A converging image? Capitalism and the visual identity of alternative and mainstream news sites

Abstract
While largely overlooked in mass communication research, visual imagery is central to how organizations represent, make meaning, create identities, and communicate with the rest of the world (Messaris, 1994). This research explores visual differences between alternative and mainstream news sites along the conceptual categorization of deviance. More deviant groups have historically represented themselves through alternative media with themes of confrontation and challenge, often through violent or sexualized imagery (Ray & Marsh II, 2001). However, that might not still be the case in an online environment where the whole world is watching and the omnipresent ideology of capitalism may influence the commercialism and professionalisation of media messages.
Visual imagery is central to how individuals represent, make meaning, create identities, and communicate with the rest of the world. Like all media outlets, alternative media must attempt to create a visual identity that describes who they are and what their purpose is within the mediated spectrum of content. Situated along a continuum of media, alternative media can be defined as “any media that are produced by non-commercial sources and attempt to transform existing social roles and routines by critiquing and challenging power structures” (Atkinson, 2006, p. 252). The existing social roles and routines that alternative media seek to critique have generally stemmed from capitalism, consumerism, patriarchy, and the nature of corporations. It is this foregrounding in social critique that has historically placed alternative media in diametric opposition to the mainstream press. This opposition allows for an independent ‘alternative communication’ that constructs different social orders, traditions, values and social understandings (Hamilton, 2000). Michael Albert from the independent and “alternative” Z Magazine, wrote “an alternative media institution sees itself as part of a project to establish new ways of organizing media and social activity and it is committed to furthering these as a whole, and not just its own preservation” (Albert, 2006). Most researchers agree that at the most fundamental core, alternative media have aimed to facilitate democratic participation and cultural disruption while the mainstream press avoids such social critique (Makagon, 2000).

Deviance is an important conceptual categorization in differentiating media outlets (Gitlin, 1980). Admittedly, in their effort to change widespread thinking or alter accepted political policies, most alternative media by their very definition, deviate from the norm. Yet, some outlets deviate further from accepted societal values than others. Standards of deviance within media organizations have historically been constructed on loose political grounds. Meaning the further away from moderate centrist views, such as similarity to the majority and the amount of change advocated, the more deviant (Shoemaker, 1984). Organizations can deviate from the mainstream along almost any conceivable axis, such as occupation, sexuality, politics, philosophy, economics or violence.

Extremist organizations, conceptually similar to the categorization of deviance, are said to demonstrate dogmatic intolerance, expressed in varying form, and possess a rigid obedience to an authority that has been shaped by group unity and ideology (Gardner, 1997). There is a
diverse range of rhetoric found in alternative media, moving from the militant to the moderate (Kenix, 2010). More deviant groups have historically represented themselves through direct persuasive imagery that often utilize violence (Ray & Marsh II, 2001) or subversive design techniques, such as instability and fragmentation. In doing so, these groups have challenged design techniques and popular aesthetic conceptions. These challenges stem from the need for those seeking social change to exercise the “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu, 1977) of visual images in the absence of “electoral clout or (in most cases) economic influence” (Conklin, 1997, p. 713). In a modern world dominated by images not words, (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002) alternative media have traditionally had to rely upon direct, emotionally charged imagery to invoke participation and readership. Dramatic visuals are often the result of “heightened inventional requirements” (Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000, p. 121) facing outlets who are desperately searching for public participation, readership and awareness.

Every media organization and media outlet creates their own visual identity – the implicit boundaries where particular information is included and excluded for their readers. This identity is created around shared cultural meanings that “maximize the functionality and aesthetic appeal of the product for consumption in a competitive marketplace” (Cooke, 2005, p. 23). Within developed countries, shared meanings often circulate around an ideology of consumption. In a sense, “consumption is co-created by marketers and consumers” (Sherry, 2002, p. viii). Visual imagery is created to sell something – a product, an idea, an organization – within a culture that is hyper-aware of consumptive cues that induce a commercial exchange.

