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ABSTRACT

PRESS COVERAGE OF
CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE 1960 CAMPAIGN
IN MICHIGAN AND TENNESSEE

by William C. Spragens

This research project in political science was a study of political communications behavior. The specific design called for content analysis of microfilm files of a daily newspaper sample composed of six Michigan dailies and six Tennessee dailies published in the congressional campaign period from September 1 through November 8, 1960. Two newspapers were also analyzed for coverage from September through November, 1962, for limited comparisons. Tennessee newspapers analyzed were the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the Nashville Banner and Tennessean, the Chattanooga Times and the Knoxville News-Sentinel and Journal. The Chattanooga Times and Knoxville News-Sentinel were also analyzed for the 1962 campaign period for congressional campaign coverage. Michigan newspapers analyzed were the Traverse City Record-Eagle and Lansing State Journal and the following member newspapers of the Booth Newspapers, Inc., chain: The Grand Rapids Press, the Muskegon Chronicle, the Saginaw News and the Flint Journal. Two of the Tennessee newspapers analyzed, the Commercial Appeal and the News-Sentinel, are Scripps-Howard newspapers. The Knoxville Journal was bought by Scripps-Howard interests, but still maintains an independent editorial policy.

The major hypothesis was that press content (as analyzed from microfilm files of the 12 newspapers) would reflect the interaction between press structure (ownership, editorial policy, news coverage and related factors) and the political structure of the congressional districts, one type of electoral decision-making institution. The major hypothesis was in large part validated.

Specific hypotheses found valid in large part posited that bias in the Press could be measured, that urban-rural demographic factors would be reflected in campaign coverage, that VIP presence at campaign events and type of events would be reflected in difference in coverage, and that competitiveness of the districts would be reflected in news coverage of the campaign in those districts' newspapers.

A specific hypothesis not conclusively validated suggested that the incumbency variable would be an important factor in news coverage. The problem of "coattail reporting" (transfer of pulling power from major to minor candidates in press coverage) as a major factor in congressional campaign coverage was left for a later study.

We also examined editorial policy, especially in the form of editorial endorsement of candidates, choice of columns used on editorial pages, and selection of letters to the editor. We found it possible to make a crude measurement (the FUN Rating) of opinion bias shown in news coverage, and this same methodology can be applied with some success to editorial statements of opinion.

Treatment of news stories as another factor of news-
er policy was also examined. Although we found consider-
e effort to maintain fairness in news columns, as dis-
guished from editorial columns, we found some evidence of
s, even here.

The design could be applied to senatorial races,
sidential and gubernatorial contests and even to legis-
ive and local contests, and could be applied to a longer
torical period than merely one or two consecutive elec-
ns, as we used it. More than two states could be analyzed
this manner. We also suggested that other methods of
lysis (besides content analysis) could be employed, for
mple a combination of content analysis with survey meth-
logy, or an application of "simulation" techniques to
paign communications behavior.

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

PRESS COVERAGE OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE 1960 CAMPAIGN
IN MICHIGAN AND TENNESSEE

presented by

WILLIAM C. SPRAGENS

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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Robert Scigliano
Major professor

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PRESS COVERAGE OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE 1960 CAMPAIGN IN MICHIGAN AND TENNESSEE

By

William C. Spragens

A THESIS

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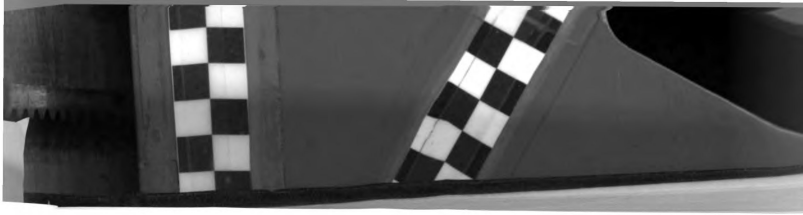

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CHAPTER ONE

A Problem in Political Communication

I. The Research Problem

Political science and political communications literature, as well as general communications theory, includes much analysis of the structure and functions of political parties and party organizations, of the influence flow and the role of opinion leaders in the public opinion process, and of many other facets of the political communications process.

Some relevant studies will be mentioned in this chapter, but there has not been -- either in the political parties literature, or in general communications theory -- any

beginning toward an effort to explain a communications institution (such as the Press) in terms of the political environment in which newspapers are published, and in terms of the relationship between political institutions and private institutions like the Press.

There has been no systematic effort to link political and communications variables by explaining a communications institution in terms of the political environment. This study is designed to make a beginning toward that end, by examining the communications behavior of a select segment of the Press (newspapers in a two-state, twelve-newspaper sample) to gain a better understanding of how the Press covers one type of campaign -- the congressional campaign.

Our focal problem (major hypothesis area) will be to establish the relationship between a specific facet of political party life -- congressional campaigning -- and the institution of the Press. We will do this by examining content of the newspaper press. We are not interested in exposure, but only in content.

Content refers to the news stories, photographs, editorials, columns, cartoons and other items printed in the Press. In this context, we are concerned with content dealing with the campaign.

Exposure refers to that portion of the content to which the reader-voter is "exposed" by a reading of the Press. Although this is conceded to be an important part of the process which precedes the voting decision, it is outside the scope of this dissertation.

We will consider congressional campaigning for two states, Michigan and Tennessee, with a basic concern for the congressional elections of 1960 but with a secondary interest in the 1962 congressional contests, and an auxiliary concern with the 1960 presidential campaign. Our primary interest is in the political structure of congressional districts, along with the institutional structure of the Press.

Political variables of interest include election procedures, organization of the two major parties, incumbency and non-incumbency factors, competitiveness of district factors, urban-rural factors, attention paid by the newspapers to VIP's, and candidate campaign activity such as organizational efforts, public relations, and other campaign communications aspects.

The principal communications variable in our analysis will be the editorial policy of newspapers and their news-handling policies as reflected in the treatment of campaign news stories. In order to understand this properly, we will also have to examine the end product of the behavior of individual communicators in the Fourth Estate -- editors, publishers, reporters and other participants in the communications process. This end product is of course the printed page. We recognize that we are not analyzing the role and behavior of each of these communicators, but it will be pointless to examine Press content without an understanding of how it is produced.

Our major hypothesis, which will be stated in detail

later in this chapter, is that Press content provides an important clue to the dynamics of the interplay of the constituencies and the Press (i.e., the reflection of the political structure of congressional districts as filtered through the institutional structure of the Press), and that content analysis of Press content will disclose important facts about the campaigning in the districts and about the way in which district campaigns are reported in the Press. We assume that press coverage -- the end product of the institution of the Press -- must be the output factor of its institutional character.

In operational terms, we will be using content anaylsis techniques to relate political variables (factors in the campaigns being covered by the Press) and communications variables (the institutional structure of the Press, which embraces among other things editorial policy and newshandling policies) to each other. We will be doing this in an effort to derive some tentative generalizations that may help us in beginning to develop a workable theory of political communication. As we explain some of the phenomena which occur in reporting of congressional election campaigns, we can perhaps derive some generalizations which may broaden our understanding of the campaign process.

Our concern here is less with the conduct of the campaign by the candidate for office than with the way in which that campaign is described in the Press. We recognize that newspaper coverage gives us a certain picture of that campaign,

but it is the image of the candidate and his campaign that is projected through the medium that is the focus of our interest.

In this specific study, we have focused on the Press as one of the important mass media. Our thesis is that we can show a great deal about candidate image, newshandling of political stories in the Press, and other characteristics of political communication through a careful content analysis of press coverage during the campaign period.

We are not probing campaign coverage's influence on the outcome of an election, and indeed this question was specifically ruled out when we decided to confine this study to content and remain away from the question of exposure. Nonetheless, we can operate on the assumption that campaign coverage in the media must be one of the important influences on the campaign -- as it affects the voter's understanding of the campaign and its participants, the issues and the stances of the parties for whom the candidates are slated -- or else why would the candidates, their managers and other key figures in the campaign be so concerned with the kind of coverage their campaign is afforded?

Not all hypotheses about what the reader learns from the Press are subject to empirical proof. Those which cannot be tested with measurable empirical data can only be the object of speculative inference. But we will focus primarily on those hypotheses which are susceptible to empirical testing with the data derived from our content analysis and tabulated for the tables appearing in this thesis.

More importantly, we expect to find that demographic and political characteristics of a district will to a considerable degree show up in press coverage of the campaign in that district. To illustrate, if labor is an important factor in the district, discussion of economic issues should show up prominently in the coverage in the district. If minority group voting is an important factor in the district, civil rights and issues in which the group is interested should get an important play in news coverage. These natural district interests may be filtered through the screen of editorial policy or newshandling policy and may not get the prominent attention we feel they should, but it seems highly unlikely that a newspaper published in this kind of district would be able to ignore issues so highly pertinent to the voting population in the district.

We may also anticipate that the content of newspapers at campaign time will tell us a great deal about the true nature of the institution of the Press.

Along with the factors which we defined in describing the institutional structure of the Press, we are concerned in a secondary way with the circulation figures of each newspaper, which will be given in Chapter Two.[1]

Intimately related to the structure of the Press and structure of the congressional districts, to resolve the problem we have raised, is our typology of congressional district patterns of competition and our typology of newspapers. These classification schemes will be dealt with in detail,

later in the chapter, when we discuss the methodology of our research.

II. The Relevant Literature

Major publications in our problem area fall into three types -- those dealing with political parties and party organization, those dealing with public opinion and political communication, and those in general communications theory. We will list each in turn, with appropriate comments.

Writings on parties over the past century have been concisely summarized by Austin Ranney[2] who in his discussion of The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government treats in turn the observations of Woodrow Wilson in Congressional Government; A. Lawrence Lowell in Essays on Government and Public Opinion and Popular Government; Henry Jones Ford in The Rise and Growth of American Politics; Frank J. Goodnow in Politics and Administration; M. I. Ostrogorski in Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties; Herbert Croly in The Promise of American Life, and those of other pioneer political scientists interested in parties. We will return later to Ranney's critique of Ostrogorski's penetrating criticism of the party system in the United States.

The next important category of parties literature includes the commonly used texts of today. Some of the leading ones among these are V. O. Key's Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups;[3] Hugh A. Bone's American Politics and the Party System;[4] William Goodman's The Two-Party System in the United States;[5] Austin Ranney and Wilmoore Kendall's

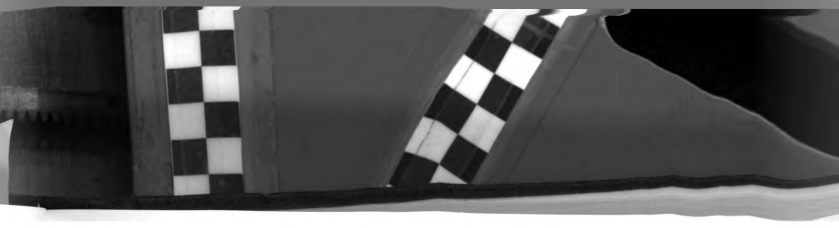
Democracy and the American Party System,[6] and Avery Leiserson's Parties and Politics: An Institutional and Behavioral Approach.[7] The late Professor Key also contributed an important volume on public opinion and parties, Public Opinion and American Democracy.[8]

Here we remind the reader that our basic concern is with operation of parties as they relate to conduct of election campaigns, and specifically as they relate to campaign reportage in newspapers (the other media we propose to analyze in a different study not included in the scope of this dissertation).

We find the strain of "boss literature" dealing with big city politics that was quite prevalent during the Progressive Era and the New Deal period in American politics has been largely supplanted today by publications about metropolitan politics and case studies of party clubs. Two representative titles from this literature are Edward Banfield's Political Influence[9] and an excellent study of New York City, Chicago and California club politics, James Q. Wilson's The Amateur Democrats.[10]

In the context of our interest in parties in elections, valuable theoretical constructs have been contributed to the literature of political communication in party campaigning by Joseph A. Schlesinger who developed a theory of "Political Party Organization"[11] and Donald E. Stokes who developed "Spatial Models of Party Competition".[12]

In the analysis of campaigning and political communication,

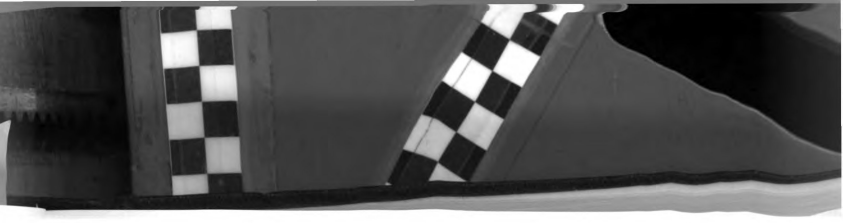


important landmarks in the literature include a collection of articles on congressional elections, edited by McPhee and Glaser.[13] The pertinent articles in the McPhee-Glaser collection include a discussion of the concept of "political immunization" by McPhee and Ferguson[14] and a discussion of the "contextual dimension in voting" by Ennis.[15] McPhee and Ferguson relate press content to their theory of "political immunization" stressing the factor of overexposure of political figures. The Ennis article categorizes the environmental context in which voting takes place. Finally, an article by Glaser and Kadushin on "Political Behavior in Mid-term Elections"[16] is particularly relevant to any comparison of 1960 and 1962 voting and campaigning. These writers distinguish between presidential year coverage and off-year coverage in comparing turnout and minority party performance in an effort to explain variations in the pattern of party competition.

In Burdick and Brodbeck,[17] we find a discussion of the mass media and voting. This treatment of party propaganda, opinion leaders, exposure and impact, by Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang,[18] is primarily a general theoretical discussion and gives us little hard data, however.

In the last volume he published before his death, V. O. Key[19] discussed problems in analysis of the mass media. Here he dealt with structure of the mass media, including newspapers, and presented a critique of the Lazarsfeld-Berelson[20] "two-step flow hypothesis" of influence in communications

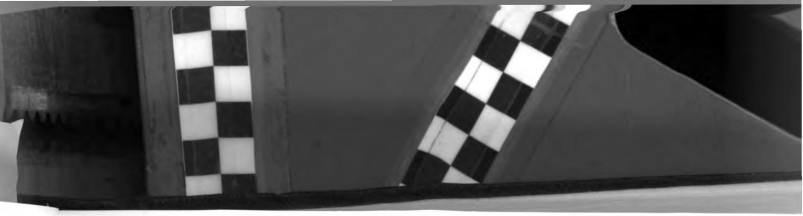
behavior. (The "two-step flow hypothesis" suggests that the newspapers and other mass media influence "opinion leaders" who pay greater attention to public affairs than the general public and that these opinion leaders in turn influence their friends and associates. Thus the influence of the mass media occurs in two steps, one direct and the other indirect.) This hypothesis has been refined somewhat since the discussion of newspapers in the 1940 presidential campaign which appeared in The People's Choice (a study of presidential voting in Erie County, Ohio),[21] and a full statement of the "opinion leaders" or "two-step flow" hypothesis in the Katz-Lazarsfeld "Decatur study", Personal Influence,[22] published in 1955. Key himself indicated some preference for the idea of a "multi-step flow" of opinion leadership and influence (suggesting that there were more than two steps in the process of influence by which opinions are shaped) -- an idea treated in the "diffusion" literature of general communications theory, especially by Melvin L. DeFleur in "The Emergence and Functioning of Opinion Leadership"[23] and also by Charles Winick[24] and Herbert Menzel and Elihu Katz.[25] Professor Key also dealt with political parties and elections and their role in opinion formation. Finally, in a discussion of public opinion and democratic politics, Key dealt with his theory of interaction in opinion formation, introducing the concept of "opinion dikes" regulating the flow of influence in the opinion process. His construct was quite general, however.



Clarence Schettler,[26] public opinion text author, provides a general discussion of the newspaper's role in public opinion formation. His treatment, written in 1960, though fairly descriptive, provides good factual background on newspaper ownership, wire services' role in newspaper coverage, and related factors.

In their Personal Influence,[27] commonly referred to as the "Decatur Study", Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld discuss the role of opinion leaders in formation of political and other types of opinions, deal with public affairs leaders and the "two-step flow" hypothesis. Their report on a major research project done in Decatur, Illinois, in the early 1950's by survey techniques, deals with the relationship between personal influence on decision-making and how it supplements or supplants media influence. Despite its valuable data, this study is primarily focused on exposure and opinion leaders. We are not concerned in our design with exposure, but we are interested in the editorial output of such opinion leaders in the Press as editorial writers, syndicated columnists, and political writers. We are interested in these opinion leaders in their relationship to the institutional features of the Press and to party and demographic characteristics of congressional districts.

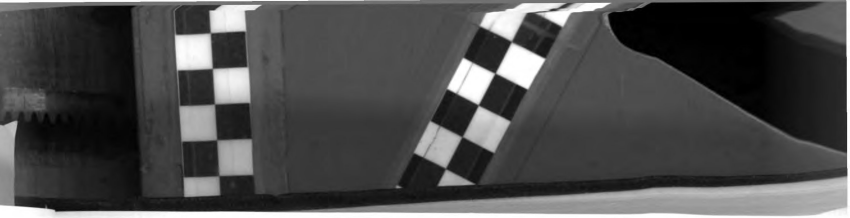
The Katz reader[28] on public opinion and propaganda deals with mass media including such aspects as the effect of a newspaper strike on readership patterns, an optimism-pessimism analysis of newspaper headlines, and statistics on



effects on freedom of the Press from diminishing daily newspaper competition in most metropolitan areas of the United States.

Karl W. Deutsch[29] discusses the theoretical importance of the measurement of information and the fidelity of channels in dealing with communication models and decision-systems. (If a newspaper is to have fidelity as a channel for a candidate, it must convey his message as intended.) Deutsch also discusses information as a "quantitative concept" at the middle level of communications and command. This middle-level concept can be adapted and applied to political decision-systems, such as parties, and a study of the electoral process itself would be of great pertinence in applying Deutsch's construct.

Joseph T. Klapper[30] ties together many strands of communications research into a single theoretical statement. One might argue that it is the most meaningful analysis of general communications research done up to the date of its publication in 1960. Klapper deals with broad general hypotheses, deriving the "nexus hypothesis" which states that the media are but one of a whole series of variables affecting public attitudes. In our case, dealing with voter attitudes and newspaper attitudes (represented respectively by aggregate voting data and editorial content and coverage) in a congressional campaign, we are relating political and communications variables. Our findings should strengthen Klapper's early formulation by giving evidence of this nexus

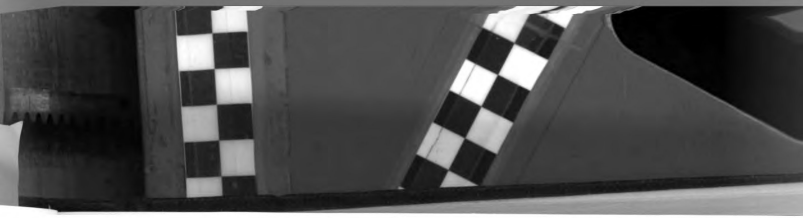


in a very specialized area of communication.

Relevant reference works on this topic of campaigning and political communications include Ayer's Directory,[31] the Editor and Publisher Yearbook;[32] Wilbur Schramm's collection of articles,[33] the Congressional District Data Book,[34] the Congressional Quarterly Census Analysis,[35] Ithiel de Sola Pool's Trends in Content Analysis;[36] Berelson's article on "Content Analysis",[37] and Robert C. North, Holsti, Zaninovich and Zinnes, Content Analysis: A Handbook With Applications for the Study of International Crisis.[38] In the handbook, North and his co-authors state:

> Content analysis research usually involves the following stages. First, the research question, theory, and hypotheses are formulated. The sample is then selected, and the categories are defined. Next, the documents are read and coded, and the relevant content is condensed onto special data sheets. After coding, items placed in each category may be scaled, whereupon counts in frequency or intensity are made. Finally, interpretations of the findings are made in the light of the appropriate theory.

Besides the four major studies of presidential voting,[39] and the growing literature on "coattail voting",[40] we find several volumes and articles on congressional elections, or applicable to their study. These include the Schlesinger formulation for classifying states according to degree of inter-party competition,[41] the Cutright-Rossi discussion of candidate organization at the grass-roots level,[42] the Miller-Stokes treatment of constituency influences on congressmen,[43] Charles L. Clapp's treatment of congressional campaigns from the legislator's point of view,[44] Cortez A. M. Ewing's study of Southern primaries written in 1953,[45] Lewis A. Froman Jr.'s



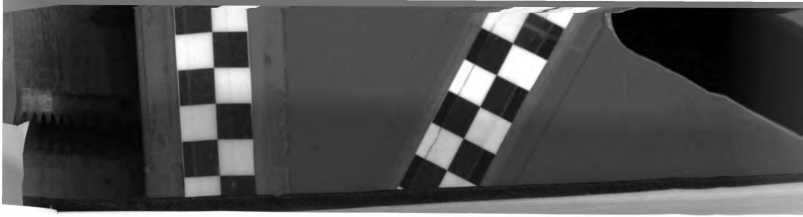
volume on regional and party differences in voting turnout in congressman-constituency relations,[46] the important Ferguson-Smuckler study which made a comparative content analysis for senatorial elections in two states, Wisconsin and Connecticut, in 1952,[47] and of course Key's discussion of congressional nominations in his standard parties text.[48]

III. Gaps in the Literature

Considerable as the literature is within our problem area, most of it is either too broad, emphasizes different aspects of the problem, or uses different approaches from our design.

In the above summary, we have found much concern with the "coattail problem" as it relates to voting and electoral data, discussion of mid-term voting patterns, analysis of regional and other influences on turnout, and a growing interest in the effect of constituency relations of the incumbent on voting patterns both in elections and in roll-call votes in Congress.

What aspects of our topic has the existing body of writings either failed to deal with, or approached from another attitude of inquiry? Schlesinger focuses on party organization rather than the Press. Except for the Ferguson-Smuckler study, focusing on senatorial elections, we have no detailed literature stressing relationships between the political context of campaigning and the institution of the Press. Most articles and writings have either stressed the behavioral or the institutional approach. Very few analysts have used a synthesis of the two to examine patterns of



behavior within the institutional context of political and communications institutions.

Key's analysis, based on survey research data, deals with the public opinion process in the whole sweep of American politics. Since the discussion in The People's Choice of the role of the mass media in presidential campaigns, we have little detailed reference to the political communication process in the campaign. In pinpointing the area of our analysis, we were aided in developing a profile of the political complexion of the congressional districts by Congressional Quarterly special reports giving demographic data on the composition of various districts in the two states chosen for our analysis.[49]

Basically this research project aims to get at some of the unresolved issues we have discussed above, especially in an effort to develop an approach to a coherent theory of the end product resulting from the relation between communications media -- in this specific study, the Press -- and the political units of electoral decision-making, such as the congressional district, that are involved in the biennial election contests. The end product of this relationship is, of course, the content of the Press during the campaign period.

IV. Major Hypothesis and Specific Hypotheses

A theoretical statement at whatever level should state a major hypothesis, some specific hypotheses derived from it, and a list of inquiries which when answered will illuminate and support the individual specific hypotheses as well as the

major hypothesis. Expected findings should be summarized when actual findings based on the data are stated after the data have been compiled into tabular form. We have followed this procedure in the remainder of this work.

The following is the major hypothesis:

> The way in which a congressional campaign is reported in the Press is a result of two major variables -- (a) the political context, i. e., district structure, electoral competitiveness and incumbency, and (b) the structure of the Press, i. e., newspaper policy whose basic components are endorsements of candidates and handling of political stories. This can be demonstrated through content analysis of newspapers published during the campaign time period.

For clarity's sake, we include the following glossary of terms used in the major hypothesis:

District structure -- The geographical division of the districts and the various socio-economic components affecting district politics.

Electoral competitiveness -- Division of the major party vote in the specific elections examined, during the period from 1952 through 1962. (This time segment was chosen

because the apportionment was the same in both states for the period of this case study, except that an at-large district, the Nineteenth, was added in Michigan for the 1962 election only. Using figures for the 1952-62 period, we could determine average party strengths, making comparisons across states, and thus we could analyze the 1960 returns in the light of the districts' voting behavior for the previous decade.)

Incumbency -- The factor of whether the congressional candidate is holding congressional office or is an outsider seeking the office.

Structure of the Press -- Factors which go to make up the structure of the Press as an institution include its ownership, its policy preferences, and its newshandling policies (we shall define the latter two, which are our principal concern in the major hypothesis). We can find data on its ownership which is presented elsewhere in the thesis; through editorial endorsements we can find data on its policy preferences; through content analysis of newspages we can discover the general trend of its newshandling policies.

Editorial policy -- The political attitude of a specific newspaper or chain of newspapers (e. g., the Scripps-Howard chain or the Booth Newspapers, Inc., chain in Michigan) toward parties, issues or candidates for public office. This is one aspect of newspaper policy, a key variable in the hypothesis. Newspaper policy is a basic component of the institutional structure of the Press.

Newshandling policy -- The basic guidelines according to which a newspaper handles news about candidates, parties, issues and other aspects of the campaign. These guidelines will be reflected in the treatment given these political phenomena in coverage of the campaign in the newspages of the daily newspapers in the sample.

(A separate glossary of other definitions relating to the specific hypotheses will be presented after these have been stated later in this chapter.)

In dealing with the minor variables of our specific hypotheses, to be stated later in the chapter, we find two major variables running through the design. These are the political context of the congressional districts (including district structure, electoral competitiveness and the incumbency factor), and the institutional structure of the Press (principal aspects of which in our concern are editorial policy, especially candidate endorsements, and newshandling policy). Also we find a linking variable (to borrow V. O. Key's terminology), press content and its measurements and categories.

In the political context of the districts as outlined above, the most important factor as a lesser variable is probably the competitiveness factor as measured by the total major-party vote polled by each major party during the period being analyzed (1952-62) and for the specific election we are interested in, 1960, in using our content data. Factional strength would be of major importance if we were analyzing a

primary campaign, but this is of only secondary concern to us in this analysis as the content data cover the period of the general election campaign.

Next to party control in importance is the factor of incubency and non-incumbency. Another significant lesser variable is the urban-rural dimension. While such things as campaign organizational efforts, candidate personality factors and choice of issues for the campaign are obviously a part of the content measured and analyzed in our research, we have not treated these as separate sub-variables.

In communications variables, important factors are amount and percentage of potential exposure for each party's candidate, circulation of the various newspapers in the sample, their ownership and key personnel, and their editorial and newshandling policies. Any careful content analysis should develop these variables. We have chosen in this research to limit the scope of analysis to content and its immediately related factors, but this does not mean this exhausts the possibilities.

The linking of the communications variables with the political ones will have to be done through painstaking content analysis, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, for statistical factors mean little without careful verbal analysis. The methodology will be explained in Section VI of this chapter.

Before stating our specific hypotheses, we should define basic terms used in describing congressional districts.

Basically, a demographic classification of congressional districts according to population characteristics would suggest three types of districts -- rural, suburban, and urban. However, because urban-suburban newspaper circulation and rural newspaper circulation seem to be two basic types into which the Press can be categorized, we have chosen to use two categories for the CD's: (1) Rural districts, and (2) urban districts (the latter including both urban and suburban voters living in a metropolitan area such as Memphis-Shelby County or Nashville-Davidson County in Tennessee). If a more detailed analysis were desired, the suburban areas could be separated out. This might be appropriate for the study of some densely-populated Eastern states where some districts are suburban in their entirety. However, the more common pattern in Michigan and Tennessee (especially since we are excluding Detroit newspapers from this study) is the existence of rural districts alongside urban-suburban (or metropolitan) districts. Thus we believe the two basic categories of rural districts and urban districts would be adequate for the analysis of these two states.

It is also necessary to define the terms we use in describing the Press in our two states. We can refer to small city dailies, in journalistic terminology, and to metropolitan or big-city dailies. In political science terminology, the small city daily is likely to be one published in a rural congressional district, while the metropolitan daily is likely to be one published in an urban district. When the

political science term is used, the journalistic term that corresponds to it is automatically implied. Examples of rural district dailies would be the Muskegon Chronicle and Traverse City Record-Eagle in Michigan. An example of an urban district daily in Tennessee would be the Memphis Commercial Appeal.

Population densities are somewhat differently distributed in Michigan and Tennessee and newspaper circulation patterns are correspondingly somewhat different. Whereas Michigan has one extremely large metropolitan center, the Detroit-Wayne County urban area and its suburban ring in Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties, and several smaller cities on the order of Grand Rapids, Lansing, Benton Harbor and Ann Arbor (all in the Lower Peninsula), the political controversies such as reapportionment involving rural-urban factors have tended to pit the Detroit-Wayne County area against outstate Michigan, with the sparsely populated Upper Peninsula sometimes being a separate factor from the outstate portion of Lower Michigan. Traditionally, outstate areas in the Lower Peninsula (such as Grand Rapids, for example) have been Republican strongholds, while Detroit-Wayne County has been a Democratic stronghold and there has been some Democratic strength in recent years in the Upper Peninsula and in scattered outstate areas such as Flint.

In Tennessee, however, while Memphis is clearly the largest city, there are three other major cities all of which have importance in state politics. When reapportionment

became an issue in the famous Tennessee reapportionment case decided by the United States Supreme Court (Baker v. Carr, 1962), the four major cities of the state, Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville and Chattanooga, co-operated in the interests of the urban majority in the state. But the most deeply rooted political divisions in the state (some times more deeply rooted than partisan differences) are sectional intra-state distinctions dating back to the Civil War and Reconstruction. Middle and West Tennessee (whose principal cities are Nashville and Memphis) were pro-Confederate areas at the time of the Civil War secession referenda, and the current views of their citizens on issues like civil rights still reflect this historical conditioning. While Upper vs. Lower Peninsula or Detroit vs. outstate are still of great importance as factors of division in Michigan politics, it is doubtful that these divisions are quite as deep-seated as the century-old intra-state sectional differences in Tennessee. These sectional differences within the State of Tennessee are so important that the Tennessee Constitution recognizes them by formally dividing the state into three Grand Divisions -- East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee and West Tennessee -- and seeing that the interests of each Grand Division are substantially represented in political and electoral arrangements for the state.

Another important factor in comparative analysis of Michigan and Tennessee politics is the issue dimension, as well as the historical factor. The issues which strike

closest to the hearts of Tennesseans are probably still racial issues, for all that Tennessee is considered by some to be a "border state" and institutions like the University of Tennessee and the school systems of the major cities have been integrated with much less ado than the similar institutions of Alabama and Mississippi (dynamitings at Clinton and bombings at Nashville accompanied the early stages of integration in Tennessee in the late 1950's but there has been less of this sort of activity and more of the "sit-in" activity typical of states like the Carolinas since 1960.) Given the continuing importance of racial issues in Tennessee, it is not surprising that some of the outlines of a "political relief map" of Tennessee still follow lines that were first established during the time of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Tennessee, too, reflects the imprint of the politics of the "Crump Era" when Boss Ed Crump of Memphis regularly had an alliance lining up Shelby County with East Tennessee interests in legislative politics to the detriment of Middle Tennessee, Nashville-centered interests. The existence of such an alliance shows that partisan affiliation in Tennessee may be of less importance as a political factor than in Michigan, where party is an important factor due to the differing nature of key issues in the state's politics. One-party Democratic strength in Middle and West Tennessee and one-party Republican strength in East Tennessee have probably promoted a sort of casualness about party affiliation that has created a climate in which "deals" for bipartisan

coalitions such as the Crump-East Tennessee "understanding" could flourish. To cite another example of such "dealing" in two districts we studied, we could point to reports of covert support given by Knox County Democrats in the Second District to a moderate Republican, John Duncan, in his race for the "non-partisan" mayoralty post in Knoxville. Presumably Duncan kept some of this Democratic support in his successful race for Second District congressman in 1964. In the Third (Chattanooga) District, a similar factor might be noted in the press speculation in 1962 that the defeated incumbent conservative Democrat, Rep. J. B. Frazier, and Gov. Frank G. Clement (reportedly aligned with conservative elements in Hamilton County) gave aid and comfort to Rep. William E. Brock III, the successful Republican congressional candidate from the Chattanooga district. This would indicate the development of a kind of "three-party politics" of conservative Democratic factions, liberal Democratic factions, and Republicans in the Chattanooga case, and in the Knoxville case of Democrats and moderate Republicans lined up against Old Guard Republicans. This is much the same kind of trifactional politics that is found in Kentucky, which like Tennessee has a traditional enclave of Republican strength in its eastern mountains which goes back to the era of the 1860's.

