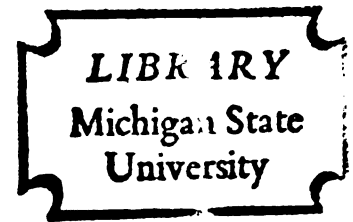


POLITICAL IMAGE-BUILDING THROUGH
THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION:
A STUDY OF MICHIGAN ATTORNEY
GENERAL FRANK J. KELLEY'S MEDIA
USAGE IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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ABSTRACT

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By

James E. Walker

The study proposes to (1) examine the political image-building process through the media of mass communication by Michigan Attorney General Frank J. Kelley in his 1970 campaign; and (2) to focus on the relationship between the candidate's "image" and selected traditional American ideologies.

The study utilizes the techniques of qualitative and quantitative content analysis. The units of analysis were statements by the candidate from speeches and media coverage thereof. The statements are analyzed under the following issue categories: (a) law and order; (b) free enterprise economic system; (c) states' rights; (d) individual's rights; (e) labor's role in the American political process; (f) accepted concepts of public role behavior of a public official; (g) right to vote; (h) protection for consumers; (i) civil rights of a racial nature.

Statements are taken from five "elite" daily newspapers in Michigan: Detroit Free Press, Detroit News, Grand Rapids Press, Lansing State Journal, Flint Journal. Statements analyzed are made in campaign periods in 1966 and 1970 (approximately September 1 to Election Day).

The study data supports these hypotheses: (1) The candidate's public communications as carried in the media will be related to campaign issues; (2) These statements are likely to be more in consonance than in dissonance with the candidate's position on the issues. At the same time the candidate may ignore issues if they do not contribute to his image-building process. The study did not support the hypothesis that statements on image-building issues will likely be more frequent and constant than non-issues during a campaign.

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism,
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CHAPTER I

THE "IMAGE" CANDIDATE: THE PROBLEM, METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS, AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Introduction

The American viewing public bases its decision at the ballot box upon the information it obtains from its most prominent news source--the TV set. The raw naked power to manipulate by gross fabrication the input data is the power to manipulate, however well intentioned, the decisionmaking process of the American electorate.¹

-Congressman William L. Springer, July 13, 1971

In all countries, the party system has folded like the organization chart. Policies and issues are useless for election purposes, since they are too specialized and hot. The shaping of a candidate's integral image has taken the place of discussing conflicting points of view.²

-Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media

To reiterate, because so many Americans use and obtain gratifications from the mass media, it is their principal source of political reality; and because it is filled with second hand pseudo-events, the mass of citizens can but imagine what politics is like while only the governing elites are privy to the Reality.³

-Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders

¹117 Congressional Record H 6645 (July 13, 1971)
(Remarks of Congressman William L. Springer).

²Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964) p. 141.

³Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 191.

These comments, by an elected public official, an authority on mass communications media, and a political analyst, respectively, reflect a relatively new phenomena of the American political scene, the "image" candidate. There is an ever-increasing volume of commentary to the effect that elected office-holders during political campaigns give a false or incomplete representation of themselves to the voting electorate. Indeed, judging from the literature, with the advent of television, "image" candidate is becoming a literal and figurative reality on the American political scene.

Further, there have been many speculations about the methods and media used by candidates to gain public support and to foster a good "image." The thrust of these speculations is that the American public is goaded into supporting a candidate simply by the "image" he projects. However, this supposition needs to be tested, especially since it seems to go against the traditional American political philosophy of participatory democracy.

The American democratic philosophy is similar in one respect at least to all democratic doctrines: the belief that the right to govern rests in the consent of the governed. "The belief that the mass of the people should in some way participate in the great decisions of state and thereby govern themselves,"⁴ grew over several centuries.

⁴V. O. Key, *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) p. 4.

Similarly, "the ethical imperative that government heed the opinion of the public has its origins, thus, in democratic ideology as well as in the practical necessity that governments obtain the support of influential elements in society By the enthronement of public opinion, governors could be brought to heed and the supposedly idealistic hopes of all men could be realized."⁵

Public opinion, in the American political system, translates itself into the vote. The vote, which elects men into and out of power; makes legislatures subject to veto through referendums; and even begins legislation by initiative referendum at the ballot box.

This is the concept of participatory democracy that has most recently been questioned as being outdated on the premise that a candidate can manipulate the media and subvert the process by not presenting an accurate portrait on which the electorate can base its vote.

That the premise is widely disseminated is evidenced by a best selling book which espoused it, The Selling of the President, 1968. The author, Joe McGinniss, speaks of television, but much of his thrust applies to all mass media:

With the coming of television, and the knowledge of how it could be used to seduce voters, the old political values disappeared The TV candidate, then is measured not against his predecessors--not against a

⁵Ibid.

standard of performance established by two centuries of democracy--but against Mike Douglas. How well does he handle himself? Does he mumble, does he twitch, does he make me laugh? Do I feel warm inside?⁶

It is fairly simple to show that this belief of subversion of the people by the candidate is widespread, even among media professionals.

Following publication of the secret "Pentagon Papers" in mid-1971, one major advertising agency, Doyle, Dane Bernbach, announced, "The strong feeling here is that we will not function as the agency for another politician."⁷ Doyle, Dane Bernbach had handled President Johnson's re-election campaign in 1964 and a portion of vice-President Humphrey's campaign in 1968. During the 1964 campaign, "advertising for President Johnson portrayed him as a 'man of peace' and accused his Republican Party opponent, Sen. Barry Goldwater, of being a 'reckless man who wanted to drop bombs on everyone.'"⁸ The 1971 "Pentagon Papers" revealed Johnson considered other, less peaceful alternatives for the war during the 1964 campaign than what he used as campaign promises. The agency apparently felt they were deceived, and had in turn deceived the American electorate by presenting a less than truthful image of Johnson.

⁶Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968 (New York: Trident Press, 1969), p. 29,30.

⁷Don Grant, "DDB Set to Withdraw from Political Involvements: Daly," Advertising Age, July 6, 1971, p. 1.

⁸Ibid.

The premise that the candidate, or his advertising agency, can and do manipulate the media into presenting a false image can be supported by equating political campaigns with advertising and marketing strategies: both are designed to affect public opinion.⁹ Public opinion, in turn, has been shown to be formed by individual perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs.¹⁰ Thus the interaction between candidate and voter can be considered to also involve changes in perceptions and modifications of attitudes and beliefs on the part of voters and candidates.¹¹

Many scholars also believe that an "image" candidate can directly affect voter behavior through manipulation of the media. McGinniss for example, points out that Nixon's staff planned a campaign built around the candidate's "image"--they noted that voter responses "tend to be more gut reaction, unarticulated, non-analytical, a product of the particular chemistry between the voter and the image of the candidate. We have to be very clear on this point: that the response is to the image, not to the man."¹² Research

⁹John Downing, "What is Brand Image," The Advertising Quarterly, No. 2, Winter 1964-65, pp. 13-19.

¹⁰Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 14.

¹¹Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, (1948) pp. 442-449.

¹²McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968, p. 38. Also Nimmo, The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns.

evidence however, indicates this "hypodermic" effect of the media is doubtful and unsubstantiated. Early in the 1920's commentators were pointing out that the American electorate is simply not that responsive to public issues.¹³ For, any attempt at direct manipulation of voter behavior through the media has been shown to be mediated by several factors.¹⁴ Indeed, the predominant effect of the mass media on attitudes and perceptions appears to be as a reinforcement agent for existing predispositions, perceptions and attitudes.

A number of studies, some performed in the laboratory and some in the social world indicate that persuasive mass communication functions far more frequently as an agent of reinforcement than as an agent of change. Within a given audience exposed to particular communications, reinforcement or at least constancy of opinion is typically found to be the dominant effect; It would appear to be no exaggeration to say that the efficacy of mass communication in influencing existing opinions and attitudes is inversely correlated with the degree of change.¹⁵

Thus, in a positive sense, the media's role in influencing the electorate might be most effective at "telling the people what they want to hear,"--an old political truism, scientifically validated.

¹³Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1922).

¹⁴Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York: The Free Press, 1963), An excellent summary of research efforts in this area.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 15. Klapper is noted as an advocate of the "phenoministic" approach, with a "view of the media as influences, working amid other influences, in a total situation," (p. 5). This is a shift away from the so-called "hypodermic" approach, where the media is considered a necessary and sufficient cause of an observed audience effect.

That media's effect is mediated has been demonstrated in several ways. One element influencing voter behavior has been shown to be predispositions of the voter. This includes personal and group values. Several studies have shown that personal influence has a greater impact on voter behavior than does the mass media.¹⁶ Selective perception has also been shown to play a crucial role in determining which messages will be received, listened to attentively, and remembered. For example, in a political campaign, supporters of Republican candidates tend to listen carefully and remember their party's advertisements. Similarly, Republicans watch political programs on or about Republicans and tend to ignore Democratic candidates.¹⁷ Yet another mediating factor between candidate and voter is the candidate's "inner circle" of advisers who influence decisions made during the campaign.

All these factors are involved in the interaction between candidate and voter. Nonetheless, the candidate continues to exert his efforts toward influencing voter behavior with at least three objectives in mind. (1) to ensure a positive "image" of himself before the voters; (2) to

¹⁶Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948) 2nd. ed.; Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-To-Date Report on a Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 21 (Spring, 1957) pp. 61-78.

¹⁷Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication, pp. 19-25.

ensure affirmative votes for his candidacy; (3) to ensure an ongoing relationship between himself and the electorate. To achieve these goals he is likely to project his "image" in the mass media through the articulation of traditional American political ideologies. This would include such concepts as the "rugged individualist" who still exists in an American frontier ethos, or the basic tenets of the "free enterprise" economic system.

Used in this manner, an ideology might be defined as follows:

An ideology is a value or belief system that is accepted as fact or truth by some group. It is composed of sets of attitudes towards the various institutions and processes of society.¹⁸

Little research has been done analyzing the ideological attitudes shared by the candidate and the electorate in a political campaign. The political campaign for re-election of Michigan Attorney General Frank J. Kelley lends itself as a case study.

¹⁸Lyman T. Sargent, Contemporary Political Ideology: A Comparative Analysis (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969). Other modern definitions may be found in Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936); Nathaniel S. Preston, Politics, Economics, and Power: Ideology and Practice under Capitalism, Socialism, and Fascism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967).

Campaign '70

Frank J. Kelley's campaign for re-election as Attorney General began when he made the decision not to run for Governor of Michigan in 1970. This decision was made in the fall of 1968 and early 1969.

Several factors entered into this decision. His opponent would be the recently inaugurated Republican Governor, William G. Milliken. Milliken was considered a liberal, and as such, the difference between him and Democrat Kelley could not be accentuated as greatly. It was also felt by Kelley and his advisors that Milliken's short interim term would work for his re-election in two ways: first, there was little hope that Kelley could attack him on his record, for there would likely be very little to attack. Milliken could claim he needed a full term to put his programs into action; secondly, Milliken's personable public image and expected liberal actions as interim governor would appeal to Democratic voters from the suburbs.

Another factor was that 1970 would be a non-Presidential election year. In Michigan, off-year elections had traditionally meant that seven of ten voters who stay home are Democratic-type voters. This had meant a loss of 300,000 to 500,000 voters in the state for the Democrats.

Kelley also felt that if he ran for U.S. Senate in 1972 against the conservative incumbent Robert Griffin, he could better accentuate differences of philosophy between

himself and Griffin; he could have the 1970 stay-at-home voters returning to the polls during a Presidential election, and he could raise the money necessary to finance the necessarily expensive campaign against an incumbent.

Finally, Kelley's conception of the governorship was one tempered by the experience of serving on the State Administrative Board with Governors Swainson, Romney, and Milliken: the governor often has the problems, but rarely has the power to correct them.

This would definitely not be the case in the "Mighty 100 Club," the United States Senate.¹⁹

Stated Campaign Strategy

According to Kelley's campaign manager, Leon S. Cohan, the basic motif of running for re-election as Attorney General in 1970 was to not appear to be running at all. He said, "We will run a non-campaign, a 'business as usual' campaign."²⁰

¹⁹This analysis was carried out during the fall of 1968 and spring of 1969 when I worked as Kelley's Executive Secretary and traveled extensively with him. We had several extended conversations on the pros and cons of running for Governor. In addition, conversations with other Kelley staff members has confirmed this analysis.

²⁰Leon S. Cohan, private interview held in the Attorney General's office, October 9, 1970.

The emphasis in this type of campaign is to portray the office holder as doing a competent, daily job. He is not shown dashing about the state trying to whip up voters for his candidacy or even the party. This is the public impression Kelley wished to convey in the media.

The rationale for this was that the office of Attorney General is a quasi-judicial one in the minds of most voters. This belief in turn, is based on the idea that in a society governed by laws, those who deal with the laws are, and must be, rational, honest men. As the public's lawyer, the Attorney General was presumed to be considered by the electorate as close to a non-partisan office as any partisan non-judicial candidate could be.

"We consider ourselves a quasi-judicial agency," Cohan stated, "and have a more responsible role to play-- which would rule out purely politically motivated actions." He added, "Our basic philosophy is to show the public that the Attorney General is doing his job day-to-day, and it is unrelated to the fact that a campaign is going on, or that another candidate is running."²¹

Running for a state-wide public office does not begin in the year of the election. In 1969 and early 1970, Kelley appeared many times before groups considered to be either Republican, or Independent-voter oriented. This included

²¹Ibid.

appearances before Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, and various legal and business associations.²²

In accordance with a "business as usual" approach, Kelley's press relations centered on public business which arose during the campaign. This meant primarily he opted for "hard news" as a means of getting into print, or on television. This follows the generally accepted belief that thirty seconds on the evening news or a legitimate front-page newspaper item is worth many times that in paid advertising.²³

Kelley's Deputy, Leon Cohan, is respected by the Lansing press corps as being an astute judge of what is news, and how it can be played.²⁴ This latter quality may be one reason why Kelley's relations with the press are friendly, but guarded. Another factor here may be the nature of legal news, with its demands for preciseness. Attorney General Kelley's office is generally noted for its efforts to provide the press with requested information, but not as a "publicity-seeking" operation.

Another traditional motif of political campaigns by public law enforcement officials (a group which includes sheriffs, county prosecutors, and the Attorney General) is

²²Frank J. Kelley, personal appointment calendar, 1970.

²³Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 155.

