THE EFFECT OF NEWSPAPER DESIGN COMPLEXITY ON READERSHIP, COMPREHENSION, INTERESTINGNESS AND PLEASINGNESS

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Henry Thomas Price

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Director of Thesis

Guidance Committee:

Chairman

Vietne Mishra.

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF NEWSPAPER DESIGN COMPLEXITY ON READERSHIP, COMPREHENSION, INTERESTINGNESS AND PLEASINGNESS

By

Henry Thomas Price

This experiment attempted to provide some initial insights into the effect of three newspaper design complexity variables on the readership and comprehension of news stories and on judgments of the interestingness and pleasingness of the page designs using the various complexity variables. The three design complexity variables used were: horizontal and vertical headline pattern, horizontal and vertical picture pattern, and vertical, narrow measure (11-picas, or almost two inches, wide) body type setting and horizontal, wide measure (varying from 17-picas, or almost three inches, wide to 23-picas, or almost four inches, wide) body type setting.

The experimental vehicle was a four-page tabloid newspaper, page 3 of which was the experimental page with the other three pages being identical for all subjects. The three independent variables were manipulated in all possible combinations resulting in eight different versions of the experimental page. The content of the headlines, stories and picture on the experimental page were the same across all eight versions. The manipulations were restricted to those that affected the pattern of the display elements—either horizontal or vertical.

The tabloid newspapers containing the eight versions of the experimental page were randomly ordered and given to the 144 subjects (58 men and 86 women recruited from classes at the University of South Carolina). The subjects were given 10 minutes to read the newspaper and then were asked to mark how much of each story and picture in the paper they had read and to answer comprehension questions about the stories and picture on the experimental page.

Each subject was also asked to rate each page of his newspaper in terms of complexity, pleasingness and interestingness by use of a seven-point scale with either "simple-complex," "pleasing-displeasing" or "interesting-uninteresting" as anchors.

Based on D. E. Berlyne's conceptualization of the complexity variable and the research findings of F. Attneave, H. Day, A. C. Hall and others, 12 hypotheses were tested. Vertical headlines, vertical pictures and narrow measure, 11-pica wide body type setting were expected to result in increased readership and comprehension and to lead to higher ratings of interestingness but lower ratings of pleasingness. None of these 12 hypotheses, as worded, received support. There were, however, three significant interactions found in the analyses of variance for the readership of the six display elements used on the experimental page. Verticality of headline display seems to interact with verticality of body type setting and horizontalness of headline display with wide measure body type setting to increase readership. Vertical headline pattern appears to interact with horizontal picture pattern and horizontal headline pattern with vertical picture pattern to increase readership. Likewise, horizontal picture pattern seems to combine with narrow measure body type setting and vertical picture pattern with wide measure body type setting to increase

readership of the picture and its accompanying explanatory material (its cutlines).

The analysis seems to refute Berlyne's findings that interestingness and pleasingness are negatively correlated. In this study interestingness and pleasingness show a moderate positive relationship (r = .54). A small positive correlation was found between readership of the experimental page and rated interestingness of the page design (r = .22).

A number of possible explanations for the results were presented, and a number of possibilities for future research were discussed.

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Ву

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CHAPTER I

NEWSPAPER DESIGN AND COMMUNICATION

A prime consideration of communication research—and probably the one most neglected by the professional communicators of the mass media—is the receiver. The researcher is vitally interested in the sources of the receiver's information. He also seeks answers to the problems of increasing the probability that the receiver will attend to a given message and of how the receiver determines what messages he will attend to. How can the receiver be persuaded to take a given course of action once his attention has been gained? These are but a few of the hundreds of interests the researcher has concerning the receiver's relationship to the sea of information in which he is immersed.

Mass media communicators are in the business of contributing to this welter of messages. One problem they wrestle with on a minute-by-minute basis is how can they get the receiver to pay attention to the information they offer him. There are literally thousands of daily and weekly newspapers that face this situation, and for them it often boils down to a question of dollars and cents--and survival. The paper that fails to gain attention loses readers, a loss of readers causes a loss of advertising revenue, and a loss of advertising income means extinction.

Over the past decade these newspapers have watched their sizable lead over others of the mass media, and particularly television, steadily erode to the point where television now enjoys a 2-to-1 edge in the



percentage of respondents rating it as the more credible of the two media. Burns Roper, whose report for the Television Information Office of the National Association of Broadcasters provides the information concerning this 2-to-1 margin, also says that his data indicate that in 1963 television replaced newspapers as the source of most news for the general public. Harvey K. Jacobson has generally supported Roper's findings on media credibility and adds to the problem of the professional newspaperman by saying that television news reports are seen as significantly more complete than either newspaper or radio reports. 2

A few newspapers, coupling these findings with the results of rare readership studies that show readers pay scant attention to their paper's information offerings, have made changes in their reporting and writing styles such as investigative reporting and team reporting. Others have tried to meet the growing problem by increasing their circulation efforts. Only a few have been concerned about the design of their publications, and they have trusted the "gut feeling" preachments of such layout luminaries as Edmund Arnold and Howard Taylor. This is not to denigrate "gut feeling" as a means of obtaining insight into the problem of developing new and more effective methods of newspaper design nor is it intended to belittle the efforts of the aforementioned gentlemen, but it is to point out that little attempt has been made to examine scientifically the potential of newspaper design as a form of nonverbal communication.

¹Burns Roper, Report for the Television Information Office of the National Association of Broadcasters (July, 1969).

²Harvey K. Jacobson, "Mass Media Believability: A Study of Receiver Judgments," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, Vol. 46 (1969), 20-28.

This study proposes to offer a starting point in this area by examining certain elements of newspaper design in an attempt to determine if manipulation of these elements can increase the probability that a given story will be read and comprehension of that story's content increased. The importance of the study to print journalism is evident. Every day millions of Americans voluntarily subscribe to newspapers and at least the potential exists for them to expose themselves to more of the information carried in these newspapers. If readership can be increased through attention to certain design elements, then the newspaper is well on the way to assuring itself of an audience and accomplishing its primary function—that of informing the public.

The value of the study to communication theory is essentially the same. Given that one of the goals in the development of communication theory is to discover ways by which the receiver can be induced to increase the amount of his meaningful information intake, and given that the newspaper is a major potential source of that information, then the urgent need for understanding the role of newspaper design in reaching that receiver and claiming his attention becomes obvious. Admittedly a great deal of the information in the typical newspaper is irrelevant (probably because most papers try to be all things to all people) and serves to clog the flow of more important items, but this consideration merely serves to heighten the need for greater understanding of the non-verbal communication role of newspaper design. Perhaps there are elements of typographical design and page layout that will enable the professional communicator to ensure that his really important messages surface through the irrelevant.

That design is a consideration in day-to-day newspaper production requires no debate. Anyone who has been exposed to a number of different

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newspapers knows that aside from their local news and editorial policy, they differ most in their appearance. Some, such as the New York Times, the Baltimore Sun and the Kansas City Star, follow a basically vertical design and display pattern. Others, such as the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Christian Science Monitor and the National Observer are more horizontal in their design approach. Some, such as the Miami Herald, the Detroit Free Press and the Louisville Courier-Journal combine some of the elements of both design concepts. The important point to be made here is: Do these various approaches to newspaper layout really make any difference in the ultimate measurements, readership and comprehension?

Complexity as a Variable

One researcher, D. E. Berlyne, probably more than any other, has devoted much of his work to attempting to gain insight into the effect of different variables on attention in terms of looking behavior. One variable of particular interest to Berlyne is stimulus complexity. He says that roughly "it refers to the amount of variety or diversity in a stimulus pattern." He lists some of the most obvious properties of complexity as: (1) other things being equal, complexity increases with the number of distinguishable elements; (2) if the number of elements is held constant, complexity increases with dissimilarity between elements; and (3) complexity varies inversely with the degree to which several elements are responded to as a unit.

³D. E. Berlyne, <u>Conflict</u>, <u>Arousal and Curiosity</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

It is obvious from these three criteria that Berlyne recognizes the importance of perception in his conceptualization of complexity. It is entirely conceivable that two different people could be exposed to the same stimulus pattern, and one could rate the pattern as being complex and the other could rate it being simple. It is somewhat analogous to the situation where source credibility is awarded by the receiver. Perhaps we should simply paraphrase an adage and say that "complexity is in the eye of the beholder." Surely, however, we can isolate some area between the extremes of severe complexity and severe simplicity where it can be agreed that relative complexity or simplicity exists.

8 1)

Berlyne has said that complexity is one of what he calls "collative" variables (others including novelty, surprisingness and incongruity) and suggests that the perception of stimuli high in these characteristics results in the arousal of incompatible response tendencies within the subject and thus mild conflict. This conflict is brought on largely through what psychologists refer to as "redintegration." Simply stated this means that stimulus A is related to stimulus B, and therefore stimulus A elicits not only responses (a) to it, but anticipatory responses (b) to stimulus B; when, however, rather than receiving stimulus B, stimulus X is introduced, the organism responds to stimulus X in the presence of anticipatory responses (b) to stimulus B, and conflict occurs.

Berlyne does not present conflict as a state that a person is either "in" or "not in." It is not a dichotomous situation, but rather one of degree. Berlyne also sees a relationship between complexity and uncertainty. The more complex the figure, the more uncertainty it will generate with this increased uncertainty leading to increased conflict within the organism. Added to these considerations of complexity, conflict

and uncertainty, Berlyne says that increasing complexity will result in increased arousal for the subject. He points out that a subject generally tries to keep his state of arousal as low as possible (which is, for the normal person, moderately high). Subjects in such a state might even welcome the slightly higher levels of arousal likely to result from exposure to more complex stimuli simply for the reward of arousal-reduction. Those subjects, however, who are in a heightened arousal state will seek to decrease their arousal to an acceptable level. The subjects will remain with the more complex pattern until they have received enough information from it to decrease their arousal state. 4 He says that this desire to decrease arousal to an acceptable level is paralleled by a desire to decrease unacceptable levels of conflict. The point here is that (if) through the complexity of newspaper design, a subject's state of arousal or conflict can be (increased, that subject will attempt to decrease) these unacceptable levels through his looking behavior. Therefore, he will expose himself to more of the page which should result in more reading of the information on the page and ultimately in more comprehension of the page's information.

Review of Past Research

If one sets out to find any meaningful research in the area of newspaper design, he should be prepared for some disappointment. Experimental reports can be found on the content of newspapers such as studies

⁴D. E. Berlyne and J. Lewis, "Effects of Heightened Arousal on Human Exploratory Behavior," <u>Canadian Journal of Psychology</u>, Vol. 17 (1963), 398-411.

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of bias or the lack of it, but even something as basic as the effect of various writing styles has been relatively ignored. Occasionally one can unearth a study on headline connotations or some such, but most studies of newspapers are of the qualitative, historical variety. The field is not completely fallow, however. Researchers such as Jean Kerrick, Percy Tannenbaum and Merald Wrolstad have made important contributions to the For instance, Kerrick has reported several studies concerning the effect of picture captions on the judgments of the pictures they accompany. 5 Tannenbaum has shown a continuing interest in the effects of newspaper headlines on respondent perceptions of the stories that accompany those headlines. The research sparked by this interest, in part, led to his formulation of the concept of the "indexing process" which says essentially that by altering a part of the whole we can influence the perception of the whole. He carefully points out, however, that an index is an index only if the receiver perceives it as such-it must have meaning for the receiver. 6 Wrolstad, in viewing typographic design as a form of nonverbal communication, experimented with five design principles--balance, contrast, proportion, rhythm and unity. He found that his group of adult subjects made no preference distinction between good examples and poor examples of typographic design. Even though the design differences in his study were readily evident to a group of typographer-judges, they were not so to his subjects 7/It should be pointed out, however, that

⁵Jean S. Kerrick, "The Influence of Captions on Picture Interpretation," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, Vol. 32 (1955), 177-182 and "News Pictures, Captions and the Point of Resolution," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, Vol. 36 (1959), 183-188.

⁶Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Indexing Process in Communication," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 19 (1955), 292-302.

Merald E. Wrolstad, "Adult Preferences in Typography: Exploring the Function of Design," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 37 (1960), 211-223.

Wrolstad was using book title pages and not newspaper pages as his stimuli.

But, with these few exceptions, the only people who seem to have been interested in studying complexity of pattern and its influence on looking behavior appear to have been the psychologists. One must admit that any inferential leap from studies dealing with the nonsense pattern preferences of rats, baby chicks and children to an investigation of the effects of newspaper layout and design on the reading habits of adults requires that the investigator place himself on the extreme end of a wind-tossed branch. Hopefully what follows will allow this investigator and others to edge just a little closer to the solid trunk of communication theory.

For instance, Berlyne says that "tachistoscopic experiments show that, at least in some conditions, subjects first identify the general class to which a perceptual figure belongs and then gradually narrow down its specific nature and minor details," and adds that the less complex figure involves less conflict because the number of alternatives for its general class are fewer. If one conceives of a newspaper page as a perceptual figure, this would seem to offer some support for the idea of the reader noting page design first, then reading the headline, then reading the story, hence pointing out the potential importance of page design on readership, and, ultimately, comprehension.

Berlyne has also found that, at least as far as infants are concerned, complexity of design in pattern is a recognizable variable, and infants seem to prefer the complex design to the simple. 9 This preference

⁸Berlyne, Conflict, Arousal...., p. 41.