Michigan, on the other hand, probably underwent the shaping of its present political divisions in the 1930's when economic issues were dominant and the "sit-down strikes"

in the Detroit area auto plants during the term of Gov. Frank Murphy split liberals and conservatives along economic lines and started a class politics pattern which may still be observed today. Although the growth of Negro population in Michigan brought on by the expansion of the auto industry and the hiring of in-migrating Negroes from the South made civil rights an issue of some importance in the state, an observer can find many points to support the thesis that economic issues are still more important in Michigan politics than racial issues. Thus the politics of the two states can be said to operate in a markedly different context, despite the increasing nationalization of our political system which made it possible for Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, victorious in his August primary contest for re-election in 1960, to campaign for Michigan congressional candidates such as Genesee County Prosecutor Jerome F. O'Rourke of Flint.

One further word should be said in any comparative analysis of Michigan and Tennessee politics, and that is that while civil rights is a dominant issue in Tennessee politics, economic issues are not unimportant there. We might say that they occupy the same kind of secondary role in Tennessee that racial issues probably do in Michigan.

We hope that in later research it may be possible to analyze some of these factors in a grouping of four states, such as Kentucky-Tennessee-Michigan-Illinois, to see whether these differences are due simply to characteristics of states or to a differing nature of regional politics within the

United States. That question is beyond the scope of this thesis, however.

The four specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. Biased coverage (i. e., "slanted" coverage, or coverage tending to favor one candidate or party at the expense of the other) of congressional campaigns is more likely to be found in rural-district papers than in urban-district papers.

2. Total coverage of candidates will be greater in newspapers published in rural districts than in those published in urban districts (e. g., Memphis in the Ninth Tennessee CD, or Grand Rapids in the Fifth Michigan CD). This will be so in two specific cases, stated in the following sub-hypotheses:

(a) Both major-party candidates get more total coverage (in terms of measurement of actual newspaper space and not potential exposure) in rural than in urban districts.

(b) Non-incumbents get more coverage in newspapers published in rural congressional districts than in newspapers published in urban districts. As a related proposition, newspaper coverage of non-incumbents will tend to be found in "round-up" or "wrap-up" stories dealing generally with the campaign, rather than in separate individual stories in papers published in urban districts. Non-incumbents will, however, get somewhat more coverage where they mount an active or intensive campaign, regardless of whether the newspaper giving coverage is published in an urban or rural district.

For our purposes, increased campaigning is assumed to be

reflected in greater coverage of the non-incumbents and we do not go beyond the evidence found in the content analysis data. In the case of non-incumbents nominated by the majority party, we expect to find them getting more mention than minority party non-incumbents but less than incumbents of either party.

3. Noticeable differences will occur in coverage -- in terms of space allotted, news play according to position on the page and page number, and emphasis according to headline size -- for different types of campaign events, according to: (a) whether a party "VIP" was present at the event; (b) whether events were nationally oriented or district oriented; (c) whether events were televised or involved direct personal appearances of candidates and other campaign figures, and (d) whether events were "printed" or "oral" in nature. The three types of events categorized as "oral" included rallies and speeches (including debates), news conferences, and organizational activities (caucuses, parties, headquarters openings, and photo sessions). The four-type categorization of "printed" events included press releases and reprints (including "handouts"); letters to the editor; editorials, columns and cartoons, and background features. As a corollary subhypothesis, we anticipated that organizational activities would generate more coverage than routine party rallies.

4. In establishing categories of congressional districts according to degree of party competition, we expect to find greater campaign coverage (in terms of total column inches) in

newspapers published in highly competitive districts than in non-competitive (one-party or one-party predominant) districts. Thus a competitive district with a normally close margin and a high rate of turnover in party control could be expected to have more intensive campaign coverage (as a usual pattern) than a one-party district where readership interest and voter interest is comparatively light.

Each of the above specific hypotheses will be examined individually in more detail in Chapters Three through Six.

Before concluding our discussion of the major hypothesis and the four specific hypotheses derived from it, we wish to add this glossary defining terms used in the minor or specific hypotheses:

Election procedures -- The legal, customary and actual practices involved in a contest for office, in which the voters act as decision-makers.

Organization of the two major parties -- The structure of the basic groupings for political action and nomination of candidates, the Republican and Democratic parties, which includes the positions of the formal organization and the candidates it is running for office.

Incumbency and non-incumbency factors -- The factor of whether a candidate is holding office or is out of office, as applied to each of the contests covered in the newspapers in our sample. Incumbency relates to the party strength in the districts on the basic premise that an incumbent, by virtue of his holding office, adds to the party's vote-pulling power.

Candidate campaign activity -- That behavior in which contestants for office engage in the formal and informal effort to win nomination or election. As applied in this study, their goal is election in a contest between nominees of the parties.

Organizational efforts -- Activities of candidates designed to put together committees and other groups of campaign workers in an effort to mount an effective campaign.

Public relations -- Efforts made on behalf of candidates and their parties to reach the voting citizens, primarily through the mass media but also through direct contact methods. For our study, we are concerned primarily with the use of the media for this purpose.

Competitive district -- This is a constituency in which there is a high degree of competition between the parties. For our study, a district is competitive if the average for all elections during the period 1952-62, when districting remained the same in both states, reflected the winning party's candidate carrying the district with less than 57 per cent of the vote.

Non-competitive district -- A constituency which may be described as either one-party or one-party predominant (see definitions below).

One-party district -- This is a constituency in which the same party holds the seat for the entire 1952-62 period, regularly winning without serious opposition from the minority party. In Michigan and Tennessee during this period, we

expect the average percentage of the winning party's vote to exceed 65 per cent for it to fit into this category. While it is specifically excluded from our definition, we expect the historical pattern of voting in the district can be traced back to the last critical election, and in the case of some Tennessee districts, back as far as the Reconstruction.

One-party predominant district -- This is a district with an average percentage of at least 57 per cent and not more than 65 per cent for the winning party during the 1952-62 period in our two states.

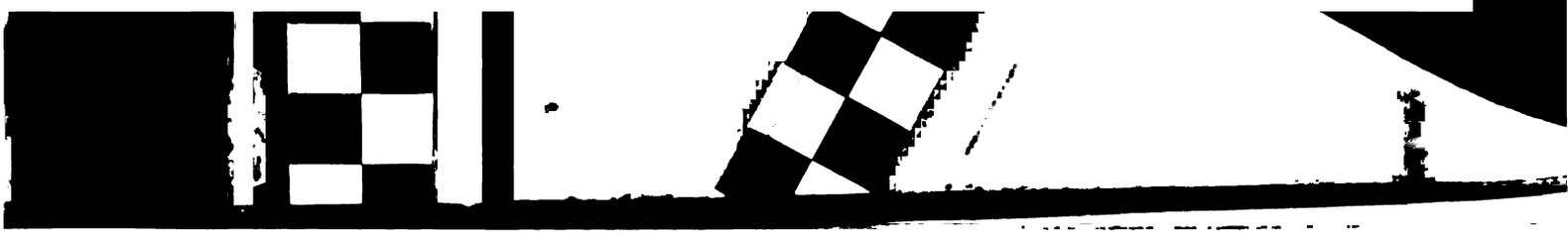
Reportage -- Coverage of campaign events in the regular news columns of the daily newspapers of the district being covered.

A detailed analysis of the congressional districts and of the newspapers included in the sample will be found in Chapter Two.

V. Time Period Chosen for the Sample

The time period covered in our analysis is that period from September 1, 1960, through the day of the presidential-congressional general election, November 8, 1960. The primary coverage was not included in the sample in the case of Tennessee, although this would have been useful had it been feasible to do so. But the primary coverage was beyond the scope of our project.

The Detroit News and Free Press, originally considered for the Michigan portion of the sample, were deliberately excluded because they were considered qualitatively different



from the smaller Michigan newspapers, a distinction that was not so apparent in comparing the Memphis Commercial Appeal with the smaller Tennessee papers.

We felt that our selection of the Michigan newspapers would give us, outside the Detroit metropolitan area, areas of non-competitive Republicanism (one-party in the Fifth District, and one-party predominant in the Ninth District) and a close competitive situation (in the Sixth District, especially in terms of voting trends in the 1960's).

In the case of the Tennessee newspapers, the Memphis area (Shelby County comprises the Ninth District) is an obvious area of interest. This is because of the interesting voting pattern in the Ninth Tennessee congressional district balloting.[50] For the period from 1952 through 1960, Rep. Clifford Davis, the Democratic incumbent during this period, won without Republican opposition in 1958 and 1960. Davis polled 71.7 per cent to his Republican opponent's 28.3 per cent in 1956, received 83.5 per cent to his Republican opponent's 16.5 per cent in 1954, and in 1952 polled 85.7 per cent to 14.3 per cent for his Independent opponent. Thus the district has all the earmarks of a safe "one-party" district. Yet in 1962,[51] he had 50.6 per cent to 49.4 per cent for his Republican opponent, and in 1964[52] when Davis was defeated in the primary, the successful Democratic nominee, George W. Grider, polled 52.5 per cent of the total vote to 47.2 per cent for his Republican opponent and 0.3 for an Independent candidate. Thus we have the interesting question of whether

a "safe" Democratic district all through the 1950's was transformed into a competitive district as a result of the reaction to the Ole Miss crisis in 1962 or whether this was an aberration. The 1964 results in the district merely show the district fell within the boundaries of competitiveness that year, but the possibility of an important shift makes the Ninth Tennessee CD one of particular interest to us.

The Fifth Tennessee CD (which includes metropolitan Nashville, identical with Davidson County) is of interest as a traditional one-party Democratic area, and also as an area where Negro and labor votes are of greater importance than in rural Tennessee. This is also true to some extent of Memphis as well, where according to one SNCC (Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, a civil rights group) source in Knoxville, there is considerable cohesion in Negro voting and pressure-group activity.

By examining Knoxville and Chattanooga papers, we should be able to gain more information about erosion of Republican strength in areas of traditional one-party Republicanism (such as the Second District) and Republican inroads into Democratic strength in traditional areas of Democratic dominance (such as the Third Tennessee CD, where Chattanooga candy manufacturer William E. Brock III was elected to Congress in 1962 and remained in office in the 1964 election on a wave of pro-Goldwater sentiment).

Although we will discuss the congressional districts in detail in Chapter Two, we will mention here that in terms of

the percentage definitions of competitiveness stated on Pages 29 and 30, the First Tennessee CD (using the 1952-62 averages) is one-party predominant Republican, the Second Tennessee CD is one-party Republican, and the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth CD's are all one-party Democratic.

In demographic terms, to restate the Tennessee categories, our collapsing of the CQ classification (described in detail in Chapter Two) into a two-fold system gives us the First, Second, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth CD's as rural, and the Third, Fifth and Ninth as urban.

VI. Compilation of Raw Data

To compile the data for content analysis of our 12-newspaper sample, we used a data sheet made up by two different methods -- one set up for quantitative analysis and the other set up for qualitative analysis. The quantitative data sheet included: (1) Name of newspaper and its circulation; (2) date; (3) page and section (where applicable, in the case of section) for each story; (4) position on page (above or below fold) and column position; (5) identification of story (by headline); (6) head size (in column width, not points of type); (7) column inches devoted to story; (8) type of campaign event described (press release, rally, etc.), and (9) issues and types of issues mentioned. The qualitative data sheet included: (1) Name of newspaper; (2) date; (3) political figure mentioned; (4) wording of the mention, and (5) whether the reference was considered favorable,

unfavorable or neutral. Amount of raw data recorded consisted of approximately 500 sheets of quantitative and 200 sheets of qualitative data. These data, in the refined form tabulated into summary tables, we used to test the four specific hypotheses for validation.

In selecting the newspaper sample for content analysis, we reduced the work by taking our data from each fourth day's newspaper, plus Sunday editions where these were published by the newspaper sampled. Since two newspapers in each state had no Sunday edition, this kept the sample balanced, and the Sunday data gave us a sampling of the type of "in-depth" coverage not found in weekday editions. The only alternative to this methodology would have been to restrict the number of newspapers analyzed, or else choose a less representative sample.

VII. The Operational Design

Once our data were in hand in the raw form, we began testing each specific hypothesis with the data appropriate to it. We did this by using an operational design for each of the four specific hypotheses. The design appears below.

Specific Hypothesis 1 states: "Biased coverage (i. e., "slanted" coverage, or coverage tending to favor one candidate or party at the expense of the other) of congressional campaigns is more likely to be found in rural-district papers than in urban-district papers."

Data employed to validate this include data from categorization of content into favorable, unfavorable and neutral

for newspapers published in rural CD's and the same categorized data for newspapers published in urban CD's. For close-up analysis of segments of the sample, tables comparing one newspaper in each category with another in the opposite category have been constructed.

In constructing our sample, we ruled out metropolitan Detroit newspapers and have no cities larger than Memphis represented. With this in mind, in analyzing different newspapers published in the same city for structural factors such as newspaper policy, these factors will cause one of the two newspapers to be more heavily biased than the other. For example, the Nashville Banner may be more so than the Tennessean, or vice versa, or the Knoxville Journal more than the News-Sentinel, or vice versa. (In the Knoxville case, chain control of editorial policy may be a distinguishing factor, and in the Nashville case, long-standing partisan commitments may be a factor.) Each newspaper will be guilty of slanting in some instances, but the "FUN Rating" numerical representation of instances of bias, explained fully in Chapter Three) will give us a clue to degree of bias.

Specific Hypothesis 2 calls for separate treatment of parts (a) and (b), which suggest two specific cases of the specific hypothesis that "total coverage of candidates will be greater in newspapers published in rural districts than in those published in urban districts".

Specific Hypothesis 2(a) states: "Both major-party candidates get more total coverage (in terms of measurement

of actual newspaper space and not potential exposure) in rural than in urban districts."

To test this, we compiled data on total coverage for both candidates in newspapers published in urban CD's, with the expectation that data on one newspaper as a segment of each sample would pinpoint the analysis. We also gathered parallel data on total coverage for both candidates in rural CD's, with detailed attention to one newspaper. These data were expressed in terms of a frequency count of items, column inches, and percentage of newspage content. (The newspage content for each newspaper was checked out to be sure the newspapers were suitable for cross-comparison across newspapers, and not overloaded with advertising in the case of any one of the papers.)

Specific Hypothesis 2(b) states: "Non-incumbents get more coverage in newspapers published in rural congressional districts than in newspapers published in urban districts." To test this, we compiled data in the form of a breakdown for the same newspapers used to test Specific Hypothesis 2(a), testing this time for the incumbency, non-incumbency factor.

A complete list of incumbents running in 1960 and 1962 is given in Chapter Two.

Specific Hypothesis 3, dealing with type of events covered, states: "Noticeable differences will occur in coverage -- in terms of space allotted, news play according to position on the page and page number, and emphasis according to headline size -- for different types of campaign events,

according to (a) whether a party "VIP" was present at the event; (b) whether events were nationally oriented or district oriented; (c) whether events were televised or involved direct personal appearances of candidates and other campaign figures, and (d) whether events were 'printed' or 'oral' in nature."

Data were taken for column inches, position, page and head size for each type of campaign event, but only the column inches were used when we grouped the data according to these differentiations: (a) VIP-attended events vs. non-VIP-attended events; (b) nationally-oriented vs. district-oriented; (c) televised vs. direct personal appearances, and (d) 'printed' vs. 'oral' events.

Specific Hypothesis 4 states: "In establishing categories of congressional districts according to degree of party competition, we expect to find greater campaign coverage (in terms of total column inches) in newspapers published in highly competitive districts than in non-competitive (one-party or one-party predominant) districts." Variables of party competition were compiled in a set of tables to examine this problem.

Data needed to validate Specific Hypothesis 4 include total column inches of coverage for all competitive CD newspapers, with a sub-total for one newspaper for close analysis, and total column inches for all non-competitive CD newspapers, with a sub-total for one newspaper for close analysis. This will be expressed as well in terms of percentage of political

coverage for the grouping and for single newspapers chosen from the grouping.

VIII. Summary Statement

Once again, we wish to restate the purpose of our research project. Our aim is to develop more systematic information about political communication by exploring the relationship between communications variables on the one hand and political variables on the other.

The political variables we are concerned with have to do with electoral structure and electoral behavior in congressional districts. The communications variables have to do with Press structure, principally editorial policy and news-handling policy.

Exploration of the specific hypotheses in Chapters Three through Six, when done against the background of Chapter Two in which the districts and the newspapers are discussed, will lead to some useful conclusions which are presented in Chapter Seven, the final chapter of the thesis.

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49. Congressional Quarterly Special Reports: Report on Voting in 1962 Congressional Elections and Report on Reapportionment, Washington, Congressional Quarterly Service, 1963.

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CHAPTER TWO

Congressional Districts and Newspapers:

Background for the Study

I. Purpose of the Chapter

Our starting point in this analysis is the description of Michigan and Tennessee congressional districts, since the purpose of the content analysis will be to learn more about the Press in these districts, and the relation between the Press and the politics of the districts.

The chapter will take up first the background for the Michigan districts, then the background for the Tennessee districts, before making a comparision of Michigan and Tennessee politics in terms of the degree of competitiveness or one-partyism found in them.

After a discussion of the political context for congressional campaigning in the two states, we will turn to the background for the Michigan newspapers, followed by a discussion of the background for the Tennessee newspapers. For each newspaper, its general policy, pattern of endorsements, news-handling policies and ownership will be discussed. Before leaving the topic of newspapers, we will compare Michigan papers (representing a basically competitive state) with Tennessee papers (representing a basically one-party state). We will also discuss the implications of chain ownership of newspapers (e.g., Scripps-Howard as opposed to independently owned dailies) for the dynamics of the relationship between congressional districts and performances of the Press in those districts.

II. Analysis of Congressional Districts

In setting up the district analysis, we shall focus on 18 Michigan districts and nine Tennessee districts.

We shall examine 18 of the 19 Michigan districts that were in existence prior to the redistricting of 1964. These 18 districts had remained unchanged since 1914, when the lines were drawn which were in effect during the 1960 campaign. Our analysis in no way deals with the at-large district known as the 19th, which existed during the 88th Congress in 1963 and 1964 and to which Representative Neil Staebler of Ann Arbor, a Democrat, was elected. This at-large district was abolished in 1964 when present lines were drawn.

In Tennessee, we shall focus on all nine districts, which were established in 1952 after Tennessee's share of congressional seats was reduced from 10 to nine. In most Tennessee districts in the past, the real decision in the congressional contest has occurred in the primary, but this was not the case in the 1962 Brock-Thrasher contest in the Third Tennessee CD, when a factional division among Democrats was given credit for contributing to the election of the Republican, Representative Brock. This was obviously an instance in which the real decision occurred in the November election, even though defection growing out of the Democratic primary figured in the outcome.

It is these 27 districts in the two states that we are examining for the period embracing biennial congressional elections dating from 1952 through 1962.

We have gathered aggregate voting data and precentages for the two-party vote in each of the 27 districts for this period, essentially a decade of electoral contests during which district lines were not changed, making comparison possible.[1]

Now we are examining the voting data along with such descriptive demographic data as the urban-rural dimension (with some attention to surburban factors) and other socio-economic characteristics. We are also interested in the incumbency factor in the districts and will include a list of incumbents who ran for office in the two states in 1960 and 1962.

We list below in tabular form percentages of the major-party vote in each district over the 1952-62 decade, and individual year percentages for 1960 and 1962, the two years we are mainly concerned with (primarily 1960) in dealing with the newspage content data. In content analysis, we decided to choose a small group of districts for intensely focused study because of the party situation in the districts and the availability of microfilm files of daily newspapers published in the districts, and we are concentrating our analysis on these selected districts.

III. Background for the Michigan Districts

Average major-party percentage for the 18 Michigan districts for the 1952-62 period, as computed from the percentages for these six elections individually, appears below in tabular form. Listed in sequence by districts, the percentages are listed to the tenth of one per cent, with Democratic percentages in the first column and Republican percentages in the second column.

The analysis of Michigan districts for 1952-62 follows:

District	Per Cent Democratic	Per Cent Republican
First Michigan	88.0	12.0
Second Michigan	39.3	60.7
Third Michigan	38.8	61.2
Fourth Michigan	37.1	62.9
Fifth Michigan	34.2	65.8
Sixth Michigan	47.4	52.6
Seventh Michigan	48.9	51.1
Eighth Michigan	36.8	63.2
Ninth Michigan	42.1	57.9
Tenth Michigan	36.8	63.2
Eleventh Michigan	44.3	55.7
Twelfth Michigan	41.4	58.6
Thirteenth Michigan	69.4	30.6
Fourteenth Michigan	59.5	40.5
Fifteenth Michigan	75.8	24.2
Sixteenth Michigan	66.6	33.4
Seventeenth Michigan	55.0	45.0
Eighteenth Michigan	44.1	55.9

The Nineteenth Michigan District, an at-large district, was excluded because it was abolished in the redistricting of 1964.

If we now focus our attention on the two-party percentages for the final two elections of this period, we will find that some of the out-state Michigan districts appear more closely competitive in 1960 and 1962 than in earlier years, as reflected in the averages above for the 1952-62 period.

Here are percentage figures for the two-party vote in Michigan in 1960 and in 1962:

District	1960 Pct. Dem.	1960 Pct. Rep.	1962 Pct. Dem.	1962 Pct. Rep.
First Michigan	88.7	11.3	89.2	10.8
Second Michigan	40.3	59.7	41.6	58.4
Third Michigan	39.3	60.7	40.5	59.5
Fourth Michigan	37.6	62.4	36.2	63.8
Fifth Michigan	33.1	66.9	33.0	67.0
Sixth Michigan	43.3	56.7	45.5	54.5
Seventh Michigan	53.4	46.6	56.3	43.7
Eighth Michigan	37.7	62.3	39.5	60.5
Ninth Michigan	40.3	59.7	40.6	59.4
Tenth Michigan	37.8	62.2	38.5	61.5
Eleventh Michigan	45.1	54.9	43.3	56.7
Twelfth Michigan	39.1	60.9	36.7	63.3
Thirteenth Michigan	71.7	28.3	71.2	28.8
Fourteenth Michigan	62.8	37.2	61.8	38.2
Fifteenth Michigan	79.6	20.4	83.0	17.0
Sixteenth Michigan	66.2	33.8	67.9	32.1
Seventeenth Michigan	57.7	42.3	59.3	40.7
Eighteenth Michigan	44.1	55.9	40.4	59.6

These sets of percentages for the entire 1952-62 decade and for the two election years at the conclusion of this period (1960 and 1962) give us a broad idea of the political context of the Michigan districts we are examining.

Before turning to the Tennessee districts, we wish to note the rural-urban-suburban characteristics of each Michigan district. We will also explain how we categorized rural and urban constituencies for purposes of our analysis.

Congressional Quarterly's Census Data Book[2] refers to these Michigan districts as urban: The First, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Seventeenth. Rural Michigan districts are the Second, Third, Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth. Suburban districts are the Seventh, Sixteenth and Eighteenth (the latter in Oakland and Macomb Counties). Two districts, the Fifth (Grand Rapids and Kent

County) and the Sixth (Ingham, Livingston and Genesee Counties) are described as mixed urban-rural-suburban.

In order to set up a two-fold classification, for purposes of our constituency analysis, we will describe as rural districts the Second, Third, Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth. Constituencies of mixed nature, which are urban at least in part, we will describe as urban districts. Any district described as suburban we are including in the urban category. Thus, along with the First, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Seventeenth, we will classify as urban the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Sixteenth and Eighteenth CD's.

Since we have already made a general comparison of Michigan and Tennessee politics, and we have outlined the political context of the districts for Michigan, we will reserve any further comments on the specific districts for later chapters and will move to an analysis of the political context of the Tennessee districts in the next section.

IV. Background for the Tennessee Districts

Average major-party percentages for the nine Tennessee districts for the 1952-62 period, as computed from percentages for these six elections, will be found below:

District	Per Cent Democratic	Per Cent Republican
First Tennessee	35.3	64.7
Second Tennessee	22.4	77.6
Third Tennessee	72.0	28.0
Fourth Tennessee	100.0	0.0
Fifth Tennessee	86.6	13.4
Sixth Tennessee	100.0	0.0
Seventh Tennessee	100.0	0.0
Eighth Tennessee	100.0	0.0
Ninth Tennessee	84.3	15.7

Some interesting recent tendencies show up when we examine the figures for 1960 and 1962, especially some trends toward a more competitive politics in Tennessee, which like most of the South has had one-party Democratic bastions for many years (with pockets of one-party Republicanism as well).

Three Tennessee districts are of special interest for indications of tendencies toward two-partyism. It would be an overstatement to say that a long-term trend toward two-partyism is indicated by the results of only a few elections, but there is some evidence of tighter interparty competition, especially in 1962 voting.

At any rate, the 1962 congressional voting pattern placed the First Tennessee District within the range of what we have defined as competitive, with the Democratic percentage reaching 44.9 there. In the Third Tennessee CD, traditionally Democratic, a Republican candidate won and was re-elected in 1964. In the Ninth Tennessee CD, also traditionally one-party Democratic, the 1962 Republican candidate, Robert James, polled 49.4 per cent of the two-party vote. James, the GOP candidate in Memphis again in 1964, did less well that year because of the presence of an Independent aspirant in the race and because a younger, more moderate Democratic nominee with more advanced civil rights views pulled out the Crump-registered Negro vote in Memphis much better than did Davis in 1962.

Tennessee district party division percentages for 1960 and 1962:

District	1960 Pct. Dem.	1960 Pct. Rep.	1962 Pct. Dem.	1962 Pct. Rep.
First Tennessee	24.6	75.4	44.9	55.1
Second Tennessee	0.0	100.0	29.4	70.6
Third Tennessee	100.0	0.0	48.9	51.1
Fourth Tennessee	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Fifth Tennessee	100.0	0.0	*	*
Sixth Tennessee	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Seventh Tennessee	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Eighth Tennessee	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Ninth Tennessee	100.0	0.0	50.6	49.4

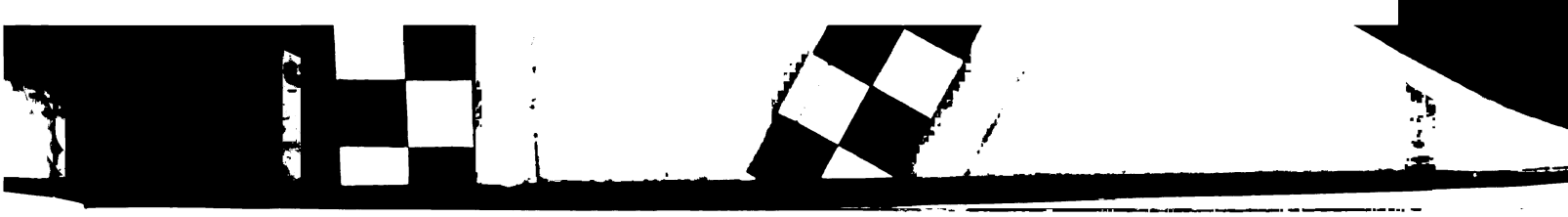
*Because of contested Democratic primary, both Fifth District candidates ran as Independents in November, so there were no party percentages.

According to the CQ Census Data Book[3] only one district, the Ninth (Memphis-Shelby County) was urban. The First, Second, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth are categorized as rural. The Third (Chattanooga) District is described as mixed urban-rural, and the Fifth (Nashville-Davidson County) is termed mixed suburban-urban.

In setting up a two-fold classification, we will describe as rural districts the First, Second, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth CD's. Those falling in the urban category are the Third, Fifth and Ninth CD's.

V. Comparison of Michigan and Tennessee Politics

In a general comparison of the politics of Michigan and Tennessee, considered on a state-wide basis, we would have to consider Tennessee a one-party state in which some areas of two-party competition are beginning to develop, and Michigan a two-party state where interparty competition occurs in varying degrees of intensity.



Both traditionally one-party Republican districts in Tennessee, the First and Second, are moving in the direction of competitiveness as the 1962 figures indicate, but the Second is still the most solidly Republican. The Third, traditionally one-party Democratic, must now be considered competitive in the light of recent elections, as must the Ninth. Apparently, however, the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth have primarily one-party characteristics even yet.

Despite our description of Michigan as a two-party state, it does contain a number of congressional districts with one-party characteristics. If we consider voting percentages through the 1962 election, the First and Fifteenth remain most heavily one-party Democratic, while the Democratic party has dominant but lessening strength in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Districts. Most strongly one-party Republican districts are the Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Tenth and Twelfth Districts. The Sixth, Seventh and Eleventh may now be considered competitive districts. One-party Republicanism appears to be losing strength in the Second, Third, Ninth and Eighteenth Districts.

From the above it can be seen that while Michigan taken as a state-wide whole appears to be an area of two-party competition, when broken down geographically into congressional districts, only about three of the eighteen districts analyzed are truly competitive, while four districts each are one-party predominant Democratic and one-party predominant Republican. Of the remaining seven districts, five are one-party Republi-

can and two are one-party Democratic, according to our definition of degrees of competition. Not surprisingly the one-party Democratic districts are to be found in Wayne County and the one-party Republican districts are to be found outstate, mainly but not entirely in more rural areas of the state. Most interesting perhaps are the "swing" districts, the Sixth, Seventh and Eleventh, which are becoming more competitive and in the case of the first two contain a large suburban vote and are in areas where urbanization and industrialization are increasing rapidly.

VI. Background for the Michigan Newspapers

In this section we shall discuss the policies, candidate endorsements, newshandling and ownership of the six Michigan newspapers chosen for our sample. Newspapers which we chose include the Grand Rapids Press, Lansing-East Lansing State Journal, Flint Journal, Saginaw News, Traverse City Record-Eagle, and Muskegon Chronicle. A bit further on in this section of the chapter, we will present a table with data about each of these papers and discuss each individually.

The daily edition of a newspaper is the end product of a publication process in which the characteristics of the newspaper, its staff, owners and the raw material of daily events all interact to produce a certain kind of newspaper. If we assume that the coverage of political events does not get into print willy-nilly but is the end product of a process of this kind, it becomes important for us to know something about the characteristics of that newspaper. These are the input factors

that result in the output which is newspaper content.

Thus in analyzing structure of the Press as an institution, we must know the individual paper's circulation, how long the newspaper has been in existence, its editor and publisher and, as a starting point for analysis, its policy stance (i.e., editorial policy) as well as newshandling policy.

It would be interesting to amass all these data for each newspaper of all descriptions (weeklies, ethnic papers, suburban papers, etc.) in both states. But we are limited by the practical consideration that microfilm has come into general use only recently, and only a limited number of newspapers (mainly dailies) can be analyzed by examining their microfilm files. This led to two basic decisions in compiling data on ownership, policy and circulation. The first was not to use weekly newspapers. Use of the daily newspaper sample made it possible, too, to observe chain newspaper behavior in editorial policy-making and newshandling practices (Booth Newspapers, Inc., in Michigan, Scripps-Howard in Tennessee in the cases of Memphis and Knoxville). Also time and funds were not available to undertake a weekly newspaper analysis, even where files are conveniently kept. The same was true of the suburban press. It was decided to gather these data for newspapers of general circulation which are dailies published in urban and rural constituencies as we have described them in Section IV. Focus of our attention was further limited by the number of these available on microfilm.

A second decision was that made to concentrate detailed

analysis on a small group of newspapers, six in each state. An original plan to "spot check" other newspapers besides these 12 was discarded when the 12-newspaper sample proved to be a fairly representative sample in terms of the daily Press of each state.

Now we present data in this section for the Michigan newspapers (and in the next section for the Tennessee papers) that we used in our 12-newspaper microfilm sample.[4] This appears below in tabular form. Structural descriptive data for the six Michigan papers[5] follows:

Newspaper	1964 Circulation	1962 Circulation	Established
Grand Rapids Press	D, 125,915 S, 101,805	D, 126,547 S, 91,407	1890
Lansing-East Lansing State Journal	D, 70,182 S, 69,552	D, 68,447 S, 67,709	1855
Flint Journal	D, 101,023 S, 100,920	D, 96,701 S, 96,610	1875
Saginaw News	D, 53,521 S, 53,365	D, 52,499 S, 58,798	1859
Traverse City Record-Eagle	D, 13,688 (No Sunday Edition)	D, 13,733	1858
Muskegon Chronicle	D, 46,391 (No Sunday Edition)	D, 45,293	1857

Newspaper	Editor and Publisher	Nominal Policy
Grand Rapids Press	Lee M. Woodruff Booth Newspapers	Independent
Lansing-East Lansing State Journal	Louis A. Weil, Jr.	Independent Republican
Flint Journal	Ralph B. Curry Booth Newspapers	Independent
Saginaw News	Glen A. Boissoneault Booth Newspapers	Independent
Traverse City Record-Eagle	A. T. Batdorf Record-Eagle Co.	Independent
Muskegon Chronicle	Robert C. Herrick Booth Newspapers	Independent

The noticeable tendency of newspapers to call themselves Independent, despite the true persuasion stated in their editorials, cannot be overlooked. For this reason, in order to properly examine the policy of the six papers we must look at their true policy preferences through editorial endorsements. The only truly Independent or non-partisan paper in the Michigan sample proved to be the Record-Eagle in Traverse City, which did not endorse either party's candidates and made a strenuous effort to remain truly non-partisan. The Grand Rapids Press, Lansing State Journal, Flint Journal, Saginaw News and Muskegon Chronicle all followed a general policy line of Republicanism, endorsing the Republican ticket and for the most part taking the Republican line on major campaign issues. Each of these five newspapers endorsed Vice President Richard M. Nixon and the Republican congressional nominee in their home district in the 1960 campaign.