Previous research has suggested that visual communication is instrumental in the “commodification, corporatization, and formatting of culture…the imperative of modern capitalism (is) to make things visual in order to commodify them” (Julier, 2006, p. 68). This research examines this assertion and explores the accessibility of a professionalized, consumerist aesthetic throughout 100 more ‘normalised’ mainstream and 100 more ‘deviant’ alternative news sites – two locations of meaning that have long been considered to be distinct. The ubiquitously simultaneous and implicit imbrications of power, visual communication, culture and ideology (Darts, 2004) would suggest divergently unique approaches to these different forms of visual communication - unless, of course, there was tacitly very little to differentiate the two.
Visual Identity and Commercialism

As an area of study, visual imagery and design across a range of media has largely gone unnoticed. This is not to say that there is not a body of research examining visual culture (Darts, 2004) as an academic discipline (Julier, 2006), nor important work examining photographic images (Zelizer, 2006). However, much of this work remains largely outside of the more professionally-focused journalism and media academic journals. This is surprising, given that within the research that does exist, there has been a wealth of compelling findings suggesting visual messages have a profound influence on how one thinks about mediated content. For example, research has found that media images of political candidates in newspapers can affect how citizens evaluate a candidate and their voting intentions (Barrett & Barrington, 2005). Visual metaphors have been found to increase the persuasiveness of arguments in advertising (Jeong, 2008). Mews images are seen to be so powerful, that in some instances they actually can become “lived images” for audiences (Coonfield & Huxford, 2009, p. 457). Positive visual representations in televised media have been found to influence how individuals feel toward marginalized groups (Levina, Waldo, & Fitzgerald, 2006). Users receive important information from visual communication that they do not receive from accompanying texts. In fact, visual communication has the power to actually negate or counteract textual information (Desmarais & Bruce, 2010).

Visual images are absolutely central to how we represent, make meaning, and communicate in the world around us” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001, p. 1). Given that images are often the first items scanned within a mediated message (Miller, 1975), they also generally form the longest-lasting impressions on memory (Lester, 2003). Visual communication can transcend textual limitations and instantly convey complex emotions in addition to factual evidence (Lester, 2003). There are sociological, political and cultural cues embedded within visual messages (Huxford, 2001) that all coalesce to expose the ideological constituency (Reeves & Campbell, 1994) and the identity (Manovich, 2001) of those who created the media message. Visual communicators exist within a mutually inter-supported nexus that simultaneously reflects social contexts and mediates those same social contexts through visual constructions (Barnard, 2005;
Julier, 2000). As such, visual imagery must not be understood as purely evidentiary. Visual frames need to also be contextualized within an ideological position.

Every media organization and media outlet creates their own visual identity – the implicit boundaries where particular information is included and excluded for their readers. Within developed countries, shared meanings often circulate around an ideology of consumption. Corporate media consistently rely upon images that are based on marketing categories embedded within a shared culture and mutually-understood identity of consumerism (Machin, 2004). Identities are formed and perpetually reconstituted through continually shared visual representations. In a sense, “consumption is co-created by marketers and consumers” (Sherry, 2002, p. viii). Images are persistently regurgitated through visual representations to reveal the constitutive identity of those captured within the frame as well as the media outlet (operating within a capitalistic, consumerist culture) that first re-presented the image for consumption (Beasley & Standley, 2002; Entman, 1992; Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Signorielli, McLeod, & Healy, 1994). Visual imagery is created to sell something – a product, an idea, an organization – within a culture that is hyper-aware of consumptive cues that induce a commercial exchange.

Previous research has suggested that visual communication is instrumental in the “commodification, corporatization, and formatting of culture…the imperative of modern capitalism (is) to make things visual in order to commodify them” (Julier, 2006, p. 68). This research examines this assertion and explores the accessibility of a consumerist aesthetic throughout mainstream and alternative news sites – two locations of meaning that have long been considered to be distinct (Curran & Couldry, 2003). One should be clear to note that the mainstream and alternative press also have a history of borrowing from one another (Kenix, 2011). However, scholars have maintained that a fundamental, cultural difference between alternative and mainstream media remains (Atton, 2004), which produces an obvious distinctiveness in aesthetic form (Atton, 2002). This difference has been attributed to a conceptual and practical deviance from the mainstream that is purposefully in “explicit opposition” (Dowmunt & Coyer, 2007, p. 1). This research tests this assumption through not only the presence of commercial imagery, but also through the varied modalities used to construct visual identities in online news websites. The ubiquitously simultaneous and implicit imbrications
of power, visual communication, culture and ideology (Darts, 2004) would suggest divergently unique approaches to these different forms of visual communication - unless, of course, there was tacitly very little to differentiate the two.