⁹D. E. Berlyne, "The Influence of the Albedo and Complexity of Stimuli on Visual Fixation in the Human Infant," <u>British Journal of Psychology</u>, Vol. 49, 1948), 315-318.

seems to stem from the fact that the complex design has more contours than the simple and thus produces more excitations of the eye. Some of the early, basic work dealing with the relationship between complexity and contours was performed by Attneave. In the study that established his linkage of complexity and the number of contours present in a given figure, he points out that in most patterns, information is concentrated along contours at those points on a contour where its direction changes most rapidly. 10 He wrote that in his study of the judgments of complexity of 72 shapes "about 90 per cent of the variance of ratings was explained by (a) the number of independent turns (angles or curves) in the contour, (b) symmetry, and (c) the arithmetic mean of algebraic differences, in degrees, between successive turns in the contour," and that the contour variables explained 73.7 per cent of the variance accounted for. He said that the increased contour triggers increased excitation of the eye cells that respond to the onset or termination of illumination. Attneave supported this linkage in another and later study where he reported that there is a positive and significant correlation between the number of independent turns in a figure and its rated complexity. 11 More recently Hall has found that the number-of-turns variable accounts for about 72 per cent of the variance in subjective complexity which fits nicely with Attneave's result for his stimuli. 12 Robeck has also found

¹⁰F. Attneave, "Some Informational Aspects of Visual Perception," Psychological Review, Vol. 61 (1954), 183-193.

¹¹F. Attneave, "Physical Determinants of the Judged Complexity of Shapes," Journal of Experimental Psychology, Vol. 53 (1957), 221-227.

¹²A. C. Hall, "Measures of the Complexity of Random Black and White and Coloured Stimuli," <u>Perceptual and Motor Skills</u>, Vol. 29 (1969), 773-774.

that designs with more contour angles were judged more complex than designs with fewer angles. 13

Other researchers offer support for Berlyne's findings concerning the preference for complexity among infants. Fantz, for instance, found that infants are born with an interest in objects and they show a definite preference for the more visually complex objects, prompting Fantz to state that infants have an inborn form perception. ¹⁴ Caron has also found this preference among human infants for the more complex visual stimuli. ¹⁵ Faw and Nunnally add to the evidence with their findings from two studies that eye fixations of children are dominated by more complex figures as compared to less complex figures. ¹⁶ Cantor, Cantor and Ditrichs worked with preschool children and found that children spend more time with more complex designs and that their subjects preferred "high complexity" patterns to either "medium" or "low" complexity patterns. ¹⁷ Eisenman, Grove, Coyle and Redick have reported that children between the ages of 6 and 12 seem to have a greater tolerance for complexity than do college students;

¹³George B. Robeck, "The Influence of Design Symmetry and Contour on Eye Fixations and Judgments of Perceived Complexity, Interestingness and Pleasingness," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, 1970).

¹⁴R. Fantz, "The Origin of Form Perception," Scientific American,
Vol. 204 (1961), 66-72.

¹⁵Rose F. Caron, "Degree of Stimulus Complexity and Habituation of Visual Fixation in Infants," Psychonomic Science, Vol. 14 (1969), 78-79.

¹⁶Terry T. Faw and Jum C. Nunnally, "The Influence of Stimulus Complexity, Novelty, and Affective Value on Children's Visual Fixations," Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, Vol. 6 (1968), 141-153, and "The Effects on Eye Movements of Complexity, Novelty, and Affective Tone," Perception and Psychophysics, Vol. 2 (1967), 263-267.

¹⁷G. Cantor, J. Cantor, and R. Ditrichs, "Observing Behavior in Preschool Children as a Function of Stimulus Complexity," Child Development, Vol. 34 (1963), 683-689.

they also found that preference for complexity tends to be associated with a more open life-style, less defensiveness and a more creative approach to life with preference for simplicity and/or symmetry being associated with a more rigid, simpler outlook. Rabinowitz and Robe tested some of Berlyne's theories and findings and found, among other things, support for his findings concerning a preference for complexity. Not all evidence, however, points in the same direction. Karmel has found, experimenting with rats, chicks and human infants, that definite preferences can be found across the three types of subjects for patterns containing greater amounts of contour. He, however, makes a distinction between amount of contour and complexity and finds that no clear preference can be found across the species for the more complex design. Based on the combined findings of Berlyne, Attneave and Hall concerning the relationship between contour and complexity, however, one must view Karmel's distinction between the two with at least a modicum of caution.

Other studies dealing with complexity as a variable include

Frances findings that complexity had more distinctly differentiating effects for his subjects (workers and students) than did preference and

¹⁸Russell Eisenman, Michael Grove, F. A. Coyle, Jr., and Lenice L. Redick, "Studies in Complexity-Simplicity: I. Children's Preferences; II. Personality Correlates in College Students," Proceedings of the 77th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Vol. 4 (1969), 473-474.

¹⁹F. Michael Rabinowitz and Charlotte V. Robe, "Children's Choice Behavior as a Function of Stimulus Change, Complexity, Relative Novelty, Surprise and Uncertainty," <u>Journal of Experimental Psychology</u>, Vol. 78 (1968), 625-633.

²⁰Bernard C. Karmel, "Complexity, Amounts of Contour, and Visually Dependent Behavior in Hood Rats, Domestic Chicks, and Human Infants," <u>Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology</u>, Vol. 69 (1969), 649-657.

interest. He also found that his student subjects had more tolerance for complexity than did the workers, and they associated preference and interest less frequently than did the workers for the same perceptual figure. Lowenthal has reported that his subjects preferred intermediate amounts of complexity and that experience with complexity above the optimum produced the most systematic change in preferences toward greater complexity. Minton replicated some of Berlyne's work and found confirmation for the results of positive correlation between stimulus complexity and perceptual curiosity. Bryson and Driver have also supported other of Berlyne's findings that increased complexity results in increased internal arousal. Dember and Earl have presented probably the most cogent argument for the consideration of complexity as a psychological variable by defining it in terms of change in stimulation and adding that complexity involves spatial heterogeneity. Again, however, there is scholarly dissent. McCall and Melson question whether complexity as a

²¹R. Frances, "Interet et Preference Esthetique Pour des Stimuli de Complexite Variable," <u>Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique</u>, Vol. 67 (1970), 207-224.

²²Alan S. Lowenthal, "Stimulus Variability, Preference, and Perceptual Change," (Ohio State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u>, 1968, 28(9-B), pp. 3867-3868.

²³H. Minton, "A Replication of Perceptual Curiosity as a Function of Stimulus Complexity," <u>Journal of Experimental Psychology</u>, Vol. 65 (1963), 522-524.

²⁴Jeff B. Bryson and Michael J. Driver, "Conceptual Complexity and Internal Arousal," Psychonomic Science, Vol. 17 (1969), 71-72.

²⁵W. N. Dember and R. W. Earl, "Analysis of Exploratory, Manipulatory, and Curiosity Behaviors," <u>Psychological Review</u>, Vol. 64 (1957), 91-96.

visual stimulus has been sufficiently defined to allow conclusions to be drawn from experiments using it.²⁶ They, however, ignored Berlyne's three elements of complexity in their discussion of its definition or lack of it. The studies reported here might serve to somewhat quiet their discord. A sufficient number of studies would appear to have been done investigating complexity and its relationship to looking behavior. Further, the results of these studies seem sufficiently promising to warrant the preliminary acceptance of complexity as a variable.

Complexity and Readership

Before a link can be established between complexity and page design, a few definitions are in order. Horizontal page design is defined as that design which used predominantly multicolumn headlines ("multicolumn" taken to be three-column headlines or wider, multicolumn pictures and body-type setting wider than the standard 11 picas (a little less than 2 inches wide) found in most contemporary newspapers. Vertical design is defined as that design which uses predominantly one- and two-column headlines and pictures, and body-type setting of the standard 11 picas.

Since a vertical page generally has more angles than a horizontal page, the vertical design would be considered more complex than the horizontal design. This deduction finds support in the findings of Attneave and Hall that the more complex a pattern, the more contours it will have. The fact that the vertical design uses more 11-pica wide setting of body type and therefore contains more columns of body type than the horizontal

²⁶Robert B. McCall and William H. Melson, "Complexity, Contour, and Area as Determinants of Attention in Infants," <u>Developmental Psychology</u>, Vol. 3 (1970), 343-349.

design serves to increase the number of angles in the vertical design and hence, its complexity. The larger number of columns of type present in the vertical design serves to increase the number of eye cell excitations discussed by Attneave.

Berlyne, whose linkage of complexity and conflict was discussed earlier, says that "it would seem plausible that simpler figures would entail less prolonged and less intense conflict." He continues, "Further possibilities of conflict, increasing with complexity, come from eye movements. The assumption that visual patterns with more distinct parts arouse more numerous visual adjustments is central to both Birkhoff's and Rashevsky's theories of aesthetic value."²⁷ He has also found that once conflict is established within the individual, arousal is said to occur. It would seem that this arousal, or attention, is a prerequisite to readership.

In an experiment with rats that dealt with vertical and horizontal designs, Dember, Earl and Paradise found their rat subjects invariably displayed greater voluntary preference for the more complex design when offered a choice. The rats preferred to explore a horizontally striped pathway in preference to an all-white or all-black pathway, and preferred a vertically striped pathway to any of the other three. The authors' decision as to the relative complexity of the four designs was based on the fact that, physically, there were more elements such as stripes or within-stimulus brightness changes in the vertical stimulus than in the horizontal stimulus.²⁸ In yet another study using infants as subjects,

²⁷Berlyne, Conflict, Arousal...., p. 50.

²⁸W. N. Dember, R. W. Earl and N. Paradise, "Response by Rats to Differential Stimulus Complexity," <u>Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology</u>, Vol. 50 (1947), 514-518.

Moffett found that the older an infant is, the more it prefers complex visual stimuli. The subjects looked longer at patterns with a greater number of lines, regardless of arrangement, and the number of white rectangular spaces was a major determinant of visual attention. 29 This would seem to be another reason to expect increased attention to a vertical page since the narrow measure setting requires more rectangles of white space to separate the blocks of body type than are found in more horizontal designs using wider measure setting of body type.

Berlyne has found that subjects spend more time with more complex figures as compared to simpler ones. He approaches this finding from two directions, information theory and behavior theory. He says the human being requires more time to absorb more information and that complex figures have more information in them. From theory, he draws on Pavlov's "investigatory reflect." Berlyne says, "We should have to conclude that 'more complex' stimuli elicit the investigatory reflex more strongly than others..." He also talks in terms of a link between perceptual curiosity and attention. One Likewise, in examining the influence of stimulus complexity on free looking time and inspective exploration, Gaschk, Kintz and Thompson found that looking time increased with complexity. This tends to support the notion that more complex page design will increase the time spent with that page and, in turn, increase readership. Wohlwill

²⁹Adrienne Moffett, "Stimulus Complexity as a Determinant of Visual Attention in Infants," <u>Journal of Experimental Child Psychology</u>, Vol. 8 (1969), 173-179.

³⁰D. E. Berlyne, "The Influence of Complexity and Novelty in Visual Figures on Orienting Responses," <u>Journal of Experimental Psychology</u>, Vol. 55 (1958), 289-296.

³¹Judith A. Gaschk, B. L. Kintz and Richard W. Thompson, "Stimulus Complexity, Free Looking Time, and Inspective Exploration," Perception and Psychophysics, Vol. 4 (1968), 319-320.

was interested in taking the work of Berlyne, Day, Dember and others which relied on basically nonsense patterns and relating it to "more meaningful and aesthetically relevant ones." He found it could be done with virtually the same results. He also found that visual exploration increased with complexity. 32

Berlyne has suggested that as complexity increases, so does interest in the design. Evans supports Berlyne and says that increased complexity results in increased viewing time, which indicates epistemic, or knowledge-seeking, behavior in the form of directed thinking.³³ It would seem logical that if the subjects' state of arousal is increased by vertical design, his knowledge-seeking behavior may be to read the stories on the page in lieu of asking questions (a result suggested by both Berlyne and Evans). Therefore, if a vertical design is more complex than a horizontal design, and if interest increases with increased complexity, then readership of a vertical page will be greater than readership of a horizontal page. This points to the general hypothesis that complexity leads to greater attention and, hence, to increased readership, and, in turn, to the following specific hypotheses:

- H₁: Vertical headline display in a page design will result in greater readership of the stories on that page than of the same stories displayed with horizontal headlines.
- H₂: The use of 11-pica wide setting of body type in a page design will result in greater readership of the stories on that page than of the same stories displayed with wider measure setting.

³²Joachim F. Wohlwill, "Amount of Stimulus Exploration and Preference as Differential Functions of Stimulus Complexity," <u>Perception</u> and Psychophysics, Vol. 4 (1968), 307-312.

³³David R. Evans, "Conceptual Complexity, Arousal, and Epistemic Behaviour," Canadian Journal of Psychology, Vol. 24 (1970), 249-260.

H3: Vertical picture layout in a page design will result in greater readership of the stories on that page than of the same stories displayed with horizontal pictures.

Complexity and Interestingness/Pleasingness

In addition to the findings that as complexity increases so does interest in the design, Berlyne has stated that as complexity increases, the pleasingness of the design decreases. In one study he found that his subjects seemed to indicate that the more irregular patterns presented to them were more interesting and more arousal-raising. The less irregular patterns on the other hand were seen as more pleasing and arousal-reducing.³⁴ In yet another study involving semantic space, he established the idea that interestingness and pleasingness are both major elements in the complexity space and that complexity is a major determinant of these properties. 35 Day has also found that interest is directly related to complexity and that pleasingness is inversely related to complexity. 36 He also reports that as complexity increases, pleasingness decreases such that pleasingness is high at extremely low levels of complexity and low at extremely high levels of complexity. He points out, moreover, that interest increases with complexity to a peak and remains at a high level thereafter. He supports Berlyne's contention that pleasingness reflects arousal-reducing

³⁴D. E. Berlyne, "Complexity and Incongruity Variables as Determinants of Exploratory Choice and Evaluative Ratings," <u>Canadian Journal</u> of Psychology, Vol. 17 (1963), 274-290.