²⁴Al Phillips, conversation, October 22, 1970. Mr. Phillips was a member of the Detroit News Lansing bureau for several years.

to include during the campaign a certain amount of "expose" stories, demonstrating the incumbent's legal investigative efficiency.

During the campaign period of September 2 to November 3, Kelley's office issued six different news releases which could be classed as "expose." The first of these, dated September 4, involved doctors allegedly defrauding the Blue Cross/Blue Shield plans; the second, dated September 17, involved Kelley's suits against four large retailers who use an allegedly illegal finance charge system; the third, dated September 20, dealt with Kelley's investigators being sent to the state hospital in Traverse City to look into complaints that hospital officials tried to "destroy a weekly newspaper." The fourth through sixth releases dealt with water pollution. Two releases, dated October 14 and 16, were concerned with commercial firms thought to be polluting the environment, and the third, dated October 15, was directed at a small village whose sewage was polluting a river.²⁵

Strategies

Kelley's Detailed Statement of Nomination and Election Expenses, filed with the Eaton County Clerk indicated

²⁵Frank J. Kelley, official press releases.

his campaign cost \$45,641.07.²⁶ This does not include the financial statements of committees which may have been formed in other parts of the state.

Kelley apparently used no personal financial resources of any consequence. The largest contribution to his campaign resulted from a dinner fund-raiser in Southfield, Michigan on September 29. This netted his campaign approximately \$25,000. Other contributions came from friends, special Assistant Attorneys General, and others. His campaign finances are audited through a special political fund, and are completely separate from the \$30,000 annual salary he receives from the state.

In a race such as the 1970 re-election bid, Kelley did not expect to encounter much opposition. As was mentioned before, his support among the voters, even in non-Presidential years, has been strong enough to preclude a large "warchest" of campaign contributions.

The sum of \$52,000 is a great deal of money to most persons. However, when placed in the context of gubernatorial spending estimates of \$500,000 and \$1,000,000 for the Democratic and Republican candidates respectively, it seems almost miniscule.

²⁶ Frank J. Kelley, Detailed Statement of Nomination and Election Expenses, on file, Eaton County Clerk, Charlotte, Michigan.

In allocating funds, maximum emphasis was placed on getting Kelley's name before the voter as cheaply as possible.

"Newspapers are meaningless for an incumbent to use without a strong challenger or without a big issue," Kelley's campaign manager Cohan said. "They are good for getting people known initially," he added, "and for special emphasis."²⁷

The "special emphasis" lies in the ethnic press, and in areas where Kelley wishes to continue his ties. Detroit-area ethnic papers that carried Kelley advertisements this campaign include: Jewish News, Polish Daily News, National Greek Tribune, (German) Abend Post, Ukrainian Detroit News, and the Michigan Chronicle. The last is a black-owned paper in Detroit.²⁸

Kelley spent \$6,800 for two billboards for two months in the Detroit area. These two were chosen for the placement on major freeways in the city. He also allocated almost \$800 for bumper stickers and cloth banners. As has been pointed out, bumper stickers are more for the morale for campaign workers than an effective advertising vehicle.²⁹ In Kelley's case, these were distributed to his staff, and

²⁷ Leon S. Cohan, private interview, October 9, 1970.

²⁸ Frank J. Kelley, Detailed Statement of Nomination and Election Expenses.

²⁹ Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 124.

to those special Assistant Attorneys General who worked for him in out-state areas. Some distribution was made at the Democratic convention in August, but this was limited.

Other printed matter included the printing and distribution of 10,000 campaign brochures. This was considered a last minute item by Kelley's staff. Something was needed for Kelley to hand out at the various plant and factory gates he visited. The brochure, according to Cohan, had been dictated over the telephone, with no draft copy of layout or artwork prepared.

Kelley also printed and mailed 2,000 letters to voters in three selected precincts across the state. This was an attempt to judge the effectiveness of direct mail campaigns. However, a post election analysis was never carried out, as the key for what letter was mailed to what precinct was apparently lost.

By far, the largest amount of the budget went into the radio and television media. The sum of \$18,861.30 was allocated to Kelley's public relations firm, Anthony M. Franco, Inc. of Detroit. It might be noted that Kelley's brother, Richard, is an employee of this firm. This money was allotted specifically for radio and television time purchases. Of this, \$7,372.88 was designated for out-state radio and television. "Out-state" is defined as areas outside the Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb county area.

In addition, direct payments of \$2,400 to WJBK-TV Detroit, \$435 to WKBD-TV Detroit, and \$625 to WKZO-TV Kalamazoo were made by Kelley's staff for air time.

Production costs for the radio and television spots amounted to \$1,672.50, which included studio production charges, narration, and duplicate copies of tapes.

Finally, Kelley participated in a joint commercial with Democratic gubernatorial candidate Sander M. Levin. This cost \$5,000.³⁰

Four themes were emphasized in the radio spots, and three in the television series. Radio spots concentrated on Kelley's efforts on behalf of the consumer, his work against crime, his work against pollution as well as one entitled, "It's tough to be Attorney General."

Information on placement of the advertisements as to time and dates was not available, but it was noted that the radio spots were played on Detroit's highest-rated morning radio show for two weeks prior to the election.

Kelley's television spots were designed by his campaign manager. They were employed out-state in time slots around the evening news programs. Again, the theme of Kelley as the hard-working public official was emphasized, with no mention of any opponent, and little reference to the campaign itself.

³⁰Frank J. Kelley, Detailed Statement of Nomination and Election Expenses.

"The press goals and the entire campaign are integrated. We can't separate them," said Leon Cohan, Kelley's manager.³¹

Kelley's press strategy revolved around formal press conferences in his Lansing office, press releases from his office, visits with editors in the towns where he spoke, and speeches before public groups. In addition, in the final days of the campaign, he participated in a Democratic party sponsored air tour of several different Michigan cities with press conferences at each airport.

Formal press conferences in the Lansing office are infrequent occurrences. In this campaign, Kelley had one which dealt with the methods by which retail merchants handle finance charges. Along with this, a formal release was issued. As the campaign progressed, the number of releases from his office dwindled. A total of thirty-five releases were issued from the date Kelley announced his candidacy, August 18 to October 17. None were issued after October 17. This was because, Cohan said, "releases during the campaign are often misconstrued as politically motivated, and in addition, it draws attention to a race where there is an opponent."³²

³¹Leon S. Cohan, private interview, October 9, 1970.

³²Ibid.

Since Kelley's own survey indicated an 86 per cent identification factor among the public with his name, there was no desire to increase his opponent's recognition by offering public statement to which he, the opponent, could reply.

Cohan did indicate however, that the press played a vital role in the operation of the Attorney General's office: "We feel the public has a right to know what is happening. We use the press as a device to relate our opinions on sometimes complex, legal issues." In addition opinions were released with an emphasis on timing for effect." In addition opinions were released with an emphasis on timing for effect. "It all depends on the amount of noise we want to make," he said.³³ This was shown by the formal press conference Kelley held to explain his "Parochialism" opinion. This was an intensively prepared affair, and received a great deal of coverage and comment.

This timing emphasis also works the other way, towards as little notice as possible. This occurred when Kelley's office released an opinion which stated that United Auto Worker union members on strike qualified for Aid to Dependent Children under state law. This opinion was released late Friday afternoon, and was effectively buried in the back pages of the Detroit Free Press, the only state-wide morning daily, on Saturday.

³³Ibid.

In addition to formal Lansing press conferences and press releases, Kelley also visited with the editors of newspapers in the towns where he campaigned. He spoke with the editors of nineteen different newspapers, including the two largest Detroit dailies, the Free Press and the News. Kelley ran an essentially independent press campaign. That is, it was not tied-in closely with his campaign appearances, except in the final days.

His assistant, Lawrence Glazer explained the technique:

We try to keep the press conferences before the political appearance, then work in a visit with the editors afterwards. We set up our own press relations in most towns, and don't consult with other candidates very much. So far we haven't received any complaints, but I imagine a few were upset because they (local candidates) didn't get more exposure with Kelley. In a Democratic town, like Flint, we sometimes let the candidates come with us--what better way to get publicity than to appear with Frank Kelley.³⁴

In the area of personal appearances, Kelley sought to give only the impression of the public official doing his job. In fact however, he made at least 46 public appearances during the campaign requiring some type of speech. This does not include the various campaign junkets he took with local candidates to their favorite super-shopping plaza or appearing at Democratic Party fund-raisers where he did not speak. All of these public appearances occurred between September 2 and November 3.

³⁴Lawrence Glazer, private interview, October 9, 1970 and other dates. Mr. Glazer co-ordinated much of Kelley's campaign.

He appeared before such groups as: Starr Commonwealth for Boys, 21st Annual Banquet of the Michigan Fire Inspectors Society, United Press International Editors Annual Meeting, Irish Day 50th Anniversary Celebration, Public Relations Society of America--Detroit Chapter, and the Michigan State Building and Construction Trades Council annual convention.³⁵

Many of these public, non-political appearances were covered by the local press, and played as "hard news" stories.

Message Inputs

There were two types of media inputs involved in the strategies of this campaign. First were the issues, secondly the population segment considerations.

Of the issues, Cohan indicated that crime, consumer protection, pollution, and the northern Michigan railroad issues would be emphasized. On the other hand, he said there was also the possibility of "overkill" in a campaign similar to that of 1970. He explained that Kelley desired to keep a low profile as a candidate during the campaign period, but needed a certain amount of public exposure to reinforce the theme of "business as usual" by a competent Attorney General. The problem was to strike a balance between the two requirements.

³⁵Frank J. Kelley, 1970 Campaign Schedule.

Of the voting population segments, Cohan said the campaign goals were to get 90 per cent of the Democratic vote, 60 to 70 per cent of the Independent vote, and 30 to 35 per cent of the Republican vote. He indicated that Kelley's margins of victory in the past had been based on the unusually high percentages of Independent voters he attracted.

The Problem

With the foregoing as a perspective, the study proposes the following: (1) to examine the political image-building process through media of mass communication by Attorney General Kelley in his 1970 campaign: and (2) to focus on the relationship between the candidate's "image" and selected traditional American ideologies.

The proposed study, then, will also: (1) delineate the relationship between the Attorney General's public communications and his political image building; (2) investigate this image-building in the communications media in terms of political ideologies as articulated by the Attorney General; (3) speculate about certain predictive associations between the Attorney General's public communications and his image building.

The proposed study will provide needed information in the area of political mass communication, and will also provide information of a practical benefit and application for political campaign management. Additionally, the race

for Attorney General in Michigan presents fertile ground for testing the assumption that image-building is carried out in the public articulation of traditional American ideologies through the mass media. For the Michigan Attorney General must cope with many of these problems of image-building during a campaign for re-election.

Theoretical Considerations

The central proposition of the study is that the public communications of the Attorney General and political image-building are inter-related, and that the relationship is constant, cumulative and reciprocal.

Additionally, the proposed study suggests these assumptions: (1) that political candidates attempt to manipulate voter perceptions about the candidate and the candidate's opponent; (2) that the candidate will attempt to make his own self-perception as positive as possible; (3) that any manipulation will be purposive and designed to contribute to a positive image-building campaign; (4) that any advertising used by the candidate during the campaign is also designed to produce a positive image of the candidate before the voter; (5) that the communications media may mediate in the process of image-building by reinforcing existing beliefs or by modifying perceptions; (6) that a candidate's "image" is a function of traditional American ideologies, as articulated by the candidates in the issues of the campaign; (7)

that any attempt to build a political "image" must necessarily be based on the position a candidate takes on these ideologies. The final assumption is (8) that these ideologies can be operationally defined as the candidate's position on the following issues: (a) law and order; (b) free enterprise system of economy; (c) states' rights; (d) individual rights; (e) labor's role in American political process; (f) concepts of the accepted public role behavior of an elected official; (g) right to vote; (h) protection for consumers; and (i) civil rights for Blacks.

Based on the foregoing assumption, the following major descriptive hypotheses for the purposes of this study have been formulated:

1. That the candidate's public communications as carried in the media will be related to campaign issues.
2. That these statements are likely to be more in consonance than in dissonance with the candidate's position on the issues. At the same time, a candidate may ignore issues if they do not contribute to his image-building process.
3. That statements on issues will likely be more frequent and constant than on non-issues during a campaign.

Methodological Considerations

The study will utilize the techniques of qualitative and quantitative content analyses, with an emphasis on the former. The units of analyses will be statements from speeches and/or media coverage thereof. These statements will be analyzed under the following content categories which are central to the theoretical assumptions: (a) law and order; (b) free enterprise system of economy; (c) states' rights; (d) individuals' rights; (e) labor's role in American political processes; (f) concepts of the accepted public role behavior of an elected official; (g) right to vote; (h) protection for consumers; (i) civil rights for Blacks.

All statements by Kelley will be examined from the campaign period of September 1 to November 3, 1970 from five major newspapers designated as "elite" newspapers in Michigan: the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit News, The Grand Rapids Press, the Lansing State Journal, and the Flint Journal.

The selection of statements will be made on the basis of the following criteria: (1) coverage given the statement in the five papers; (2) play given in these papers; (3) any editorial comment the statement received. Speeches will also be selected on the basis of this criterion.

Advertisements will be chosen on the basis of their consonance with the candidate's positions on issues rather than in dissonant relationship. According to Kelley's

staff, the major issues to be emphasized in advertising were (1) crime, (2) pollution, and (3) consumer protection.

Survey of Related Literature

This study will use as primary sources files of the Grand Rapids Press, the Lansing State Journal, the Flint Journal, the Detroit Free Press, and the Detroit News from September 1, to November 3, 1970.

An examination of various advertising materials used in this period will also be conducted.

In addition to the sources already cited in this chapter, others constituting basic documents in American political ideology, practical political campaigning techniques, mass communications theory and practice, as well as the role of the press in American political life will be utilized.

CHAPTER II

SETTING AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

An Analytical Overview of the Factors in the Michigan Attorney General's Campaign in 1970

The 1970 Michigan General Election resulted in a political, social, and economic mixture. It was an election in which a Republican Governor squeezed out a victory margin of 44,111 votes from 2,656,093 cast, while a Democratic Senator was being re-elected with 66 per cent majority. The Attorney General's race itself was a runaway, as Frank J. Kelley received 64 per cent of the vote while his opponent, William S. Farr, received only 36 per cent.³⁶ It was the epitome of a ticket-splitting theory of electoral politics.³⁷ This election also saw passage of a resolution to amend the state constitution to end public aid for parochial schools. This action would have far-reaching social and economic impact.