**Design Principles and Professionalism**

Professionalism is an important construct in terms of its relation to commercialism and its presence within specific approaches to design. Professionalism, in general, suggests power and in commercial cultures, power equates to money. When something embodies professional characteristics, the audience assumes that there is a higher level of competence and specialized knowledge present. Professionalism alters how the audience views that organization and the value of their ideas, engagement or product. It also influences how that organization or person views themselves and how they understand what it is that they are re-presenting to others. When one displays professionalism, esteem is raised, confidence is gained, and knowledge is increased. The ultimate reward of a professional identity, within a commercial culture, is money. As professionalism increases, financial returns increase.

This inter-relational process between the celebration of specific economically-sustained values and fiscal returns, has been called the "hegemony of money" (Churchill, 2007). This suggests that those who possess more professionalism have more value and, as such, are seen as more deserving of increased financial rewards, given that money is the only barometer of success within such a system. Human characteristics that aren’t intrinsically tied to increasing financial wealth lose value, whereas characteristics that can increase wealth gain value. Professionalism increases wealth because it is a re-presentation of what it is that can generate wealth in a commercial society: one’s profession is one’s economic livelihood, so if one is more professional, one can generate even more economic returns.

This widespread commercial perspective is actually an inversion from what was once treasured in society. At one time, as Immanuel Kant (1985) argued, items for sale did not occupy the same space as that which was viewed as honourable, dignified or beautiful. The expansion of consumerism, which celebrated the markets and commercial exchanges, has devalued relational exchanges and values that exist outside of market forces (Kuttner, 1997). This process
has continued to the point that now only what can be bought and sold is what is revered as the
most beautiful within society. The hegemonic power of money rests in the fundamental
acceptance that "we use money to express our identities" (Churchill, 2007, p. 410). Commercial
representations of identity are more valued than non-commercial representations.

Identity can be most obviously constructed through visual communication, which is
comprised of cues and signs that combine to form a grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996),
which audiences can 'read.' Whether the design is of a newspaper, website, magazine or poster,
there are certain guiding principles that drive the aesthetic and identity of a publication. Research
has shown that different aesthetic approaches signify different meanings and identities to
viewers. For example, the overall design of a web page itself can suggest an identity of
sophistication, seriousness and professionalism if it follows a structured, aligned construction
(Williams, 1994). When elements are aligned, there is an invisible thread of linearity that
connects items and indicates their relationship. Without any alignment, the media organization
appears haphazard and unstructured. In deconstructing design, experts have generally agreed
upon several guides (Lauer & Pentak, 2002), which have implications for the potential ideological
division between alternative and mainstream media: unity, balance, rhythm, and contrast. These
widely accepted design techniques, when skilfully used, create an identity of cohesion and
professionalism (Williams & Tollett, 2000). When manipulated, these techniques can also
translate into a re-presented identification of unprofessionalism characterized by disorder,
tension, a sense of chaos, and division.

Unity, which is determined through proximity, repetition or continuation, can
communicate specific ideological, geographical or symbolic cohesiveness to the reader (Lauer
& Pentak, 2002). This concept is closely related to the Gestalt theory of visual cognition, which
states that through various methods of unification there is a resulting perception that the whole is
substantively greater than the sum of its parts. Balance is an element frequently used to
demonstrate an identity of strength and professionalism or isolation and uneasiness (Lauer
& Pentak, 2002). For example, professionalism can often be elucidated through symmetrical
balance while isolation can be evoked in asymmetrical designs. Each design also has rhythm
that can be seen as either progressive or alternating. The rhythm of a design creates a
sophisticated sense of movement and purpose. Increased contrast emphasizes difference and
divisiveness while less contrast communicates calmness. Alignment and structure have been
historically connected with mainstream publications, while organic placement could be more
frequently seen in independent publications. All of these factors come together in the overall
design of a publication. Design and typography (van Leeuwen, 2005) can help to re-present a
confrontational identity with a challenging and even hostile approach or an extremely
professional and corporatized identity, displaying significant skill or experience.

Results

In an effort to obtain the most extensive listing of alternative news sites possible, the
search terms “directory of independent political news sites,” “directory of alternative news sites,”
“independent news websites,” “alternative news websites” were inserted into the Google search
engine. This resulted in a comprehensive list that was then examined individually. Two coders
read each site’s “About Us” page for a description of the individual websites and then selected
the most appropriate 100 websites from that list. Those selected were websites that described
themselves as independent or non-profit and provided news that was somehow different from the
mainstream. One hundred mainstream websites were collated in much the same manner
through a Google search of “directly of mainstream news sites” and “mainstream news
websites.”