³⁵D. E. Berlyne, J. Ogilvie and L. Parham, "The Dimensionality of Visual Complexity, Interestingness and Pleasingness," <u>Canadian Journal</u> of Psychology, Vol. 22 (1969), 376-387.

³⁶H. Day, "The Importance of Symmetry and Complexity in the Evaluation of Complexity, Interest and Pleasingness," <u>Psychonomic Science</u>, Vol. 10 (1969), 339-340.

stimulus properties while interestingness reflects arousal-raising stimulus properties.³⁷ Eisenman's findings support Berlyne's that the more complex figures will also be judged more interesting, but he did not confirm Berlyne's findings that complexity and pleasingness vary inversely.³⁸ The same results were also found by Robeck.³⁹

However, in a later study Eisenman and Robinson found support for the negative correlation between complexity and pleasingness although they did find that their findings apply to high complexity.⁴⁰ In still another study by Berlyne it was found that the duration of exploratory behavior increases with complexity variables, and even though the subjects spent more time with the more complex figures, there was a tendency for the less complex figures to receive more verbally expressed preferences than the more complex figures.⁴¹ He was concerned at one time that perhaps his subjects spent more time with the more complex figures simply because they took longer to identify; in a replication of an earlier experiment he

³⁷H. Day, "Evaluation of Subjective Complexity, Pleasingness and Interestingness for a Series of Random Polygons Varying in Complexity," Perception and Psychophysics, Vol. 2 (1967), 281-286.

³⁸R. Eisenman, "Pleasing and Interesting Visual Complexity: Support for Berlyne," <u>Perceptual and Motor Skills</u>, Vol. 23 (1966), 1167-1170.

³⁹Robeck, "The Influence of Design Symmetry...," p. 47.

⁴⁰R. Eisenman and N. Robinson, "Complexity-Simplicity, Creativity, Intelligence, and Other Correlates," <u>Journal of Psychology</u>, Vol. 67 (1967), 331-334.

⁴¹D. E. Berlyne and G. Lawrence, "Effects of Complexity and Incongruity Variables on GSR, Investigatory Behavior and Verbally Expressed Preference," Journal of General Psychology, Vol. 71 (1964), 21-45.

lengthened exposure time from 10 seconds to two minutes with the same results—the subjects still spent more time with the more complex figures.⁴² Cizkova has also found that search time varies with complexity and the number of stimuli, or that the subjects spent more time with complex stimuli, thus indicating a greater interest in them.⁴³

These statements suggest the general hypothesis that vertical design of pages will be judged more interesting, but less pleasing than horizontal pages. This leads to the following hypotheses:

- H₄: A page using vertical headline display will be judged more interesting than one using horizontal headline display.
- H5: A page using 11-pica wide setting of body type will be judged more interesting than one using body-type setting wider than 11 picas.
- H₆: A page using vertical picture display will be judged more interesting than one using horizontal picture display.

Since both Berlyne and Day have pointed out that pleasingness is negatively correlated with interestingness in the presence of complexity, the following specific hypotheses are offered:

- H₇: A page using vertical headline display will be judged less pleasing than one using horizontal headline display.
- Hg: A page using 11-pica wide setting of body type will be judged less pleasing than one using body-type setting wider than 11 picas.
- Hg: A page using vertical pictures will be judged less pleasing than one using horizontal pictures.

⁴²D. E. Berlyne, "Supplementary Report: Complexity and Orienting Responses with Longer Exposures," <u>Journal of Experimental Psychology</u>, Vol. 56 (1958), 183.

⁴³Jitka Cizkova, "Effect of the Quantity and Complexity of Visual Stimuli on Operator's Search Activity," <u>Studia Psychologica</u>, Vol. 9 (1967), 241-247.

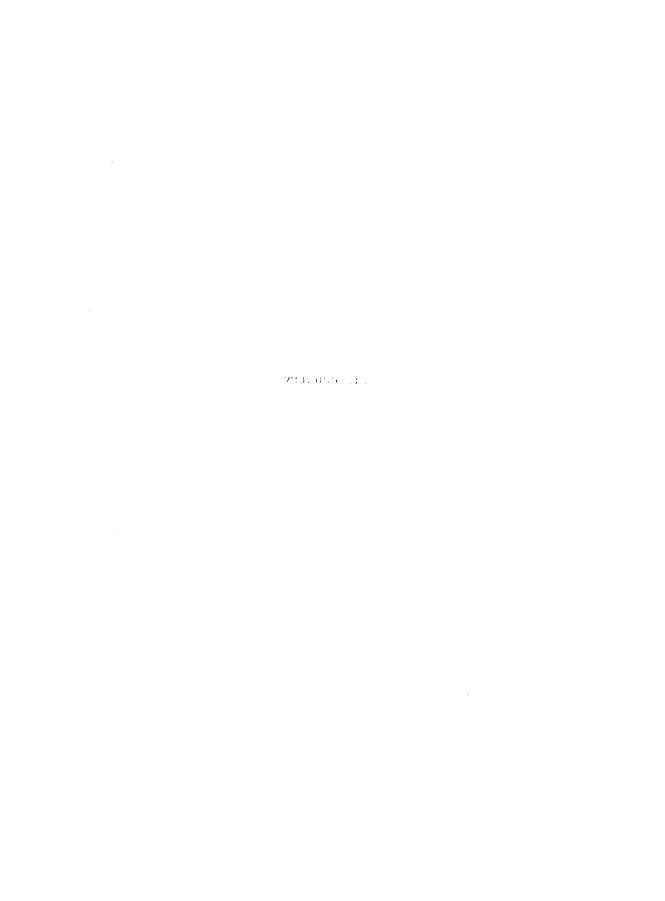
Although there are no research findings to offer as support, it is felt that the increased attention and increased readership resulting from vertical page design will lead to greater comprehension of the stories read. This general hypothesis suggests the following specific hypotheses:

- H₁₀: Vertical headline display in a page design will result in greater comprehension of the stories on that page than the same stories displayed with horizontal headlines.
- H₁₁: The use of 11-pica wide setting of body type in a page design will result in greater comprehension of the stories on that page than the same stories displayed with wider measure setting.
- H₁₂: Vertical picture layout in a page design will result in greater comprehension of the stories and pictures on that page than the same stories and pictures displayed with horizontal pictures.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPERIMENT

The most realistic vehicle for studying the relationship between newspaper design complexity and other variables, of course, would be a newspaper specially designed for the purpose. In the fall of 1971 the College of Journalism at the University of South Carolina began publication of an experimental laboratory newspaper, the Carolina Reporter. newspaper generally appears in tabloid format and has a limited circulation to campus departmental offices and various departments, schools and colleges of journalism across the country. Because of this limited circulation it was felt that while the student subjects might have heard of the paper they would not be likely to be too familiar with the Reporter and would lack any predisposition toward the newspaper. Therefore it was decided that the experimental vehicle would use the nameplate of the Reporter and would be a tabloid format as opposed to a full-sized, eightcolumn newspaper. Although it was of no particular scientific value, the tabloid format was useful in another area as well since it enabled the experimenter to personally set all copy for the experimental pages and to avoid as much as possible the occurrence of typographical errors with their potentially contaminating influence. The experimenter was required to set only about one-half the copy it would have taken to fill a full-sized page.



The offset process was used for the experimental vehicle because it offered superior quality of reproduction and allowed the use of typesetting and pasteup facilities at the College of Journalism. As with the typesetting, the experimenter performed the pasteup operation of the experimental pages to assure standardization of quality across all experimental versions.

As for contents, it was felt that the subject matter of the stories on the experimental page should be of such a nature that they could compete successfully with the stories on the three non-experimental pages of the tabloid newspaper. This was accomplished by asking a group of university students to indicate what contemporary areas of news were of the most interest to them. Using this information, the experimenter prepared the stories appearing on the experimental page of the newspaper. The pictures were taken by College of Journalism photography students and were arbitrarily selected on the basis of their general interest from among approximately 200 possibilities. The stories appearing on the three non-experimental pages of the tabloid newspaper were the products of various writing classes in the College of Journalism.

Overall Procedure

The overall procedures to be described hereafter were found to be viable through pre-test with a group of 45 subjects, divided into three subgroups of 15 subjects each. The prime task in the pre-test was to establish the optimum exposure time to the experimental newspaper. Each of the three subgroups involved in the pre-test was given different amounts of viewing time. Group I was allowed 20 minutes, Group II 15 minutes and Group III 10 minutes. It was determined that both the 20-minute and 15-minute reading periods allowed the subjects to proceed through the

newspaper once and then to go back into the paper for additional reading. The 10-minute reading period, on the other hand, allowed sufficient time for perusal of the four pages without permitting additional reading. Also, the experimental page's percentage of the total readership of the four pages was virtually unchanged across the three different reading periods--27.05 per cent for the 10-minute version, 23.91 per cent for the 15-minute version, and 27.41 per cent for the 20-minute reading period. Therefore, it was decided to allow a 10-minute exposure period in the actual experimental situation.

It was felt that since this study involved newspaper design, journalism students should be excluded from the experiment because their obvious interest in newspapers and newspaper layout could influence results. Therefore subjects for the experiment came from two sections of a course in contemporary fiction and three sections of a course in introductory psychology. This resulted in obtaining 144 subjects, 58 men and 86 women. A description of the subjects is in Table 1.

The experiment was performed in a classroom situation. The subjects were allowed to select their own seats and were given randomly ordered copies of the experimental newspaper. They were allowed 10 minutes in which to read the paper as established in pre-test. At the end of the 10-minute reading period, the subjects were told to stop reading and were provided with marking pencils. They were instructed to indicate their readership of each item on each page in their newspaper by marking a line through those portions read and to make no mark on those items they did not read. These marking instructions were not limited to the experimental page in an effort to avoid alerting the respondents to

TABLE 1.--Description of subjects: sex, age, education and courses from which recruited.

			Exper	imental Pa	Experimental Page Version	ц			Total
	1	2	м	4	ស	9	7	∞	
Sex: Male: Female:	7	8 10	7	თთ	6	6	7 11	8 10	58 86
Mean Age (in years)	19.3	20.3	20.1	20.1	20.2	19.9	19.7	19.7	19.9
Education (in semesters)									
1-2	9	9	10 4	10	11	11	10	11	81 39
5-6 7-8 9 or more	7	7	3 1	1 3	r	2		1 2	10 7 7
Courses From Which Subjects Were Recruited									
Contemporary Fiction Applied Psychology	7	7	7	6	6 12	6 12	6	6	51 93

the fact that this was the only page in which the experimenter was interested. It was felt that this would allow a more normal response to the experimental page.

When they had completed their marking tasks, the subjects were given instructions on the use of semantic differential-type rating scales and provided with a booklet of four 8-inch by 5-inch sheets of paper on each of which was a 7-point scale ranging from COMPLEX to SIMPLE. They were told to use sheet 1 of the booklet for page 1 of their newspaper, sheet 2 for page 2, etc. Ratings were also obtained in the same manner on each page of the paper on the PLEASING-DISPLEASING continuum and the INTERESTING-UNINTERESTING continuum.

On completion of this stage of the experiment, the newspapers were gathered from the subjects as were the three completed sets of rating scales, and subjects were provided with and instructed to respond to 18 multiple choice questions dealing with the five stories and one picture on the experimental page. Finally the subjects were asked to provide brief information of a personal, demographic nature. (See Appendix A.)

At this point, the nature of the study was discussed, the subjects were asked not to talk about the experiment with others, and then dismissed.

Construction of Experimental Vehicle

As mentioned earlier, it was decided to create a four-page tabloid newspaper to serve as the experimental vehicle. It was further established that the newspaper could contain no advertisements so as to control for the possible competition for attention between ads and news.

Three of the four pages in the newspaper (pages 1, 2, and 4) were the

same for all subjects. In order to test the various hypotheses eight versions of the experimental page (page 3) were created, ranging from an all-horizontal version to an all-vertical version varying the three experimental stimuli (headlines, width of body copy setting, and picture shape) one at a time. It was decided to use page 3 as the experimental page rather than, for instance, page 1 in order to avoid any possible sensitization as to the purpose of the experiment. The experimental stimuli in each version were as follows:

Version 1--horizontal headlines
horizontal picture
wide-measure setting
Version 2--horizontal headlines
vertical picture

Version 3--vertical headlines

vertical picture

wide-measure setting

wide-measure setting

Version 4--vertical headlines

horizontal picture

wide-measure setting

Version 5--horizontal headlines

horizontal picture

11-pica setting

Version 6--horizontal headlines

vertical picture

ll-pica setting

Version 7--vertical headlines

vertical picture

ll-pica setting

Version 8--vertical headlines

horizontal picture

11-pica setting

As outlined in Chapter I, the basic assumption is that the vertical versions of the page will be more complex in their design than the horizontal versions. To ensure that the only variables having an effect in the experiment would be those intended to do so by the experimenter, it was necessary to include certain controls. It has already been pointed out that pages 1, 2, and 4 were the same in content and appearances for all of the 144 subjects. It was also necessary to exercise control over the stories and headlines used on the experimental page. The stories in the eight versions of the experimental page are identical from page-topage, both in content and length, as is the wording and type size of the headlines under which they appear. The only thing varied is the verticalness or horizontalness of the display of the story and its headline. Thus, a four-column wide, 36-point, one-line headline (a horizontal display) can be made into a vertical element by cutting the headline in two and making it into a two-column, 36-point, two-line headline. Likewise, a five-column, 36-point, one-line headline (again, a horizontal display) can be transformed into a vertical element by cutting it into two parts and displaying it as a three-column, 36-point, two-line headline or by cutting it into three parts and letting it be a two-column, 36-point, threeline headline. In each instance the same words are used for the headline and in the same order. In this manner the verticalness or horizontalness

of the headline and story display can be varied while holding constant the content.

