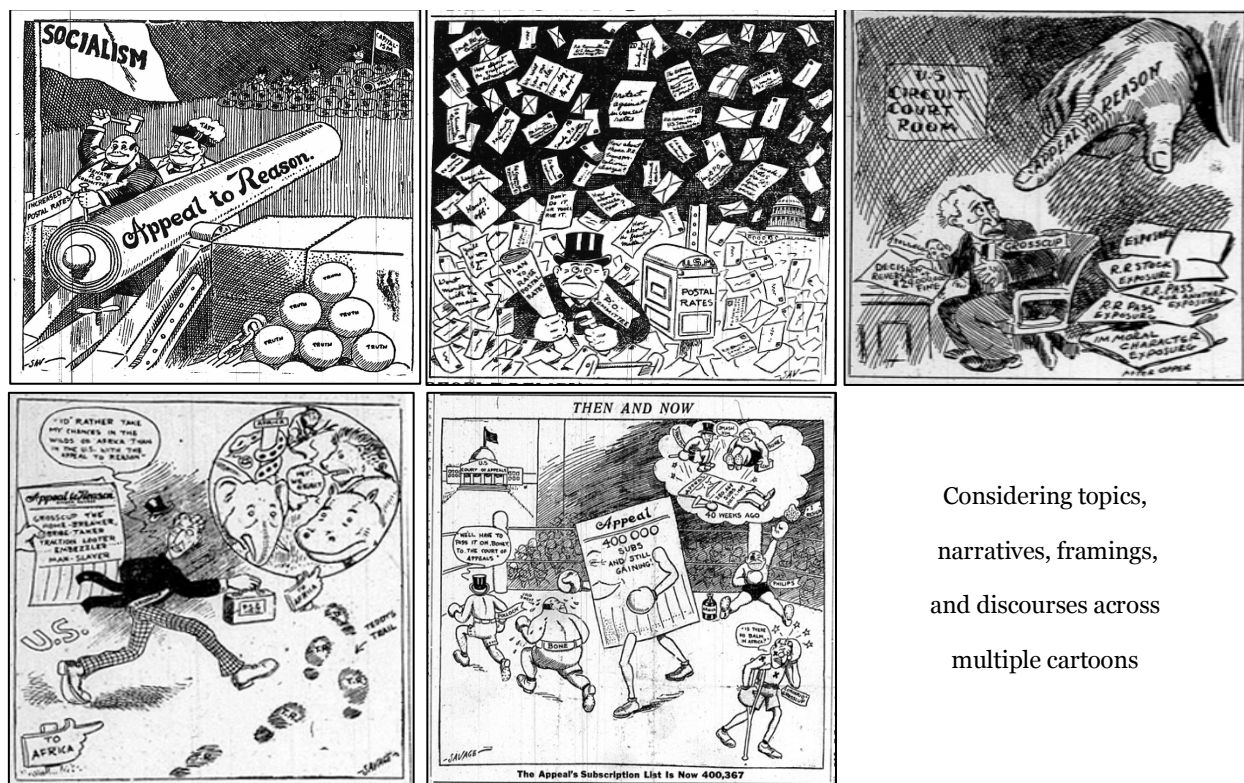
I began with an initial set of questions about the cartoons themselves, but I ended with questions about how to capture the data needed to answer the initial set of questions (Figure 5.9). At this point, I had answered the first three questions related to the capturing/generating of a narrative while acknowledging the structural elements, the determining of how the cartoonist framed the narrative, and the accounting of my own cross-modal responses. Now I

Table 1. The first two iterations of questioning	
Initial questions	Second iteration of questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What topics did cartoonists address? • What narratives did cartoonists create to address the topics? • How were the narratives framed? • In what ways might the narratives have been seen as attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse around the topics? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do I capture the narrative of a multi-modal document while acknowledging the structural elements conveying the narrative? • How do I determine the framing of a topic? • How do I account for my own cross-modal responses and how they might affect my interpretation of the documents? • How do I determine how the framed narrative attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse?

Figure 5.9. Reproducing Table 1: How the questions guiding the study changed.

could return to the first initial question, generate a topical overview, and then consider how the narratives attempted to shape the larger discourse.

Topical overview. The topical overview could be both quantitative—how many cartoons covered particular topics using particular metaphors—and qualitative—discussing the



Considering topics,
narratives, framings,
and discourses across
multiple cartoons

Figure 5.10. The five cartoons studied in developing MNT. These five cartoons viewed in relation to each other suggest a number of topical overviews and final reports that might be produced from the analyses. The cartoons shown are: **Top Row L-R: Co01.** “Spiking Socialism’s thirteen-inch gun.” SAV. (Jan. 29, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 739, p. 1.; **Co02.** “Marching on to Washington.” SAV. (Feb. 12, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 741, p. 1.; **Co03.** “A brace of judicial mountebanks.” Peter Oppen. (Feb. 19, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 742, p. 1.; **Bottom Row L-R: Co04.** “Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber.” Savage. (Feb. 26, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 743, p. 1.; **Co05.** “Then and now.” Savage. (April 16, 1910). *Appeal to Reason*, 750, p. 1.

choices of topics and metaphors—and could be comprehensive or limited. In the case of these five cartoons (Figure 5.10), three clearly depicted the constitutional issue of the federal government’s seeking to limit the *Appeal*’s ability to distribute their newspaper by raising second-class postage fees. Two of the cartoons clearly call into question the character of a

particular federal judge. One of the cartoons—the fifth one—falls into the first category but also includes the judge as one of the characters being defeated in the boxing ring.

A topical overview also might lead to more narrowly defined topical reports. A more nuanced topical report, for example, might consider the narrative arc depicted over the third, fourth and fifth cartoons. The third cartoon depicts the maligned judge's actions being brought to light by the *Appeal*, which then, in the fourth cartoon, forces the judge to flee the country in order to avoid the spotlight, and finally depicts the judge as one of several opponents being beaten by the *Appeal* in a metaphorical boxing match. A topical report limited to the constitutional issue of freedom of the press might contrast the privileged use of franked mail by members of Congress—a perspective not addressed in these cartoons—with the ability of Congress to raise postage rates and how the cartoons framed the issue as a plutocratic government limiting freedom of the press and/or freedom of speech. Or a topical report might address the various metaphors used by the cartoonist(s) to frame the narratives in terms of the *Appeal* as an ultimately victorious agent of Truth.

Final report. For the purposes of this study, a final report would focus most on the ways in which the topics, narratives, and framings combined can be seen as attempts to shape the larger cultural discourse by helping readers see issues in a different light with different possible outcomes and themselves as agents of change, both individually and in community with others (Fish, 1980; Burn, 2008; Jenkins, et al., 2016). Gee's (2000) concept of four strands of identity offers one way to discuss how these five cartoons attempt to shape the "civic imagination" (Jenkins, et al., 2016, p. 291) by presenting alternative perspectives and options. Gee (2000) discussed the strands, each of which can be seen in a positive or negative light, in a particular order—nature, institution, discourse (dialogue), affinity. Gee (2000) also noted, however, that the strands vary in prominence at any given point, which suggests the strands can be reordered as needed

For example, in considering the five cartoons as a group, I first observed that the *Appeal* figures prominently in the first, third, and fifth cartoons as a (then) state-of-the art weapon of war, the finger of Truth, and a victorious boxer, all in conflict with the government of the day, its representatives, and its mouthpiece the “Plutocractic Press.” In the second and fourth cartoons, the conflict remains the same, but the focus is on one of those representatives—and, by extension, the government itself being defeated. In one sense, the institutional strand features most prominently in these cartoons and the visual and verbal discourse consists of one institution—the media, represented by the *Appeal*—jabbing at—through the pointing finger (first cartoon), the outstretched arm holding the paper (fourth cartoon), boxing gloves (fifth cartoon), and the comments of the animals in the fourth cartoon—the executive branch (first and fourth cartoons), the legislative branch (first and second cartoons), and the judicial branch (third, fourth, and fifth cartoons). The cartoonists also appeal to ideological discourse (socialism versus capitalism in the first cartoon) and religious discourse in the second and third cartoons (snow falling from heaven; the finger of God and/or Divine Truth).

In what way, then, did the cartoonists of these five cartoons seek to reshape the discourse by presenting issues in a different light and with different possible outcomes and to help readers see themselves as agents of change? Because this study has focused on the development of a method for analyzing multimodal documents, such as editorial cartoons, in order to study the people who produced and read the documents, I have not detailed the disdain in which most people of the day held the *Appeal* and its readers as they did most Socialists of the day. The efforts to stifle the *Appeal*’s voice were very real, mainly because its editor, in a 1906 article, had challenged the federal government’s actions in evading legal extradition processes and instead kidnapping a group of men and rushing them across state lines so they could be prosecuted for a murder they may or may not have committed (Sterling, 1986). The editor suggested it would be just as legal to kidnap a former governor who had fled to a different state to avoid facing charges of hiring someone to kill his political opponent and offered a reward for anyone who would do

so. President Theodore Roosevelt then instructed the U.S. Attorney General to proceed with criminal charges and to instruct the Post Office Department “so that this paper may not be allowed in the mails, if we can legally keep it out” (as quoted in Sterling, 1986, p. 32). Charges were, indeed, filed against the editor in 1907, and the case wound its way through the courts. Pollock (third and fifth cartoons) and Bone (fifth cartoon), for example, refer to Federal District Court Judge John C. Pollock, who heard the case, and to U.S. District Attorney Henry J. Bone, who prosecuted the case and who termed the newspaper the “Appeal to Treason” (Sterling, 1986, p. 34). The editor was convicted in 1909 and appealed in 1910. The fifth cartoon in this small study refers, not to the editor’s victory, but to the *Appeal*’s victory in almost doubling its subscriber base and in forcing the government to hear the editor’s case at the appellate level. In other words, these five cartoons are part of a larger narrative arc that spans, at this point, at least four years. In the larger context, the *Appeal* is an irritant, albeit one with enough of a readership that those in power plotted how to swat it out of existence. The perspective offered by the *Appeal* typically ran counter to the mainstream press more interested in the slugfests between Democrats and Republicans and in the celebrity doings of the industry tycoons of the day than in the pesky Socialists and their working-class readers.

Those individual working-class readers were invited to join the “*Appeal* Army” in two main ways, both illustrated in these cartoons. In the first cartoon, the reader is positioned just behind the 13-inch gun, watching as the Senator and President stand poised to spike the gun and prevent it from firing. But the reader is not directly behind the gun. Rather, the reader stands just behind and to the right side of the weapon—and in front of a small pyramid of cannonballs labeled “Truth.” Subtly, the cartoon suggests readers imagine themselves stepping forward and doing something to change the situation—load a cannonball into the gun or throw some ‘Truth’ at the two would-be spikers. They don’t have to actually create the Truth or fire the gun—the *Appeal* will do that for them. What they can do is to be loyal readers, pay the subscription fee, share the paper, and encourage others to subscribe. In the second cartoon, it is

readers' letters that have buried Washington in drifts of protest. "Imagine the consternation your letters have caused," the cartoon suggests, inviting readers to chuckle and to either puff with pride knowing they have been part of that consternation or, perhaps, to pick up pen and paper and add to the deluge. The *Appeal's* readers may just have been small-potatoes working men and women—farmers, miners, railroad workers, garment workers, and more—but collectively they funded a newspaper that challenged the federal government and the bigwigs of early twentieth century American society. The cartoons helped readers imagine a world free of corruption and graft, one where everyone really did have an equal say in how the world could be run. Moreover, the cartoons suggested ways the readers could take immediate action to, collectively, make that dream a reality. The cartoons depicted conflicting institutions, each spouting a particular discourse. But the cartoonists appealed to the readers as people who identified with others of particular affinities—working-class people, Socialists, readers of the *Appeal*—and challenged them to overcome their natural timidity and/or apathy born of living under an oppressive system and to take such action as they could. In so doing, they traded their identities as downtrodden individuals for identities of members of the *Appeal* army.

Conclusion

This, then, is the method I developed—one that began with few *a priori* assumptions and a rather vague methodological approach and that ended by considering the various modalities of the cartoons, making transparent the cross-modal responses of the researcher, and answering questions of topic, narrative, framing, and discourse. Although I am indebted to Altheide (1987; 1996) and Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ethnographic content analysis (ECA) for providing a basis for my own method, I believe Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) fills gaps in ECA and offers a different approach to analyzing media.

How does MNT stand up to evaluation? What are its limitations and implications? And how might MNT be used by researchers from other disciplines? I address these questions in Chapter 6.

Chapter Six: Evaluating the Method, Limitations, and Implications

Make no mistake that your completed study will have, in retrospect, some kind of design. You may have planned only some of the features, letting the others emerge during the course of the study. The final design may turn out to be robust in spite of your lack of attention. Conversely, the design may not be what you wanted it to be, and the study may have flaws. (Yin, 2011, p. 76)

It is not enough to have asked and answered questions, to have developed and explained a method, or even to have used that method to analyze and discuss a sampling of editorial cartoons. In this chapter, I consider the choices I made along the way in light of Yin's (2011) design choices for developing sound qualitative research, and I discuss the method's limitations and implications for future scholars. Finally, I return to the question that caused me to diverge from one path in the woods and to take the less traveled one: How do I know that what I think I know is so?

Choices Toward a Sound Study

Some scholars offer ways to evaluate qualitative research. Cohen and Crabtree (2008), for example, reviewed fifty-eight journal articles and sixteen books or book chapters that either offered explicit criteria for or discussed aspects of evaluating qualitative research conducted in the healthcare fields and found that "it was widely agreed that qualitative research should be ethical, be important, be clearly and coherently articulated, and use appropriate and rigorous methods" (p. 333). Other concerns identified by Cohen and Crabtree (2008) were researcher bias, validity/credibility, and rigor/reliability. Similarly, Grbich (2013) offered seven categories of questions by which the strength of qualitative work can be considered: the clarity of the

guiding questions throughout the work, the justification for using a qualitative approach and for the design chosen, the transparency and detailed explanation of the processes used throughout, the recording of changes to the processes and the reporting of methods by which data are selected, the presence of theoretical concepts of interpretation undergirding findings, the disclosure of researchers' own biases, and the contextualization of the findings to other work.

Yin (2011), however, took a different approach. Rather than offering criteria by which completed qualitative research studies might be evaluated—or criteria that qualitative researchers might consider in conducting a study—Yin (2011) addressed the choices a thoughtful researcher makes when designing a “sound platform” for a study (p. 75). Yin (2011) noted that “thoughtful design work does not mean automatically adopting a lot of rigid design procedures [but] means making explicit decisions about whether you want to worry about every one of those procedures in the first place” (p. 75). Having a logical plan, even if not fully formulated from the outset, Yin (2011) explained, meant “a higher probability of completing a sound study—one who findings ... address the initial questions or topics of study” (p. 75). Here, I discuss my method and how it developed in light of the eight choices Yin (2011) claimed qualitative researchers ought to deliberately and thoughtfully consider in terms of their relevance to the study and in terms of how much weight to give them: design, validity, data collection units, sampling, concepts and theories, participant feedback, generalizing findings, protocols. As with almost everything else connected to the development of my method, these choices are not ones I could make at the outset because I did not know in what directions the documents and the data generated from those documents would lead. Rather, I address them here, not at the end—for there is no end—but at this pause, as a check for anything I might have overlooked or need to rethink. Additionally, these choices are not just about the design but about the designer—what have I learned about myself as a researcher in the process? In what ways do I need to grow?

Design. The first choice, Yin (2011) noted, “is whether to engage in design work at the beginning of the study or not” (p. 75). Initially, I had esoteric visions of the design emerging

from the data and scoffed at the idea of imposing a fixed and inflexible methodology on the data—or, if I’m being honest, on myself. And yet, is it possible *not* to engage in design work from the outset? In scoffing at rigid methodologies, I was making a decision to exclude some possibilities and was, in effect, engaging in preliminary design work. Further, and despite my esoteric visions, by adopting even an initial and flexible framework, Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) ethnographic content analysis (ECA)—surely that’s different from a methodology, isn’t it?— I was making a design choice, one that both led me down a dead-end road but one that also, eventually, gave me a means of finding a better road for my specific questions and my particular data. Ironically, despite my own self-deception and blundering, the design did eventually emerge through, as Yin noted it would, a “recursive [process]” (p. 77) that involved a repeated humbling of myself to the needs of the questions, the documents, and the data.

Validity. Second, qualitative researchers must decide, according to Yin (2011), whether and how to “take steps to strengthening the validity of a study” (p.78). Before considering Yin’s definition of validity, it is worth stepping back a moment to consider how reliability and validity are viewed in quantitative studies. Salkind (2008) notes that questions of reliability ask how much an observed score or observed result matches a true score or true reality, that is, “the true, 100% reflection of what ... *really* [is]” (p. 102, emphasis in the original). While true reality can never be measured, researchers try to reduce the possibility of error by considering what other variables—external and internal—might affect the results and by then taking steps to either reduce the effect of external influences or to increase the precision—the reliability—of the measuring instrument. Altheide and Schneider (2013) explained that communication scholars using quantitative content analysis (QCA) began using intercoder reliability to lend credibility to studies seeking “to determine the objective content of messages of written and electronic documents (e.g., TV cartoons) by collecting quantitative data about predefined and usually precoded categories or variables” (p. 24). Altheide and Schneider (2013) noted that QCA “verifies or confirms hypothesized relationships” (p. 25), perhaps along or across the rhetorical

or communicative triangle of rhetor/message/audience, but QCA does not lend itself to “discovering new or emergent patterns” (p. 25), as does ECA. Altheide and Schneider further noted that the presumption for touting intercoder reliability was that “reliability produced validity [and that] it was this rationale that led to the institutionalization of intercoder reliability scores on most content analysis studies” (p. 26).