³⁶Michigan, State Board of Canvassers, Statement of Election Results, November 3, 1970 General Election, p. 1.

³⁷Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, The Ticket-Splitter: A New Force in American Politics, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.).

Kelley's re-election as Attorney General might have been anticipated. He has been Attorney General of Michigan longer than any other holder of the office. Since his appointment to the post in January 1962, by the Democratic Governor Hohn Swainson, Kelley had been re-elected to the post three times before 1970. His margin of victory was a mere two percent in 1962 and 1966, but since each re-election victory occurred when a popular Republican, George Romney, had captured the Governorship, Kelley's victories are the more significant in that they reflect substantial ticket-splitting.³⁸

In the context of the long-term office holder, it should be pointed out that the incumbent has great resources at his command in any re-election campaign, and these resources become greater each time re-election is sought. Traditionally, these resources have been in the form of "making news" with public statements and actions, or using political influence gained from favors rendered or patronage. Kelley's patronage system is probably one of the least known and appreciated facets of his office.

The Attorney General's patronage system is based on the simple fact that the State of Michigan exists only as a creature of the law. Thus, to act, it has to use the legal system. To do this requires an extensive legal staff, far

³⁸Michigan, Michigan Manual 1963, 1965, 1967. Also The Ticket-Splitter, Ibid.

more than the 100-plus full-time Assistant Attorneys General employed in Lansing and Detroit. To supplement the full time staff, the Attorney General may appoint "Special Assistant Attorneys General" who work on a fee basis for the state. These attorneys often represent the state's interests in local dealings with citizens, whether working with uninsured motorists or as special public administrators of an estate.

Kelley's "specials" are chosen on ability, and presumably for their general agreement with the Attorney General's political views. Many, if not all, are dues-paying members of their local Democratic organizations. Many serve as delegates to the state Democratic Conventions. By using these "specials" for monitoring purposes, Kelley can keep abreast of current events in each county's Democratic Party structure. He can also solicit responses and public reaction to proposed statements or taking actions that would receive wide publicity.³⁹

In addition to maintaining strength within his party, through workers such as the "specials," favors collected from personal appearances and services rendered party personnel,

³⁹How closely the "specials" must follow the Kelley political position is a matter of conjecture. In one meeting held at a 1969 convention, it was reported that Kelley solicited dissenting views from the "specials" attending, and in summary instruction, told each to follow his own conscience. As a practical matter however, few, if any "specials" have been known to retain their relations with the state after serious disagreement politically with the "front office," as Kelley and Deputy Attorney General Leon Cohan are referred to.

any incumbent, (and Kelley in particular) tends to develop a higher identification quotient with one electorate. Several 1970 pre-election polls cited earlier indicated that 87 per cent of Michigan's voters knew who Frank Kelley was and what position he held. Conversely, because the Republican opponent was known to only 7 per cent of the electorate (6 per cent did not know either candidate), Kelley did not feel he had to raise any substantive issues. He could and did, run as a public official doing a competent job.

In relation to other state offices, Kelley's re-election was the least contested. He won by a larger margin than any other state official. He also won by a larger percentage of the total vote than any candidate except Democratic Senator Phillip Hart, and trailed Hart by only 2 per cent.⁴⁰

Political, Economic, and Social Factors
Affecting the 1970 Election

From Kelley's point of view, the major political issue in 1970 was state aid to parochial schools, "Parochiaid." The Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Sander Levin, probably did more to interject the issue into the campaign than any other individual candidate, albeit by indecisiveness.

The state legislature had passed an Aid to Education bill containing funds for parochial schools for the first time. Several groups, led by the Michigan Education

⁴⁰State Board of Canvassers, op. cit., p.3.

Association, had succeeded in a petition drive for a constitutional amendment barring such aid. The amendment was to be placed on the November, 1970 ballot. Incumbent Governor Milliken who had initially supported the concept of limited Parochiaid, opposed it after the educational bill containing Parochiaid appropriations was approved by the legislature in August. Levin, on the other hand, gave a first impression of opposition, then switched to a more ambiguous one later in the campaign. He finally came out against it. Kelley had issued an opinion in May, 1970 stating that the wording of the proposal contained in the MEA petition was too vague to be placed on the ballot. This action occurred even though the wording had received the approval of the Secretary of State's office, which approves all ballot resolution wordings. Kelley was immediately embroiled in the issue. His opinion on the wording was taken by many political observers to mean he favored Parochiaid. These same critics pointed out that Kelley sent his own children to parochial schools.

In September, the Michigan Supreme Court overturned Kelley's opinion, and the proposal was ordered on the ballot. The question of what the proposal would actually do remained unresolved. Kelley noted that "October's confusion justifies

our May opinion." He added that the effect of the amendment "will be whatever the Supreme Court ultimately rules it to be if the amendment is passed."⁴¹

The speech containing these remarks was given before representatives of the news media and was considered a crucial event in the campaign. Kelley was trying to extract himself from the politically delicate position of being blamed regardless of his action or inaction. He did this by attempting to explain publicly the difference between Frank J. Kelley, attorney for the state, and Frank J. Kelley, political office holder and candidate. He said, "On various occasions the legal actions I have taken on various issues have not supported my private views as a citizen. I must follow the law, not my own personal desires." As an Attorney General, he said he believed "I serve the people in my legal responsibilities best by keeping my personal views out of the litigation and legal processes in which the state is involved as a party."⁴²

Kelley's staff felt the speech effectively diffused the only potentially explosive issue in the campaign. Because he had taken the "higher road" of putting public interest above partisan politics (implied in the October 8

⁴¹ Frank J. Kelley, Speech before the Michigan Press Association, at the State Highway Auditorium, Lansing, Michigan, October 8, 1970.

⁴² Ibid.

speech), he would not talk about Parochiaid during the campaign. To do so would have been against the best interests of the people. And when one is running on a campaign strategy of presenting a devoted public official, it does not pay to play partisan politics.

Whether this delineation was made clear in the voter's mind is difficult to discern. It may be that the issue did not affect Kelley's vote adversely in selected portions of the state. In Michigan's 11 most populous counties however, where the largest concentration of parochial schools were affected, Kelley received 77.5 per cent of his vote, up from 38.7 per cent in 1966 according to the official voting results.⁴³ It should also be noted these 11 counties accounted for 50.0 per cent of the total vote for Attorney General.

Kelley's opponent, Republican William S. Farr of Grand Rapids, stated that his campaign was aimed at depicting Kelley as a "do-nothing" Attorney General.⁴⁴ However, Kelley's official opinions involving Parochiaid and food stamps for striking auto workers were released and carried by the news media during the campaign. These legal actions by their appearance alone would seem to deflate the "do-nothing"

⁴³Michigan, State Board of Canvassers, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴⁴Personal interview with William S. Farr, November 12, 1970.

image Farr was trying to establish, albeit with both positive and negative effects. Politically, "Bill" Farr was an unknown. A former Kent County Republican Chairman and an attorney, he had a reputation as a young aggressive Republican moderate. Yet he was virtually unknown in the suburban communities of southeastern Michigan, where more than half of Michigan's registered voters live.

Kelley, on the other hand, was and is probably the best known state-level politician among the Democrats. Born in Detroit on December 31, 1924, he attended school there, completing an undergraduate degree at the University of Detroit in 1948. He received his law degree from the same school in 1951.

After graduation from law school, Kelley practiced corporation law in Detroit until 1954. That year he moved to Alpena, where he had a partnership in a general law practice. While there, he served as City Attorney, and a member of the County Board of Supervisors. As he practiced law in the northern part of the state, among a traditionally Republican population, he became very involved in civic affairs. Between 1954 and 1961, when he was appointed Attorney General, Kelley served as President of the 26th District Judicial Bar Association, Director and President of the Catholic Family Service Agencies of Northern Michigan; President of the Northeast Michigan Child Guidance Clinic; Charter Officer

and Director of the Alpena County United Fund; and President of the Alpena Community Services Council.⁴⁵

As the State of Michigan's chief lawyer, he occupies several important positions. He is chairman of the Michigan Municipal Finance Commission, which must approve every public bonding program in the state; Chairman of the Corporation Tax Appeal Board, and a member of the State Administrative Board, which governs the operations of state government and its thousands of employees.

Kelley's political development stems in large measure from his father's involvement with Democratic politics in Detroit in the early years of this century. Thomas Kelley was an active Irish businessman who owned several bars and restaurants in Detroit. He was a precinct delegate from the traditionally Democratic 15th District, and twice ran for State Senate in the Democratic primary. He lost both times. The elder Mr. Kelley was chairman of the state's delegation at the 1948 Democratic national convention and seconded Harry Truman's nomination. He also campaigned with Truman when he came through Michigan on his campaign train.

For nearly 15 years, Mr. Kelley allowed the local Democrats to meet in one of his halls for free. He was appointed to the Wayne County Board of Institutions, which then ran several hospitals. He served as Chairman of that

board. Because of his many activities, he and his family were well known in political circles in Detroit.⁴⁶

It was in this atmosphere of political activity that Frank Kelley was raised. He came to know many of his father's political friends at an early age. During his college years, Kelley belonged to the Young Democrats at the University of Detroit and the Wayne County Democratic Committee. When he turned 21, he was elected a Democratic delegate from the 15th District.

After moving to Alpena, Kelley was elected to a delegate position for the Democratic Party in that area. As city attorney, he was the lone Democrat on the Alpena County Board of Supervisors.

By most definitions, Frank J. Kelley would be considered a liberal.⁴⁷ He has publicly supported liberal positions on issues such as consumer's rights, the responsibilities of government and governmental officials to the electorate, a free press, reduced penalties for marijuana possession, open housing ordinances, equal opportunity for education and employment for all citizens, and control over industrial and commercial abuses of trade or the environment.

⁴⁶Personal interview with Frank J. Kelley, February 13, 1972.

⁴⁷The following section is derived primarily from conversations and observations made by the author during employment as the Attorney General's Executive Secretary. They are the perceptions of the author.

Balancing these liberal positions have been equally strong views and statements relating to law enforcement. Kelley has actively sought crackdowns on organized crime from their involvement in horse track operations, and to suppliers of drugs for use by young people. He has encouraged the use of citizen's grand juries to investigate corruption by public officials, has spoken out against legalized gambling and state-sponsored off-track betting proposals, and has encouraged attempts at reform of the legal profession.

Organized crime, and the publicity shed on it, were played on quite heavily by Kelley in 1966 and 1970. In previous years, his office had been involved in several investigations and arrests of leading organized crime figures. These activities were given emphasis in Kelley's 1970 political advertisements. What was not mentioned was that there had been few convictions upheld in appellate courts.

Kelley's liberal political views are often contrasted to the media appearance he presents. His dress for formal occasions tends towards darker, conservative suits, with, as one reporter described it, "photogenic blue shirts."

In public speeches, when using a prepared text Kelley is very deliberate. Television appearances draw a similar reaction--he is very aware that slower speaking, forceful appearing personalities are often perceived as more authoritative than an extemporaneous rapid speaker, and he

acts accordingly. However, when involved in question and answer sessions, particularly with young people, Kelley tends to talk very fast, using many hand gestures.

For an official proud of his Democratic Party heritage, Kelley has very limited involvement in official party affairs. He sends a representative to the Democratic State Central Committee meetings but is personally not often involved. In public appearances around the state, he does not actively publicize his party affiliations. Because of this, he is often criticized by party professionals. His response to this criticism is very pragmatic, "who have they ever elected?" His emphasis was and is on a personal organization first, and party second. Similarly, when criticized for not appearing more outspoken on liberal causes, Kelley is reported to have responded, "who have the liberals in this state ever elected?" The clear implication, backed by his campaign strategy, is to assume he has the liberal vote, and to be elected, independent and conservative constituencies must be nurtured.

The cornerstone of Kelley's personal political organization is his relationship with his deputy, Leon Cohan. A standing joke among the Capital press corps is that the real Attorney General of Michigan is Cohan, and Kelley is only his front man. In actuality, the two have developed a close, coordinated working arrangement. Kelley makes the

public appearances and speeches (approaching 3 per week on a year-round basis), handles important press conferences and relations with other political figures, such as the Governor.

Cohan runs the Attorney General's office in Lansing and develops, with other attorneys, the official legal opinions which are the stock in trade of an Attorney General. In addition, he handles press relations, and is acknowledged as the best in the business in state government by the capital press corps. Mr. Cohan also does a great deal of political detail work for Kelley.

Attorney General opinions are the result of a single attorney's research efforts which have been reviewed and filtered through an Opinion Review Board, composed of the top attorney's from each division within the department. Because of this, the official opinions are generally very sound legally, as shown by the fact that only 1 of Kelley's more than 600 formal opinions has been overturned by an appellate court.

On political issues however, there is only Cohan and Kelley. Neither man, and particularly Cohan, likes to delegate authority. This is understandable in the context that Kelley must go before the voters personally every four years. Unfortunately, this non-delegation of authority also would appear to limit serious consideration of other political views on issues. During the 1970 campaign, in day-to-day political policy matters, there were only Cohan and Kelley,

as very few advisors' suggestions carried weight. It has been reported that for the 1972 Senatorial campaign a "campaign cabinet" will be formed to improve this limited input situation.

The 1970 Election Vote Shift

For all his involvement in out-state Michigan affairs, Kelley's political ties to the out-state voter may be weakening. Perhaps because of his long tenure in office, perhaps because of the Parochial issue in 1970 (there are fewer Parochial school systems outside the 11 most populous counties) the shift of Kelley's major vote strength from the less populous counties to the metropolitan areas is significant.

This major reversal may, in part, also be explained by Kelley's emphasis on personal and media appearances in metropolitan areas during the 1970 campaign. An examination of his travel schedule for the period supports this: he had extended conversations with the editors of each of the daily newspapers serving these 11 counties, plus special appearances arranged on local television stations.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Frank J. Kelley, 1970 Campaign Schedule. Kelley talked with editors of the following papers (county area affected in parentheses): Bay City Times, Saginaw News, (Saginaw); Kalamazoo Gazette, Battle Creek Enquirer, (Kalamazoo); Detroit News, Detroit Free Press (Wayne); Pontiac Press, Port Huron Times (Oakland); Muskegon Chronicle (Muskegon); Grand Rapids Press (Kent); Flint Journal (Genesee);

In addition, the majority of his campaign broadcast advertisements were spent in the markets involving larger population groups (Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids). Whether this was due to political planning or campaign economy, it may have had the desired effect: all five of the largest dailies in the state supported his candidacy editorially, and he received 77.5 per cent of his vote from the metropolitan areas.

