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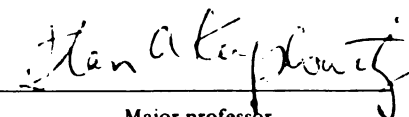
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NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE EARLY
1960s CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WORLD VIEWS

presented by
Ruben Burney II

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Sociology


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NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE EARLY
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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WORLD VIEWS

BY

Ruben Burney II

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE EARLY 1960s CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WORLD VIEWS

BY

Ruben Burney II

The early 1960s southern civil rights movement was covered by black and white newspapers. The newspapers in general had different world views or ideological positions, which was due to differences in audience considerations and the social worlds of the newspapers staffs. This study is built on the belief that the newspaper article is not a truly objective source of the news.

This study examines the Chicago Defender, the New York Times, and the Atlanta Constitution on their world views regarding the civil rights demonstrators. The world views that were tested were the Neo-Gandhian, which sees the civil rights demonstrators as being non-violent, upright dignified, and justified, the Plague on Both Your Houses which sees both civil rights demonstrators and segregationist crowds as being out of order, and the Misguided Troublemakers which sees the civil rights demonstrators as causing problems where there should be none. The presence of world views was studied through the existence of frames or themes which were found by the use of three variable types for March 1960 and July 1963.

Clause variables examined the construction of sentences (clauses) for the presence of themes appropriate to a world view. Single word (status) indicators examined whether the civil rights demonstrators were characterized as "youth," "students," or "professionals." Delegitimizing quote variables test for single words and phrases. When the word or phrase appeared in delegitimizing quotes it was treated as though the reporter stated the fact, however, he/she did not agree with it.

In general, the findings of this study were not those which were expected. It was found that the Chicago Defender was least likely of all papers to term the civil rights demonstrators as non-violent for both years. In 1960 all papers approached homogeneity in their coverage. It was expected that they would be more divergent. On the other hand, in 1963 the papers were more divergent, especially the Chicago Defender and the New York Times, when it was believed that they would be more homogeneous towards the Neo-Gandhian world view.

To my wife

Angela

Your love, support, and encouragement during this last year has helped make a very important dream come true. I will always remember and appreciate that you have helped me reach a goal.

To my son

Ruben III

Thanks for giving me another reason to press on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Dr. Stan Kaplowitz, a devoted sociologist and educator, who spent many hours with this project. Without his dedication, patience, and friendship this project would not have come to maturity.

I am also eternally grateful to the other members of my committee, Dr. Vladimir Shlapentokh and Dr. Denton Morrison.

My very special thanks and honor go to my mother, Lillie Mae Burney, for the love and support that only a mother can give; my father, Larry Burney for the attitude of perseverance he instilled in me before his passing; my sisters, Juanita L.B. Hunt, Janet L. Burney, and my brother, Larry D. Burney for their encouragement and moral support. Worthy of my praise and thanks also is my mother-in-law, Freddye Mae Rhodes and my other mother, Essie Butler Rowe.

Last and foremost, I give praises to the Supreme Being.

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INTRODUCTION

It is a popular notion that the newspaper is an objective source of information on events. It is believed by many people in society and newspaper persons that the news story is a mirror image of society.

According to Hall (1936:34) "News writing reports events, happenings and acts observed objectively...The reporter should make certain that his phrasing makes it clear that he is telling what he actually sees and hears and that he is not guessing at the inner working of human minds."

Not all of the articles found in a newspaper are meant to be objective. When one speaks of objectivity, one is referring to the news article. On the other hand, one also has the editorial. It is supposed to convey opinion and comments on current events. The editorial is written with a different format than is the news article. On editorial writing Hohenberg (1978:525-526) states,

"In the development of a point of view on the subject, the most forceful and persuasive arguments are marshaled in a logical pattern to convince the reader. In addition, the editorial writer is bound to consider what arguments are likely to be used in rebuttal and raise them for the purpose of answering them in advance."

If one were to examine editorials in different newspapers covering the same subject one would probably find that each of the publications presented different values or

viewpoints. One very important cause of newspapers having different values is that the publications write for different audiences. Here one must remember that the newspaper is written not only to provide the masses with information, but also to make a profit if it is to continue to exist. Therefore, the publication must be able to attract a section of the population which it can rely on.

While editorials help to openly define the news staffs' views for its targeted readers, news articles may also unconsciously reflect the bias of the staff. News articles contribute a larger portion of reading material to a newspaper than do editorials. Therefore, the larger amount of biased news articles (bias does not imply that it is purposefully so) may influence readers. Gitlin (1980), sets forth the idea that the media helps form the definition of the situation for the public. The framing of news, however, does not come from the media as an institution alone. Reporters and editors live in society and their experience with other individuals in society help the news staff form the definition of the situation.

The News Article: Objectivity, Structure, and Placement

As stated above, according to Hall (1936:34) the news article is supposed to only tell what happened in an event. It has been stated according to Gitlin (1980:9), however, that editors and reporters adopt and reproduce the ideological assumptions prevailing in the wider society. This is done in

order to attract readers and because staff publishers share these assumptions. On reader attraction Gitlin (1980:101) states:

"the newspaper that seeks the younger 'upscale' readership of the theatre going quick-tasting professionals will be interested in different stories and approach the same stories differently than the paper appealing to the older more settled working class."

Nevertheless, the news article is supposed to be objective. It is the way the story is "objectively" presented which concerns this study. This study is testing the belief that news stories reflect the biases of reporters, publishers/editors, and readers. We further believe that this bias is reflected in the structure of the news article (the ordering of the facts) and its placement in the newspaper.

The view of newspapers as objective assumes that all of the facts of an event are reported. Often, however, this is not true. One does not intend to imply that the discrepancies between papers are due to intentional misrepresentation of the facts in order to support an ideological position (or world view). Without lying, the news staff can omit certain facts for publication and highlight others. This process can be seen in an example drawn from the use of wire services. Although each newspaper receives the same copy of a news event, the editorial staff has the option to edit the story. The staff could cut the story short and leave out details, which is usually done by dropping part or all of the last paragraph(s) in the article. They also have the option to

assign any headline of their own choice for the story. One editor might headline a story as "Demonstrators Disrupt Business," while another editor might headline the same story as "Demonstrators Protest for Equality." Here one can see that the same facts could represent different ideological positions while at the same time both would be telling the truth.

According to the above, facts can be purposefully excluded from a story. While this does occur, it is not the only way that facts are left out of a story. It can happen unintentionally, because people process information that is given in an environment or social context. In order to give meaning to the world people do not give equal attention to all of the facts which may be found in a situation. On selective perception Krech and Crutchfield (1971) states: "Those objects that play the major role in organizational perception, the objects that are accentuated are usually those objects which serve some immediate purpose for the perceiving individual." The above authors further note that selective perception is tinted and molded by our society.

Under the theory of selective perception we conclude that not all facts will be as important to reporters and editors as other facts. We can study newspaper articles to find which facts in a story are considered to be the most important by the news staff. Newspaper articles are written with the most important facts first and those considered least important last. Kinner (1960) supports this view and recommends it as the style of newspaper writing. Hall (1936:63)

states,

"It probably would be a safe guess to estimate that more than three-fourths of the news stories are written in this form...His (the reporter's) task as a news writer is to give an orderly presentation from the viewpoint of news values from the greatest interest to the least. That is the way of the wedge. The way to give the wedge shape to a news story is to begin with the biggest fact in point of importance and interest and end with the smallest. That will give the story uniform and logical development."

This method is also termed the inverted pyramid (Hohenberg 1978:135).

The order of presentation of facts in an article has an effect on the reader. This effect is known as primacy. In short the primacy theory holds that a first message interferes with the learning of a later message if the later is contradictory to the first and if the time between presentations is small. Miller and Campbell (1959) found that when a position A is presented in an argument which is quickly followed by the presentation of position B the former is most often remembered. This is similar to what happens when someone reads a newspaper article with facts supporting two points of view. For example, if a news article begins by describing "unruly civil rights demonstrators" and ends by describing "unruly segregationist crowds," the reader will be most influenced by the fact of the "unruly civil rights demonstrators."

A news article's placement also tends to show how important the editors believe a story is. The more important the editors think the story is, the more it tends to be found

towards the front pages of a newspaper. The most important news is always located on the front page. The researcher assumes that as a reader goes further beyond the front page, the urgency of the news decreases. Placement also concerns where the story is located on a given page. The more important the story, the more it tends to be placed towards the top of the page. Gamson and Modigliani (1971:128-129) make this assumption in coding the importance of historical events. The above premises of article structure and placement reflect a publications world views or ideological positions.