The best indicator of degree of partisanship is probably the newshandling policies of the papers, as evidenced in content which we examined (just as the best indicator of party preference is the endorsements of candidates). Judging from our impression of this factor (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three when we deal with bias in the Press), the most strongly partisan Republican of the five papers were the Saginaw News (notably in handling of Letters to the Editor) and the Grand Rapids Press. Judging from newshandling, the Lansing State Journal and Muskegon Chronicle appeared to be somewhat less partisan in their Republicanism, i.e., they gave

a more balanced coverage to Republican and Democratic candidates. The least partisan reporting of the congressional campaign was probably that found in the Flint Journal. Whether this was because the Journal appeared slightly more moderate than the other four Republican papers in Michigan, or whether it was because the Sixth Michigan CD congressional nominee, Prosecutor Jerome F. O'Rourke of Flint, was a local man, we could not determine, but perhaps both factors entered in.

Our general impression was that five of the six Michigan papers in the sample were actually Republican, that some were more strongly partisan than others but that even the most strongly partisan gave reasonably fair coverage to opposition candidates on the newspages.

VII. Background for the Tennessee Newspapers

Turning to the six Tennessee newspapers in the sample, we found the following basic descriptive data:[6]

Newspaper	1964 Circulation	1962 Circulation	Established
Chattanooga Times	D, 52,864 S, 84,383	D, 52,408 S, 81,797	1869
Knoxville Journal	D, 65,278 (No Sunday Edition)	D, 66,956 (No Sunday Edition)	1839 (Sold to Scripps-Howard interests)
Knoxville News-Sentinel	D, 105,517 S, 145,717	D, 104,997 S, 141,507	1886
Memphis Commercial Appeal	D, 216,760 S, 261,546	D, 221,591 S, 259,472	1840
Nashville Tennessean	D, 131,797 S, 212,037	D, 131,339 S, 207,101	1812
Nashville Banner	D, 96,965 (No Sunday Edition)	D, 104,457 (No Sunday Edition)	1876

Newspaper	Editor and Publisher	Nominal Policy
Chattanooga Times	Martin Ochs	Independent
	Ben Hale Golden	Democratic
Knoxville Journal	Guy L. Smith, GOP ex-state chairman	Independent Republican
	Journal Co.	
Knoxville News-Sentinel	Loye W. Miller	Independent
	News-Sentinel Publishing Co. (Scripps-Howard subsidiary)	
Memphis Commercial Appeal	F. R. Ahlgren	Independent
	Memphis Publishing Co. (Scripps-Howard subsidiary)	
Nashville Tennessean	John Siegenthaler	Democratic
	Amon Carter Evans	
Nashville Banner	A. C. Dunkleberger	Independent
	Amon Carter Evans	

For the Tennessee newspapers, it is also interesting to compare their professed policy with their true persuasion as revealed in editorial endorsements. Memphis papers call themselves Independent, though the Commercial Appeal supported Nixon in 1960. But it is only newspapers of deep-dyed persuasion, like the two capital-city newspapers, the Tennessean and the State Journal in Lansing, that have the nerve to call themselves respectively Democratic (unabashedly) and Independent Republican. The Tennessean, of course, was founded shortly before the emergence of Andrew Jackson as a political leader and has a long tradition of support for Democratic candidates and causes. The ultraconservative Knoxville Journal also uses a party designation, terming itself Independent Republican, although it is actually Old Guard Republican in editorial policy, judging by its endorsements of candidates. The Journal was so adamantly reactionary on the civil rights issue during the early 1960's that it branded a Protestant chaplain, who had

made space available for interracial meetings, as "having Red ties" because he once invited a "suspect" folk-singer to perform at a student center serving University of Tennessee students. The Journal also publicized some of the more community-accepted right-wing groups, but buried on a back page an "advance" on a visit by General Edwin Walker of Ole Miss fame, apparently because of embarrassment over his reputation. General Walker immediately accused the Journal of being too liberal when he made his appearance before a right-wing rally at the Knoxville Civic Auditorium in 1963.

On the liberal side, the Tennessean was almost equally biased against Governor Frank G. Clement, the defender of integration at Clinton High School (reluctantly, it is true), although over another issue. The Tennessean attacked the governor because of his action against the TVA interests when he allowed the state sales tax to be applied to electric utilities power generated by the TVA. The Tennessean, liberal enough in the context of Tennessee politics, was a long-time advocate not only of TVA but also of its champion, Senator Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga, and since Kefauver's death in 1963 supported the Chattanoogan's successor in the Senate, former Rep. Ross Bass of Pulaski, against Governor Clement in the 1964 Senate primary in Tennessee, as well as in the 1964 general election.

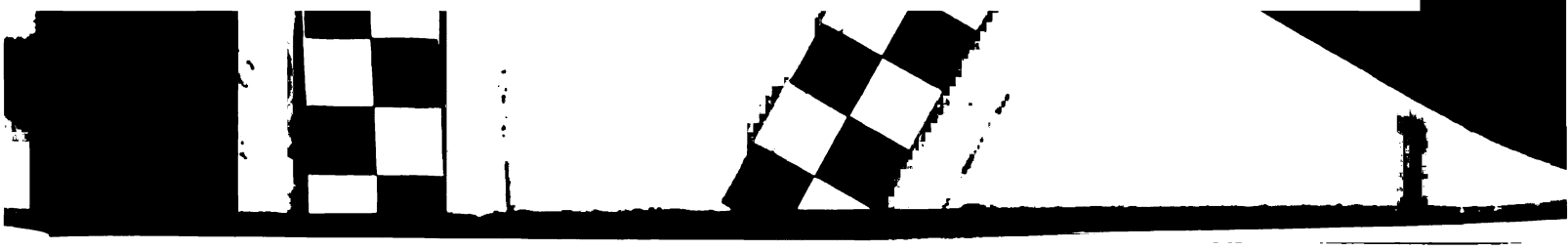
Compared with the virulent partisanship of the Knoxville Journal and the militant pro-Republican partisanship of the Nashville Banner (founded we note in 1876, the year of the

contested Hayes-Tilden presidential contest, and still adamantly Republican), the Lansing State Journal -- which some of its Michigan readers describe as biased -- seems to verge on being an Eisenhower Republican publication of the respectable type, employing care in newshandling although not free of distortion, as no newspaper can be because of the nature of headline writing which guarantees a certain amount of this.

Since the Tennessee partisan identification of newspapers varies more than that found in Michigan, we worked up the chart below to give an idea of party preference, endorsements and newshandling policies of the Tennessee papers in the sample. Our findings are as follows:

Newspaper	Usual Party Preference	Newshandling Policy
Chattanooga Times	Democratic	Balanced
Knoxville Journal	Republican	Favors Republican candidates
Knoxville News-Sentinel	Republican (endorses some Democrats)	Balanced
Memphis Commercial Appeal	Democratic (prefers conservatives)	Favors conservatives slightly
Nashville Tennessean	Democratic	Favors Democratic candidates
Nashville Banner	Republican	Favors Republican candidates

Newspaper	Endorsed for President	Endorsed for Congress
Chattanooga Times	Kennedy	Democrat
Knoxville Journal	Nixon	Republican
Knoxville News-Sentinel	Nixon	Republican
Memphis Commercial Appeal	Nixon	Democrat
Nashville Tennessean	Kennedy	Democrat
Nashville Banner	Nixon	Republican (where running)



The above should give a good indication of the real party preferences of the Tennessee papers in the sample, and taken together with similar information about the Michigan papers in the sample, should give us a very good idea of the character of the newspapers we are analyzing in both states, before we proceed to a more careful study of the content analysis data on specific hypotheses, beginning with Chapter Three.

VIII. Chain Ownership Factors

One aspect of the characteristics of the newspapers in our sample chosen from the Michigan and Tennessee daily Press that we found of interest, although it was not dealt with in our hypotheses, was the factor of chain ownership of newspapers.

In Michigan, although we did not plan it that way, it developed that four out of the six newspapers in the sample were a part of the Booth Newspapers, Inc., chain. In Tennessee, we found that two newspapers out of the six were part of the Scripps-Howard chain and that a third had been bought out by Scripps-Howard, even though it was permitted to retain its editorial autonomy.

While there were variations in newspapers even within the same chain, we found some evidence of more responsible coverage and reporting by newspapers that were part of a chain than by locally owned newspapers. This might be in part at least due to the greater reportorial resources of the chain newspapers, but it was something we had not expected to find.

This topic will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, which deals with bias in the Press.

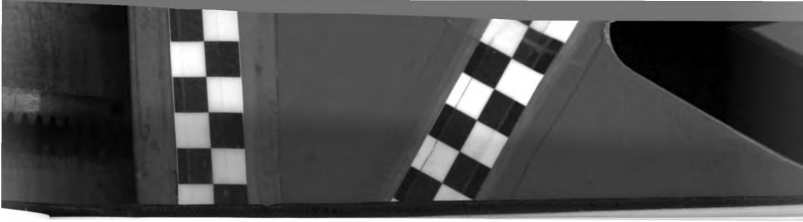
IX. Comparison of Michigan and Tennessee Newspapers

A brief comment in comparing Michigan and Tennessee newspapers may be in order here, since we have just examined each set in the sample separately. We had wondered whether we might find some differences in degree of partisanship of the Press in one-party and two-party political contexts such as those in Tennessee and Michigan, but in general we found that degree of partisanship varied from weak to strong in both states regardless of the situation in party competition. In other words, we found greater differences across newspapers in the same state than across states.

X. Implications for Theory

Since this chapter immediately precedes the chapters in which we deal with our specific hypotheses, we might briefly point out some implications for theoretical problems in political communications that seem to grow out of our examination of the political context in the two states and the newspapers in the two-state sample.

One point which should be made is that differences between different congressional districts in the same state and different newspapers in the same state may often be as marked, or in some cases perhaps more so, than differences between districts or newspapers in different states. By the same token, some of the Michigan districts may be more like some Tennessee



districts than they are like other Michigan districts, and the same may be true of newspapers as well.

In addition to the party dimension of newspaper policy and in congressional district voting, it may also be useful to pay some attention to liberal-conservative preferences in newspaper policy as well as in voting behavior. This is another factor we should bear in mind as we begin to examine the detailed data derived from our content analysis.

Keeping these things in mind, we proceed to an examination of the individual specific hypotheses, which will begin with a report of our findings on bias in the Press, discussed in Chapter Three.

Footnotes for Chapter Two

1. Percentages based on congressional voting statistics found in America Votes for 1960 and in Congressional Quarterly Special Report: Complete Returns of the 1962 Elections by Congressional District.

2. Congressional Quarterly Census Analysis, Washington, Congressional Quarterly Service, 1964.

3. Congressional Quarterly Census Analysis, op. cit.

4. Microfilm files were all examined at the microfilm section of the Michigan State University Library. The six Michigan newspapers were made available on microfilm files through the courtesy of the Michigan State Library in Lansing. Files for the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Nashville Banner were provided by the Mid-West Inter-Library Center in Chicago through interlibrary loan. The University of Tennessee Library in Knoxville furnished microfilm files for the Nashville Tennessean, the Chattanooga Times, and the Knoxville Journal and News-Sentinel.

5. Data on Michigan newspapers from Ayer's Directory, 1964 and 1962.

6. Data on Tennessee newspapers from Ayer's Directory, 1964 and 1962.

CHAPTER THREE

How Biased Is Newspaper Coverage of Political Campaigns?

I. Introduction

The problem of bias in the newspapers is an important problem in the analysis of public opinion.

This is because of the considerable likelihood that biased coverage will introduce perceptual distortion into the average reader-voter's "picture" of political campaigns, even though alternative sources of news coverage may be available to him.

A dictionary definition of bias in the sense in which we use it would be "a prejudice; bent." But this definition must be refined for our purposes.

In our context, bias is the use of descriptive words or other means of affecting the reader's attitude toward a candidate so as to cause him to consider the candidate either more favorably or more unfavorably. The definition of bias as used here does not include any assumption of intentional use of terms which might describe the candidate either more favorably or more unfavorably, largely because there is simply no way to ascertain intent.

However, we can illustrate what we mean by a favorable reference, a neutral reference and an unfavorable reference, which are the bases of the numerical rating system for bias which we propose to use.

If a candidate is referred to as "experienced," "capable," "vigorous," or "energetic," this is interpreted as a favorable reference. If he is referred to as "inept," "irresponsible," "slow-witted," or "unaware of his constituents' interests," or if we say he has been charged with corruption, this is considered an unfavorable reference. Descriptive material which relates primarily to the candidate's background, such as his pre-political experience, his home, and other factual matters of this nature can be interpreted as neutral.

To explain biased coverage another way, it is "slanted" coverage (albeit unintentional) tending to favor one candidate or party at the expense of the other.

We suggest that a partial and crude measurement of this kind of bias can be made by a technique for numerical

representation of bias which we refer to as the "F-U-N Rating" because it is a measurement of favorable, unfavorable and neutral references to candidates in coverage of the campaign.

II. Analysis of the "FUN Rating" Tabulation

First, here is how the FUN Rating is determined in its raw form, giving an idea of the intensity of bias by recording the number of references in each of the three categories in the context of all references to candidates in a particular news story.

Thus measuring the kinds of references listed above as examples and allowing one unit for each reference, Rep. Alvin M. Bentley, the Republican senatorial nominee in Michigan in 1960, received 12 favorable mentions, 28 neutral mentions and 16 unfavorable mentions, making his raw-score "FUN Rating" 12-28-16.

In order to compare ratings of each candidate, however, a refined FUN Rating was also developed, giving all neutral mentions a "0" value, all favorable ratings a plus one value (for each mention) and all unfavorable ratings a minus one value (for each mention). Thus in this example, we could translate the unrefined FUN Rating of 12-28-16 into a score of -4 for Bentley. The unrefined score shows the ratio of the three kinds of references can be quickly determined, while the refined plus or minus FUN Rating gives the relationship of a candidate's unfavorable references to his

favorable ones. Thus refined scores can be compared for opposing candidates for a clue as to whether either got favored treatment.

III. The Specific Hypothesis

In this chapter, we are discussing the problem of bias in the Press in terms of such factors as editorial policies and newshandling policies of the newspapers. We also have a secondary interest in ownership, which was dealt with in Chapter Two. Further we will examine the relationship between the political makeup of the congressional district and the coverage of biennial campaigns conducted in the district.

The first specific hypothesis derived from the major hypothesis is stated as follows on Page 26:

1. Biased coverage (i. e., "slanted" coverage, or coverage tending to favor one candidate or party at the expense of the other) of congressional campaigns is more likely to be found in rural-district papers than in urban-district papers.

With the data we derived for our tables we might also suggest a special case of biased coverage, namely, that biased coverage is more likely to be found in a one-party state like Tennessee than in a two-party state like Michigan.

We are interested in the newspaper policies in terms of the endorsement of candidates editorially and in terms of newshandling policies reflected in content analysis of coverage of the campaign itself. Our interest in ownership and other factors of Press structure is secondary to our interest

in editorial and newshandling policies. Specific factors reflecting policy include editorials embodying policy statements, like candidate endorsements, and the treatment of letters to the editor and editorial cartoons.

We are considering the problem of biased coverage of congressional campaigns in Michigan and Tennessee, using a twelve-newspaper sample. The Tennessee newspapers in the sample consist of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the Nashville Banner, the Nashville Tennessean, the Knoxville News-Sentinel, the Knoxville Journal, and the Chattanooga Times. The Commercial Appeal and the News-Sentinel are Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

The Michigan newspapers in the sample consist of the Flint Journal, the Saginaw News, the Lansing State Journal, the Grand Rapids Press, the Traverse City Record-Eagle, and the Muskegon Chronicle. Of this sample of six, the State Journal and the Record-Eagle are locally owned, while the remaining four -- the Press, the Chronicle, the News and the Journal -- are part of the Booth Newspapers, Inc., chain (known as Boothpapers), a subsidiary of the Scripps-Howard interests.

These are the twelve newspapers in the two-state sample for the period covered in our analysis, September 1 through Election Day, November 8, 1960.

In examining bias in the Press, we took qualitative data of content of news stories. We also examined qualitative data dealing with editorial content and content of

letters to the editor. We examined cartoons in a minor way. All these data were dealt with in the quantitative collection of data as well.

IV. Analysis of Tabulations for the Full Sample

One finding we can make from the Michigan-Tennessee sets of tables is that prominence of the candidate tended to get him more favorable mentions. While we could point to examples in congressional coverage, this can be most strikingly seen in the case of Sen. Estes Kefauver, whose total score for the six Tennessee papers was plus 70 (/70) while his Republican opponent, A. Bradley Frazier, scored only plus 2 (/2). In examining the scores of the U. S. Senate candidates in Michigan, we find Bentley's plus 316 (/316) compares quite favorably with Senator McNamara's plus 172 (/172), indicating a considerable bias favorable to the Republican nominee. This may be partly explained by the pro-Republican editorial policy of the Michigan newspapers sampled, which may have been reflected in a tendency to give somewhat more generous coverage to the Republican nominee. (In Tennessee, most newspapers endorsed Kefauver, but the preponderance of coverage given him may have been less due to pro-Democratic policy than to the fact that he was better known in Tennessee than his opponent, a "token" candidate. In Michigan, however, both Bentley and McNamara were about equally well known.) However, this alone is not sufficient explanation for Bentley's advantage, as part of the difference was doubtless the result of the fact that Bentley made a more vigorous

campaign than did Senator McNamara, a fact commented on in several stories. We could conclude then that there was some evidence of bias, but that it was not very strong evidence because of the presence of other factors.

Looking at the congressional contests and their coverage, we would expect to find some partisan bias for the Democratic candidates in Tennessee and for Republican candidates in Michigan. There is some slight evidence of this; for example, Rep. Clifford Davis (D), the conservative Democrat who represented the Ninth Tennessee Congressional District, got a score of plus 21 (/21) in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, his home town paper, which was the most of any of the Tennessee candidates covered in that paper and was noticeably greater than the plus 9 (/9) scored by Senator Kefauver.

The Nashville Banner, one of the two openly Republican papers in Tennessee, gave its heaviest coverage to Rep. B. Carroll Reece of the First Tennessee Congressional District with a score of plus 22 (/22), but this was doubtless partly because Congressman Reece also served as state Republican chairman and got publicity in that capacity, so the score may be misleading unless this is taken into account. Further, although the Banner has a considerable pro-Republican bias by reputation, it accorded good coverage to Rep. Joe L. Evins, Fourth District Democrat running for re-election without opposition, largely because of a newsworthy appearance he made in a Christian Church pulpit in a Nashville suburb to answer the minister's attack on Senator Kennedy. So newsworthiness

as well as partisanship can affect the kind of coverage afforded a candidate. Otherwise, Evins and Kefauver scored well in liberal Democratic papers, the Nashville Tennessean and Chattanooga Times, which is not too surprising. Another candidate getting especially favorable mention was Rep. Howard Baker, the incumbent Republican Second District congressman in Tennessee, who was the recipient of plus 22 (/22) and plus 9 (/9) scores, highest for the two Knoxville papers, and who had a plus 37 (/37) score, second only to Reece among the congressmen seeking re-election, for the full Tennessee sample of six newspapers.

Noteworthy congressional coverage in the eighteen Michigan contests included that given to Rep. George Meader of Ann Arbor, the Second District Republican incumbent (plus 36); to Rep. Gerald R. Ford of Grand Rapids, the Fifth District Republican incumbent (plus 56); to Rep. Charles E. Chamberlain of East Lansing, the Sixth District Republican incumbent (plus 30) and his Democratic opponent, Genesee County Prosecutor Jerome F. O'Rourke of Flint (plus 43); to Rep. Robert P. Griffin of Traverse City, the Ninth District Republican incumbent (plus 48), and to James Kellis, Democratic nominee in the 18th District who contested with Rep. William E. Broomfield, incumbent Republican, for that seat. Kellis had a score of plus 33 and Broomfield plus 13. In the case of Chamberlain and O'Rourke, the latter got heavy coverage in his home town of Flint, accounting in part for his good showing. In the case of Kellis (another exception to

our expectation that incumbents would fare better than non-incumbents), perhaps his newsworthiness (as a combat veteran of World War II with an independent record) may have helped to win him greater coverage.

Allowing for these exceptions and a preponderance of Republicans among those given the most favorable coverage in the Michigan congressional contests, a more plausible explanation is probably found in the incumbency factor. Incumbents who were particularly active had a natural advantage and it was probably this combination of incumbency and active campaigning that made the difference. As this factor of amount of campaign activity appeared to occur in the Senate contest where Bentley, the Republican non-incumbent who campaigned actively, outscored McNamara, the Democratic incumbent who did not work intensively until late in the campaign, this subsidiary hypothesis of activity-related coverage seems to get some support.

In summary, we found considerable evidence that some candidates get more favorable treatment in the Press than others but little evidence that this was primarily or even in large part due to partisan factors. Also, incumbency was not always the determining variable.

Based on the findings summarized in the tables accompanying this chapter in the thesis, we can reach the following general conclusion about our hypothesis on "bias" in the Press:

Biased coverage ("slanted" coverage tending to favor one

party or candidate at the expense of the other) of congressional campaigns is more likely to be found in rural-district papers than in urban-district papers. Our exploration of biased coverage was mainly concerned with evidence of favoritism toward one party's candidate and favorable treatment of the incumbent. There was more support for the view that incumbency is a factor in favorable coverage (though even here there were exceptions) than for the view that party affiliation is a factor in such coverage. Although we did have some figures comparing urban district with rural district coverage, there was no clear evidence of urban or rural district papers being the most biased. We did, however, find somewhat greater tendencies toward bias in the rural district papers, as we expected.

V. Newspaper Policy and Political Background

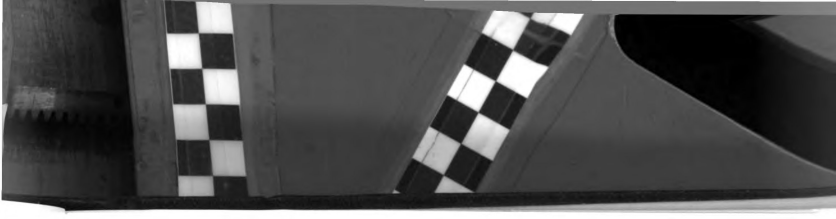
Bias in newspaper coverage of campaign events may be reflected in partisan bias (favorable attitude toward one party over the other), liberal-conservative bias on issues, or bias in favor of one candidate over the other. This can be determined in terms of endorsements. Most of the Michigan newspapers endorsed Nixon and the Republican congressional candidate in the district, although the Traverse City Record-Eagle maintained neutrality. In Tennessee, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the two Knoxville papers and the Nashville Banner endorsed Nixon while the Chattanooga Times and the Nashville Tennessean endorsed Kennedy. The Commercial Appeal,

the Times and the Tennessean endorsed Democratic nominees for Congress, but the Banner and the two Knoxville papers endorsed Republican congressional nominees. We were interested in determining whether the endorsed candidates got more favorable treatment on the news pages as well as in editorial endorsements. This was most true of the Knoxville Journal and Nashville Banner, only slightly less true of the Tennessean, and least so for the Knoxville News-Sentinel, the Chattanooga Times and the Memphis Commercial Appeal.

The intensity of Republicanism in Tennessee may be due to the fact that, although East Tennessee is a "one-party island" in a predominantly Democratic state, Tennessee is a modified one-party state. If this terminology is confusing, it must be explained that traditional Republicanism is breaking down in the urbanized portions of East Tennessee, while traditional Democratic views in West Tennessee are being weakened by the civil rights issue.

Michigan, on the other hand, is basically a two-party competitive state like Indiana, Illinois or Ohio. This would account for some differences in intensity of partisanship between the Tennessee and Michigan newspapers.

To deal in specifics, we found that the Nashville Banner was the most vitriolic (in terms of editorial comment, cartoons, etc.) and the most bitterly partisan of any of the papers, with the possible exception of the Knoxville Journal. The Tennessean, while partisan and biased in favor of liberal Democrats and the TVA, did not pursue its partisanship so



viciously and continously.

The editor of the Knoxville Journal, Guy Lincoln Smith, is a former state chairman of the Tennessee Republican Party. The Nashville Banner, founded in 1876 (the year of the Hayes-Tilden disputed presidential election at the end of the Reconstruction Era), is an Old Guard Republican newspaper like the Journal. Both, however, supported Richard Milhous Nixon in 1960. On the other hand the Memphis Commercial Appeal, in which we found evidences of moderate bias, straddled party lines. We might call it a conservative Democratic newspaper, on both civil rights and economic issues. But in 1960, partly for lack of candidates more in keeping with its own viewpoint and the embarrassment that might have ensued if it had made no endorsements, the Commercial Appeal backed the mixed slate of Vice President Nixon for president, Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn) for re-election to the U. S. Senate, and Representative Clifford Davis (D-Tenn), the conservative Democratic congressman representing the Ninth Tennessee (Shelby County) District. Thus one can see a mixture of party choices, and a mixture of issue preferences or ideological choices in candidate preferences, probably brought about by the practical considerations mentioned above.

The Nashville Banner, on the other hand, went straight-line Republican, while the Nashville Tennessean, a strongly liberal Democratic newspaper which is firmly linked with TVA interests in Tennessee, maintains its liberal policies in Nashville, Tennessee's capital city. It endorsed

Representative Richard Fulton, incumbent Democratic congressman from the Fifth District, in 1962, and endorsed Senator Ross Bass (D-Tenn), successor to the late Estes Kefauver, in his 1964 primary campaign against Governor Frank G. Clement.

VI. Other Types of Media Bias

Bias found in the newspaper press is not the only type of bias found in the mass media. Varying shades of bias may be found in radio or television coverage, but in neither of these two media do we find the headline factor to be as important as in the newspaper format. News display (a minor factor in the television format) is also more important in newspapers because their typography permits a wider range of headline sizes.

This is also partly because of the instantaneous reception of television and radio compared to the printed page medium. Therefore, senationalism through newspaper headlines, which can be read and reread, and bias in the headlines, as well as news "play" (position on page) above and below the fold of the printed page, may be important factors in the impression the reader gets from the newspaper about campaign events, about specific rallies and meetings, the filings of candidates, and the various other aspects in the different stages of the electoral contest.

This time factor is one essential difference between newspapers and the electronic communications media such as radio and television.

Besides analysis of the general problem of bias in the

Press, we also have an interest in the "Press bias" variable in connection with the urban-rural dimension in voting, and in relation to more general demographic or socio-economic factors.

First, we conjecture that all newspapers are biased because total objectivity of news coverage is in practice unattainable, whether by newspaper reporters, radio-TV reporters, or their editors and publishers, station managers, news script supervisors, or other policy-makers and regular employees in the "working press".

While this test theoretically permits a score of total "neutrality" in coverage in any one news story, the problem is to recognize when bias in the form of "slanting" is noticeable, i. e., when it becomes measurable with a preponderance of unfavorable references (item references at the sentence level) in the analysis of one news item.

Granting that total objectivity in either reporting or editing is unattainable, we must look at forms of "doctoring" the news. This may occur in the editing of press association dispatches (the measure of this would occur through comparison of printed items in specific newspapers that subscribe to it with the Associated Press or United Press International AAA Wire (trunk) for the day in question).

Another factor which may be biasing in the news items on the page may be the news "play" or display factor, not just in one instance (easily interpreted as an exception) but consistent favoring of one party or candidate over another. It

may also be found that partisan bias is great in certain newspapers, while it is slight in other newspapers, particularly so in the case of rural district papers where the editor may know many readers personally. In this latter case, there may be an almost militant anti-party bias of the Ostrogorski type.[1] An example of this would be the Traverse City Record-Eagle, whose editor refused to publish letters to the editor because he felt READERS were too biased!

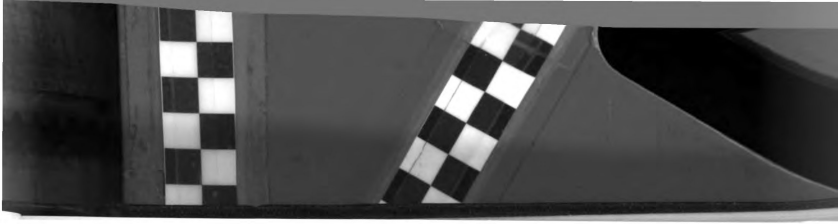
We can probably make only a subjective measurement of this type of phenomenon, using qualitative analysis data, even employing the FUN Rating. The best study we have of this kind, to date, is not a scholarly study. It is Ben Bagdikian's study of the nationally circulated weekly newsmagazines -- Time, Newsweek, and U. S. News and World Report.[2]

Bagdikian found evidence of bias and distortion in all three of the weekly newsmagazines in a series of articles published first in the Providence, R. I., Journal-Bulletin and reprinted in the New Republic in 1959. The articles discussed the accuracy of Time (or lack thereof), pro-business bias in U. S. News and World Report, and the prediction methods of Newsweek's copyrighted special section, "Periscope".

Bagdikian's articles, to summarize, were concerned with his search for inaccuracies and distortions and militant partisan bias.

VII. Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

What kind of basic data are called for in our analysis? We have two types, the latter of which can be divided into two sub-categories. The first kind is derived from qualitative content analysis and will be presented in tabular form and discussed briefly in this chapter. Tabulations were made for a rural congressional district daily, the Muskegon Chronicle, and for an urban district daily, the Grand Rapids Press (see Tables I and II with this chapter). For the Grand Rapids Press, there was a total of 66 favorable references to congressional candidates, 16 to Democrats and 50 to Republicans; 16 unfavorable references to congressional candidates, 8 to Democrats and 8 to Republicans, and 13 neutral references, 6 to Democrats and 7 to Republicans. Heaviest favorable references were to two Republican candidates, Ford (42) and Griffin (14), neither of whom received any unfavorable references. This indicates some pro-Republican bias in an urban newspaper. For the Muskegon Chronicle, there was a total of 106 favorable references to congressional candidates, 46 to Democrats and 60 to Republicans; 27 unfavorable references, 14 to Democrats and 13 to Republicans, and 16 neutral references, 6 to Democrats and 10 to Republicans. From this limited sample we would have to conclude that there is a greater degree of pro-Republican bias in the one urban district newspaper examined than in the one rural district newspaper examined. In the Chronicle data, the greatest number



of favorable references found were for Griffin with 22, Meader with 14, Kellis with 15, O'Hara and McIntosh with 12 each, and Jennings with 10. Of these men, three were Republicans and three were Democrats. Although favorable Republican candidate mentions totaled 48 and favorable Democratic candidate mentions totaled 37, this is much nearer an even balance than was found in the case of the Press.

A second kind of analysis consists of comparative study of same-district newspapers taking the general data mentioned above, but limiting this to make comparisons such as the following two examples:

(1) The Knoxville Journal (locally edited) and the Knoxville News-Sentinel (guided somewhat by Scripps-Howard chain policy). The Journal has the reputation in the community of being more highly biased than the News-Sentinel. Our data should show whether subjective use of qualitative content analysis data would bear this out. We can point to instances from editorial statements alone which would seem to, without even examining letters to the editor. (See Table III with this chapter, which compares these two newspapers' coverage of a two-party contest in one district with that of the Flint Journal; the greater number of mentions for both candidates in the latter reflects greater attention to the contest as well as less indication of bias -- the favorable mentions are more evenly distributed.)

(2) The Nashville Banner (strongly partisan and locally

edited) and the Nashville Tennessean (strongly partisan and locally edited). The Banner has the reputation of being biased conservatively, almost to the point of being extremist. The Tennessean has the reputation of being liberally biased, especially on anything affecting Tennessee Valley Authority-oriented interests. Public utilities such as the TVA are strongly favored by the Tennessean, so much so that in the case in which Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee secured passage in the General Assembly at its 1963 session of a bill to tax services, extending the sales tax to utilities services and thus adversely affecting TVA, the Tennessean violently opposed him and carried cartoons lambasting him as being corrupt and wearing a suit marked with dollar signs. These cartoons were drawn by the regular Tennessean cartoonist, Tom Little. Does subjective use of qualitative content analysis bear out this pro-TVA, pro-liberal Democratic bias? We think it does. In Table IV with this chapter, it is noteworthy that the Tennessean gave considerably less favorable coverage to Representative B. Carroll Reece, First District congressman and state GOP chairman, than did its Republican opposition, the Banner. Tables V through VIII contain additional FUN Rating data.

Another investigative angle, including a different type of data (this is not a directly content analysis approach, but rather deals with policy orientation of the newspapers studied), asks what are the newspapers' basic policies on political questions and issues (a dimension different from the partisan one).