The relationship between perceived deviance and type of media was highly significant (p
= .000) with mainstream media being far more likely than the alternative media in this sample to
be seen as ‘not deviant at all’ (adjusted residual = 13.4). In the final analysis, nearly all of the
mainstream media (99 percent) sampled were seen as not deviant, whereas nearly all of the
alternative media were categorized as deviant (91 percent) to some degree. Even though this
was the case, there was no correlation (p = .082) between confrontational representations and
deviance. A small percentage of independent websites were coded as having either somewhat
confrontational (27 percent) or very confrontational (11 percent) design. However, a strong
majority of 62 percent were generally non-confrontational, generally safe and visually expected.
Although the content itself might have been seen as more deviant or ‘distanced from the mainstream,’ the design was formulaic in its approach.

An example of this contradictory inter-relationship can be seen on the website of The Anarchist Age (Figure 1). The site promotes an anarchist society, which is a “voluntary, non-hierarchical society based on the creation of social and political structures that allow all people equal access to that society’s power and wealth.” This is a decidedly different approach from the mainstream, capitalistic economies of contemporary society. The Anarchist Media Institute produces live analysis of news every day. The site also has a weekly programme titled “The Anarchist World this Week” and “The Anarchist Age Weekly Review.” Much of the selected news items revolve around a recurring theme of critiquing four central topics: “capitalism, increasing population growth, finite resources and increasing greenhouse emissions.” The site argues that current economic, governmental, capitalistic and political processes have to be completely abandoned if society can “survive the challenges thrown up by the four horsemen of the 21st century apocalypse.” As one can see from this brief review, the changes advocated by The Anarchist Age are fairly dramatic, but their website design is decidedly non-confrontational with no challenging imagery found.

A near majority of all the websites sampled relied on unity through proximity in their designs. In fact, most mainstream and alternative sites used some form of unity (89.5 percent) in their design approach, although independent websites relied upon unity in their approach significantly more (p = .000). The same was true for the number of websites relying on emphasis by placement (87 percent), obvious demonstrations of scale (80.5 percent) and symmetrical balance (91.5 percent). These design guides were overwhelmingly popular throughout the entire media spectrum. Taken together, these approaches helped to create a strong sense of cohesive, professional, design in many of the websites sampled, such as The Minnesota Independent (Figure 2), an alternative news site, which drew heavily from professionalised design guides to create a unified design approach. The Minnesota Independent is one of ten websites across the United States that are part of The American Independent News Network, a non-profit organization which “investigates and disseminates news that impacts public debate and advances the common good.” They state that their reporting “emphasizes the positive role of a
democratically elected government in securing the common good and social welfare, and the
continuing benefits of our founding culture of egalitarian government by the people, for the
people." The Minnesota Independent follows a common design template for all ten state-based
news sites. The Independent banner is centrally balanced, suggesting strength and reliability.
Objects throughout the website are symmetrically aligned. Section headers are emphasized in
their placement through recurring font usage and size as well as symmetry in colour. In this
instance, the same green found in the headline is duplicated throughout the site to unify the
page. This colour coordination brings a sense of cohesion (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002) and
professionalism to the site. Stories are unified by their proximity to each other and their section
headlines. Photos are unified to their accompanying stories via the close proximity to the
 corresponding text. Sections are clustered together via their proximity to other design elements
on the page, such as vertical separation lines and coloured text.

Mainstream media relied upon emphasis through placement (4.2), symmetrical balance
(4.3) and obvious demonstrations of scale (4.5) more than the alternative press, although these
design guides were still readily apparent throughout the media spectrum. Overall, mainstream
media were seen to be more organized and aligned than the alternative press, although neither
of these relationships was significant (p = .063) as general organization and alignment was found
throughout the media spectrum. Differences noted were also largely a matter of degree. For
example, mainstream media were found to be 'very organized' more than would be expected
(6.6), but alternative media were found to be 'somewhat organized' more than would be
expected by chance alone (4.2). In contrast, the relationship between rhythm and media type
was highly significant (p = .000) with mainstream media relying upon alternating (6.5) or
progressive rhythm (4.0) far more than would be expected through chance, whereas the
independent press were relatively unlikely to draw upon this sophisticated design guide.

