

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWS OF BLACK AMERICANS  
AS PRESENTED BY THE WICHITA EAGLE AND  
A COMPARISON WITH EMPIRICAL DATA

by

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B. A., Kansas State University, 1968

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A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

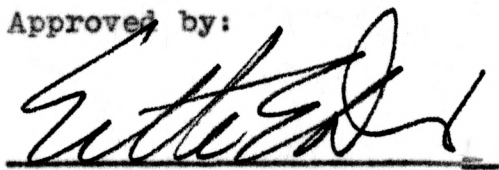
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Technical Journalism

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1970

Approved by:



Major Professor

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

Arnold Rose, author of The Negro in America, was quoted in an article by William L. Dulaney as saying:

Negro crime news gets great publicity. To many white Northerners, the crime news is the most important source of information they get about Negroes. To white Southerners, the crime news reinforces the stereotypes and sometimes serves to unite the white community for collective violence against Negroes. The crime news is unfair to Negroes because, on the one hand, it emphasizes individual cases instead of statistical proportions and, on the other hand, all other aspects of Negro life are neglected in the white press that gives the unfavorable crime news undue weight.<sup>1</sup>

Jean Ann Houghton, in a study of the coverage by the daily news media of black communities in the San Francisco Bay area, concluded:

. . . with few exceptions coverage was incomplete, sporadic, and tending to report only the most dramatic and violent happenings or the most articulate, colorful Negro spokesman, with very little attempt made to do background or in-depth reporting. Regularized, systematized lines of communication from the news media to the Negro communities have not been established, and in most cases the news media editors and managers expressed reluctance to change established news gathering practices which tend to concentrate on spot news of official agencies, government officials, and the financial districts, and which do not lend themselves to investigation of complex social issues.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>William L. Dulaney, "Identification of Race in Newspaper Crime Stories," Journalism Quarterly, XLVI (Autumn, 1969), 603.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Ann Houghton, "The Establishment Press and the Negro Community," Journalism Abstracts, VII (1969), abstract no. 174.

An assistant to the publisher of a large California daily newspaper is reported to have said the following in explanation of why the paper does not print much news about residents in the local ghetto: "Look, we want to reach people who spend their weekends skiing, the couple that flies to London for a vacation." Of the advertisers of the paper, "They're not paying to reach poor people."<sup>3</sup>

According to Dulaney, Elliot M. Rudwick, a sociologist at Southern Illinois University, said in 1962 that Negro suspects and offenders are identified by race in most Southern newspapers and in some non-Southern papers. "Such a practice seems unfair and misleading," Rudwick said. "While Negroes do have a higher arrest rate than whites, a newspaper's race labeling of Negroes (but not of whites) tends to give the impression of an even higher rate of Negro criminality."<sup>4</sup>

Dulaney continued, quoting E. H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey:

The belief of the ordinary citizen that Negroes have a much larger number of crimes than have whites may well be based on the policy of many newspapers inserting the word "Negro" after the name of all persons of that race who are accused of crimes. If these papers had a policy of inserting the word "republican" or "Baptist" after the name of every person arrested who was a Republican voter or a member of a Baptist church and making no mention of the political or religious affiliation of all other persons accused of crimes, the public would soon be convinced that Republicans and Baptists were unusually addicted to crimes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Melvin Mencher, "Journalism: The Way It Is as Seen by Black Reporters and Students," Journalism Quarterly, XLVI (No. 3, 1969), 504.

<sup>4</sup>Dulaney, "Identification of Race," p. 693.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

I It should be acknowledged now that what a newspaper prints and how it prints it is the result of a variety of factors. As Roy E. Carter said:

The events which "make" the news, the material which is channeled to the paper by wire services and by other news sources, and the pressures for publicity exerted by organized groups are examples of influences over which the paper has little, if any, control. How a given story is "played" is also dependent on the news judgment of one or more editors and upon the context provided by the other news of the day. Sometimes a newsman may be subject to policy pressures from within the newspaper organization, and inevitably his news gathering and news treatment are affected by his own associations, his own beliefs, attitudes and values.<sup>6</sup>

Because of comments like these, the author wondered what kind of an image of black Americans was being projected by newspapers, what aspects of Negro life were most likely to reach the pages of "white" newspapers and whether the image projected was consistent or congruent with empirical data.