World Views

A world view is the set of perceptions, assumptions, and selected facts which form the definition of a situation. The idea of a world view is synonymous with "interpretive packages" (Gamson, 1981:80). The interpretive package consists of two parts. The framing half deals with the gestalt or pattern organizing nature of the political culture. The second half of the package deals with reasoning and justification for positions. Where framing devices suggest integration and synthesis into wholes, reasoning devices emphasize analysis and differentiation into parts. A complex whole is broken down into discrete cause and consequences in temporal sequences.

This study examines the first part of the interpretive package. We believe that a news story could be framed in ways which reflect a favorable or unfavorable light on the civil rights demonstrators or segregationist crowds. For

example, one framing device would be delegitimizing quotation marks (Gitlin, 1980:28). They are used when the reporter does not wish to support the credibility of a phrase or name, such as "freedom songs" vs. freedom songs. If this study used the reasoning half of the interpretive package we would study editorials. Editorials (as stated earlier) are designed to convey opinion, which of course would involve justification.

Focus

If newspapers use different frames, it should show up when one compares the way different newspapers covered the same events, such as the southern civil rights movement of the early 1960's. The central focus of this study concerns the newspaper coverage of civil rights demonstrations in the South during the early 1960's. It is believed that the staff of different papers had different world views regarding the civil rights movement and these caused that movement to be presented differently in various newspapers. One can begin to see the problem framing can cause for the difference in the definition of the situation between the white and black press in the work of Rivers (1971), who states,

"Some of the Negroes firmest friends in mass media quite unconsciously distort the public view of his (Negro)life. Consider Life magazine, which is editorially so devoted to integration that legions of segregationists have canceled their subscriptions. A study of all the integration crisis photographs which appeared in Life during 1962 & 1963 - a period when most integration protest were characterized by passive resistance revealed that more than half showed violence rather than

passive resistance. In sharp contrast only 20 percent of the integration crisis photographs published during the same period in Ebony, a Life - like magazine for Negroes, pictured violence, 80 percent showing passive resistance."

Frames Regarding Civil Rights Demonstrations

One world view or interpretive package with which to view the civil rights movement we call Neo-Gandhians. Under this world view the civil rights demonstrators are looked upon as being non-violent and highly moral. This world view sees that the civil rights movement is one which presses for the recognition that all men are created equal and have the rights to enjoy freedoms and liberties that are granted to all American citizens. It emphasizes the injustice of segregation.

The news article that presents the Neo-Gandhian view will contain catch phrases and depictions which view the civil rights demonstrations as being caused by racial discrimination or unjust laws. Examples of such catch phrases and depictions would be the fight for freedom or the quest for justice. This world view sees the civil rights demonstrations as non-violent and/or dignified. It does so, for example, by stating that the demonstrators were well dressed, polite, professional people or students. Students are used because it refers to a higher status than would a simple concept of youths. The Neo-Gandhian view sees segregationist crowds as being unruly and impolite while segregationist authorities are seen as harsh and repressive. In general this interpretive package views the movement as justified.

In opposition to the Neo-Gandhian world view is the Misguided Troublemakers world view. This world view is hostile towards the civil rights demonstrators. In this world view civil rights demonstrators are unjustified rebels against legitimate local customs and states' rights and "separate but equal" social positions. This world view sees civil rights demonstrators making trouble where none should exist.

The news article which supports the Misguided Troublemakers world view contains catch phrases and depictions which view the civil rights demonstrators as being unruly and impolite or violent. Examples of these catch-phrases and depictions would be civil rights demonstrators as loud and boisterous or as trespassers and hurting innocent people. This interpretive package portrays demonstrators as "youths." This label would be used rather than "students" which is a sign of achieved status. In general this world view holds the civil rights movement as not justifiable.

There is also the Plague on Both Your Houses world view. Here we find that the civil rights demonstrators and the segregationist crowds are both condemned. What is important to this world view is the return of societal harmony between civil rights demonstrators and segregationist crowds. The news article which carries this world view will have framing devices which condemns social upheaval, disruption, and violence by both groups.

The Newspapers

In order to study how world views affected news coverage three newspapers were needed. One which would represent the Northern moderate-liberal view, as well as one which would represent a white Southern view as well as one which would represent the black view of the civil rights movement were selected for the study.

The New York Times was chosen because it is a Northern white paper. It is also a very influential one. According to (Gitlin, 1980:299), "The Times ends up influencing the content of wire service stories, T.V. and radio news and news magazines." The New York Times is published in an area not directly affected by the direct action tactics of the southern civil rights movement. It therefore has the opportunity to view segregationist and civil rights demonstrators evenhandedly. Since the New York Times for this study is considered to be a moderate-liberal paper which is outside of the geographical area of conflict, we suggest that it can represent the Plague on Both Your Houses world view for the early movement activity. It could possibly represent the Neo-Gandhian world view later when the Kennedy administration was sympathetic to the black cause.

The Chicago Defender was chosen because it is a black owned newspaper. It is important to note that it has a national circulation and national coverage. The Chicago Defender will subscribe to the Neo-Gandhian world view. This

belief is based on the assumption that a black newspaper will favor a black social movement.

The Atlanta Constitution was chosen because of its southern white orientation and readership. The southern press is important because it is published in the region where the issue of civil rights was developing and closest to the directly affected readership. Since it was believed that a southern white constituency did not favor the civil rights movement it was initially believed that The Atlanta Constitution would represent the Misguided Troublemakers world view. Bachand (1963) states, however, that The Atlanta Constitution is not a typical southern newspaper but it is more liberal. It is believed that The Atlanta Constitution has a more liberal standpoint than other southern newspapers. Therefore, the researcher believes that The Atlanta Constitution could represent the Plague on Both Your Houses world view.

This study not only seeks to examine how coverage of the civil rights movement differed among newspapers, but it also seeks to examine how such coverage might change between 1960 and 1963. We expected that with the passage of time The New York Times became more sympathetic to the movement. This should have happened because there was growing sympathy for the movement in the larger society. This support is evident in the fact that the Kennedy administration had begun to give support to Negro rights. The Kennedy administration held a moderate-liberal view. Its shift indicated a shift of moderate liberal views.

It was believed that The Atlanta Constitution would become less sympathetic to the civil rights demonstrations from 1960 to 1963. This assumption is based on the fact that during 1960 the southern civil rights demonstrations had not yet occurred in Georgia. Therefore, the issue was more of a distant one than a local matter. In this direction, the search of the newspaper reveals that the Georgia Assembly was aware that civil rights demonstrations could pose a threat to peace and the social order of the state. The actions of the Georgia legislature should not be a decisive factor in molding The Atlanta Constitution's views. The news of the governing bodies actions was presented in capsule form, therefore, it could not have the impact of larger more detailed stories. Thus, the laws that the legislature passed prohibiting direct action tactics in 1960, such as sit-ins, could have gone unnoticed by many people. By 1963 demonstrations could be found throughout Georgia as well as in Atlanta itself. It is possible that once the issue became a local concern, it could have affected a larger portion of The Atlanta Constitution's readership, than it did in 1960.

The researcher further hypothesizes that The Chicago Defender would not change its coverage from 1960 to 1963. Its audience considerations should not have had any influence to change its position. The researcher believes this on the basis that if blacks were favorable to the movement in 1960, they would still be so in 1963.

In summary, this study expects to find that the coverage of early civil rights demonstrations will reflect the different world views of The New York Times, The Chicago Defender, and The Atlanta Constitution. The researcher expects to find that The Chicago Defender will tend to report in ways that reflect the civil rights demonstrators as the Neo-Gandhians. On the other hand, The Atlanta Constitution will tend to report in ways that reflect the Misguided Troublemakers or Plague on Both Your Houses world views. The New York Times should tend to report in ways which reflect the Plague on Both Your Houses world views in 1960 when support for the civil rights movement was in its infancy. During 1963 with the shift in moderate liberal views we believed that The New York Times would report in ways which reflect the Neo-Gandhians world views. It was further believed that all of the above will occur since newspapers write for different audiences which they hope to capture and because different newspapers have staffs with different views.

METHODS

Selection of Newspapers

The newspapers selected for this study were the Chicago Defender, the New York Times, and the Atlanta Constitution. Each paper was chosen on its differences and similarities to other newspapers. The key similarity was that each paper subscribed to wire services, which included but was not limited to the AP and UPI. Since each paper would have received the same copy for any demonstration, it was believed that it would be possible to examine the newspapers' staffs' internal treatment of the story.