Salkind (2008), however, reminded readers that reliability is about variables and validity is about the tool; research studies, therefore, can be reliable but not necessarily valid. Validity, Salkind (2008) explained, is “the property of an assessment tool that indicates that the tool does what it says it does” (p. 112). Salkind (2008) discussed content, criterion, and construct validities as most common concerns of quantitative researchers: To what extent does the sample reflect the universe? How do the results compare with results provided by an already validated tool? Do the results reflect the construct for which the tool was designed? Yin (2011) took a more simplistic, although no less rigorous, approach to validity in qualitative research and suggested considering validity “in terms of whether another study, *given the same lens or orientation*, would have collected the same evidence and have drawn the same conclusions” (p. 79, emphasis in the original). It is interesting to note that Yin (2011) used the phrase *another study* rather than *another researcher*, perhaps implying that two individuals can approach an elephant from the same side (orientation) and can use the same magnifying glass (lens) and still come away with different results because one person focused on the wrinkles in the hide and the other on the smooth areas between the wrinkles. Semantics aside, Yin elaborated on “seven strategies for combating threats to validity in qualitative research” (p. 79) that were based on a checklist developed by Maxwell (2009) (as cited in Yin, 2011, p. 79):

- ***Degree of involvement.*** My involvement with the documents began with observing the documents (cartoons) in the context of the environment (issues) in which they resided and taking field notes during those observations. I both collected and generated data during multiple passes through and using multiple approaches to the documents,

and I conducted outside research to corroborate discoveries in the documents and to answer questions raised by the documents. I did not delegate any part of the work to others nor did I read others' interpretations of the cartoons. In terms of the method, I search for and reviewed other theoretical and conceptual approaches to studying multi-modal documents, including approaches to studying editorial cartoons. I searched for and reviewed other protocols used to study editorial cartoons, then created my own. I recorded the processes of editing the protocol over several iterations.

- ***The production of “rich” data.*** In addition to field notes taken during the first pass through the issues, I generated a descriptive, coded—but not using pre-coded categories— narrative for each of the cartoons studied as well as a summary narrative used to identify topics and themes. I also captured reflective data based on my own cross-modal and contextual responses. Through constant comparison, I revisited each cartoon multiple times, finally producing a comparative analysis of the frames, outlining themes, and revealing ideological stances, and discourses found in the whole, each phase of which was supported by tools developed by other scholars. Additionally, I produced multiple iterations of a collection protocol as part of the process, and I recorded the development, collection, and analytical decisions made along the way.
- ***Validation by subjects and/or respondents.*** Because I was studying historical documents, I could not personally confirm my work with any of the people involved in producing the documents. However, I cross-checked references to people, places, and events found within the cartoons, often using sources contemporary to the times to contextualize, or as Wineburg (2001) explained, “to weave together, to engage in an active process of connecting things in a pattern” (21).
- ***Searching for discrepancies and rival explanations.*** Yin (2011) noted that searching for rival explanations throughout every part of the study cultivates a “continual sense of *skepticism*” (p. 80, emphasis in the original) that leads researchers to “collect

more data and to do more analysis than if [they] were not concerned about rivals” (p. 80). More than just searching for rival explanations, I acknowledged internal and external discrepancies found in the documents in the protocol and sought to find explanations for such discrepancies. For instance, one cartoon studied (SAV, January 29, 1910) warned readers about a threatened hike in postal rates and included one character labeled Senate P.O. Committee. However, the front-page article about the same topic listed House of Representative Post Office Committee members, not Senate committee members, as targets for a letter-writing campaign. I acknowledged the discrepancy and noted possible deliberate and inadvertent reasons for which the cartoonist might have made this labeling choice. In other sections of the protocol, I also noted discrepancies between my own possible contextual biases and how that might affect my interpretation of the cartoons, and, as part of determining the way the cartoonist framed the narrative, I included alternative perspectives and other possible frames.

- ***Triangulation of data.*** Yin (2011) noted that triangulation seeks corroborating evidence before drawing conclusions, but he also claimed that “the need to triangulate will be less important when you capture and record the actual data directly” (p. 82). On the one hand, I was collecting some data, such as labels used in the cartoons, directly. On the other hand, I was generating some data based in the narrative of the cartoon, and I was capturing my own cross-modal responses and thoughts. After creating a narrative based on the literary and visual elements in the cartoon, I further summarized the narrative, looking for the convergence of at least three congruent elements to determine the topic or topics of a particular cartoon and to corroborate the presence a particular theme or themes. I used the same principle of triangulation in later analysis, as well. In terms of developing the method, a type of triangulation occurred as I reviewed other approaches to multi-modal document analysis, reviewed other protocols, and developed

and revised my own. I supported each part of the design process with outside references and/or explanations of internal reasoning.

- ***Quasi-statistics.*** The term *quasi-statistics* was coined by Becker (1970) to describe using actual numbers rather than more general terms such as *many* and *few* when writing about qualitative research to give such works greater credibility. Maxwell (2010) argued that quasi-statistics, “have the value of making [qualitative researchers’] claims more precise” (p. 476), and I agree that precise language is important. However, to me, the term *quasi-statistics* carries connotations of pretense, and I would avoid the term. Nevertheless, precision is important and not just in terms of numbers. Simple descriptive statistics can be useful in identifying patterns and in giving readers a sense of the researcher having taken the time to count, whenever possible, numbers of items in groupings within cartoons to see if there is a subtle pattern. But precision of language also is important. The word *battlement*, for example, carries different connotations than the word *fortress*—one connotes an offensive attack and the other a means of defensive protection. Specific and precise narrative description gives a qualitative study depth and rigor and makes it less vulnerable to being termed quasi-research.
- ***Comparison across categories.*** Altheide and Schneider’s (2012) ECA is based on constant comparison, to varying degrees at each phase of analysis, across documents and across categories. I made comparisons and noted changes to both the protocol and to the information gathered at each phase, and I included in the protocol a section for noting connections between/among cartoons. The topical overview and final report both drew on that section, using those notes as springboards for further analysis.

While I find it difficult to draw clear connections between Yin’s (2011) definition of qualitative validity and Maxwell’s (2009) seven-point checklist, perhaps a combining of the two and a restating would be helpful in discussing the validity of a qualitative study: Are the lenses,

orientations, and procedures I used in my study sufficiently transparent to impartial readers that they can follow my processes and my thinking, whether or not they arrive at the same conclusions? If they arrive at different conclusions, are those differences due more to external variables (different contextual backgrounds or divergent outside sources) rather than to internal design flaws?

Clarifying data collection units. Yin (2011) used the term *data collection units* as a “nontechnical reference, to avoid confusion with the more technical terms *unit of analysis*, *unit of assignment*, or *unit of allocation*” (p. 82), which have specific meanings in quantitative research. For me, this meant developing a working definition of editorial cartoons and considering what, if any, other documents I would include in the study and at what levels. The cartoons, however, did not appear in isolation but were published within the larger document of a newspaper, which provided contextualizing data. Altheide and Schneider (2013) distinguished between primary and secondary sources, suggesting I could consider the cartoons as primary sources and the newspapers and individual items contained within the newspapers as secondary sources. While the main purpose of the protocol I developed over the course of the study was to generate narrative data from the primary source cartoon, I also included within the protocol places to collect such secondary-source categories as the date of publication, the issue number (if given), the number of subscribers (if given), the names of staff listed on the masthead, headlines of connected articles, etc.

These definitions did not answer all of my questions, however. Was the cartoon the actual data collection unit, however, or were the categories I identified within the cartoon the data collection units, or was the body of cartoons the data collection unit? Yin (2011) discussed the idea of nested arrangements, noting “most qualitative studies have more than one level of data collection unit” (p. 82). Revisiting my research questions suggested I was most interested in determining topics, themes, and frames, which combined might give insight into ideological stances and discourse. Topics and themes could be determined and derived for each cartoon

from triangulation of categories within the cartoons. Taken together, frames might become more clear and reveal ideological stances and discourses used to convey those stances.

Additionally, the data captured by noting my own cross-modal and contextual responses became another level of data. Rather than thinking of the data in hierarchical terms, I began to think of them individually, with individual characteristics and purposes, and related in multiple ways to each other in somewhat the same way that one's aunt might also be one's high school English instructor and a teammate in a softball league. Clarifying the relationships between and among various data and myself made me more mindful of the various types of data I was collecting, generating, capturing, and analyzing and for what purposes.

Sampling. The fourth qualitative research design choice identified by Yin (2011) concerned sampling, the goal of which is “to have [selected through sampling] those [units] that will yield the most relevant and plentiful data” (p. 88). For the purposes of developing this method, the goal was different. Here, I needed to work through the processes of analyzing cartoons to the point that I could answer all of my initial questions and answer all of my methodological questions, in essence, a saturation sample. Although I only analyzed five cartoons—six, if I count the false start—I worked through each stage of the method and was, at the end, able to also respond to each of my initial questions concerning topic, narrative, framework, and discourse. Were I to take this method and conduct the study I originally had in mind, I probably would use a more purposeful sampling strategy that addressed the goals of the study: understanding, through editorial cartoons, the issues being discussed by a community of readers of a particular newspaper published during a particular time period.

Concepts and theories. Yin (2011) discussed whether or not—and how—to incorporate concepts and theories into the research design of a study but not specifically about whether/how to explain (or not) the method in terms of concepts and theories. Part of what drew me to Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA was their grounding of their method in both the semiotic analysis of a single document—as the product of a single author at a particular

moment—and in an ethnographic analysis, which they describe as an “immersion in [multiple] documents” (p. 12), as a representation of social life over time. Altheide and Schneider (2013) based their method partly in the “symbolic interactionists’ perspective” and considered the “[c]ontext or the social situation surrounding the document[s] in question” (p. 14), the “process or how [the documents are] actually created and put together” (p. 14), as well as the meanings and patterns that “*emerge* or become clearer through constant comparison and investigation of the documents over a period of time” (p. 16).

Additionally, Altheide and Schneider (2013) drew on Altheide and Johnson’s (1994) conception of analytic realism, which posits researchers engaging with a real world—not just a constructed world—and who, as part of an ethical research process, are obligated to “substantiate their interpretations and findings with a reflexive account of themselves and the processes of their research” (p. 489). Being challenged later to justify how I knew my interpretation was correct, led me to understand that both symbolic interactionism and analytic realism, overlapping in ECA, rest on concepts of hermeneutics—understanding texts by observing structure and patterns of thought—and phenomenology—understanding phenomena (texts) by observing people and processes, both of which rest on theories of interpretation that involve mapping narrative transactions between reader and text and researcher. Again, the processes of understanding and identifying the theories and concepts involved emerged over time and in response to my work with the documents and the data. Still, I may not fully be able to answer all questions about knowing. I address ambiguity in the conclusion of this chapter.

Participant feedback. The sixth choice involved whether or not to obtain participant feedback. Yin (2011) noted that making decisions about the type, degree, and timeline of participant feedback could contribute to both accuracy and transparency but “should not be permitted to influence [the] study’s findings,” although they might “impose a degree of delicacy on [the] writing” (p. 97). As my documents were created more than a century ago, the question of seeking participant feedback seemed moot, but I did substantial cross-checking of my work

with other courses, as noted in my discussion of validity. However, in this development of a method, I necessarily was reviewing the work of other, more contemporary scholars. Should I have obtained feedback from, for instance, Altheide and Schneider? The thought did not even occur to me until I typed this paragraph, but I think my answer still would be *no*, as it might have influenced my work in some way. However, I was mindful in my writing that they and others in the academic community who know them might read my writing, and I chose my words more carefully when describing why ECA did not meet my needs.

Generalizing. Yin (2011) encouraged readers to think beyond statistical generalizing and to “relinquish any thinking about samples or populations” (p. 99). Rather, Yin (2011)—again speaking about qualitative studies, not about the creation of a qualitative method—argued for a form of analytic generalization that either sought to use one “study’s findings...to inform a particular set of concepts, theoretical constructs or hypothesized series of events” or to apply “the same theory [from one study] to implicate other similar situations where similar concepts might be relevant” (p. 100). I will discuss the implications of my work in a later section.

Protocol. Finally, the last choice was whether and how to prepare a research protocol, which, Yin (2011) noted, differs from a research instrument that lists, for example, specific questions to be asked in a specific order or involves a procedure to be followed in a particular order. “In contrast,” Yin (2011) wrote, “a highly structured protocol still only consists of a stated set of topics” (pp. 102-103), and he used terms such as *mental framework*, *broad set of behaviors*, and *established line of inquiry* to describe a qualitative protocol (p. 103). Even though the protocol I developed involved specific sections and a method of recording the generated data, I still sensed differences in the way I approached describing the narrative of each cartoon, differences that seemed dependent on the tone of the cartoon. At one point, I was challenged to justify my inclusion of humorous language or a judgement as to a character’s facial expression on the assumption that it reflected interpreter bias. Not having an answer at the time, I made a concerted effort to keep the description more neutral. But it kept creeping in.

Now, having a better understanding of symbolic interaction and its idea that researchers can put themselves in the place of another participant or actor—and having experienced cross-modal responses that inform the interpretation, as well—I am less hesitant to respond more in character, as it were. Additionally, Tsonka's (2009) discussion of incongruity in editorial cartoons as a means of knowing suggests ignoring tone means ignoring part of the data. And it is the data that informs the protocol and the processes of responding, not the other way around.

Limitations / Potential for Growth

Every study, every method has limitations, and the first limitation of MNT is that it is so new that the limitations of the method may not yet be apparent. Limitations is, itself, however, a limiting word as it implies something that cannot be overcome. Rather than discussing MNT in terms of limitations at this point, it may be more useful to discuss it in terms of its potential to grow beyond its current iteration. In particular, I see two areas for potential growth.

First, as described in this treatise, MNT is designed for one researcher to study one or more documents. Filtering the material through one set of senses, one lived context, and one interpretative process may yield rich data and plausible interpretations, but they are not the only possible interpretations. One way to add additional perspectives would be for two or more researchers to independently use MNT on the same set of documents and then to collaborate on topical and final reports, discussing and debating findings. Another possibility would be for multiple researchers to work together on the same set of documents, each contributing to a collaborative generation of the narrative while individually capturing their own cross-modal responses. In both cases, additional questioning minds would intensify the interrogation of the documents and would yield additional insights.

Second, MNT currently is designed to record the data in a protocol created using Microsoft Word tables. While this has some advantages in terms of keeping the collected and generated data in one compact, searchable document, it is not the only possible means of collecting information. Using a software program designed for qualitative research might

increase the potential for other types of analysis that are not yet apparent, which, in turn, might yield new insights into the data.

Implications

As I noted in the earlier discussion about generalization, Yin (2011) encouraged researchers to think about how the results of a qualitative study could be applied conceptually or implicitly to other situations. This study began as a search for a way of mapping the narratives contained within multi-modal documents while also mapping the transactions occurring between the researcher and the documents and their narratives. In turn, the maps themselves became data to be studied—transacted, as it were—from which other narratives and maps emerged. Each reader of this study has also transacted with the maps and narratives and has, along the way, created their own narratives and maps, all of the intersections of which combine in the act of interpretations. Not represented in this diagram (Figure 6.1, copied here from Chapter 1), except perhaps by implication, is the researcher, who stands both apart from the documents and immersed within them. What does this mean and how might this study drive other works? I suggest at least four possibilities, three in the broad areas of approach, discipline, and transparency, and one in the specific field of literacy.

Implications of approach. Rather than the predominant approach of starting with a topic and selecting multi-modal documents clearly tied to the topic, Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) takes an inverse approach and seeks to discover topics by becoming immersed in the documents. Rather than studying the documents within a very limited context, MNT considers the documents as narrative artifacts of a community of producers and consumer readers who exist within sociocultural and historic contexts. MNT offers a an iterative, recursive, and comprehensive means of discerning and discussing the framing of those narratives and their positions within the larger cultural discourse. Additionally, MNT provides a means of providing researcher transparency throughout the process by capturing cross-modal responses and protocol changes.

Even as MNT grew from inverting Altheide and Schneider's (2013) ECA, MNT could be varied by changing the order. Instead of mapping narrative transactions, what would a study of Narrating Transacted Maps look like? Or one of Transacting Mapped Narratives? Depending on the questions being asked, each data set(s) could be analyzed in multiple ways and produce an even more complex understanding of the documents and the processes that created them.

Disciplinary implications. Multi-modal documents abound in today's world. From patient charts to building permit applications to ads to highway signs to online course websites to Bateman's (2008) utility bills, an MNT approach offers researchers and practitioners in sociology, anthropology, communication, urban planning, and many other fields a tool for analyzing multi-modal documents of all types—including Altheide and Schneider's (2013) "footpaths worn in grass [and] dog-eared pages in books" (p. 7) that imply a narrative—to answer a variety of open questions: What does this document seek to do? What is the implied narrative behind and in this document? How is this narrative framed and how does its framing attempt to shape the larger cultural discourse? For example, rather than considering how effective one type of highway sign is than another, an MNT study might use narrative language to describe, or map, the signs in one community to see what can be learned about the producers of the signs and the readers of the signs and, from there, why some signs are not effective. How are the signs' messages framed? What are the counternarratives and counter-framings? What themes are discovered and what discourses? Such a study might be conducted independently or alongside a more traditional ethnographic study focused on people rather than on artifacts. Art historians and scholars of literature might also find MNT a useful tool for methodically exploring various individual works, bodies of works, or aspects of works. Web pages and web sites, dance performances, school bus routes—all involve lived, printed, electronic or other types of documents that are social semiotic sites for ethnographic study and which could be studied using MNT.

Transparency implications. Altheide and Johnson (1994) wrote during a time when “unprecedented criticism of ethnographic or qualitative method, substance, style, practice, and relevance [had] emerged” (p. 485) and not just from the traditional scientific community but from ethnographers themselves. Today, it is not uncommon to see scholars including in their reports an acknowledgement as to their own orientations and biases and, perhaps, information as to how they selected samples, defined data, and followed a method. MNT, however, provides in-the-moment space for researchers to note their own cross-modal reactions and cognitive responses to those reactions as well as to explicate the research behind the research as they navigate unfamiliar sociocultural and historical contexts. To what degree can and will future scholars using MNT incorporate their own narratives into the research, and how will their works shape the future world? What biases will be revealed, and how will we grapple with them?