Thus, the author began a content analysis of news of black Americans in Wichita, Kansas, as presented in news and feature articles, staff editorials, and pictures in The Wichita Eagle and a comparison with empirical data. The period of study included all issues of the paper in the months of January and February, June and July, and October and November in 1968. This included only articles, editorials, and pictures which contained specific references to "Negroes" or "blacks" who were residents of Wichita or who visited Wichita during the study period. It did not include news of black Americans outside Wichita who did not visit the city during the study period. Nor did it include

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<sup>6</sup>Roy E. Carter, "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," *Journalism Quarterly*, XXXIV (Winter, 1957), 9.

articles which might be about Negroes in Wichita but which contained no references to Negro or black.

One part of the study was a descriptive picture of black Americans in Wichita as constructed through a content analysis of the Eagle. In the second phase of the study the author constructed an empirical picture of black Americans in Wichita through the use of sociological, demographic, and other data. A comparison of the two pictures followed to determine whether the image of black Americans in Wichita as presented by the Eagle was consistent or congruent with the empirical image.

Coverage of black Americans in Wichita by the Eagle was also compared with the ideal as expressed in the theory of social responsibility of newspapers, various journalism codes of ethics, and an admonishment from an investigative commission.

The study was relevant to the field of journalism because it was an analysis of the content of a major Kansas newspaper. The importance of the study was in demonstrating whether the Kansas newspaper with the largest circulation in the state presented a consistent image of black Americans in Wichita. In addition, it was the author's desire to relate this coverage to various journalistic codes.

The author acknowledged that there were other sources of information about Negroes in Wichita besides the Eagle, such as another newspaper and the various broadcast media. Personal contact between blacks and whites was also a source, although it was not believed that such contact was very extensive.

Most of us depend upon mass-communication products for a large majority of all the information and entertainment we receive during life. What most of us think

we know is not known at all in the sense of experience and observation. The expanse of our knowledge of public affairs must come from the mass media.<sup>7</sup>

The same is true about information on Negroes in Wichita. The Eagle was likely an important source of news about the black community--news that probably was not known through actual experience or observance by whites. The importance of an accurate picture being presented and the fact that such an investigation has not been conducted to the author's knowledge seemed ample justification for undertaking this study.

A number of definitions were established at the outset. "Content analysis," as defined by Bernard Berelson, was "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."<sup>8</sup> For the author's purpose, content analysis referred to a method of analyzing pertinent news content in the Eagle. This involved constructing a descriptive picture indicating what the Eagle told its readers about the black community in Wichita. It also involved some quantification of material.

"News" referred to all news and feature articles, staff editorials, and photographs which contained references to "blacks" or "Negroes" who were residents of Wichita, Kansas, or who visited there some time during the study period.

"Blacks" or "Negroes" included only those who lived in

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<sup>7</sup>William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication (Rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup>Claire Selltiz, and others, Research Methods in Social Relations (Rev. ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p. 335.



Wichita during the period studied or those who visited Wichita during this time. News of other Negroes was excluded in order to prevent the number of references from being prohibitive.

"Empirical data" referred to sociological, demographic, and other data obtained through the use of scientific procedures.

A descriptive picture was constructed by using information directly from the newspaper content to construct the image of Negroes in Wichita and to indicate what the Eagle told its readers about blacks and the black community in Wichita.

An empirical picture of Negroes in Wichita was constructed using sociological, demographic, and other data.

#### Survey of Literature

There were three main divisions in the survey of literature: (1) relevant methodology; (2) black Americans and the news media, particularly newspapers, with an examination of past and "ideal" press performance; and (3) sociological, demographic, and other studies of Negroes in Wichita.