The Chicago Defender was selected because it is a black owned and oriented newspaper with a national circulation. While it is a northern publication this fact did not weigh heavily in selection. More importantly, it was chosen because it was a black paper which subscribed to the same wire services as did white publications.

The Atlanta Constitution was chosen because of its Southern location. While it does not carry a large national circulation, it is a major newspaper of the Southeastern region of the United States.

The New York Times is a Northern publication which is large and affluent enough to send its own reporters to

cover news events across the country. It has a national circulation and is regarded as a primary peer source newspaper. By primary peer source one means that other newspapers and media take their leads from it (Gans 1979:126).

The newspapers were also of similar format. Each has eight columns and the pages are approximately the same length. They differ in that the New York Times was published daily, the Atlanta Constitution was published Monday through Saturday, while the Chicago Defender is published daily on a local basis. The national edition used for this study was published weekly.

Types of Articles Chosen

Articles to be included in this study must involve non-violent direct action by civil rights demonstrators. By direct action one means that the demonstration was one where the participants were present in numbers, with each individual using his/her presence as a statement of protest. Direct action protest includes activities such as "sit-ins," "boycotts," and "pickets," "pray-ins," "marches," "freedom rides," and "rallies."

Selection required that the protest take place in the Southeastern United States. This restriction was used in order to limit the kinds of protest and the issues involved. The southern civil rights protest of the early 1960's were predominantly centered around the issues of segregation or of integration of public facilities and to a lesser extent on voting rights. Actions such as rioting were not included unless such actions were the result of a demonstration whose aim had initially been non-violent.

The above criteria was helpful in eliminating a large number of articles. However, some articles were written in a fashion that included demonstrations in the South, North, and West. In these cases the researcher included stories in which the non-southern demonstrations could be edited out without destroying the structure of the article. For example, if the paper had separated the location by listing the city in capitals and citing the appropriate wire service, the researcher treated each segment of the article as a separate story. The researcher also accepted stories which gave slight mention to other demonstrations in other regions. However, if the story mingled the southern and non-southern demonstrations together, the article was rejected for the study. Articles which were predominantly non-southern were also rejected.

Selection of Months

For each newspaper the months of March 1960 and July 1963 were chosen for analysis. March 1960 was selected in order to reflect the beginning of the student sit-in movement. The first sit-in occurred on February 2, 1960. March was used instead of February in order to study the demonstrations as a macro-social movement instead of a micro-social movement in a local setting. By selecting the latter month, the researcher could investigate this method of direct action as it took hold of the larger black community across the Southeastern United States. It also assured that the researcher was examining the same kind of behavior in both sample years.

July 1963 was selected on the basis of the year and its monthly activity. The researcher postulated that this year should be studied because civil rights legislation had not yet taken large strides, although there was increasing sympathy in the Kennedy administration and the larger society for blacks to have civil rights. Furthermore, the non-violent ideology had not yet given way to violent protest tactics. The researcher made a list from the New York Times Index by months of all stories involving the southern non-violent civil rights movement. It was believed and found that the summer months contained the highest amounts of activity. July was chosen because of all the summer months, it contained a smaller number of demonstrations. This criterion was added in order to limit the time needed to complete the study without compromising its sample size and reliability.

The Coding Scheme

General Information

General information was collected to give the researcher a source of background information which could be used for later reference. This information included the variables of date, publication, news source (reporter, AP, UPI, or other), section, page number, width of headlines, article length by column inches, and the number of lines in the first, second, and last third of the article.

The survey and a sample coding sheet are included. Variables 39, 59, 60, 61, and 62 are not relevant to this

study. This information was gathered by the researcher for other personal interest. See pages 18a - 18e.

Selection of Themes

World views or interpretive packages contain various themes. Themes were developed by considering what content the different frames would hold. The themes were then trial tested by examining stories which appeared in the three papers. Sample stories were drawn from 1961 and 1962. Initially over a dozen themes were developed.

The presence of themes are the building blocks of world views. The Neo-Gandhian world view is built on the "Racial Discrimination" theme, as well as the "Civil Rights Demonstrators as Non-Violent and Dignified" themes. The Plague on Both Your Houses world view is built from the presence of the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators," the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Segregationist Crowds," and the "Harsh Repressive Segregationist Authorities" themes. The Misguided Troublemakers world view is based on the "Local Customs/States' Rights/Separate but Equal" theme and the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme, as well as the "Demonstrators as Youth" theme. Different world views may have themes in common. However, the total combination of themes determines the world view. For example, in this study the Plague on Both Your Houses world view contains the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme which is also contained in the Misguided

Survey: February 10, 1983

- v 1. Date --, --, --
- v 2. Paper
 - 1. New York T.
 - 2. Atlanta C.
 - 3. Chicago D.
- v 3. Source
 - 1. Reporter
 - 2. A.P.
 - 3. U.P.I.
 - 4. Other
- v 4. Section of paper in which article begins
- v 5. Page number within section that article begins
- v 6. Widths of front page headline # of columns
- v 7. Total length of article by column inches including headline (also portions on other pages) --- (001, 002, 003, etc.)
- v 8. # of lines in 1st third --- (001, 002, 003, etc.)
- v 9. # of lines in 2nd third --- (001, 002, 003, etc.)
- v 10. # of lines in last third --- (001, 002, 003, etc.)
- v 11. Is "Racial Discrimination" theme as cause of protest mentioned in headlines 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 12. # of lines devoted to Rac. Dis. in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 13. # of lines devoted to Rac. Dis. in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 14. # of lines devoted to Rac. Dis. in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 15. Is the "unruly & impolite or violent C.R.D." theme in the headline 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 16. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. C.R.D. in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 17. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. C.R.D. in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)

- v 18. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. C.R.D. in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 19. Is the "unruly & impolite or violent segregationist crowds" theme in the headline 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 20. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. seg. cr. in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 21. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. seg. cr. in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 22. # of lines devoted to un. & impo. or vio. seg. cr. in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 23. Is the "C.R.D. as non-violent and or dignified (behavior)" theme in the headline 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 24. # of lines devoted to non-violent C.R.D. in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 25. # of lines devoted to non-violent C.R.D. in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 26. # of lines devoted to non-violent C.R.D. in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 27. Is the "Harsh Repressive Seg. Authorities" theme in the headline 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 28. # of lines devoted to H. Rep Seg. Auth. in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 29. # of lines devoted to H. Rep. Seg. Auth. in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 30. # of lines devoted to H. Rep. Seg. Auth. in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 31. Is the "Local Custom/States Rights/Separate but Equal" theme present in the headline 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 32. # of lines devoted to local custom in 1st third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 33. # of lines devoted to local custom in 2nd third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 34. # of lines devoted to local custom in last third of article --- (000, 001, 002, etc.)
- v 35. # of times C.R.D. as students mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)

- v 36. # of times C.R.D. as professional adults mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)
- v 37. # of times C.R.D. as youth mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)
- v 38. # of times Seg. crowds as youth mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)
- v 39. # of times protesting preacher mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)
- v 40. # of times mediating minister mentioned -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)
- v 41. # of times Civil Rights, Equal rights, equal citizenship injustice used in article --
- v 42. # of times "Civil Rights, Equal rights, equal citizenship injustice" used in article --
- v 43. # of times Freedom Rider used in article --
- v 44. # of times "Freedom Rider" used in article --
- v 45. # of times Jim Crow used in article --
- v 46. # of times "Jim Crow" used in article --
- v 47. # of times states rights used in article --
- v 48. # of times "states rights" used in article --
- v 49. # of times separate but equal used in article --
- v 50. # of times "separate but equal" used in article --
- v 51. # of times disorderly conduct, disturbing peace, loitering etc. used in article --
- v 52. # of times "disorderly conduct, disturbing peace, loitering" etc. used in article --
- v 53. # of times sit-in/sit-down used in article --
- v 54. # of times "sit-in/sit-down" used in article --
- v 55. # of times non-violent/passive resistance used in article --
- v 56. # of times "non-violent/passive resistance" used in article --
- v 57. # of times in the interest of public safety used in article --

- v 58. # of times "in the interest of public safety" used
in article --
- v 59. # of times white only used in article --
- v 60. # of times "white only" used in article --
- v 61. Does a photo accompany the story? 1 - yes 2 - no
- v 62. # of column inches devoted to photo -- (00, 01, 02, etc.)