We can find statements (i. e., a statement in each newspaper) of formally published or institutional policy orientation for the newspapers in the 12-newspaper sample. This can be done by inspecting the editorials published in the newspapers included in our sample for the September-November period of 1960.

Typical of such editorials, either stating formal endorsements or making the papers' policy stands clear, are the following editorials:

1. Grand Rapids Press -- Editorial on November 4, 1960, "The Choice for President", three columns, 33 inches, endorsing Nixon and Ford. Editorial on October 31, 1960, "We're Voting for Congress Too", three columns, 21 3/4 inches, endorsing Ford, and calling on Republican workers to work hard for the congressional slate.

2. Flint Journal -- Editorial on November 6, 1960, "Nixon Is Best Qualified to Lead Nation, Free World", three columns, 39 3/4 inches, including an endorsement of Nixon and the Republican slate.

3. Traverse City Record-Eagle -- No endorsement of either candidate. A typical non-partisan appeal, published October 7, 1960, measuring one column (wide measure) by 4 inches, consisted of an editorial calling for participation and headed "Political Apathy".

4. Lansing State Journal -- Actual endorsement occurred in a day's newspaper which was not in the sample, but a typical editorial appeared on October 23, 1960, headed

"Unfair Tactics in Campaign", three columns, 12 inches. This was a complaint about tapes of the presidential debates being used for campaign purposes by Kennedy supporters, a practice the editorial described as unfair tactics.

5. Chattanooga Times -- Relisting of endorsements, "In Today's Election", one column, 4 inches, on November 8, 1960, a reiteration of the paper's policy stands for Kennedy and the Democratic slate.

6. Memphis Commercial Appeal --"Voter's Guide", one column, 17¼ inches, on November 8, 1960, a repetition of endorsements of Nixon, Kefauver and Davis.

In Chapter Two, a complete summary of newspaper endorsements was included.

Next we will deal with urban-rural differences in the congressional campaign coverage, along with a brief look at the incumbency factor.

TABLE I (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable: Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960)

		Candidates	Memphis Commercial Appeal	Nashville Banner	Chattanooga Times
Senate:		Frazier (R)	0	≠ 1	0
		Kefauver (D)	≠ 9	≠10	≠22
House Districts:	1st:	Reece (R)	0	≠22	≠ 3
		Bright (D)	- 1	0	0
	2nd:	Baker (R) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	≠ 5	0
	3rd:	Frazier (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	0	≠ 9
	4th:	Evins (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 2	≠11	0
	5th:	Loser (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	≠ 2	≠ 1
	6th:	Bass (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 3	≠ 3	≠ 1
	7th:	Murray (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 2	0	≠ 1
	8th:	Everett (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 2	≠ 1	≠ 1
	9th:	Davis (D) (Unopposed)	≠21	≠ 1	≠ 3

TABLE II (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable: Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960)

		Candidates	Nashville Tennessean	Knoxville News-Sentinel	Knoxville Journal	Summary for Full Tennessee Sample (Six Newspapers)
Senate:		Frazier (R)	- 1	0	≠2	≠ 2
		Kefauver (D)	≠19	≠ 2	≠8	≠70
House Districts:	1st:	Reece (R)	≠ 2	≠10	≠5	≠42
		Bright (D)	- 1	0	0	- 2
	2nd:	Baker (R) (Unopposed)	0	≠22	≠9	≠37
	3rd:	Frazier (D) (Unopposed)	0	0	0	≠10
	4th:	Evins (D) (Unopposed)	≠19	0	0	≠32
	5th:	Loser (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	0	0	≠ 5
	6th:	Bass (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 9	≠ 5	≠1	≠22
	7th:	Murray (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 2	0	0	≠ 5

TABLE II (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable: Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960) (Continued)

		Candidates	Nashville Tennessean	Knoxville News-Sentinel	Knoxville Journal	Summary for Full Tennessee Sample (Six Newspapers)
House Districts: (Continued)	8th:	Everett (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	0	0	≠ 5
	9th:	Davis (D) (Unopposed)	≠ 1	0	0	≠26

TABLE III (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960)

		Candidates	Saginaw News	Traverse City Record-Eagle	Lansing State Journal
Senate:		Bentley (R)	≠24	≠15	≠69
		Rollin Severance (Prohibitionist)	≠ 2	0	0
		*McNamara (D)	≠15	≠ 2	≠25
House Districts:	1st:	*Machrowicz (D)	0	0	0
		Czarnecki (R)	0	0	0
	2nd:	*Meader (R)	≠13	0	0
		Payne (D)	≠ 8	0	0
	3rd:	*Johansen (R)	≠ 2	0	≠ 2
		Clark (D)	0	0	- 1
	4th:	*Hoffman (R)	0	0	≠ 1
		Burns (D)	0	0	≠ 1
	5th:	*Ford	≠10	0	0
		Reamon (D)	0	0	0
	6th:	*Chamberlain (R)	≠ 4	0	≠ 6
		O'Rourke	≠ 1	0	≠17
	7th:	*O'Hara (D)	≠ 3	0	- 1
		McIntosh (R)	≠ 5	0	≠ 1
	8th:	Harvey (R)	≠28	0	≠ 2
		Miss Harden (D)	≠13	0	- 1

TABLE III (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960) (Continued)

		Candidates	Saginaw News	Traverse City Record-Eagle	Lansing State Journal
House Districts: (Continued)	9th:	*Griffin (R)	≠ 4	≠11	≠ 4
		Jennings (D)	0	≠11	0
	10th:	*Cederberg (R)	≠ 5	0	0
		Reed (D)	≠ 1	0	≠ 3
	11th:	*Knox (R)	≠ 1	0	≠ 1
		Brown (D)	≠ 1	0	- 1
	12th:	*Bennett (R)	0	0	0
		McCarthy (D)	0	0	0
	13th:	*Diggs (D)	0	0	0
		Blackwell (R)	0	0	0
	14th:	*Rabaut (D)	≠ 4	0	0
		Mrs. Nair (R)	≠13	0	0
	15th:	*Dingell (D)	0	0	0
		Robbins (R)	0	0	0

TABLE III (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960) (Concluded)

		Candidates	Saginaw News	Traverse City Record-Eagle	Lansing State Journal
House Districts: (Continued)	16th:	*Lesinski (D)	0	0	0
		Lee Clark (R)	0	0	0
	17th:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D)	≠1	0	0
		Morrell (R)	0	0	0
	18th:	Broomfield (R)	≠1	0	≠5
		Kellis (D)	≠1	0	≠1
		Third Party Candidates in All Districts	0	0	0

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE IV (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960)

Contest		Candidates	Grand Rapids Press	Flint Journal	Muskegon Chronicle	Full Michigan Sample (6 Daily Newspapers)
Senate:		Bentley (R)	≠100	≠73	≠35	≠316
		Rollin Severance (Prohibitionist)	0	≠ 1	0	≠ 3
		*McNamara (D)	≠ 13	≠58	≠39	≠172
House Districts:	1st:	*Machrowicz (D)	≠ 3	≠ 3	≠ 1	≠ 7
		Czarnecki (R)	0	0	0	0
	2nd:	*Meader (R)	≠ 7	≠ 3	≠13	≠ 36
		Payne (D)	0	≠ 2	0	≠ 10
	3rd:	*Johansen (R)	0	≠ 2	≠ 1	≠ 7
		Clark (D)	0	≠ 2	0	≠ 1
	4th:	*Hoffman (R)	0	≠ 4	0	≠ 5
		Burns (D)	0	≠ 1	0	≠ 2
	5th:	*Ford (R)	≠ 43	≠ 3	0	≠ 56
		Reamon (D)	≠ 2	- 1	0	≠ 1
	6th:	*Chamberlain (R)	≠ 5	≠16	≠ 1	≠ 30
		O'Rourke (D)	0	≠25	0	≠ 43
	7th:	*O'Hara (D)	≠ 4	≠ 5	≠ 4	≠ 15
		McIntosh (R)	≠ 6	≠ 4	≠11	≠ 27
	8th:	Harvey (R)	≠ 2	0	≠ 1	≠ 33
		Miss Harden (D)	- 1	0	≠ 1	≠ 12

TABLE IV (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960) (Continued)

Contest		Candidates	Grand Rapids Press	Flint Journal	Muskegon Chronicle	Full Michigan Sample (6 Daily Newspapers)
House Districts: (Continued)	9th:	*Griffin (R)	≠14	0	≠15	≠48
		Jennings (D)	≠ 2	-2	≠ 7	≠18
	10th:	*Cederberg (R)	≠ 1	0	≠ 1	≠ 7
		Reed (D)	0	0	0	≠ 4
	11th:	*Knox (R)	≠ 1	-1	0	≠ 2
		Brown (D)	0	0	0	0
	12th:	*Bennett (R)	- 1	≠5	0	≠ 4
		McCarthy (D)	0	0	0	0
	13th:	*Diggs (D)	≠ 1	0	≠ 1	≠ 2
		Blackwell (R)	0	0	0	0
	14th:	*Rabaut (D)	≠ 1	0	≠ 1	≠ 6
		Mrs. Nair (R)	≠ 2	≠1	≠ 2	≠18
	15th:	*Dingell (D)	≠ 1	≠3	≠ 1	≠ 5
		Robbins (R)	0	0	0	0
	16th:	*Lesinski (D)	≠ 1	0	≠ 1	≠ 2
		Lee Clark (R)	0	≠2	0	≠ 2

TABLE IV (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Adjusted FUN Ratings for 12-Newspaper Sample (1960) (Concluded)

Contest		Candidates	Grand Rapids Press	Flint Journal	Muskegon Chronicle	Full Michigan Sample (6 Daily Newspapers)
House Districts: (Continued)	17th:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D)	≠14	0	≠ 2	≠17
		Morrell (R)	≠ 3	0	≠ 2	≠ 5
	18th:	Broomfield (R)	≠ 4	0	≠ 3	≠13
		Kellis (D)	≠16	≠1	≠14	≠33

(Third Party Congressional Candidates, in Grand Rapids Press only): Mary Mills (Socialist-Labor, 7th) -3; Mildred Montgomery (Prohibition, 10th) -3; Lucy Larkin (Prohibition, 16th) -3; Sudie Gross (Tax Cut, 17th) -3; Phyllis Guthrie Kyle (Prohibition, 18th) -3.

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE V (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in an Urban District Newspaper
(The Grand Rapids Press) (1960)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY:

District	Candidate	FUN Rating Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
1st District:	*Machrowicz (D)	2	1	0
	Czarnecki (R)	0	0	0
2nd District:	*Meader (R)	5	0	0
	Payne (D)	0	0	0
3rd District:	*Johansen (R)	0	0	0
	Clark (D)	0	0	0
4th District:	*Hoffman (R)	0	0	0
	Burns (D)	0	0	0
5th District:	*Ford (R)	42	0	0
	Reamon (D)	2	0	0
6th District:	*Chamberlain (R)	7	4	1
	O'Rourke (D)	0	0	0
7th District:	*O'Hara (D)	9	6	6
	McIntosh (R)	9	3	4
8th District:	Harvey (R)	1	0	0
	Miss Harden (D)	0	1	0
9th District:	*Griffin (R)	14	0	1
	Jennings (D)	2	0	0

TABLE V (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in an Urban District Newspaper
(The Grand Rapids Press) (1960) (Continued)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY:
(Continued)

District	Candidate	FUN Rating		
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
10th District:	*Cederberg (R)	0	0	0
	Reed (D)	0	0	0
11th District:	*Knox (R)	1	0	0
	Brown (D)	0	0	0
12th District:	*Bennett (R)	0	1	0
	McCarthy (D)	0	0	0
13th District:	*Diggs (D)	0	0	0
	Blackwell (R)	0	0	0
14th District:	*Rabaut (D)	0	0	0
	Mrs. Nair (R)	1	0	0
15th District:	*Dingell (D)	0	0	0
	Robbins (R)	0	0	0
16th District:	*Lesinski (D)	0	0	0
	Clark (R)	0	0	0

TABLE V (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in an Urban District Newspaper
(The Grand Rapids Press) (1960) (Concluded)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY:
(Concluded)

District	Candidate	FUN Rating Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
17th District:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D)	0	0	0
	Morrell (R)	0	0	0
18th District:	*Broomfield (R)	0	0	0
	Kellis (D)	1	0	0
	Subtotals	66	16	13
U. S. SENATE CONTEST:				
	*Patrick V. McNamara (D)	67	53	7
	Alvin M. Bentley (R)	115	39	9
	Subtotals	182	92	16
MISCELLANEOUS:	Third Party Coverage	0	0	5
	GRAND TOTALS	248	108	34

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VI (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in a Rural District Newspaper
(Muskegon Chronicle) (1960)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY:

District	Candidate	FUN Rating		
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
1st District:	*Machrowicz (D)	1	0	1
	Czarnecki (R)	0	0	1
2nd District:	*Meader (R)	14	1	1
	Payne (D)	0	0	0
3rd District:	*Johansen (R)	1	0	0
	Clark (D)	0	0	0
4th District:	*Hoffman (R)	0	0	0
	Burns (D)	0	0	0
5th District:	*Ford (R)	0	0	0
	Reamon (D)	0	0	0
6th District:	*Chamberlain (R)	0	0	0
	O'Rourke (D)	0	0	0
7th District:	*O'Hara (D)	12	8	1
	McIntosh (R)	12	3	2
8th District:	Harvey (R)	0	0	0
	Miss Harden (D)	1	0	0
9th District:	*Griffin (R)	22	7	2
	Jennings (D)	10	2	0

TABLE VI (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable: Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in a Rural District Newspaper (Muskegon Chronicle) (1960) (Continued)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY: (Continued)

District	Candidate	FUN Rating Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
10th District:	*Cederberg (R)	0	0	0
	Reed (D)	0	0	0
11th District:	*Knox (R)	0	0	0
	Brown	0	0	0
12th District:	*Bennett (R)	0	0	0
	McCarthy (D)	0	0	0
13th District:	*Diggs (D)	1	0	1
	Blackwell (R)	0	0	1
14th District:	*Rabaut (D)	1	0	0
	Mrs. Nair (R)	2	0	0
15th District:	*Dingell (D)	1	0	1
	Robbins (R)	0	0	1

TABLE VI (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable:
Category Content Analysis of References to Candidates in a Rural District Newspaper
(Muskegon Chronicle) (1960) (Concluded)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ONLY:
(Concluded)

District	Candidate	FUN Rating Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
16th District:	*Lesinski (D)	1	0	1
	Clark (R)	0	0	1
17th District:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D)	3	2	1
	Morrell (R)	2	0	0
18th District:	*Broomfield (R)	7	3	1
	Kellis (D)	15	1	0
	Subtotals	106	45	16
U. S. SENATE CONTEST:				
	*Patrick V. McNamara (D)	15	13	4
	Alvin M. Bentley (R)	48	13	3
	Subtotals	103	26	7
	GRAND TOTALS	209	71	23

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VII (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable in One Contest in Three Newspapers
News Columns vs. Opinion Columns (Knoxville News-Sentinel and Journal and Flint Journal)

Newspaper	FUN Rating (News Columns)	FUN Rating (Opinion Columns)	FUN Rating (Total)
Knoxville News-Sentinel:			
*Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R)	10-0-1	0-0-0	10-0-1
Arthur Bright (D)	0-0-0	0-0-0	0-0-0
Knoxville Journal:			
*Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R)	5-0-4	0-0-0	5-0-4
Arthur Bright	0-0-0	0-0-0	0-0-0
Flint Journal:			
*Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R)	12-4-2	11-1-2	23-5-4
Jerome O'Rourke (D)	23-5-3	7-0-0	30-5-3

NOTES: Editorial comments are sparse on congressional races, light on senatorial, mostly centered on presidential contest. Even the 1962 sample from the News-Sentinel and Chattanooga Times indicated heavy coverage of Kennedy and Eisenhower and relatively light coverage of congressional candidates.

Opinions in the cases tabulated here are expressed mostly in signed columns by staff writers (such as political correspondents or reporters covering local-level politics) or in "Letters to the Editor" columns. Nashville and Memphis papers carrying heaviest editorial comment are not included in this table, and the Detroit press, which comments freely, was purposely excluded from the original design of the research.

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VII (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable in One Contest in Three Newspapers News Columns vs. Opinion Columns (Knoxville News-Sentinel and Journal and Flint Journal) (Continued)

NOTES: (Continued)
Newsplay of signed columns (appearing on newspages as well as the editorial page) and selection of letters for publication in "Letters to the Editor" columns are keys to bias in a situation where editorial comment is cautious. Anonymous letters, excluded by the "Letters" policy of most newspapers, are a pretty good guarantee of bias and usually exhibit slogans and slanted phrases with overtones of strong intensity in personal and partisan criticisms.

Editorial policy of metropolitan newspapers and of newspaper chains is frequently determined in collegial fashion by an editorial board which interviews candidates privately. This would not be true of small circulation, locally owned newspapers, a minority in our 12-newspaper sample.

TABLE VIII (Chapter III): Biased Coverage Variable in Comparison of Two Newspapers (Nashville Banner and Tennessean) Senatorial Contest and Two Districts: One Contested and One Uncontested

NASHVILLE BANNER	Candidate	FUN Rating
Contest for U. S. Senate:	*Sen. Estes Kefauver (D)	8-0-4
	A. Bradley Frazier (D)	1-0-2
1st District Contest:	*Rep. Carroll Reece (R)	22-0-0
	Arthur Bright (D)	0-0-1
5th District Unopposed Incumbent:	*Rep. Carlton Loser (D)	2-0-0
	Subtotals	33-0-7
NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN		
Contest for U. S. Senate:	*Sen. Estes Kefauver (D)	22-1-0
	A. Bradley Frazier (R)	0-1-0
1st District Contest:	*Rep. Carroll Reece (R)	8-4-4
	Arthur Bright (D)	0-1-0
5th District Unopposed Incumbent:	*Rep. Carlton Loser (D)	4-0-0
	Subtotals	34-7-4
	GRAND TOTALS	67-7-11

*Denotes Incumbent

Footnotes for Chapter Three

1. Austin Ranney says in The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government (see Footnote 2, Chapter One) that Ostrogorski devoted more than 20 years to the study of the English and American party systems.

In his principal work, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II (the United States), Garden City, Anchor, 1964, p. 356, Ostrogorski commented:

". . . Is not the solution demanded by the problem of parties an obvious one? Does it not consist in discarding the use of permanent parties with power as their end, and in restoring and reserving to party its essential character of a combination of citizens formed specially for a particular political issue? . . . Party as a general contractor for the numerous and varied problems present and to come, awaiting solution, would give place to special organizations, limited to particular objects. . . ."

Ranney takes issue with Ostrogorski, in the following passage (op. cit., p. 133):

"Despite its broad scope and wealth of learning . . . Ostrogorski's indictment of American parties and his attack on the party-government point of view cannot withstand close analysis. He assigned to 'democracy' an arbitrary definition under which no political parties mankind has ever seen could have any place, and sought to prove by means of arguments derived from that definition, that parties as he observed them could not possibly be democratic institutions. He therefore won his battle against parties even before the commencement of hostilities. But it is quite as accurate to say that, from any point of view save his own, he lost the battle."

2. Ben H. Bagdikian, three articles in the New Republic, as follows: "The Weekly Newsmagazines -- I. U. S. News and World Report", February 2, 1959; "Those Uncanny Predictions in Newsweek", February 16, 1959; "TIME-Study", February 23, 1959.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Urban-Rural Dimension in Campaign Coverage And Its Relation to Incumbency

I. Statement of Specific Hypotheses

In applying the major hypothesis of this press content study to political problems, we formulated a specific hypothesis consisting of two parts. It may be stated as follows:

Specific Hypothesis 2: In comparing rural congressional districts with urban districts, total coverage of candidates will be greater in newspapers published in rural districts than in those published in urban districts. This will be true in two specific cases illustrated by Specific Hypotheses 2(a) and 2(b).

Looking more closely at these specific cases, Specific

Hypothesis 2(a) states: Both major-party candidates get more total coverage (in terms of measurement of actual newspaper space and not potential exposure) in rural than in urban districts. Specific Hypothesis 2(b) states: Non-incumbents get more coverage in newspapers published in rural congressional districts than in newspapers published in urban districts.

In relation to 2(b), we expect to find newspaper coverage of non-incumbents will tend to be found in "round-up" or "wrap-up" stories dealing generally with the campaign, rather than in separate individual stories in papers published in urban districts. Non-incumbents will, however, get somewhat more coverage where they mount an intensive campaign, regardless of whether the newspaper giving coverage is published in an urban or rural district. (As noted in Chapter One, increased campaigning is assumed to be reflected in greater coverage of the non-incumbents as shown in the content analysis data.)

Our interest in rural-urban constituency differences in candidate coverage is related to the current interest in reapportionment of state legislatures and the effect of this reapportionment on the redistricting of congressional seats. This essentially urban-rural issue has been the focus of a congressional struggle in the 88th and 89th Congresses over a constitutional amendment sponsored by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Illinois), the Senate minority leader, which would make it legal for states to apportion one legislative chamber on a basis other than population.

Political factors arising from congressional redistricting are closely related to legislative redistricting. For many years, state legislatures had a free hand in redistricting their own seats, but in a Tennessee case, Baker v. Carr, decided in 1962, the cities of Knoxville, Memphis, Chattanooga and Nashville succeeded in bringing about the intervention of the federal courts in the legislative apportionment battle. The fight is still going on in Tennessee, which held a state constitutional convention in 1965 as a last ditch effort by rural interests to restrict the impact of reapportionment. In Michigan, the case of Scholle v. Hare launched the judicial aspect of the fight, but it was not until June 15, 1964, when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the "one man, one vote" principle applied to both houses of state legislatures, that the provision in Michigan's 1963 Constitution, promoted by Governor George Romney and narrowly adopted over the opposition of Democrats partly because of its reapportionment provisions, was superseded and the Michigan Legislature was reapportioned in compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court order.

Thus while Michigan succeeded in modernizing its representation in the legislative houses, Tennessee was still struggling with the problem in late 1965. Both legislative reapportionments will eventually affect congressional districting but the most important immediate impact was felt in Michigan which in 1964 approved a new state-wide congressional redistricting. However, Michigan may ultimately prove more

stable than Tennessee, as any change in Tennessee will probably give more representation to Memphis and Shelby County and this is one of the areas of Tennessee where the Negro vote is most strongly felt.

In compiling data for this chapter, we prepared tables to compare urban and rural district coverage in all 12 newspapers included in the two-state sample.

In analyzing data on the (a) and (b) special cases for this specific hypothesis, we tabulated urban-rural variables in the following forms:

(1) A table showing total coverage for all candidates (congressional, presidential, vice presidential and senatorial) in national races that were covered by all newspapers in the sample published in urban districts in 1960. Data for each candidate or political figure are presented in this table (Table I, appended to this chapter) in the form of frequency of items (including both news stories and photo coverage) and total column inches for each category. This gave us a measure of the kind of coverage given in all daily newspapers from the sample published in urban congressional districts. From these totals, we derived two sets of figures for the "typical" urban-district paper, mean frequency and mean column inches. We also computed the total frequency of measured stories and total column inches for the stories.

(2) A table showing total coverage for all candidates (congressional, presidential, vice presidential and senatorial) in national races that were covered in all newspapers in

the sample published in rural districts in 1960. Data are presented for each candidate or political figure in this table (Table II, appended to this chapter) in the form of frequency of items and total column inches for each category. This gave us a measure of all daily newspaper coverage found in sample newspapers from rural congressional districts. From these totals, we derived two sets of figures for the "typical" rural-district paper, mean frequency and mean column inches. We computed the total frequency as well for measured stories, and the total column inches.

(3) A table showing total coverage for all candidates in these four categories that were covered by one urban district paper, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, in 1960. Categorization data included frequency and total column inches figures, giving us a measure of the kind of coverage given in a daily newspaper published in one of the urban congressional districts in the sample. (Table V)

(4) A table giving similar data for a newspaper published in a rural congressional district. While we have used the terms "urban" and "rural" in a loose sense, we took care to see that the paper was one published in a basically rural congressional district. For this purpose, since regional differences did not constitute a variable in examining this hypothesis and the state of publication did not matter, we chose the Muskegon Chronicle, a Booth Newspaper, to examine the rural congressional district coverage. (Table VI)

The above were the four tables pertinent to part (a) of

the specific hypothesis.

In dealing with part (b) of the specific hypothesis, we used two approaches, and compiled two sets of tables.

The first two tables pertinent to part (b), Tables III and IV (both appended to this chapter), were compiled from a tabulation of figures on all types of candidates in 1960, with frequency of items and column inches in all items for each category totaled. In similar fashion to the computations for Tables I and II, figures were computed for a "typical" district for mean frequency and mean column inches. This was done in Table III for all newspapers published in districts with incumbent candidates, while in Table IV figures were computed for all newspapers published in districts where all candidates were non-incumbents.

The other two tables pertinent to part (b), Tables VII and VIII, were limited to senatorial and congressional campaign data, and dealt with the incumbency variable as it related to coverage in two Michigan newspapers, one published in an urban constituency, the Flint Journal, and the other published in a rural district, the Traverse City Record-Eagle (districts are the Sixth and Ninth Michigan CD's, respectively). (This made it possible to concentrate on the coverage given incumbents -- starred in the tables -- and non-incumbents in the same district.)

Under the senatorial and congressional categories in the coverage in each of the newspapers for Tables VII and VIII, we computed frequency of items and total column inches data.

We did not differentiate, in any of these single-newspaper tables (V, VI, VII, and VIII) between editorial opinion or news coverage, using total coverage data in an effort to keep the tables statistically significant. Data were compiled in Tables VII and VIII for each congressional district race in Michigan, and for the U. S. Senate contest in Michigan in 1960. These four tables (like the full-sample tables, I, II, III and IV) were all limited to 1960 data. The use of 1960 data makes it possible to compare the coverage in that year with the coverage in other years when district lines were the same, such as 1958. However, the 1958 election coverage was beyond the scope of this thesis.

Besides the frequency count of news items, and the computations of total column inches for each candidate and each category, we took another computation to show that the newspapers were comparable. This computation was made to find the percentage of newspage content within the total content of each of the 12 newspapers represented in the entire sample. Nothing in these computations indicated a wide variation in the newspage content, although slight variations were found which could be explained by the different nature of the newspaper circulation areas of their corresponding political constituencies, the districts in which the papers circulated.

In all the tabulations, our focus was on coverage of the congressional contests, and the presidential, vice presidential and senatorial data were compiled purely for purposes of comparison, so that we could see the congressional dis-

trict coverage in context of the entire coverage of all contests for national office. If an investigator wished to introduce a regional variable, in order to compare the South and Midwest, we believe the newspapers we examined in Michigan and Tennessee are typical enough for him to do so.

II. Inferential Discussion of the General Findings

Our first interest is in seeing what findings we can make from the full-sample tables compiled for this chapter and dealing with the urban-rural and incumbency, non-incumbency variables.

The "mean" figures for the typical newspaper published in an urban district showed Democratic nominees and Republican nominees each getting 10.6 stories (items), but the Republican nominees had the preponderance of coverage, with 146.75 column inches to 80.96 for the Democratic nominees. In home district coverage, the "typical" Democratic district nominee got 4.4 items to 3.3 items for the "typical" Republican, but the Republican stories were longer, as Republican nominees won a total of 41.96 column inches to 36.96 column inches for the "typical" Democratic nominee. This advantage in column inches is slighter than we might expect given the incumbency lineup of Democrats and Republicans in 1960. Nor would we have expected the "typical" Republican to have had fewer items in the frequency count.

If we look at newspapers published in rural districts, we find a pattern more like we would have expected to see in both urban and rural districts. In these newspapers, Demo-

cratic nominees for U. S. representative (all in the state) had 5.6 items for 70.90 column inches, opposed to 12.2 items for 153.85 for Republican nominees. Focusing on same-district Republican and Democratic nominees, the typical situation found the Democratic nominee getting 2.4 items and 21.65 column inches of coverage to 8.0 items and 59.70 column inches for his Republican counterpart. This partly may be accounted for by greater interest in Republican candidates in the rural districts in Tennessee, where the incumbent Democrat had no serious opposition in 1960.

As for tentative conclusions on this score, we suggest that the urban-rural dimension is a more definite indicator of differences in coverage, following party guidelines, than the incumbency, non-incumbency factor which we will discuss below. This is not surprising when we consider the fact that there was only one incumbent not seeking re-election in the year we examined, 1960.

In processing incumbency data for the full sample, we developed an index for the newspapers published in districts with incumbent candidates and an index for the newspapers published in districts without incumbent candidates. For each grouping (Tables III and IV), we computed the frequency of items about each candidate or slate, the total column inches devoted to each candidate or slate, mean frequency and mean column inches. The total frequency of measured stories in districts with incumbent candidates was 5,727, and total column inches in measured stories in the "incumbent

running" districts amounted to 71,636½. In the "no incumbent running" district newspapers, there were 480 stories totaling 8,326½ column inches.

The significant figures to compare are probably the "mean frequency" and "mean column inches" columns of the tables, which give us the data for the mythical "average" newspaper published in the "average" district.

In newspapers published in districts with incumbent candidates, Democratic nominees for U. S. representative received 8.1 stories measuring 85.45 column inches to 10.0 stories (or items) measuring 122.61. In explanation of these figures, it should be said that in the Michigan newspapers, the "incumbent" district papers numbered five, and in all five districts, the incumbent was Republican. With the Tennessee papers, all incumbents were seeking re-election in 1960, and four of the six were published in districts with a Democratic incumbent in Congress, while two of the six (published in the same district) had a Republican incumbent seeking re-election. So the frequency and column inches figures should be compared on the basis of seven newspapers published in districts with Republican incumbents, and four papers published in districts with Democratic incumbents. Thus the preference in frequency for Republicans is perhaps a little less than this 7:4 ratio might lead us to predict, but the rough 4:3 ratio in column inches appears to be more in line with what the party lineup would indicate. Thus the incumbent advantage seems to be reflected in column inches of coverage more than in frequency

of items, although even the total column inches appear less than expected.

In the remaining newspaper, published in a district where the Republican incumbent congressman was not running in 1960, Democratic nominees for U. S. representative got 13 stories measuring 217.50 column inches and Republican nominees got 25 stories measuring 417.75 column inches. The determining factor here apparently consisted of (1) the expectation that the Republican nominee would win in a normally Republican district, and (2) the expectation that Republicans would win in many districts in the state-at-large. The newsworthiness of candidates, we would assume, is based to some extent on their estimated chances of winning their contest. In this district, the Democratic nominee in the home district had five items measuring 67 inches, and the Republican nominee received 91.25 inches of coverage in the form of 10 stories. This preponderance again we would take to reflect the dominant party newsworthiness, and the expectation of victory for this party's candidate. Usually of course a candidate given the best chance of winning is "better copy" in a district with one-party tendencies.

The other coverage, in the form of item frequencies and column inches, shown in Tables III and IV, gives a context for the rest of the campaign coverage, so that congressional campaign coverage can be judged in terms of the overall distribution of items and column inches.

Any conclusions we could draw from these data would have

to be very tentative, but we believe the incumbent advantage is less than we expected to find. In the districts where no incumbent was running, affiliation with the dominant party seemed to be a factor in news coverage, and this factor would be closely allied with expectations of victory for the candidate who is the object of coverage.

III. Inferential Discussion of Specific Findings

This section of the chapter, which deals with more inferences -- these based on the detailed data in Tables V, VI, VII and VIII -- is intended to lay the groundwork for the conclusions drawn in the final section of the chapter.

We first introduce the question: (1) Is the urban-rural readership dimension critical to an understanding of the differences between urban and rural congressional districts? On the basis of our data, we believe that it is. Not only do the data indicate different emphases in the rural and urban press, but also the press content does reflect important constituency differences.

To cite a specific instance, home district coverage in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, on campaign activities of incumbent Rep. Clifford Davis (D-Tenn), Ninth District congressman, mentioned Davis in only six news items during the campaign, with a total of 76½ column inches. As an unopposed incumbent, (he was nearly defeated by his Republican opponent in 1962 and was defeated in the 1964 Democratic primary), his coverage was limited, while the coverage for incumbent Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn), also unopposed but the winner of

a resounding victory in the August Democratic primary, overshadowed that for Davis. Senator Kefauver had 11 news items for a total of 123 3/4 column inches. This would indicate that stature of the candidate and the office he holds may be more important than place of residence (Kefauver was from Chattanooga) or the type of newspaper (urban or rural district) in affecting the coverage.