The body type used throughout the experimental vehicle was 9-point Bodoni Book with 1 point of leading. Width of body-type setting was varied between the vertical and horizontal versions of the experimental page with the horizontal versions using more wide-measure setting. For instance, the typical typewritten page of newspaper copy will provide a block of type approximately seven inches deep when it is set on a line of 11 picas width. The same page of typewritten copy will yield a block of type approximately three-and-a-half inches deep when it is set on a line of 22 picas width. The narrower setting appears more vertical than the wider setting. If one were to place this type in the same two-column wide by three-and-a-half inches deep hole on a page, he would have one block of type on the wider measure setting, but two blocks of type on the narrow, 11-pica setting. This treatment contributes to the increased complexity of the vertical display of the narrow, 11-pica setting both because more contour angles are created and because of the white space between the blocks of type. The wide-measure settings used varied from 17-picas width (almost three inches) to 23-picas (almost four inches) depending on the particular layout situation involved. (See experimental pages in Appendix B.)

As with headlines and body type, picture width was varied while holding content constant. The picture on the experimental page was actually two pictures, a two-column wide picture and a one-column wide picture. For horizontal display the pictures were placed side-by-side, and for vertical display the one-column picture was placed underneath the two-column picture.

The readership marking method of having subjects indicate what they have read by extending a line from the top of the headline through the last paragraph of the story they read has already been explained.

The "seen," "read any" and "read all" method was considered, but it was felt that, by definition, the system was too gross for this study. "Read any" readership is defined as reading the headlines of an item and at least the lead paragraph. "Read all" is defined as complete or virtually complete readership of the item. 44 The gap between reading the lead paragraph and reading the complete story is too wide to be useful here. Therefore it was decided to count each headline as one unit of readership, each paragraph as one unit of readership, each picture as one unit (the two-column portion of the picture and the one-column portion taken together as one unit), each headline on the cutlines for the picture as one unit, and the cutlines as one unit.

As mentioned earlier, each subject was required to rate his version of the experimental page on the three continuums of COMPLEX-SIMPLE, PLEASING-DISPLEASING and INTERESTING-UNINTERESTING. Again, to mask at this stage of the experiment that the experimenter was interested only in their judgments concerning page 3 of their newspaper, the subjects rated all four of the pages in their paper on the three continuums.

An eighteen-question multiple choice comprehension test was designed for the elements on the experimental page. Each of the five stories and the picture were represented with three questions. On each

⁴⁴Robert L. Jones and Leslie A. Beldo, 'Methodological Improvements in Readership Gathering," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, Vol. 30 (1953), 345-353.

question the respondent was required to select from four possible answers, including a "don't know" option. The three comprehension questions used on each news story and the picture were summed for a <u>total</u> "story comprehension index."

The data on complexity, interestingness, pleasingness, readership and comprehension were analyzed through multivariate analysis of variance.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

As outlined in Chapter I, this study attempts to measure the effect of Berlyne's complexity variable, represented by three independent variables—headline pattern (either horizontal or vertical), picture pattern (either horizontal or vertical), and body type setting width (either the vertical 11-pica width or the more horizontal wide-measure width)—on the four dependent variables of readership, comprehension, interestingness and pleasingness.

Data on Hypotheses Tests

Twelve hypotheses were formulated, and the data analyzed to determine whether or not these hypotheses were supported by the findings of the study. Discussion of these 12 hypotheses follows with the hypotheses grouped according to the dependent variable involved.

Page Design and Readership

It was predicted that the use of vertical headline patterns, vertical picture patterns and narrow measure (11-pica) setting width for body type would each result in higher readership of the stories on the pages so treated. None of the three hypotheses dealing with these predictions was supported by the data. The overall mean page readership scores for these different display versions were as follows:

Headline Pattern Horizontal (19.0) Vertical (19.3)

Picture Pattern Horizontal (19.0) Vertical (19.4)

Column Width Wide (18.5) Narrow (20.0)

Although the page readership mean scores were in the right direction, the use of analysis of variance showed that the F values of all main and interaction effects were non-significant.

Page Design and Interestingness

The hypotheses of Chapter I predicted, based on the findings of Berlyne and others that more complex designs are rated as more interesting than less complex designs, that those pages incorporating vertical headlines, vertical pictures, and narrow measure (11-pica) setting width for body type would be rated as more interesting than those pages pages using horizontal elements. None of the three hypotheses dealing with these predictions was supported by the data. The mean interestingness scores for these different display versions were as follows:

Headline Pattern Horizontal (4.7) Vertical (4.7)

Picture Pattern Horizontal (4.5) Vertical (4.3)

Column Width Wide (4.5) Narrow (4.4)

Using analysis of variance, the F values of all main and interaction effects were non-significant.

Page Design and Pleasingness

It was also predicted in Chapter I, again in keeping with the findings of Berlyne and others, that the vertical, more complex page designs would be rated by the subjects as less pleasing than the horizontal, more simple pages. None of the three hypotheses dealing with these predictions was supported by the data. The mean pleasingness scores for these different display versions were as follows:

Headline Pattern Horizontal (4.3) Vertical (4.4)

Picture Pattern Horizontal (4.5) Vertical (4.2)

Column Width Wide (4.3) Narrow (4.4)

Using analysis of variance, the F values of all main and interaction effects were non-significant.

Page Design and Comprehension

It was predicted in Chapter I that, even though there were no research findings to support such an inferential leap, the more vertical and complex page designs would lead to higher readership, and this higher readership would lead to greater comprehension of the stories so displayed. None of the three hypotheses dealing with these predictions was supported by the data. The mean comprehension scores (with the maximum possible comprehension score equalling 18.0) for these different display versions were as follows:

Headline Pattern Horizontal (7.4) Vertical (7.1)

Picture Pattern Horizontal (7.2) Vertical (7.2)

Column Width Wide (7.1) Narrow (7.3)

Using analysis of variance, the F values of all main and interaction effects were non-significant.

Data on Interactions

None of the overall page readership main effect or interaction findings was significant for any of the criterion variables. Further evaluation of the findings indicated that this may be because of the large variability in readership from story to story, as shown in Table 2. The better-read elements generally show the effect of the different page designs utilizing the three independent variables.

TABLE 2.--Mean page readership for each of four pages in experimental vehicle

Item	Mean Readership Units Available	Mean Readership Units Read	
Page 3:			
"GRAVATT" Story	10	1.8	18.0
"POLICE" Story	7	4.8	68.6
"SCPIRG" Story	5	1.7	34.0
"WOMEN'S LIB" Story	8	5.1	63.8
"HEALTH CENTER" Story	11	4.0	36.4
"SPIRES" Picture	3	1.8	60.0
TOTALPage 3	44	19.2	43.6
TOTALPage 1	45	28.0	62.2
TOTALPage 2	48	18.0	37.4
TOTALPage 4	46	16.7	36.4

Total N for each page = 144

These effects are shown through several significant interactions that will be discussed later. One of these significant interactions was found in the analysis of the readership of the "WOMEN'S LIB" story (percentage readership of 63.8%), one in the analysis of the "SPIRES" picture readership (percentage readership of 60.0%) and one in the "GRAVATT" story readership analysis (percentage readership of 18.0%). As seen in Table 2, the "POLICE" story had the highest percentage readership of any of the elements on the experimental page, but the analysis of the readership data for that story showed no significant effects for either the main effects variables or for first- and second-level interactions. Although the main effect of headline treatment and the interaction of

headline and picture treatment approached the .05 level of significance (.065 and .057, respectively), it is felt that the lack of significance can be explained by the fact that the story had such high reader interest that it was well-read regardless of its experimental treatment.

The data seem to suggest that the 12 hypotheses in Chapter I are too simple. All of them deal with the main effects of the three independent variables and it would appear that one cannot look at the effect of one of these variables without taking into consideration the effect of the other variables.

Readership scores were obtained and analyzed for each story on each version of the experimental page. In this analysis some significant results were found. In every case there was interaction between two of the three manipulated variables.

Headline Pattern, Width of Body Type Setting and Readership

As mentioned above, several significant first-level interactions appeared in the analysis of the readership data for the display elements on the experimental page. The first of these significant interactions occurred in the analysis of variance of the readership of the "GRAVATT" story between headline pattern and width of body type setting as shown in Table 3. An examination of the mean readership scores for the two variables (maximum possible readership score is 10.0) seems to explain the interaction (see Table 4). The significant interaction found in the "GRAVATT" analysis would seem to suggest that the interaction of headline pattern with body type setting width is a strong one. As shown in Table 2, the mean readership for the story is the lowest of any of the display elements on the experimental page (18.0%), yet the significant

TABLE 3.--Analysis of variance of "GRAVATT" story readership.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares d.f. Mean Square F	d.f.	Mean Square	ᄄ
Horizontal vs Vertical Headlines Error	5.44 1289.86	1 143	5.44	ı
Horizontal vs Vertical Pictures Error	9.00 1289.86	1 143	9.00	1
11-Pica vs Wide Measure Body Type Setting Error	3.36 1289.86	1 143	3.36 9.02	r
Hori, vs Vert. Heads/Hori, vs Vert. Pics. Error	1.36 1289.86	1 143	1.36 9.02	ı
Hori. vs Vert. Pics./ll-Pica vs Wide Measure Error	32.11 1289.86	1 143	32.11 9.02	1
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/11-Pica vs Wide Measure Error	53.78 1289.86	1 143	53.78 9.02	5.96*
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/Hori. vs Vert. Pics/ 11-Pica vs Wide Measure Error	. 25 1289.86	1 143	.25	ı
Remaining Error	1226.44	136	9.02	

*Significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 4.--Mean readership scores on "GRAVATT" story for horizontal vs vertical headlines and 11-pica vs wide measure body type setting (maximum readership score = 10.00)

		——————————————————————————————————————		
		Head	lines	
		Horizontal	Vertical	Mean
Width of Body	Wide Measure	2.75	1.14	1.95
Type Setting	11-Pica	1.22	2.06	1.64
	Mean	1.99	1.60	
N per ce	11 = 36			

interaction appeared. The data (Table 4) indicate that verticality of headline display works with verticality (narrow measure setting) of body type to increase readership, and that horizontalness of headline display works with horizontalness (wide measure setting) of body type to increase readership of the story so displayed. The mean readership scores also suggest that, for a top-of-the-page story, horizontal headline and wide measure body type display will serve to increase readership over any other combination of headline and body type display. It should be noticed that the horizontal headline display on the experimental pages used in this study places the headline and lead paragraphs of the "GRAVATT" story in what has been traditionally accepted as the primary optical area of a page, the upper left corner (see Appendix B).

Headline Pattern, Picture Pattern and Readership

Another significant interaction was found in the analysis of variance of the readership of the "WOMEN's LIB" story between headline pattern and picture pattern. This significant interaction can be seen in Table 5 and is explained in Table 6 where the maximum possible readership score is 8.0. Unlike the interaction in the "GRAVATT" story where like element went with like element, here an opposite kind of interaction was found. In this interaction the readership means indicate that vertical headline pattern interacts with horizontal picture pattern to increase readership and horizontal headline pattern interacts with vertical picture pattern to provide higher readership.

Picture Pattern, Width of the Body Type Setting and Readership

The third significant interaction is to be found in the analysis of variance of the readership of the "SPIRES" picture and can be seen in Table 7. The mean readership scores in Table 8, where the maximum possible readership score is 3.0, seem to explain the interaction. Again, as in the two previous significant interactions, the effects are reversed. Also, as in the previous interaction of headline pattern and picture pattern and its effect on the readership of the "WOMEN'S LIB" story, the pairing of unlike elements seems to enhance readership. The vertical picture in conjunction with wide measure body type and the horizontal picture used with narrow measure body type appear to result in increased readership.

TABLE 5.--Analysis of variance of "WOMEN'S LIB" story readership.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	ഥ
Horizontal vs Vertical Headlines	4.69	1	4.69	1
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
Horizontal vs Vertical Pictures	3.36	1	3.36	ı
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
11-Picavs Wide Measure Body Type Setting	8.03	1	8.03	ı
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/Hori. vs Vert. Pics	58.78	1	58.78	4.95*
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
Hori. vs Vert. Pics/11-Pica vs Wide Measure	2.78	1	2.78	ſ
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
Hori, vs Vert. Heads/11-Pica vs Wide Measure	13.44	1	13.44	ı
Error	1697.41	143	11.87	
Hori.vs Vert. Heads/Hori. vs Vert. Pics/ 11-Pica vs Wide Measure Error	6.25 1697.41	1 143	6.25 11.87	ı
Remaining Error	1614.22	136	11.87	

*Significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 6.--Mean readership scores on "WOMEN'S LIB" for horizontal vs vertical headlines and horizontal vs vertical pictures (Maximum readership score = 8.0)

	144 - 15 - 15 - 15 - 15 - 15	*************************************	·		
	Head	lines			
	Horizontal	Vertical	Mean		
Horizontal	4.44	5.36	5.40		
Picture					
Vertical	6.03	4.39	5.21		
Mean	5.24	5.38			
Mean	3.27	3.30			
N per cell = 36					

TABLE 7.--Analysis of variance of "SPIRES" picture readership.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	<u>;r.</u>
Horizontal vs Vertical Headlines Error	.17 235.95	1 143	.17	ı
Horizontal vs Vertical Pictures	2.01	1	2.01	1
Error	235.95	143	1.65	
11-Pica vs Wide Measure Body Type Setting	5.06	1	5.06	1
Error	235.95	143	1.65	
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/Hori. vs Vert. Pics	1.56	1	1.56	1
Error	235.95	143	1.65	
Hori, vs Vert. Pics/11-Pica vs Wide Measure	6.67	1	6.67	4.06*
Error	235.95	143	1.65	
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/11-Pica vs Wide Measure	1.56	1	1.56	1
Error	235.95	143	1.65	
Hori. vs Vert. Heads/Hori. vs Vert. Pics/ 11-Pica vs Wide Measure Error	1.56	1 143	1.56 1.65	ı
Remaining Error	223.72	136	1.65	

*Significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 8.--Mean readership scores on "SPIRES" picture for horizontal vs vertical picture and 11-pica vs wide measure body type setting (maximum readership score = 3.00).