Scoring Sheet

v 1 - - - - -	Non-vio.	C. R.	w.o.
v 2 _____	v 23 _____	v 41 _____	v 59 _____
v 3 _____	v 24 _____	v 42 _____	v 60 _____
v 4 _____	v 25 _____	F. R.	v 61 _____
v 5 _____	v 26 _____	v 43 _____	v 62 _____
v 6 _____	Harsh	v 44 _____	
v 7 _____	v 27 _____	J. C.	
v 8 _____	v 28 _____	v 45 _____	
v 9 _____	v 29 _____	v 46 _____	
v 10 _____	v 30 _____	S. R.	
Rac. Dis.	Local	v 47 _____	
v 11 _____	v 31 _____	v 48 _____	
v 12 _____	v 32 _____	Sep.	
v 13 _____	v 33 _____	49 _____	
v 14 _____	v 34 _____	50 _____	
Unruly C.R.D.	Students	Dis.	
v 15 _____	v 35 _____	v 51 _____	
v 16 _____	Pro	v 52 _____	
v 17 _____	v 36 _____	Sit	
v 18 _____	Youth	v 53 _____	
Unruly Seg.	v 37 _____	v 54 _____	
v 19 _____	Seg	Non.	
v 20 _____	v 38 _____	v 55 _____	
v 21 _____	Pre	v 56 _____	
v 22 _____	v 39 _____	Pub	
	Min.	v 57 _____	
	v 40 _____	v 58 _____	

Troublemakers world view. The Misguided Troublemakers world view also contains the "Local Customs/States' Rights/Separate but Equal" theme. On the other hand, the Plague on Both Your Houses world view contains the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Segregationist Crowds" theme and the "Harsh Repressive Segregationist Authorities" theme. Both world views contain the common element of the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme, but each has other themes which complete their sets.

In this study, theme presence is examined by three kinds of variables. They are clause variables (#11-#34) single word (status) variables (#35-#38), and delegitimizing quote variables (#41-#58). Single word variables counted the number of times a word was used in an article in order to create a status ratio. Delegitimizing quote variables counted the number of times certain phrases were used with and without quotation marks. Clause variables examined the presence of themes by lines.

Clause Variables

The "Racial Discrimination" theme was used when the article showed evidence of unequal treatment towards blacks or segregation. The article had to show that the demonstration was aimed at attacking the injustice of the Jim Crow system. It also contained the absence of any specification of opportunities to obtain equal service elsewhere. The terms "segregation" or "integration" were not sufficient since they could

imply that there was "separate but equal" opportunities available. It is also important to note that persons supporting either side of the issue were likely to use those terms. For example, a segregationist would openly say that he was for segregation.

The "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme was characterized by loud and boisterous behavior by civil rights demonstrators or causing innocent people to suffer. In the latter case, the researcher included cases where the inconvenience was actually stated and not merely implied. If for example the article stated that "the lunch counter was closed" or "the lunch counter stopped its service because of the sit-ins" the theme was not considered to be present. If, however, it stated "regular customers were denied service because of the sit-ins" the theme was counted as being present.

The "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Segregationist Crowds" theme was used in the same way as the "Unruly and Impolite or Violent Civil Rights Demonstrator." The former theme was used to test whites' reaction towards the civil rights demonstrators. Heckling and jeering were used as indicators of this theme.

The theme of "Civil Rights Demonstrators as Non-Violent and/or Dignified" was considered present when the reporter used the term non-violent or peaceful in describing the demonstration. However, the mere absence of violence in a demonstration was not sufficient to invoke the theme. On

the other hand, such actions as praying, reading from the Bible, singing hymns (or other religious music) were considered as dignified. Other songs were not automatically considered to be dignified. For example, if the protestors were singing, "The mayor and the Klan go hand in hand," it was not coded as being dignified. If the reporter stated that the demonstrators were orderly, or well dressed it was interpreted as a sign of being dignified.

The "Harsh Repressive Segregationist Authorities" theme examined police, politicians, and private business owners and managers. This grouping was considered because of their power to enforce discriminatory codes and laws. This theme was considered present in articles that reported that the authorities were violent and the civil rights demonstrators were considered as peaceful and/or non-violent. Violence by the authorities was considered as the use of dogs, clubs, fire hoses, and other forms of physical coercion. The theme applied when the civil rights demonstrators were arrested when no laws (other than Jim Crow laws) were violated. For example, the demonstrators might have been arrested for seeking service when there was no damage to person or property. If, however, they were arrested, for example for throwing rocks, the theme did not apply.

The "Local Customs/States' Rights/Separate but Equal" theme was applied if the article stated that while blacks could not or would not be served in a particular facility (lunch counter, public waiting room, library, etc.) but there

was a separate facility which could be used to accommodate them. The "Local Customs/States' Rights/Separate but Equal" theme was used to emphasize the desire of southern whites to follow their own community mores without interference from the North.

Data for clause variables was generated by counting the number of lines in the article that contained a theme. The entire clause which contained a theme was counted. In coding, for example, if the article stated that "the Negroes were refused services" the number of lines devoted to the statement were counted as the racial discrimination theme. In a newspaper or any other printed page, the wording of a clause does not begin or end uniformly by the printed line. Since a clause may end or begin on any space within a printed line it is possible that two themes might be found on any given line. This could happen when a clause contained two themes or when two different clauses shared a line. The researcher considered a printed line to be countable if it covered at least half the space available within the column inch.

A clause was not counted as reflecting the theme if the key words were in delegitimizing quotes. A delegitimizing quote is a quote in which the reporter has taken only a phrase or a few words for quotation. They are not generally accredited to a specific actor. An example is "Freedom Rider" vs. Freedom Rider. The delegitimizing quote shows that while the reporter is representing the facts or a position, he/she

may not, however, agree with it (Gitlin 1980). Therefore, when delegitimizing quotes appear, the theme is absent. A legitimate quote contains at least a full clause in quotation marks, is attributed to a specific speaker, and therefore is acceptable for counting a theme as present. For example, the theme of "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" is present if the reporter wrote "The Chief of Police says 'that the violence and disorder are unacceptable.'"

Demarcating Thirds of the Article

The stories were divided into thirds because newspaper articles have a distinct style from other prose articles. The newspaper article is written (as discussed earlier) so that the facts which are considered most important by the reporter are written first and the least important facts are written last. Therefore, since the facts are prearranged by assumed significance, then each part of the article cannot carry the same weight as others.

The number of lines in the body of each article was counted and divided by three. This was done in order to see where each third of an article would approximately lie. It was necessary to use approximations because paragraphs do not lie exactly in thirds and there is a tendency for them to cross boundaries. In order not to divide paragraphs, the divisions into thirds were approximate.

Delegitimizing Quote Variables

A list of dichotomous or quote variables was constructed in the same fashion as were clause variables. The quote variables were constructed to examine the number of times certain phrases were used with and without delegitimizing quotes within an article.

This study used nine pairs of quote variables. In some cases different phrases were used to indicate the same variable. For example, "equal rights," "civil rights," "equal citizenship," "full citizenship," and "social injustice" were believed to have the same meaning. If these appeared in delegitimizing quotes they supported the Misguided Troublemakers world view. If they appeared without the marks they supported the Neo-Gandhian world view. Demonstration names "sit-in/sit-down," "kneel-in," "pray-in" suggest the same type of protest and were treated as one variable. When the delegitimizing quotes were present, they supported the Misguided Troublemakers world view. When they were absent, the Neo-Gandhian world view was present. The same holds true for "non-violent" and "passive resistance" which is a separate category. In the case of the largest variable which contained "disorderly conduct," "disturbing the peace," "breach of the peace," and "loitering" the delegitimizing quotes supported the Neo-Gandhian world view.

On the survey delegitimizing quote variables "states' rights," "separate but equal," "disorderly conduct/disturbing the peace/loitering" and "in the interest of public safety,"

(#47-48, #49-50, #51-52, #57-58) support the Neo-Gandhian world view when the quotation marks are present. Variables, "civil rights," "Freedom Rider," "Jim Crow," "sit-in/sit-down," and "non-violent/passive resistance" (#41-42, #43-44, #45-46, #53-54, #56-57) were used to support the Misguided Troublemakers world view when the quotation marks were present. Each variable was counted and was recorded by the number of times it appeared in delegitimizing quotes and the number of times it did not appear in quotes.

Another set of variables, single word status indicators exist. They examine the number of times the demonstrators were characterized by age and/or status. Creditability can be emphasized by mentioning whether or not actors were "youth," "students," or "professional" types. In the case of the civil rights demonstrators all three categories were tested with the postulate that "youth" were the least creditable, "students" slightly higher and "professionals" would be the most creditable. The "youth" variable would support the Misguided Troublemakers while "students" and "professionals" would support the Neo-Gandhian world view.