Turning to Michigan, a two-party state, the same principle seems to hold true if we examine congressional coverage against the backdrop of the more significant senatorial contest and its coverage. The Muskegon Chronicle devoted 10 items in 1960 to Senator Patrick V. McNamara (Democratic incumbent senior senator) and 15 items to his Republican opponent, Rep. Alvin M. Bentley, compared to seven items for the Republican incumbent, Ninth District Representative Robert P. Griffin, and three for Griffin's Democratic opponent, Don Jennings. Inch totals were 121½ for McNamara and 172 3/4 for Bentley, who waged a more active campaign than McNamara. Column inch totals for Representative Griffin, co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Labor Act of 1959, and for Jennings, the Democratic nominee for his seat, were 49 3/4 and 28½ respectively.

Comparative figures with presidential candidates -- to give a perspective on the congressional coverage -- are presented in Tables V and VI. It is not surprising that the presidential nominees got the lion's share of the coverage in 1960 because of the absence of an incumbency factor, because

of the presence of volatile issues like the "religious issue" in the campaign, and probably because a close outcome was expected. These factors enhanced the normal expectation of greater coverage arising from the status of the office sought by the presidential nominees. A more detailed analysis of opinion factors in coverage for each category was previously made in computing "FUN Rating" tables for Chapter Three.

A point which stands out in Table VII, for the Flint Journal, covering a contest in a competitive district where Prosecutor O'Rourke, the Democratic non-incumbent, made more than a token challenge to the incumbent, Representative Chamberlain, is that while congressional coverage is still overshadowed by senatorial, when it is in a two-party state with active campaigning going on in both contests, the place of publication does became an important factor. When one candidate lives in the same city where the paper is published, he and his opponent receive greater coverage in proportion to the Senate contest coverage. To demonstrate this we merely cite the fact that Chamberlain and O'Rourke were given 12 items each in the frequency count, compared to the figures of 31 for Bentley, 24 for McNamara, and one for Rollin M. Severance of Saginaw, the Prohibitionist nominee for the U. S. Senate. The same thing is reflected in the figures for total column inches appearing in Table VII.

The general campaign coverage in the Traverse City Record-Eagle, probably a typical locally owned small daily published in a rural congressional district, was quite light.

But even here, coverage of home district candidates for Congress was overshadowed by coverage of the Senate contest. In the Ninth District, Griffin (a Traverse City resident) was given eight items and Jennings (also a local man) five by the non-partisan Record-Eagle, while Bentley had 10 items and McNamara six. Griffin and Bentley conducted more active campaigns than their opponents, so here campaign financing might have been a factor in the amount of news events and subsequent coverage generated by their campaign activities. The same kind of analysis can be pursued with other newspapers in the 12-newspaper sample, though we did not do so in Table VIII.

Another point about Table VIII, for the Record-Eagle, is that, in addition to the coverage of the Senate campaign, which was a spirited contest, attention was given in the Record-Eagle to contests in two outside congressional districts. The Record-Eagle reported one item on the Kellis-Broomfield race in the 18th Congressional District in Oakland County, where Mr. Kellis, a retired armed forces officer, made a challenge to the established Republican incumbent, Rep. William E. Broomfield. This contest gained statewide coverage through Sunday articles in the "Boothpapers", reporting campaign activities in this Republican district in which the Democrats mounted a serious effort. Kellis received 14 3/4 column inches of coverage in the one item recorded in the sample from the Traverse City daily, significant in the light of this newspaper's having the smallest circulation of any in the sample.

The other outside district mention in the Record-Eagle consisted of an item, the only other congressional one in this sample, about Rep. Victor A. Knox in the 11th District in the Mackinac Straits area, combining counties in both Lower and Upper Peninsulas. Here Knox was given 10½ inches of coverage in a single news item. Knox, in an unusual event for a Republican, received labor support from the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and this was the subject of the story.

One additional story in the Traverse City sample concerned national and statewide congressional campaign activity. A total of 22½ column inches devoted to this story indicates a careful editing of the newspaper, which usually had a relatively small newspage content, as compared with the larger dailies examined. Two stories were devoted to third parties, a total of 13½ inches. Further details of each specific newspaper examined in this chapter will be found in Tables V through VIII accompanying the chapter.

On the incumbency, non-incumbency problem, relevant data provide a comparison between the incumbent congressman and his challenger. These data consist of (1) a frequency count of mentions for incumbents and for non-incumbents, and (2) a column inches tabulation for coverage of each candidate, incumbent and non-incumbent. These figures may be found in Tables VII and VIII with this chapter. Tables III and IV also deal with the incumbency, non-incumbency problem from a more general perspective and were dealt with in Section II of this chapter.

In inferential discussion of our modest statistical findings, we propose to analyze briefly eight questions about urban-rural constituency differences or incumbency factors.

(1) Is the urban-rural readership dimension critical in terms of political communication? Readership studies made for the Press would indicate that the newspapers circulated primarily in a rural circulation zone differ markedly from those with chiefly urban circulation. Afternoon papers are probably more widely read in cities and metropolitan areas, while morning papers get more statewide, area-wide or region-wide circulation, depending on their national prestige. So we conclude that this dimension is critical in journalistic terms.

In political terms, the type of coverage afforded would determine how important it is -- e.g., what races are covered.

(2) What is the interaction pattern between Press and district in the urban-rural context? Certainly, a newspaper which is circulated in a specific congressional district may have numerous readers who are non-voters -- teen-age readers in Michigan or Tennessee, for example, cannot vote as can their 19-year-old counterparts in Kentucky, Georgia or Hawaii. There also will be voters in the district who do not read the press, depending instead on radio, television or word-of-mouth information from friends. Or perhaps they may be the apathetic voters who seldom vote except in a crucial presidential election, and have little interest in political information anyway.

Despite these non-coinciding types of reader-voters, a

number of informed voters, "Opinion Leaders and Followers", to use the Katz-Lazarsfeld terminology from the Decatur study,[1] or "Opinion Givers and Askers", to use the terminology employed by Troldahl and Van Dam in their 1964 interview survey of the Detroit area,[2] measured on a "Perceived Opinion Leadership Scale",[3] or the 1962 study by Troldahl, Van Dam and Robeck on communication networks in the Detroit Office of Civil Defense during the Cuban missile crisis,[4] or an earlier study by Troldahl[5] carried out in the suburban Boston area in 1962 -- do take an active interest in politics and current issues of national or statewide debate. These are the important readers out of the entire circulation, and they are the most apt to be registered voters, unless they are disfranchised by residence requirements or other types of voting restrictions which affect highly informed and intelligent voters.

We conclude, then, that a significant segment of the readership in any congressional district is important to the study of the flow of political communication -- expecially at politically crucial times, such as a time of national crisis as in October, 1962, or at the time of a major nationwide election, such as an "off-year" congressional contest or a presidential election.

(3) When we compare congressional campaign coverage with presidential campaign coverage in our data, do we find more straight news reporting or more feature-type coverage? Feature coverage tends to be heavier in the more important contests. At the congressional level, it is lighter except

in the week before the election, when biographical sketches of the nominees and position statements submitted by them to the newspapers often appear in Sunday editions. There does appear, however, to be more background material on candidates and issues in the newspapers than in the pre-television era. While we did not document this with detailed statistical data, it is our impression that perhaps about 5 per cent of the overall coverage of at least the important congressional candidates, i.e., incumbents or nominees who have gained state and local prominence in other offices, consisted of this type of material.

(4) Is there a difference in issues emphasized in the urban and rural press? Economic issues seem more important in the rural press, especially those affecting farm-business interests as opposed to labor interests. However, the metropolitan press (as in Memphis) gives these good coverage too. It seems logical, and our examination of the data bears it out as far as we have pursued it, that the policy of any newspaper will shape its coverage of candidate statements, whatever the issue, whether it be an economic issue, civil rights, or a foreign policy issue.

(5) We doubt that we can comment with any confidence on whether the incumbent, non-incumbent relationship is critical in coverage, because it is difficult to hold other variables constant enough to conclude anything significant with certainty. The demographic variable is obviously easier to get at, and it probably tells us more than the incumbency vari-

able, especially since U. S. Census Bureau reports have been compiled for political analysis purposes by Congressional Quarterly in a Special Report issued in 1964.

(6) However, there is an important distinction between second-race incumbents, still in the process of establishing themselves, and third-race-plus incumbents, who are usually considered well established. (This was not dealt with in the hypothesis, but a concern with this problem grows out of a study of the data compiled for the hypothesis.) A "Boothpapers" correspondent reporting in the Saginaw News and other Michigan papers in the sample noted this phenomenon, in connection with the McIntosh-O'Hara contest in the Seventh Michigan District in 1960. More attention centers on the incumbent nominees seeking their first re-election, than on the senior incumbents, who are ordinarily considered to have established themselves in the House.

(7) The coverage does not appear to distort differences already appearing between non-incumbent nominees of the major parties in terms of background (especially the recruitment of leadership factor), in their previous experience in lower political office or in offices similar in prestige and status to those of congressmen, or in visibility of position to the public, if they hold a lesser or equal office. We say this because these are primarily political factors, and not communication factors. The "image" is important, to borrow the language of Madison Avenue, but the language of substance and power is more significant here.

(8) We do not believe our data can answer the following question: Where is the advantage of incumbency negated to large degree, and where is it most advantageous? Is there anything to the probability that an incumbent is most disadvantaged or vulnerable in his second race (this seems at least probable according to Point 6), holds a distinct advantage in his third through tenth race (while established), and then is relatively disadvantaged if relatively inactive and over 60 in age? We do suggest this as a possible hypothesis for further exploration, but we doubt we can provide solid proof for it from the data we have collected for this thesis.

IV. Incumbents in 1960 Contests

In order to clarify our consideration of the incumbency factor in our analysis of Specific Hypothesis 2, we are presenting a list of incumbents who were candidates for re-election in Michigan and Tennessee in the 1960 election, although their names are marked with an asterisk in some of the accompanying tables.

Incumbents running in Michigan in 1960 were:[6] First District -- T. M. Machrowicz (D); Second District -- George Meader (R); Third District -- August E. Johansen (R); Fourth District -- Clare E. Hoffman (R); Fifth District -- Gerald R. Ford (R); Sixth District -- C. E. Chamberlain (R); Seventh District -- James G. O'Hara (D); Eighth District -- No incumbent running; Ninth District -- Robert P. Griffin (R); Tenth District -- Elford A. Cederberg (R); Eleventh District --

Victor A. Knox (R); Twelfth District -- John B. Bennett (R); Thirteenth District -- Charles C. Diggs (D); Fourteenth District -- Louis C. Rabaut (D); Fifteenth District -- John D. Dingell, Jr. (D); Sixteenth District -- John Lesinski, Jr. (D); Seventeenth District -- Martha W. Griffiths (D); Eighteenth District -- William Broomfield (R).

Incumbents running in Tennessee in 1960 were:[7] First District -- B. Carroll Reece (R); Second District -- Howard H. Baker (R); Third District -- James B. Frazier (D); Fourth District -- Joe L. Evins (D); Fifth District -- J. Carlton Loser (D); Sixth District -- Ross Bass (D); Seventh District -- Tom Murray (D); Eighth District -- Robert A. Everett (D); Ninth District -- Clifford Davis (D).

V. Generalizations

In part (a) of Specific Hypothesis 2, we stated our expectations as follows: "Both major party candidates get significantly more total coverage (in terms of measurement of actual newspaper space) in rural than in urban districts."

However, the data compiled in Tables V and VI for this chapter indicate that coverage is heavier in one of the urban district papers than in one of the rural district papers. Nearly twice as many items made up the total of campaign coverage in the Memphis Commercial Appeal as in the Muskegon Chronicle. While both candidates in the Ninth Michigan District got a total of 10 items and 78¼ column inches compared to 6 items and 76½ column inches for the sole candidate in the Ninth Tennessee District, the Memphis coverage was actu-

ally heavier when we consider that there was no contest there while the competitiveness factor was present in the Ninth Michigan District. So this much of the evidence is contrary to the first case of Specific Hypothesis 2.

Looking at the data compiled in Tables I and II for this chapter, we find similarly that the total frequency of measured stories or items, 4,159, and column inches in measured stories, 52,603½ inches, both are greater for the urban papers' portion of the sample. Corresponding figures for the rural papers' portion are 2,048 items and 27,192 column inches. For home-district congressional candidates, the rural papers afforded a total of 10.4 items (on average) for both candidates amounting to 81.35 column inches (average). This may be compared with 7.7 items (average) for the urban papers' portion of the sample and their figure of 78.92 column inches (average). Of the four sets of figures, the latter is the only one that tends to confirm the hypothesis and the first three tend to disprove it, so the weight of the evidence is contrary to the hypothesis, when we consider both the full sample and single newspapers drawn from the sample.

In part (b) of Specific Hypothesis 2, we hypothesized as follows: "Non-incumbents get less coverage in newspapers published in urban districts than in newspapers published in rural congressional districts." We can measure this in absolute terms and also in terms of comparison with incumbent coverage. Non-incumbents got little coverage in either rural or urban district newspapers, but according to Tables VII and

and VIII they seemed to fare somewhat better in the urban press, once again contrary to our expectations. With only two noted exceptions (see Tables VII and VIII), non-incumbents got less coverage than incumbents in either rural or urban district papers. O'Rourke in the Sixth Michigan and Kellis in the 18th Michigan Districts were the exceptions, and even here O'Rourke had fewer column inches than Chamberlain, his Republican incumbent opponent, so he was ahead in frequency but not in total inch measurement.

As a related point, we expected to find campaign coverage heavier in districts without incumbent candidates than in districts where incumbents were running for re-election. In Tables III and IV, we found the average for both candidates in districts where incumbents were running averaged 8.3 items totaling 72.82 column inches, while the average for both candidates where no incumbent was running was 15 items totaling 158.25 column inches. This does therefore indicate stronger interest or at least greater activity and greater resulting coverage where neither candidate is an incumbent.

Some related conclusions which are not generalizations based on the hypothesis, but are worth stating, are as follows:

(1) The urban-rural dimension is critically important, else reapportionment would not be such a major issue in most of the 50 states, even at the congressional district level. Urban-rural dimensions in the press coverage of campaigns are limited by such factors as nationwide press association cov-

erage, the existence of chain newspapers, and the modifying factor of network television, but they are there and they are important.

(2) Longer-term incumbents (third-term and beyond) with seniority appear to have more political power and to earn greater newspaper coverage in their congressional districts. The tables seem to support this finding.

(3) To synthesize these points, we find that the urban-rural dimension outweighs the incumbency, non-incumbency dimension in importance, whether considered in historical terms, political science terms, or communications terms (such as the sociology of mass communications).

Finally, for further research, we think a close study of Senate races and of presidential contests where party competition is close (1960 would provide a better case than 1964) would be rewarding, using perhaps a different kind of content sample (perhaps from radio station-TV station logs or from party records). But we will develop this suggestion in the final chapter.

TABLE I (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Factors
Newspapers Published in Urban Districts

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	1132	14790	161.7	2112.86
Nixon-Lodge Slate	1041	14456½	148.7	2065.21
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representative	74	566 3/4	10.6	80.96
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	74	1027¼	10.6	146.75
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	31	258 3/4	4.4	36.96
District Republican Nominee for Congress	23	293 3/4	3.3	41.96
President Eisenhower	105	1368½	15.0	195.50
Ex-President Truman	57	524½	8.1	74.93
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	120	1104¼	17.1	157.75
Republican Senators (Out of State)	29	281¼	4.1	40.18
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	26	208 3/4	3.7	29.82
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	6	53	.9	7.57
Interest Groups	216	2166¼	30.9	309.46

TABLE I (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Factors
Newspapers Published in Urban Districts (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	18	169¼	2.6	24.18
Democratic National Leaders	128	1335¼	18.3	190.75
Republican National Leaders	122	1057¼	17.4	151.04
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	92	859 3/4	13.1	122.82
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	73	782¼	10.4	111.75
Democratic Organizational Activity	116	1305½	16.6	186.50
Republican Organizational Activity	84	890¼	12.0	127.18
Polls and Surveys	159	2170½	22.7	310.07
Democratic Governors	77	831	11.0	118.71
Republican Governors	24	367	3.4	52.43
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	332	5736	47.4	819.43

Total Frequency of Measured Stories -- 4159

Column Inches in Measured Stories -- 52,603½

TABLE II (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Factors
Newspapers Published in Rural Districts

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	503	7831½	100.6	1566.30
Nixon-Lodge Slate	513	7745½	73.3	1106.50
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representatives	28	354½	5.6	70.90
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	61	769¼	12.2	153.85
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	12	108¼	2.4	21.65
District Republican Nominee for Congress	40	298½	8.0	59.70
President Eisenhower	60	811	12.0	162.20
Ex-President Truman	34	396	4.9	79.20
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	43	533 3/4	8.6	106.75
Republican Senators (Out of State)	20	200	4.0	40.00
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	8	85¼	1.6	17.05
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	4	35½	.8	7.10
Interest Groups	79	791	15.8	158.20

TABLE II (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Factors
Newspapers Published in Rural Districts (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	6	59 3/4	1.2	11.95
Democratic National Leaders	73	883	14.6	176.60
Republican National Leaders	55	745½	11.0	149.10
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	48	421	9.6	84.20
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	46	475 3/4	9.2	95.15
Democratic Organizational Activity	36	278 3/4	7.2	55.75
Republican Organizational Activity	53	514	10.6	102.80
Polls and Surveys	86	1237 3/4	17.2	247.55
Democratic Governors	24	166¼	4.8	33.25
Republican Governors	9	95½	1.8	19.10
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	207	2354 3/4	41.4	470.45

Total Frequency of Measured Stories -- 2048

Column Inches in Measured Stories -- 27,192

TABLE III (Chapter IV): Incumbency, Non-Incumbency Factors
Newspapers Published in Districts With Incumbent Candidates

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	1512	20349¼	137.5	1849.93
Nixon-Lodge Slate	1417	19650	128.8	1786.36
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representative	89	940	8.1	85.45
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	110	1348 3/4	10.0	122.61
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	38	300	3.5	27.27
Distric Republican Nominee for Congress	53	501	4.8	45.55
President Eisenhower	150	1929½	13.6	175.41
Ex-President Truman	84	784 3/4	7.6	71.34
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	154	1457¼	14.0	132.48
Republican Senators (Out of State)	47	415¼	4.3	37.75
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	33	275½	3.0	25.05
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	9	66½	.8	6.05
Interest Groups	290	2839¼	26.4	258.11

TABLE III (Chapter IV): Incumbency, Non-Incumbency Factors
Newspapers Published in Districts With Incumbent Candidates (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	24	229	2.2	20.82
Democratic National Leaders	192	1929 3/4	17.5	175.43
Republican National Leaders	171	1610½	15.6	146.41
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	122	1167¼	11.1	106.11
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	96	1048¼	8.7	95.30
Democratic Organizational Activity	144	1476¼	13.1	134.20
Republican Organizational Activity	129	1296¼	11.7	117.84
Polls and Surveys	236	3279¼	21.5	298.11
Democratic Governors	100	984 3/4	9.1	89.52
Republican Governors	32	410	2.9	37.27
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	495	7348¼	45.0	688.02

Total Frequency of Measured Stories -- 5727

Column Inches in Measured Stories -- 71,636½

TABLE IV (Chapter IV): Incumbency, Non-Incumbency Factors
Newspapers Published in Districts Without Incumbent Candidates

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	127	2272¼	127	2272.25
Nixon-Lodge Slate	137	2552	137	2552.00
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representative	13	217½	13	217.50
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	25	417 3/4	25	417.75
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	5	67	5	67.00
District Republican Nominee for Congress	10	91¼	10	91.25
President Eisenhower	15	250	15	250.00
Ex-President Truman	7	135 3/4	7	135.75
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	9	180 3/4	9	180.75
Republican Senators (Out of State)	2	66	2	66.00
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	1	18½	1	18.50
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	1	22	1	22.00
Interest Groups	5	118	5	118.00

TABLE IV (Chapter IV): Incumbency, Non-Incumbency Factors
Newspapers Published in Districts Without Incumbent Candidates (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	0	0	0	0.00
Democratic National Leaders	9	288½	9	288.50
Republican National Leaders	6	192¼	6	192.25
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	18	113½	18	113.50
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	23	209 3/4	23	209.75
Democratic Organizational Activity	8	108	8	108.00
Republican Organizational Activity	8	108	8	108.00
Polls and Surveys	9	129	9	129.00
Democratic Governors	1	12½	1	12.50
Republican Governors	1	23 3/4	1	23.75
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	44	732½	44	732.50

Total Frequency of Measured Stories -- 480

Column Inches in Measured Stories -- 8326½

TABLE V (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Variable:
Total Coverage for All Candidates in an Urban District Paper
(Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure	No. of Items (Stories and Photos)	Total Column Inches
PRESIDENTIAL:	Sen. John F. Kennedy (D)	363	3372
	Vice President Richard M. Nixon (R)	229	2246½
	Gov. Orval W. Faubus (National States Rights)	7	107½
VICE PRESIDENTIAL:	Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	22	194¼
	Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge (R) (In support of Nixon-Lodge)	9	56½
	President Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	9	51¼
SENATORIAL:	Sen. Estes Kefauver (D)	11	123 3/4
	A. Bradley Frazier (R)	0	0
CONGRESSIONAL:	First District --		
	Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R)	3	14½
	Arthur Bright (D)	0	0
	Fourth District --		
	Rep. Joe L. Evins (D) (Unopposed)	1	7½

TABLE V (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Variable:
Total Coverage for All Candidates in an Urban District Paper
(Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960) (Continued)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure	No. of Items (Stories and Photos)	Total Column Inches
CONGRESSIONAL: (Continued)	Sixth District -- Rep. Ross Bass (D) (Unopposed)	1	2½
	Ninth District -- Rep. Clifford Davis (D) (Unopposed)	6	76½
	Unopposed congressmen not getting any individual coverage in the Commercial Appeal: Baker (R-2nd); Frazier (D-3rd); Loser (D-5th); Murray (D-7th); Everett (D-8th)		
	National and Statewide Congressional Coverage	2	44½
MISCELLANEOUS:		4	34
	TOTALS	667	6331¼

TABLE VI (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Variable:
Total Coverage for All Candidates in a Rural District Paper (Muskegon Chronicle: 1960)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure	No. of Items	Total Column Inches
PRESIDENTIAL:	Sen. John F. Kennedy (D)	128	1410¼
	Vice President Richard M. Nixon (R)	104	1209½
	Third party nominees	2	41½
VICE PRESIDENTIAL:	Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	8	94½
	Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge (R) (In support of Nixon-Lodge)	8	109
	President Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	7	74¼
SENATORIAL:	*Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D)	10	121½
	Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R)	15	172 3/4
CONGRESSIONAL:	2nd District--*Rep. Meader (R)	2	20¼
	Thomas Payne (D)	0	0
	3rd District--*Rep. Johansen (R)	1	11¼
	Samuel I. Clark (D)	0	0
	7th District--*Rep. O'Hara (D)	1	25
	Ex-Rep. McIntosh (R)	1	25
	9th District--*Rep. Griffin (R)	7	49 3/4
	Don Jennings (D)	3	28½

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VI (Chapter IV): Urban-Rural Variable:
Total Coverage for All Candidates in a Rural District Paper
(Muskegon Chronicle: 1960) (Continued)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure	No. of Items	Total Column Inches
CONGRESSIONAL: (Continued)	18th District--*Rep. Broomfield (R)	1	24
	James Kellis (D)	1	24
	Nominees competing in districts not given individual coverage by the Chronicle: 1st--Czarnecki (R); *Machrowicz (D). 4th--*Hoffman (R); Burns (D). 5th--*Ford (R); Reamon (D). 6th--*Chamberlain (R); O'Rourke (D). 8th--Harvey (R); Miss Harden (D). 10th--*Cederberg (R); Reed (D). 11th--*Knox (R); Brown (D). 12th--*Bennett (R); McCarthy (D). 13th--Blackwell (R); *Diggs (D). 14th--Mrs. Nair (R); *Rabaut (D). 15th--Robbins (R); *Dingell (D). 16th--Clark (R); *Lesinski (D). 17th--Morrell (R); *Mrs. Griffiths (D).		
	General (National and State) Congressional Coverage	1	11 3/4
MISCELLANEOUS:		4	57 3/4
	TOTALS	304	3510½

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VII (Chapter IV): Incumbency Variable:
Incumbent vs. Non-Incumbent Coverage in the Urban Constituency Press
(The Flint Journal: 1960)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure		No. of Items	Total Column Inches
SENATORIAL:	*Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D)		24	201½
	Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R)		31	487
	Rollin M. Severance (Prohibitionist)		1	1
	Subtotal for Senate Contest		56	689½
CONGRESSIONAL:	1st District:	*Machrowicz (D)	1	17
		Czarnecki (R)	0	0
	2nd District:	*Meader (R)	2	33¼
		Payne (D)	1	28
	3rd District:	*Johansen (R)	1	28
		Clark (D)	1	28
	4th District:	*Hoffman (R)	1	28
		Burns (D)	1	28
	5th District:	*Ford (R)	2	47½
		Reamon (D)	1	28
	6th District:	*Chamberlain (R)	12	113¼
		O'Rourke (D)	12	82
	7th District:	*O'Hara (D)	1	7 3/4
		McIntosh (R)	0	0
	8th District:	No incumbent running		
		Harvey (R)	0	0
		Miss Harden (D)	0	0

TABLE VII (Chapter IV): Incumbency Variable:
Incumbent vs. Non-Incumbent Coverage in the Urban Constituency Press
(The Flint Journal: 1960) (Concluded)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure		No. of Items	Total Column Inches
CONGRESSIONAL: (Concluded)	16th District:	*Lesinski (D)	0	0
		Clark (R)	0	0
	17th District:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D)	0	0
		Morrell (R)	0	0
	18th District:	*Broomfield (R)	0	0
		Kellis (D)	0	0
	National and Statewide Congressional Coverage		7	90½
	Subtotal for House Contests		46	544½
	GRAND TOTALS		102	1234

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE VIII (Chapter IV): Incumbency Variable:
Incumbent vs. Non-Incumbent Coverage in the Rural Constituency Press
(Traverse City Record-Eagle: 1960)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure		No. of Items	Total Column Inches
SENATORIAL:	*Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D)		6	102¼
	Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R)		10	140¼
	Subtotal for Senate Contest		16	242½
CONGRESSIONAL:	1st District:	*Machrowicz (D)	0	0
		Czarnecki (R)	0	0
	2nd District:	*Meader (R)	0	0
		Payne (D)	0	0
	3rd District:	*Johansen (R)	0	0
		Clark (D)	0	0
	4th District:	*Hoffman (R)	0	0
		Burns (D)	0	0
	5th District:	*Ford (R)	0	0
		Reamon (D)	0	0
	6th District:	*Chamberlain (R)	0	0
		O'Rourke (D)	0	0
	7th District:	*O'Hara (D)	0	0
		McIntosh (R)	0	0
	8th District:	No incumbent running		
		Harvey (R)	0	0
		Miss Harden (D)	0	0

TABLE VIII (Chapter IV): Incumbency Variable:
Incumbent vs. Non-Incumbent Coverage in the Rural Constituency Press
(Traverse City Record-Eagle: 1960) (Continued)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure		No. of Items	Total Column Inches
CONGRESSIONAL: (Continued)	9th District:	*Griffin (R)	8	45½
		Jennings (D)	5	23 3/4
	10th District:	*Cederberg (R)	0	0
		Reed (D)	0	0
	11th District:	*Knox (R)	1	10½
		Brown (D)	0	0
	12th District:	*Bennett (R)	0	0
		McCarthy (D)	0	0
	13th District:	*Diggs (D)	0	0
		Blackwell (R)	0	0
	14th District:	*Rabaut (D)	0	0
		Mrs. Nair (R)	0	0
	15th District:	*Dingell (D)	0	0
		Robbins (R)	0	0
	16th District:	*Lesinski (D)	0	0
		Clark (R)	0	0

TABLE VIII (Chapter IV): Incumbency Variable:
Incumbent vs. Non-Incumbent Coverage in the Rural Constituency Press
(Traverse City Record-Eagle: 1960) (Concluded)

Category	Candidate or Political Figure	No. of Items	Total Column Inches
CONGRESSIONAL: (Concluded)	17th District: *Mrs. Griffiths (D)	0	0
	Morrell (R)	0	0
	18th District: *Broomfield (R)	0	0
	Kellis (D)	1	14 3/4
	National-Statewide Congressional	1	22½
	Subtotal for House Contests	16	117
OTHER:	Third Parties (General)	2	13½
	TOTALS	34	373

*Denotes Incumbent

Footnotes for Chapter Four

1. Verling C. Troldahl and Robert Van Dam, "Face-to-Face Communication About Major Topics in the News", article based on paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism convention, University of Texas, Austin, August 1964, Mimeo.

2. Troldahl and Van Dam (Michigan State University Department of Communications), "A Perceived 'Opinion Leadership' Scale for Identifying Public-Affairs Opinion Leaders", May 1965, Mimeo.

3. Op. cit., Footnote 2.

4. Troldahl, Van Dam and Robeck, "Public Affairs Information-Seeking From Expert Institutionalized Sources", May 1965, Mimeo.

5. Troldahl, "A Field Test of a Modified 'Two-Step' Flow of Communication Model" (1962 Boston Experiment -- Boston University Communications Research Center), May 1965, Mimeo.

(All of the above are extensions developed from the 1955 Katz-Lazarsfeld "Decatur study" of opinion leadership, published by Free Press of Glencoe in Personal Influence.)

6. America Votes, 1960, pp. 197, 198.

7. America Votes, 1960, p. 386.

CHAPTER FIVE

What Kind of Events Draw the Greatest Coverage?

I. The Specific Hypothesis

In this chapter we are examining the problem of "event differentiation" in reportorial coverage of congressional campaigns.

We began with a hypothesis suggesting differences in coverage would occur for different types of campaign events, differentiating on the basis that some would be press releases, speeches at rallies or other party gatherings, and some would be dinners or "coffees". However, it seemed of limited utility to categorize the events in this way, so we reformulated the specific hypothesis to state the following:

3. There will be differences of coverage -- in terms

of space allotted, news play according to position on the page and page number, and emphasis according to headline size -- for different types of campaign events, particularly in the following cases:

(a) For "oral events" (rallies, speeches and debates; news conferences; organizational activities such as caucuses, headquarters openings, parties and photo sessions) as opposed to "printed events" (press releases and reprints; letters to the editor; editorials, columns and cartoons; background features).

(b) For campaign events involving a "national angle" as opposed to district-oriented events.

(c) For campaign events given television coverage as opposed to direct personal appearances.

(d) For campaign events at which a VIP was present as opposed to events featuring only lesser figures.

II. Compilation of the Data

In compiling our data for testing these four special cases of our specific hypothesis, we developed Tables I-A, I-B and I-C for the data on "oral events" vs. "printed events", Tables II-A and II-B for the data on national-angle events vs. district-oriented events, Table III for televised news events vs. direct personal appearances, and Table IV for events where VIP present vs. events featuring lesser figures.

These data give us some clues as to why there will be different press treatment of different campaign activities. The reformulated specific hypothesis is a more useful and

interesting hypothesis to explore than simply news event differentiation, and we suggest that further analysis could be made for other newspapers using the pattern of these four sets of tables (employing other newspapers in our sample). We did not choose to do so here because we wished to concentrate our analysis on problems covered in Chapters Three, Four and Six.

In terms of political communication, we can raise several questions about the data compiled in our tables. What application do our findings have to the analysis of the nature of campaign events? Do we find that a routine party rally will get routine coverage unless it occurs in the city where the newspaper covering it is published?

Why is it that some unusual event like the TV debates in the 1960 presidential contest, or the Nixon telethon from Detroit, will not only get more attention from the Press, but may also get a different attention qualitatively (i.e., a different kind of attention)?

How much mention is there of congressional candidates in the newspapers apart from the congressional district rallies, major meetings addressed by the presidential nominee or senators and/or Senate nominees and similar events? (Tables II-A and II-B give some data to help us in making this distinction.)

Are notices or advance publicity on candidate or party meetings limited mainly to local news coverage? Is it generally true that congressional candidates run "friends and

neighbors" type campaigns, and de-emphasize issues, or is this less true in presidential years than in off-years? (Although we did not analyze 1962 data for this chapter, we found more evidence that we would ordinarily expect of national-type campaign events for 1960, a presidential year.)

The tables developed for this chapter were tabulated entirely from the data for 1960, a presidential year. We tabulated column inches of coverage for the different categories of news events.

It was possible to categorize the campaign events in several ways. We might have simply compared amount of coverage given to rallies, "coffees" or teas, press conferences, and various other categories -- in a broad, general fashion. However, after some thought, we organized the analysis into a tabulation of "oral events" vs. "printed events" (subsuming some of the above categories under two broader categories), a tabulation of "national-angle" campaign events vs. district-oriented events, a comparison of televised events in opposition to direct personal appearances of the traditional kind, and a comparison between events where a "VIP" (e.g., a national party leader or the presidential nominee) was present in contrast with events where lesser figures were featured (including congressmen, congressional candidates, local leaders, and state party leaders).