		Pic	ture	
		Horizontal	Vertical	Mean
Width of Body	Wide Measure	1.50	1.69	1.60
Type Setting	11-Pica	2.31	1.64	1.98
	Mean	1.91	1.67	
N per cel	1 = 36			

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

Summary of the Study

This study could be viewed as the natural outgrowth of almost a decade of frustration and doubt in the teaching of newspaper layout and design at various institutions of higher education. Any teacher of future mass media practitioners who has been fortunate enough to have even minimal exposure to the theory and findings of communication research must admit that he is at times plagued with uncertainty about the quality of the information and techniques he is passing on to his students. Those who instruct in newspaper design are doubly afflicted because the skills they teach will be used as the culmination of the combined efforts of an entire newspaper staff in trying to reach its audience with information. What they teach determines in large measure how the product, the news, will be packaged. Since they are competing with an enormous variety of stimuli for the attention of their audience and for that audience's time, packaging assumes increased importance.

For such teachers, the problem ultimately boils down to a relatively simple question: "Do the design techniques I am passing along as 'gospel' really make any difference at all?" The experiment reported here attempted to provide some initial insights in the area of newspaper design. Three design variables were selected for study--horizontal and vertical headline pattern, horizontal and vertical picture pattern, and 11-pica (almost two inches) and wide measure body type setting width.

The wide measure setting width varied from 17 picas (almost three inches) to 23 picas (almost four inches). Various combinations of these three variables were examined for their effect on readership, comprehension, rated interestingness and rated pleasingness.

The basic theoretical framework for the study evolved from the work of psychologist D. E. Berlyne with a stimulus variable he identified as complexity. Essentially Berlyne says that increased pattern complexity leads to increased uncertainty which in turn produces increased conflict and arousal for the subject. The subject, finding himself with these unacceptable levels of conflict and arousal, will attempt to decrease them to an acceptable point. It was felt in the present study that the subjects would try to lower these high levels of conflict and arousal through increased looking behavior. It was anticipated that this increased looking behavior would result in increased readership and ultimately in greater comprehension of the material on the experimental page.

Berlyne's considerable efforts in coming to grips with the complexity variable have been supported and expanded upon by Attneave who offers strong evidence that one of the key components of complexity is the number of contours in the design. For instance, in one study of the judgments of complexity he reported that contour variables explained 73.7 per cent of the variance accounted for.⁴⁵ He suggested that a higher number of contours and angles in a design causes more excitations of the eye cells that respond to the onset or termination of

⁴³Attneave, "Some Informational Aspects . . ."

illumination. Later studies by Hall⁴⁶ and Robeck⁴⁷ have offered further support for the findings of Berlyne and Attneave concerning the positive relationship between design contour and rated complexity.

The research work of Berlyne and others has also indicated a linkage between complexity of design and rated interestingness and pleasingness. For instance, Day^{48} has offered support for Berlyne's findings⁴⁹ that interestingness is directly related to design complexity and pleasingness is inversely related to complexity.

In order to test the effect of newspaper design complexity on readership, comprehension, interestingness and pleasingness, a fourpage tabloid newspaper was constructed. Three of the four pages (pages 1, 2 and 4) were the same for all 144 subjects. Page 3 was selected as the experimental page so as to avoid as much as possible the problem of sensitization of the subjects as to the purpose of the study. There were eight versions of the experimental page on each of which complexity was manipulated through varying the combinations of the three independent variables one at a time from an all-horizontal page design (i.e., horizontal headlines, horizontal picture and wide measure body type setting) to an all-vertical page (i.e., vertical headlines, vertical picture and 11-pica body type setting). It was felt that the all-vertical experimental page version offered the maximum in complexity since it contained

⁴⁶Hall, "Measures of the Complexity . . ."

⁴⁷Robeck, "The Influence of Design Symmetry . . ."

⁴⁸Day, "The Importance of Symmetry . . ."

⁴⁹Berlyne, et al., "The Dimensionality of Visual . . ."

the largest number of layout blocks (one of Berlyne's criteria for complexity) and the largest number of contours. Through a series of procedures outlined in Chapter II the subjects provided responses as to the readership and comprehension of the six display elements on their version of the experimental page as well as their ratings of the complexity, interestingness and pleasingness of the version of page 3 to which they were exposed.

Based on the research findings of Berlyne, Attneave, Day, Hall and others, 12 hypotheses were formulated and tested. Vertical headlines, vertical pictures and 11-pica wide body type setting were expected to result in increased readership and comprehension and to lead to higher ratings of interestingness but lower ratings of pleasingness. None of these 12 hypotheses were supported by the data. There were, however, three significant interactions found in the analyses of variance for the readership of the six display elements used on the experimental page. Before these significant interactions are discussed, some effort should be made to explain just why the hypotheses of Chapter I failed to receive support. Given the benefit of hindsight, it would appear that the 12 hypotheses were too simple. Each of them deals with a main effect of the three independent variables. The data suggest that these variables, taken by themselves, are simply not strong enough to produce any significant effect on the four dependent variables. The significant interactions seem to indicate that none of the three main effects variables can be considered in isolation, but rather must be viewed in conjunction with the other variables. They do not work alone to produce a significant effect, but they can and do work together. The reversal of effects as shown in Tables 4, 6 and 8 serves to strengthen the notion that the problem is much more complicated than originally thought.

Headline Pattern, Width of Body-Type Setting and Readership

An analysis of variance for the readership of the "GRAVATT" story revealed a significant interaction between headline pattern, either horizontal or vertical, and width of body type setting, either wide measure or narrow measure (11-pica). As mentioned in Chapter III, this interaction seems to be a strong one since it came from a story that had the lowest readership of any display element on the experimental page. It also should be pointed out that the "GRAVATT" story was the lead story on the page across all versions. In the horizontal versions it was spread across the top of the five-column page, and in the vertical version it occupied the upper-right three columns. The data indicate that verticality of headline display interacts with verticality of body type setting (11-pica width), and horizontalness of headline display works with wide measure setting (19-pica width in this case) to increase readership. The mixing of these elements tends to impede readership (i.e., horizontal headline with vertical body type setting and vice versa).

An examination of the different versions of the experimental page (see Appendix B) offers some points of conjecture as to why this particular interaction of variables might have occurred. For instance, in versions 1, 2, 5 and 6 the "GRAVATT" story is displayed horizontally thus placing the beginning of its headline and its lead paragraph in what has traditionally been the primary optical area of a page, the upper left corner. In versions 3, 4, 7 and 8 the "GRAVATT" story receives a more vertical display and is not located in the upper left corner, but in the upper right. The four horizontal display versions had a mean readership

score of 2.0 while that of the four vertical display versions was 1.6. When the "GRAVATT" story was displayed vertically, the upper left corner was occupied by another story and headline, "POLICE." In the horizontal displays, the "POLICE" story was under the "GRAVATT" story on a five-column headline. The mean readership score for the four vertical display versions of "POLICE" where the headline and story were in the upper left corner was 5.3 while the horizontal mean readership score was 4.4. This would seem to indicate that placing a story in the upper left corner of a newspaper page can influence its readership.

There is another characteristic of the various "GRAVATT" display forms that seems to offer some insight into just what is operating in this interaction. As can be seen in page versions 1 and 2 in Appendix B, the "GRAVATT" display offers the reader three wide, shallow blocks of body type wile versions 5 and 6 present him with five narrow, shallow blocks. To the experimenter's eye, the three blocks seem to be less forbidding than the five blocks. Table 9 indicates that the mean readership scores of the "GRAVATT" story for versions 1 and 2 are higher than those for versions 5 and 6 (2.2 and 3.3 as opposed to 1.5 and 0.9, respectively). In vertical version 4, the "GRAVATT" story is presented in two wide, equally deep blocks of type while in vertical version 8 it is displayed in three narrow, equally deep blocks with the three narrow blocks receiving a better mean readership score (2.2) than the two wide blocks (0.3). This would seem to indicate that the subjects prefer their wide measure type in shallow blocks and their narrow measure type in deep blocks.

TABLE 9.--Mean experimental page display elements readership scores for each experimental page version.

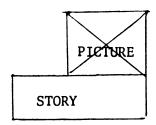
Experimental				Mean Element Ro	Mean Element Readership Scores		
Page Version	GRAVATT POLICE	POLICE	SCPIRG	WOMEN'S LIB	HEALTH CENTER	SPIRES	Mean Page Readership
1	2.2	3.4	1.3	4.4	3.5	.1	16.0
2	3.3	.5	1.4	6.2	5.0	1.8	23.0
23	2.0	4.3	1.6	3.5	4.2	1.6	17.2
4	0.3	5.4	2.1	5.2	3.0	1.8	17.8
ß	1.5	4.2	1.8	4.4	4.7	2.4	19.1
9	6.0	4.6	1.6	5.9	2.9	1.8	17.7
7	1.9	5.6	1.2	5.3	4.3	1.5	19.8
8	2.2	5.8	2.6	5.6	4.6	2.2	23.0
Mean	1.8	4.8	1.7	5.1	4.0	1.8	

While the differences in readership are not great, the same principle seems to be operating in the other longer stories on the experimental page where the body type is presented in equally deep blocks (i.e., the "HEALTH CENTER" story in versions 4 and 8; "WOMEN'S LIB" in versions 1 and 2 versus versions 5 and 6, version 3 versus version 7, and version 4 versus version 8; etc.).

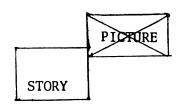
Headline Pattern, Picture Pattern and Readership

Unlike the above significant interaction between headline pattern and body type setting width in the readership of the "GRAVATT" story which indicated that like pattern went with like pattern, the significant interaction in the readership of the "WOMEN'S LIB" story between headline pattern and picture pattern shows an opposite effect. Here it seems that combinations of "unlike" patterns work best to increase readership. In other words, vertical headline pattern interacts with horizontal picture pattern and horizontal headline pattern with vertical picture pattern when a high readership score is produced.

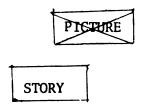
It appears that how the story is placed on the page in relation to the picture has an influence on the story's readership (see Figure 1). For instance, the highest mean readership scores for the "WOMEN'S LIB" story occur in versions 2 and 6 of the experimental page. In these two versions the picture impinges on the top of the story's headline suggesting that perhaps the eye sees the picture, reads the accompanying explanatory material (the cutlines) and then is led into the headline of the story. By comparison, in versions 3 and 7 the story is separated from the cutlines of the picture by a portion of the picture itself. Table 9 shows that the mean readership scores for the story in these two versions are lower



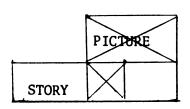
Experimental Page Versions 2 and 6



Experimental Page Versions 4 and 8



Experimental Page Versions 1 and 5



Experimental Page Versions 3 and 7

Figure 1.--Placement of picture in relation to "WOMEN'S LIB" story by experimental page version.

than the scores for page versions 2 and 6. Similarly, it can be seen that whenever the "WOMEN'S LIB" headline impinges in any way on the cutline material for the picture, whether under it (as in versions 2 and 6), or beside it (as in versions 4 and 8), the story has better readership than when the headline is separated from the cutline material as in versions 3 and 7 (separated by picture itself) and versions 1 and 5 (separated by another story).

It seems that another phenomenon is operating here as well. Those pages that offer a horizontal headline/vertical picture combination appear to offer more visual contrast between their horizontal and vertical rectangles than do the "like" combinations, thus contributing to higher readership.

Picture Pattern, Width of Body Type Setting and Readership

Picture pattern and the width of body type setting interacted significantly in the readership of the "SPIRES" picture, but as with the "WOMEN'S LIB" story there was a reversal of effect. Horizontal picture pattern combined with vertical body type setting (11-pica width) and vertical picture pattern with horizontal body type setting (wide measure width) seem to increase readership of the picture and its accompanying explanatory material (its cutlines). As with the readership of the WOMEN'S LIB" story, it is felt that contrast is involved in this effect. The horizontal picture pattern appears to contrast well with the vertical, narrow blocks of 11-pica wide type as does the vertical picture shape with the wide measure setting. Although there were no significant findings in the analysis of variance of total page readership, one of the interactions did approach significance (.086)--that of picture pattern and width of

body type setting. This, too, showed a reversal of effect. This particular interaction very nearly overcame the weakening effect of the low readership received by some of the elements on the experimental page.

Theoretical Implications

When, after careful and painstaking construction and execution of an experiment, it is found that none of the thoughtfully formulated hypotheses was supported by the data, there is a compelling need to pause, to reconsider. Were there lapses in theoretical construction? Was there faulty reasoning involved? In short, what happened?

It has already been pointed out that one of the most basic problems with the 12 hypotheses of Chapter I is that they are too simple. They are written in terms of direct, main effects, but the data indicate the problem is much more complicated than that. The hypotheses should have been written with interaction of variables in mind. Another point that may have contributed to the lack of finding significant direct effects is that simplicity in newspaper design may be harder to come by than the experimenter suspected.

As outlined in Chapter I, one of the goals in the design of this study was to create experimental page layouts that varied in their complexity. Apparently this was an unsuccessful effort since the respondents rated all the pages as being slightly complex. It was stated early in this study that "any inferential leap from studies dealing with the nonsense pattern preferences of rats, baby chicks and children to an investigation of the effects of newspaper layout and design on the reading habits of adults requires that the investigator place himself on the extreme end of a wind-tossed branch." It is felt that this inferential leap represents part of the difficulty of this experiment.