Claire Selltitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook's Research Methods in Social Relations and Richard W. Budd and Robert K. Thorp's An Introduction to Content Analysis were used as an introduction to the technique of content analysis. Berelson's definition of the technique has already been mentioned. Selltitz and others described content analysis as a special technique developed for describing in systematic form the content of communication. It should be added that this meant communication in the various social sciences and not just content of the mass

media. They stated that both quantified and unquantified data have a legitimate place in contemporary social science.

Selltiz indicated that content analysis proceeds under certain controls that render it systematic and objective compared to a conventional review or critique of communication content. These controls included:

1. Categories of analysis used to classify the content are clearly and explicitly defined so that others can apply them to the same content to verify the conclusions.
2. The analyst is not free to select and report merely what strikes him as interesting but must methodically classify all relevant material in his sample.
3. Some quantitative procedure is used in order to provide a measure of the importance and emphasis in the material of the various ideas found and to permit comparison with other samples of material.<sup>9</sup>

In general, the steps to follow in conducting a content analysis include:

1. Formulate a research problem
2. Develop a study design
3. Establish categories for the classification of data
4. Systematically tabulate and summarize the data in terms of the categories.<sup>10</sup>

Selltiz said that determining the size of a sample and who to sample, the time period of the analysis, and the reliability of responses and classification are problems faced by social scientists in such a study.

Budd said content analysis cannot by itself "prove" bias. It will not tell what the writer had in mind when he wrote

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 337.

it, what response the writer hoped to elicit from his audience, nor the effect of a communication on a reader. Content analysis is only a description of manifest content. It shows only the recurrence or absence of content symbols--symbols which have been given certain "meaning" by the analyst.<sup>11</sup>

Budd mentioned three questions which are fundamental to all research techniques:

1. How precise are the observations?
2. Can other scientists repeat the observations?
3. Do the data actually demonstrate the conclusions?

It was with these questions in mind and Budd's advice to adapt, revise, or combine techniques in content analysis to fit the individual needs of one's study, that the author devised his research strategy, which was fully discussed in another section.

Only two studies utilizing comparisons similar to the author's were found in the survey of the literature. They were Adolph O. Goldsmith's "A Study of the Objectivity of Treatment of Gov. Huey P. Long by Six Louisiana Daily Newspapers during Long's First Eleven Months in Office" and G. John Levin, Jr.'s "News of India in Three American Papers."

The purpose of Goldsmith's study was to examine press performance in a specific controversy. The "picture" of Long in the press was compared with a "historical picture" of the governor. The Historical picture was constructed from writings

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<sup>11</sup>Richard W. Budd and Robert K. Thorp, An Introduction to Content Analysis (Iowa City: State University of Iowa, 1963), p. 16.

of historians, political scientists, journalists, and others and from interviews and correspondence with contemporaries of Long. It was used as a point of reference with which the published statements in news stories and editorials from the six papers were compared.

Levin compared the American image of India as derived from a questionnaire of an earlier study with the content of three American papers.

"A System of Categories for General News Content" by Chilton R. Bush and other studies offered ideas on possible content categories.

In the second area of the survey, which concerned black Americans and the press, the most interesting aspect was the sparsity of research done in this area, at least until very recently.

In "Coverage in Six New York Daily Newspapers of Malcolm X and His Black Nationalist Movement: A Study," Jon A. Roosenraad sought to determine how some of the nation's newspapers reacted to a person regarded by "most whites and many 'moderate' blacks" as being one of the foremost "hatemongers," and how the press reacted to Malcolm X's break with the Black Muslims and his change in views.

Houghton's study of the coverage of black communities in the San Francisco Bay area by the daily news media was noted earlier.

Roy E. Carter, in "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," was concerned with the attention selected newspapers gave the desegregation issue, the probable sources of

desegregation-related news, the presence or absence of stereotypical references, and the types of "race-labeling" which would be used by pro- and anti-integration spokesmen.

Melvin Mencher, in "Journalism: The Way It Is, as Seen by Black Reporters and Students," sought to learn how more members of minority groups could become journalists and how they fared when they were employed.