The margin of Kelley's victory in 1970 is also politically significant. One scholar's work indicates that in the period of 1914-1958, the Michigan Attorney-General's election has been generally won by the Republicans, but was fairly competitive with a 30 per cent chance of change in the party in office.⁴⁹ In another work, the Governor's office, which traditionally has been much more competitive has required slightly more than six per cent majority to be considered potentially "safe" in the next election.⁵⁰ Since the Attorney General's office has been less competitive, it

Macomb Daily (Macomb); Monroe Evening News (Monroe); Ann Arbor News (Washtenaw). In addition, Kelley's office has on-going relations with the Lansing State Journal. Broadcast appearances exclusive of press conferences, included programs on WJRT-TV (Genesee); WVCN-TV (Saginaw); WMSB-TV (Ingham).

⁴⁹ Joseph A. Schlesinger, "The Structure of Competition for Office in the American States," Behavioral Science Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1960, pp. 197-210.

⁵⁰ Joseph A. Schlesinger, "Stability in the Vote for Governor, 1900-1958," Public Opinion Quarterly Vol. 31, 1960, pp. 85-91.

may be suggested that a smaller margin of victory, perhaps 2 or 3 per cent majority is all that is needed to denote a "safe" office. This would appear to be supported by Kelley's record closely, as he won by a two per cent margin in both 1962 and 1966.

In 1964, Kelley received the benefit of a Democratic Presidential landslide to capture 59 per cent of the vote. It has been suggested elsewhere in this paper that his voter identification factor may have carried him in 1970 to his 64 per cent majority, a margin much larger than what has traditionally carried the office.

An additional political factor at work in Michigan in 1970 was the absence of the strong personality of George Romney, Republican Governor since 1963 who went to Washington to become Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1969. Romney won by large margins in 1964 and 1966, and probably would have had little difficulty with a Democratic opponent in 1970. Indeed, when he allowed his personality to be used on a continuing basis, he had shown the ability to carry other Republicans into office. This occurred in 1966 when Romney allowed himself to be closely tied with U.S. Senate candidate Robert Griffin. They both won, with Griffin turning back a strong challenge from former six-term Governor G. Mennen Williams. In fact, Democrats carried all state offices except Governor and Senator in 1966.

Economic Factors

Economic factors play an important role in any election, and Michigan in 1970 was no exception. The national trend of a declining economy was particularly aggravated in Michigan with its auto industry orientation, when the United Auto Workers went on strike against General Motors in September, 1970. The automobile strike affected many Michigan families, as unemployment averaged 6.6 per cent throughout the state between September 1 and Election Day.⁵¹

In addition, the Parochiaid issue with its concept of public tax dollars going for private schools was hotly debated, as much for the economics of the problem as for the principles of separation of church and state.

Traditionally, when the economy is bad, incumbents are blamed. Yet few could blame Republican Governor Milliken as he had not served a full term. Indeed, he ran on a campaign platform to give his administration a "full chance." Kelley may have short-circuited any resentment against his incumbency by several actions affecting the voters' economic situation taken during the campaign.

In late August, he argued against a rate increase for a large utility. He then attacked the retail credit industry and the methods used to charge and compute interest. These two actions could legitimately be said to affect nearly all the voters.

⁵¹Michigan Employment Security Commission, "Manpower Review," September, October, November, 1970.

But his most significant action in the economic sphere, and one which attracted news media attention, was the reaffirmation of an opinion which allowed striking workers to obtain selected welfare benefits while on strike. His reaffirmation of a 1947 Attorney General's opinion undoubtedly sewed up the labor vote. It probably also alienated a great many rural Republicans and independent non-union voters who had voted for him in 1966. As has been shown, voters who experience cross-pressures concerning a candidate (both, positive and negative) tend to revert to their traditional voting patterns, in this case rural Republicanism.⁵² This may have happened in Michigan's out-state counties. This may also explain the discrepancy between the vote noted before (two to one for Kelley) and the voter identification factor (nine to one for Kelley).

Social Conditions

The social conditions in Michigan were complex and rapidly changing in 1970. The religious and economic implications of Parochialism were paramount for many voters. Closely following in importance to many were the questions of race and crime. The riots of 1967 and 1968 had left their scars on the urban voter. The white city dwellers had continued

⁵²Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

their exodus to the suburbs, and many political commentators expected these suburban voters to become less party-line Democrats and more independent-minded voters.

As noted before, Kelley played on the crime issue in his speeches and television advertisements. This was particularly so in the case of the television advertisements where, as a result of his forceful visual presentation his manner suggested he was obviously a strong "law and order" candidate. An examination of press conference and speech statements during the periods studied also confirms this emphasis on crime. He called for more stringent prosecution of organized crime which supplies hard narcotics and he asked for legislation to compensate the victims of criminal attacks.

In order to use the crime issue effectively on the white voter, Kelley also needed a "gimmick" to maintain his already strong civil rights reputation among minority groups. One device was continued campaign appearances with the only black state-wide office seeker, Richard Austin. Kelley spent several days in Detroit campaigning with Austin, who was ultimately elected the first black Michigan Secretary of State.

Finally, if he was as effective in removing himself from the Parochiaid issue as he believed, Kelley squelched much anti-Catholic sentiment.

Design of the Study

A content analysis will be made of statements attributed to the Attorney General appearing in five "elite" daily Michigan newspapers during the campaign period of September 1 to Election Day, 1970, November 3. The five newspapers to be analyzed are the Detroit News, the Detroit Free Press, the Lansing State Journal, the Grand Rapids Press, and the Flint Journal. For the purposes of this study, an "elite" press shall be defined as John Merrill defines it in his book of the same name:

This press is aimed at a rather cohesive audience, and in general its readers are better educated and have a greater interest in public affairs than the average reader of the mass (or popular) press. . . . The papers which serious people and opinion leaders . . . take seriously.⁵³

Statements by the Attorney General carried in the papers or any statement of the Attorney General receiving editorial comment will be analyzed.

A statement is defined as a "single thought unit or idea unit that conveys a single item of information extracted from a segment of content."⁵⁴

The statements will be analyzed and coded into nine issue categories, defined as follows:

⁵³ John C. Merrill, The Elite Press (New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1968), p. 11.

⁵⁴ Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp, and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis and Communications (New York: MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 34.

Law and Order in this study conveys the concept of a society ruled by laws, not by the capricious actions of men. It includes the belief that maintenance of civil peace and social order is a function of government, particularly enforcement officials. Indicants of this issue would include items concerning Kelley and criminal investigations his staff made, legalized gambling as a public issue, drug abuse, attacks on police, and public support for law enforcement officials. Example: "There must be an all-out effort to crack down on the dope pushers who form a link between organized crime, which supplies most of the narcotics, and the young people in the street who use them."⁵⁵

Free enterprise system of economy refers to the belief in and support for profit-motivated systems of commerce, with the least amount of government regulation.⁵⁶ In the system, individual initiative is rewarded in proportion to the effort. Indicants of this issue include Kelley's views on business activities of private enterprises (excluding

⁵⁵Lansing State Journal, October 6, 1970, p. 9.

⁵⁶Obviously, President Nixon's new economic policies with wage and price controls go against the thrust of the free enterprise system--a laissez-faire doctrine of economic survival. It has and is being argued however, that within the constraints of governmental regulation, the economy will function as before. Also, in 1970, the Presidential "game plan" was based on restraint of direct regulation, and heavy dependence on economic control through control of the monetary supply, i.e., the Federal Reserve System.

those pertaining to consumer protection), public utilities' rate requests, medical insurance programs, business' role in meeting social issues. Example: (Kelley said) he will "continue to campaign against consumer fraud higher utility rates, and pollution by both government and industry."⁵⁷

States' rights are the rights and responsibilities of the state government in relation to individuals, other federal and local units of government, and other public institutions. Indicants of this issue would include Kelley's legal work in behalf of the state, and the relationship between state and federal government law enforcement agencies. Example: Attorney General Frank J. Kelley Sunday called "shocking and terrifying a report that officials of the Traverse City State Hospital have attempted to intimidate a small weekly newspaper in that community."⁵⁸

Individual rights in a traditional American political ideology refers to the rights and responsibilities of the individual in relation to other private persons, his government or other social institutions. Indicants of this issue include items relating Kelley to specific legislation affecting these rights, such as gun controls, state and federal aid to striking auto workers, the individual's right to sue polluting industrial firms or units of government believed

⁵⁷ Lansing State Journal, November 4, 1970, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Lansing State Journal, September 21, 1970, p. 10.

to be polluters, or items involving freedom of speech and press. Example: the Attorney General said, "It is my opinion that a representative of the press, including radio stations, cannot lawfully be prohibited from making a tape recording of a public meeting of a board of county commissioners"59

Labor's role in the American political process refers to the concept of organized unions' direct involvement in an election, and their relationship to the candidate. Indicants of this issue would be items relating Kelley to organized labor. Example: "Michigan's Teamsters Union yesterday endorsed . . . incumbent Attorney General Frank J. Kelley"60

Public officials' behavior is a conditioned belief that a candidate shares with the electorate regarding how he is expected to act publicly on their behalf, and privately, as a public official. Indicants of this issue include the general tone of campaign advertisements, his personal political philosophy expressed in interviews, and his public actions toward other public officials. Example: "Attorney General Frank Kelley swiped at critics of his legal stand on a proposed anti-Parochiaid amendment Thursday, saying he must 'follow the law, not my own personal desires.'"61

⁵⁹Grand Rapids Press, September 14, 1970, p. 4.

⁶⁰Detroit News, October 5, 1970, p. 2.

⁶¹Grand Rapids Press, October 9, 1970, p. 8.

Consumer protection is the belief that government has a role to play in protecting the consumer in American commerce from abuse by private industry. Indicators of this issue include items relating Kelley's activities to stop medical and other frauds, retail credit charges, prosecution of polluters, consumer protection within governmental structure, protection of natural resources, and the retention of transportation services to the northern portion of the state. Example: "While we have strict laws protecting Michigan citizens who purchase vacation sites in large developments outside of this state," Kelley said Friday, "we have no protection for our citizens who buy vacation property in developments within Michigan."⁶²

Civil rights refers to the concept of individual rights and the means of guaranteeing an equal opportunity in education, employment, and other facets of everyday life for all citizens. Indicators of this issue would include any opinions relating Kelley and racial or sex discrimination, plus any public appearances before predominantly minority organizations.

Since a major hypothesis of the study is that an associative relationship exists between the statement on an issue and the ideological issue, a directional analysis is essential.

⁶²Lansing State Journal, September 20, 1970, p. 3.

For the purposes of the study, direction is defined as the attitude contained within each statement toward an issue. There are four possible directions: neutral, positive, negative, and mixed.

Mixed items are usually those containing contingency statements similar to "if X happens, then Y." Mixed items also include statements that take different attitudes toward different segments of the issue, regardless of the general attitude of the entire article.

If the statement contains only a fact, the statement will be coded neutral. Thus, when an item with no attitude toward an issue or the candidate is analyzed, statements within the item should be coded neutral. An example of this would usually include announcements of a speech by the candidate or statements of fact used in legal speeches.

In coding statements not neutral in direction, the coder will consider two factors: whether the statement alone is positive, negative, or mixed, and whether the statement in the context of the entire item should be considered positive, negative, or mixed. The essential point for the purposes of this study is to consider the direction of the statement within the context of the article. By combining the two elements of judgment regarding direction, the coder will arrive at a reasonable judgment of the intent of the statement within the issue category.

An example of a positive statement on law and order would be: "Kelley said he favored legislation making possession of handguns by convicted felons illegal." A negative statement on the same issue might be: "A spokesman for the Attorney General said his office could do nothing to improve policemen's salaries on a statewide basis." A more subtle negative example would be: "Kelley also said he supported Senator Hart's proposal to ban all handguns from private citizens in the U.S." This statement would be considered negative because there exists a widely held belief that an individual has the right to own a handgun if he is not a criminal or mentally incompetent citizen.

A mixed statement on the law and order issue might be: "Kelley said he would support Sen. Hart's proposals, provided emphasis was placed on keeping guns out of criminal hands, not legitimate sportsmen."

This content analysis is summarized in two tables, each sub-divided into the individual ideological issues defined above.

Table 1 illustrates the shift in numerical and percentile figures in the treatment of issues by Kelley in 1970. This table indicates what the apparent significant ideological issues were in each campaign, and whether they increased or decreased in importance between 1966 and 1970.

Table 2 portrays the shift in direction of the treatment of issues in 1970. The table shows what shifts occurred in the four year period between 1966 and 1970.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

An examination of the findings of Table 1 points up the apparent effectiveness of the Kelley campaign strategy. The strategy called for Kelley to be portrayed as an effective incumbent doing the types of things an electorate would expect from an Attorney General. The appropriate issue would be Concepts of the Accepted Public Role Behavior of an Elected Official. This issue had the largest number of statements (n = 102) covered, almost a full third of the total coverage (n = 381) given by Kelley during the campaign period in 1970. The findings also support the view that an incumbent's newsmaking abilities are a potent weapon in a campaign. By more than doubling the coverage in the issue of a public official's communication behavior, Kelley appears to have successfully exploited the advantage that an incumbent has during a political campaign. For the findings indicate that in 1970 there was an increase of 131 per cent in this category.

The other major shift in statements in 1970 was perceptible in the increase in the individual rights issue (7 versus 29 per cent). Of special significance was the shift

Table 1. Shift in treatment of issues by Kelley in 1970.

Category	Total Number of Statements		Per Cent of Total for Year		Numerical Gain for 1970		Percentage of Gain for 1970	
	1966	1970	1966	1970	N	%	N	%
	N	N	%	%				
1. Law and Order	43	12	23.7%	3.8%	-31	-72%		
2. Free Enterprise	0	6	0	1.9	+ 6	+600		
3. States' Rights	30	43	16.5	13.7	+13	+43.3		
4. Individual Rights (Parochialism)	13	92 (65)	7.1	29.4	+79	+607		
5. Labor's Role	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0		
6. Role of Public Official	44	102	24.3	32.6	+58	+131		
7. Right to Vote	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0		
8. Consumer Protection	44	47	24.3	15.0	+ 3	+6.8		
9. Civil Rights	2	2	1.1	0.6	0	0		
10. Miscellaneous	5	8	2.7	2.5	+ 3	+60		
TOTAL: N =	181	312	100%	100%				

in one of the indicants of this issue, Parochiaid. The issue has been further subdivided to indicate the extent to which Parochiaid as a specific campaign issue was reflected in coverage given Kelley's statements. Here again, of 79 statements by Kelley, 65 dealt with Parochiaid, or about one-half of the total increase in covered statements.