Reliability Check

The reliability of the coding was determined with the aid of a second coder (who was the same individual who helped with the creation of theme variables). This individual was selected because he held the same definition of the themes and knew the application criteria for them.

It was decided that the reliability sample would originally consist of nine articles or three from each paper. The final check actually contained ten stories, four from the Chicago Defender, three from the New York Times, and three from the Atlanta Constitution. Each article that the second coder coded was also coded by the researcher. The two coders worked independently of each other.

Several earlier reliability checks were unsatisfactory and required that the coding scheme be refined. During the process of sample coding and reliability checks it was found that some categories contained a great deal of overlap. Categories such as "disruptive" and "violent" were hard to separate. "Disruptive" behavior could also be that which is "unruly" or "impolite," for example. It was decided that fewer categories would better contain behaviors that were similar. According to Krippendorff (1982:72),

Researchers typically report months of training sessions during which categories are refined, processes are altered and data sheets revised until the individuals feel comfortable and can do their job reliably and efficiently.

This researcher believes that this statement describes the present study well.

The reliability of the data were analyzed with the use of the intraclass correlation and the coefficient of agreement (Robinson, 1957). The intraclass correlation contains values from -1 to 1. The value range for the coefficient of agreement is from 0 to 1.

The formula for the intraclass correlation is

$$r_i = \frac{[(s_1^2 + s_2^2) - (s_1 - s_2)^2] r - (\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)^2 / 2}{(s_1^2 + s_2^2) + (\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)^2 / 2}$$

where s_1^2 = standard deviation of the first coder's ratings

s_2^2 = standard deviation of second coder's ratings

r = Pearson's correlation of the ratings of the two coders

\bar{x}_1 = mean of the first coder's ratings

\bar{x}_2 = mean of the second coder's ratings

The formula for the agreement coefficient is $A = \frac{r_i + 1}{2}$

It was found that Pearson's $r = .8525$, $\bar{x}_1 = .6278$, $\bar{x}_2 = .6500$, $s_1^2 = 1.6512$, $s_2^2 = 1.6729$. By using these values in the above formula it was found that the intraclass correlation (r_i) was .8523 and the agreement measure was .926, for clause variables. For the single word variables it was found that the intraclass correlation was .95 and the measure of agreement was .98. For the delegitimizing quote variables it was found that the intraclass correlation was .89 and the measure of agreement was .94.

Scoring Theme Importance

The analysis of clause data begins with the individual article. Gamson and Modigliani (1971) make the assumption that where the article appears in a newspaper affects the

attention it receives and its importance. For example, an article which appears at the top of the page is more important than one which appears at the bottom of the page. The further towards the front of the paper, the more important it is. This study follows the same line of reasoning. Therefore first, the article placement (AP) was determined. This was accomplished by assigning a value to page placement and adding that to the headline score (HS).

It is proposed that

$$AP = PP + HS$$

where AP is article placement, PP is page placement, and HS is headline score.

Page placement value (PP) was determined by the following weights, 5 = page 1 top third, 4 = page 1 middle third, 3 = page 1 bottom third, 2 = page 2 or 3, and 1 = not pages 1, 2, or 3. These weights were assigned these values since it was believed that an article on top of page 1 is the most noticeable story in a paper. The researcher believed that the noticeability of the story decreases from the top of page 1 through page 3. After page 3 all stories are equally noticeable. The headline score (HS) for the article was determined by the number of columns the headline covered. If there was no headline, a score of zero was used. The central aim of the computations was to arrive at the article theme value (ATV) for each theme and each article.

$$ATV = TCV \times AP$$

where ATV = article theme value

TCV = theme clause value

AP = article placement

$$TCV = HTV + l_1(w_1) + l_2(w_2) + l_3(w_3)$$

where HTV = headline theme value

l_1 = theme lines in first third of article

l_2 = theme lines in second third of article

l_3 = theme lines in last third of article

w_1 = weight for first third of article

w_2 = weight for second third of article

w_3 = weight for last third of article

Theme clause importance carried varying weights for different parts of the article. This occurs since all of the information in the article is not considered to be equally important. If the theme was in the headline, a value of five was assigned because it is the most noticeable part of the article. Part one had a weight (w_1) value of three. Part two (w_2) had a weight value of two and part three (w_3) carried a weight value of one point. This was done in order to reflect that the facts were arranged in order of assumed importance. The number of theme lines (l_1 , l_2 , l_3) in a part were then multiplied by its corresponding weight, ($l \times w = pv$).

Let us take an example of an article found on page 13 of the Chicago Defender where the headline covers three columns. In this article one finds that the "Racial

"Discrimination" theme is in the headline. We also find that part one has six lines of the theme, part two has three lines and part three has three lines. If page 13 is worth one point and the headline covers three columns we have $1 + 3 = 4$. Therefore, the article placement carries a value of four.

For theme clause value, one uses the following method. Since the theme was found in the headline one must give it a value of five. In part one, under the "Racial Discrimination" theme, one multiplies 6×3 which equals 18. In part two, one multiplies 3×2 which equals a value of 6, and in the last part one multiplies 3×1 which gives us a value of 3. We sum all the values under the "Racial Discrimination" theme which equals 32. In order to find the theme prominence for the article one multiplies the page placement by the theme value $32 \times 4 = 128$. After completing the above process the theme prominence scores were then summed for each theme by newspaper and month and the mean was computed.

RESULTS

It was hypothesized that:

- H.1a: Among all newspapers the Chicago Defender would present themes that most supported the Neo-Gandhian world view in 1960.
- H.1b: Within the Chicago Defender themes that supported the Neo-Gandhian world view would be the most prominent of all world views in 1960.
- H.2a: Among all newspapers the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution would present themes that were most Plague on Both Your Houses in 1960.
- H.2b: The Plague on Both Your Houses world view would be most prominent in the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution among all world views in 1960.
- H.3a: The Chicago Defender would present themes that most supported the Neo-Gandhian world view among all papers in 1963.
- H.3b: Themes that supported the Neo-Gandhian world view would be the most prominent of all world views within the Chicago Defender in 1963.
- H.4a: The Atlanta Constitution would present themes that were most Misguided Troublemakers in 1963 among all papers.
- H.4b: Themes that supported the Misguided Troublemakers world view would be the most prominent of all world views within the Atlanta Constitution in 1963.
- H.5a: The New York Times would change more towards the Neo-Gandhian direction from 1960 to 1963 than would other papers.
- H.5b: The New York Times would change towards the Neo-Gandhian direction and more away from the other world views.
- H.6a: The Atlanta Constitution would change more towards the Misguided Troublemakers than would other newspapers.
- H.6b: The Atlanta Constitution would change towards the Misguided Troublemakers direction and away from the other world views.

Data from Table 1 shows how each hypothesis was reflected by each variable type. See Table 1.

Table 1
Hypothesis by Variable Types

	Clause	Status	Quote
H.1a	-	-	-
H.1b	+	x	x
H.2a	0	x	x
H.2b	-	x	x
H.3a	+	+	0
H.3b	+	x	x
H.4a	-	x	-
H.4b	-	x	x
H.5a	-	-	-
H.5b	-	x	x
H.6a	-	+	-
H.6b	+	x	x

+ = variable supports hypothesis

- = variable rejects hypothesis

0 = variable partially supports hypothesis

x = variable could not test hypothesis

Clause Theme Variables

For clause theme variables the mean was computed for each article theme value (ATV) by newspaper for each month. Grand means of all the clause theme variables were computed for each publication for each month. Grand means reflect the length of articles, as well as page prominence.¹ See Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2
Clause Theme Variables by Means
March 1960

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis.	73.57	8.41	58.32
Unruly Seg.	21.86	14.07	29.23
Non-Vio. CRD	6.00	15.56	52.36
Harsh Auth.	65.43	33.37	66.18
Local Customs	11.71	1.41	5.59
Unruly CRD	48.64	19.70	60.41
Grand Means	37.87 (n=14)	15.42 (n=54)	45.35 (n=22)

¹The number of relevant articles within the month should not be compared between the papers because the rates of publication are different. However, one can compare the relevant number of articles within publications for March 1960 and July 1963. The Chicago Defender decreased its coverage by 57%. The New York Times decreased its coverage by 48%, the Atlanta Constitution, however, increased its coverage by 79%.