The effects of racial identification in news stories were studied in Dulaney's "Identification of Race in Newspaper Crime Stories" which has already been mentioned and Roy E. Carter's "Racial Identification Effects upon the News Story Writer." Dulaney tested the proposition that newspapers are more likely to identify race in a crime story when the suspect is a Negro. Carter used students in writing classes at five universities to test the effect on writers of knowing the race of a suspect when they were asked to write a crime story.

Other studies concerned the black press and a "second look" at Henry Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal, a "friend" of the black people.

Responsibility in Mass Communication by William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, The Black American and the Press edited by Jack Lyle, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, various research studies, and a number of codes of conduct in the field of mass communications discussed the role of the mass media in modern society and offered evaluations of past media performance and of possible measures of "ideal" coverage.

The irony of the close public attention and criticism of the mass media "springs from the fact that never before have the media been so conscious of their need for responsible performance. However well or ill they actually perform, a self-conscious quality is now a heavy overlay on their actions."<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly the most important effect of the media is to feed the ground--to deposit layers of information, day by day, hour by hour, so that a base is laid for the knowledge on which we can walk. Compared with the occasional great and dramatic changes we can attribute to the media, this slow, continuing, never-ending effect is immensely more powerful and significant.<sup>13</sup>

According to Rivers, the Commission on Freedom of the Press, supported by private philanthropy and staffed by scholars, said in the 1940's:

It is the duty of the press to provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning. The press should serve as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism, give a representative picture of the constituent groups in society, help in the presentation and classification of the goals and values of the society, and provide full access to the day's intelligence. The major mission of mass communication is to raise social conflict from the plane of violence to the plane of discussion.<sup>14</sup>

Rivers mentioned four concepts of mass communication: authoritarianism, libertarianism, the Soviet Communist theory, and the theory of social responsibility. Referring to the last as "a struggle for responsible performance," Rivers said "social responsibility is defined by various publishers and journalistic groups; it certainly is relative, and sometimes nebulous; and

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<sup>12</sup>Rivers, Responsibility, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-48.

no solution that would be widely agreed upon and enforced can ever be reached. In fact, the whole point of social responsibility is that it is defined by journalists and enforced not at all."<sup>15</sup> He added that responsible performance is viewed differently by different journalists.

Political scientist Harold Basswell said communication serves at least three functions in a society:

1. Maintains surveillance of the environment;
2. Coordinates the response of society to the environment;
3. Transmits the society's culture.<sup>16</sup>

Lyle added that the function of surveillance has been institutionalized in the journalistic media.

Communication in its broadest form, Lyle said, is perhaps the most important foundation of a harmonious society.

However, he had this comment on the presentation of news today:

The citizen is conditioned to perceive the news as a succession of discrete crises which suddenly burst upon his consciousness and just as suddenly disappear. The citizen-reader assumes that the crises have been successfully resolved as they no longer appear in the media.<sup>17</sup>

Lyle also contended that it is paradoxical that the objective news report may be more biased than the interpretative because of its lack of depth. Continuity was an element often lacking. The result was that news continues to be primarily

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>16</sup>Jack Lyle, ed., The Black American and the Press (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, c1968), p. x.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. xii.

action-oriented, with little emphasis on explanation and little treatment of potential problems. A source of the failure in reporting the Negro problem stemmed from previous ignorance or lack of concern about the Negro community. In terms of the usual criteria, the Negro community has not traditionally been overly newsworthy, Lyle claimed.

Another source on black Americans and the news media was Fisher and Lowenstein's Race and the News Media.

In the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, better known as the Kerner Commission Report, it was concluded that: "Despite instances of sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion, newspapers, radio and television tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders." However, the report continued:

Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience--which is white--a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.<sup>18</sup>

Other sources on press performance in covering civil disorders included a special section in Columbia Journalism Review on journalism and the Kerner Report, McMillan's "The Press and Civil Disorders: A Problem in Public Communication," Meyer's "A Newspaper's Role Between the Riots," and various conferences on the mass media and race relations.

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<sup>18</sup> Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Bantam Books (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968), p. 20.



Various codes of conduct offer evidence that journalists have given thought to achieving the type of responsible coverage suggested by sources such as the Kerner Report. "The Canons of Journalism," "Criteria of a Good Newspaper," and "The Journalist's Creed" presented ideal conditions which members of the mass media were said to strive for and which were ethical standards of the profession.