III. Analysis of the Data

In making the analysis for these factors, we examined these four newspapers: The Memphis Commercial Appeal, for

"oral events" vs. "printed events"; the Flint Journal, for national vs. district coverage; the Knoxville Journal, for televised events vs. direct personal appearances, and the Lansing State Journal, for VIP presence as a factor in news coverage of campaign events.

Frequency of mention of each type of event, and the same type of analysis which we did for single newspapers could also be computed for the entire 12-newspaper sample, but we decided that this would not yield enough additional useful data to make it worthwhile and therefore to limit our analysis to data compiled for individual newspapers.

While we found substantial coverage of events of a district nature, it was not surprising to find this overshadowed in 1960 by coverage of events with a national flavor. We found somewhat heavier coverage of non-televised events in the Knoxville Journal, than of events which were televised. As expected, the State Journal data showed heavier coverage of VIP events than events featuring lesser figures.

Now that we have briefly summarized the principal findings of our news event differentiation research, in connection with the campaign, we wish to examine the data more closely.

As we do so, we can see that not surprisingly the Commercial Appeal (Tables I-A through I-C) gave greater coverage to "oral events" with 119 items for rallies, speeches and debates, 30 items for news conferences, and 89 items for organizational activities, a total of 258 items for "oral events". Measured in column inches, this coverage afforded 1401 3/4

column inches to speeches, rallies and debates, 179 column inches to news conferences, and 1411 3/4 column inches to organizational activities, making a total of 3002½ column inches for coverage of all "oral events". (Noteworthy here is the coverage accorded organizational activities, which was the greatest for the subcategories.) In the tabulation for "printed events", we found 15 items for press releases and reprints (including handouts), 5 items for letters to the editor, 9 items for editorials along with columns and cartoons, and 3 items for background features. Total measurements of column inches were 101½ column inches for press releases and reprints, 81 3/4 column inches for letters to the editor, 150½ column inches for editorials along with columns and cartoons, and 34 3/4 column inches for background features, making a total for "printed events" of 32 items and 418½ column inches. (Most noteworthy here is that although only 9 items appeared under the editorials, columns and cartoons category -- compared with 15 under press releases and reprints -- this had the most space, a total of 150½ column inches.)

Turning to the next object of interest (Tables II-A and II-B), we note that national-orientation events in the Flint Journal received heavier coverage, it being a presidential year in 1960 when newspapers comprising the sample were published. For Senator Kennedy, and the Democratic ticket, there were 218 items totaling 2593½ column inches. (This included a visit by the Democratic nominee to Flint during a Labor Day

tour of Michigan.) Coverage for the Nixon-Lodge ticket amounted to 204 items totaling 2670½ column inches, including a Nixon campaign visit during which J. L. Mott, Flint philanthropist, and General Motors executives such as Harlow Curtice, now retired, greeted the Nixons.

Other figures and groups in national politics receiving Flint Journal coverage included the following (with number of items and total column inches in parenthesis):

Former President Harry S. Truman (7, 51¼"); Unpledged Electors (0, 0"); Ambassador Adlai Stevenson (3, 39 3/4"); Senator Estes Kefauver, D-Tenn. (5, 33¼"); former President Dwight D. Eisenhower (15, 213 3/4"); Americans for Democratic Action (liberal interest group) (1, 8¼"); Walter Reuther (7, 59½"); COPE (AFL-CIO affiliate) (1, 13"); Senator Thruston Morton, R-Ky., Republican campaign chairman for 1960 (2, 17"); Governor G. Mennen Williams (4, 35¼"); Fair Campaign Practices Committee (4, 39"); Senator Henry M. Jackson (6, 48½"); Rep. William W. Scranton (now Pennsylvania Governor) (1, 2"); Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller (1, 21½"); party organization members participating in voting drives (5, 49½"); DAC (conservative interest group) (1, 9 3/4"); AFL-CIO (5, 54"); "Baptist Bloc" (especially active in presidential campaign, but also participating in congressional campaign where candidates were strongly pro-Kennedy) (5, 49½"), Teamsters union (1, 13"); Democratic and Republican organizations (participants in registration litigation at Mt. Clemens) (1, 9½"); Rev. Martin Luther King (1, 8"); poll-takers and

forecasters (3, 56½"), and Liberal Protestants (1, 18½").

Senatorial event participants included three candidates: Senator Patrick V. McNamara, D-Mich. (29 items, 218 inches); Rep. Alvin M. Bentley, R-Mich., Eighth district congressman (31 items, 278½ inches), and Rollin M. Severance, Prohibition party nominee (1 item, 1 inch).

National nominees participating in major party-sponsored events (primarily concerned with national politics) were categorized as follows: Senator Kennedy and Democrats (19 items, 243 inches), and Vice President Nixon and Republicans (32 items, 499½ inches).

District-oriented events were also divided into three principal categories. For candidate-centered events, 16 news items totaling 476¾ column inches were devoted primarily to the nominees themselves. The two Sixth District candidates were Chamberlain (9, 100 3/4") and O'Rourke (14, 88"), the local Democratic prosecutor and Flint native. Others receiving more than one item in the Journal were: Rep. George Meader, R-Ann Arbor, Second district (2, 33¼"); Rep. August E. Johansen, R. Battle Creek, Third district (2, 37 3/4"); Rep. Gerald Ford, R-Grand Rapids, Fifth district (2, 47½"); Rep. James G. O'Hara, D-Utica, Seventh district (2, 11¼"); former Rep. Robert J. McIntosh, R-Port Huron, Seventh district (2, 11¼"), and Rep. John D. Dingell, D-Detroit, 15th district (2, 7"). Two items measuring a total of 35½ inches were devoted to general coverage of the congressional campaign. A single story measuring 24 3/4" was devoted to a summary of

all Michigan races for Congress, and two stories totaling 35½ inches were devoted to all 435 congressional district contests (actually the figure in 1960 was 437, but there are now 435 seats in the House).

Coverage was relatively light for local and county level events, since at this level of organization, five stories measuring 22½ inches were the total coverage devoted to local-county events held for the presidential nominees of both parties. Local-county events held for the congressional nominees of both parties were given two items totaling 11½ column inches, while local-county events for senatorial nominees of both parties got no coverage at all.

As for party-sponsored events, strictly at the congressional district and local level (mainly organization-sponsored), the Democratic coverage for a combined senatorial-presidential-congressional rally or event amounted to two items totaling 9 inches. This was concerning the co-ordinated Labor Day rally which the Democrats put on in Flint. The Republicans attempted no such event in Flint, although they did have closed-circuit television dinners which featured national speakers and a local speaker in each of several Michigan cities, as a fund raising event.

Turning to the Knoxville Journal coverage of congressional candidates' televised vs. personal appearances (Table III), we found only one televised appearance rated coverage in the Journal, that for Rep. Howard Baker (a Journal-endorsed Republican incumbent), and this was only one item

measuring four inches. (We must remember that this newspaper, unlike some, does not operate a television station. Coverage for direct personal appearances (there were few contests in Tennessee Congress races that year) included: Rep. B. Carroll Reece, R-Johnson City, First district incumbent (4 items, 7⅛ inches); Rep. Baker, R-Knoxville, Second district incumbent (6, 26½"); Rep. Ross Bass, D-Pulaski, Sixth district incumbent (who campaigned in his own district and elsewhere with Speaker Sam Rayburn) (2, 5¼"). Adding in the Senate contest between incumbent Democratic Senator Estes Kefauver and his Republican opponent, A. Bradley Frazier, we found Kefauver had two items totaling 8 inches for personal appearances, and Frazier had one 3⅛-inch item. This made a senatorial-congressional total for personal appearances of 13 items amounting to 54 3/4 column inches.

The final set of data which we will examine in close detail, taken from the Lansing State Journal 1960 sample (Table IV), deals with the news event variable, specifically the factor of VIP presence at events as a factor in news coverage.

In determining who the Very Important Persons might be at party events, we limited this category to the presidential and vice presidential nominees, the President and former presidential nominees (in the prime VIP category). In the secondary VIP category, we included former party nominees, the family of the party nominee (e.g., Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy), senators, governors, present and former cabinet officials,

congressional leaders, and one person not fitting any of these subcategories, former Mayor Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, a President's son and during the 1960 campaign chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. It was felt that the prominence of the Taft family in Ohio and national politics warranted his inclusion. Then we computed figures for each of these two subcategories, and took the grand total for VIP events.

In the "very VIP" category (the President and the nominees -- former Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York was included in this category because he seemed to have a more important continuing role in his party than Adlai Stevenson, his Democratic counterpart whom we placed in the second category), we had a frequency count of 182 news items, and a total of 2788 3/4 column inches. For the "secondary VIP's" we had a frequency count of 54 items measuring 477¼ column inches. The VIP grand total was 236 items totaling 3266 column inches.

Turning to events featuring lesser figures, we used two subcategories again -- local leaders, and congressmen and state party leaders. There were two items featuring local leaders (the Ingham County Republican leaders) for a total of 23 column inches. For congressional and state party leader coverage, we found 33 items with a total of 418 3/4 column inches. Were we re-computing the "lesser figures" categories, we think separating congressmen from state leaders would be feasible. However since the total is relatively small, and small enough to prove our proposition, we did not make a fur-

ther breakdown. The "lesser figures" had 35 items, 441 3/4 column inches.

IV. Inferential Discussion

Drawing on the data in the tables, as we have just explained them, let us examine some inferential questions, seven in all.

1. Can we count on major coverage being given only to such things as the network TV debates between major candidates, or major rallies addressed by the nominees? It seems fairly certain that these are the kinds of events that will get major attention, but any event involving an occurrence in the city of publication, a fairly important party gathering in the same state, and anything involving a local personality (e.g., the home district congressmen) will get heavier than normal attention. Rep. Robert P. Griffin of the Ninth Michigan district, we believe, got heavier coverage than most of the other Michigan congressmen because the pro-Republican press liked the principles of the Landrum-Griffin Act, which he co-sponsored. In the Sixth Tennessee district, Rep. Ross Bass (now the junior senator from Tennessee in the U. S. Senate) got more than normal attention because he shrewdly enlisted Speaker Sam Rayburn to come to his home district and state for speaking engagements. So we conclude that this statement may be answered in the affirmative, but that doing so gives only a half-truth. The situation in the real world is more complicated because of congressional background and campaign strategies of the candidates.

2. Does heaviness of coverage depend on the coverage itself or on the political context (historically) of the state? To illustrate, Michigan was very different as it neared the end of the Williams era from its situation during the Romney era. Or we find that Tennessee is increasingly, although in strange ways, becoming more of a two-party state in presidential politics with bipartisan politics becoming more normal (even though often of a coalition nature) in congressional contests. Party lines had become less rigid in Tennessee in 1965 than they were in 1955. Whereas Tennessee might once have been called a one-party (old Confederacy) state with a one-party Republican island (East Tennessee), it today might be called a "developing" or "emerging" two-party state. It shows tendencies of developing differently from Kentucky where two Democratic factions of competitive weight vie with Republicans as a third force.

We have seen the statement in writings about presidential nominating conventions that each year's contest has a different historical texture. We believe that both time and place condition congressional elections, and that the modifying factors we just discussed above are at work, though they do not change the underlying patterns of either voting behavior or press behavior.

3. What are some of the implications for trends of future "politicking" brought about by the emergence of the jet-stop campaign and the almost routine use of TV time? We believe one important trend showed up when we examined some

limited data for 1962 (although we did not employ these data directly for our study). That is that the local congressional candidate is less and less isolated from national politics and more and more likely to have active assistance from his party leader in the campaign, especially where party competition is very keen as it was in 1962.

4. What may be the prospect if present methods of campaign financing continue in use with this great shift and revolution in campaign methods? When we consider the "horse and buggy" methods of campaign finance (to borrow a phrase from the late President Roosevelt) and the fact that jet travel and the purchase of TV time for candidates is increasing campaign expense budgets by geometric progression, we believe unless Congress passes some legislation allowing tax concessions for citizens making campaign contributions, it is inevitable that more and more power will be concentrated in the hands of large contributors (in the style of the "President's Club" which honored President Johnson recently in the East after contributing to his 1964 campaign). This process may be slower in senatorial and congressional campaigns, but it seems to be developing in the same direction. The 1964 election showed that the trend does not necessarily help the Republican Party, as doubtless more than a few Republican businessmen contributed to the Democratic campaign (at least covertly) but it is not a healthful development in terms of the long-range good of American party politics, or even intra-party politics. The more participation, the more healthful for democracy.

5. Is there a style or stance of campaigning best suited to each candidate, or does each candidate more and more use a whole gamut of techniques? It appears that each candidate (especially the established incumbent congressman) does have a special skill or campaign technique that best suits him. This means that he employs many techniques but emphasizes those few that are most congenial to his personality, his attitudes on the issues, and the type of constituency he serves.

Another aspect of this inquiry: Jet stops, whistle stops, motorcades, shopping center tours, and national TV appearances (besides extraordinary devices like the TV debates and the Nixon "telethon" seemed to be much in use by presidential candidates. How far are these techniques carried over into the campaigning of congressional nominees? We believe these techniques are carried over into congressional campaigns as much as two factors permit. One factor is the limitations of congressional district boundaries, and the need to make more personal contacts than are required for candidates for national office (who may feel it safe to rely on TV and a solid campaign organization more than congressional candidates can afford to). The second factor is the severe limitation put on use of expensive modern campaign devices (like TV and jet aviation) by lack of adequate finances for their campaigns. Even someone like Congressman John V. Lindsay in New York, who was well financed enough to attempt a successful race for mayor of New York City in 1965, does not have

unlimited campaign recources. Even the late President Kennedy, when campaigning for the White House as a senator, had to rely on campaign contributions primarily, as his own income came largely from trust funds and his Senate salary. So campaign finance is an important factor here.

6. Can we make any general statements about such recent developments as the "family campaign" (as used effectively by the Kennedys in 1960 and the Johnsons in 1964, and less effectively by the Nixons and the Goldwaters in those same years)? Our main observation here is that the jets and TV have made this more feasible, and it is effective if the candidate has the issues "going for him".

What role do the congressman's "traveling trailer", his use of surveys, and his availability in his home-district office for interviews with his constituents play in the campaign? We were especially interested in the use of a "traveling trailer" by Representative Griffin in the Ninth Michigan district, the use of surveys in 1962 by Kennedy Democrats in Tennessee (apparently financed through some means by the President himself), and the availability of Congressman Chamberlain for home-district interviews (he like a number of other congressmen has found this technique helpful in keeping his voter appeal, along with mailings to newlyweds of recipe booklets, and to new parents of congratulatory notes). We think these devices are all designed to provide a stronger link between the congressman already in office (or one with Administration support) and his constituents or potential

constituents. Therefore, we believe all three are effective devices for campaigning, if intelligently used.

7. What general statement can we make based on developments of new campaign techniques in the '50s and the '60s that might be projected into the politics of the 1970's?

We have already mentioned the jet stops, the use of network TV (regional type TV within the same district where two to six stations might usually be involved in a typical urban-suburban district), the use of "family campaigning" depending on these aids, the use of the motorcade, the use of shopping center handshaking tours (in use as far back as 1956 by the late Estes Kefauver, and mentioned prominently by James Michener in his report on the 1960 campaign, Report of the County Chairman, describing the Democratic campaign in Bucks County, Pennsylvania), increasing dependence on survey data -- not merely crude polling, but survey data of the type that was reported to have been most helpful to Governor George Romney in winning the governor's chair in Michigan in 1962 -- "trailer" tours of the congressional district, and home-district office sessions with voters. Of these techniques we believe the jet stops, use of color television and heavy use of survey data will be the big developments in the 1970's. (The increasing use of color television in politics was foreshadowed when President Johnson delivered his 1966 State of the Union message before the network color cameras.)

The family campaign -- popular now because of the continuing Kennedy influence in national politics -- has limi-

tations. This was proved by the case of Adlai Stevenson, who had been divorced in 1949 while Governor of Illinois and relied on his daughter-in-law and sons in the 1956 campaign to try to provide the "family image", but Eisenhower had not only the First Lady but also the grandchildren to outdo Stevenson, and the technique worked better for Eisenhower. It failed the Nixons in 1960 and the Goldwaters in 1964 primarily because each candidate had essential weaknesses. So we believe "family campaigning" is still secondary to the issues and personalities of the candidates, not to mention the important party factors.

V. Conclusions on News Event Differentiation

We will examine in concluding this chapter, some preconceived notions we hadabout what we expected to find. There are eight of these as follows:

1. There will be an important difference in impact between routine and non-routine events in the campaign. The data on the VIP factor, and the findings about effectiveness of use of TV and jet stops tend to support this generalization.

2. Further, there will be a gradation of difference in impact from general rallies, shopping center tours and motorcades, down to appearances before select groups (Republican Women, Rotary Club, Economic Club of Detroit). This we find to be true, partly because of the wider coverage afforded the first type of event (a measurable factor we could support from the raw data we collected in our four data books), but

also because of the magnitude in importance of the participants and because in the general rallies and major events there are usually several key party leaders, as opposed to one or two, participating. This expectation was upheld by the data.

3. There will be a difference in flavor between party-sponsored and volunteer-sponsored events. In Tennessee, where Independent activity appears greater than in Michigan, the sparse data we had on this point (we did not compile this type of data but some may be found in the raw data), we find limited support for the expected finding.

4. The political context of the state (both historically and in terms of sub-regional differences within the state -- i.e., geographically and demographically) will interact with the personalities of the candidates, party strength and issues of the specific campaign, to produce the election result as well as the flavor of the campaign. Congressional contests do not operate in a vacuum and while personal popularity may be the key variable with a nominee (such as the late Estes Kefauver, Senator Ross Bass, or Senator Philip A. Hart), it will be importantly affected by partisan and issue-oriented factors (Democratic dominance in much of Tennessee, competitiveness between the parties in Michigan, civil rights intensity of attitude in Tennessee and Detroit, intensity of economic convictions in Michigan and to a lesser degree in industrializing Tennessee). Such evidence as we have, as well as intuitive observation of the sample data in our content

analysis, tend to give strong support to this low-level theorizing about the why of campaign "flavor" and election outcome. This would be a worthwhile area for further research and exploration.

5. Success of jet-stop and TV-conditioned campaigning will have to be weighed against agitation and negative reactions prompted by the saturation it brings on, as well as the increasingly prohibitive expense of mounting a well-coordinated campaign. We previously discussed the expense factor, a growing problem for individual congressional candidates with aid from the party in good amounts or independent wealth. As for the saturation factor, we saw this in the 1964 campaign and it prompted a number of suggestions -- especially from the working press and other critics outside active politics -- that the campaign length be shortened to a period of a few weeks rather than many months. This area of campaign techniques and tactics must be considered to be still in flux.

6. Each candidate tends more and more to use a wide variety of techniques, with stress on those which show him in the most favorable light. This seems a logical finding, but it merely tells us that a good candidate follows Madison Avenue's advice of "packaging" himself attractively for the voters.

7. Party competition factors will be reflected in the wider use, or lesser use, of VIP participants in the campaign. There was much VIP participation in both 1960 and 1962, and we

believe this may have been greater than in 1958 because of the fact that these were transition years when party competition was keener than it is today, in 1966. VIP leaders most likely to help congressional candidates would be the nominees for the presidency and vice presidency (in presidential years); the President and former President (in off-years), and in either presidential or off-years, those Senators or others high in national office (appointive or elective) who aspire to the presidential nomination of their own party and need to build delegate support within the congressional districts and states, looking toward the next convention. (The latter category would have included Kennedy prior to 1960, Nixon prior to 1960, and Goldwater prior to 1964. This work was done for Presidents Eisenhower and Johnson by a going organization in the cases of 1956 and 1964.)

8. Social and demographic factors (such as income level in the state, degree of industrialization in the state) have an important impact on what are considered the key issues in that state's campaigning, and thus may in the long term have more effect on the politics of the state than a single year's peculiar problems or the tactics and strategy of individual candidates, or even the parties. This seems to be borne out, and might be an important finding from the viewpoint of political sociology.

In Chapter Six, we will deal with our findings about the relation between amount of coverage afforded congressional candidates and the degree of competitiveness in the congressional districts.

[redacted]

TABLE I-A (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960)

"ORAL" EVENTS

Categories by Candidates	Event Categories: Rallies & Speeches (Including Debates)	News Conferences	Organizational Activities (Caucuses, Parties, Headquarters Openings and Photo Sessions)
Presidential:			
Kennedy-Johnson Ticket (D)	39 Items 410 Col. In.	5 Items 30 3/4 Col. In.	36 Items 505¼ Col. In.
Nixon-Lodge Ticket (R)	56 Items 575½ Col. In.	5 Items 25½ Col. In.	37 Items 576 Col. In.
Unpledged Electors Movement	1 Item 1½ Col. In.	4 Items 16½ Col. In.	———
Third Party	2 Items 10½ Col. In.	1 Item 4 Col. In.	1 Item 6½ Col. In.
Subtotals	98 Items 997½ Col. In.	15 Items 76 3/4 Col. In.	74 Items 1087 3/4 Col. In.

TABLE I-A (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960) (Concluded)

Categories by Candidates	"ORAL" EVENTS Event Categories Rallies & Speeches (Including Debates)	News Conferences	Organizational Activities (Caucuses, Parties, Headquarters Openings and Photo Sessions)
Non-Candidate Actors (Including Former Presidents and Interest Groups)	12 Items 314 Col. In.	12 Items 85½ Col. In.	9 Items 192½ Col. In.
GRAND TOTALS	119 Items 1401 3/4 Col. In.	30 Items 179 Col. In.	89 Items 1411 3/4 Col. In.

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE I-B (Chapter V): News Events Variable: "Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960)

"ORAL" EVENTS FOR NON-CANDIDATE ACTORS

Categories by Political Figures and Groupings	Event Category: Rallies & Speeches	Event Category: News Conferences	Event Category: Organizational Activities
Munoz and Puerto Rican Catholics	1 Item 5¼ Col. In.	1 Item 1½ Col. In.	———
Incumbent Governors	1 Item 17¼ Col. In.	———	1 Item 23 Col. In.
Ex-President Truman	6 Items 58 3/4 Col. In.	1 Item 3 3/4 Col. In.	1 Item 23 Col. In.
President Eisenhower	7 Items 37 3/4 Col. In.	———	1 Item 28 Col. In.
Fair Campaign Practices Committee	———	1 Item 3½ Col. In.	———
AFL-CIO and Other Unions	2 Items 22 3/4 Col. In.	1 Item 13½ Col. In.	2 Items 34¼ Col. In
GOP Chairman Morton	———	1 Item 5¼ Col. In.	———
Robert F. Kennedy	———	1 Item 7½ Col. In.	1 Item 17½ Col. In.
Ex-Governors	2 Items 7 Col. In.	———	———
Unpledged Electors	———	1 Item 15¼ Col. In.	———

TABLE I-B (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960) (Continued)

"ORAL" EVENTS FOR NON-CANDIDATE ACTORS

Categories by Political Figures and Groupings	Event Categories: Rallies & Speeches	News Conferences	Organizational Activities
Episcopal Bishop Pike	1 Item 1½ Col. In.	———	———
Governor Ellington	6 Items 56½ Col. In.	2 Items 17 Col. In.	1 Item 25 Col. In.
Senator Gore	8 Items 66½ Col. In.	———	1 Item 25 Col. In.
Shelby County GOP Chmn. Millsaps Fitzhugh	———	1 Item 9 3/4 Col. In.	———
Governor Williams	2 Items 10¼ Col. In.	———	———
Adlai Stevenson	1 Item 6 Col. In.	———	———
"Baptist Bloc"	2 Items 24½ Col. In.	2 Items 8½ Col. In.	1 Item 16 3/4 Col. In.
TOTALS	39 Items 314 Col. In.	12 Items 82 Col. In.	9 Items 192½ Col. In.

Note: Mention of Gallup Polls (not included in total) 13 Items 197 3/4 Col. In.

TABLE I-C (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960)

Categories by Candidates	"PRINTED" EVENTS Event Categories Press Releases & Reprints (Incl. Handouts)	Letters to the Editor	Editorials, Columns & Cartoons	Background Features
Presidential:				
Kennedy-Johnson Ticket (D)	18 Items 122 3/4"	56 Items 445¼"	36 Items 564"	14 Items 283 3/4"
Nixon-Lodge Ticket (R)	25 Items 152½"	76 Items 331½"	42 Items 568½"	9 Items 202 3/4"
Unpledged Electors	1 Item	3 Items	2 Items	2 Items
Movement	1 3/4"	15 3/4"	23½"	28¼"
Third Party	1 Item 5½"	3 Items 12"	2 Items 31 3/4"	2 Items 62½"
Miscellaneous (Undecided Voters, Tennessee Electors)	———	———	———	2 Items 38¼"
Subtotals	45 Items 282½"	138 Items 804½"	82 Items 1187 3/4"	29 Items 615½"
Congressional & Senatorial:				
Rep. Reece (1-R)	1 Item 4"	———	———	———
Rep. Davis (9-D)	———	1 Item 7"	2 Items 38 3/4"	———
Sen. Kefauver (D)	———	2 Items 6¼"	2 Items 28 3/4"	———
Subtotals	1 Item 4"	3 Items 13¼"	4 Items 67½"	0 Items 0"

TABLE I-C (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960)

Categories by Candidates	"PRINTED" EVENTS Event Categories: Press Releases & Reprints (Incl. Handouts)	Letters to the Editor	Editorials, Columns & Cartoons	Back-ground Features
Presidential:				
Kennedy-Johnson Ticket (D)	18 Items 122 3/4"	56 Items 445¼"	36 Items 564"	14 Items 283 3/4"
Nixon-Lodge Ticket (R)	25 Items 152½"	76 Items 331½"	42 Items 568½"	9 Items 202 3/4"
Unpledged Electors	1 Item	3 Items	2 Items	2 Items
Movement	1 3/4"	15 3/4"	23½"	28¼"
Third Party	1 Item 5½"	3 Items 12"	2 Items 31 3/4"	2 Items 62½"
Miscellaneous (Undecided Voters, Tennessee Electors)	———	———	———	2 Items 38¼"
Subtotals	45 Items 282½"	138 Items 804½"	82 Items 1187 3/4"	29 Items 615½"
Congressional & Senatorial:				
Rep. Reece (1-R)	1 Item 4"	———	———	———
Rep. Davis (9-D)	———	1 Item 7"	2 Items 38 3/4"	———
Sen. Kefauver (D)	———	2 Items 6¼"	2 Items 28 3/4"	———
Subtotals	1 Item 4"	3 Items 13¼"	4 Items 67½"	0 Items 0"

TABLE I-C (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
"Oral" Events vs. "Printed" Events (Memphis Commercial Appeal: 1960) (Continued)

Categories by Candidates	"PRINTED" EVENTS Event Categories: Press Releases & Reprints (Incl. Handouts)	Letters to the Editor	Editorials, Columns & Cartoons	Background Features
Non-Candidate Actors:				
President Eisenhower	2 Items 25 3/4"	———	1 Item 6"	1 Item 13¼"
Ex-President Truman	———	3 Items 16½"	1 Item 18"	1 Item 13¼"
Martin Luther King	2 Items 11¼"	———	———	———
AFL-CIO & Unions	3 Items 8¼"	3 Items 15"	5 Items 79 3/4"	———
Senator Gore	2 Items 11½"	———	———	———
"Baptist Bloc"	3 Items 36½"	11 Items 40¼"	1 Item 19 3/4"	———
Mormon Clergy	———	1 Item 7¼"	———	———
Farm Bureau	———	———	1 Item 27"	———
Miscellaneous (Polls, etc.)	3 Items 8¼"	1 Item 2 3/4"	———	1 Item 8¼"
Subtotals	15 Items 101½"	19 Items 81 3/4"	9 Items 150½"	3 Items 34 3/4"
GRAND TOTALS	61 Items 388"	160 Items 899½"	95 Items 1405 3/4"	32 Items 650¼"

(All Length Measurements are in Column Inches)

TABLE II-A (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
National-Angle Events vs. District-Oriented Events (Flint Journal: 1960)

NATIONAL ORIENTATION

Categories by Candidates & Campaign Figures						
Presidential (including Debates):			Total Presidential Events:	526 Items	6380"	
Kennedy-Johnson (D)	218 Items	2593½"				
Nixon-Lodge (R)	204 Items	2670½"				
Non-Candidate Speakers & Groups:						
Harry S. Truman	7 Items	51¼"	COPE	1 Item	13"	
Unpledged Electors	0 Items	0"	Sen. Morton	2 Items	17"	
Adlai Stevenson	3 Items	39 3/4"	Gov. Williams	4 Items	35¾"	
Sen. Kefauver	5 Items	33¼"	FCPC (C. Taft)	4 Items	39"	
Miscellaneous	24 Items	266¼"	Sen. Jackson	6 Items	48½"	
Eisenhower	15 Items	213 3/4"	Rep. Scranton	1 Item	2"	
Americans for Democratic Action	1 Item	8¼"	Gov. Rockefeller	1 Item	21½"	
Walter Reuther	7 Items	59¼"	Voting Drives	5 Items	49½"	
AFL-CIO	5 Items	54"	DAC (Conservative Group)	1 Item	9 3/4"	
Teamsters	1 Item	13"	"Baptist Bloc"	5 Items	49½"	
Rev. M. L. King	1 Item	8"	Court Litigants (Democrats vs. GOP)	1 Item	9¼"	
Liberal Protestants	1 Item	18½"				
Predictions	3 Items	56½"				

(All Length Measurements are in Column Inches)

TABLE II-A (Chapter V): News Events Variable:

TABLE II-A (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
National-Angle Events vs. District-Oriented Events (Flint Journal: 1960) (Continued)

NATIONAL ORIENTATION

Senatorial Events:				
*Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D)	29 Items	218"	Total Senatorial Events:	
Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R)	31 Items	278½"	61 Items	497½"
R. M. Severance (Prohibitionist)	1 Item	1"		
Major Party-Sponsored Events and Organizational Activities (Finance, etc.):				
JFK and Democrats	19 Items	243"	Total Party-Sponsored Events:	
Nixon and Republicans	32 Items	499½"	51 Items	742½"

*Denotes Incumbent
(All Length Measurements are in Column Inches)

TABLE II-B (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
National-Angle Events vs. District-Oriented Events (Flint Journal: 1960)

DISTRICT ORIENTATION

Categories by Sponsor of Event			
Congressional District Nominees			
1st:	Machrowicz (D)	1 Item	17"
2nd:	Meader (R)	2 Items	33¼"
3rd:	Johansen (R)	2 Items	37 3/4"
4th:	Hoffman (R)	1 Item	28"
5th:	Ford (R)	2 Items	47½"
6th:	O'Rourke (D)	14 Items	88"
	Chamberlain (R)	9 Items	100 3/4"
7th:	O'Hara (D)	2 Items	11¼"
	McIntosh (R)	2 Items	11¼"
8th:	Miss Harden (D)	1 Item	15"
9th:	Jennings (D)	1 Item	1 3/4"
11th:	Bennett (R)	1 Item	2½"
14th:	Mrs. Nair (R)	1 Item	15"
15th:	Dingell (D)	2 Items	7"

Total for CD Races:		
Candidates:	41 Items	476¼"
General Congressional: (435 Races)	2 Items	35½"
All Mich. Contests	1 Item	24 3/4"
General	3 Items	60¼"
GRAND TOTAL CONGRESSIONAL	44 Items	536½"

TABLE II-B (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
National-Angle Events vs. District-Oriented Events (Flint Journal: 1960) (Continued)

DISTRICT ORIENTATION

Local and County Events			
Presidential Ticket (D and R)	5 Items	22½"	Total for Local-County Events:
Congressional (D and R)	2 Items	11½"	7 Items 34"
Senatorial (D and R)	0 Items	0"	
Party-Sponsored Events (CD and Local, i.e., Organizational)			Total for Party-Sponsored Events:
Democratic	2 Items	9"	2 Items 9"
Sen.-Pres.-Cong.	2 Items	9"	
Pres.-Cong.	0 Items	0"	
Pres.-Sen.	0 Items	0"	
Sen.-Cong.	0 Items	0"	
Republican	0 Items	0"	
Sen.-Pres.-Cong.	0 Items	0"	
Pres.-Cong.	0 Items	0"	
Pres.-Sen.	0 Items	0"	
Sen.-Cong.	0 Items	0"	

(All Length Measurements are in Column Inches.)