Literacy implications. Here, I see two possibilities. Because the questions that I asked were about the cartoons studied, my data collection/generation and my analysis of those data focused on the cartoons. Had I asked different questions about my responses to the cartoons, my analysis could have focused on my cross-modal and cognitive responses and wonderings. MNT mapped, at least partially, the narrative of those very personal transactions between me and the multi-modal document. What could I have learned about myself as a reader had I focused my analysis on my own responses to the cartoons? Could MNT be adapted and used as a tool to help readers of all ages and abilities become more self-aware and to actively use those responses to interrogate texts of all types? And, taking Rosenblatt’s (CITE) term, the *poem*, more literally, how might elements of MNT contribute to creative and analytic writing workshops as writers explore different facets of their own interactions with texts?

How Do I Know That What I Think I Know Is So?

After all is said and done—and having parsed out a method supported by various theories, concepts, and frameworks—I return to the question that sent me down the

methodological rabbit hole: How do I know that what I think I know is so? The simple answer is that I don't. And not just that I don't know. I can't.

I cannot be entirely certain that my interpretations of the particular editorial cartoons studied in the development of MNT are totally complete and unfailingly accurate. In fact, I can be fairly certain that they are neither. Recalling, as I noted in the first chapter, Heraclitus' thoughts about our inability to step in the same river twice, I have only stepped in the narrative streams of these cartoons on a few separate occasions, as indicated by the dated entries. A totally complete immersion into the documents would necessitate my total, undistracted, and unwavering focus from the beginning of time forward—because the narratives depicted are parts of other narratives stretching back in time--and into infinity. Even if I—even if we—could focus completely on one cartoon or on one element, we then would be rendered incapable of focusing on any of the other cartoons or elements. For similar reasons, I cannot be entirely certain that this method, Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) completely and totally accomplishes the tasks I think it accomplishes—generating the researcher's description of the narrative of a multi-modal document, collecting data from the researcher's cognitive interrogations of the document, capturing data from the researcher's cross-modal responses to the document—and then determining framing and the shaping of discourse. What then? Is this—is all research—an exercise in futility? Or is something else at work?

I cannot speak for others, but my own convictions as a theological realist, also mentioned in the first chapter, lead me to conclude all research implies something beyond the immediate task or study. Briefly, theological realism allows for the possibility of an existence completely outside of and apart from—beyond—this existence in which we find ourselves and that things are real in and of themselves, regardless and in spite of how they are constructed or interpreted. Altheide and Johnson's (1994; 2011) analytic realism says that the act of analysis necessarily imbues whatever is being analyzed with the assumption of reality. Theological realism says that whatever is being analyzed is real whether or not it is being analyzed and is more completely real

than anyone in this existence can ever perceive it. Plato expressed something similar in his thoughts that the unenlightened only perceive this existence as shadows on the wall of the cave. Judeo-Christian texts take the idea further with the earthly tabernacle, for example, being constructed based on a real temple in some existence beyond this one (Holy Bible, NKJV, Exodus 25:9, p. 79; Hebrews 9:23-10:1, p. 1176). Even quantum physicists with their thoughts of parallel universes explore an aspect of this idea of an existence beyond and of a reality beyond our individual or collective constructions of things and ideas.

To do any type of research is, then, to real-ize in this existence the object of the research as it really and completely is. From a baby's intent gaze real-izing a parent's face to an astrophysicist's re-searching of the heavens for anomalies that might indicate unseen galaxies, the act of paying attention to something affirms its really real reality that exists apart from whether or not we can completely experience it here and now. And to do so, is in effect, our own copying of a gaze affixed on us from beyond and the anticipation that, while "now we see in a mirror dimly" and "know [only] in part," there is a seeing "face to face" and a knowing "just as [we] also [are] known" (*Holy Bible, NKJV*, I Corinthians 13:12, p. 1123). In studying these cartoons for the purpose of developing a method of study, I and anyone reading this work recalled to this present time the cartoons published for the first time more than a century ago and re-membered and re-cognized cartoonists Ward Savage and Peter Oppen. I don't pretend to understand the implications of these actions, but paying attention here and now seems to connect us to Beyond where we, too, are really real.

Here and now, I have provided in these pages a travelogue of my exploration of a text. I have explained my rationale for undertaking the journey, I have supported the rationale with the thoughts of other scholars, and I have described my processes of the creation of a method of transportation through the text. To the degree that my "accumulate[ion] of non-decisive reasons toward a conclusion" (Groarke, 2016, section 4.3) has conducted readers' outer and inner eyes to see what I see, I will have created a common frame of reference in which we can discuss both the

cartoons and the method for studying the cartoons. It is my hope that other scholars will find Mapping Narrative Transactions (MNT) a useful method for studying multi-modal documents and for creating other common frames of reference by which conversations about those documents can occur and which can connect us to each other and to Beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Studies of Editorial Cartoons with a Single, Pre-determined Topic

Table A1. Studies of Editorial Cartoons with a Single, Pre-determined Topic

Author (Year)	Method	Topic/(Perspective)	Quote or Note
Al-Masri (2016)	Multi-modal	Analysis of a collection of cartoons by one cartoonist	Macro-context (socio-cultural), micro-context (verbal), and dynamic context (visual) (p. 46)
Bush (2013)	Rhetorical analysis	Use of rhetoric in American political cartoons (Rhetoric)	“a hybrid of text, pictorial representations, symbols, shadings, and humor that become a puzzle...engaging to skimmers” (p. 65)
Cao (2010)	Hybrid (content) semiotic analysis	Semiotic analysis of “major signs” in works by one (Semiotics)	“The process of moving from denotation to connotation in analyzing cartoons ... requires the understanding of the relationship between images and words.” (p. 253)
Cohen (2011)	Archaeology artefactual analysis	Sports-themed historical cartoons (History)	the “object-centered” analysis contextualizes an object and leads to ‘object-driven’ analysis, which explores an artefact’s [sic] affect on its context” (p. 1303).
Edwards (2008)	No method (Studied Opinion)	Depictions of U.S. domestic terrorism/-ists (Media Communication)	“...the issue of domestic terrorism in political cartoons...required a reconfiguration of the strategies cartoonists use” (p. 423)
Eko (2007)	Ethnographic Content Analysis	Dehumanization of African political leaders (Visual Communication)	“Newspaper cartoons are counter-discourses that challenge the images of authoritarianism that have been carefully cultivated by the official media” (p. 221).
Fernando (2013)	Ethnographic Content Analysis	Depicting political images of Sri Lankan presidential candidates (Semiotic Analysis of Manifest and Latent Meaning)	“... cartoon representations present ‘comic truths’ that are realistic only in the imaginary world of the cartoon. However, ... new insights that reflect and echo political, economic, and cultural realities in the real world are presented” (p. 234).
Kaylor (2012)	Content Analysis	Religion depicted in editorial cartoons	Analyzed 265 editorial cartoons published between July 2005 and June 2006 for religious content
Patnode (2011)	Topical review Studied opinion	Historic portrayal of television in New Yorker cartoons 1945-1959 (Communication History)	Spatial mobility, upward mobility, symbolic mobility: “the ability to experience different mental ... states through the use of mediating symbols. ...humans have always engaged in this practice through storytelling....” (p. 3)
Roesky and Kennephol (2008)	Topical review Studied opinion	Science; humor in learning (Education)	“cartoons have the power to ... draw attention quickly and come to the point” (p. 1359)
Samson and Huber (2009)	Content analysis	Formal structures and gender of cartoonist	Based on Differential Psychology
Zeng (2011)	Ethnographic Content Analysis	Compare illustrations and cartoons in 19 th c. Chinese and American newspapers	One paragraph description of ECA; studied opinion and explication

Note. This table lists examples of single-focused studies of editorial cartoons, published between 2000 and 2018, reflecting varied disciplines, topics, perspectives, and methods.

Appendix B: Data Collection Sheet / Trial Version 1

Item No.: 1	Publication (Name): Appeal to Reason. (in Graham's book p. 54)						
	Page #: Unknown	Placement: 1 2 3 4 5 7 Unknown					
Publication Date (MM/DD/YYYY): 04/11/1914	Publication Day: Saturday	Title (Not Type Fonts): At Last We Have It! A Careful Study of Henry Dubb's Ancestors Reveals the Reason for His Standing Pat for the Capitalist Parties The title uses both upper and lower case italicized, serif, type-set font—but this may be how it appears in the book only.					
		Creator: Ryan Walker					
No. Panels 6	Caption (Literal Text; Note Type Fonts): No overall caption						
Size: Unknown, but panels are not evenly distributed	Labels & Other Text (Note Type Fonts): LABELS: Each panel from the second through the fifth is labeled at the bottom "HIS FATHER" and the last panel is labeled "The ORIGINAL DUBBS." The captions are hand-lettered using all capital letters and a somewhat stylized print. The capital H, for instance, has a beginning flag at the upper left and looks as though it may have been created with all one stroke: flag, down, slant up to middle of next vertical line, continue up then back down. The labels appear in different spots in each panel: Panel 1: No label; Panel 2: At left, indented two spaces, overlaps character's upper leg area (creator leaves white space for words) ; Panel 3: Flush right, no overlap; Panel 4: At left, indented half a space; no overlap and crowded between panel border and character's upper leg area; Panel 5: Two lines with HIS on top and FATHER underneath, both flush left, fits under character's loose cotta-style shirt and just next to upper legs; Panel 6: Flush right, fits under ape's feet SPEECH BUBBLES: Each panel contains one speech bubble with hand-lettered text. The style is similar to the labels below, but the letters are slightly larger and there is more space between them. The speech bubbles in the first two panels begin the text in the upper left corner, extend beyond the head of the character (who is offset to the right in the first panel and is centered in the second), contain four lines of text above the character's head (three lines in the second panel), then wrap the rest of the text to the left of the character's head. The speech bubbles above the characters' heads do not extend completely to the right-side margin; a space of about two text-bubble-sized letters is left between. The speech bubbles in the third and fourth panels are similar except the speech bubbles do not extend completely to the left side of the panel—there is white space on both sides. The speech bubble in the fifth panel is completely above the character's head, there is one letter space on the left and a fraction of space on the right. The speech bubble in the last panel is above the character's head, begins about half way into the panel and extends to the right border. Content of the speech bubbles is as follows (/ indicate line breaks): Panel 1: I'M A HENRY / DUBB (no period) I VOTE AS / MY FATHER VOTED / AND THINK AS MY / OLD MAN / THOUGHT (no period) Panel 2: WHAT MY / FATHER THOUGHT / AND BELIEVED / IS / GOOD / ENOUGH / FOR / ME! Panel 3: MY OLD MAN / LIVED IN THE / GOOD OLD DAYS / I THINK / JUST AS / MY DAD / THUNK Panel 4: MY FATHER WAS / SOME THINKER AND / THEY DO / SAY THAT / I THINK / JUST / LIKE / HIM! Panel 5: I THINK AS / MY FATHER / THOUGHT, ETC / ETC (letters about half size) Panel 6: AND I'M / A HENRY / DUBB IF I / EVER THOUGHT / AT ALL!						
	SIGNATURE: The white space in the left half of the panel above the character's head contains the creator's signature: Ryan Walker. It is hard to tell if Walker's signature is printed or in cursive. The left vertical stroke of the R extends further below the imaginary line than does the bottom of the y; the right vertical half stroke of the R is even with the upper part of the y—which makes the R look almost like a large P. The W is definitely an uppercase letter in comparison with the other letters, but it is smaller than the R in Ryan. The l in Walker is a vertical line that is unattached to either the first half or the last half of Walker. This vertical line extends as small ways below the left vertical stroke of the R. A double horizontal line, connected on the right side, crosses perpendicular to the vertical line l at a point about even with the bottom of the y. This double horizontal line begins at the beginning of the W in walker, extends to the e in Walker, loops down and back, ending at the end of the W in Walker. The effect of this flourish appears to be to underline Walker's last name.						

No. Characters (Total)	Describe Character 1:
	Describe Character 2:
	Describe Character 3:
	Describe Character 4, et al.:
Describe Props:	
Describe Setting:	
Describe Scene(s):	
Artistic Elements	
Use of Artist's Perspective and Focus:	
Use of Line and Shape:	
Use of Texture:	
Use of Value (Light/Dark):	
Use of White Space, Borders, and Placement:	
Research Notes and Comments (Comparing Cases):	
<p>Process Notes: As I'm describing just the text in the panels (labels, speech bubbles, etc.), I'm wondering if I shouldn't be describing each panel holistically. In one-panel cartoons, that is the process I would use, even though I would be describing each element separately. In multiple-panel cartoons, however, does describing each element separately instead of in concert with the other elements lead to a disjointed perception of the cartoon or does it force me to focus on the individual elements themselves? As I'm not sure, I will keep on with this pattern.</p> <p>Now that I'm thinking more about it, I'm wondering why I put the text elements first. How might it change my perception of the creation and of the message if I described the non-verbal elements first? Can I do that without at least listing the title – which is a verbal element?</p> <p>Eventually, I may want to analyze the cartoons as a whole but across each element – can I do that if I do a more holistic description at the beginning?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Anderson. ECA Editorial Cartoons & Illustrations. V1. Developed 091513</p>	

Appendix C: Data Collection Sheet / Version 1

Cartoon #: C001.APR.0129.1910 **From Front Page #:** FP005 [This row added 04/09/16 – see C002.APR.0212.1910, page 5, note dated 07/15/15]

Name of Paper: *Appeal to Reason*. **Date of initial observation/analysis:** 09/16/14

Issue Information: **Date:** January 29, 1910 **Number:** 739
Subscribers: 339,847 (as of January 15, 1910) **# Printed:** 541,200 (January 22, 1910)

Editorial Staff: J.A. Wayland Fred D. Warren,
Managing Editor

Main Article Headline: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”
Revised 07/21/15 (See Process Notes at End) to Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”

Other Headlines: None (Column headings only)
Revised 07/21/15 (See Process Notes at End) to Other Front-page Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns:
None (Single-column headings only)

Inclusion Criteria Present: Yes ~~If no, data collection is complete for this issue.~~
If yes, continue. [See C002.APR0212.1910, page 5, noted dated 07/15/15]

Placement of Cartoon (Upper Right, Upper Left, Lower Right, Lower Left, Center): Upper Right

Copyright/Reprint Information: None

Cartoonist: SAV (Savage) **Number of Panels:** One

Cartoon Title: None

Caption(s): None

Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations):

A huge artillery gun **“(passive) main character, symbolism”**, facing away from the reader and securely mounted in a heavy framework chained to the thick block wall of a **battlement**¹ **“setting”**, sits under the flag of Socialism, flying overhead at the left. The gun, engraved with “*Appeal to Reason*.” and using script **“line”** similar to that on the newspaper’s masthead **“line, symbolism”**, sits next to a pile of shells (cannon balls), six of which are fully visible and each of which is labeled “Truth” **“symbolism”**. The gun, which begins near the left margin and at about the lower third horizontal line, extends diagonally upward toward the right and ends at the upper third horizontal line but with about twice as much space (compared to the left side of the frame) between the end of the gun and the right side of the frame **“proportion, space”**.

The *Appeal to Reason* gun is aimed at **“conflict”** a smaller **“proportion, perspective”** artillery gun labeled “Plutocratic Press” **“character, ostention”**, which rests on a pile of more than forty sandbags, most of which are labeled \$, i.e., moneybags **“symbolism”**. Above the smaller gun, flies the tiny, white flag **“proportion, perspective”** of Capitalism **“symbolism”**, and behind the moneybags are four tiny but smiling men of some girth wearing black top hats **“proportion, symbolism”**. The bags seem to rest atop a stockade of poles or logs **“symbolism”**, the vertical lines of which extend through the bags **“line, shading”**. The area behind the stockade, which curves forward towards the Socialist battlement, is heavily crosshatched, obscuring the Capitalist camp and giving the upper third of the frame a murky effect, clearly defining the large white flag of Socialism and the much smaller white flag of Capitalism **“line, shading, symbolism”**. The top of the battlement, the pile of Truth shells, and the near side of the Appeal gun, by contrast, are free of cross hatching or other marks, suggesting light **“symbolism”** shining from above-right **“white space”**.

The reader is positioned behind the Socialist battlement and closest to the Truth bombs at the lower right **“perspective, point of view”**. Facing the reader, however, and standing in no-man’s-land **“setting”**, on the far side of the battlement wall, and on the left side of the *Appeal* artillery gun are two obese men. The nearer of the two men is bald except for a fringe of black hair above his ear and (implied) extending around the back of his head. He wears a black suit jacket, white vest or cravat (“labeled Senate P.O. Committee”), white long-sleeved shirt (cuffs and collar are visible), black tie (tucked beneath the vest) **“character, symbolism (ostention)”**. In his left fist, he grips a spike, labeled with a tag as “Increased Postal Rates” **“plot, conflict”**, the point of which rests on the breech end of the *Appeal* gun; his right hand, extended above his head, holds a mallet poised to strike the head of the spike **“conflict, tension, plot”**. His eyes focus on the *Appeal* gun, and his lifted eyebrows and close-mouthed smile suggest satisfaction **“character, tone, intent”**. Directly behind (perhaps both literally and figuratively) the Senate P.O. Committee character **“symbolism”**, stands a second man who wears a black

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Date of initial observation/analysis: 09/16/14

Issue Information: **Date:** January 29, 1910 **Number:** 739

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Editorial Staff: J.A. Wayland

Fred D. Warren,
Managing Editor

Main Article Headline: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”

Revised 07/21/15 (See Process Notes at End) to Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”

Napoleonic hat the white plume of which is labeled “Taft” ****character, symbolism****. This second man wears a white jacket, vest, and shirt, with a black tie. His wide face, bushy white mustache (upswept at the ends), and sloping, somewhat fleshy nose suggest a semi-realistic/partly caricatured (the width of the face is exaggerated somewhat) rendering of Taft ****style****. Taft’s broad, close-mouthed smile is hidden beneath his mustache, but the mustache’s upturned ends suggest what the rounded cheeks and crinkled eyes confirm ****tone****--a self-satisfied smirk—at seeing the *Appeal* harmed. Because the two men are on the opposite side of the Socialist battlement, the reader might infer they are from the enemy camp—and, physically and in their dress, there is a resemblance to the men in the Capitalist camp. However, the men stand in between the Capitalist and Socialist camps, and they could be said to represent the Legislative and Executive branches of the United States government ****antagonist, ostention****, suggesting government support for Capitalism and active government activity against Socialism.