Frequency of statements pertaining to Law and Order as an issue decreased by more than 70 per cent (n = 43 versus 12) in the 1970 campaign. This would seem to indicate a partial flaw in the image-building campaign strategy, since a majority of the advertising funds went into television advertisements which were meant to emphasize both Kelley's conduct in office and his strong law and order stand. Apparently the attempt at identifying the candidate with the law and order issue was not successfully carried over in hard news coverage. A possible explanation may be obtained from a close examination of the television spots themselves. They emphasize his past performance against organized crime, and Kelley's support for law and order, but only in general terms with no specific facts. An additional explanation is offered in the directional analysis.

Free Enterprise as a viable campaign issue appears to have increased only slightly in 1970 (n = 0 versus 6 statements). Even this emphasis was on the "great opportunities of business to work in partnership with consumers." In a speech before the Public Relations Society of America,

Kelley included salutary remarks about industry, but emphasized the great challenge lying ahead for commerce in dealing with consumer demands and protecting the consumer from abuse.⁶³

The frequency of statements pertaining to States' Rights as an issue increased by 43 per cent (n = 30 versus 43) in 1970. However, many of these items centered on Kelley's role as Attorney General representing the State of Michigan's interests. Thus, these may have served a dual purpose for this issue and for the issue of concepts of the public role for a public official.

As the findings indicate, Individual Rights and Concepts of the Accepted Public Role Behavior of an Elected Official were the major issues in the 1970 campaign.

Another dimension of the findings are revealed by a qualitative analysis of the data, particularly the sample newspapers' treatment of the Parochiaid statements. The distribution of statements concerning the Parochiaid issue in the sample newspapers was as follows: Detroit News--21 statements in separate articles; Lansing State Journal--16; Grand Rapids Press--12; Flint Journal--9; Detroit Free Press--7. It appears that the Detroit News and Lansing State Journal led all papers in coverage of Kelley's statements on the issue. The Grand Rapids Press also devoted a

⁶³Frank J. Kelley, Speech before Detroit Chapter, Public Relations Society of America, September 22, 1970.

great deal of attention to the issue. This may be attributed to the socio-economic and religious composition of a community where 40 per cent of all school children go to parochial schools, as well as the fact that Grand Rapids is the state's second most populous city.

However, the most interesting finding emerged from the nature of coverage given Kelley's statements on the issue by the Detroit Free Press. Of the seven articles, four were hard news stories, one an extensive Sunday feature, and two editorials. All seven were written by staff writers. Four were datelined Lansing, three Detroit. This might be considered "light coverage" by a major newspaper of the most important issue in a campaign. The coverage seems superficial particularly when contrasted with the competing Detroit News. The Detroit News presented 21 articles: 11 hard news items, two Kelley quotation headlines in summaries, one an extensive Sunday feature, and four in editorials. There were also three direct references to Kelley's statements in Letters to the Editors columns. Eighteen items dealing with the issue were written by Detroit News staffers. There was no wire service copy included. Nine of the 18 items by the staff originated in Lansing, the remainder in Detroit.

Several explanations can be offered for the large difference in coverage scope of the two newspapers. The Detroit News had an advantage over the Free Press since

Kelley's releases were generally made available with preference for evening newspapers' deadlines. Even press conferences were scheduled for late morning in order that television film and radio tape and evening newspapers could utilize the news and still meet their deadlines. This technique has been pointed out by Douglas Cater in The Fourth Branch of Government.⁶⁴ Thus, what was recent hard news for the News and other evening dailies in this study was only a warmed-over summary for the Free Press readers who had been exposed to the statement in the previous afternoon's newspapers, on the evening television news, and perhaps again on a morning radio news program.

Finally, as speculation, the Free Press by de-emphasizing Kelley's involvement with Parochiaid, may have wanted to support him beyond editorials.

A variety of factors thus combined to explain the difference in coverage given Kelley's statements on Parochiaid in the state's two largest dailies.

The strategy of emphasizing Kelley as the competent incumbent worked well as shown in Table 1 under Concepts of the Accepted Public Role Behavior of an Elected Official. This issue had the most items (n = 102) and the second largest percentage increase (131 per cent).

⁶⁴Douglas Cater, The Fourth Branch of Government (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), p. 22-46.

On the issues of Labor's Role in the American Political Process and the Right to Vote there were no statements by Kelley in either campaign. The only relationship between Kelley and labor came in an announcement of an endorsement by the Teamsters Union. The right to vote for 18-year olds, defeated on a referendum in 1970 was also ignored by candidate and press.

Statements pertaining to Protection for the Consumer as an issue decreased only slightly in 1970 (n = 47 versus 44). However, two observations should be made in connection with this issue. First, the statements in this section include comments by the Attorney General on stock consumer protection items such as interest charging practices of large retailers, public utility rate cases, and lawsuits against pollution by industry and government. In addition, specific mention was made of "exposé" stories regarding doctors defrauding the state insurance programs, and of real estate promotions, as well as cease-and-desist orders for false advertising. The exposé technique of getting favorable coverage for a law enforcement official during an election campaign has been discussed earlier.⁶⁵

Secondly, this relatively small increase in number of statements pertaining to this issue is all the more important when it is noted that the issue actually dropped from

⁶⁵ Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders, p. 155.

a tie position for first in 1966 for largest number of statements (n = 44) to third place in 1970. Contrary to a stated campaign goal, both developments indicate a lack of emphasis on this issue in 1970. The campaign strategy was to show a crusader for the public interest then emphasize his needed presence to continue the work.

Kelley's statements on the Civil Rights issue were particularly unimpressive (n = 2 versus 2) in both campaigns as only two statements on the issue were made. Additionally, a qualitative analysis of the data on this issue indicates that the only coverage given by the sample newspapers in 1970 was in a story on the possible racial bias to be found in the meting out of parking tickets. Similarly in 1966, the only story dealt with alleged racial discrimination in the employment practices in a hospital. Another factor in the handling of the civil rights issue by Kelley was the social upheavals that had taken place between 1966 and 1970. In 1966 the Detroit riots were yet to come. In 1970, they were only vaguely distasteful memories for many voters. It appears then that civil rights as an issue may have been publicly de-emphasized by Kelley because of his assessment of the social importance of the issue.

In summary, the net gain of a 131-statement increase in 1970 represented an 80 per cent increase in statements on the issues by the Attorney General (n = 312 versus 181). The notable gains appear to be related to the issues of Kelley

as the incumbent and to Parochiaid. The former seems to have paid off with his re-election. The campaign advertisements, primarily television spots, which emphasized law and order and consumer protection did not seem to pay as much dividends in statements in hard news articles.

Direction of the Coverage

There are four possible directions along which the issue can be treated. As defined previously, these directions include neutral, positive, negative, and mixed.

The findings contained in Table 2, Shifts in Direction of Treatment of Issues by Kelley in 1970, indicate the numerical shift in each direction. A detailed analysis of each issue follows.

The findings in Table 2 indicate a sizeable decrease in positive statements pertaining to the Law and Order issue (n = 22 versus 4). This can partially be attributed to the 72 per cent decrease in all statements on the issue (Table 1). Law and order was apparently emphasized in advertisements only in 1970. The issue fell from being the subject of 23.7 per cent of all statements in 1966 to 3.8 per cent in 1970 (Table 1). As an issue in 1966, Kelley sought and succeeded in making positive public statements on law and order. De-emphasis of positive statements on the issue might also be the result of a judgment by Kelley that the issue had become the symbolic term for legalized oppression of minorities

Table 2. Shift in direction of treatment of issues by Kelley in 1970.

Category	Neutral 1966 1970		Gain net		Positive 1966 1970		Gain net		Negative 1966 1970		Gain net		Mixed 1966 1970		Gain net	
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1. Law and Order	12	4	-8	26	4	-22	2	2	0	1	0	-1				
2. Free Enterprise	0	4	+4	0	1	+1	0	0	0	1	0	-1				
3. States' Rights	16	23	+7	8	12	+4	4	5	+1	0	3	+3				
4. Individual Rights	29	61	+32	3	19	+16	0	21	+21	0	3	+3				
5. Labor's Role	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
6. Role of Public Official	22	74	+52	14	11	-3	4	10	+6	0	3	+3				
7. Right to Vote	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
8. Consumer Protection	17	11	-6	24	24 ⁿ	0	3	3	0	0	1	+1				
9. Civil Rights	2	2	0	2	1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0				
10. Miscellaneous	0	6	+6	0	0	0	3	1	-2	0	0	0				

and dissenters. To minimize this perception by liberals and minority voting groups, Kelley may have decided to de-emphasize all statements on the issue, and particularly positive ones.

Shifts in direction of treatment of Free Enterprise, Labor's Role in the American Political Process, the Right to Vote, and Civil Rights issues, as indicated by the findings were too small to be of any importance.

The findings indicate an overall increase in each direction for the issue of States' Rights. This appears to be in accord with the 43.3 per cent increase in all statements made on the issue. The shift in neutral and positive directions (n = 7 and 4 respectively) is apparently supportive of the previously offered explanation, that Kelley's statements on this issue emphasized both this issue and that of the public role of a public official. In addition, a qualitative analysis of the data on the issue indicates that Kelley's criticisms of an administrator of the state hospital in Traverse City, Michigan was given heavy emphasis in all sample newspapers. The administrator allegedly tried to discourage critical newspaper stories about the hospital and his administration by advising local merchants not to place advertising with the critical newspaper. The directional analysis of all statements pertaining to this "freedom of the press" issue was neutral or positive. There were no

mixed or negative statements by Kelley. He was very supportive of the local newspaper's position and critical of the administrator.

The findings in Table 2 indicate that statements by Kelley pertaining to the Individual Rights issue, and particularly Parochiaid were only partially successful in implementing the total campaign strategy to defuse the issue. While there was an increase in 32 neutral statements on the issue, there was also a shift to 16 positive and 21 negative statements. These latter two shifts are important as a qualitative analysis of the data indicates they contained solely statements by Kelley pertaining to Parochiaid. Further, the findings indicate that there were no negative statements by Kelley on this issue in 1966, but that a shift to 21 negative statements took place in 1970. A qualitative analysis indicates this may partially be due to remarks by Kelley aimed at allaying the fears of Protestant voters. An additional factor revealed by the analysis is an apparent bias in the 21 statements covered by the Detroit News. Of the 21 total statements carried in the newspaper, 10 were negative treatments of the issue. This is almost one-half of the total shift in this direction by all of the sample newspapers. The Lansing State Journal, by comparison, with nearly as many articles ($n = 16$) had but one negative statement on the issue by Kelley. The qualitative analysis of the

Detroit News stories indicate that while the initial statements by Kelley may have been neutral, when considered within the context of the entire article, they appear negative.

The findings in Table 2 indicate the most interesting shifts in treatment of an issue occurred in statements pertaining to the Accepted Public Role Behavior of a Public Official. There was a substantial increase in the neutral direction ($n = +52$), along with smaller increases in negative ($n = +6$) and mixed ($n = +3$) directions. The findings also show a decrease in positive statements on the issue ($n = -3$).

The apparent contradiction of both positive and negative directional shift in statements by Kelley can be clarified by a qualitative analysis of the data. Of the ten negative statements by Kelley on this issue, seven were related to qualifications of two candidates of the American Independent Party for the Michigan Supreme Court. One candidate was over 70 years of age, and the other had no legal degree, both requirements for the office. Kelley's statements emphasized the negative aspects of their candidacy for the public position and were correspondingly coded as negative statements.

The findings also indicate little shift in Kelley's treatment of the issue of Protection for Consumers. The neutral decrease in statements ($n = -6$) can apparently be attributed to the decreased importance of the issue to the candidate as a portion of all his statements (23.3 per cent

versus 15 per cent in 1970). The findings however, are again in opposition to one of the stated campaign strategies, to emphasize Kelley's consumer protection actions. The advertisements did this, but apparently the issue was not to be pursued with hard news statements.

In summary, the findings show the most notable increases to be in neutral, positive, and negative statements related to Parochiaid, as well as a major increase in neutral statements on the public role of a public official. This latter finding seems to have helped in Kelley's re-election by emphasizing his incumbency. The Parochiaid statements apparently resulted in at least partially defusing the issue, since Kelley seemingly took all possible directional stances on the issue, with special emphasis on his neutrality.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS

This chapter will attempt to draw conclusions from the data contained in the study in terms of the stated assumptions and hypotheses. The chapter will also attempt to relate these conclusions to several traditional American beliefs and their importance in future elections.

Assumptions of the Study

The candidate attempts to manipulate voter perceptions about himself and his opponent.

This assumption is partly supported by the study in several ways. The campaign manager stated the media goals of the campaign included presenting Kelley to the voters as a hard-working incumbent, constantly doing his job. Also emphasized was the goal of having Kelley perceived as a defender of the public interest. This strategy succeeded since the high frequency with which these issues occurred appears in the study (public official's behavior and protection for consumers). This finding suggests an association between the candidate and attempted manipulation of voter perceptions.

The candidate will attempt to make his own self-perception as positive as possible.

This assumption is supported by Kelley's concern with his personal TV appearance and his perception of his public position as being in the mainstream of American political traditions. This public stance was a direct negation of his personal self-image as a radical. It was chosen however, because he felt liberals were not successful in electing candidates to office.

Manipulation will be purposive and designed to contribute to a positive image-building campaign.

This assumption is supported by events of the 1970 campaign, related in the study. The major speech of the campaign was devoted to emphasizing Kelley's dual role as Attorney General and political office holder in relation to the Parochiaid issue. The speech was presented before the Michigan Press Association to achieve maximum positive exposure, and was the most heavily covered event in the campaign.

Releases in consonance with the campaign strategy were arranged for maximum coverage. Other less favorable but required statements, such as the reaffirmation of public assistance eligibility for striking automobile workers, were minimized. All these instances support the assumption of manipulation of the media for positive coverage beneficial to the candidate.

Any advertising used by the candidate during the campaign is also designed to produce a positive image of the candidate before the voter.

This assumption was not evaluated in this study in an empirical manner. However, statements by the campaign manager ("We wanted to show Frank projecting law and order") and superficial examinations of the content of the advertisements may support the assumption.