TABLE III (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
Televised News Events vs. Direct Personal Appearances (Knoxville Journal: 1960)

Note: Data for Congressional Races Only, Limited to Coverage of Rallies and TV Appearances

TELEVISED EVENTS	Candidate	Column Inches
Second District	Rep. Howard Baker (R)	4
District 1, Districts 3-9	All Candidates	0
	Total for All Tennessee Candidates	4

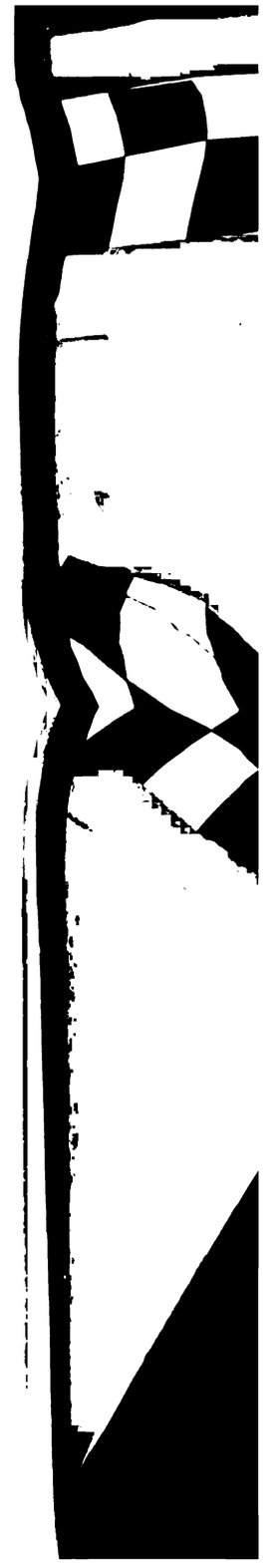
(Note: The Baker appearance came late in the campaign; this weak coverage may reflect the prejudice of the editor against television, and should not be interpreted as a lack of interest in the campaign.)

DIRECT PERSONAL APPEARANCES

	Candidate	Items	Column Inches
First District	Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R)	2	11½
Second District	Rep. Howard Baker (R) (includes "advances")	6	26½
Sixth District	Rep. Ross Bass (D) (appearing with Rayburn)	2	5¼
Districts 3-5, 7-9	All Candidates	0	0
	Subtotal for All Congressional Candidates	10	43¼
U. S. Senate Nominees	Sen. Estes Kefauver (D)	2	8
	A. Bradley Frazier (R)	1	3½
	General Congressional-Senatorial Total	13	54 3/4

TABLE IV (Chapter V): News Events Variable:
VIP Presence at Events as a Factor in News Coverage
(Lansing State Journal: 1960)

EVENTS WHERE VIP PRESENT		
Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate or President (Eisenhower and Party Slate Members)	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	182 Items 2788 3/4 Column Inches
Senatorial Candidates and National Party Leaders (Bentley, McNamara, U. S. Senators, Chairmen Morton, Jackson, etc.)	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	54 Items 477¼ Column Inches
Total VIP Coverage	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	236 Items 3266 Column Inches
EVENTS FEATURING LESSER FIGURES		
Local Leaders	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	2 Items 23 Column Inches
Congressmen, Congressional Nominees and State Party Leaders (Staebler, Ford, Gov. Williams, etc.)	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	33 Items 418 3/4 Column Inches
Total Lesser Figures Coverage	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	35 Items 441 3/4 Column Inches
TOTALS FOR STATE JOURNAL SAMPLE	Frequency Count: Amount of Coverage:	271 Items 3507 3/4 Column Inches



CHAPTER SIX

Coverage in Competitive and One-Party Districts

I. Statement of Specific Hypothesis

In this chapter our primary concern is with party competition factors and what relationships can be established between the dimension of competitiveness and non-competitiveness on the one hand, and the extent of congressional compaign coverage on the other.

To begin with, we will restate from Chapter One our Specific Hypothesis 4, which is as follows:

"In establishing categories of congressional districts according to degree of party competition, we expect to find greater campaign coverage (in terms of total column inches) in newspapers published in highly competitive districts than in

non-competitive (one-party or one-party predominant) districts. Thus a competitive district with a normally close margin and a high rate of turnover in party control could be expected to have more intensive campaign coverage (as a usual pattern) than a one-party district where readership interest and voter interest are comparatively light."

If we can support or at least test this specific hypothesis, we should have a major factor in the proof or disproof of our major hypothesis (which will be discussed in Chapter Seven). But in this chapter we wish to direct our attention solely to the problem of explaining how the factor of party competition within the districts relates to the major variable of congressional district structure as represented in the factor of electoral competition.

If we can show that district structural characteristics and the conduct of elections, across districts, vary with two different campaigns, we can then begin to generalize about how they might vary if we examined a deeper historical cross-section, e.g., a sample of coverage relating to five campaigns during a 10-year period, instead of a sample relating to two campaigns during a two-year period.

So let us first examine our findings, both general and specific, on party competition to see what relationship we can establish between competitiveness in the district and amount of coverage given the congressional campaign in district newspapers.

II. Analysis of Data for Full Sample

First we computed data derived from figures for the full 12-newspaper sample. We made a compilation for newspapers published in competitive districts (Table IV), for newspapers published in non-competitive districts (Table V), and then established a rank-order for number of items of coverage devoted to the congressional campaign and column inches devoted to the congressional campaign, comparing each of the 12 newspapers in the sample (Table VI).

In newspapers published in competitive districts, Democratic nominees for Congress in all districts in the state of publication, had a mean frequency of 15.5 items with 198.38 mean column inches, and Republican nominees in all districts of the state had 21.5 items on the average with a mean of 369.25 column inches of coverage. The "typical" district Democratic nominee (for district in which the newspaper is published) had 7.5 items and 59.50 column inches to a mean of 6.0 items and 88.63 column inches for the "typical" Republican district nominee for Congress.

Non-competitive district newspapers gave Democratic nominees for Congress in all districts in the state of publication, an average of 76.08 column inches in 7.1 items, and Republican nominees in the same districts, a mean figure of 102.80 column inches in 9.2 items. The "typical" Democratic district nominee got 2.8 items and 24.80 column inches to 5.1 items and 41.53 column inches for the "typical" Republican district nominee. Once again, the Republican advantage in home-district

coverage (i.e., in the district in which the paper is published) is nearer what we would expect than the GOP advantage in coverage of all contests in the state.

When we compare the mean frequency of items (15.5 for Democrats and 21.5 for Republicans) in competitive district newspapers with the mean frequency of items (7.1 for Democrats and 9.2 for Republicans) in non-competitive district newspapers for coverage of all congressional contests in the state, the evidence clearly indicates greater coverage or a higher rate in the competitive district papers. (The factor of partisan bias which may be found in these figures is discussed separately in Chapter Three.) The reason for this would appear to be the greater interest in the contest in a competitive as compared to a non-competitive district.

Another comparison which can be made is between coverage of home-district candidates (congressional nominees running in the district in which the newspaper affording coverage is published) in competitive and non-competitive district papers. Here the evidence shows the typical Democratic district nominee had 7.5 items to 6.0 for the Republican in the competitive district newspapers, while the typical Democratic home-district nominee had 2.8 items and the Republican counterpart got 5.1 items in non-competitive district papers. Once again we find greater rate of coverage for candidates in competitive district papers, although this is not a significant difference in the Republican case as it is for the Democratic nominee.

Continuing the comparison of congressional district con-

test coverage, we find competitive district papers in covering all contests in the state of publication gave 198.38 column inches to Democrats and 369.25 to Republicans, compared with the figure of 76.08 for Democrats and 102.80 for Republicans in non-competitive district papers. Here again the evidence is heavily in favor of a finding that competitive district papers give more intensive coverage to the campaign, and this can again be explained by higher degree of interest in the campaign.

When home-district contest coverage is compared, we find the Democratic nominee got 59.50 column inches (typically) to 88.63 for the Republican in competitive district papers, while in non-competitive district papers, the Democrat had a mean of 24.80 inches to 41.53 for the Republican. This also corroborates our earlier findings.

In establishing a rank order for frequency of items and number of column inches devoted to congressional coverage in each of the 12 newspapers, we first categorized competitive district and non-competitive district papers. Competitive district papers included the Lansing State Journal and Flint Journal. Newspapers considered non-competitive district papers were the following: Grand Rapids Press, Saginaw News, Traverse City Record-Eagle, Muskegon Chronicle, Knoxville Journal, Knoxville News-Sentinel, Nashville Banner, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Chattanooga Times and Nashville Tennessean.

If our hypothesis is borne out, we would expect to find the highest ranking of amount of coverage in items and column

inches in the competitive district papers. We find this expectation is met when the Lansing State Journal tied for first ranking in frequency of items of congressional coverage and the Flint Journal placed third among the 12 newspapers in the sample. In ranking number of column inches devoted by individual newspapers to the congressional campaign, once again we find a high ranking for the Lansing State Journal, which placed second, and the Flint Journal, which ranked third.

With the exception of the Saginaw News, which tied for first in item frequency and ranked first in column inches of coverage, all the non-competitive district papers ranked below the competitive district papers. The higher coverage afforded in the Saginaw News may have arisen from the circumstance that both candidates in its district, the Eighth Michigan District, were non-incumbents, which might have resulted in more attention to the campaign.

Among other non-competitive district papers, the Grand Rapids Press ranked fourth in both item frequency and column inches, the Knoxville News-Sentinel ranked fifth in item frequency but seventh in column inches, and the sixth-ranking paper in item frequency was the Memphis Commercial Appeal, which placed fifth in column inches of congressional coverage. Tied for seventh ranking were the Traverse City Record-Eagle, which rated ninth in column inches, and the Muskegon Chronicle, which placed sixth in column inches. Ninth ranking in item frequency was the Nashville Tennessean, which held eighth place in column inches of coverage. Tenth in both item fre-

quency and column inches of coverage was the Knoxville Journal. The Chattanooga Times, 11th in item frequency, was also 11th in column inches rating, and the Nashville Banner, ranking 12th in item frequency, was also 12th in column inches.

More details on individual newspaper coverage of the congressional contests will be found in Table VI and Tables I, II, III-A, III-B and III-C appended to this chapter, and the latter five tables are discussed below as well.

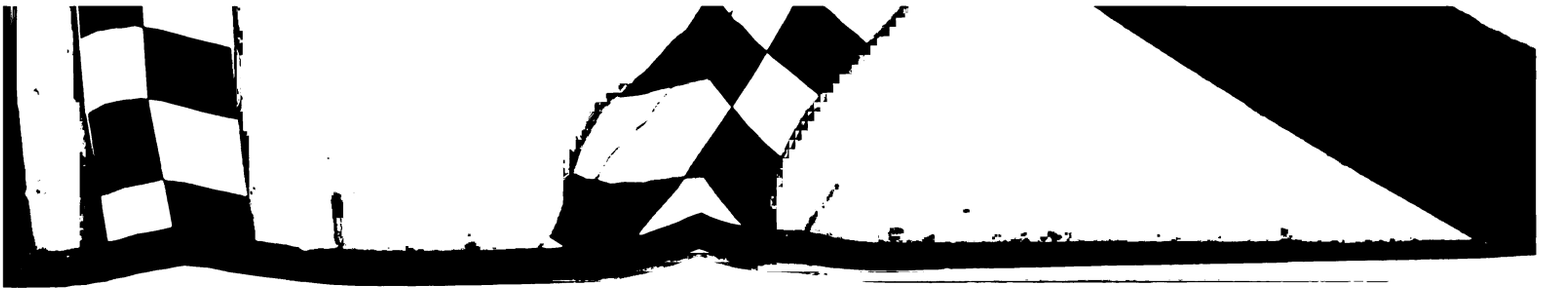
III. Analysis of Single-Newspaper Data

Table I provides data for total candidate coverage in a competitive district (frequency of items and percentage of all coverage per candidate) and we used the Lansing State Journal data for 1960 to compute this table. For Table II, we next used the Knoxville News-Sentinel data for 1960 to analyze total candidate coverage in a one-party (non-competitive) district, the Second Tennessee CD. Finally, in computing Tables III-A, III-B and III-C on the factor of partisan competitiveness, we examined the Flint Journal data for 1960 and the Chattanooga Times data for 1962 in order to compare total candidate coverage in two different competitive districts. We used the Third Tennessee CD (Chattanooga, Hamilton County and adjacent counties) for 1962 because this was a "swing district in 1962, transferring its allegiance from a Democratic to a Republican congressman after a bitter Democratic primary battle between a Kennedy Democrat and an Old Guard Southern conservative Democrat. The Kennedy Democrat, Wilkes Thrasher, won the primary, but lost to Rep. William E. Brock III, the Republican

nominee who had some support (allegedly) from the state Democratic organization (or at least individuals within it) in the November, 1962, election showdown.

Tables III-A, III-B and III-C, then, give us a basis for a very rudimentary comparative analysis if we bear in mind that we had to take a different campaign year in Tennessee in order to control for situations roughly comparable in terms of party competition. We think the Third Tennessee CD campaign in 1962 was more nearly comparable to the Sixth Michigan CD campaign in 1960, than the Third Tennessee CD campaign in 1960 was. Further, although we could have taken Michigan data for 1962, we did not do so because we did not believe it would be as meaningful for that year as the Tennessee data. Tennessee in 1962 not only had an election fraud scandal in the Fifth District (Nashville-Davidson County), but it had stirrings of party competition in districts where incumbents of the dominant party had long gone unchallenged. The challenge of the GOP in the traditionally Democratic Third District was strong enough to keep the Democratic nominee, Wilkes Thrasher, Jr., out of Congress. And the challenge of the GOP in the candidacy of Robert James in the urbanized Ninth District (Memphis-Shelby County) was so strong that long-time incumbent Rep. Clifford Davis was nearly unseated, and indeed lost in the 1964 primary to a younger and more progressive Democrat.

So it is possible that not only the civil rights issue, but also increasing industrialization and economic progress as well, caused the ever-so-slight movement toward two-partyism



in Tennessee in 1962. In Michigan, there was also change as the "Con-Con" issue was coming to a head, and the Williams Era was ending with the election of George Romney as the first Republican governor since Kim Sigler (1947-1949). But the change seemed slower and less affected by the volatile race issue. The change in Michigan seemed to be affected by a greater Independent sentiment among opionion factors, but this was channeled more along traditional party-line patterns (Romney for example was forced to abandon his Independent stance and run as a Republican) than in Tennessee, where the old established Democratic state organization was under real challenge from new Republicans feeling their strength for the first time in decades, and from Independents like Commander William Anderson, the Nautilus hero, who polled some 200,000 votes against Governor Frank G. Clement in 1962 and later won election to a congressional seat.

Most of the figures in the last five tables with this chapter are self-explanatory, so we will merely mention a few things that seemed to stand out in the data.

In Table I, for the Lansing State Journal in 1960, O'Rourke and Chamberlain (the home-district nominees) got greater attention than any of the others except Kellis, a retired service officer and a personable candidate who got a great deal of statewide publicity. Percentages for these three are Chamberlain (R, 6th CD), 18.567%, O'Rourke (D, 6th CD), 37.739%, and Kellis (D, 18th CD), 21.089%. Kellis' opponent, Rep. William E. Broomfield (R, 18th CD), got only 1.917% of the coverage.

In Table II, for the Knoxville News-Sentinel in 1960, a relatively small number of nominees got coverage. Of chief interest here is the Sixth CD item which shows three items measuring 12 3/4 inches for Rep. Ross Bass, since this unopposed candidate (who ran for the U. S. Senate four years later), was able to generate publicity given unfavorable circumstances -- i.e., lack of opposition -- by the simple device of bringing Speaker Sam Rayburn (an East Tennessee native) into the state to speak on behalf of such popular institutions (in Tennessee as the TVA and REA, and to attack Vice President Nixon. Bass got a noteworthy 13.144% of the total coverage in the News-Sentinel.

In the third set of tables (III-A through III-C), one notable thing about the Flint Journal percentages, besides the heavy home-town coverage for O'Rourke (23.089% as opposed to 16.260% for Chamberlain), is that several prominent congressmen, including Rep. Gerald Ford of Grand Rapids, received light coverage, and Rep. Robert P. Griffin of Traverse City, newsworthy for his co-sponsorship of the Landrum-Griffin Labor Act, got no mentions in the Journal, published in labor-conscious Flint. The Flint Journal, a Boothpaper, gave somewhat heavier coverage to minor congressional races than did the Lansing State Journal, which may understandably have been more interested in gubernatorial politics in 1960 but also (not being a chain paper) may not have had staff resources to give as full coverage of the congressional contests.

Turning to the Chattanooga data for 1962, we find a

frequency count of 140 items (indicating a high degree of interest in Tennessee congressional races in that off-year) totaling 1842.496 column inches. Among non-candidates, the campaign activities of General Eisenhower (11 items totaling 132½ column inches) and of President Kennedy (prior to the Cuban missle crisis in October, 22 items totaling 300 column inches) were particularly noteworthy.

The significant thing about the party competition data (as reflected in the news coverage in Tennessee in 1962 and shown in the figures for the Chattanooga Times in Table III) is that they reflect the importance of national party leaders, especially Kennedy and Eisenhower, in the 1962 off-year campaign.

IV. Some Unexplored Aspects

Just a word now on the type of data analyzed in the tables we have been discussing. We wanted to compare competitive district data with data from newspapers published in non-competitive districts, and we have done this both generally and selectively. However, if we wanted to pursue the analysis even further (we did not choose to do so for this thesis), using a three-way breakdown of one-party, one-party predominant and competitive districts, we could use the same kind of analysis for the following sets of districts and newspapers:

Type of Analysis	Example of District	Newspaper
1. One-party district press	A. Ninth Tennessee (1960)	Memphis Commercial Appeal
	B. Fifth Michigan (1960)	Grand Rapids Press
	C. Ninth Michigan (1960)	Muskegon Chronicle
2. One-party predominant district press	A. Second Tennessee (1960)	Knoxville News-Sentinel
	B. Fifth Tennessee (1960)	Nashville Tennessean Nashville Banner
3. Competitive district press	A. Sixth Michigan (1960)	Lansing State Journal Flint Journal
	B. Third Tennessee (1962)	Chattanooga Times

V. Inferential Discussion

Some problems we want to discuss by inference from the statistical data include the following:

What clear-cut distinctions do we find between one-party and two-party district press coverage? As one would expect, we found a heavier coverage in the more competitive districts. This may be explained journalistically by the definition of newsworthiness (a cut-and-dried contest has little news interest), and it may be explained politically by the "rule of thumb" that the more competitive the district and any single year's contest, the more bitter the struggle for victory and thus the greater the public interest in the outcome, regardless of how much coverage the press prefers to carry. A good newspaper must give its readers the public information they want, and heavy coverage will naturally follow a tight contest, if the

editorial and reportorial staff are on top of their job. Unfortunately, this was not true of all the newspapers we examined. Some of the Tennessee newspapers (for example, the two Nashville papers) were heavily partisan.

When we show a correlation between competitiveness of campaign in the district and depth of coverage in that district's newspapers, we do not maintain that this correlation is the sole reason for heavier coverage. But we do maintain that it is one of the principal reasons. Our hypothesis never asserted that there was only one reason.

Is the dominant party pattern we found in the political complexion of one-party districts reflected in the "one-party press" in those districts? To some extent it is, but we found in the Nashville case that a dominant party where the opposition has a strong voice in the press may cause both the pro-dominant party paper (in this instance, the Tennessean) and the minority paper (the Banner) to voice their editorial opinions vociferously and to engage in a degree of bias and distortion. Perhaps it may be that Southern newspapers, editorially speaking, still hew to the traditions of "Marse Henry" Watterson (long-time editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal who headed his masthead during World War I with the slogan "To Hell With the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns"), and are less ashamed of stating their partisan preferences. Or perhaps it is possible that Midwestern newspapers tend to reflect chain ownership more than their Dixie counterparts, and this rather than purely political factors accounts for their conservatism

of varying degrees.

What effect does newspaper editorial policy have on newspaper coverage? Because the ideal and standard of the newspaper profession is to provide "fair" coverage, this effect is probably a subconscious one. Further, even strong editorial bias of the kind exposed by Bagdikian in his studies of the newsmagazines may be affected and modified to some degree by the opposite bias of the working press. This is often given as an explanation of why President Roosevelt got a fairly good "press" despite the violent hatred held for him by some publishers. This could be followed up more fully by pursuing some of the questions further that came up in Chapter Three.

Is intensity of feeling reflected in the nature and measurement of editorial opinion? Again we refer the reader to the Chapter Three data. We believe the answer is affirmative, and can be beautifully illustrated by the coverage given both the presidential and congressional contests in the Nashville newspapers in 1960, as well as the Memphis Commercial Appeal. The latter was judiciously for the Nixon-Lodge ticket but hedged by supporting Kefauver and Davis, thus trying to protect its "image" of traditional Democratic support. Its coverage tended to reflect this editorial tack. The Nashville Banner, perhaps the most strongly partisan of any of the newspapers examined, stressed Republican organization activity in its news coverage, published cartoons opposing the Democrats (especially Kennedy) that could hardly be called anything other than vicious, and generally bore out a strong relationship between policy and newshandling. This was also true in some degree of the Nash-

ville Tennessean, which was pro-Kennedy in 1960. One famous incident in the campaign which brought this to light was the argument between the Tennessean and Banner (the Commercial Appeal also participated in a peripheral way in the argument) over whether Nixon or Kennedy drew the bigger crowd to Nashville. Cuts published in the newspapers indicated the crowds were roughly comparable in size (ranging perhaps from 50,000 to 100,000 in the Capitol Plaza area in downtown Nashville), but the Banner claimed a "victory" for Nixon and the Tennessean just as firmly declared that Kennedy drew the larger crowd, in this interesting propaganda battle. Tennessee, it might be remembered, was a real battleground in the presidential contest in 1960, even as was Michigan.

To raise the next question, can we take treatment in coverage of one important event like the Kennedy-Nixon debates, and find important differences in party preferences and newspaper partisanship? And does this spill over into congressional contests? In the 12-newspaper sample, the debates (partly because of their novelty) got fair treatment. But this fair treatment did not always spill over into the coverage of the congressional contests. Special treatment afforded Republicans like Meader, Ford and Griffin in some of the Booth-papers indicated the editorial staff and newspaper policy-makers did not consider it as important to give balanced treatment in the congressional races, as they did where the TV debates were concerned (after all, readers could compare the newspaper stories with their own recollection from viewing the debates, so

this must have been a deterrent to the newspapers).

Because of local popularity of congressional candidates, do we find less abuse of congressional than of senatorial or presidential candidates? A good place to look for this kind of distinction is in "Letters to the Editor" columns. Both congressional and senatorial nominees, as well as presidential, were roundly praised and condemned in the letters -- and this did not seem to matter much. The Commercial Appeal published by far the most letters of any newspaper in the sample, many of them on the so-called "religious issue", and attacks were just as bitter against candidates like Senator Kefauver, Representative Evins and some of the Baptist ministers involved in the campaign as they were against Kennedy or Nixon. We would have to answer this question in the negative, judging from our limited evidence.

Is editorial feeling less intense on congressional candidates because these contests are usually less competitive? We feel this is generally so, but each newspaper may have "pet" candidates it has frequently endorsed over the years. Senator Kefauver drew strong support from many Tennessee newspapers, even some endorsing Nixon, and would have to be counted as an exception to this rule as would some of the longer-term incumbents in Congress like Ford. The Kefauver exception may also have been due to the fact that he was considered a figure of national prominence across the state. Indeed, his activities in the Michigan campaign tend to underscore this national stature for the 1956 vice presidential nominee of the Democratic Party.

We will reserve for final discussion in Chapter Seven (the summary of our thesis findings, and suggestions for further research) a final survey of "opinion leader" and "diffusion" hypotheses as applied to political campaigns, specifically congressional contests. We shall also examine what some respected Washington journalists, like Walter Lippmann and Douglass Cater, have had to say about the problem of covering government and politics.

But at the moment, we want to examine the relationship between the bias problem (discussed in Chapter Three) and the competitiveness-of-district problem (discussed above in this chapter).

VI. Some Tentative Conclusions

Besides extent of coverage, qualitative involvement of the newspaper in the contest is greater according to two factors: (1) Competitiveness of the contest itself, and (2) presence of a competitive newspaper with opposing party preferences in the same community.

We find that the quantitative data on sheer volume of campaign coverage tend to support the first expected finding. This is, however, more pronounced for some of the newspapers for which data were tabulated than for others. The finding is validated, but in a still tentative way. However, this second factor is strongly supported by our examination of the Nashville newspapers. No such comparison was possible for Lansing, because of the newspaper monopoly in that city.

The one-party predominant pattern will be moderately

discernible, we expect, but hard to validate very strongly. This is so primarily because we did not design our data compilation to test for "one-party predominant" districts, but only for competitive and non-competitive districts. (See Section IV of this chapter.)

Newspaper policy does have some effect on newspage coverage (this was especially true in the case of the Nashville Banner and Knoxville Journal, and to some extent in the Booth-papers, strongly so in the case of the Grand Rapids Press but less so with the Flint Journal.) However, to note one important modifying factor, we found that even a strongly opinionated newspaper like the Nashville Banner gave reasonably fair coverage in its news columns to Democratic nominees despite its practice of lampooning them with vicious cartoons. The fact that it is published in a predominatly Democratic district may have been a factor here, but we like to think that the canons of responsible journalism may have had some effect on the Banner's management in fixing its newshandling policy.

Intensity of feeling is definitely reflected in nature and measurement of editorial opinion. The "FUN Rating" examples we used in Chapter Three gave some validation to this, but the limitations of the thesis format did not allow us to pursue this inquiry as fully as might be possible in a study devoted solely to the "bias problem". This intensity factor, nonetheless, is strikingly illustrated by comparing Democratic conservatism and Republican conservatism in the South through the media of the Commercial Appeal (Democratic) and the Nash-

ville Banner (Republican). The Boothpapers appeared to be at least as strongly opinionated as the State Journal in the Michigan portion of the sample.

Treatment of major events like the Kennedy-Nixon debates differed in degree of coverage, but this did not spill over into the congressional coverage very much. Outside of some appearances of senatorial or congressional candidates at rallies where the debates were viewed on large-screen television, there was very little "spill-over".

Personal abuse of congressional candidates -- contrary to our expectations -- did not differ greatly from that for presidential candidates. In explaining this, we believe the campaign is more of an entity embracing all contests, and partisan feelings affect both types of contests. Despite the lesser importance of congressional offices being sought, community standing of incumbents, or other factors besides personal popularity, it appeared that congressional candidates -- especially those in hotly contested districts -- were subjected to much the same kind of partisan vituperation as the presidential nominees. This was at variance with what we expected to find.

Editorial feeling tends to become more intense on congressional contests as they become more competitive, but we do not feel we can make a definitive statement about this on the basis of our data, which are essentially for one campaign season. The bias factor and the intensity factor are no doubt closely related, but we concentrated on the former.

In Chapter Seven, we will summarize what we considered to be the important findings on each of the four specific hypotheses, and we will suggest areas where further research might be fruitful.

TABLE I (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable
Total Candidate Coverage in a Competitive Congressional District
(Frequency and Percentage)--Lansing State Journal: 1960)

Frequency of Candidate Coverage (Congressional Races Only):

		Items	Column Inches
1st District:	*Machrowicz (D) and Czarnecki (R)	0	0
2nd District:	*Meader (R) and Payne (D)	0	0
3rd District:	*Johansen (R) and Clark (D)	0	0
4th District:	*Hoffman (R)	0	0
	Burns (D)	1	6¼
5th District:	*Ford (R) and Reamon (D)	0	0
6th District:	*Chamberlain (R)	3	46
	O'Rourke (D)	8	93½
7th District:	*O'Hara (D)	1	1 3/4
	McIntosh (R)	0	0
8th District:	Harvey (R)	1	4
	Miss Harden (D)	0	0
9th District:	*Griffin (R)	1	7
	Jennings (D)	1	8¼
10th District:	*Cederberg (R)	0	0
	Reed (D)	2	19 3/4
11th District:	*Knox (R) and Brown (D)	0	0
12th District:	*Bennett (R) and McCarthy (D)	0	0
13th District:	*Diggs (D) and Blackwell (R)	0	0
14th District:	*Rabaut (D) and Mrs. Nair (R)	0	0

TABLE I (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable
Total Candidate Coverage in a Competitive Congressional District
(Frequency and Percentage)--(Lansing State Journal: 1960) (Continued)

Frequency of Candidate Coverage (Congressional Races Only): (Continued)		Items	Column Inches
15th District:	*Dingell (D)	1	4¼
	Robbins (R)	0	0
16th District:	*Lesinski (D) and Clark (R)	0	0
17th District:	*Mrs. Griffiths (D) and Morrell (R)	0	0
18th District:	*Broomfield (R)	1	4 3/4
	Kellis (D)	2	52¼
	Total	22	247 3/4

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE I (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable
Total Candidate Coverage in a Competitive Congressional District
(Frequency and Percentage)--(Lansing State Journal: 1960) (Concluded)

Percentages Computed for Candidates Receiving State Journal Coverage:

4th District:	Burns	2.522 %
6th District:	*Chamberlain	18.567 %
	O'Rourke	37.739 %
7th District:	*O'Hara	0.706 %
8th District:	Harvey	1.614 %
9th District:	*Griffin	2.825 %
	Jennings	3.329 %
10th District:	Reed	7.971 %
15th District:	*Dingell	1.715 %
18th District:	*Broomfield	1.917 %
	Kellis	21.089 %
	(Accuracy Control Check)	99.994 %

(Deviation from Actual Total on Friden Hand Calculator: .006 %)

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE II (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable:
Total Candidate Coverage in a One-Party District (Knoxville News-Sentinel: 1960)

FREQUENCY OF CANDIDATE COVERAGE

Congressional Candidates		No. of Items	Column Inches
First District:	*B. Carroll Reece (R)	1	6
	Arthur Bright (D)	0	0
Second District:	*Howard Baker (R) (Unopposed)	10	73¼
Third District:	*J. B. Frazier (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Fourth District:	*Joe L. Evins (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Fifth District:	*J. Carlton Loser (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Sixth District:	*Ross Bass (D) (Unopposed)	3	12 3/4
Seventh District:	*Tom Murray (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Eighth District:	*Robert A. (Fats) Everett (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Ninth District:	*Clifford Davis (D) (Unopposed)	0	0
Total Coverage		14	92

*Denotes Incumbent

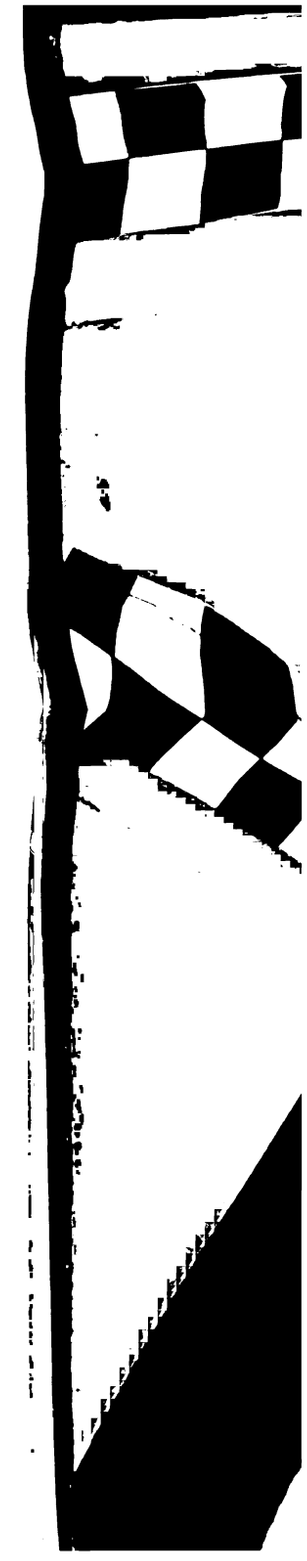


TABLE II (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable:
Total Candidate Coverage in a One-Party District--
(Knoxville News-Sentinel: 1960) (Continued)

PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE PER CANDIDATE

Candidates Given Coverage		Percentage of Total Coverage
First District:	*Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R)	6.522 %
Second District:	*Rep. Howard Baker (R)	79.620 %
Sixth District:	*Rep. Ross Bass (D) (Now in U. S. Senate, 89th Congress)	13.860 %
Total Percentage (Control Check)		100.002 %

(Deviation on Friden hand calculator: .002%)

*Denotes Incumbent

TABLE III-A (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable:
Total Candidate Coverage Compared in a Set of Competitive Districts

Flint Journal (1960) Compared With Chattanooga Times (1962):
Presidential vs. Off-Year Comparison (Continued)

FREQUENCY OF CANDIDATE COVERAGE Congressional Candidates		Newspaper	Items Per Candidate	Column Inches
11th Michigan:	None	Flint Journal	0	0
12th Michigan:	Bennett (R)		1	2½
13th Michigan:	None		0	0
14th Michigan:	Mrs. Lois Nair (R)		1	15
15th Michigan:	Dingell (D)		2	7
16th Michigan:	None		0	0
17th Michigan:	None		0	0
18th Michigan:	Kellis (D)		1	14½
Nine Liberal Congressmen			1	8¼
All Michigan Contests			1	24 3/4
Subtotal for Flint Journal			46	615

TABLE III-A (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable:
Total Candidate Coverage Compared in a Set of Competitive Districts

Flint Journal (1960) Compared With Chattanooga Times (1962):
Presidential vs. Off-Year Comparison (Concluded)

FREQUENCY OF CANDIDATE COVERAGE Congressional Candidates	Newspaper	Items Per Candidate	Column Inches
Tennessee Republican Organization	Chattanooga Times	2	25 3/4
All Tennessee Democrats		3	32 3/4
All Democrats (Nationally)		1	9
All Congressional Races		1	25
Ex-President Eisenhower (non-candidate)		11	132½
President Kennedy (non-candidate)		22	300
First Tennessee: Quillen (R)		2	9¼
Silvers (D)		2	6
Second Tennessee: Baker (R)		3	15½
Livingston (D)		0	0
Third Tennessee: Brock (R)		43	607.833
Thrasher (D)		46	663.913
Frazier (D-Lame Duck)		1	4¼
Fourth Tennessee: Evins (D)		1	2 3/4
Eaton (R)		1	2 3/4
Ninth Tennessee: James (R)		1	5¼
Subtotal for Chattanooga Times		140	1842.496

Total in Sample: 162 Items 2457.496 Col. In.