The frame freezes the moment just before the mallet descends and strikes the spike that would **disable**² the Gun of the Truth of Socialism, implying that, in the past, the *Appeal*’s Truth bombs have been successful ****narrative arc, backstory**** in countering the Plutocratic Press supported by the “fat cats” of Capitalism. No person or part of a person is visible on the Socialist side, raising the question of who will stop the Senate P.O. Committee from striking the mallet ****plot, conflict**** and, perhaps, challenging the reader to enter the frame and take action—to become the hero, as it were, the ****protagonist****.

A further question, perhaps requiring **more contextual knowledge**³, is what will happen when the mallet is struck. Will the gun fire, or will it block the breech from opening so it cannot be loaded? Or will something else happen? To a reader of 1910 or to a reader with **more familiarity with artillery guns**⁴ of the period, the answer may be more obvious than it is to me reading it out of context 104 years later.

with description of what is being labeled:

left: SOCIALISM – large, white flag

right: CAPITALISM – tiny white flag; \$ -- money bags; **PLUTOCRATIC PRESS** – small artillery gun

ction: INCREASED POSTAL RATES – tag tied to nail/pin; **SENATE P.O. COMMITTEE** – on chest of obese, bald man holding mallet and spike; **TAFT** – on plume of Napoleonic hat worn by second obese, mustachioed man;

Appeal to Reason. – across length of large artillery gun

Lower right: TRUTH – on each of six cannon balls

Speech bubble text with description of who is speaking and to whom: None

Explanation of highlighted words/phrases:

nent. (1984). *Webster’s new world dictionary of the American language: Second college edition*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. (p. 120, with illustration)

ng Socialism’s thirteen-inch gun.” (1910, January 29). *Appeal to Reason*. No. 739, p. 1.

The article explains the headline is a quote from a Philadelphia paper referring to the *Appeal* as “Socialism’s big thirteen-inch gun” and a 1908 bill (Penrose Bill) designed to disrupt the *Appeal*’s distribution. The article refers to other attempts in the U.S. and in Canada to restrict mail delivery of the newspaper and calls on readers to write to the members of the House (not Senate) Post Office committee and includes their names and states in a boxed insert.

(1984). *Webster’s new world dictionary of the American language: Second college edition*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. (p. 1371, def. 3 “to make a cannon unusable by driving a spike into the touchhole [used to set off the charge]”)

tw thirteen-inch guns. (1898, June 11). *Scientific American (1845-1908)*, 78(24), 376-377.

This article claimed the 13-inch gun was developed for use by U.S. Navy battleships for use in the Spanish-American War.

Internal/External topic (Nord, 1978): Internal

Theme (corroborated internally through triangulation of data, if possible): An artillery battle (setting) is taking place between two opposing ideological camps (characters), one of which is represented by the *Appeal* (main character), on which the light shines (artistry, symbolism) and which fires Truth bombs. The other side, represented by the Plutocratic Press, is supported by gobs of money. The government (antagonist by ostention) appears to favor the other side and to actively be seeking to disarm the *Appeal*.

Cartoon #: C001.APR.0129.1910

From Front Page #: FP005 [This row added 04/09/16 – see C002.APR.0212.1910, page 5, note dated 07/15/15]

Name of Paper: *Appeal to Reason*.

Date of initial observation/analysis: 09/16/14

Issue Information: **Date:** January 29, 1910 **Number:** 739

Subscribers: 339,847 (as of January 15, 1910)

Printed: 541,200 (January 22, 1910)

Editorial Staff: J.A. Wayland

Fred D. Warren,
Managing Editor

Main Article Headline: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”

Revised 07/21/15 (See Process Notes at End) to Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: “Spiking Socialism’s Thirteen-Inch Gun”

While the themes can be corroborated internally, the external references provide additional support for the interpretation of these themes.

Key themes: Ideological warfare; government suppression of First Amendment rights

NOTE: This section was added 11/14/14 and the first three levels were identified during the last two weeks of November. The fourth level and the last question were addressed on 01/26/15.

4- Levels of Frames (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011):

Denotative: 13-inch gun and shells (Truth) and other artillery gun and sandbags (\$); flags labeled Socialism and Plutocratic Press; President Taft and Senator actively seeking to prevent Socialist artillery gun from firing;

Stylistic: Script font on barrel of *Appeal* gun; murky crosshatching over Plutocratic Press Camp; white space around *Appeal* side; proportion of *Appeal* gun to Plutocratic Press gun

Connotative (look for labels *symbolism* and *suggests comments*): Rich Capitalists have bought the voice (think of the mouth of the cannon) of the Plutocratic Press, and they also have infiltrated the legislative and executive branches of government. The *Appeal*, the voice of Socialism operating in the light of Truth, is threatened by government action...and not impartial government action, as the self-satisfied smiles on the Senator’s and the President’s faces indicate. Nevertheless, the *Appeal* is securely anchored to a stone battlement whereas the Plutocratic Press is placed behind a more vulnerable wooden stockade; even if the *Appeal* is silenced, the flag of Socialism will still fly above a firmly grounded platform. The role of the reader is speculative.

Ideological (how is the cartoonist attempting to “shape the public consciousness and historical imagination” (pp. 57-58): The cartoonist contended and the publisher concurred that wealthy plutocrats owned and ran the government and thus it did not represent the non-wealthy general public. Both arguments—raising postal rates was a direct attack aimed at killing *Appeal to Reason* and perpetrated by a non-representative government bought by the wealthy to protect their interests—speak to a shaping of the public consciousness. Depicting the issue in terms of the recently concluded Spanish-American War, during which the 13-inch gun was introduced and thus was considered state-of-the-art military weaponry (“Our new thirteen-inch guns,” June 11, 1898), appeals to national historical imagination. Combining both thoughts with the perspective from which the cartoon is presented—the reader is placed in the position where he could load shells labeled “Truth” into the gun—suggests the ideological frame through which this issue is being presented is that of a call to arms: Each reader must recognize this proposed legislative action for what it is—an act of war—and must man the battlement of Socialism and help prevent the corrupt, plutocratic government from spiking the *Appeal*.

What isn’t discussed? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented? Clearly missing was the voice of the other side. The cartoonist contended and the publisher concurred, without proving, that the government’s sole reason for raising postal rates was to destroy *Appeal to Reason* (which was mailed to working-class subscribers across the nation) and that there were no neutral financial reasons for the rate hike. An alternate ideological stance could be that government was trying to protect the postal service from financial stress and/or the nation from a perceived ideological threat (Socialist anarchy) to its continued growth and stability.

Process/Observation Notes [for use in making observations and/or changes in the collection process and/or protocol itself]:

[07/21/15] In analyzing Cartoon 02, I noted an ambiguity with how I was recording headlines. I made the following adjustment and am revisiting Cartoon 01 accordingly: What formerly was labeled “Main Article Headline” will become “Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon.” “Other Headlines” will become “Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns,” indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.

Note: In revisiting Cartoon 01, I decided to be more specific and add the words “Front-page” to the Other Headlines revision. It now reads “Other Front-page Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns,” and I also will revise the Cartoon 02 protocol.

Cartoon #: C001.APR.0129.1910

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[02/20/15] Question for thought: Did this title originate with the cartoonist and was appropriated by the publisher for use with the entire article? Or did the publisher tell the cartoonist what the planned article headline was, making this more illustrative than usual?

Appendix D: MNT Data Collection Sheet / Version 2

Cartoon #: C002.APR.0212.1910		From Front Page #: FP007	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/27/15 / 07/09/15 / 07/10/15 / 07/21/15	
Issue Information: Date: February 12, 1910 Number: 741			
# Subscribers: 346,236 (as of January 29, 1910)		# Printed: 430,990 (February 5, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: "Marching On To Washington": People Believe In Freedom Of Press: Fact Is Shown by Letters Protesting Against Higher Second Class Mail Rates.—Protests Carry Weight.			
Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Left: Tremendous Meetings: At Akron Hundreds Are Turned Away From Meetings For Lack Of Room (2 Columns)			
Placement of Cartoon (Upper Right, Upper Left, Lower Right, Lower Left, Center): Upper Right			
Copyright/Reprint Information: None			
Cartoonist: SAV (Savage)		Number of Panels: One	
Cartoon Title: "Marching on To Washington" ... assumed title (see notes at end)			
Caption(s): None			
		<p>Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [July 9-10, 2015] Descending from an inky sky, which occupies more than half but less than two-thirds of the upper space **contrast, space**, a steady snowfall of letters and envelopes (I count 61, including one bundle of multiple items, in the upper space) **main character, metaphor** blankets the lower third of the frame, including the foreground and the area in front of the U.S. Capitol building **setting, symbolism**, seen in the distance (on the horizon at the far right of the frame). The letters and envelopes falling from the sky, join others that have piled up on the ground; so heavy has been the storm, that mounds have formed as far as the eye can see and the Capitol building itself is partly obscured by one rounded pile **plot, metaphor, space, symbolism**.</p>	
<p>In the foreground, an obese man, wearing a dark jacket, white starched-collar shirt, and top hat with two vertical white lines, reminiscent of some depictions of Uncle Sam's hat **character, costume, symbolism, government by ostention** stands half-buried in the pile of letters and envelopes. In his right hand, he clutches a rolled up set of architectural plans that are labeled "PLAN TO RAISE POSTAL RATES"; as his jacket is labeled P.O. Committee, and as the envelopes with legible writing are addressed to "Senate P.O. Committee" or to "P.O. Committee / U.S. Senate / Washington, D.C.", we understand him to be a U.S. Senator **antagonist, ostention** intent on raising postal rates **plot**.</p> <p>The Senator, however, isn't standing on the ground half-buried by the letters. Resting on the center of the bottom frame is the upper end of either a straight ladder or an <u>extension or telescopic ladder</u>², and it appears from the expression on his face—slightly crossed eyes looking up and a frown that is not quite a scowl on his face—that he has just climbed the latter, emerged from the pile, and is unhappily surprised—bewildered?—to see it "snowing</p>			


Cartoon #: C002.APR.0212.1910		From Front Page #: FP007		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/27/15 / 07/09/15 / 07/10/15 / 07/21/15		
Issue Information:		Date: February 12, 1910 Number: 741		
# Subscribers: 346,236 (as of January 29, 1910)		# Printed: 430,990 (February 5, 1910)		
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor		
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: "Marching On To Washington": People Believe In Freedom Of Press: Fact Is Shown by Letters Protesting Against Higher Second Class Mail Rates.—Protests Carry Weight.				
<p>letters" plot, character. To the Senator's left is a letterbox affixed to an adjustable post setting, props; on the end of the rounded top of the letterbox, raised letters font, line read USM (U.S. Mail) and the flat surface below is labeled "POSTAL RATES" props, symbolism. From the adjustable wrench in his left hand, it appears the Senator's intent was to raise the mailbox higher, perhaps even to the top of the pole plot, conflict.</p> <p>Some of the letters and envelopes bear only squiggly lines representing writing, but some are legible. In contrast to the labels on the plans, the Senator, and the letter box, the writing on these envelopes and letters more closely resembles cursive handwriting font, line, symbolism, suggesting these letters represent myriad real people behind the scenes characters, ostention, symbolism. The letters that can be read say: "Don't monkey with the mail" "You'll be sorry if you do" "Hands off!" "Don't do it or you'll rue it" "Protest against [illegible] rates" dialogue, tone of voice, conflict.</p> <p>The reader is positioned above the scene, on a level with the envelopes falling from the sky and looking down on the hapless Senator, suggesting that he/she is in on the joke and may even be one of the letters falling from the sky or one of the letter writers releasing his/her letter identification with character. The reader doesn't see things from the Senator's perspective but from a more omniscient view point of view, dramatic irony.</p> <p>The frame freezes the moment when the Senator, climbing up the ladder, emerges from the "drifts" of letters and envelopes. But implied in this moment are the frames that would have occurred just prior³ to this moment. From the reader's vantage point, the eye moves from the Senator to the letterbox just left of the Senator, and then the eye is led back to the U.S. Capitol building. The top of the pole on which the letter box is mounted lines up with the statue atop the dome of the Capitol building, and the rounding of the top of the letter box appears to be mirrored in the rounding of the mound of letters that partially obscures the lower portion of the Capitol building visual perspective, shape.</p> <p>This reader, at least, fills in the gap of what happened by in the frames just prior by imagining the Senator leaving the snug committee meeting room where, perhaps, he and his cronies have been watching the "snowfall," setting out to readjust the mailbox posted pun out on the road, being confronted by white drifts blocking the exit, tunneling through the "snow" for quite some distance to the ladder set in place because it has been used before, climbing the ladder while cumbered by the objects (plans and wrench) he has brought with him, and then emerging from the drift only to discover it isn't snow at all but letters of protest that have piled up as far as the eye can see all around the miniscule-by-comparison mailbox visual gag joke, dramatic irony.</p> <p>Of course, this is conjecture. It may be that the Senator was standing on the ladder when, out of a blue sky, the letters fell so thickly and so quickly that, before he knew what was happening, he had been buried up to his chest in paper. Either way, preceding frames narrative action, plot are implied; either way, the reader is in on the joke.</p> <p>Also left open is what happens next. Does the Senator ignore the inundation and raise the letterbox, i.e., the rates? Or is he so chagrined that he freezes and, ultimately, is buried by the letters and thus is prevented from raising the rates? Perhaps that is the point: The cartoonist gives the reader a chuckle but leaves the outcome in suspense so the reader does not become complacent.</p>				
Labels with description of what is being labeled: [July 10, 2015]				
Upper left: None				
Upper right: None				
Lower section: PLAN TO RAISE POSTAL RATES – on rolled up papers held in Senator's right hand; P.O. COMMITTEE – on jacket of obese man holding rolled up papers and wrench; USM – on rounded top section of letter box; POSTAL RATES – on flat end face of letter box				

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Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: "Marching On To Washington": People Believe In Freedom Of Press: Fact Is Shown by Letters Protesting Against Higher Second Class Mail Rates.—Protests Carry Weight.			
Speech bubble text with description of who is speaking and to whom: [July 10, 2015] Considering the handwritten letters as speech bubbles, i.e., as speaking the voices of characters not seen, the characters speaking might be described as (presumably) citizen protestors, as readers of the publications affected, and/or as publishers of the publications affected. The legible texts are: "Don't monkey with the mail" "You'll be sorry if you do" "Hands off!" "Don't do it or you'll rue it" "Protest against [illegible] rates" "Senate P.O. Committee" "P.O. Committee / U.S. Senate / Washington, D.C."			
Explanation of highlighted words/phrases: ¹ [October 15, 2016] U.S. Postal Service rates vary by the type of mail being delivered. According to the USPS website (https://about.usps.com/who-we-are/postal-history/periodicals-postage-history.htm), the first major postal law in 1792 set newspaper rates at 1–1.5 cents compared to letters which cost 6-25 cents, depending on distance. By the early 1900s, the law had redefined what constituted a periodical and had raised rates slightly, but postal rates and regulations have always been considered within the context of government not limiting the functions of a free press. Kennedy (1957) studied postal rates between 1855 and 1955, concluding that "postal rate policy is primarily the outcome of the (at least) century-old Congressional practice of using the Post Office to accomplish all sorts of social and political objectives extraneous to the business of mail delivery" (p. 93). Kennedy, J. (1957). Development of postal rates: 1845-1955. <i>Land Economics</i> , 33(2), 93-112. DOI: 10.2307/3144899 ² Henry Quackenbush patented an improvement to extension ladders on October 22, 1867, increasing the reach of fixed ladders. He is credited with inventing the extension or telescopic ladder. US Patent No. 70016. ³ Scott McCloud says single-panel cartoons are not comics because they are not juxtaposed images, but the implied frames before and after suggest otherwise. ⁴ Natural rights of man. http://www.nlnrac.org/earlymodern/locke [7/21/15] ⁵ Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. [From http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill_of_rights_transcript.html]			
Internal/External topic (Nord, 1978): [July 10, 2015] Internal, in the sense that the <i>Appeal to Reason</i> perceived itself as under attack by rising postal rates and had urged readers to write to their Congressmen; external in that the <i>Appeal</i> wasn't the only publication affected by the rates and the <i>Appeal's</i> name does not appear in the cartoon.			
Theme (corroborated internally through triangulation of data, if possible): [July 10, 2015] A storm of letters (main character) containing warnings and threats (dialogue) over plans to raise postal rates (plot, conflict) has descended and is descending on Washington and on the U.S. Capitol building (setting), in particular, half burying a member of the P. O. Committee (government by ostention) as he reaches the top of a ladder. He has climbed the ladder in order to ratchet up postal rates, but he either pauses or is paused before he carries out his mission. The ladder suggests the rates have been hiked before to the point of needed a ladder to reach the letter box and it also suggests the volume of letters that have buried the ladder almost completely, suggesting the letters will surpass the reach of the ladder and that the letter-writing campaign (and by ostention, the writers) ultimately will prevail. Key themes: Ideological conflict (not quite warfare); citizen response to government attempt to suppress First Amendment freedom of press; "the joke's on them"; right to petition government			
4- Levels of Frames (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011): Denotative: Storm and mounds of letters and envelopes (addressed to Senate P.O. Committee); ladder; letterbox (Postal Rates) on adjustable post; U.S. Capitol building; Senator with rolled up papers (Plan to Raise Postal Rates) and adjustable wrench Stylistic: Contrast between dark sky, white letters falling, and white letters blanketing ground; Handwriting script on letters and envelopes; embossed letters on letterbox; perspective lines from top of letterbox post to top of U.S.			