The communications media may mediate in the process of image-building by reinforcing existing beliefs or by modifying perception.

This assumption was based on the previously cited works of Klapper and Lazarsfeld, but was not supported in the findings contained in Table 2, Shifts in Direction of Treatment of Issues by Kelley in 1970. On the basis of this study, the assumption would not be tenable.

A candidate's "image" is a function of traditional American ideologies, as articulated by the candidates in the issues of the campaign.

This assumption is supported through the findings, since the candidate hits hard on at least two issues on which the electorate could align themselves. These were public behavior of public officials and individual rights.

Any attempt to build a political "image" must necessarily be based on the position a candidate takes on these ideologies.

This assumption is only partially supported in the findings due to the exclusiveness required by the concept of necessity. The findings indicate almost no non-issue statements, and logically, if it is true that the image is a function of the ideology expressed in issues, then the assumption is also valid. There is no support in the study however, indicating this must necessarily be so.

The Hypotheses

Based on the foregoing assumptions and the data contained in the study, the descriptive hypotheses appear to have been supported only in part.

The candidate's public communications as carried in the media will be related to campaign issues.

The findings indicate the issues of Individual Rights and Accepted Public Role Behavior were the major issues addressed during the campaign. The other issues contained far fewer numbers of reported statements, with less than 5 non-issue related statements.

These statements are likely to be more in consonance than in dissonance with the candidate's position on the issues. At the same time, the candidate may ignore issues if they do not contribute to his image-building process.

The findings in Table 2, dealing with the shift in direction of Kelley's statements, appears to support this hypothesis. On the incumbency issue, Kelley succeeded in

conveying great numbers of neutral statements. From a campaign strategy of depicting the Attorney General doing his job, this presumably would be most effective. It should also be pointed out that while there was an absolute numerical increase in 1970 of negative over positive statements on this issue, it was a relative decrease over the 1966 campaign.

Statements on image-building issues will likely be more frequent and constant than non-issues during a campaign.

This hypothesis was not supported by the findings of the study.

Generalizations

The study appears to support several traditional notions about political candidates. They do attempt to appear in harmony (positive/neutral direction) as much as possible with their electorate. This is particularly true on issues perceived by the candidate as having the most positive impact on voters (Kelley's incumbency in this study). When faced with potentially damaging issues (Parochialism in 1970, bussing in 1972), Kelley attempts to neutralize the issue by emphasizing his legal responsibilities. This allows him to address the issue in terms of his legal ties to it, thus avoiding the issue's substance, and offers an opportunity to emphasize the positive aspects of his incumbency.

The technique obviously worked in 1970. Whether it will in 1972 is questionable, for several reasons. Kelley has again avoided the substance of the bussing issue by emphasizing his performance as Attorney General in combating it. In this attempt to retain support of both conservatives and liberals, Kelley may suffer heavier losses than if he had chosen a more clearly identified position. While he may have defused the issue among the conservatives, for many he may appear as too recent a convert. In addition, he probably interjected an element of confusion among his doctrinaire liberal supporters while definitely alienating many minority groups.

The study also supports the traditional beliefs about the value of incumbency. When the media is used to emphasize an issue, incumbency as an access vehicle is very important, particularly so when that incumbency is the issue to be stressed, as in the 1970 campaign. Comparisons of coverage given Kelley and his opponent Farr, show tremendous differences, all in Kelley's favor. This may be simply a function of holding a state office and being the recipient of decision-making publicity. It may also be that the less visible the state-level office, the more important incumbency is, particularly in a "ticket-splitting" state such as Michigan in the 1960s and 1970.

The study suggests that extensive pre-campaign polling would do much to select issues to emphasize, as well as in-campaign polling to determine issues to avoid. In any event, more extensive, rapid-result polling could help a candidate mold his positions more closely to those traditional American ideologies as they are expressed in campaign issues. The question of the ethics of this remain unanswered and should be addressed, however. The 1972 Michigan Senatorial campaign to date (mid-October, 1972) offers a classic example of this process. There is an obvious conflict of ideologies in the bussing issue (Civil Rights versus Individual Rights). The perception of the voters on the issues is the determining factor to date on both candidates' positions. Kelley views bussing as a "phony" issue, to be settled in the courts. The real problems of inequality in education and segregated housing patterns are not addressed by bussing. After accepting the philosophical position that it is a "phony" issue, the campaign tactic becomes one of out "anti-bussing" the opponent. This in turn causes a diluted, confused campaign, with the issues hard to define. Kelley counters this by emphasizing his role in consumer protection, while Griffin promotes himself as "Michigan's Muscle in Washington."

Unfortunately, campaigns of this sort, molded to public opinion, go against many traditional concepts of American political democracy where ideas presumably determine political destinies, not poll results.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING STATEMENTS OF
ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANK J. KELLEY

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING STATEMENTS OF

ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANK J. KELLEY

Procedure:

1. The coding will be done on the ruled accounting sheets provided.
2. Each blank on the coding sheet should be filled out.
3. Each item may be coded into more than one category.

Example: An item may contain several statements relating to different issues. Enter on a separate line each issue-related statement, as well as statements on non-issue subjects.

4. If the subject matter in the item does not appear to pertain to any of the issue categories, the coder should enter a (00) in column two.
5. The coder should code all news clippings provided for analysis.
6. The coder should consider each statement by itself to determine content issue. However, for determining direction, the coder must consider the context of the item in which the statement is found.
7. The coder should not code any statement until the entire item in which the statement is found has been read.

Definitions:

ITEM: A news clipping or picture with caption published during the study period by any of the newspapers considered in the sample.

STATEMENT: An assertion, or single thought-unit or idea that conveys a single item of information extracted from a segment of content.

COLUMN DEFINITIONS:

(1): Date of Newspaper (day and month)

1. 1966
2. 1970
3. Unknown

(2): Ideological issue (see below for definitions and indicants)

1. Law and Order
2. Free Enterprise system of economy
3. States' Rights
4. Individual Rights other than Civil
5. Labor's Role in American Political Process
6. Concept of Accepted Public Role Behavior of an Elected Official
7. Right to Vote
8. Protection for Consumers
9. Civil Rights
10. Miscellaneous

(3): Type of Coverage

1. News story: Item with its own headline, not under a standing headline. Code each with a different entry.
2. News Roundup: Item found under a standing headline, such as "News Briefs," etc.
3. Photo (news) or drawing with a cutline.
4. Background story: Emphasizes background, analysis, or "feature" angle of story.
5. Picture story.
6. Editorial.
7. Opinion column mention.
8. Letter to the Editor
9. Miscellaneous.

(4): Direction (see below for definitions and examples)

1. Neutral
2. Positive
3. Negative
4. Mixed

(5): Source of story: writer

1. Staff writer: local or bureau of newspaper chain
2. AP
3. UPI
4. Writer of letter to the Editor
5. Any other source

Note: Don't assign source until entire item has been read--the source may be cited at the end of the story.

- (6): Source of story: Geographic
1. City of publication
 2. Lansing bureau if not Lansing State Journal
 3. Dateline

ISSUE AND DIRECTION DEFINITIONS:

The statements will be analyzed and coded into nine issue categories, defined as follows:

Law and Order in this study conveys the concept of a society ruled by laws, not by the capricious actions of men. It includes the belief that maintenance of civic peace and social order is a function of government, particularly enforcement officials. Indicants of this issue would include items concerning Kelley and criminal investigations his staff made, legalized gambling as a public issue, drug abuse, attacks on police, and public support for law enforcement officials. Example: "There must be an all-out effort to crack down on the dope pushers who form a link between organized crime, which supplies most of the narcotics, and the young people in the street who use them."⁶⁶

Free enterprise system of economy refers to the belief in and support for profit-motivated systems of commerce, with the least amount of government regulation.⁶⁷ In the system, individual initiative is rewarded in proportion to

⁶⁶ Lansing State Journal, October 6, 1970, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Obviously, President Nixon's new economic policies with wage and price controls go against the thrust of the free enterprise system--a laissez-faire doctrine of economic survival. It has and is being argued however, that within

the effort. Indicants of this issue include Kelley's views on business activities of private enterprises (excluding those pertaining to consumer protection), public utilities' rate requests, medical insurance programs, business' role in meeting social issues. Example: (Kelley said) he will "continue to campaign against consumer fraud higher utility rates, and pollution by both government and industry."⁶⁸

States' rights are the rights and responsibilities of the state government in relation to individuals, other federal and local units of government, and other public institutions. Indicants of this issue would include Kelley's legal work in behalf of the state, and the relationship between state and federal government law enforcement agencies. Example: Attorney General Frank J. Kelley Sunday called "shocking and terrifying a report that officials of the Traverse City State Hospital have attempted to intimidate a small weekly newspaper in that community."⁶⁹

Individual rights in a traditional American political ideology refers to the rights and responsibilities of the individual in relation to other private persons, his

the constraints of governmental regulation, the economy will function as before. Also, in 1970, the Presidential "game plan" was based on restraint of direct regulation, and heavy dependence on economic control through control of the monetary supply, i.e., the Federal Reserve System.

⁶⁸Lansing State Journal, November 4, 1970, p. 4.

⁶⁹Lansing State Journal, September 21, 1970, p. 10.

government or other social institutions. Indicants of this issue include items relating Kelley to specific legislation affecting these rights, such as gun controls, state and federal aid to striking auto workers, the individual's right to sue polluting industrial firms or units of government believed to be polluters, or items involving freedom of speech and press. Example: the Attorney General said, "It is my opinion that a representative of the press, including radio stations, cannot lawfully be prohibited from making a tape recording of a public meeting of a board of county commissioners. . . ." ⁷⁰

Labor's role in the American political process refers to the concept of organized unions' direct involvement in an election, and their relationship to the candidate. Indicants of this issue would be items relating Kelley to organized labor. Example: "Michigan's Teamsters Union yesterday endorsed . . . incumbent Attorney General Frank J. Kelley" ⁷¹

Public officials' behavior is a conditioned belief that a candidate shares with the electorate regarding how he is expected to act publicly on their behalf, and privately, as a public official. Indicants of this issue include the

⁷⁰ Grand Rapids Press, September 14, 1970, p. 4.

⁷¹ Detroit News, October 5, 1970, p. 2.

general tone of campaign advertisements, his personal political philosophy expressed in interviews, and his public actions toward other public officials. Example: "Attorney General Frank Kelley swiped at critics of his legal stand on a proposed anti-Parochiaid amendment Thursday, saying he must 'follow the law, not my own personal desires.'" ⁷²

Consumer protection is the belief that government has a role to play in protecting the consumer in American commerce from abuse by private industry. Indicators of this issue include items relating Kelley's activities to stop medical and other frauds, retail credit charges, prosecution of polluters, consumer protection within governmental structure, protection of natural resources, and the retention of transportation services to the northern portion of the state. Example: "While we have strict laws protecting Michigan citizens who purchase vacation sites in large developments outside of this state," Kelley said Friday, "we have no protection for our citizens who buy vacation property in developments within Michigan." ⁷³

Civil rights refers to the concept of individual rights and the means of guaranteeing an equal opportunity in education, employment, and other facets of everyday life for

⁷²Grand Rapids Press, October 9, 1970, p. 8.

⁷³Lansing State Journal, September 20, 1970, p. 3.

all citizens. Indicators of this issue would include any opinions relating Kelley and discrimination, plus any public appearances before predominantly minority organizations.

Since a major hypothesis of the study is that an associative relationship exists between the statement on an issue and the ideological issue, a directional analysis is essential.

For the purposes of the study, direction is defined as the attitude contained within each statement toward an issue. There are four possible directions: neutral, positive, negative, and mixed.

Mixed items are usually those containing contingency statements similar to "if X happens, then Y." Mixed items also include statements that take different attitudes toward different segments of the issue, regardless of the general attitude of the entire article.

If the statement contains only a fact, the statement will be coded neutral. Thus, when an item with no attitude toward an issue or the candidate is analyzed, statements within the item should be coded neutral. An example of this would usually include announcements of a speech by the candidate or statements of fact used in legal speeches.

In coding statements not neutral in direction, the coder will consider two factors: whether the statement alone is positive, negative, or mixed, and whether the statement in the context of the entire item should be considered

positive, negative, or mixed. The essential point for the purposes of this study is to consider the direction of the statement within the context of the article. By combining the two elements of judgment regarding direction, the coder will arrive at a reasonable judgment of the intent of the statement within the issue category.

An example of a positive statement on law and order would be: "Kelley said he favored legislation making possession of handguns by convicted felons illegal." A negative statement on the same issue might be: "A spokesman for the Attorney General said his office could do nothing to improve policemen's salaries on a statewide basis." A more subtle negative example would be: "Kelley also said he supported Senator Hart's proposal to ban all handguns from private citizens in the U.S." This statement would be considered negative because there exists a widely held belief that an individual has the right to own a handgun if he is not a criminal or mentally incompetent citizen.

A mixed statement on the law and order issue might be: "Kelley said he would support Senator Hart's proposals, provided emphasis was placed on keeping guns out of criminal hands, not legitimate sportsmen."