The independent press was also significantly (p = .002) less likely to use contrast (-3.5)
or white space (-3.1) as a design guide in their websites. Contrast in design and the interspacing
of text against a wide breath of white space not only offers visual interest, but also is also
generally more pleasing for the viewer as they negotiate textual and visual content. Type was
also generally more readable in the mainstream press (4.3) than the alternative media sampled.
Perhaps as a result of this lack of readability, contrast and whitespace, independent media were significantly \( p = .000 \) more likely (4.6) than the mainstream press to be seen as not visually appealing at all.

The mainstream press were much more likely \( p = .000, 10.6 \) to use a combination of technology than the alternative press, which often had no technology, such as Flash, frames or animated gifs, on their website. The mainstream news sites in this sample were far more likely \( p = .000, 5.6 \) to integrate social networking into their online content and also much more likely to be seen as professional \( p = .000, 5.1 \) in their design approach. This estimation of professionalism in design was likely influenced by their use of highly technological inputs, such as Flash and social networking. In fact, nearly three quarters of mainstream sites (73 percent) were seen to be either somewhat professional or very professional in their visual presentation. This number was almost double that of independent websites (37 percent) who were seen as much less professional. An interesting caveat to these findings is that the mainstream press also relied upon violent images \( p = .028, 2.6 \) and sexualized imagery \( p = .000, 5.6 \) statistically much more than those in independent media even though they were seen as more professional.

There were high levels of commercialism present (86 percent) across all of the sites sampled in this study. Contributing to this commercialism was a near totality of logos present (97 percent) across all websites sampled. Logos have their origin in commercial corporations and are an essential part of how a company or organization ‘sells’ itself. Independent media have embraced this approach. Almost all in this sample relied on a logo to visually represent their company or organization. In addition to this, 89 percent of independent websites had advertising or invitations to buy something on their site whereas 95 percent of mainstream media reported the same finding. This difference between advertising and media type was significant \( p=.000 \), but one should not overlook the fact that such a high percentage of independent media relied on advertising revenue. Independent media were also statistically far more likely (9.0) than the mainstream press to have invitations to buy something on their site or pleas for financial support.

The mainstream media in this sample was much more likely (9.0) than the alternative press to elicit the response, ‘I get a strong sense of what this organization is about by just looking at this site.’ The mainstream media were also far more likely than the independent press to
convey their textual content visually (5.2) whereas alternative media were seen to not convey their content accurately. This highly significant relationship (p = .000) suggests that independent media may have been misrepresenting their content. The identity of alternative media was seen to be ‘somewhat clear in their design’ (4.1) far more than the mainstream press, whose identity was much more likely to be ‘very clear in their design’ (9.1).

Discussion

These results do not suggest a monolithically homogenous visual representation across the 200 websites sampled. There were many important differences that remained between the alternative and mainstream news media sampled in this study: firstly, mainstream media were more organized and aligned. They used emphasis, rhythm, balance, contrast, white space, readable text and technology more than alternative media. These design guides combined to create an assumption that mainstream news sites were more professional than independent news sites. The mainstream media also relied on sexual, violent images more than the alternative press. The intermix of sexual, violent images with a professional sense of design has long been a part of mainstream media. It may be that visual demonstrations of sexuality or violence have been relied upon so much by commercial media that they are now intertwined with contemporary conceptions of professionalism. The attribution of professionalism is also likely due to the ability of the mainstream media to pay graphic designers with more refined skills, which were then recognized as more professional by the coders of this study.