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Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
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<p>Capitol building; rounded line of top of letterbox and rounded mound partially obscuring the lower part of the Capitol building</p> <p>Connotative (look for labels <i>symbolism</i> and <i>suggests comments</i>): A blizzard (?) of individual voices have voiced, in writing, their displeasure with Congress's plan to raise postal rates. The volume of letters has partially obscured the Capitol, reminding legislators, perhaps, that they are elected by individual voters. Ironically, the writers have apparently used the U.S. Mail, paying postage in the process. [July 11, 2015] Another, perhaps unintended, metaphor is the connection between these letters and a natural force, that of a snowstorm; this seems to follow the "natural rights of man" arguments³ and suggesting, perhaps, that regardless of what power government thinks it has, the rights of the individual will prevail . . . ironically, however, the individual voices are heard only when in combination.</p> <p>Ideological (how is the cartoonist attempting to "shape the public consciousness and historical imagination" (pp. 57-58): The cartoonist visually demonstrates the First Amendment⁴ "right of the people. . . to petition the government for a redress of grievances" that, in this case, is about another First Amendment issue: the prohibition of Congress to make laws abridging freedom of the press. The cartoon depicts a peaceful protest, suggesting the public consciousness is being directed towards legal and constitutionally protected means of response. At the same time, the "joke is on you" tone of the cartoon suggests the cartoonist is helping readers imagine individuals as overwhelming, smothering, or burying Washington, i.e, that the power politicians think they have is the joke because of the sheer numbers of individuals keeping their power plays in check.</p> <p>What isn't discussed? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented? Not discussed is the irony of letter-writers paying postage to mail their petitions to the government or whether a letter-writing campaign is an effective means of petition (as opposed to legislative or judicial redress). As with the previous cartoon, the government's reasons for raising postal rates are not presented.</p>			
Process/Observation Notes [for use in making observations and/or changes in the collection process and/or protocol itself]:			
<p>04/27/15: This front page contained two headlines of somewhat equal weight. One appeared over two columns at the upper left of the front page; the other appeared over three columns (two occupied by the cartoon, one by text) at the upper right of the front page. Both had a headline and a sub-headline. The one at the upper right, however, was split in two. The main headline "Marching On To Washington" (in quotation marks) appeared at the top of the three columns. What appeared to be a secondary headline and sub-headline (People Believe In Freedom of Press: ...Rates) appeared below the cartoon. Problem/Solution: I need to define more clearly what constitutes a "main headline" and "other headline. In the first cartoon analyzed, I ignored headings above single-columns, terming them "column headings." This time, I felt I should include them under "Other Headlines." However, the point of this study is to analyze the cartoons, not the paper as a whole. So, I am revising the protocol. What formerly was labeled "Main Article Headline" will become "Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon." "Other Headlines" will become "Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns," indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.</p> <p>07/31/15: In resolving the issue regarding how to track each of the front pages observed and to explain which front page drawings were included or, more importantly, excluded, I created a separate form to list the information for each front page of the <i>Appeal to Reason</i>. I have requested the microfilm again (and have been notified that at least part of the film has arrived), so I can scan each front page in full instead of trying to piece them together from scans of several partial pages. The front page forms will be labeled FP001 with the date and the cartoon forms will be labeled C001 with the date.</p> <p>Because I now am using two separate forms, today I rearranged this form. I added a line at the top to indicate the cartoon number and the front page file number to which it corresponds. Because the "Inclusion Criteria Present"</p>			

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line was moot, given the front page form, I deleted that line from the cartoon form. This form is now a new iteration of the cartoon protocol. I also will go back to the first cartoon and change the protocol accordingly.				
09/01/16: In accordance with revisions to other protocols, I added the image of the cartoon being studied to this protocol.				
[Added 07/21/15] Connections to other cartoons Cartoon 01 depicted the government used military warfare imagery to depict an attack on the Appeal through raising postage rates on 2 nd class mail. By contrast, this cartoon shows citizens responding peacefully through a letter-writing campaign.				

Appendix E: Data Collection Sheet / Version 3

Cartoon #: C003.APR.0219.1910		From Front Page #: FP008	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/16/2016; 04/23/2016; 05/14/2016; 07/09/2016	
Issue Information: Date: February 19, 1910 Number: 742			
# Subscribers: 352,871 (as of February 5, 1910)		# Printed: 509,150 (February 12, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks--Will they be Impeached?			
Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Left: NA			
Placement of Cartoon (Upper Right, Upper Left, Lower Right, Lower Left, Center): Upper Left			
Copyright/Reprint Information: None			
Cartoonist: Peter Oppen		Number of Panels: One	
Cartoon Title: A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks--Will they be Impeached?" ... assumed title (see notes at end) Note: A brace is a pair (embrace – two arms); mountebanks (mounted on a bench or sales platform . . . or judicial bench) are itinerate deceivers or charlatans (snake oil peddlers)			
Caption(s): None			
		Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [April 23, 2016] Note: Red diagonal line added to show intrusion of finger into lower half space. In an area labeled "U.S. CIRCUIT COURT ROOM" **setting** , a man labeled "GROSSCUP" **main character** is seated in his chair at a desk? courtroom bench? **setting** . Because the cartoonist has labeled this a courtroom, we might give greater weight to the idea that the structure at which he is seated is a raised courtroom bench. Adding credence to this conclusion is the presence of another man, labeled "POLLOCK" **character** who appears to be looking up at Grosscup from a lower level. Only the upper two-thirds of Pollock's face is visible above Grosscup's right forearm, but the raised eyebrows **line, action** suggest something has surprised him **plot** . Confounding the idea that Grosscup is seated at his judicial bench, is Grosscup's attire. It cannot be clearly determined whether he is wearing a judicial robe or just a jacket over his shirt. (Continued in the row below)	
Description (Cont'd): Grosscup has partly-turned in his swiveled armchair—his feet remain pointing forward toward his (implied) courtroom while his head looks back over his left shoulder **plot** at a gigantic hand with extended index finger, labeled, using italics to suggest a publication **typography, anthropomorphism** , <i>APPEAL TO REASON</i> **main character** pointing at him **conflict, plot** . Grosscup's raised eyebrows also suggest surprise, but whereas Pollock's eyebrows are angled upward, Grosscup's are drawn together in the middle and are angled downward **line, character motivation** over his wide-eyed, fearful stare **conflict, plot** and one line wrinkles his brow **line, character** . His mouth is drawn partially open with lips angled down, suggesting he has been startled into a gasp or expletive **fear, tone, motivation** . Grosscup's hair is drawn as			

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<p>wavy and combed back from his brow. However, the hairs at the base of his neck are drawn as short lines sticking straight out, suggesting fear. (See notes in Connections to Other Cartoons below.) In his right hand, Grosscup holds a paper labeled "DECISION REVERSAL OF \$29,000,000 FINE" **plot development**. As Grosscup has turned in his chair, his elbow has moved back into the back of the chair and the fingers of his left hand are splayed, both actions suggesting he was holding the paper with both hands but has been surprised into releasing it with one hand **plot**. The distance of the hand from the paper suggests he is not trying to cover or hide the paper, but that this is a defensive move **motivation**—if the cartoon were to be extended into the implied next frame, might his arm be raised with his splayed hand acting to shield him from the pointing finger?</p> <p>The pointing index finger is part of a hand attached, presumably, to a wrist-arm-being **character**. The comparative size **proportion** of the wrist-hand-finger to Grosscup's hand and the fact that the hand emerges from the upper right corner of the frame suggests the rest of the being is "larger than life" and too large to be contained in the frame **character, metaphor, symbolism**. The wrist area is covered by some kind of garment. The reversed-S shape of the curve of the sleeve **line, character** suggests the softer folds of a robe rather than that of a stiffer shirt cuff **clothing, symbolism**. The other three fingers of the hand are curled under and point back toward the wrist. The thumb, however, also is extended and points down to a pile of what appear to be newspapers, indicated by the line down the middle of the top two, suggesting an open, unfolded newspaper page, the lower right corner area.</p> <p>The pile of newspapers are labeled (top to bottom): "EXPOSURE"; "R.R. STOCK EXPOSURE"; "R.R. PASS FOR ANOTHER EXPOSURE"; "R.R. PASS EXPOSURE"; "IMMORAL CHARACTER EXPOSURE" **setting, context, conflict, plot**. Because the thumb points down toward the pile of "exposures" and the index finger points to Grosscup, the curved line joining the two appendages draws the eye from one to the other **line, plot, conflict**, making an explicit connection between the <i>Appeal</i> and the exposures of Grosscup.</p> <p>Because much of the cartoon is covered in cross-hatching or diagonal lines, the overall tone of the cartoon is dark and murky **line, contrast, tone,**. The cross-hatching is more dense above the top part of the hand, in the area just behind the chair, and in the judge's jacket **symbolism**. Diagonal lines only are used over the sign identifying the room as a courtroom, on the side of the desk/courtroom bench, on parts of the hand, and on the Grosscup's trousers **line, contrast, tone**. Three areas are left un-inked: 1) The area around Grosscup's head and shoulders and the tip of the pointing index finger. 2) The areas around the frame-side and under-side of the pile of newspapers. 3) The area around the right side of the tip of the thumb. **contrast, tone** [September 3, 2016] The title/headline "A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks" suggests two of the same kind of snake-oil salesmen.</p>				
Labels with description of what is being labeled: [April 16, 2016]				
Upper left: U.S. CIRCUIT COURT ROOM – on wall above desk				
Upper right: <i>APPEAL TO REASON</i> – on pointing finger coming down from upper right corner				
Lower left: <i>POLLUCK</i> – next to man crouching behind man seated at desk (Grosscup); GROSSCUP – pinned to jacket of man seated at desk; DECISION REVERSAL of \$29,000,000 FINE – on paper in Grosscup's hand				
Lower right: <i>EXPOSURE</i> ; <i>R.R. STOCK EXPOSURE</i> ; <i>R.R. PASS FOR ANOTHER EXPOSURE</i> ; <i>R.R. PASS EXPOSURE</i> ; <i>IMMORAL CHARACTER EXPOSURE</i> – all on what could be books? Piled on floor behind Grosscup				
Speech bubble text with description of who is speaking and to whom: [April 15, 2016] None				
Explanation of highlighted words/phrases:				
[May 14, 2016] Grosscup:				
<p>In 1895, Grosscup (1852-1921) had presided over the criminal prosecution case of Eugene Debs (http://www.fjc.gov/history/home.nsf/page/tu_debs_bio_grosscup.html). In 1894, he had been part of a circuit court that had issued an injunction against striking Pullman workers. Wikipedia notes, "The July 3, 1894 <i>New York Times</i> called the injunction a "Gatling gun on paper" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_S._Grosscup). In 1903, according to Murphey (2013), (Grosscup "made permanent an injunction on price-fixing practices and transportation discriminations purportedly carried out by the "Big Six" Chicago packing houses" (p. 86), although the injunction apparently was largely ignored.</p>				

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Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor		
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks-- Will they be Impeached?				
<p>Nazar (2012) claimed the <i>Appeal</i> reprinted other charges against Grosscup from other papers, said the allegations must be true if Grosscup did not respond by suing for libel, and hounded Grosscup for months (pp. 44-47). The U. S. Supreme Court heard charges against Grosscup in 1908 (http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9905E4DA173EE233A25754C1A9679C946997D6CF).</p> <p>[May 14, 2016] Pollock: Judge John C. Pollock was the judge who sentenced Fred Warren to jail after he was convicted in 1910 of advertising for the abduction of a ??? (see Sterling article).</p> <p>[May 14, 2016] judicial robes: The Judicial Press Office of the British government traces the wearing of robes to a time when robes were common attire for many people. A 2008 <i>New York Times</i> article indicates that in America the wearing of judicial robes was optional and notes disagreement in the earliest years as to whether robes reflected the pomposity of the British government the new republic was trying to escape. Eligon cites an 1884 <i>New York Times</i> article that notes the first instance of the justices of a New York Court of Appeals wearing robes. Otty (1995) speaks in passing of the “semiotics of judicial robes” (p. 94), suggesting a semiotics of jackets, as well. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor speaks of the symbolic covering of the individual and the common responsibility of judges to represent the law—but this may be an acquired, not an original, symbolism.</p> <p>[May 14, 2016] Decision Reversal of \$29 million fine: In 1907, Standard Oil Corporation had been convicted and fined \$29,240,000 for accepting freight rebates from railroads. But Grosscup and other judges at the Appeals court level overturned the decision because the wrong corporate entity had been indicted. It also should be noted that Grosscup saw profit sharing and stock ownership as a way for individuals to regain a modicum of control over corporations and to have some private holdings in a non-agrarian economy.</p> <p>[September 3, 2016] Brace of Judicial Mountebanks: According to Jacquet (2013), Brace comes from the Latin <i>brachium</i>, meaning arm; as most people have two arms, embrace means to hold within ones arms. Brace came to mean a pair of something and is usually used in referring to birds: a brace of doves is a pair of doves. Suspenders sometimes are called braces – they are a pair of straps that hold up pants. According to the <i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i>, a mountebank is “an itinerant charlatan” who mounted or climbed up on a bench (bank) to attract a wider audience.</p> <p>Jacquet, Janus Bahs. (2013). Meaning and etymology of “Hat-trick” and “Brace.” <i>English Language & Usage Stack Exchange</i>. Retrieved September 3, 2016, from http://english.stackexchange.com/questions/124850/meaning-and-etymology-of-hat-trick-and-brace</p> <p>Eligon, John. “Behind the Gavel, a Sense of Style: Forgoing the Robes, or Accessorizing for a Bit of Flair” by Eligon, John, <i>New York Times</i> (1923-Current file); Sep 6, 2008; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, pg. B; Retrieved May 14, 2016.</p> <p>Federal Judicial Center. (n.d.). The Debs case: Labor, capital, and the federal courts of the 1890s: Biographies: Peter S. Grosscup (1852-1921). <i>Federal Judicial Center: The History of the Federal Judiciary</i>. Retrieved from http://www.fjc.gov/history/home.nsf/page/tu_debs_bio_grosscup.html</p> <p>Gompers, S. (1894). Letter to Judge Peter Grosscup. Retrieved May 14, 2016 from American History http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1876-1900/samuel-gompers-letter-on-labor-in-industrial-society-to-judge-peter-grosscup-september-1894.php</p> <p>Grosscup, Peter.S. (Nov/Dec, 1905). The corporation problem and the lawyer’s part in its solution. <i>American Law Review</i>, 39(6), 835-852.</p> <p>Judicial Press Office. (2016). History of court dress. <i>Courts and Tribunals Judiciary</i> (U.K.). Retrieved from https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/about-the-judiciary/the-justice-system/history/ May 14, 2016.</p> <p>“mountebank, n.” <i>OED Online</i>. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 3 September 2016. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/view/Entry/122915?redirectedFrom=mountbank#eid</p> <p>Murphey, W. (2013). Theodore Roosevelt and the Bureau of Corporation: Executive-Corporate cooperation and the advancement of the regulatory state. <i>American Nineteenth Century History</i>, 14(1), 73-111. Retrieved May 14, 2016, from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14664658.2013.774983</p>				