APPENDIX B

KELLEY STATEMENTS COVERED BY SAMPLE
NEWSPAPERS IN CAMPAIGN PERIODS
1966 & 1970

APPENDIX B

KELLEY STATEMENTS COVERED BY SAMPLE

NEWSPAPERS IN CAMPAIGN PERIODS

1966 & 1970

THE DETROIT FREE PRESS 1966

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direc- tion</u>	<u>Writer</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
1. Senate OK Judges	9-2	03	01	2	1	2
2. Bowles Grand Jury	9-2	01	01	2	1	1
3. Racetrack sued	9-3	01	01	2	1	1
4. Bowles to work	9-3	01	01	2	1	1
5. Piggins Sums Up	9-4	01	03	4	1	1
6. School Costs	9-8	03	01	2	3	3
7. Bronson Badges	9-8	03	01	1	1	2
8. School Aid Bill	9-8	03	01	1	1	2
9. Mafia	9-10	06	01	2	1	2
10. J.P. Sues	9-10	06	01	1	1	2
11. Juror Picks Inv.	9-10	01	01	1	1	1
12. Meat Plant	9-13	08	01	2	1	2
13. Meat Deal	9-14	08	01	2	1	1
14. Meat Plant	9-15	08	01	2	1	2
15. Bowles Crime Tips	9-15	01	01	2	1	2
16. Bronson Badges	9-15	06	06	1	1	1
17. I-696 Fight	9-15	03	01	1	1	1
18. Trial Forum	9-17	06	01	2	2	3
19. Meat Grand Jury	9-17	08	01	1	1	3
20. Kelley'Crime	9-18	01	01	2	1	2
21. Fraud-Pharmacist	9-21	04	01	1	1	1
22. School Aid	9-22	03	01	2	1	2
23. Racial-Hospitals	9-22	09	01	2	1	2
24. Bowles	9-23	01	01	1	1	1
25. Grand Jury Expands	9-24	01	01	2	1	1
26. Suspect/Thug	9-26	01	06	1	1	1
27. Pollution Suit	9-27	08	01	2	2	3
28. Divorce Reform	9-27	04	01	1	1	1
29. Meat Case	9-29	08	01	2	1	3
30. Dual Role	10-5	06	01	1	2	3

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direction</u>	<u>Writer</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
31. Hospital Annex	10-5	00	01	3	1	3
32. Extortion Suspect	10-6	08	01	1	1	3
33. Meat Probe	10-9	08	01	1	3	3
34. Horse Racing	10-11	01	01	2	1	1
35. Embezzlement	10-14	06	01	2	2	3
36. DRC	10-14	01	01	2	1	1
37. Fraud-Public Bank	10-15	01	01	1	1	1
38. Public Bank	10-16	08	02	2	1	1
39. Kelley	10-18	06	03	2	1	1
40. Wayne Co. Sheriff	10-19	06	01	2	1	1
41. Daylight Time	10-20	06	06	1	1	1
42. DRC Trainer Cleared	10-20	01	01	2	1	1
43. Meat Grand Jury	10-21	03	01	2	1	3
44. Housing Bar	10-22	03	01	2	2	3
45. Ferency Wit	10-23	06	02	3	1	2
46. Lottery	10-23	03	08	1	4	1
47. Judgeship	10-23	06	01	1	1	1

THE DETROIT NEWS 1966

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direc- tion</u>	<u>Writer</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
1. Grand Jury Secret Vote	9-1	01	01	1	1	1
2. Grand Juror	9-1	01	01	2	1	1
3. Appt. WMU Prof.	9-2	00	01	1	1	2
4. Bowles-Piggins	9-2	01	01	2	1	1
5. Leg. Term	9-2	03	01	3	1	2
6. DRC	9-3	01	01	2	1	1
7. Bowles	9-3	01	01	2	1	1
8. DRC	9-3	01	01	1	1	1
9. Bronson Badges	9-8	06	01	1	1	1
10. GI No Immunity	9-9	08	01	1	1	3
11. Kelley Repub. Opp.	9-10	06	01	3	1	2
12. Meat Deal	9-12	08	01	2	1	2
13. Meat Case	9-13	08	01	2	1	2
14. Meat License	9-14	08	01	2	1	2
15. Vet Tuition	9-20	04	01	1	1	1
16. Pharmacist Fake	9-21	04	01	1	1	1
17. Civil Defense	9-21	06	01	1	1	3
18. School Aid	9-21	03	01	4	1	2
19. School Aid	9-22	03	01	1	1	2
20. Ex-Pharmacist	9-22	04	01	1	1	1
21. Bronson Badge	9-22	06	01	1	1	1
22. Race Track	9-23	01	01	1	1	1
23. Bowles	9-26	01	06	3	1	1
24. Pickles Pollution	9-27	08	01	2	1	2
25. Lakes Plan	9-27	08	01	2	1	3
26. Cement Pollution	9-28	08	01	2	1	3
27. Gambling	9-30	01	01	2	1	3
28. Dual Role	10-5	06	01	1	1	2
29. Ricket Fix	10-7	01	01	2	1	1
30. Meat Probe	10-9	08	01	1	3	3
31. Jury Revision	10-10	01	01	3	1	2
32. Hare-Kelley	10-11	06	01	2	1	2
33. Civil Defense	10-13	06	01	1	1	2
34. St. Merger	10-13	03	01	1	1	2
35. Civil Defense	10-14	06	01	2	1	3
36. Daylight Time	10-18	00	01	3	1	2
37. Wayne Co. Sheriff	10-19	06	01	1	1	1
38. Meat Indictments	10-19	08	01	1	1	3
39. Campaign '66	10-19	06	01	3	1	3
40. Public Bank	10-20	01	01	1	1	1
41. J.P. Fees	10-20	06	01	1	1	3
42. Meat Probe	10-21	08	01	1	1	3

THE LANSING STATE JOURNAL 1966

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direc-</u> <u>tion</u>	<u>Writer</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
1. Police Standards	9-1	01	01	1	1	1
2. Defender law	9-1	01	01	2	1	1
3. Bowles Grand Jury	9-1	01	01	2	2	3
4. Fake Badges	9-2	06	01	2	1	1
5. Kelley-Mafia	9-9	06	06	2	1	1
6. Township Authority	9-9	03	01	1	1	1
7. JP Fees	9-9	06	01	1	1	1
8. School Aid	9-9	03	01	1	1	1
9. Free Speech	9-9	04	01	2	2	3
10. Water Protection	9-11	08	01	2	3	3
11. Kelley-Crime	9-11	01	01	2	1	1
12. Meat Deal	9-12	08	01	2	1	1
13. Meat Inquiry	9-13	08	02	2	3	3
14. Grand Juries	9-16	06	01	3	1	1
15. Meat	9-17	08	01	1	1	1
16. Meat Ring	9-18	08	01	1	1	1
17. Kelley-Juries	9-19	01	01	2	1	1
18. Tuition-free	9-20	04	04	1	1	1
19. School Aid	9-21	03	03	2	1	1
20. Pharmacist Fraud	9-21	04	01	1	1	1
21. Seaway Toll	9-22	03	01	3	2	3
22. School Aid	9-27	03	01	2	1	1
23. Pickle Pollution	2-27	08	01	2	1	1
24. Lakes Pact	2-27	08	01	2	2	3
25. Gambling	10-3	01	01	2	3	3
26. Apportionment	10-4	03	01	1	1	1
27. Dual Role	10-6	06	01	1	1	1
28. Bowles	10-6	01	04	1	1	1
29. Extortion	10-7	08	01	1	1	1
30. Piggins records	10-9	01	01	1	3	3
31. Campaign '66	10-10	06	01	2	1	1
32. Jury Law Revision	10-11	03	01	2	1	1
33. Legislation back	10-13	03	01	2	1	1
34. Bay City Official	10-15	06	01	3	1	1
35. Bank Public	10-18	01	01	2	3	3
36. Daylight Time	10-18	00	01	2	2	3
37. Free Speech	10-19	04	01	3	1	1
38. Daylight Time	10-19	00	01	2	1	1
39. Daylight Time	10-19	00	06	3	1	1
40. School Bonds	10-20	04	01	3	1	1
41. Campaign	10-23	06	01	2	3	3

THE GRAND RAPIDS PRESS 1966

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direc-</u> <u>tion</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
1. Bronson Badges	9-7	06	01	1	3	3
2. Campaign Cars	9-7	06	01	2	2	3
3. Badges Clear	9-8	06	01	1	2	3
4. GI Immunity	9-9	08	01	1	3	3
5. School Aid	9-9	03	01	1	3	3
6. Freedom of Speech	9-9	04	01	2	3	3
7. Pollution Aid	9-10	08	01	3	3	3
8. State Aid Migrants	9-11	03	01	2	1	1
9. Meat Raid	9-12	08	03	2	1	1
10. Meat Charge	9-12	03	03	1	2	3
11. School Aid	9-12	08	01	2	1	3
12. Meat Probe	9-13	08	06	1	1	1
13. Meat	9-14	08	01	1	1	1
14. Meat Defendent	9-16	06	01	2	2	3
15. Forum-Kelley	9-17	03	01	2	2	3
16. Subpoena Power	9-19	04	01	1	2	3
17. Free Tuition	9-20	09	01	2	2	3
18. Racial-Hospitals	9-21	03	01	2	2	3
19. School Aid	9-21	03	01	1	2	3
20. Seawy Bill	9-22	08	01	3	2	3
21. Discrimination	9-22	09	01	1	1	2
22. Uniform State laws	9-26	03	01	1	1	1
23. Pickle Pollution	9-27	08	01	2	2	3
24. Meat Probe	9-28	08	01	1	1	1
25. Lakes Pact	9-29	08	01	2	2	3
26. Meat license	10-4	08	01	1	1	1
27. Dual Roles	10-11	06	01	1	2	3
28. Grand Jury law	10-14	03	01	3	2	3
29. Grand Jury law	10-14	03	06	1	1	1

THE FLINT JOURNAL 1966

<u>Headline</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Direc- tion</u>	<u>Writer</u>	<u>Geo.</u>
1. Bowles	9-2	01	01	2	2	3
2. Campaign Cars	9-7	06	01	2	2	3
3. GI Immunity	9-8	08	01	1	2	3
4. Bronson Badges	9-7	06	01	1	3	3
5. School Aid	9-9	03	01	1	3	3
6. Kelley Mafia	9-10	03	01	1	3	3
7. J.P. Fees	9-10	06	01	3	3	3
8. Bowles	9-11	06	01	1	2	3
9. Public Corruption	9-11	01	01	2	1	2
10. Meat Plot	9-12	08	01	2	3	3
11. Open Occupancy	9-13	09	01	1	1	1
12. Meat Plot	9-13	08	01	1	3	3
13. Forum-Kelley	9-17	06	01	2	2	3
14. Pharmacist Fake	9-21	04	01	1	3	3
15. Seaway Bill	9-22	08	01	3	2	3
16. Grand Jury	9-24	01	01	1	2	3
17. Civil Defense	10-2	06	01	3	1	3
18. Police Training	10-4	01	01	2	1	1
19. Bodyguard	10-5	06	01	1	2	3
20. Threat	10-6	06	01	1	3	3
21. Grand Jury	10-10	03	01	1	2	3
22. Grand Jury	10-11	03	06	1	1	1
23. Public Bank	10-15	01	01	1	2	1

THE DETROIT FREE PRESS 1970

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
1. High Court Ballot	9-12	06	01	3	1	2
2. Parochiaid	9-16	04	01	1	1	2
3. Medicaid	9-17	03	01	1	2	3
4. Credit	9-18	08	01	2	1	1
5. Wayne County Jail	9-18	01	01	1	1	1
6. Credit	9-19	08	01	3	1	1
7. Parochiaid	9-20	04	01	3	1	2
8. Traverse Cith Hosp.	9-21	03	01	3	1	1
9. MEA "Voice"	9-22	06	01	1	1	2
10.	9-23	08	06	1	1	1
11. Secrecy Case	9-24	04	01	1	1	1
12. Traverse City Hosp.	9-25	03	01	2	1	3
13. Consumer	9-28	08	09	1	1	1
14. Credit	9-30	08	08	1	4	1
15. Bias Tickets	10-1	09	01	2	1	1
16. UM Regents	10-1	00	01	1	2	3
17. Youngblood	10-3	06	01	1	1	1
18. Parochiaid	10-3	04	06	1	1	1
19. Parochiaid	10-4	04	01	4	1	3
20. Teamster Endorse- ment	10-5	06	01	1	1	3
21. Sales Practices	10-5	08	04	1	1	1
22. Youngblood	10-6	06	06	3	1	1
23. UM Secrecy	10-6	00	06	1	1	1
24. Prof. Fund Raiser	10-7	08	01	3	1	1
25. Women Overtime	10-8	04	01	1	1	1
26. Traverse City Hosp.	10-9	03	01	2	1	3
27. Proposal C	10-9	04	04	4	1	2
28. Charities (Youngblood)	10-9	06	06-03	4	1	1
29. Welfare Strikers	10-10	04	01	1	3	3
30. Traverse City Hosp.	10-11	03	01	1	1	3
31. Name	10-12	06	07	1	1	1
32. Traverse City Hosp.	10-12	03	06	1	1	1
33. Youngblood	10-13	06	01	1	1	1
34. School Integration	10-15	06	01	1	1	1
35. Austin	10-15	03	01	1	1	1
36. McLouth Steel	10-15	08	01	2	1	1
37. School Systems	10-16	08	08	1	4	1
38. Swinging Weight	10-16	06	03-01	1	1	1
39. Endorse Kelley	10-18	06	06	2	1	1
40. Grolier's	10-19	08	01	2	1	1
41. Rate Hike	10-19	02	01	1	1	1
42. Collins' Extra- dition	10-20	03	01	3	3	3
43. Youngblood	10-22	06	01	1	1	1

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
44. Police Grant	10-24	01	01	1	1	1
45. Parochiaid	10-25	04	06	1	1	1
46. Kelley	10-29	06	07	1	1	1
47. Austin	11-1	06	04-03	1	1	2
48. Democratic Victory	11-1	06	01	1	1	1
49. Voter Turnout	11-1	06	01	1	1	1
50. Farr vs. Kelley	11-1	06	03-04	1	1	1
51. Democratic Ticket	11-1	06	07	1	1	1
52. Parochiaid	11-1	04	01	3	1	2
53. Kelley's Car	10-9	06	01	2	2	3

THE DETROIT NEWS 1970

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
1. Mackinac Ferry	9-11	08	01	2	5	3
2. Piersante	9-11	01	01	3	1	1
3. AAA Insurance	9-15	01	01	1	1	1
4. Parochiaid	9-15	04	01	3	1	3
5. Parochiaid	9-16	04	01	1	1	2
6. Parochiaid	9-16	04	06	3	1	1
7. Chiropractors	9-17	03	06	2	3	3
8. Punch Voting	9-17	03	01	1	1	2
9.	9-17	08	01	1	1	2
10. Parochiaid Wording	9-17	04	01	3	1	2
11. Service Charges	9-18	08	02	2	1	2
12. Service Chgs./Wards	9-19	08	01	3	1	2
13. AIP Ballot	9-19	06	01	3	1	2
14. Parochiaid	9-20	04	01	1	1	2
15. Parochiaid	9-21	04	01	3	1	2
16. Anti-Skid Device	9-21	08	08	1	4	1
17. Wayne County Jail	9-21	03	01	1	1	2
18. Wayne County Jail	9-22	03	01	1	1	1
19. Kelley "Hustling"	9-22	06	06	3	1	1
20. Parochiaid	9-23	04	01	1	1	1
21. Council Against Paroc.	9-23	04	01	2	1	2
22. Parochiaid #1	9-23	04	02	3	1	2
23. Parochiaid	9-24	04	06	3	1	1
24. Parochiaid	9-29	04	01	3	1	1
25. Welfare-Clothes	9-29	04	01	3	1	2
26. UM Regents	9-30	00	01	1	5	3
27. Parochiaid	9-30	04	06	3	1	1
28. AIP Sue	10-1	06	01	3	1	1
29. Levin Aides	10-1	06	01	1	1	1
30. Parochiaid Muddle	10-1	04	02	3	1	2
31. Parochiaid Ruling	10-1	04	01	1	1	1
32. Write-In	10-2	04	01	1	1	1
33. Youngblood	10-3	06	01	2	1	1
34. Teamsters' Endorse- ment	10-5	06	01	1	3	3
35. Charity Laws	10-6	06	01	2	1	1
36. Austin-Kelley Poll	10-6	06	02	1	1	1
37. Youngblood	10-6	06	01	1	1	1
38. Traverse City Hosp.	10-6	03	01	1	1	3
39.	10-8	03	01	1	1	1
40. Women Overtime	10-8	04	01	1	1	1
41. Democratic Coali- tion	10-8	06	02	1	1	1
42. Charity	10-9	08	01	2	1	1