Most of the studies reported in Chapter I were the result of experimentation involving nonsense stimuli. Even in those experiments where other than children or infants were used as subjects, the stimuli were nonsense patterns. It is felt that these nonsense stimuli presented the experimenters with an inherent advantage since the subjects could have no preconceived dispositions toward the stimuli. Such is not the case with newspapers. Most people cut their reading "eye teeth" on the funny papers and have been reading a newspaper with varying regularity since their early childhood years. Indeed, in retrospect, only an extreme optimist could have expected simple manipulation of single variables to cut through this strongly reinforced, built-in predisposition to newspaper design. That the interacting variables were able to show an effect indicates the strength of their combinations.

This study offers no support for Berlyne's conceptualization of complexity as a variable or for the findings of many probings of complexity inspired by Berlyne's work. The fault may not lie in Berlyne's theory, but in the experimenter's failure to provide designs of sufficient simplicity. Although the idea of what design variables to use came from Berlyne's theories, the elements used did not produce the complexity expected on the basis of his definitions. In fact, the version that was considered the most simple by his definitions received the highest "perceived complexity" scores (see Table 10). The complexity ratings might even suggest findings in the opposite direction of those hypothesized. This did not occur. The main effects that were found were not significant and the observed means from hypothesis to hypothesis were very similar and did not show any general direction. One of the reasons for this may be indicated by the fact that the only significant differences found

TABLE 10. -- Mean ratings of pleasingness, interestingness and complexity for different levels of designed page complexity.

Complexity	4.8	4.4	4.4	4.3
Interestingness	4.9	4.6	4.7	3.6
Pleasingness	4.2	4.4	4.6	3.9
Degree of Complexity*	0	1	2	м

* Row "0" represents the mean ratings of complexity, pleasingness, and interestingness for experimental page version 1 which has none of those elements of complexity outlined by Berlyne. Row "1" represents the mean of the means of the ratings of complexity, pleasingness and interestingness for experimental page versions 2, 4, and 5 which have one element of complexity.

Row "2" represents the mean of the means of the ratings of complexity, pleasingness and interestingness for experimental page versions 3, 6, and 8 which have two elements of complexity.

Row "3" represents the mean ratings of complexity, pleasingness and interestingness for experimental page version 7 which has three elements of complexity.

were interactions between two independent variables, which usually tends to neutralize any possible main effect. It is felt that this lack of any real perceived range in the complexity of the experimental pages as far as the subjects were concerned contributed directly to the lack of support for the hypotheses dealing with rated pleasingness and interestingness.

It is felt that another reason for the lack of support by the data for the hypotheses dealing with rated pleasingness and interestingness is that the hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the findings by Berlyne and others that pleasingness and interestingness are negatively correlated. In this study, not only are the two ratings not negatively correlated, but they show a moderate positive relationship (r = .54). Thus, while it was anticipated that because of the varying levels of design complexity the subjects would respond in different ways to the pages as being interesting or pleasing, as far as they were concerned the two sets of polar opposite adjectives (pleasing-displeasing and interesting-uninteresting) were measuring substantially the same thing. This positive correlation between rated pleasingness and interestingness would seem to serve as a contradiction to at least a part of Berlyne's theory.

The data also indicate a definite, but small relationship between overall readership of the experimental page and rated interestingness (r=.22). Even though this is a low correlation, it still reveals a small, positive relationship. The correlation between readership of the experimental page and rated pleasingness was almost negligible (r=.11).

In addition to the problem of using a basically different stimulus than previous studies had used, there is another difficulty involved with its subjects. Most of the early work on complexity, pleasingness and interestingness by Berlyne, Attneave and others was performed using infants and children as subjects. This experiment used college students as subjects,

most studies that have done so have come up with mixed support for Berlyne's findings. As reported in Chapter I, Frances has even found that different types of adults (students and workers) respond differently to complexity. This is not to say that one should allow children and infants to set the standards for complexity. Rather the differentiating limits of complexity, perhaps through age or education or a combination of both, or even other variables, should be established through continuing experimentation. The homogeneity of the subjects used in this study may have served as a restriction on the variability of the rated pleasingness and interestingness scores.

There are at least two other differences between this experiment and those that have been performed earlier in the study of complexity. In the previous studies the subjects have been in a forced exposure situation, while in this investigation exposure to the experimental stimuli was voluntary. This voluntary exposure also involved considerably more time than was used in earlier studies. Most of the previous findings had exposure times of considerably less than one minute, generally in the vicinity of 10 seconds. While no effort was made in the present experiment to check the amount of time the subjects spent with the experimental page, the total exposure time for the four-page tabloid newspaper was 10 minutes, and it is felt that the subjects probably spent in excess of two minutes on page 3. It could also be that a different approach to the experiment using the eye camera techniques described by Robeck⁵⁰ would have resulted in other findings.

From the findings of this study, the following general conclusions appear to be in order in the consideration of newspaper design and its effect on readership:

⁵⁰Robeck, "The Influence of Design Symmetry . . ."

- 1. In horizontal page display, the combination of horizontal headlines with wide measure body type setting will result in increased readership of the lead story on the page.
- 2. In vertical page display, the combination of vertical headlines with narrow measure body type setting will result in increased readership of the lead story on the page.
- 3. The combination in page design of horizontal headlines with vertical pictures will result in increased readership of the elements so displayed.
- 4. The combination in page design of vertical headlines with horizontal pictures will result in increased readership of the elements so displayed.
- 5. Stories displayed so that their headlines impinge on the accompanying explanatory material for the pictures on that page will have higher readership than stories that are separated from the pictures' accompanying explanatory material.
- 6. The combination in page design of wide measure body type setting with vertical pictures will result in increased readership of the display elements on that page.
- 7. The combination in page design of narrow measure body type setting with horizontal pictures will result in increased readership of the display elements on that page.

Practical Applications of Findings

It was mentioned in Chapter I that current newspaper layout and design principles are largely the result of the "gut feeling" pronouncements of a few men. This study has the advantage of having scientifically checked some of these principles and their effect on readership. The general conclusions listed above offer some potentially useful techniques for the professional newspaper designer. The significant interactions reported in Chapter III also seem to provide some pointers for the practitioner.

For instance, these interaction findings indicate that the professional newspaper designer would do well to take into consideration that design principles work in combination and not singly. What the subjects in this experiment appeared to respond best to, as evidenced by their increased

readership in certain situations, is a contrast in shape between various display elements. It also appears that the upper left corner of a newspaper page is a potent location for a display element insofar as enhancing its probability of readership is concerned.

The pulling power of a picture is another consideration that should not be overlooked if one is interested in increasing the readership of a story. It appears that if the headline of a story impinges on the cutline material for a picture the story will be better read than if it does not. Although picture cutlines are traditionally displayed under the picture, there is really no reason why they must always appear in that position. For instance, if the layout man has an important story that he wishes to display to the right of a picture, the readership of that story might well be increased by placing the cutlines on the right side of the picture-between the picture and the story.

When a decision is being made on how to display a story, there are basically two forms that the display can take. It can either be in wide-shallow or narrow-deep rectangular shape. This study indicates that readership is enhanced if the wide-shallow combination uses wide measure body type setting or if narrow measure setting is used in the narrow-deep situation. The use of narrow measure body type setting in the wide-shallow combination and wide measure setting with the narrow-deep pairing should be avoided. It would also appear that care should be taken in matching picture shape with the width of body type setting around it. As with magnets, opposites attract. Higher reader attention, as indicated by increased readership, seems to be the result of using wide measure setting around vertical pictures or narrow measure setting with horizontal pictures.

The mean readership scores given in Table 2 of Chapter III should sound a note of warning for anyone who sees page design as the ultimate

determiner of readership. It would seem that, generally, subject matter of the story will determine its readership with some potential assistance from careful design. As an example, the "WOMEN'S LIB" story readership was increased when it appeared under the picture on the experimental page.

Placement under the picture, however, did not help the readership of the "HEALTH CENTER" story. The readership of the "GRAVATT" story in the different experimental page versions which produced the significant interaction between headline pattern and width of body type setting indicates that display can be of assistance in drawing attention to stories of less interesting subject matter.

Another reason for exercising caution before drawing too many conclusions from the results of this study is that the experiment examines the effect of the different display variables in a tabloid format. It is possible that other results could be obtained if the experimental vehicle were a full-size, eight-column newspaper. There could be a difference in the way the reader responds to the varying size of the two formats.

"If I Had It To Do Again. . ."

Regardless of how carefully one thinks through a problem before tackling it, there always seems to come a time after the deed is done where one says: "If I had it to do again . . ." Such is the case here.

When intact groups are used as subjects, there is a tendency to wish that a more representative sample could have been obtained. It is extremely doubtful that any non-campus newspaper in the world has as its average reader a 19-year-old female who is a rising sophomore in college. Might a sample of subjects that was more nearly typical of the average newspaper reader have produced different results? Research findings reported in Chapter I and alluded to earlier in this chapter suggest that

such might be the case. It could be that the independent variables used in this study are perceived differently in newspaper design by persons of varying age, sex, education, etc.

The fact that the subjects in this study perceived all of the experimental designs as being slightly complex seems to indicate that greater effort is needed in the production of a simple newspaper design. Perhaps it would be useful at the design stage to have the pages being considered for inclusion in the experimental vehicle rated for their perceived complexity. This might serve to ensure a more reasonable testing of Berlyne's theory of complexity and its effect on rated pleasingness and interestingness.

As mentioned earlier, it is felt that the low readership of some of the stories on the experimental page tended to decrease the chance of any significant differences being found in the overall page readership. It is felt that the time lapse between setting the experiment up and the gathering of data caused some of the stories to be of lesser interest than others. It has been pointed out earlier that students were allowed to indicate those areas of news that were of the most interest to them. This information was used in selecting and writing the stories that appeared on the experimental page. Unfortunately, by the time the experiment was run, at least two of the subject areas ("GRAVATT" and "SCPIRG") had largely lost the interest of the students. Perhaps general readership would be increased if the stories used were on longer-lasting interest topics such as the "POLICE" and "WO-MEN'S LIB" articles. It is also felt that great care must be taken in the writing of headlines for stories in such an experiment. In retrospect, the headlines "When Police Stumble, Public Often at Fault" and "Praise, Blame Tossed at 'Lib'" seem to possess more inherent interest than "SCPIRG Forming" and "Infirmary Expansion Scheduled." The readership percentages in

Table 2 are considerably higher for the stories under the first two headlines than for the latter two.

Finally, it is obvious that the original hypotheses should have included the notion of potential interaction of variables. As has been mentioned several times already, the relationship between newspaper design and readership is nowhere nearly as simple as originally thought, but involves an intricate and complicated blending of stimulus variables.

Future Research

All one has to do is to check this particular section of most master's and doctoral theses and he realizes that experiments generally tend to provide more questions than answers. This experiment was no exception.

The possibility of linking a study of this sort with the precision of eye camera research is an intriguing one. As mentioned before, the data in this experiment seem to indicate that the relationship of a picture to the display elements around it can have an effect on readership. It would be most interesting to use an eye camera to test the eye-directing power of pictures and their accompanying explanatory material in various combinations. The same approach could be used to check the attention-getting potential of the different combinations of typographical devices available to the designer.

The layout techniques used in this study are fairly standard ones that are used by most newspapers. It is felt that the majority of these techniques evolved out of an attempt to operate within the restrictions of the "hot metal" printing process. There are other techniques, however, that have been made available to newspapers with the advent of offset, or "cold type" printing. Many of the design procedures that were formerly open only to magazines can now be adapted to newspaper production. Much useful research could be performed in the area of comparing newspaper design prin-

ciples with those of magazines in an effort to determine if there is a differential effect on readership. It is commonly held, for instance, among magazine layout practitioners that the eye can be guided through a display by the careful placement of pictures, blocks of type and the use of white space. Can this assumption be supported scientifically? Is it adaptable to newspaper design? Do the relative sizes of magazine pages, tabloid-size newspaper pages and full-size newspaper pages have anything to do with their readership or lack of it. In fact, would there be a differential readership of stories displayed in magazine format as compared with those same stories in standard newspaper layout style?

Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that the findings indicate that the respondents may have been responding, at least in part, to the shape of the various displays. It would be possible to design a study using offset pasteup that would hold constant the number of angles present in the design but would vary the shapes of the display elements. It could be that contrast of shape is an important variable in the effect of newspaper design on readership. Perhaps the pages that systematically combine horizontal and vertical rectangles in their design are more attention getting than those pages that do not do so. Can the amount of white space in and around display elements heighten the visual perception of contrasting shape? Miles Tinker, for instance, has reported that the amount of leading or white space between lines of type in books can influence the readibility of type. 51 If contrasting shapes can influence readership, must they be rectangular shapes or could they perhaps be circles, triangles, squares or curves in various combinations?

Another interesting extension of the present experiment would be to examine newspaper readership as an element of choice behavior. For

⁵¹Miles A. Tinker, <u>Legibility of Print</u> (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963).

instance, after designing several newspaper pages that are radically different from each other, expose the subjects to the pages in a "newsstand" situation. Once the subjects have made their choice as to which page they prefer, carefully structured interviewing could determine what design elements on the page led them to select it over the other alternatives. As has been mentioned earlier, the design changes involving the independent variables in the present study were apparently too subtle to result in any significantly different effect on the dependent variable of readership. The design differences in a study of this sort would be much more obvious, thus providing the subject with a more readily discernible choice.

Page design is obviously only one of the considerations in what people read in their newspapers. There are also the areas of headlines and writing styles. It is not that these points have not been studied. Tannenbaum, for instance, has investigated the effects of headlines on the "superficial reader." Griffin, 53 Schramm 4 and Rarick, 55 among others, have looked into the response of readers to the inverted pyramid style of writing that is the standard mode of presentation for news stories. The problem is that these two areas have not been sufficiently studied. Any program of research that seeks to gain a better understanding of just

⁵²Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Effect of Headlines on the Interpretation of News Stories," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 30 (1953), 189-197.