Table 3
 Clause Theme Variables by Means
 July 1963

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis. \$	22.50	12.77	44.82
Unruly Seg. \$&	0	1.81	40.64
Non-Vio. CRD #&	3.50	5.62	16.64
Harsh Auth. \$&	8.75	19.69	34.82
Local Customs \$	4.50	0	4.00
Unruly CRD #	15.00	63.00	143.43
Grand Means	9.04 (n=8)	17.15 (n=26)	47.39 (n=28)

\$ Neo-Gandhian; # Misguided Troublemakers; & Plague on Both Your Houses

Standard scores were used in analysis in order to eliminate the effect of article length. Standard scores therefore show the newspapers' relative use of one theme versus another without the bias of quantity. The standard scores were computed by dividing each theme mean for a newspaper by the paper's corresponding grand mean. The grand mean is used because it is computed from the relative attention given to all themes by each paper. See tables 4 and 5.

Statistical significance tests are not appropriate for this study. This occurs since the sample consist of the universe of articles for the selected months. Therefore, there is no random sample for which such tests are designed for.

Table 4
 Clause Theme Variables by Standard Scores
 March 1960

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis.	1.94	.55	1.29
Unruly Seg.	.58	.91	.64
Non-Vio. CRD	.16	1.01	1.15
Harsh Auth.	1.73	2.16	1.46
Local Customs	.31	.09	.12
Unruly CRD	1.28	1.28	1.33

Table 5
 Clause Theme Variables by Standard Scores
 July 1963

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis.	2.49	.74	.95
Unruly Seg.	0	.11	.86
Non-Vio. CRD	.30	.33	.35
Harsh Auth.	.97	1.15	.73
Local Customs	.50	0	.08
Unruly CRD	1.66	3.67	3.07

Table 4 shows that in March 1960, the "Racial Discrimination" theme was most likely to be used by the Chicago

Defender and least likely to be used by the New York Times. The "Unruly Segregationist" theme was most likely to be used by the New York Times and least likely by the Chicago Defender. However, the difference between the Chicago Defender and the Atlanta Constitution is small. The "Non-Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme was most likely to be used by the Atlanta Constitution but not much more so than the New York Times. The Chicago Defender was least likely to use that theme. The "Harsh Repressive Authorities" theme was most likely to be used by the New York Times followed by the Chicago Defender. The "Local Customs" theme was most likely to be used by the Chicago Defender and least likely by the New York Times, although the difference between the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution is small. The "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme was most likely to be used by the Atlanta Constitution. The difference between the Atlanta Constitution and the other papers is small. The Chicago Defender and the New York Times were equally likely to use the "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme.

Table 5 shows that in July 1963 the Chicago Defender was again most likely to use the "Racial Discrimination" theme. The New York Times was the least likely to use the "Racial Discrimination" theme, but it was not very different from the Atlanta Constitution. The "Unruly Segregationist Crowds" theme was most likely to be used by the Atlanta Constitution. The New York Times was likely to make little usage of the theme. The "Unruly Segregationist Crowds"

theme was absent from the Chicago Defender. The "Non-Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme was most likely to be used by the Chicago Defender, but there is little difference between the three papers. The New York Times was least likely to use the "Non-Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme. The New York Times was most likely to use the "Harsh Repressive Authorities" theme followed closely by the Chicago Defender. The "Local Customs" theme received very small usage in the Atlanta Constitution, while it was absent from the New York Times.

The "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme was most likely to be used by the New York Times with similar usage by the Atlanta Constitution. The Chicago Defender was by far least likely to use the "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme.

Themes were combined in order to study world views. It is important to remember that the Neo-Gandhian world view is composed of the "Racial Discrimination" theme, the "Unruly Segregationist Crowds" theme, the "Non-Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme, and the "Harsh Repressive Authorities" theme. The Misguided Troublemakers world view is composed of the "Local Customs" theme and the "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme. The Plague on Both Your Houses world view contains the "Unruly Segregationist Crowds" and "Harsh Repressive Authorities" theme. (Recall that two world views may share themes).

The March 1960 data from Table 6 was computed by summing article theme values (ATV) for the world views in each

paper. While the Chicago Defender in 1960 had a higher Neo-Gandhian score than its score for any other world views (supporting H.1b), when compared to the other papers the Chicago Defender was the least Neo-Gandhian in 1960. Therefore, H.1a is not supported. H.2a that the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution were most Plague on Both Your Houses was partially supported. The hypothesis held true for the New York Times when that world view usage was compared to all papers, but not the Atlanta Constitution. However, within the New York Times the Neo-Gandhian was slightly stronger. On the other hand, the Atlanta Constitution was least Plague on Both Your Houses of all papers and the Neo-Gandhian world view was most displayed of all world views. Therefore, H.2b that the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution would present the Plague on Both Your Houses as the world view most displayed in 1960 was not supported.

On clause variables, all papers were approximately equally high on the Neo-Gandhian world view, (although the New York Times was slightly highest) and approximately equally low on the Misguided Troublemakers world view. The Chicago Defender and the Atlanta Constitution were approximately the same on the Plague on Both Your Houses world view. The New York Times was somewhat higher on the Plague on Both Your Houses world view. See Table 6.

The July 1963 data from Table 7 indicates that H.3a, that the Chicago Defender would be most Neo-Gandhian for all papers was supported. H.3b, that the Chicago Defender would

display the Neo-Gandhian world view more than other world views in 1963 was supported. H.4a, that the Atlanta Constitution would be most Misguided Troublemakers was not supported. The New York Times was more Misguided Troublemakers than all other papers. H.4b, that the Atlanta Constitution would be more Misguided Troublemakers than other world views was not supported. It was more Plague on Both Your Houses. See Table 7.

Table 6
Clause Theme Variables by World View*
March 1960

	Defender	Times	Constitution
\$ Neo-Gandhian	4.41	4.63	4.54
# Misguided T.	1.59	1.37	1.45
& Plague on Both	3.59	4.35	3.43

Table 7
Clause Theme Variables by World View
July 1963

	Defender	Times	Constitution
\$ Neo-Gandhian	3.38	1.18	2.24
# Misguided T.	2.16	3.67	3.11
& Plague on Both	2.16	3.78	3.97

* Computed from summations of standard scores from clause theme variables.

Data from Tables 8a and 8b indicate by standard scores and standard score differences how each newspaper changed its usage of themes from 1960 to 1963. Both tables lead to the same conclusions. For the "Racial Discrimination" theme the Chicago Defender and the New York Times increased usage of the theme while the Atlanta Constitution decreased. For the "Unruly Segregationist Crowds" the Chicago Defender discontinued usage of the theme while the New York Times decreased its usage. On the other hand, the Atlanta Constitution increased its usage. The Chicago Defender increased its usage of the "Non-Violent Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme, while the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution decreased approximately equally. "Local Customs" theme usage was increased by the Chicago Defender, discontinued by the New York Times, and decreased by the Atlanta Constitution. The "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme usage was increased by all papers. See tables 8a and 8b.

Table 8a
 Clause Theme Variable Change
 by Ratio 1963/1960
 From Standard Scores

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis.	1.28	1.35	.74
Unruly Seg.	0	.12	1.34
Non-Vio. CRD	2.44	.33	.30
Harsh Auth.	.56	.53	.50
Local Customs	1.61	0	.67
Unruly CRD	1.30	2.87	2.28

Larger numbers indicate increased usage in 1963

Smaller numbers indicate decreased usage in 1963

Table 8b
 Clause Theme Variable Change
 by Difference of 1963-1960 Standard Scores

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Racial Dis.	.55	.19	-.34
Unruly Seg.	-.16	-.80	.22
Non-Vio. CRD	.23	-.68	-.80
Harsh Auth.	-.76	-1.01	-.73
Local Custom	.19	-.09	-.04
Unruly CRD	.38	2.39	1.70

Negative numbers indicate theme decreased in 1963

Hypotheses 5a&b and 6a&b concern how the newspapers changed world views from 1960 to 1963. Data from Tables 8a and 8b both lead to the conclusions that all papers decreased in the Neo-Gandhian world view in 1963. The Chicago Defender decreased the least while the New York Times decreased the most. Therefore, H.5a, that the New York Times would increase in the Neo-Gandhian world view more than other papers was not supported. All papers increased usage of the Misguided Troublemakers world view in 1963. H.5b, that the New York Times would change towards the Neo-Gandhian world view more than other world views was also not supported. The New York Times increased the most in the Misguided Troublemakers world view. Therefore, H.6a, that the Atlanta Constitution would increase the Misguided Troublemakers world view more than other papers was not supported. H.6b, that the Atlanta Constitution would change towards the Misguided Troublemakers more than towards other world views was supported. The Chicago Defender and the New York Times decreased usage for the Plague on Both Your Houses world view, the Atlanta Constitution increased. See Tables 9a and 9b.