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
43. Traverse Cith Hosp.	10-9	03	01	1	1	3
44. Parochiaid	10-9	04	01	4	1	1
45. Kelley Car	10-9	01-00	01	1	1	1
46. Wayne County Jail	10-13	03	01	1	1	1
47. G-M Tie-Up	10-14	04	01-03	2	1	1
48. McLouth Steel	10-14	08	01	2	1	1
49. Parent Responsi- bility	10-14	04	01	3	1	1
50. Youngblood	10-15	06	01	1	1	1
51. Baraga County Pol- lution	10-17	08	01	2	2	3
52. Sewer Pollution	10-17	08	01	2	1	3
53. Parochiaid	10-18	04	06	3	1	1
54. Collins' Extradi- tion	10-19	03	01	3	1	3
55. Parochiaid	10-19	04	08	3	4	1
56. Parochiaid	10-19	04	01	4	1	2
57. Tally A.G./S.St.	10-20	06	01	1	1	1
58. St. Dems Meeting	10-20	06	01	1	1	1
59. Kelley/Austin	10-20	06	01	1	1	1
60. Housing	10-22	03	01	3	1	1
61. Parochiaid	10-23	04	08	1	4	1
62. Parochiaid	10-24	04	08	1	4	1
63. Democratic Tour	10-24	06	01	1	1	2
64. Fishing Ban	10-25	08	01	2	1	1
65. Dare To Be Great	10-27	08	08	2	4	1
66. Democratic Campaign	10-29	06	01	1	1	1
67. Rate Hike	10-29	02	01	1	3	3
68. Proposal C	10-30	04	06	2	1	1
69. Democratic Show	10-30	06	01	1	1	1
70. Michigan Money Crisis	10-30	02	06	1	1	1
71. Austin/Kelley	11-1	02	06	1	1	1
72. Parochiaid	11-1	04	04	4	1	2
73. Get Rich Quick	11-4	08	01	2	1	2

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Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
1. Ferry	9-11	08	02	2	3	3
2. AIP	9-12	06	01	2	3	1
3. Records' Court	9-14	04	01	2	3	1
4. Non-Public School Aid	9-15	04	01	3	1	1
5. DNR	9-15	08	02	2	3	1
6. Tri-County Airport	9-15	00	03	1	1	1
7. AIP Candidate Arrest	9-16	04	03	1	1	1
8. Parochiaid	9-16	04	01	1	3	1
9. East Lans. Vot. Reg.	9-16	04	01	3	1	1
10. Crime Victims	9-16	03	01	2	3	3
11. Medicaid	9-16	03	01	2	1	1
12. Farr on Drugs	9-15	01	01	2	3	3
13. Democratic Rap.	9-17	06	03	3	3	3
14. Rivers Bill	9-17	08	01	2	3	1
15. Crime Victims	9-18	03	01	2	3	3
16. AIP Ineligible	9-19	06	01	3	3	1
17. Lobbying Controls	9-19	08	01	3	3	3
18. Credit Cases	9-19	08	01	1	1	1
19. Sears Denies	9-17	08	01	1	1	1
20. Credit Charges	9-17	08	01	2	1	1
21. Parochiaid	9-21	04	01	2	1	1
22. Parochiaid	9-21	04	01	1	1	1
23. Traverse City Hosp.	9-21	03	01	4	2	1
24. Parochiaid	9-22	04	03-04	1	1	1
25. AIP Contesting	9-24	06	01	1	1	1
26. Liquor License	9-25	03	01	1	1	1
27. Rivers	9-26	08	01	2	2	1
28. Vacation Property	9-26	08	01	2	2	1
29. Parochiaid	9-28	04	01	1	1	1
30. Pollution Challenge	9-29	04	01	3	1	1
31. Non-Public School Aid	9-30	04	01	1	1	1
32. UM Closed Meetings	9-30	00	01	1	2	3
33. MPA	9-30	00	01	1	2	3
34. Parochiaid	9-30	04	06	1	1	1
35. Parochiaid	10-1	04	01	1	1	1
36. Poll	10-1	06	01	1	3	3
37. Bottle Ban	10-1	08	01	1	3	1
38. Lost School Days	10-1	03	01	1	1	1
39. Parochiaid	10-2	04	01	1	1	1
40. Senate Term	10-2	03	01	1	1	1
41. AIP Damage	10-2	06	01	1	2	3
42. UM Secrecy	10-2	00	01	3	3	1
43. Youngblood	10-2	06	01	2	1	1

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
44. Parochiaid	10-3	04	01	1	1	1
45. Youngblood	10-3	06	01	1	1	1
46. Utility Donations	10-4	08	01	1	1	1
47. Parochiaid	10-4	04	07	2	1	1
48. Teamsters Endorse	10-5	06	01	1	2	3
49. Kelley/Austin	10-6	06	01	1	2	3
50. Drug Effort	10-6	01	01	2	3	2
51. Women Hours Limit	10-8	04	01	1	2	3
52. Parochiaid	10-8	04	01	4	1	1
53. Proposal C	10-9	04	01	1	1	1
54. Prison Abuse	10-9	03	01	1	2	1
55. Strike Welfare	10-10	04	01	2	3	1
56. Strike Welfare	10-10	04	01	2	3	1
57. Parochiaid	10-11	04	07	1	1	1
58. Democratic Ticket	10-12	06	03	1	2	3
59. GOP Crime Issues	10-12	06	01	1	2	3
60. Police Scholl	10-13	00	01	1	1	1
61. Crime Bill	10-13	01	01	2	1	1
62. Parochiaid	10-15	04	01	1	1	1
63. Parochiaid	10-15	04	08	1	4	1
64. McLouth Steel	10-15	08	01	1	2	3
65. Proposal C	10-16	04	03	1	1	1
66. Parochiaid	10-16	04	01	1	2	1
67. Milliken-Kelley	10-18	06	03-06	2	1	1
68. Collins' Extradition	10-19	03	01	3	1	1
69. Kelley-Austin	10-20	06	01	1	2	3
70. Pollution Suit	10-18	08	01	1	1	1
71. Proposal C	10-20	04	01	3	1	1
72. Candidates	10-23	06	01	1	1	1
73. Ralley	10-24	06	01	1	1	1
74. Welfare Strike	10-25	04	08	1	4	1
75. Levin Tour	10-26	06	01	1	2	3
76. MSU Trustees	10-27	06	01	1	1	1
77. Democratic Tour	10-29	06	01	1	2	3
78. Issues	10-29	06	01	2	1	1
79. Proposal C	10-29	04	06	2	1	1
80. Democratic Tour	10-30	06	03-01	1	1	1
81. Poll	11-2	06	03-01	1	2	3
82. Mobile Homes	11-3	04	01	1	1	1
83. To Polls	11-3	06	01	1	2	1
84. Democratic Vote	11-3	06	01	1	1	1
85. Voter Turnout	11-4	06	03	1	1	3
86. Winners	11-4	06	03	1	1	1
87. "Media" Victory	11-4	06	01	1	1	1

Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
88. AIP	11-4	06	01	1	2	3
89. Waterfore Township	11-4	06	01	1	1	1
90. Delta Voters	11-4	06	01	1	1	1
91. Elections Returns	11-4	06	01	1	1	3
92. Democratic Strength	11-4	06	01	1	1	3
93. Parochiaid	11-4	04	01	2	2	3

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Headline	Date	Issue	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
1. Straits Rail Ferry	9-11	08	01	2	3	3
2. DNR-Hartley, Inc.	9-12	08	01	2	2	3
3. "Hint" Parochiaid	9-12	04	04	1	1	3
4. Farr Raps Kelley	9-12	06	01	3	1	1
5. Newsmen's Recorder	9-14	04	01	2	3	3
6. DNR--"400 limit"	9-15	08	01	2	2	3
7. Scenic River	9-15	08	01	2	3	3
8. Crime Victims	9-16	03	01	2	3	3
9. Credit Charges	9-17	08	01	2	2	3
10. Anti-Parochiaid	9-17	04	04	1	1	3
11. AIP Ineligible	9-19	06	01	3	3	3
12. Illegal Crediting	9-19	08	01	2	2	3
13. Traverse Hospital	9-19	03	03pic	2	2	3
14. Parochiaid	9-21	04	01	1	3	3
15. Scenic Rivers Stall	9-21	01	01	2	2	3
16. Porter-Parochiaid	9-23	04	03	1	1	3
17. UM Dearborn	9-23	04	01	1	1	3
18. Mi.-Ohio Border	9-25	03	01	1	3	3
19. Land Investor	9-26	04	01	2	3	3
20. Scenic Rivers	9-27	08	01	4	1	1
21. O'Neil's Dig	9-29	06	01	1	2	3
22. Parochiaid Flyer	9-28	04	04	1	1	1
23. Parochiaid	9-30	04	01	1	2	3
24. School Term	10-2	04	01	1	3	3
25. AIP	10-2	06	01	3	2	3
26. Youngblood	10-3	06	03	1	2	3
27. Teachers' Support	10-6	06	01	2	1	3
28. Parochiaid	10-8	04	01	4	2	3
29. Kelley's Car	10-9	06	01	1	3	3
30. Kelley Defends Self	10-9	06	01	4	2	3
31. CAP Rent Dispute	10-10	03	03	1	1	1
32. Proposal C	10-12	04	06	2	1	1
33. Crime Fight	10-13	01	01	2	1	1
34. Collins Extradition	10-13	03	01	1	3	3
35. Wayne Co. Jail	10-14	03	01	1	2	3
36. McLouth Steel	10-15	08	01	2	3	3
37. Prison Office Seeker	10-16	06	01	2	3	3
38. Lewis Bldg.	10-16	03	01	1	1	1
39. Parochiaid	10-16	04	01	1	2	1
40. Expelling Students	10-18	09	01	2	1	3

Headline	Date	Issue	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
41. City Tax Base	10-19	03	01	4	1	1
42. Kent Endorsement	10-19	06	01	1	1	1
43. Collins Extradition	10-20	03	01	2	2	3
44. Collins	10-21	03	06	1	1	1
45. Farr vs. Kelley	10-21	06	03	1	1	1
46. Dem. Team	10-24	06	03	1	1	1
47. School Reform	10-25	06	01	1	1	1
48. Proposal C	10-26	04	08	1	4	1
49. Levin Campaign	10-26	06	01	1	2	3
50. Dem All-stars	10-29	06	01	1	2	3
51. Proposal C	10-26	04	03	3	1	1
52. Farr-Kelley	10-28	06	04	1	1	1
53. Phone Rate Case	10-30	02	01	3	3	3
54. State Dems	10-30	06	01	1	2	3
55. Levin Blames Gov.	10-30	06	01	1	1	1

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Headline	Date	Issue Cate- gory	Type of Cover- age	Direc- tion	Source Writer	Source Geo.
1. Sex Education	9-10	04	04	1	1	1
2. AIP	9-13	06	01	1	3	3
3. Parochiaid	9-13	04	01	1	1	2
4. Parochiaid	9-15	04	01	3	2	3
5. Crime Victims	9-16	03	01	2	2	3
6. Parochiaid Wording	9-17	04	01	1	1	2
7. Retailers	9-17	08	01	2	2	3
8. Chiropractors	9-17	03	01	1	2	3
9. Tape Recorders	9-18	04	01	2	2	3
10. CAP Endorsement	9-18	06	01	1	1	1
11. Farr vs. Kelley	9-23	06	01	1	2	3
12. Mich.-Ohio Border	9-25	03	01	2	2	3
13. Vacations Properties	9-26	08	01	2	2	3
14. Scenic Rivers	9-26	08	01	2	2	3
15. Parochiaid	10-1	04	01	1	1	1
16. AIP \$100 Million	10-1	06	01	1	2	3
17. Democratic Honor.	10-1	06	01	1	2	3
18. Indian Foundation	10-3	06	01	1	2	3
19. Youngblood	10-3	06	01	1	2	3
20. War on Drugs	10-6	03	01	2	3	3
21. Poll	10-6	06	01	1	2	3
22. Hospital Strike	10-7	03	01	4	1	1
23. Parochiaid Ban	10-8	04	01	1	3	3
24. Women Overtime	10-8	04	01	1	2	3
25. Kelley's Car	10-9	06	01	1	2	3
26. Parochiaid	10-11	04	04	1	1	2
27. Strikers' Welfare	10-11	04	04	1	1	1
28. McLouth Steel	10-15	08	01	2	2	3
29. Medicaid Fraud	10-15	08	01	2	1	1
30. Parochiaid	10-16	04	01	1	2	1
31. Levin--River Rouge	10-16	08	01	1	2	3
32. Expulsion	10-17	03	01	1	1	2
33. Kelley-Austin	10-20	06	03-04	1	1	1
34. Democratic Team	10-21	06	01	1	1	1
35. Parochiaid	10-23	04	08	1	4	1
36. Democratic Tour	10-24	06	01	1	2	3
37. Campaign	10-25	06	01	1	1	1
38. AIP	10-26	06	01	1	1	2
39. Parochiaid	10-28	06	04	4	1	2
40. Proposal C	10-29	02	01	2	1	3
41. Bell Telephone	10-29	02	01	2	2	3
42. Democratic Unity	10-30	06	01	1	2	3
43. Co. Budget	10-30	00	01	1	1	3

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