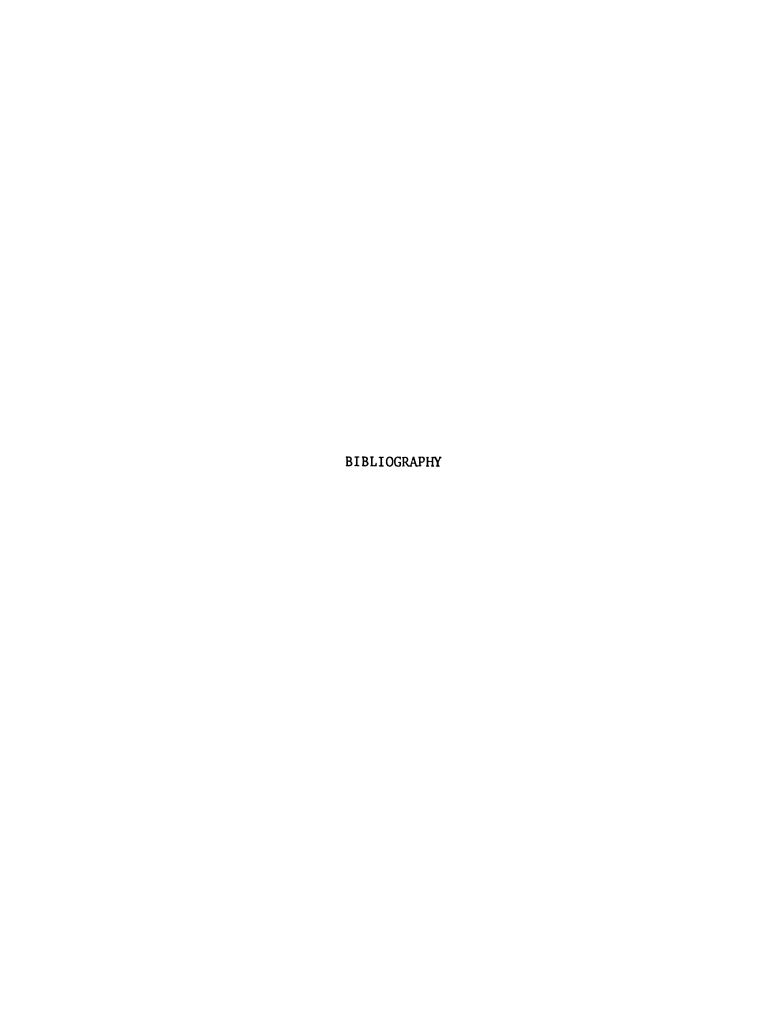
⁵³Philip F. Griffin, "Reader Comprehension of News Stories: A Preliminary Study," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 26 (1949), 389-396.

⁵⁴Wilbur Schramm, 'Measuring Another Dimension of Newspaper Readership,' Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 24 (1947), 293-306.

⁵⁵Galen R. Rarick, Field Experiments in Newspaper Item Readership (Eugene, Oregon: Division of Communication Research, School of Journalism, University of Oregon, 1967).

what is involved in newspaper readership must include a careful study of such items. It could be that one must consider the interaction of design, headline content and writing style if true understanding is to be gained.

It is felt that the next research project this investigator should undertake would involve a refinement of the present one. There is a reluctance to abandon the work of Berlyne and others in relation to newspaper design on the basis of this study, particularly because of the problems encountered with perceived complexity. With a restructuring of hypotheses to take into account the influence of interaction of variables, a more representative sample and a careful reworking of some of the page designs, it is possible that more significant and meaningful results could be obtained. The concept of complexity still seems to have much to offer to those interested in newspaper design. It is a question of finding the proper key.



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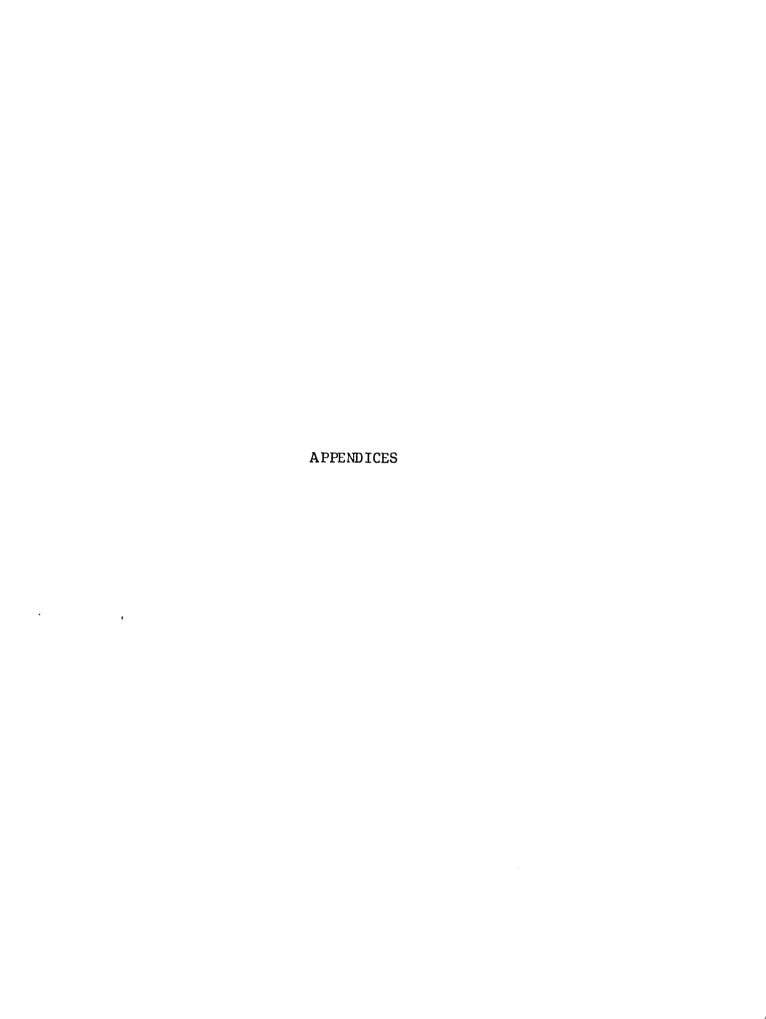
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APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES DURING EXPERIMENT AND DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES DURING EXPERIMENT

Part I

- 1. Seat subjects and give copies of their version of the experimental four-page tabloid newspaper.
- 2. Allow subjects 10 minutes for reading the newspaper.
- 3. Instruct subjects on marking procedures for indicating how much of each story and picture they have read.

Part II

- Distribute to each subject a set of rating scales with "Complex-Simple" used as scale anchors. Distribute and read the Rating Scale Instruction Sheet.
- 2. Have subjects rate pages on "Complex-Simple" continuum; collect set of rating scales.
- 3. Distribute set of rating scales using "Interesting-Uninteresting" as anchors; have subjects perform evaluation; collect set.
- 4. Distribute set of rating scales using "Pleasing-Displeasing" as anchors; have subjects perform evaluation; collect set and newspapers.

Part III

- Distribute and read instruction sheet on how to answer multiplechoice questions on the five stories and one picture on the experimental page.
- 2. Distribute questions and allow subjects time to answer.
- 3. Have subjects fill out personal information sheets.
- 4. Collect all materials from subjects.
- 5. Explain experiment to subjects. Dismiss.

READERSHIP-MARKING INSTRUCTION SHEET

Using the marking pencil that has been provided for you, please indicate how much of each story and picture you have read by extending a line from the top of the headline through the last paragraph in the story you read or through the picture and its accompanying explanatory material. Please mark through the copy and not in the margins.

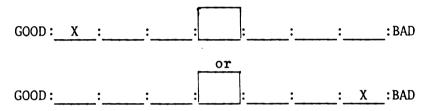
For instance, if you read only the headline, your vertical line would extend only through the headline. If you read the headline and the first 7 paragraphs of the story, your vertical line would extend through the headline and the first 7 paragraphs of the story, etc. If you only looked at a picture and did not read the accompanying explanatory material, your vertical line would extend only through the picture and would not reach into the accompanying explanatory material. If you looked at the picture and read the accompanying explanatory material, your vertical line would extend through both elements. Again, please mark through the copy and not in the margins.

If you did not read any part of a story or look at any part of a picture, you would make no mark on that story or picture. Please examine and consider each item on each of the four pages in your newspaper in this manner.

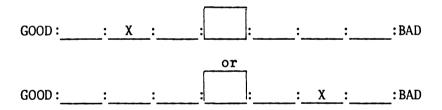
RATING SCALE INSTRUCTION SHEET

We would now like for you to consider the <u>APPEARANCE</u> and <u>PATTERN</u> of each page in your newspaper and NOT its content in providing the calledfor evaluation. We are not interested at this point in the content of the stories, headlines or pictures, but only in the <u>APPEARANCE</u> and <u>PATTERN</u> of the pages. Here is how you use the scales:

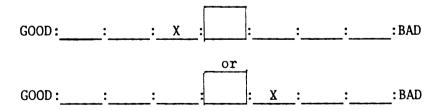
If you feel the page is extremely closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check mark as follows:



If you feel the page is very closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check mark as follows:



If the page seems <u>only slightly related</u> to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:



If you consider the page to be neutral on the scale (both sides of the scale equally associated with the page) or if the scale is completely irrelevant and unrelated to the page, then you should check the boxed middle space.

Be sure you check every scale--do not omit any. Never put more than one check mark on a scale. The information in the upper left of

your rating scale sheet indicates which page of your newspaper that rating scale goes with.

Go straight through the scales, checking each one as you go. Do not leave some to go back to later. It is your first impressions, the immediate "feelings" about the page that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we want your true impressions.

Group	No.	Subject	No.	
•				

- 1. The panel discussion on Women's Liberation was held at:
 - a. the University of South Carolina
 - b. Clemson University
 - c. Winthrop College
 - d. don't know
- 2. The defender of the Women's Liberation movement was:
 - a. Gloria Steinham
 - b. Ti-Grace Atkinson
 - c. Bella Abzug
 - d. don't know
- 3. According to the Los Angeles psychiatrist, the Women's Liberation movement is causing many of today's young men to suffer from:
 - a. a fear of confrontation
 - b. impotency
 - c. guilt feelings
 - d. don't know
- 4. A sociologist and former New York policeman said that frequently today's policemen are themselves lawbreakers, and that the fault lies partially with the police and partially with:
 - a. the public
 - b. penny-pinching governmental administrators
 - c. the schools for neglecting to teach proper respect for the law
 - d. don't know

- 5. The sociologist said the average policeman suffers from:
 - a. paranoia
 - b. anomie
 - c. lack of respect
 - d. don't know
- 6. He also said the problem of police who themselves break the law is:
 - a. a problem for which there is no solution
 - b. unique to New York City
 - c. national in scope
 - d. don't know
- 7. According to the USC vice-president for business affairs, the greatest inadequacy of the current University Health Service is:
 - a. lack of money
 - b. lack of space
 - c. a lack of student interest
 - d. don't know
- 8. University women can have birth control devices prescribed by the Health Center if:
 - a. they are 21 years of age or older
 - b. they have a note of permission from their parents
 - c. they will only ask for the devices
 - d. don't know
- 9. In comparison with other university health centers, according to the USC Health Center's acting director, the USC Center:
 - a. stacks up "very poorly"
 - b. is in "good shape"
 - c. is "about the same"
 - d. don't know

- 10. The official USC administration reaction to the Camp Gravatt Report has been to:
 - a. ignore it
 - b. give close attention to it
 - c. laugh at it
 - d. don't know
- 11. The report recommended that the National Merit Scholar Semi-Finalist

 Day be:
 - a. expanded
 - b. discontinued
 - c. kept the same
 - d. don't know
- 12. According to the University registrar, a revised plan for preregistration will be ready by:
 - a. the 1972 fall semester
 - b. the 1973 summer session
 - c. the 1973 spring semester
 - d. don't know
- 13. SCPIRG's aims are to improve and maintain acceptable environmental standards and to:
 - a. elect environment-conscious persons to the state legislature
 - b. protect the state's consumers
 - c. raise money for the national Ralph Nader organization
 - d. don't know
- 14. SCPIRG seeks an annual budget of:
 - a. \$20,000
 - b. \$300,000

14.	(Co	ntinued)
	c.	\$100,000
	d.	don't know
15.	SCP	IRG wants to fund itself through:
	a.	student activity fees
	ъ.	state legislature appropriation
	c.	door-to-door solicitation
	d.	don't know
16.	The	number of church spires shown in the spires picture is:
	a.	three
	ъ.	two
	c.	four
	d.	don't know
17.	Acc	ording to the accompanying explanatory material, the spires are:
	a.	waiting to be torn down
	b.	part of a disappearing skyline
	c.	reaching out to heaven
	d.	don't know
18.	The	spires shown represent:
	a.	old architecture
	b.	modern architecture
	c.	a combination of old architecture and modern architecture

d. don't know

Group	No.	Subject	No.

Please provide the information requested below. It will be of great help to us in the analysis of our data.

1.	Your age
2.	Your sex
3.	Number of semesters of college-level education (count the current
	semester as a completed semester and each summer session attended
	as a half semester with two summer sessions equaling one semester)
4.	Number and title of the course you are taking from which you were
	recruited for this study

APPENDIX B PAGE DESIGNS USED IN THE EXPERIMENT



The Carolina Reporter

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOLTH CAROLINA COLUMNA & C.