Table 9a
 Clause Theme 1963/1960
 Ratio of World View Change*

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Neo-Gandhian	.77	.25	.49
Misguided T.	1.34	2.68	2.14
Plague on Both	.60	.87	1.16

*Computed from Tables 5 and 6

Larger numbers indicate increased usage in 1963

Table 9b
 Clause Theme Difference
 of World View Change for 1963-1960*

	Defender	Times	Constitution
Neo-Gandhian	-1.03	-3.45	-2.30
Misguided T.	.57	2.30	1.66
Plague on Both	-1.43	-.57	.54

*Computed from Tables 5 and 6

Negative numbers indicate theme usage decreased in 1963

Single Word Variables: "Students," "Professionals," and "Youth"

Single word variables are used as a status measure. Higher status such as "professionals" indicate that a protest may be legitimate. Lower status such as "youth" indicate

that a protest may be illegitimate. For single word variables the mean was figured for each variable by newspaper for each month. The means were computed by tabulating the number of times the word appeared in each month of each newspaper. The total for each variable for each newspaper was divided by its corresponding number of relevant articles for the month and newspaper.

Tables 10 and 11 are understood through the use of status ratios. The status ratio indicates the relationship in usage of the words "Ministers," "Professionals," and "students" (all high status) to "youth" (low status). A high status ratio supports the Neo-Gandhian world view and a low status ratio supports the Misguided Troublemakers world view.

Data from Table 10 March 1960, indicates that H.1a, that the Chicago Defender would be the most Neo-Gandhian compared to all papers was not supported. The findings for H.1a, that the Chicago Defender would be most Neo-Gandhian for all papers are consistent for both clause and single word variables in that the hypotheses was rejected. The Chicago Defender was the least Neo-Gandhian in both cases. However, the Atlanta Constitution was clearly the most Neo-Gandhian in 1960 by single word indicators.

H.1b, that within the Chicago Defender, the Neo-Gandhian world view would be most prominent cannot be tested for all world views. Single word indicators test only for the presence of the Neo-Gandhian and the Misguided Troublemakers world views. The Plague on Both Your Houses

is intermediate between the Neo-Gandhian and Misguided Troublemakers world views. Therefore, H.2a and H.2b for the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution on the Plague on Both Your Houses world view cannot be tested for by single word indicators.

Data from Table 11, July, 1963, indicates that H.3a, that the Chicago Defender would be most Neo-Gandhian in July 1963 was supported by the status ratio and clause data. The New York Times is more Misguided Troublemakers world view than the Atlanta Constitution.

H.4a, that the Atlanta Constitution would be the most Misguided Troublemakers in 1963 could not be tested by the status ratio for single word variables. The same holds true for H.4b for this world view within the Atlanta Constitution. See Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10
Single Word Status Indicators
for World Views by Means
March 1960

	Defender	Times	Constitution
A. Students	6.50	1.98	4.77
B. Min./Pro.	<u>.50</u>	<u>.07</u>	<u>.36</u>
A + B	7.00	2.05	5.13
C. CRD Youth	1.14	.33	.50
Status Ratio			
A + B/C	6.14	6.21	10.26

A high status ratio equals Neo-Gandhian world view

A low status ratio equals Misguided Troublemakers world view

Table 11
Single Word Status Indicators
for World View by Means
July 1963

	Defender	Times	Constitution
A. Students	.25	.27	.54
B. Min./Pro.	<u>.13</u>	<u>.08</u>	<u>.50</u>
A B	.38	.35	1.04
C. CRD Youth	.25	1.00	2.18
Status Ratio			
A B/C	1.52	.35	.48

A high status ratio equals Neo-Gandhian world view

A low status ratio equals Misguided Troublemakers world view

As with clause variables data from Tables 12a and 12b indicates that there was a shift for all papers away from the Neo-Gandhian world view. Therefore, H.5a, that the New York Times would change more towards the Neo-Gandhian world view was not supported. The Chicago Defender was the least likely to change its support for the Neo-Gandhian world view. Both clause variables and single word variables indicate that the Chicago Defender was most likely to remain Neo-Gandhian in 1963. H.6a, that the Atlanta Constitution would change more towards the Misguided Troublemakers direction than other papers was supported. See Tables 12a and 12b.

Table 12a
World View Change by
Differences Between Status Ratios
1963-1960

Defender	Times	Constitution
-4.62	-5.86	-9.78

Negative numbers indicate decreased usage in 1963.

Table 12b
World View Change by
Status Ratios of 1963/1960

Defender	Times	Constitution
.25	.06	.05

Low status ratios indicates shift towards Misguided Trouble-makers

Delegitimizing Quote Variables

Recall that the presence of delegitimizing quotes around the following phrases: "states' rights," "separate but equal," "disorderly conduct," and "public safety," indicates support for the Neo-Gandhian world view. The absence

of delegitimizing quotes around those same phrases lends relative support for the Misguided Troublemakers world view.

On the other hand, the presence of the following phrases in delegitimizing quotes indicated support for the Misguided Troublemakers world view and the absence of the quotes indicated support for the Neo-Gandhian world view. These phrases are "civil rights," "Freedom Ride," "sit-in/sit-down," and "non-violent."

Delegitimizing quote data was analyzed by grouping phrases in delegitimizing quotes that supported the Neo-Gandhian world view and all phrases in delegitimizing quotes that supported the Misguided Troublemakers world view. For Tables 13 and 14 each phrase the percentage of times it appeared in delegitimizing quotes is given next to the total number of times the phrase appeared, in or out of quotes, for each paper. The total percentage for delegitimizing quotes and total phrase usage was computed for each paper. This process was done for delegitimizing quotes supporting the Neo-Gandhian and Misguided Troublemakers world views. The figures used for analysis, the percentage differences, were computed by subtracting the Misguided Troublemakers total percentage for each paper from the Neo-Gandhian percentage for each paper for each month.

Data from Table 13 indicates that H.1a, that the Chicago Defender would be the most Neo-Gandhian in 1960 of all papers is not supported for delegitimizing quote variables. This is consistent with the evidence from the other two variable types. However, the Chicago Defender was also the most Misguided Troublemakers. For 1960 the New York Times was the most Neo-Gandhian and the least Misguided Troublemakers for delegitimizing quotes. These are the same findings as under clause variables.

Delegitimizing quote indicators, like single word indicators, test only for the Neo-Gandhian and Misguided Troublemakers world views. Therefore, hypotheses dealing with Plague on Both Your Houses (H.2a and H.2b) cannot be tested. In addition, only the hypotheses comparing papers were tested.

Data from Table 14 indicates that the Chicago Defender could be Plague on Both Your Houses since delegitimizing quotes support neither Neo-Gandhian nor Misguided Troublemakers world views. The Atlanta Constitution is less Neo-Gandhian than the Chicago Defender. The New York Times is as Neo-Gandhian as the Chicago Defender. Therefore, H.3a that the Chicago Defender would be the most Neo-Gandhian in 1963 is partially supported. This finding is contrary to the findings in both previous sets of variables. H.4a, that the Atlanta Constitution would be most Misguided Troublemakers for all papers is not supported. The New York Times was more Misguided Troublemakers. This finding is consistent

with clause and single word variables. See Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13
Delegitimizing Quote Percentages
March 1960

Quotes Supporting Neo-Gandhian	Defender	Times	Constitution
"states' rights"	0% (1)	0% (0)	0% (2)
"separate but equal"	0% (0)	0% (1)	0% (3)
"disorderly conduct"	9% (22)	0% (12)	0% (20)
"public safety"	<u>0% (1)</u>	<u>0% (0)</u>	<u>0% (1)</u>
Totals	8% ^a (24)	0% ^a (13)	0% ^a (26)
<hr/>			
Quotes Supporting Misguided T.			
"civil rights"	60% (10)	20% (5)	20% (5)
"Freedom Ride"	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
"sit-in/sit-down"	42% (38)	3% (36)	39% (36)
"non-violent"	<u>38% (8)</u>	<u>0% (1)</u>	<u>0% (0)</u>
Totals	45% ^b (56)	6% ^b (42)	37% ^b (41)
Percentage Difference	-37%	-6%	-37%

% difference = a-b

Positives supports Neo-Gandhian

Negatives supports Misguided Troublemakers

Table 14
Delegitimizing Quote Percentages
July 1963

Quotes Supporting Neo-Gandhian	Defender	Times	Constitution
"states' rights"	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
"separate but equal"	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
"disorderly conduct"	0% (3)	50% (4)	4% (23)
"public safety"	<u>0% (0)</u>	<u>0% (0)</u>	<u>0% (0)</u>
Totals	0% ^a (3)	50% ^a (4)	4% ^a (23)
<hr/>			
Quotes Supporting Misguided T.			
"civil rights"	0% (3)	17% (6)	30% (10)
"Freedom Ride"	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
"sit-in/sit-down"	0% (1)	50% (8)	27% (11)
"non-violent"	<u>0% (1)</u>	<u>50% (2)</u>	<u>100% (1)</u>
Totals	0% ^b (5)	50% ^b (16)	32% ^b (22)
Percentage Difference	0%	0%	-28%

% difference a-b

Positives supports Neo-Gandhian

Negatives supports Misguided Troublemakers

Data from Table 15 indicates that H.5a, that the New York Times would change more towards the Neo-Gandhian direction than other papers was not supported. This finding is consistent with findings in the other variables sets. All of the papers changed towards the Neo-Gandhian world view with the Chicago Defender changing the most. Therefore, H.6a, that the Atlanta Constitution would change more in the direction of the Misguided Troublemakers world view was not supported. This finding is not consistent with single word variables nor with clause variables. See Table 15.