Cartoon #: C003.APR.0219.1910		From Front Page #: FP008	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/16/2016; 04/23/2016; 05/14/2016; 07/09/2016	
Issue Information: Date: February 19, 1910 Number: 742			
# Subscribers: 352,871 (as of February 5, 1910)		# Printed: 509,150 (February 12, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks-- Will they be Impeached?			
<p>O'Connor, Sandra Day. (2013, November). Justice Sandra Day O'Connor on Why Judges Wear Black Robes. <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i>. Retrieved May 14, 2016 from http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/justice-sandra-day-oconnor-on-why-judges-wear-black-robos-4370574/#M4ECwyAZSJ8mvVUM.99</p> <p>Otty, Nick. (1995). Theatre of the oppressed: Cultural action for freedom: Boal, Freire, and the "Major Pedagogy" of Brecht in the context of higher education. <i>Contemporary Theatre Review</i>, 3(1), 87-100.</p> <p>Sterling, D.L. (1986). The federal government vs. the Appeal to Reason. <i>Kansas History</i>, 31-42.</p> <p>United Press International. (July 22, 1908). U.S. appeals court overturns \$29 million fine imposed on Standard Oil. <i>UPI Archives</i>. Retrieved May 14, 2016 from http://www.upi.com/Archives/1908/07/22/US-appeals-court-overturns-29-million-fine-imposed-on-Standard-Oil/4117018313149/</p>			
Internal/External topic (Nord, 1978): [July 9, 2016] External			
<p>Theme (corroborated internally through triangulation of data, if possible):</p> <p>[July 9, 2016] A man identified as Judge Peter Grosscup (main character) sits at his desk in a darkened (tone) U.S. Circuit Court Room (setting), holding a paper referring to a decision to reverse a \$29 million fine. The man has turned in terror (facial expression, posture, hair; characterization) as a larger-than-life hand (proportion), labeled <i>Appeal to Reason</i> index finger extended and pointing at him (plot), intrudes from above. The hand's thumb points down to a pile of papers, each of which refers to some kind of exposure (plot). A barely visible second judge, John C. Pollock, also reacts in fright or terror (plot, character).</p>			
Key themes: Divine accusation; legal system corrupted by big business; press as exposor of corruption			
<p>4- Levels of Frames (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011):</p> <p>Denotative: [July 9, 2016] Judge sitting at desk in darkened court room holding decision to reverse a fine; hand with pointing finger (<i>Appeal to Reason</i>) extended toward judge and extended thumb pointing toward pile of papers (exposure)</p> <p>Stylistic: [July 9, 2016] Contrast between darkened courtroom and light extending from finger to Grosscup and light extending from thumb to pile of papers; curve from extended thumb pointing toward pile of papers labeled "Exposure" to extended thumb pointing toward Grosscup; wavy hair vs. straight ones at back of head</p> <p>Connotative (look for labels <i>symbolism</i> and <i>suggests comments</i>): [July 9, 2016] The oversized hand descending from above suggests God's hand reaching down from heaven, in this case to "point the finger" accusingly at a man whose immoral character and corruption has been exposed by newspaper articles. The hand intrudes from without into the room, suggesting what is hidden is being revealed. The finger sheds light on a man who acts in the dark, suggesting the legal system is darkened by corruption but that the newspaper articles labeled "exposure" have shined the light on the evil. What is not clear is whether the cartoonist is portraying the <i>Appeal to Reason</i> metaphorically as God or merely as a tool of God's justice. The hand from heaven is attached to a wrist extending from the sleeve of a robe. Where robes used to be more common attire because they kept people warm and protected clothing, today (and in the early 20th century) robes are more typically associated with three professions: professors, judges, and clergy. Here, the suggestion is that divine justice ultimately reveals and triumphs over human justice.</p>			
<p>Ideological (how is the cartoonist attempting to "shape the public consciousness and historical imagination" (pp. 57-58): [July 9, 2016] Pointing finger: The phrase translated as "finger of God" appears four times in English-language Bibles. In Exodus 31: 18 and Deuteronomy 31:18, the phrase describes how God wrote the Ten Commandments on the tablets of stone. In Exodus 8:19 and in Luke 11:20, the phrase is used to indicate God's revealing of and consequent disposing of evil (hardness of Pharaoh's heart) through the plagues and through Jesus' casting out of demons/devils. Additionally, chapter 5 of the Book of Daniel describes a hand appearing at a feast thrown by the Babylonian king Belshazzar, at which he is drinking from the Temple vessels, and writing an accusatory message on the wall. Dark/Light: A number of Biblical passages compare evil to darkness and goodness to light. Most familiar, because of its connection to the more widely known John 3:16, is John 3:19-20: "19 This is the verdict: Light has come into the world, but people loved darkness instead of light because their deeds were evil. 20 Everyone who does evil hates the light, and will not come into the light for fear that their deeds will be exposed." (New International Version). Notice the words <i>verdict</i> and <i>exposed</i>, and their connections to the cartoon. Other translations use, in place of <i>verdict</i>, the words <i>judgment</i> or <i>condemnation</i>. The light of exposure shined on Grosscup and Polluck is linked to the light shined on the means of exposure, the</p>			

Cartoon #: C003.APR.0219.1910		From Front Page #: FP008	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/16/2016; 04/23/2016; 05/14/2016; 07/09/2016	
Issue Information: Date: February 19, 1910		Number: 742	
# Subscribers: 352,871 (as of February 5, 1910)		# Printed: 509,150 (February 12, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Right: A Brace of Judicial Mountebanks-- Will they be Impeached?			
<p>newspapers.</p> <p>Readers of the day, more familiar with Biblical stories and passages [CITE?], likely would connect these allusions to what is implied in the cartoon. The cartoonist thus attempts to "shape the public consciousness" by casting the American judicial system in the role of evil-doer who will ultimately be exposed by divine justice in the form of—or through the use of—the <i>Appeal to Reason</i>. The cartoonist both appeals to "historical imagination" by alluding to Biblical times and tales and attempts to shape the historical imagination by modernizing the characters involved.</p> <p>What isn't discussed? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented? [July 9, 2016] Not discussed or depicted is the basis for the three-man court's (Grosscup, Baker, and Seaman) decision to "set aside" the \$29,240,000 fine imposed on Standard Oil. The UPI article referenced above indicates the wrong corporation had been indicted. Grosscup, as senior federal judge, issued the decision. Also not discussed or depicted is the extent to which the previous "exposures" were true.</p>			
<p>Process/Observation Notes [for use in making observations and/or changes in the collection process and/or protocol itself]:</p> <p>04/27/15: This front page contained two headlines of somewhat equal weight. One appeared over two columns at the upper left of the front page; the other appeared over three columns (two occupied by the cartoon, one by text) at the upper right of the front page. Both had a headline and a sub-headline. The one at the upper right, however, was split in two. The main headline "Marching On To Washington" (in quotation marks) appeared at the top of the three columns. What appeared to be a secondary headline and sub-headline (People Believe In Freedom of Press: ...Rates) appeared below the cartoon. Problem/Solution: I need to define more clearly what constitutes a "main headline" and "other headline. In the first cartoon analyzed, I ignored headings above single-columns, terming them "column headings." This time, I felt I should include them under "Other Headlines." However, the point of this study is to analyze the cartoons, not the paper as a whole. So, I am revising the protocol. What formerly was labeled "Main Article Headline" will become "Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon." "Other Headlines" will become "Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns," indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.</p> <p>07/31/15: In resolving the issue regarding how to track each of the front pages observed and to explain which front page drawings were included or, more importantly, excluded, I created a separate form to list the information for each front page of the <i>Appeal to Reason</i>. I have requested the microfilm again (and have been notified that at least part of the film has arrived), so I can scan each front page in full instead of trying to piece them together from scans of several partial pages. The front page forms will be labeled FP001 with the date and the cartoon forms will be labeled C001 with the date.</p> <p>Because I now am using two separate forms, today I rearranged this form. I added a line at the top to indicate the cartoon number and the front page file number to which it corresponds. Because the "Inclusion Criteria Present" line was moot, given the front page form, I deleted that line from the cartoon form. This form is now a new iteration of the cartoon protocol. I also will go back to the first cartoon and change the protocol accordingly.</p> <p>04/23/16: I inserted the image of the cartoon into the form (see front page), mostly as a response to a suggestion from my committee. Their thought was that it would help readers to have the image attached to the analysis. Additionally, they had questioned 1) how I was deciding the order of my narrative description of the cartoon and 2) how I was determining that my narrative description was complete and comprehensive. In other words, had I included all the elements of the cartoon in my description and had I included all the elements of the elements (such as the screw on the cannon in the first cartoon). I had thought of trying to physically mark off the elements on a paper copy, but then I would be left with scanning and including a marked-up copy. Instead, I wondered if it wouldn't be better to insert the cartoon within the form and leave it open to readers to question what, if anything had been missed. I began experimenting with this in the form I used to explain what I was NOT including in the</p>			

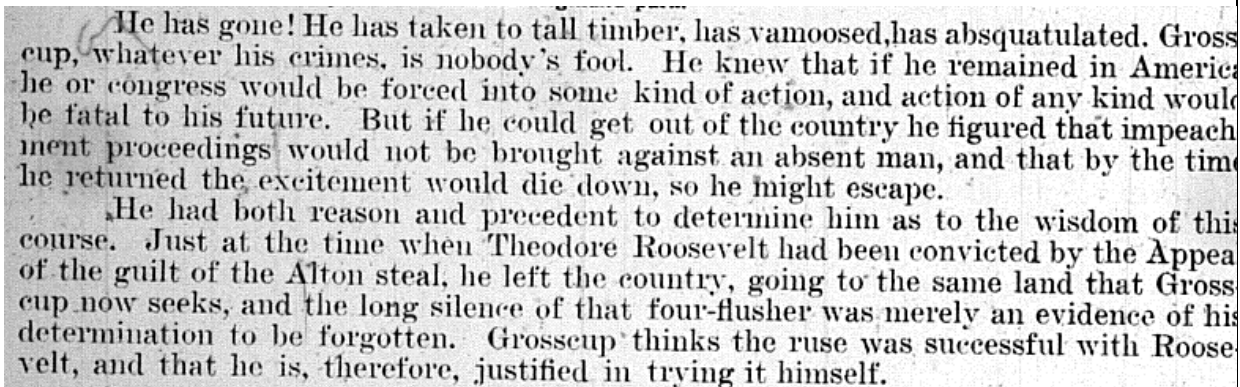
Cartoon #: C003.APR.0219.1910		From Front Page #: FP008		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 04/16/2016; 04/23/2016; 05/14/2016; 07/09/2016		
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study, and added the cartoon to C003.APR.0219.190. If I decide to continue with this, I will go back and add the cartoon to C001 and C002.				
<p>04/23/16: In describing this cartoon, I find myself simulating Grosscup's movements—putting myself into his position to determine right and left hands/arms, holding and letting go of something, half-turning in my seat to determine arm movement. I not only am mentally placing myself in the role of the author but also am placing myself physically in the role of the character. I did not have to do this with the two previous cartoons, as they involved more static scenes. Note also the mention of implied preceding and succeeding panels—also noted in the two previous cartoons described.</p>				
<p>[Added 07/21/15] Connections to other cartoons</p> <p>Cartoon 01 depicted the government used military warfare imagery to depict an attack on the <i>Appeal</i> through raising postage rates on 2nd class mail. By contrast, Cartoon 02 shows citizens responding peacefully through a letter-writing campaign.</p> <p>Cartoon 01 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a weapon firing truth shells against an oligarchy. Cartoon 03 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a tool of divine justice shedding light on evildoers. [July 9, 2016]</p>				

Appendix F: Data Collection Sheet / Version 4

Cartoon #: C004.APR.0226.1910		From Front Page #: FP009		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 07/09/2016; 07/10/2016; 07/16/2016		
Issue Information:		Date: February 26, 1910	Number: 743	
# Subscribers: 357,861 (as of February 12, 1910)		# Printed: 442,900 (February 19, 1910)		
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	Eugene V. Debs	Charles Lincoln Phifer
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Left: GROSSCUP TAKES TO TALL TIMBER / Phillipa "Retires" to Avoid Impeachment – First Blood in a Battle That Has Only Begun.				
Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Right: DEBS SETTING THE EAST AFLAME / Remarkable Series of Meetings – He is in Pennsylvania Now ; Lower Left: IT IS SOMEBODY'S MOVE				
Placement of Cartoon (Upper Right, Upper Left, Lower Right, Lower Left, Center): Upper Left				
Copyright/Reprint Information: None				
Cartoonist: Savage			Number of Panels: One	
Cartoon Title: Grosscup Takes to Tall Timber... assumed title (see notes at end)				
Caption(s): None				
		<p>Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [July 9, 2016] The central figure in this cartoon is a man, labeled Grosscup **main character**, shown in mid-stride and walking away from a hand reaching into the left side of the frame and holding a newspaper identified as <i>Appeal to Reason</i>, Girard, Kansas **character, plot**. Below the newspaper, the outlined letters U.S. **typography** imply Grosscup is walking away from the United States and that the Appeal speaks for the nation. Signs in the lower left, behind and below Grosscup, and just ahead of him, say "To Africa". The signs are low to the ground, horizontal, and appear fastened to upright wooden stakes embedded in the ground. The ends of the signs that point in the direction Grosscup is running are shaped like hands with index fingers extended as though pointing the way forward **anthropomorphism**. The thumbs of the hands are raised in a "thumbs up" gesture, suggesting—perhaps—"good riddance" **plot, symbolism**.</p>		
<p>Description (Cont'd): Grosscup appears to be in a hurry. His stride is long, his split coattails flap behind him, and his top hat has flown off. Although his body faces forward, his neck swivels back, and he looks over his right shoulder at the newspaper, the headlines of which read "GROSSCUP THE HOME-BREAKER, BRIBE-TAKER, TRACTION LOOTER EMBEZZLER" **conflict, plot**. His wide eyes have a slight bulge to them, the eyebrows are raised, and his long nose points toward his lips set in a not-quite-frown **characterization**. Is he in a hurry to leave or to arrive? [September 3, 2016] The words in the speech bubble positioned behind him suggest he is in a hurry to leave, having been driven out of the U.S. by the <i>Appeal's</i> charges. [July 10, 2016] His checkered trousers, flared at the ankles **characterization**, recall the black-and-white plaid Scotch ulster coat worn by Nellie Bly in her round-the-world journey **allusion**, and he wears a pair of sturdy walking shoes. [September 3, 2016] In his right hand, he carries a small travel case labeled with the letters PSG (initials for Peter S. Grosscup). **prop, costume** [July 10, 2016] In addition to the signs pointing the way to Africa, a trail of shoe prints beginning at the center bottom frame and curving through the lower right quadrant end at an inset circular frame containing a number of animals identified with Africa. Each of the shoe prints bears the</p>				

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Issue Information:		Date: February 26, 1910	Number: 743	
# Subscribers: 357,861 (as of February 12, 1910)		# Printed: 442,900 (February 19, 1910)		
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	Eugene V. Debs	Charles Lincoln Phiifer
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<p>initials T.R. and the words “Teddy’s Trail” and an arrow pointing to the shoeprints suggests Grosscup is following in Theodore Roosevelt’s steps in his journey. [August 1, 2016] In the upper right quadrant, enclosed in a circle—perhaps as though seen through a telescope **perspective, staging**--are five animals indigenous to parts of Africa **characters, setting**. Moving clockwise from the top are a monkey, perched on a tree branch, a lion, a hippopotamus, a lion, and an elephant. Although the monkey and the lion face sideways to the reader, compared with the more forward facing hippo and elephant, all seem to look at Grosscup with varying degrees of consternation **line, emotion, characterization, plot, conflict**. The lion’s mane stands almost straight up—reminiscent of Grosscup’s hair in the previous week’s cartoon. A single speech bubble in the center with lines leading to the speech bubble from each of the four animals suggests they speak with one voice, saying “Hey! We object.”</p> <p>**anthropomorphism** The fifth animal, at the 11 o’clock position of the circle, is a spotted snake with forked tongue, wound around the trunk of the tree. He speaks separately, but the words are unintelligible. Given the connotation of the forked tongue and that of the snake as a sly deceiver **allusion, character** and the <i>Appeal</i>’s opinion of Grosscup as a “mountebank” (headline from previous week), it seems possible that the snake could be welcoming Grosscup as a fellow charlatan and possible <u>snake-oil salesman</u>. [September 3, 2016] Grosscup is not highlighted with whitespace but is surrounded by a dark, cloud created with diagonal lines. **line, contrast, shading, symbolism** At the front and back of Grosscup’s left foot, which bears his weight, crosshatched sections suggest either that he is kicking up dirt as he goes and/or that he is leaving dirty footprints in his wake.</p>				
<p>Labels with description of what is being labeled: [July 16, 2016]</p> <p>Upper left: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> / Girard, Kansas ‘GROSSCUP THE HOME-BREAKER, BRIBE-TAKER, TRACTION LOOTER EMBEZZLER MAN-SLAYER’ – on newspaper extended from left frame; GROSSCUP – on scarf (?) worn by Grosscup</p> <p>Upper right: AFRICA – tacked to tree trunk in inset with animals</p> <p>Lower left: U. S. – on “ground” under the newspaper; TO AFRICA – on sign in lower left corner; T.R. – barely distinguishable in one shoeprint extending from bottom frame</p> <p>Lower right: [August 2, 2016] The cartoonist’s signature, T.R. on each shoeprint in the area; TEDDY’S TRAIL with an arrow pointing to the shoeprints, TO AFRICA on sign just under the circle holding the animals; what looks like the initials PSG on the small traveling case Grosscup carries in his right hand. Other, unintelligible writing seems to be below the P & G.</p>				
<p>Speech bubble text with description of who is speaking and to whom: [July 16, 2016]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spoken by Grosscup to reader: “ID’ RATHER TAKE MY CHANCES IN THE WILDS OF AFRICA THAN IN THE U.S. WITH THE APPEAL TO REASON.” Spoken by the elephant, the hippo, the lion, and the monkey as one voice to the reader: HEY! WE OBJECT Spoken by the snake: Unintelligible 				
<p>Explanation of highlighted words/phrases:</p> <p>[July 9, 2016] Checkered trousers/Nellie Bly: http://www.fodors.com/news/the-woman-who-went-around-the-world-in-80-daysin-1888-6549 Notice the plaid in Nellie Bly’s traveling coat. See also the costuming typically used for the character of Professor Harold Hill, a traveling salesman and charlatan, in <i>The Music Man</i>, which was set in the very early 1900s. While not definitive, this pattern suggests traveling wear and especially the kind of travel associated with scammers and sensationalists.</p>				
<p>[September 3, 2016] Theodore Roosevelt’s steps to Africa:</p> <p>http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Blog/2012/April/27-Gone-on-Safari-Back-in-a-Year.aspx</p> <p>On March 23, 1909, TR left New York for a year-long Smithsonian–Roosevelt <i>African Expedition</i>, which was outfitted by the Smithsonian for the purpose of adding to their collection and understanding of African wildlife. TR had declined to run for reelection in 1908, and he left as soon as the new president (Taft) was inaugurated. The animals could be expressing their disdain for TR as a politician or for his purpose in coming to hunt and kill them. See also this video of the safari – from 1909!: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJ_QeeHHEZw</p>				