TABLE III-B (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable:
Total Candidate Coverage Compared in a Set of Competitive Districts

Flint Journal (1960) Compared With Chattanooga Times (1962):
Presidential vs. Off-Year Comparison (Continued)

PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE PER CANDIDATE OR NEWSMAKER News-Making Political Figure or Group		Newspaper	Items Per Candidate	Percentages Per Candidate
11th Michigan:	None	Flint Journal	0	0.000
12th Michigan:	Bennett (R)		1	0.407
13th Michigan:	None		0	0.000
14th Michigan:	Mrs. Lois Nair (R)		1	2.439
15th Michigan:	Dingell (D)		2	1.138
16th Michigan:	None		0	0.000
17th Michigan:	None		0	0.000
18th Michigan:	Kellis (D)		1	2.358
Nine Liberal Congressmen			1	1.341
All Michigan Contests			1	4.024
Subtotal for Flint Journal			46	99.308 (Control Total) (.692 Deviation)

TABLE III-C (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable: Total Candidate Coverage Compared in a Set of Competitive Districts

Flint Journal (1960) Compared With Chattanooga Times (1962): Presidential vs. Off-Year Comparison

PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE PER CANDIDATE OR NEWSMAKER

News-Making Political Figure or Group		Newspaper	Items Per Candidate	Percentages Per Candidate
First Tennessee:	Quillen (R)	Chattanooga	2	0.502
	Silvers (D)	Times	2	0.325
Second Tennessee:	Baker (R)		3	0.841
	Livingston (D)		0	0.000
Third Tennessee:	Brock (R)		43	32.989
	Thrasher (D)		46	36.033
	Frazier (D - Lame Duck)		1	0.230
Fourth Tennessee:	Evins (D)		1	0.149
	Eaton (R)		1	0.149
Fifth Tennessee:	(Fulton and Loser in Runoff Contest; No Party Contest)			
Sixth Tennessee:	Bass (D)		0	0.000
Seventh Tennessee:	Murray (D)		0	0.000
Eighth Tennessee:	Everett (D)		0	0.000
Ninth Tennessee:	Davis (D)		0	0.000
	James (R)		1	0.284

TABLE III-C (Chapter VI): Competitiveness Variable: Total Candidate Coverage Compared in a Set of Competitive Districts

Flint Journal (1960) Compared With Chattanooga Times (1962): Presidential vs. Off-Year Comparison (Continued)

PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE PER CANDIDATE OR NEWSMAKER

News-Making Political Figure or Group	Newspaper	Items Per Candidate	Percentages Per Candidate
Republican Organization (Tennessee)	Chattanooga Times	2	1.397
President Kennedy		22	16.282
Ex-President Eisenhower		11	7.191
All Tennessee Democrats		3	1.777
All Democrats (Nationally)		1	0.488
All Congressional Races (Nationally)		1	1.356
Subtotals for Chattanooga Times		140	99.993 (Control Total: .007 Deviation)

TABLE IV (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Newspapers Published in Competitive Districts

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	292	3746½	146.0	1873.25
Nixon-Lodge Slate	329	4096	164.5	2048.00
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representative	31	396 3/4	15.5	198.38
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	43	738½	21.5	369.25
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	15	119	7.5	59.50
District Republican Nominee for Congress	12	177¼	6.0	88.63
President Eisenhower	39	445 3/4	19.5	222.88
Ex-President Truman	9	80 3/4	4.5	40.38
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	37	343	18.5	171.50
Republican Senators (Out of State)	7	45½	3.5	22.75
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	10	118 3/4	5.0	59.38
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	3	22½	1.5	11.25
Interest Groups	51	544¼	25.5	272.13

TABLE IV (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Newspapers Published in Competitive Districts (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	0	0	0.0	0.00
Democratic National Leaders	39	407¼	19.5	203.63
Republican National Leaders	50	428	25.0	214.00
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	37	360	18.5	180.00
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	53	529	26.5	264.50
Democratic Organizational Activity	26	293½	13.0	146.75
Republican Organizational Activity	25	288½	12.5	144.25
Polls and Surveys	53	891¼	26.5	445.63
Democratic Governors	14	155½	7.0	77.75
Republican Governors	11	178 3/4	5.5	89.38
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	80	1268¼	40.0	634.13

Total Frequency of Measured Items -- 1266

Column Inches in Measured Items -- 15,674½

TABLE V (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Newspapers Published in Non-Competitive Districts

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Kennedy-Johnson Slate	1343	18875	134.3	1887.50
Nixon-Lodge Slate	1225	18106	122.5	1810.60
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Representative	71	760 3/4	7.1	76.08
Republican Nominees for U. S. Representative	92	1028	9.2	102.80
District Democratic Nominee for Congress	28	248	2.8	24.80
District Republican Nominee for Congress	51	415¼	5.1	41.53
President Eisenhower	126	1733 3/4	12.6	173.38
Ex-President Truman	82	839 3/4	8.2	83.98
Democratic Senators (Out of State)	126	1494 3/4	12.6	149.48
Republican Senators (Out of State)	42	436¼	4.2	43.63
Democratic Representatives (Out of State)	24	175¼	2.4	17.53
Republican Representatives (Out of State)	7	66	.7	6.60
Interest Groups	244	2413	24.4	241.30

TABLE V (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Newspapers Published in Non-Competitive Districts (Continued)

Object of Coverage	Frequency Total	Total Column Inches	Mean Frequency	Mean Column Inches
Unpledged Electors	24	229	2.4	22.90
Democratic National Leaders	162	1751	16.2	175.10
Republican National Leaders	127	1374 3/4	12.7	137.48
Democratic Nominees for U. S. Senate	103	920 3/4	10.3	92.08
Republican Nominees for U. S. Senate	66	729	6.6	72.90
Democratic Organizational Activity	126	1290 3/4	12.6	129.08
Republican Organizational Activity	112	1115 3/4	11.2	111.58
Polls and Surveys	192	2517	19.2	251.70
Democratic Governors	87	841 3/4	8.7	84.18
Republican Governors	22	283 3/4	2.2	28.38
Other (Campaign-Related Features, "Dope" Stories, Third Party Coverage)	459	6812½	45.9	681.25

Total Frequency of Measured Stories -- 4941

Column Inches in Measured Stories -- 64,457 3/4

TABLE VI (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Rank Order of Coverage in Individual Newspapers

Competitive District Papers	Dem. Cong. Nominees	Rep. Cong. Nominees	District Dem. Nominee	District Repub. Nominee	Total Cong. Coverage	Item Freq. Rank	C.I. Rank
Lansing State Journal	13-160½	27-468½	7-62½	6-89 3/4	53-781¼	1	2
Flint Journal	18-236¼	16-270	8-56½	6-87½	48-650¼	3	3
Non-Competitive District Papers							
Grand Rapids Press	5-103	19-242	1- 3¼	11-116½	36-464 3/4	4	4
Saginaw News	13-217½	25-417 3/4	5-67	10-91½	53-793 3/4	1	1
Traverse City Record-Eagle	4-22 3/4	8-72¼	4-22 3/4	7-61 3/4	23-179½	7	9
Muskegon Chronicle	5-67½	9-106 3/4	3-18½	6-37½	23-230¼	7	6
Knoxville Journal	1-1	7-43¼	0-0	6-35 3/4	14-80	10	10
Knoxville News-Sentinel	5-45 3/4	12-99¼	0-0	11-72¼	28-217¼	5	7
Nashville Banner	3-6½	4-19 3/4	0-0	0-0	7-26¼	12	12
Memphis Commercial Appeal	14-124¼	1-4	11-113 3/4	0-0	26-242	6	5

TABLE VI (Chapter VI): Competitive, Non-Competitive Factors
Rank Order of Coverage in Individual Newspapers (Continued)

Competitive District Papers	Dem. Cong. Nominees	Rep. Cong. Nominees	District Dem. Nominee	District Repub. Nominee	Total Cong. Coverage	Item Freq. Rank	C.I. Rank
Chattanooga Times	6-25½	3-6 3/4	2-2	0-0	11-34½	11	11
Nashville Tennessean	15-147	4-16¼	2-20 3/4	0-0	21-184	9	8

Note: In each set of figures, the first number is the item frequency count, the second is the measurement of column inches for that category. Since there were ties for the first and seventh ranking in item frequency rank order, the second and eighth rank designations were omitted.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary of Conclusions and New Research Ideas

I. Summary of the Findings

The aim of this concluding chapter is to summarize in succinct fashion the major hypothesis, the four specific hypotheses derived from it, and the findings of an exploratory research project in political communication. Next comes the outline of a tentative approach to raise questions about coverage of congressional campaigning in the Press, a topic about which our knowledge is still quite scant. We cannot suggest at this stage a theory of Press coverage of campaigns for office in the American political system, but we can raise some pertinent questions. The chapter will be concluded with a brief discussion of the basic hypothesis of the

study. At the close a basic statement will summarize the findings in capsule form.

Before restating the hypotheses and summarizing the findings of the intensive research, we want to establish through brief quotations from leading journalists the context of the problem of the relationship between the Press, on the one hand, and government and politics on the other.

Walter Lippmann, the veteran Washington commentator, finds that journalism is becoming more professionalized at a time when the problem of covering politics and government is becoming ever more complicated. In a speech in London, May 27, 1965, made at the invitation of the International Press Institute, Mr. Lippmann said in part:

> As the function of a free press in a great society becomes more and more demanding, we are moving toward professionalization. . . .
>
> . . . (This professionalization) introduces into the conscience of the working journalist a commitment to seek the truth which is independent of and superior to his other commitments -- his commitment to publish newspapers that will sell, his commitment to his political party, his commitment even to promote the policies of his government. . . .
>
> . . . As the free press develops, as the great society evolves, the paramount point is whether, like a scientist or a scholar, the journalist puts truth in the first place or the second. . . .
>
> Insofar as he puts truth in first place, he rises toward -- I will not say into, but toward -- the company of those who taste and enjoy the best things in life.(1)

This quotation from Lippmann seems to me to put into the context of the ethics of journalism the whole question of bias in the Press which was examined in Chapter Three.

But newspaper coverage of political campaigns is but a part of the larger question of coverage of politics and governmental affairs. Two recent authors, Dan Nimmo (author of Newsgathering in Washington, a prize-winning academic study of Washington correspondents' relationship to government officials) and Douglass Cater (journalist now on the White House staff and author of a similar study, The Fourth Branch of Government), have dealt with this broader problem. I propose to examine briefly some comments by Cater, a free-lance Washington correspondent and frequent contributor to The Reporter before his joining the Johnson Administration staff, on the problem of governmental coverage by the Washington press corps as it relates to our problem of coverage of political campaigns.

The following comments by Cater serve to emphasize the need for a study such as ours. In The Fourth Branch of Government, Cater observes:

> . . . For the politician and the bureaucrat the headline inch frequently serves as the day-to-day measure of public opinion on a great number of issues. . . .
>
> It is strange that the political scientist has so long neglected the study of the interaction between government and the Press. The American Fourth Estate operates as a de facto, quasi-official fourth branch of government, its institutions no less important because they have been developed informally and, indeed, haphazardly. Twelve hundred or so members of the Washington press corps, bearing no authority other than accreditation by a newspaper, wire service, or network, are part of the privileged officialdom in the nation's capital. The senior among them claim a prestige commensurate with their continuing power. For Presidents come and go but press bureau chiefs are apt to remain a while. . . (2)

Cater also observes that "as each congressional fight reaches its crisis, one is made sharply aware of the pervasive influence of news and newsmen." If this is true of debates in Congress, how much truer of the campaign itself for congressional seats. Finally, Cater notes the tendency of development of the news to influence reactively the development of the events on which it feeds and says this tendency should not be minimized. In other words, the very process of reporting the news itself has an influence on events. The role of the Press in covering campaigns for public office, then, must not be understimated.

This leads us to a restatement, in summary fashion, of our major hypothesis and the four specific hypotheses derived from it.

The major hypothesis states:

> The way in which a congressional campaign is reported in the Press is a result of two major variables -- (a) the political context, i. e., district structure, electoral competitiveness and incumbency, and (b) the structure of the Press, i. e., newspaper policy whose basic components are endorsements of candidates and handling of political stories. This can be demonstrated through content analysis of newspapers published during the

campaign time period.

Given this major hypothesis, we used content analysis of a 12-newspaper microfilm sample composed of six Michigan and six Tennessee dailies to test the four specific hypotheses, which may be restated as follows:

1. Biased coverage (i. e., "slanted" coverage, or coverage tending to favor one candidate or party at the expense of the other) of congressional campaigns is more likely to be found in rural-district papers than in urban-district papers. We did find more bias in rural-district papers, though the difference was slight.

2. Total coverage of candidates will be greater in newspapers published in rural districts than in those published in urban districts (e. g., Memphis in the Ninth Tennessee CD, or Grand Rapids in the Fifth Michigan CD). This will be so in two specific cases, stated in the following subhypotheses:

(a) Both major-party candidates get more total coverage (in terms of measurement of actual newspaper space and not potential exposure) in rural than in urban districts.

(b) Non-incumbents get more coverage in newspapers published in rural congressional districts than in newspapers published in urban districts. As a related proposition, newspaper coverage of non-incumbents will tend to be found in "round-up" or "wrap-up" stories dealing generally with the campaign, rather than in separate individual stories in

papers published in urban districts. Non-incumbents will, however, get somewhat more coverage where they mount an active or intensive campaign, regardless of whether the newspaper giving coverage is published in an urban or rural district.

For our purposes, increased campaigning is assumed to be reflected in greater coverage of the non-incumbents and we do not go beyond the evidence found in the content analysis data. In the case of non-incumbents nominated by the majority party, we expect to find them getting more mention than minority party non-incumbents but less than incumbents of either party.

It does appear that rural-urban demographic factors, and incumbency-related variables will affect press coverage of congressional election campaigns. We found the newspaper with the largest circulation of any within our sample, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, considerably different from the newspaper with the smallest circulation, the Traverse City Record-Eagle, both in amount and kind of coverage given the candidates, and also degree of partisanship. Thus urban-rural differences seem to have proved out as important ones. (See also the data analyzed in Chapter Four on the urban-rural variable.) Incumbency-related variables were harder to analyze, but such evidence as there was seemed to indicate an incumbent has an advantage over all but the most newsworthy of non-incumbents.

3. Noticeable differences will occur in coverage -- in terms of space allotted, news play according to position on the page and page number, and emphasis according to headline

size -- for different types of campaign events, according to: (a) whether a party "VIP" was present at the event; (b) whether events were nationally oriented or district oriented; (c) whether events were televised or involved direct personal appearances of candidates and other campaign figures, and (d) whether events were "printed" or "oral" in nature. The three types of events categorized as "oral" included rallies and speeches (including debates), news conferences, and organizational activities (caucuses, parties, headquarters openings and photo sessions). The four-type categorization of "printed" events included press releases and reprints (including "handouts"); letters to the editor; editorials, columns and cartoons, and background features. As a corollary subhypothesis, we anticipated that organizational activities would generate more coverage than routine party rallies.

The "VIP" subhypothesis proved out almost beyond doubt, and we also found nationally oriented events outpaced district oriented events in coverage (not surprisingly). We found minor differences in our data on televised vs. direct personal appearances events, and in the "oral" vs. "printed" events, but it was in the first two minor variables, VIP presence, and national-district orientations, that we found the most significant differences.

We also found that the greater the degree of novelty -- e. g., the Kennedy-Nixon debates during the 1960 campaign, or the "Nixon telethon" from Detroit -- the greater the news coverage. The propositions stated in Specific Hypothesis 3

were substantially validated, with the strongest validation being found for subhypotheses (a) and (b).

4. In establishing categories of congressional districts according to degree of party competition, we expect to find greater campaign coverage (in terms of total column inches) in newspapers published in highly competitive districts than in non-competitive (one-party or one-party predominant) districts. Thus a competitive district with a normally close margin and a high rate of turnover in party control could be expected to have more intensive campaign coverage (as a usual pattern) than a one-party district where readership interest and voter interest are comparatively light.

Competitiveness of district did appear to affect coverage (see particularly Chapter Six and the accompanying tables on the competitiveness variable). When districts developed a more competitive situation in Tennessee in 1962 (especially in the Third -- Chattanooga -- and the Ninth -- Memphis and Shelby County) we were able to show coverage was stepped up in the Chattanooga Times, and although we did not collect data for 1962 from that paper we believe the same could be proved for the Memphis Commercial Appeal as well for the heated Ninth District contest in 1962.

We examined the findings validated from the data on the four specific hypotheses to determine, if we could, which two of the lesser variables seemed most closely related. After some careful thought, we believe the first or "bias" hypothesis and the competiveness-of-district hypothesis probably

deal with the most closely related variables. When districts are highly competitive, there is likely to be a spirited contest among even professional politicians, and this is almost sure to be reflected in the Press, if the newspapers have any kind of a partisan commitment, such as endorsement of a candidate of either party. Most newspapers do endorse congressional candidates, we found, when they are dailies. There was also a fairly close relationship between the "VIP hypothesis" (which was developed during the course of the study rather than prior to it) and another hypothesis which we discarded for purposes of this study (and expect to deal with in a separate study), the "coattail coverage" hypothesis which suggested that newspaper coverage, like votes, may be influenced by a coattail factor in the popularity or better-known name of the candidate heading the ticket. Rural-urban and incumbency factors seemed least closely related to the other factors we analyzed.

The next question we examined was the strength of validation apparent for each specific hypothesis from our tabulated data. We found reasonable validation for the "bias" hypothesis, and believe this could be pursued further with other types of contests (senatorial, presidential, or gubernatorial) for a longer historical time period. The rural-urban hypothesis received good validation, but the incumbency hypothesis was only weakly supported by our data.

The "VIP factor" hypothesis received overwhelming validation, and some news-event differentiation factors such as national orientation were found to make a clear difference while others such as televised-vs.-direct personal appearance events, and "Printed"-vs.-"Oral" events provided less conclusive findings. The competitiveness-of-district findings validated our hypothesis fairly well. The weakest hypothesis was probably that on incumbency, but perhaps some future researcher could reformulate that to arrive at more fruitful findings.

II. Toward an Analysis of Campaign Coverage

Many questions must be explored in any effort to construct a theory of campaign coverage, a task for which our preliminary examination of these data did not qualify us. These questions are in large measure excluded from the immediate research task because of the case study nature of the design. Some findings developed in the data do raise questions for future studies. It is to these that we direct our attention.

In working toward a basic approach to campaign coverage, we must keep in mind that the basic purpose of any eventual theory is to improve our ability to make predictions.

A generalization about the nature of press coverage of congressional campaigns is that it is a faithful mirror of the intensity of opinion voiced by the candidates and campaign participants, and observers who write letters to the

editor.

We also posit that it is possible to determine editorial policy, in the form of opinions stated in editorials, columns and other statements of a newspaper's position on issues, through a careful content analysis of microfilm files of that newspaper, for the campaign period.

A further suggestion is that we can measure the amount of coverage given each candidate, as well as to estimate in a numerical fashion the extent to which the coverage given candidates and opinions expressed about them are favorable, unfavorable or neutral. (The FUN Rating technique developed in this thesis may be considered as a crude effort at making this kind of estimate.)

While some data collected at the beginning of the research indicated tendencies toward the existence of "coattail coverage" of congressional campaigning, we found it methodologically impossible to deal with the coattail coverage problem, given the scope of the data we had compiled. Here again we should explain that the term "coattail coverage" is an extension of the concept of "coattail voting" (voting for a congressional candidate of Party A because of the pulling power of Party A's presidential candidate, for example) to newspaper coverage of the campaign. In "coattail coverage", a newspaper gives greater attention to a lesser candidate of Party A because Party A's principal candidate is a newsworthy object of attention.

We originally collected some data for the 1962

congressional election, expecting to show that participation by party leaders (President, leader of the opposition party, ex-Presidents) would be more noticeable in the less heated context of an off-year election than in the tense competitive context of a presidential-year election. In analyzing the 1962 data, two things became clear. One was that there were some clues indicating greater participation by party leaders. The other was that the data were quite inadequate to offer any scientific proof to this effect.

Therefore, we suggest the link between greater and lesser party figures in campaign coverage might be supported by comparing this aspect of coverage in a presidential year with that in an off-year. Another approach would be to compare two off-years.

If we were limiting the study to Michigan and Tennessee, we must take care to use years in which district lines were the same. This would indicate that historical studies might be made for 1954 and 1958, but these might yield generalizations inappropriate for post-reapportionment conditions. For this reason we suggest that pairing of 1962 and 1966 or of 1966 and 1970 might be appropriate, if we are to project a bit more into the future. In any event, the focus of the investigation would be on the relationship between coverage of congressional candidates and coverage of party leaders, with the implication that a comparison of pairs of years would show an abnormal amount of attention to the campaign.

One additional factor to consider in comparing any study

of the 1950's with one of the 1960's is that the roles of the media have shifted somewhat. Where the Press may have been the dominant medium in the 1950's, there are some indications that television has come more and more to occupy that dominant role in the 1960's. This would have to be considered in any assessment of "coattail coverage" as referred to above.

Our preliminary investigation did indicate that participation of national party leaders in congressional campaigns was more extensive than it used to be. Stephen K. Bailey says that:

> . . . since 1954, it has been considered a normal presidential activity to campaign on behalf of the party's congressional candidates in off-year elections. The practice is still too recent to prove much. Certainly the off-year elections of 1958 and 1962 followed the traditional patterns of out-party gains; but who is to say that the results would not have been worse (for the party in power) without presidential participation? (3)

Presidential-congressional and senatorial-congressional campaign coverage are different aspects of the "coattail factor" in campaign coverage. We found clues in the fragmentary data we collected, that congressional candidates were helped in gaining news media attention by presidential appearances. We also found indications that prominent senators like the late Senator Estes Kefauver gave a boost to congressional candidates' campaigns. Thus we suggest that future research could be profitably directed to the study of stories about general party rallies, which link candidates for major and lesser offices in the public eye, or the publication of general stories predicting party fortunes in the

election.

For some reason, presidential-congressional and senatorial-congressional pairings (in news mentions) seemed to be most prominent in these kinds of stories (general rallies and predictions). Why this appears to be true would be a worthwhile question to investigate.

It is a reasonable expectation that editorial comment on congressional contests will follow three patterns, along the line of the three major campaign factors suggested in The American Voter. These comments would be along party lines, along the lines of assessing qualifications of candidates, or along the ideological dimension -- that is, expressing preferences for either liberal or conservative candidates.

We would like to see a study made of whether editorial comment in a "coattail situation" tends if anything to run contary to "coattail" voting patterns. Even newspapers with strong partisan preferences like to call themselves Independent, and mixed endorsements like the Commercial Appeal's advocacy of Nixon, Kefauver and Davis (a Republican and two Democrats) in the 1960 situation may not be at all uncommon, especially in metropolitan newspapers. This would be worth further study on a broader basis.

Another question not contemplated in the original hypothesis but meriting further study is whether, speaking in general historical terms, a pattern of split-ticket voting in a particular state preceded a pattern of split-ticket editorial endorsements in that state's principal newspapers. This

might give us a clue to whether the Press fulfills the role of "opinion leader" or not. This would doubtless call for statistical analysis of voting data and historical analysis of newspaper files in a depth not possible here. Our concern is with presidential-congressional and senatorial-congressional factors.

Turning to another matter of research interest, we found some lesser indicators of bias in coverage. While not conclusive in a brief study like this, these findings lead us to question whether further investigation might not be undertaken with lesser factors of opinion coverage, like letters to the editor, and editorial cartoons and cartoon reprints. These may be an important indicator of bias, especially where a pattern is evident. Such a pattern was found in the 1960 Nashville Banner sample. The Banner published in each day's issue in the closing weeks of the campaign, pro-Nixon or anti-Kennedy cartoons; furthermore, it published a full set of these cartoons (an entire page) just prior to the election. While this related to presidential candidates, and was not a direct factor in the investigation of bias in congressional voting, it may be a possible factor worth exploring by a later investigator.

We also found some evidence that editors may have exhibited bias in the kinds of letters they selected for publication in "Letters to the Editor" columns. Perhaps verbal analysis of these letters would first have to substantiate a pattern of bias in the letters, but our suspicions are

aroused by (1) publication of unsigned (exemplified by the Saginaw News) and (2) publication of letters with the earmarks of "inspired" comment (inspired by campaign headquarters, perhaps) with such catch phrases or slogans of the campaign as a reference to the Democrats as the "party of appeasement". (A corresponding reference to Republicans would be "party of bigots" in the context of the 1960 campaign, but we would look in the Tennessean rather than the Saginaw News for letters of this kind.) Most daily newspapers refuse to publish unsigned letters near election time without using a name and address, so a deviation from the norm of this type might be sought in any exploration of handling of letters.

We suggest that in addition to editorial policy reflected in the editorials themselves, such policy may -- though not necessarily -- be reflected in the choice of columns for use on the editorial pages. This would be a possible object of study. Another angle of this investigation might be how different newspapers display and edit the same columnist's syndicated work. (Perhaps James Reston's column would be handled quite differently by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch than by the Chicago Tribune; this is a hypothetical case, as it is highly doubtful that the Tribune would ever use a Reston column.)

Our findings indicate a relatively high degree of correlation between the nature of the district (e. g., rural-conservative) and the nature of the Press in that district (conservative or pro-Republican or conservative Democratic,

to cite some specific examples found in the sample). We asked whether we would find a more moderate newspaper in Flint (a competitive district) than in Memphis (Shelby County is normally a one-party district, although it may shortly be divided into two or three districts, if pending reapportionment legislation goes through in Tennessee). Here, however, ownership and competitiveness of parties in the district may be more important factors than a simple editorial bias.

What effect does party affiliation of a traditional kind have on newspaper policy, and how does this tie in with traditional voting patterns of the district? The Tennessee newspapers gave the best evidence on this because of the prevalence of traditional Democratic voting there. The Nashville newspapers showed strong partisan leanings, although the district is traditionally one-party Democratic. This is probably because the Nashville Banner properly mirrors an important segment of conservative business-oriented opinion typical of urban Republicanism in the South. Traditional Republicanism was reflected in the Boothpapers' editorial policy, and to some extent in their coverage. The Lansing State Journal also reflected traditional outstate Michigan Republicanism, but may have been somewhat less biased in its news coverage than either Nashville newspaper, certainly than the Banner. Whether traditional voting patterns in the district favor a certain newspaper policy because of the influence of the Press, or whether newspapers

tend to follow prevailing partisan sentiments in the district in which they are published, were not specific questions we looked for the answers to in our analysis. But they would be fruitful questions for research, we believe.

Summing up, we find in all but one of the specific hypotheses we have explored (the incumbency hypothesis) and on the competitiveness hypothesis rather strongly, the data to support our expectations. Evidence tending to cast doubt on the major hypothesis is not heavy, but in the incumbency aspect we would be reluctant to uphold it. On incumbency we feel further study would be needed to develop data which would uphold the specific hypothesis. The data we found were inconclusive, but we do not believe the hypothesis was refuted. It merely calls for more extensive examination than we were able to give it with our data.

Areas where further study is needed are, as we have indicated previously, the development of data on "coattail reporting" and data on incumbency factors, going beyond our limited study of this problem. We think it may be possible with further research to make more definite findings on one or both of these problems.

III. Other Suggestions for Further Study

A number of suggestions may be made for further study of the problem of Press coverage of political campaigns, adapting our methodology and basic design used for this study. Some suggestions are:

1. A study of correlation between senatorial and congressional coverage, using close-up analysis of a limited sample, but comparing several newspapers in at least two states.

2. Application of our basic design (several newspapers in two states) to senatorial contests only.

3. Application of our basic design (several newspapers in two states) to comparative analysis of coverage of presidential campaigns (1960 might be compared with 1964). In presidential coverage, it might be more feasible to compare newspapers published in as many as five or six states, choosing papers from each of the major geographical regions of the country.

4. A close-up study comparing presidential-year coverage with off-year coverage. We did this in only a tentative way, in comparing data for the competitiveness variable for 1960 and 1962. This might be applied to any kind of contest, ranging from legislative contests through gubernatorial to contests at the national level.

5. Using survey research data such as that employed in The American Voter, it might be possible to compare attitudinal data on voting decisions with attitudinal data reflected in newspaper opinion and policy statements to determine what effect a constituency's dominant opinion may have on editorial opinion, or what effect editorial opinion may have on the views of voters in the circulation area of the newspaper in question.

6. A study applying the new "simulation" techniques used in the study of communications behavior in diplomacy and international relations might be adapted to the study of communications behavior in campaigns for public office. One such study has already been produced by Ithiel de Sola Pool, Robert Abelson and Samuel Popkin.[4] This study is more recent than the research report on the 1960 campaign work reported first in Public Opinion Quarterly and reprinted in the Guetzkow reader in 1962.[5]

In final summary, the evidence tabulated from the data compiled from the two-state, 12-newspaper sample shows in general that press content as analyzed in microfilm form does importantly reflect the interaction between structure of the press as an institution (particularly editorial policy and the newshandling policy as indicated by stories which appeared in the sample newspapers and how they were displayed) and the electoral institution of the congressional districts (as examined in 27 cases in 1960, for nine Tennessee districts and for 18 Michigan districts).

However, while the "bias", urban-rural, type of event, and competitiveness of district variables were proved to be important on the basis of our data tabulation, some doubt was entertained about the remaining variable, that of incumbency factors. We actually found very little support for our expected findings about incumbency, with the single exception that everything pointed to the importance of the first and second re-election races for incumbents.

We conclude that our major hypothesis is substantially supported by the research data, and that further study must be made before we can either validate or non-validate the incumbency hypothesis with any certainty. The other specific hypotheses dealing with "bias", rural-urban variable, type of event and competitiveness of district were substantially borne out by the data. We also commend to those doing further research in this area of parties and public opinion, the six approaches to new research recommended above.

Thus commenting, we conclude our thesis with the expectation of developing some of these ideas further in our own work, particularly in examining the utility of "simulation" analysis to corroborate work already done with content analysis and the exploration of the possibility of "coattail coverage" of political campaigns.

Footnotes for Chapter Seven

1. Walter Lippmann, "Does Truth Come First or Second", East Lansing, Mich., Towne Courier, June 8, 1965.
2. Douglass Cater, The Fourth Branch of Government, Vintage Books, New York, 1965, pp. 13-15.
3. Stephen K. Bailey, The New Congress, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1966, p. 13.
4. Ithiel de Sola Pool, Robert Abelson and Samuel Popkin, Candidates, Issues and Strategies, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1964, 168 pp.
5. Ithiel de Sola Pool and Robert Abelson, "The Stimulmatics Project", pp. 70-81 in Harold Guetzkow, ed., Simulation in Social Science: Readings, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962, pp. xv, 199.

APPENDIX I

Districts of Publication for the Sample Newspapers

Newspaper	District
Memphis *Commercial Appeal*	Ninth Tennessee
Nashville *Tennessean*	Fifth Tennessee
Nashville *Banner*	Fifth Tennessee
Chattanooga *Times*	Third Tennessee
Knoxville *News-Sentinel*	Second Tennessee
Knoxville *Journal*	Second Tennessee
Lansing *State Journal*	Sixth Michigan
Flint *Journal*	Sixth Michigan
Grand Rapids *Press*	Fifth Michigan
Saginaw *News*	Eighth Michigan
Muskegon *Chronicle*	Ninth Michigan
Traverse City *Record-Eagle*	Ninth Michigan

(Districts referred to as they existed in 1960.)

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