Table 15
Delegitimizing Quote Change
by Percentage Difference
1963-1960

Defender	Times	Constitution
37	6	9

Positive numbers indicate change towards Neo-Gandhian

Negative numbers indicate change towards Misguided Troublemakers

DISCUSSION

In general the findings of this study were not those which were expected. From clause variables it was found that the Chicago Defender was least likely of all papers to term the civil rights demonstrators as non-violent for both years. For the New York Times under clause variables, for the "Local Customs" theme the New York Times was very low, the lowest of all papers for both years. It was originally believed that the New York Times would probably be between the Chicago Defender which would be on the higher side of the "Local Customs" theme and the Atlanta Constitution which would be on the lower side. In 1960 for clause variables, as they composed world views, it was found that all papers were approximately equal on the Neo-Gandhian world view, with the Chicago Defender being on the lower end. All papers were approximately equal on the Misguided Troublemakers world view with the Chicago Defender being on the higher end. On the Plague on Both Your Houses it was found that the New York Times was the highest which was in the direction of our beliefs. In 1963 for clause variables, as they compose world views, it was found that the Chicago Defender was the most Neo-Gandhian and the New York Times the least so. However, the New York Times was the highest on the Misguided Troublemakers world view and the Chicago Defender was the least so. For the Plague on Both Your Houses

the Atlanta Constitution was the highest and the Chicago Defender was the lowest.

When analyzing single word indicators for 1960 it was found that the Atlanta Constitution was the most Neo-Gandhian in its usage and the Chicago Defender was the least so. For the same indicators in 1963 it was found that the Chicago Defender had the highest usage of the Neo-Gandhian world view and the New York Times the least.

Data for delegitimizing quotes variables for 1960 indicate that the New York Times was the least Misguided Troublemakers and the Chicago Defender and the Atlanta Constitution were equal. The same indicators for 1963 show that the Chicago Defender and the New York Times were about the same (or neutral) and the Atlanta Constitution used phrases that were Misguided Troublemakers.

When comparing the hypotheses against all variables types it was found that H.1b, that the Chicago Defender was the most Neo-Gandhian of all newspapers in 1960 was not supported by any of the variable types. H.3a, that the Chicago Defender was the most Neo-Gandhian of all newspapers in 1963 was supported by all three variable types. H.4a, that the Atlanta Constitution was the most Misguided Troublemakers in 1963 was supported by two of the variable types. H.5a, that the New York Times changed more to the Neo-Gandhian world view from 1960 to 1963 than did the other newspapers was not supported by any of the variable types. H.6a, that the Atlanta Constitution changed more to the

Misguided Troublemakers world view from 1960 to 1963 than did the other papers was rejected by two of the three variable types.

The reliability and validity of the variables is indicated by agreement of any two or more variable types. This is possible since the three types of indicators are very different from each other. Therefore, if two or more different measurements agree there is a high probability that the indicators are examining what they are supposed to be examining.

Since the New York Times appeared to be more Neo-Gandhian by all variable types in 1960 than the Chicago Defender there is some difficulty in accepting Frazier's (1962, 149) statement that, "since Negroes read white newspapers, if the same news is published in Negro newspapers it must have a special 'slant' in order to appeal to Negroes." However, since the Chicago Defender displayed the Neo-Gandhian world view more than other world views there is some support for Frazier's idea even in 1960. The data leads to the conclusion that in 1963 Frazier's idea is correct.

It was also expected that the New York Times would become more sympathetic towards the civil rights demonstrators in 1963. While it was believed that the moderate-liberal support was growing for the civil rights movement, the movement itself may have, by 1963, begun to move away from the non-violent tactics.

Simon (1974, 67-68) using Louis Harris Associates data from 1961-1967, believes "The data show a rather consistent trend against support for demonstrations by Negroes on the part of the white community on the grounds that the demonstrations were 'hurting more than helping' the Negro's chances for full social and political equality." Data from July 1963 shows that from a sample of whites (number unknown) approximately 68% believed this to be so. Furthermore, Simon (1974, 70) cites another Louis Harris Associates survey for the summer of 1963 where whites disapproved of "Lying down in front of trucks at construction sites to protest hiring discrimination" by 91%, they disapproved of "sit-ins at lunch counters" by 67%, they disapprove of "going to jail to protest discrimination" by 56%, and "boycotting products whose manufacturers didn't hire enough Negroes" by 55%.

Schwartz (1967, 98-99) using George Gallup American Institute of Public Opinion and National Opinion Research Center data from the same era as the Louis Harris Associates data, came to the same conclusion as Simon. Schwartz states "while they (whites) are increasingly in favor of these (civil) rights for Negroes, they are personally much less likely to appreciate the steps which civil rights leaders feel are important to take, steps which are more likely to upset the equilibrium of white society and point up the history of chronic injustice." Therefore, it is possible that the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution were reflecting the beliefs of its readership.

The idea that the Atlanta Constitution would be the most Misguided Troublemakers in 1963 was not supported for two of the three variable types. This could support Bachands (1963) position that the Atlanta Constitution was not a typical southern newspaper, but it was more liberal. The researcher believed that this would be true if Atlanta had a higher percentage of blacks than did other large southern cities. However, the 1960 census reveals that Birmingham, Columbia, Memphis, and New Orleans had higher percentages of blacks than Atlanta. Therefore, the Atlanta Constitution liberalism cannot be explained through population.

This study indicates that there was no great differences between the white and black press coverage of the southern civil rights movement in 1960. This finding does not support Rivers finding that the white press emphasized more violence by civil rights demonstrators than non-violence, while the black press emphasized more non-violence than violence by civil rights demonstrators. On the other hand, Rivers did not study 1960, but 1962 and 1963. The findings of this study for 1963 do lend credibility to his finding. From the "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme for 1960 one finds that all papers were approximately equal. However, from the "Unruly Civil Rights Demonstrators" theme for 1963 the New York Times usage of the theme more than doubled that of the Chicago Defender and the Atlanta Constitution was nearly as high as the New York Times. There are two possible explanation for these differences. First, the civil rights

demonstrators may have been changing their tactics and the black press was slanting the news for the black audiences' benefit. This would lend support for Frazier. Or secondly, the white press was following the sentiments of the white community. This would lend support to Simon and Schwartz.

The Chicago Defender would have been more Neo-Gandhian in 1960 in its coverage of the southern civil rights movement if it had given more attention to the non-violent participation of the demonstrators. One speculation for this possible lack of coverage is that the non-violent tactics had by 1960 become old-hat for the Chicago Defender, yet it had not become old-hat for the white papers. This is particularly true if the Chicago Defender had actively followed protest by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his followers. This would mean that the idea of non-violence was four years old by the time the first sample of the data was published.

This study has suggested that the coverage of the southern civil rights movement was somewhat homogeneous for the Chicago Defender, the New York Times, and the Atlanta Constitution in 1960 and divergent between the black and white presses for 1963. However, these comparisons cannot be drawn too tightly for all newspapers since the Chicago Defender is not representative of all black papers nor are the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution representative of all white papers.

Further research is needed. It should examine different newspapers before 1960 to find if there was homogeneity

between the black and white press. Another study should also examine the post-1963 years when civil rights demonstrations were clearly more militant and violent. The latter study should test whether or not there was further divergence between the black and white press.

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