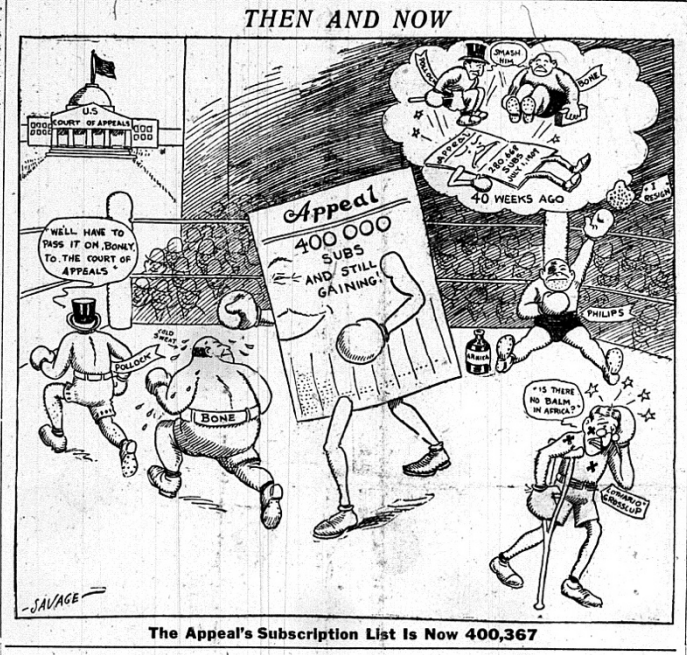
Cartoon #: C004.APR.0226.1910		From Front Page #: FP009		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 07/09/2016; 07/10/2016; 07/16/2016		
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Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Left: GROSSCUP TAKES TO TALL TIMBER / Phillipa “Retires” to Avoid Impeachment – First Blood in a Battle That Has Only Begun.				
<p>[September 3, 2016] Forked Tongue/Snake as sly deceiver: Genesis 3 speaks of the snake/serpent as lying to Eve to convince her to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and many paintings depict the scene with the snake wound around the trunk of the tree. The forked tongue of the snake carries with it the connotations of speaking out of both sides of one’s mouth (double-talk), of saying one thing and meaning another, or of saying one thing to one person and the opposite to someone else. Scientists suggest the snake’s forked tongue contain chemical sensors which allow the snake to track more accurately (two instead of one) and “are always associated with a wide searching mode of foraging” (Schwenk, 1994, par. 1): http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17744784</p> <p>[September 3, 2016] Snake-oil salesman: The phrase refers to 19th century peddlers of false cures or fraudulent hawkers (see term <i>mountebank</i> from previous week). Interestingly, this NPR article suggests that real snake oil from a kind of snake found in China actually had medicinal benefits and the Chinese people who brought the oil here were not selling fake medicine. But non-Chinese people here tried to replicate it using the wrong kind of snakes—or no snakes at all—and it didn’t work. Look at 19th century ads to see all sorts of remedies being hawked in a day before the Food and Drug Administration regulated the industry. http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/26/215761377/a-history-of-snake-oil-salesmen</p> <p>Gandi, Lakshmi. (August 26, 2013). A History of ‘Snake Oil Salesmen.’ <i>NPR: Code Switch: Race and Identity, Remixed</i>. Retrieved September 3, 2016, from http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/26/215761377/a-history-of-snake-oil-salesmen</p> <p>Goodman, Matthew. (March 8, 2013). The woman who went around the world in 80 days . . . in 1889. <i>Fodor’s Travel>Trip Ideas</i>. Retrieved July 9, 2016 from http://www.fodors.com/news/the-woman-who-went-around-the-world-in-80-days-in-1888-6549</p> <p>Schwenk, K. (March 18, 1994). Why snakes have forked tongues. <i>Science</i>, 263(5153), 1573-7. Retrieved September 3, 2016, from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17744784</p> <p>Thomas, Krystal. (April 27, 2012). “Gone on Safari. Be back in a year.” Theodore Roosevelt Center at Lincoln State University. Retrieved September 3, 2016 from http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Blog/2012/April/27-Gone-on-Safari-Back-in-a-Year.aspx</p>				
Internal/External topic (Nord, 1978): [July 9, 2016] External				
<p>Theme (corroborated internally through triangulation of data, if possible): [September 3, 2016] “Encouraged” by headlines in the <i>Appeal to Reason</i> (character, conflict) charging him with everything from embezzlement to murder (plot, conflict), Judge Grosscup (character) – in the garb of a traveler or, possibly, traveling charlatan/snake oil salesman (costume, characterization) appears to be skipping out of town/the nation (movement, setting) under a cloud of aspersion (line, contrast, symbolism) and either kicking up dirt or leaving dirt behind (line, contrast, symbolism). Ostensibly hurrying to Africa on vacation, Grosscup’s flying hat and look back suggests he is spurred on by the <i>Appeal</i>’s allegations, just as Theodore Roosevelt was. However, he does not seem destined to receive a warm welcome from the animals (characters) native to the continent—except, perhaps, by the snake wound around the tree and speaking with forked tongue (allusion, character).</p> <p>Key themes: Press as exposé of corruption and as provoker to action; judge on the run; good/evil</p>				
<p>4- Levels of Frames (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011): Denotative: [September 3, 2016] Man (Judge Grosscup) hurrying toward Africa and away from U.S.; hand holding newspaper (<i>Appeal to Reason</i>) with accusatory headlines extended toward judge (exposure) Stylistic: [September 3, 2016] Contrast between darkened area around Grosscup and light elsewhere; flying hat, backward look of fear; anthropomorphized animals and signs; hand reaching in through cartoon frame and holding newspaper Connotative (look for labels <i>symbolism</i> and <i>suggests comments</i>): [September 3, 2016] The hand holding the paper with the accusing headlines reaches into the frame, suggesting the man running away from them can run but he can’t hide—like the cloud surrounding him, accusations of his misdeeds will follow him wherever he</p>				

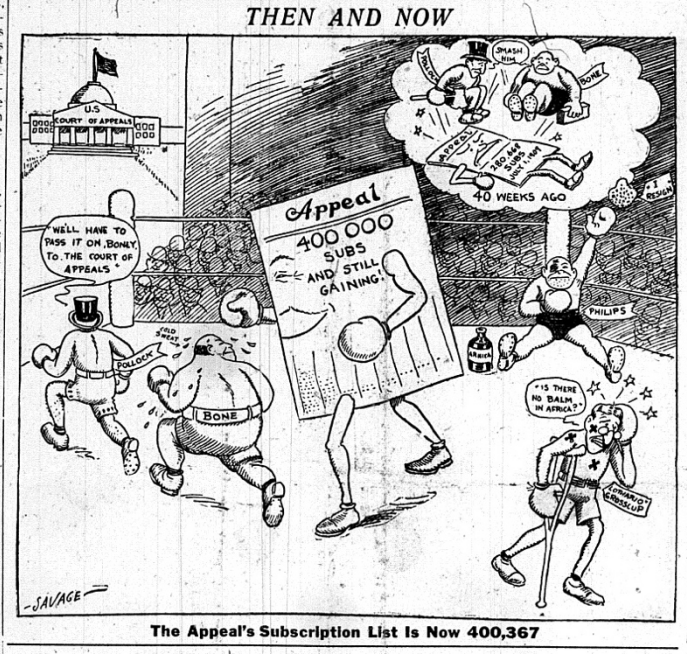
Cartoon #: C004.APR.0226.1910		From Front Page #: FP009		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 07/09/2016; 07/10/2016; 07/16/2016		
Issue Information:		Date: February 26, 1910	Number: 743	
# Subscribers: 357,861 (as of February 12, 1910)		# Printed: 442,900 (February 19, 1910)		
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	Eugene V. Debs	Charles Lincoln Phifer
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Left: GROSSCUP TAKES TO TALL TIMBER / Phillipa "Retires" to Avoid Impeachment – First Blood in a Battle That Has Only Begun.				
<p>goes. At the same time, the signs suggest "good riddance" to him and his kind, that is, other politicians (like Teddy Roosevelt) who try to run away from the mess they have left behind only to kick up and track dirt wherever they go. Although the snake's words are not legible, the fact that the snake wound around the tree speaks separately from the other animals—who aren't happy that the man is headed toward them—suggests he speaks a different message and may be welcoming a fellow deceiver or that maybe the mountebank sells snake oil. It's also possible that the snake thinks Grosscup is lower than low and that the snake doesn't want Grosscup to come to Africa, either.</p> <p>Ideological (how is the cartoonist attempting to "shape the public consciousness and historical imagination" (pp. 57-58): [September 3, 2016] Snakes and snake-oil salesmen: Genesis 3 begins "Now the serpent was more crafty than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made" (NIV) and proceeds to tell how the serpent first caused the woman to question what God had told her and then lied to her about what would happen. Finally, he called into question God's motives in telling her she must not eat from the tree in the center of the garden, turning the reason from one of protecting the man and woman from death to hoarding power. Similarly, snake-oil salesmen, and other mountebanks, were seen as deceiving a trusting public with false cures and false promises. Politicians and the judges who were seen as being in league with politicians often were seen as promising voters one thing and delivering another. Note this passage from the article nearest the cartoon:</p>				
 <p>He has gone! He has taken to tall timber, has vamoosed, has absquatulated. Grosscup, whatever his crimes, is nobody's fool. He knew that if he remained in America he or congress would be forced into some kind of action, and action of any kind would be fatal to his future. But if he could get out of the country he figured that impeachment proceedings would not be brought against an absent man, and that by the time he returned the excitement would die down, so he might escape.</p> <p>He had both reason and precedent to determine him as to the wisdom of this course. Just at the time when Theodore Roosevelt had been convicted by the Appeal of the guilt of the Alton steal, he left the country, going to the same land that Grosscup now seeks, and the long silence of that four-flusher was merely an evidence of his determination to be forgotten. Grossecup thinks the ruse was successful with Roosevelt, and that he is, therefore, justified in trying it himself.</p>				
<p>I'm not sure what the reference to "the Alton steal" is, although one of the Democrats who declined the nomination for the 1908 election was a Federal judge named Alton B. Parker. William Jennings Bryan ended up being the Democratic candidate who lost to William Howard Taft. Roosevelt had declined a third term (he had been VP under McKinley who was assassinated in 1901 by an anarchist, then had been elected in his own right in 1904). The 1908 election was Eugene Debs' third appearance as the Socialist candidate. A "four-flusher" is someone who has four cards of the same suit in his five-card hand and tries to bluff his/her way to victory.</p> <p>http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2015/11/four-flusher/</p>				
<p>The cartoonist attempts to "shape the public consciousness" by casting the <i>Appeal to Reason</i> as the conscience of the nation that is not afraid to confront public officials with their misdeeds. The cartoonist both appeals to and attempts to shape "historical imagination" by alluding to contemporary culture such as Roosevelt's African safari and, possibly traveling salesman and—less likely, but still possible—the exploits of Nellie Bly and other world travelers.</p>				
<p>What isn't discussed? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented? [September 3, 2016] Not discussed or depicted is whether the allegations, including whether he actually was leaving because of them or whether he was just taking a vacation, were true. We don't know the extent of the <i>Appeal's</i> influence—we are asked to take the <i>Appeal's</i> own word that it had sufficient clout to strike fear into the heart of a federal judge.</p>				
Process/Observation Notes [for use in making observations and/or changes in the collection process and/or protocol itself]:				

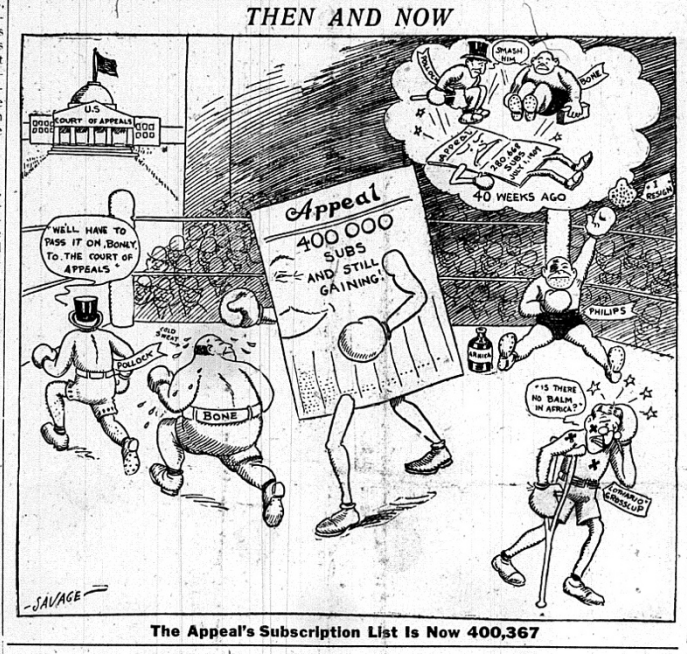
Cartoon #: Coo4.APR.0226.1910		From Front Page #: FP009		
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 07/09/2016; 07/10/2016; 07/16/2016		
Issue Information:		Date: February 26, 1910	Number: 743	
# Subscribers: 357,861 (as of February 12, 1910)		# Printed: 442,900 (February 19, 1910)		
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	Eugene V. Debs	Charles Lincoln Phiher
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Left: GROSSCUP TAKES TO TALL TIMBER / Phillipa “Retires” to Avoid Impeachment – First Blood in a Battle That Has Only Begun.				
<p>04/27/15: This front page contained two headlines of somewhat equal weight. One appeared over two columns at the upper left of the front page; the other appeared over three columns (two occupied by the cartoon, one by text) at the upper right of the front page. Both had a headline and a sub-headline. The one at the upper right, however, was split in two. The main headline “Marching On To Washington” (in quotation marks) appeared at the top of the three columns. What appeared to be a secondary headline and sub-headline (People Believe In Freedom of Press: ...Rates) appeared below the cartoon. Problem/Solution: I need to define more clearly what constitutes a “main headline” and “other headline. In the first cartoon analyzed, I ignored headings above single-columns, terming them “column headings.” This time, I felt I should include them under “Other Headlines.” However, the point of this study is to analyze the cartoons, not the paper as a whole. So, I am revising the protocol. What formerly was labeled “Main Article Headline” will become “Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon.” “Other Headlines” will become “Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns,” indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.</p> <p>07/31/15: In resolving the issue regarding how to track each of the front pages observed and to explain which front page drawings were included or, more importantly, excluded, I created a separate form to list the information for each front page of the <i>Appeal to Reason</i>. I have requested the microfilm again (and have been notified that at least part of the film has arrived), so I can scan each front page in full instead of trying to piece them together from scans of several partial pages. The front page forms will be labeled FP001 with the date and the cartoon forms will be labeled Coo1 with the date.</p> <p>Because I now am using two separate forms, today I rearranged this form. I added a line at the top to indicate the cartoon number and the front page file number to which it corresponds. Because the “Inclusion Criteria Present” line was moot, given the front page form, I deleted that line from the cartoon form. This form is now a new iteration of the cartoon protocol. I also will go back to the first cartoon and change the protocol accordingly.</p> <p>04/23/16: I inserted the image of the cartoon into the form (see front page), mostly as a response to a suggestion from my committee. Their thought was that it would help readers to have the image attached to the analysis. Additionally, they had questioned 1) how I was deciding the order of my narrative description of the cartoon and 2) how I was determining that my narrative description was complete and comprehensive. In other words, had I included all the elements of the cartoon in my description and had I included all the elements of the elements (such as the screw on the cannon in the first cartoon). I had thought of trying to physically mark off the elements on a paper copy, but then I would be left with scanning and including a marked-up copy. Instead, I wondered if it wouldn't be better to insert the cartoon within the form and leave it open to readers to question what, if anything had been missed. I began experimenting with this in the form I used to explain what I was NOT including in the study, and added the cartoon to Coo3.APR.0219.190. If I decide to continue with this, I will go back and add the cartoon to Coo1 and Coo2.</p> <p>04/23/16: In describing this cartoon, I find myself simulating Grosscup's movements—putting myself into his position to determine right and left hands/arms, holding and letting go of something, half-turning in my seat to determine arm movement. I not only am mentally placing myself in the role of the author but also am placing myself physically in the role of the character. I did not have to do this with the two previous cartoons, as they involved more static scenes. Note also the mention of implied preceding and succeeding panels—also noted in the two previous cartoons described.</p>				
[Section Added 07/21/15] Connections to other cartoons				
<p>[09/03/16] Cartoon 04, which shows the Appeal as the impetus for Grosscup's departure, seems to directly follow Cartoon 03, which showed the Appeal pointing an accusing finger at Grosscup.</p> <p>[07/21/15] Cartoon 01 depicted the government used military warfare imagery to depict an attack on the <i>Appeal</i> through raising postage rates on 2nd class mail. By contrast, Cartoon 02 shows citizens responding peacefully through a letter-writing campaign.</p>				

Cartoon #: C004.APR.0226.1910		From Front Page #: FP009		
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Cartoon 01 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a weapon firing truth shells against an oligarchy. Cartoon 03 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a tool of divine justice shedding light on evildoers. [July 9, 2016] Cartoon 04 shows the <i>Appeal</i> as a tool of cleansing, causing the evildoer to leave the country. [September 3, 2016]				

Appendix G: Data Collection Sheet / Version 5

Cartoon #: C005.APR.0416.1910		From Front Page #: FP016	
Name of Paper: <i>Appeal to Reason</i> .		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 10/16/16	
Issue Information: Date: April 16, 1910 Number: 750		# Subscribers: 400,367 (as of April 2, 1910) # Printed: 457,800 (April 9, 1910)	
Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon: Top Centered (Article begins at leftmost column): AFFIDAVIT PROVING GROSSCUP'S CRIME			
 <p>The Appeal's Subscription List Is Now 400,367</p>		Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Center: WARREN AT ST. PAUL MAY 9 TH Top Right: Law Journal Demands that Grosscup Act Middle Right: Milwaukee Captured by Socialists Bottom Center: Proof of Grosscup's Crime	
		Placement of Cartoon (UR, UL, LR, LL, C): Center	
		Copyright/Reprint Information: None	
		Cartoonist: Savage	
		Number of Panels: One	
		Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW	
<p>Description (In any order and describing the cartoon in terms of both visual and verbal narrative and stylistic choices with some attention to connotations): [October 16, 2016] In the center of a boxing ring **setting, metaphor**, a smiling <i>Appeal</i>, anthropomorphized into a boxer **main character, characterization**, puts two opponents ([August 16, 2020] labeled Pollock, wearing a top hat, shorts, shoes/socks, and boxing gloves, and Bone, wearing belted shorts, shoes/socks, and with drops of cold sweat [labeled] flying off of him) to flight—toward, in the upper left, a domed building with a columned portico and flying a flag (labeled U.S. Court of Appeals) -- while a third (labeled Philips), who appears to have a blackened right eye and is sprawled against a corner post and with a jug labeled something unreadable, throws up the sponge (labeled "I resign") **metaphor**. A fourth (labeled Lothario Grosscup) limps off with the aid of a crutch in the opposite direction **plot, conflict, characters, symbolism**. The title of the cartoon, THEN AND NOW, mirrors the **layout** of the cartoon with, in the upper right, a cloud containing a scene labeled "40 Weeks Ago" representing the past (THEN) and the main scene representing the present (NOW). The word "Now" in the caption below the frame further confirms the contrast **tenses, passage of time** between then and now. [December 3, 2018; August 16, 2020; September 12, 2020] Within the scene representing the 40-weeks-</p>		<p>Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>	
		<p>[Section added November 27, 2018; modified August 15, 2020] Cross-modal responses (In any order and including both sensory responses and my own wonderings and thought processes.): [November 29, 2018; revised August 16, 2020] <i>ambient rumbling of crowd egging fighters on [and cheering who?...] bell's harsh clang-clang [but no bell pictured] ... end of end of round, end of fight ... Howard Cosell calls action "chases the last two out of the ring as a third hobbles off and the fourth is down for the count" [or is it me channeling Cosell?] ... black-and-white grainy TV images ... Olympics? title matches? where's the ref? ... replay</i></p>	