Scenery Falls To 'Progress'

'Maudy's Bosom Becomes Drug Abuse, Crisis Center

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Convicts Seeking College Education

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May I Ask Who's Calling? A man's home - or a squirrel's home, for that matter - is his ca A man a nome — or a squarer a nome, not use man, the latrusion, no difference what the cause, is seldom appre ne, memorin, no difference what the cause, is seldom appreciated, but even a squared can't resist just one quick peck to see what's causing all the racket.

'Maudy's Bosom' Changing Shape

is determined to be an addict the court orders the patient to

be committed to the care and custods of the Surgron General who places the patient in a rel. bilitation center. Patients proerally are sent to the Chnical Re-About 12,000 mnth and

warch Center in Lexington, Ky twelfth crude students in South Carolina schools are participating in a drug survey The survey, which began Or-

toker 1 and continued through the month, was conducted by two USC professors through Gov. John C. West's Commission on Narcotics and Controlled Suls-

Turke high schools are in-volved according to Dr. Murray Vincent, professor of health education with the USC Department of Physical Education Also helping to administer the survey is Dr. Larry Miline of the

USC College of Pharmacy. Vincent said the survey will include a representative sample of urban and rural schools and will contain questions pertaining to extent of use, reason for use

and reason for disconti The survey is similar to one Vincent conducted on the USC campus last spring.

It is designed so young people who have only tried marijuana once will not be placed in the

Art Museum Needs Room For Growth

the lack of space and additional releases, and performs in the town for development accord

crome leels of the mu-cum, a quired a four-are lot in down plans for a new building to Columbia Museum of Art as lehing the museum in 1950 two first and The late by start on the corner of Senate and Bull

The property acquistion wa-"Imalized by citizen subscrip-tion" in 1968. It began a "fo-ture transformation of the museum into the components of a Center for the Arts and Sciences according to Crawford Plans for the center have to follow lines of gradual unit development from the present small museum into a larger center providing areas exhibition and lecture and study rooms for re-

New areas will be added as money for the building can be acquired, according to Dr. John R. Craft, museum director.

search.

A longer muliturium or mout ed at the museum, according to Mrs. Ross Ashley, museum receptionist. The small area the seum has is in such demand that many people requesting the auditorium must often bedenied reservations. Mrs. Ashlo said. If one does get a resenta teen, the working area is so small that everyone gets in each other's

ater Crawford and The group year

mill Science Center auditorium. The museum plans to are the in the museum. There is not new building to the work-hop

cording to the mu-rum dere- perti-rate and state to become

on to remail Crawlord account in the nursum. There is not new building to the work-loop last nursum director.

The Columbia Vi Vivorus and property for the service of the control of the Columbia funding and gos, according to We Volda.

The museum is organizing (Bed with much great) for the town Columbia when first estate were as a work-bop theater as cording to the Craft. He extor. The theatre will be spon-more consensus of the need to speed in the Columbia Vt V- be educated and knowledgralds accustom and the macrom ments made as arts and a wrong are

State's ACLU Faces Problem With Image

general public is a major per-per-

majority as a radical-liberal or. South Carolina citizens, But the

sener however, the ACLU has other end of the spectrum. a history of defending conser-mar S.C. where officers prospe-

vators as well as liberals. the ACLI defends only revolutionary causes stems from the fact that people who go against the accented procedures of uscets whether their actions are legal or not often meet har-h resistance and sometimes are sub-

Better I nderstanding by the jected to unlawful re-traint and

general public is a major pro-lifern facing the American Carl Liberties Union (ACLU), South to authorities, were defended by authorities, were defended The ACLU, traditionally a belief that free speech was dens defender of minorities, is seen ed. The type of action is comed by the typically conservative ered typical to the majority of

WIII also defend them about Inknown to the casual ob political beliefs using to the

The common impression that ed wheel operations for warral does the MIII officed to on pear as a friend of the court in the appeal of Mrs. Jors I live wife of a leader of the protect ers, after her committee of con-

> me a disturbance on the I make atts of South Carolina carrier were densed legal counsel by the affiliate because it was left in the ACLI Insured that the rubble of the University were also a

The basic permit of the ACLI to that if a right is governood by the Constitution and the statu tory structure of the I rated Nates it exists for exchange and exercise should have the benefit of council of that right is

James Rebbole, local executive ACLL devetor, is an example of the type of man who works within the organization I pon graduation from Marquett

sists the state junior college sys-tem is a vital factor in improv-ing educational opportunities in Iodin Locke, Thomas Pain an human rights in the tradition of John Locke, Thomas Pain and

Junior College System Important Issue For State

Problems faring a proposed state system of puine college-ste perhaps the most vital usua-faring the S.C. Gommission on Higher Flouration in this decade. Name 1968 the commission has tried to pass a ball in the South Carolina General Assem-bly to provide a state system of junior college.

same raterory as the berion ad-

Results of the survey probably

will be published in January, be

said. "It would be pathetic if

the results of these surveys are

South Carolina has the low-est percentage of high school graduates attending college in the nation. "Aloud 33 per cent or one-third of the state's high school graduates enter college. The national average is 56 per cent," James A. Morris, state commissioner of higher educa-tion, and

Dr. Worris and commission controlled in the cont

mal education after high school Noncredit remedial courses for students wanting to attend college but lacking necessary reading and mathematics skills will be included in the junior college system, the commission-er said.

er's 1970 annual report, existing branches and centers of the ing branches and centers of the state's two senior universities. Clemson University and the Uni-versity of South Carolina, should be changed to state-supported junior colleges.

or caught to date-appeared to the control of the Lond I per graduation from Wagnett and Tomassame for Exercise the State Associated to the control of the London I per grad for painter entirely excepts and for the control of the London I control o

poors the paner college and poses the panner college system. Voorbant process for regional campuses at U.St., Dr. Fraching form said a university's pre-tige can be a major factor in attrac-ting quality faculty. Regional branches of the two innerestics should be

universities should be retrained the idea of independent state supported junior colleges, "a not justified reconomically," he said The Southern Regional Ed-icational Board (SRFB) which accredits colleges and universi-ties in this section of the United

Blacks' Status Changing

The status of the black police in six months after joining the man has changed since the first force they walked two blacks were added to the first were added to the La

Police Chief William R. Cau then admits that at first black patrolmen were not given the the the whate patrolines who the same heats and rad in the worked regular right hour shalls, same care as white officers. black worked from 6 p.m. to Black polarmen make up on 2 am Cauthen and those were on per cent of the force which the looped bours of the day and like & patrolinen supplement

filark, were assigned to repu Let leate but unlike whater when

In 1966 the Columbia Police Department switched to a regufor 40 hour week. Most patrol tredmen were not given the men on this was when black-

mele area with a 29 per cent

ldark propulations There is one pole-man to

Ladel A. Carriero a black the difference has nothing to do. Continued efforts to before phenomena has been earlier and trace relations in the department was related 3 and an adjustment was related 3 and an adjustment was related 3 and an adjustment between the second of the second he sees a lot of desks at the per-less statem but not many black faces behind them

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Projects Hit 'Roots Of Evil'

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UWW Idea Draws Fire At University

University. Bithout Balls (IWN), an educational experi-ment at the University of South Carolina, has become a Tight age not. For delate over the norm of traditional undergradus of the Carolina agent, property of control of traditional undergradus. decates, according to the tor of LBB at the unper

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resided to dudy the experiment.

What we are trying to do to find out what is good about the, he said. This evaluation the." he said. The coduction could also show if asything is wrong with the program. Dr. I anders said that from prelim-inary results, the major microsof CWN has been in group ow-some that are desinged to ma-terial students students seem ing to less modification.



It Took Only A Few Seconds

The Columbia Hotel, long a landmark in the city fell victim to progress last year the can almost feel the grean of protect as carefully

OEO Predicts Reduction Of Hunger, Malnutrition

materialdy during the 1970 cm and the Department of Public gram Chark and

cost of food stamps

chalde for food stamps to did foult because many live in too lated rural areas. Rey Clark. Jovelo and the casespoon's superstoor of the food starter program is shoughood for hard program, said

South Carolina will be reduced. aware of brocks ad ante like the Lord Stamp Program Prob o persentative of the Office of another reason more people are I conomic Opportunity (OFO) and taking advantage of the pre-

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Gravatt Report Faces Problem-No Money

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The police, sworn to uphold the law, are themselves lawbreakers and the fault lies as much with the public as with the police them selves, according to a former New York City policeman.

Arthur Nuderholfer, in a hosty, between flights interview at Co-hundas Metropolitan. Varjoet, solid that paradoxically, "society has granted the copy the foreme to solidar the law moder to enforce it." A cop max kill where necessary, and he may mixele privacy and des-troy property, all in the name of the law.

"This wase of power often corrupts him into a helief that he is persor to the law, he said.

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice teacher and holder of a dectorate in sociology, and the average policerum suffers from "immine" which he drives a "i-mortoid condition_characterized by the absence of standards, by apathy, confusion, frustration, absentate and deepair."

To support his views, Niederhoffer cited the recent results of the knapp Commission hearings in New York City. He said the com-mission heard technious that a single dlegal enterprise – gamlding— reportedly pays the police S Limilton a view.

State Consumer Group

SCPIRG Forming

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Old Spires Reach Out To Heaven

Infirmary Expansion Scheduled

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State Consumer Group

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He added that of PIRC in der organization

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minuted be can get a refund be added Thus far the most active campaigns are being conducted at Formen, Clement, Wanthrop. Wolford and the Laurersty, Mc Com sale

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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Arthur Nordenfelder on a hardy to be two in lights internew at Co-lumbas. Witropolation brighest under the law or neith line granted the copy the license to what the law or neither to reflere at Acop mark kill where necessary, and he may incide princes and destroy property, all in the name of the law.

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National Arherement Scholarship program and hern forced to make a loane choice between spad private a functory eminar on the Lincolnty. This sity and quantity, and we have loosed for the for provide a two-day reminar on the Loncrody. The dy sear we set up a two-day program for the Ment over

Gravatt Report Faces Problem-No Money

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We recognize the true orders effect that word in the opposition of the report and in the report and in the report and in the report and in the recognization of the recognization

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Rottes F (collers F moreouts reprinter and that the proposal for per regulation is not a serio one. "As a matter of fact it was treed a few scars ago with almost discretion results. We think however that it is ownerfung that simply has to be done and we are working on a record plan that might be rook for regulations in the summer of P⁽¹⁾. Is

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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State Consumer Group

SCPIRG Forming

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He added that SCPIRG is not associated directly

"he're asking for a budget of around \$100,000 a year, and we not to fund it through student activity fees." McGraw said. Any-ne a student decides his fee is misused, he can get a refund, he

Praise, Blame Tossed At 'Lib'

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Gravatt Report Faces Problem—No Money



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Infirmary Expansion Scheduled

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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State Consumer Group

SCPIRG Forming

The formation of the state of newest consumer and control mental protection agency to only months away, according to Michael H. McGraw of the Committee to Fetablob Lie South Carolina Public Interest Research

He added that M PING is not associated describ with the No der organization.

Old Spires Reach Out To Heaven

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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Infirmary Expansion Scheduled

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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Praise, Blame Tossed At 'Lib'

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Panel member Distons Rader author of J Am't Marchin Any more and other topical backs, supported Dr. Stenarts views supported Dr. Stewart even as the said authoritarian wome possing men to be our possing and hostile. This hostility, in moted "prevents a man from he coming whole and results in any second and self-the-free he has

In short, Rader said, women have emaculated men by de manding too much of them II is commonly difficult he added for young men eyes to survi-manhood in the Linted States. smoot, vong men and that the Sudont reliables crane Lands beasted and first less supporter of abundonness, a fixed and publishers. I the are less, lield in Enters were a fixed of cartesting branks.



Old Spires Reach Out To Heaven

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When Police Stumble, Public Often At Fault

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for themselve, according to a dard, by apathy, confusion, fru-former New York City police: tration, alreading and depart."

Gravatt Report Faces Problem—No Money

The University administration is group close attention to the recently released Gravatt Report, according to a USC spokesman.

"he treognize the tremendoss The treequite the tremendous effort that went into the prepara-tion of this report, and it has been received in the spirit in which it was offered - as a un-cree effort to upgrade the seademic atmosphere at the Univer-sity," said John C. Guilds, I SC. vice proceed.

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State Consumer Group

SCPIRG Forming

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"We're asking for a budget of around \$100,000 a year, and we want to fund it through student activity fees," McGraw said. Voy-time a student decides his fee is moused, he can get a refund, he added. Thus far, the most active compages are bong conducted at Exercise, Clemon, Wintford, Wolford and the University, Mr.

Praise, Blame Tossed At 'Lib'

criminal. But of course women don't set like that." the one hand and called a more ment of 'castrating females' on the other at a recent pushed dis-cussion at Winthrop College. In Graze: Atkinson, called by some the philosopher of the Wo-nion: Elderation Movement, et the tons for a randing discourse on her favorite tope by sening. "Men are not the enemy, they only act like it. "She pointed out that the movement lost impetus rapolly after women gamed the nght to yote early in the century. However, after the fall of 1966, the movement decided on an none - abortion on demand. "The question was whether we were going to get on the hand wagon first or last." ToGrace feels the church is behind gos criment's reluctance to legalize

abortion.

"How many women die, Lask
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charging the church said norder? That 'cride ubous that expaused religion is based on the
backs of women. Abortion is ned religion is lasted on the backs of women. Abortion is breaking the law, but it's law is

On the other side of the some. Dr. B. Laman Stewart, a Los An Dr. B. Lyman Stewart, a Los Au-geles post-histinst, pointed out that many doctors "are reporting a significant rise in impotence among young men, and that the booted and bra less supporters of Women's Lib are being held re-sponsible."



Through the ages man has erected temples to his - year. These examples represent a 3

as been a symbol of man's reaching to the hea-Infirmary Expansion Scheduled

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