A lack of aesthetic professionalism and relatively little reliance on design guides in the independent media sampled, could create a visual environment likely to leave viewers frustrated by the difficulties inherent in simply deciphering the relative importance and meaning of content. If everything is emphasized, through inefficient design, then nothing is emphasized, and this can feel disorienting to the viewer. One also has to question how these relatively non-sexualized and non-violent visual constructions are received by viewers who are likely bombarded with challenging visual imagery in other mediated arenas (Waller, Fam, & Erdogan, 2005), but find few confrontational images within the alternative press, whose textual content may actually even negate those visual constructions. One also has to wonder if such a disconnect between imagery
and message is seen as a point of invitation or disconcertion to the viewer. It would appear that the independent media in the sample have moved away from this imagery in a concerted attempt to gain the attention of mainstream viewers available on the Internet. In a media sphere of shock, sex and violence, these safe, unchallenging visual messages may be inviting to a viewer who is searching out alternative news coverage with perhaps a positive difference. Yet, these images may also be seen as cynical and misanthropic to an audience accustomed to sexualized, violent and challenging images found in other media. If this reticence on the part of the alternative media in this sample is due to a desire to reach larger mainstream audiences, a considerable issue becomes whether independent media might be forfeiting the ‘symbolic capital’ so necessary for smaller organizations, in their zeal to attract mainstream readers. The struggle for those online is that no one single public visits a website. Rather, there are several publics who may navigate through a website that are in no way homogeneous (Giussani, 2003). The biggest challenge to those uploading content on the web is that they must “take into account all of these elements, the wild diversity of the public, the different cultures, the different media tools, and to make something coherent” (Giussani, 2003). This attempt at soliciting a wider public, through commercialized, non-confrontational, non-sexualized and non-violent design and imagery, may be a response to this concern. However, this lack of confrontation among commercially-minded independent media, coupled with a shared celebration of consumerism with the mainstream press, runs counter to the perception that the Internet operates as a diverse, heterogeneous arena of multi-dimensional communication.

Although the differences between outlets were tangible, there were some striking similarities across the mainstream and alternative spectrum found in this study. The principle area of a shared approach between the two media types relates to commercialism. For example, nearly all of the websites in this sample relied on a logo. Logos have long been a central component to corporate visual identity (van den Bosch, de Jong, & Elving, 2006). A strong visual identity has been said to provide increased visibility and greater recognisability (Balmer & Gray, 2000), whereas a weak visual identity has suggested dysfunction within a corporation (Baker & Balmer, 1997). Alternative media have clearly embraced this concept and have incorporated logos to ‘sell’ their identity. This is perhaps, unsurprising, given the pervasiveness of
commercialism within contemporary culture. Roughly 85 percent of independent media were found to be generally commercial in their design approach. Three-fourths had advertising on their site and independent media were also statistically far more likely than the mainstream press to have invitations to buy something on their site or pleas for financial support. Thus, the alternative media in this sample were expressing commercial interests at the same rate, and in some instances with even more enthusiasm, than the mainstream press. Commercialism has become so endemic within society that its acceptance within the largely non-profit alternative media spectrum was uniformly commonplace in this sample. It is simply assumed that a commercial perspective is essential to survival – a notion that has not historically been accepted in the alternative media community. The contemporary media system appears pre-structured to include consumption. Therefore, the act of marketing oneself is endemic to the process of communication and that marketing message is not viewed within a necessarily conceptual framework but within the confines of the media message as a product.

Thus, there remains here a disconnect between professional and commercial representations. The professional aesthetic of independent media has not yet caught up with their commercial aspirations, but one could assume that as independent media grow more and more commercially savvy, that will likely change. At present, this result appears to be attributable to a lack of available funds to pay a professional graphic designer who likely has advanced skills that translate into a professionalized appearance. However, the professionalized desire here is evidenced by the lack of confrontational imagery, sexualized imagery or violent imagery in the independent sites sampled, even when the actual text suggested something quite different. It would appear that alternative media no longer see challenging images as "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1977) that are used in place of "electoral clout or (in most cases) economic influence" (Conklin, 1997, p. 713). Rather, alternative media have moved to a commercial representation that sees the commercial message itself as symbolic capital, which makes sense in a consumerist society. Commercial design and images, and not challenging iconography, are rewarded in such an environment. The independent media in this sample seem to be ensconced within the previously discussed 'hegemony of money' that elevates commercial messaging above all else in an effort to increase one’s value within such a system. As the commercially-
focussed capital of alternative media continues to increase, this will most likely result in a concomitant rise in visual professionalism.
Figure 2

Bachmann tells legionnaires ‘We can take our country back,’ but trips over facts

By Jan Collins | 09.01.11

Bachmann made a series of statements that are contradicted by reports from non-partisan congressional offices.

Boycott of gas station ends after owner cuts ties to Bradlee Dean’s ministry

By Jan Collins | 09.03.11

Activists called off a week-old boycott of an Edina business that allowed a controversial youth ministry to fundraise on their property after Murphy Automotive桑化 themselves from the ministry Wednesday.

State Fair becomes first battleground on anti-gay marriage amendment

By Andy Birkey | 09.02.11 | 12:14 pm

A poll by the Minnesota House of Representatives at the Minnesota State Fair has become a rallying point for both supporters and opponents of a proposed constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage in the state nearly 17 months before the vote...
References


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