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		Placement of Cartoon (UR, UL, LR, LL, C): Center	
		Copyright/Reprint Information: None	
		Cartoonist: Savage	
		Number of Panels: One	
		Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW	
		Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367	
ago past, a frowning <i>Appeal</i> lies face-up on the mat, brows drawn together, while <i>Pollock</i> and <i>Bone</i> are suspended in the air, both feet ready to land on <i>Appeal</i> . <i>Pollock</i> holds a hatchet in his right hand and <i>Bone</i> holds a brick in his left. "Smash him," reads a speech bubble between the two and linked to both. A couple of stars near <i>Appeal</i> 's head, another near his hip area, and a few slash lines emanating from other parts of his body **graphics** , suggest <i>Appeal</i> has already been stomped on or injured.		previous bout... "it was 40 weeks ago, folks, when these fighters last met"...	
Labels with description of what is being labeled: [October 16, 2016] Upper left: U.S. Court of Appeals – on official looking building with flag on dome; Middle left: Pollock (ribbon label flowing from right side of one of fleeing opponents); Bone (on belt back of second fleeing opponent) Upper right: 40 WEEKS AGO – at bottom of cloud; Pollock (ribbon label on opponent stomping on Appeal); Bone (ribbon label on second opponent stomping on Appeal); [August 16, 2020] Appeal (forehead); 280,688 (chest: top line); Subs (chest: middle line); July 1, 1909 (chest: bottom line) Center: Appeal (forehead); 400,000 (chest: top line); Subs (chest: second line); And Still (chest: third line); Gaining! (chest: fourth line) Center right: Lower right:			
Speech bubble text with description of who is speaking and to whom:			
Explanation of highlighted words/phrases: [September 13-19, 2020] U.S. Court of Appeals, Pollock, Bone: Sterling (1986) traced the ways in which the federal government sought to shut down the appeal, including an outright request, in 1906, by President T. Roosevelt to then Attorney General William H. Moody to either prosecute the editors of the Appeal criminally or to have the			

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<p>THEN AND NOW</p> <p>The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>			
<p>Post Office find a way to legally prevent the <i>Appeal</i> from being distributed through the U.S. mail (p. 32). Both happened, and the criminal case that ensued lasted for several years. Pollock refers to Federal District (Kansas) Judge John C. Pollock and Bone refers to U.S. District Attorney Harry J. Bone. Bone was the prosecutor against <i>Appeal</i> editor Fred Warren and termed the paper “the Appeal to Treason” (p. 34). Pollock, who was the presiding judge, first appeared to support the paper but ultimately sentenced Warren to six months in prison and a \$1500 fine. Warren appealed and, in April 1910, appeared before the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. This cartoon does not reflect Warrens status as victor—that was as yet undetermined—but rather the increase in circulation and influence of the <i>Appeal</i>.</p> <p>Philips: May refer to Judge John F. (Finis) Philips, especially as the label spells Philips with one /l/. Philips was a district judge within the same circuit as Pollock and served from 1888 until his retirement on June 25, 1910.</p> <p>Throws up the sponge. This idiom refers to a boxer or his second conceding defeat. Mark Twain used the term “throw up the sponge” in Chapter 19 of <i>Huckleberry Finn</i> (“Says I to myself, now he’ll throw up the sponge--there ain’t no more use.”), and older references suggest the sponge was just tossed into the air. Later, the sponge or towel was tossed into the center of the ring. Today, the expression is more commonly “throw in the towel.”</p> <p>Lothario Grosscup. See C003 and C004 for information on Grosscup. Lothario</p> <p>Bell. A 1904 book indicates a bell was used (Austin, p. 13).</p> <p>Austin, S.C. (1904). <i>Boxing and how to train</i>. New York, NY: Richard K. Fox</p> <p>Serling, D. L. (1986). The federal government v. The <i>Appeal to Reason</i>. <i>Kansas History</i>, 9(1), 31-42.</p> <p>MLA (Modern Language Assoc.)</p> <p>Twain, Mark. <i>The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn</i>. Vol. Webster’s Thesaurus ed. for PSAT, SAT, GRE, LSAT, GMAT, and AP English Test Preparation, Icon Group International, Inc, 2005.</p> <p>APA (American Psychological Assoc.)</p>			

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Editorial Staff:	J.A. Wayland	Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor	
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<p>THEN AND NOW</p> <p>U.S. COURT OF APPEALS</p> <p>WE'LL HAVE TO PASS IT ON, BONEY TO THE COURT OF APPEALS</p> <p>AND HERE'S THE POLICE</p> <p>40 WEEKS AGO</p> <p>CRASH</p> <p>PHILIPS</p> <p>IS THERE NO BALM IN AFFRICA?</p> <p>GROSSCUP</p> <p>SAVAGE</p> <p>The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>		<p>Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Center: WARREN AT ST. PAUL MAY 9TH Top Right: Law Journal Demands that Grosscup Act Middle Right: Milwaukee Captured by Socialists Bottom Center: Proof of Grosscup's Crime</p> <p>Placement of Cartoon (UR, UL, LR, LL, C): Center</p> <p>Copyright/Reprint Information: None</p> <p>Cartoonist: Savage</p> <p>Number of Panels: One</p> <p>Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW</p> <p>Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>	
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Internal/External topic (Nord, 1978):			
Theme (corroborated internally through triangulation of data, if possible):			
Key themes:			
4- Levels of Frames (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011):			
Denotative:			
Stylistic:			
Connotative (look for labels <i>symbolism</i> and <i>suggests</i> comments):			
Ideological (how is the cartoonist attempting to "shape the public consciousness and historical imagination" (pp. 57-58): [
What isn't discussed? What is the alternate ideological stance not represented?			
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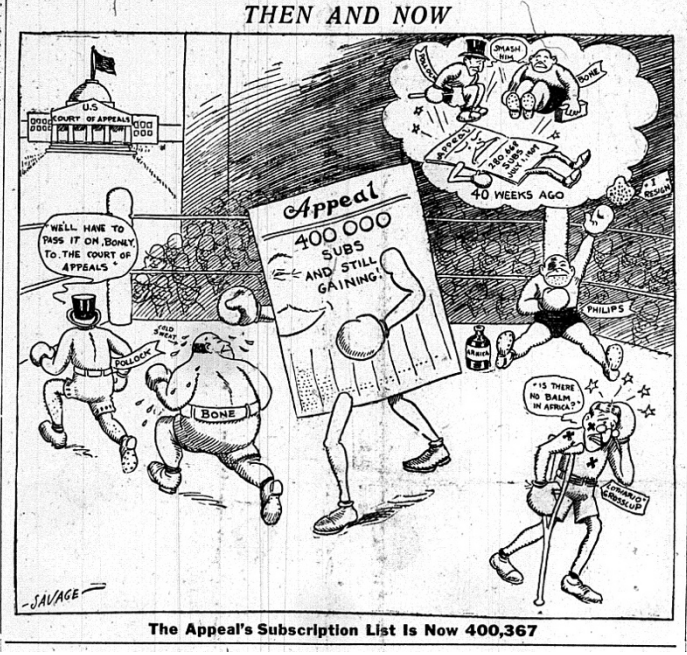
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<p>Then and Now</p> <p>The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>		<p>Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns: Top Center: WARREN AT ST. PAUL MAY 9TH Top Right: Law Journal Demands that Grosscup Act Middle Right: Milwaukee Captured by Socialists Bottom Center: Proof of Grosscup's Crime</p> <p>Placement of Cartoon (UR, UL, LR, LL, C): Center</p> <p>Copyright/Reprint Information: None</p> <p>Cartoonist: Savage</p> <p>Number of Panels: One</p> <p>Cartoon Title: THEN AND NOW</p> <p>Cartoon Caption(s): The Appeal's Subscription List is Now 400,367</p>	

three columns. What appeared to be a secondary headline and sub-headline (People Believe In Freedom of Press: ...Rates) appeared below the cartoon. **Problem/Solution:** I need to define more clearly what constitutes a "main headline" and "other headline. In the first cartoon analyzed, I ignored headings above single-columns, terming them "column headings." This time, I felt I should include them under "Other Headlines." However, the point of this study is to analyze the cartoons, not the paper as a whole. So, I am revising the protocol. What formerly was labeled "Main Article Headline" will become "Headline of Article Most Closely Aligned with Cartoon." "Other Headlines" will become "Other Headlines Spanning Two or More Columns," indicating an attempt on the part of the page designer/editor to capture attention and to attach importance to the article. While the other column headings often are intriguing, they are extraneous to this study ... at this point, at least. I also will go back to the first cartoon studied and reexamine the headlines.

07/31/15: In resolving the issue regarding how to track each of the front pages observed and to explain which front page drawings were included or, more importantly, excluded, I created a separate form to list the information for each front page of the *Appeal to Reason*. I have requested the microfilm again (and have been notified that at least part of the film has arrived), so I can scan each front page in full instead of trying to piece them together from scans of several partial pages. The front page forms will be labeled FP001 with the date and the cartoon forms will be labeled C001 with the date.

Because I now am using two separate forms, today I rearranged this form. I added a line at the top to indicate the cartoon number and the front page file number to which it corresponds. Because the "Inclusion Criteria Present" line was moot, given the front page form, I deleted that line from the cartoon form. **This form is now a new iteration of the cartoon protocol.** I also will go back to the first cartoon and change the protocol accordingly.

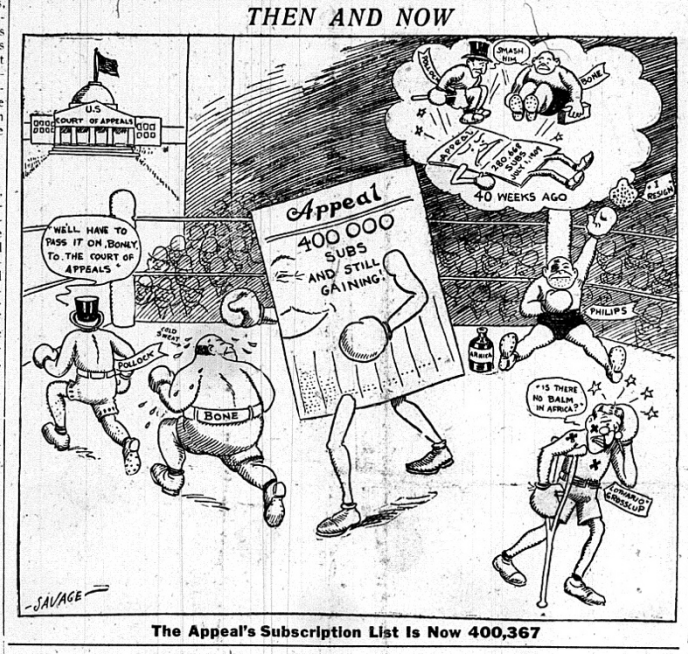
04/23/16: I inserted the image of the cartoon into the form (see front page), mostly as a response to a suggestion from my committee. Their thought was that it would help readers to have the image attached to the analysis. Additionally, they had questioned 1) how I was deciding the order of my narrative description of the cartoon and 2) how I was determining that my narrative description was complete and comprehensive. In other words, had I

Cartoon #: C005.APR.0416.1910		From Front Page #: FP016	
Name of Paper: Appeal to Reason.		Date(s) of initial observation/analysis: 10/16/16	
Issue Information: Date: April 16, 1910 Number: 750			
# Subscribers: 400,367 (as of April 2, 1910)		# Printed: 457,800 (April 9, 1910)	
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included all the elements of the cartoon in my description and had I included all the elements of the elements (such as the screw on the cannon in the first cartoon). I had thought of trying to physically mark off the elements on a paper copy, but then I would be left with scanning and including a marked-up copy. Instead, I wondered if it wouldn't be better to insert the cartoon within the form and leave it open to readers to question what, if anything had been missed. I began experimenting with this in the form I used to explain what I was NOT including in the study, and added the cartoon to C003.APR.0219.190. If I decide to continue with this, I will go back and add the cartoon to C001 and C002.

04/23/16: In describing this cartoon, I find myself simulating Grosscup's movements—putting myself into his position to determine right and left hands/arms, holding and letting go of something, half-turning in my seat to determine arm movement. I not only am mentally placing myself in the role of the author but also am placing myself physically in the role of the character. I did not have to do this with the two previous cartoons, as they involved more static scenes. Note also the mention of implied preceding and succeeding panels—also noted in the two previous cartoons described.

11/15/18: After a two-and-a-half year hiatus from this cartoon and from the other data—during which I revisited the focus of the study, the theoretical underpinnings of the study, and the implications to the methods section for each—I return to the data and to the collection protocol. The focus of the study has shifted from being on the cartoons to being on the person interpreting the cartoons. In an attempt to explain how I know what I say I know about the cartoons, I have incorporated within the theoretical section a discussion of cross-modality. In order to account for cross-modality in my interpretation, I need to make changes to the protocol. The question has been how to do this without making the data more dense than it already is and how to separate the more cognitive description from the cross-modal responses and more emotive/empathic interpretation, while still acknowledging that description itself is an interpretation. I considered using, within one panel, different fonts or different colored fonts to distinguish each, which would—to some extent, at least—give a choreography of the interconnectedness of the me, the text, and the poem (interpretation). However, I am concerned that this method would be difficult to separate for different types of analysis. I also considered a separate block underneath the description (as used in

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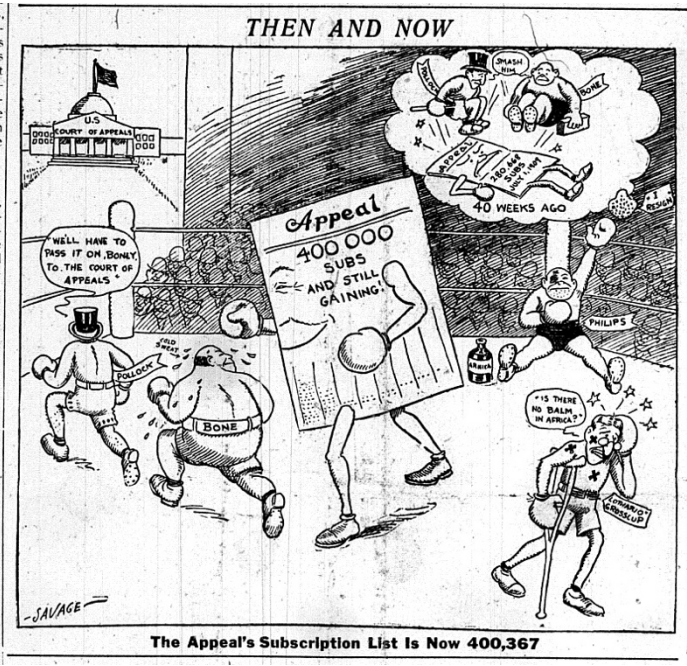
the medical records example), but this layout suggests both that the cognitive description occurs first and that it is somehow ought to be privileged over the other information. For this next iteration, I have decided to try two methods: First, I will use side-by-side columns with the description in one and the cross-modal responses/interpretations in the other. Second, when I present the data, I will try using thought clouds hovering over, and sometimes slightly under, the descriptive data. It is my hope that this will convey visually the idea that the process is not one of discrete steps on a checklist but is an interweaving of myself, all of my experiences, and the text itself.

11/27/18 I also would like to have the cartoon appear on each page, but the header would take up so much space there would be little room left for the actual data collection. In order to resolve this—at least somewhat, I have decided to use a smaller font in the header information, to abbreviate some terms, and to put some of the info alongside the cartoon instead of above it. This also makes it easier to establish the two-column format from the beginning.

[August 16, 2020] After another hiatus from the cartoon itself, during which I described the methodology to this point, I realized the problem with the two parallel columns was one of weight. Because the columns were the same size and because the font was the same type, size, and style, my cross-modal responses (CRM) competed with, rather than informed, the narrativization of the cartoon. To correct this, I have made the CRM area narrower and the font used in the CRM narrative smaller. I also have italicized the CRM font and have used phrases, separated by ellipses, and have enclosed my wonderings in parentheses.

[Section Added 07/21/15] Connections to other cartoons

[09/03/16] Cartoon 04, which shows the Appeal as the impetus for Grosscup's departure, seems to directly follow Cartoon 03, which showed the Appeal pointing an accusing finger at Grosscup.

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[07/21/15] **Cartoon 01** depicted the government used military warfare imagery to depict an attack on the *Appeal* through raising postage rates on 2nd class mail. By contrast, **Cartoon 02** shows citizens responding peacefully through a letter-writing campaign.

Cartoon 01 shows the *Appeal* as a weapon firing truth shells against an oligarchy. **Cartoon 03** shows the *Appeal* as a tool of divine justice shedding light on evildoers. [July 9, 2016] **Cartoon 04** shows the *Appeal* as a tool of cleansing, causing the evildoer to leave the country. [September 3, 2016]