The primary function of newspapers is to communicate to the human race what its members do, feel, and think. To its opportunities as a chronicle are indissolubly linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter. By every consideration of good faith a newspaper is constrained to be truthful. It is not to be excused for lack of thoroughness or accuracy within its control, or failure to obtain command of these essential qualities. Headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the article which they surmount.<sup>19</sup>

A good newspaper:

. . . reports fully and explains the meaning of local, national, and international events which are of major significance in its own community. Its editorial comment provides an informed opinion on matters of vital concern to its readers. By reflecting the total image of the community in its news coverage and by providing wise counsel in its editorials, a good newspaper becomes a public conscience.

. . . . .  
The newspaper shall select, edit, and display news on the basis of its significance and its genuine usefulness to the public, and serve as a constructive critic of government at all levels, provide leadership for necessary reforms or innovations, and expose any misfeasance in office or any misuse of public power.<sup>20</sup>

The third part of the survey of literature included sociological and demographic sources of information on the black community in Wichita. Warren M. Banner's "A Review of the

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<sup>19</sup>"The Canons of Journalism." Adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its first annual meeting in 1923.

<sup>20</sup>"Criteria of a Good Newspaper." Associated Press Managing Editor's Association, 1962.

Economic and Cultural Problems of Wichita, Kansas" was the main source. It was a study of the black community in Wichita by the National Urban League. The "1968 Annual Statistical Report" of the Wichita Police Department and various census sources were also used.

### The Hypothesis

The major hypothesis of the study was:

The narrative or impressionistic picture of black Americans in Wichita, Kansas, as constructed from a content analysis of news and feature articles, staff editorials, and pictures in The Wichita Eagle which contained specific references to "Negroes" or "blacks" who were residents of Wichita or who visited Wichita is not consistent or congruent with the picture of black Americans in Wichita constructed through the use of sociological, demographic, and other data.

## CHAPTER II

### RESEARCH STRATEGY

All issues of the city edition of The Wichita Eagle in the months of January and February, June and July, and October and November in 1968 were examined in the study. Only news and feature articles, Eagle editorials, and pictures which contained specific references to "Negroes" or "blacks" who were residents of Wichita or who visited Wichita during the study period were evaluated.

#### Content Categories

Various studies using content categories were surveyed, with that of Chilton R. Bush being the most useful.<sup>1</sup> Eleven content categories were developed for this study and have been defined below:

1. Sports--included news of sports activities in Wichita; of present or former Wichita athletes. The category included news of sports events as well as the athlete himself.
2. Education--included news of private and public schools; colleges or universities; night schools; trade schools; adult education; statements by educators; activities of schools; school problems; school standards; and school achievements.

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<sup>1</sup>Chilton R. Bush, "A System of Categories for General News Content," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVII (Spring, 1960), pp. 206-210.

3. Business--included news of businesses; of business management; of employment and unemployment; of jobs or positions; and of the economy in general.
4. Housing--included news of present or future housing; the condition of housing; and governmental activities related to housing.
5. Health--included news of public health; of health agencies and institutions; health of the individual; illnesses and diseases; and preventive aspects of health.
6. Crime and judicial proceedings--included news of trials; acts of crime; and arrests. The category included news of civil disturbances only if formal charges had been or would be filed.
7. Civil conflict--included news of riots or civil protests in which there were no criminal charges filed, but merely a confrontation. The category included news of physical but not verbal confrontations.
8. Politics--included news about politics in general on the city level or a higher level affecting the city; aspects of city politics; issues; politicians; candidates, and criticisms of governmental activities. The category of politics included verbal confrontations of a political nature, but not physical confrontations, although they might be politically motivated. If the political news was not general but was, for example, about housing, then the item was classified in the more specific category of housing.
9. Amusements--included news of entertainment of entertainers and events, celebrations, or contests for recreation.
10. Civic recognition--included news of honors, awards, or heroics. The category was meant to be general in nature. For example, if an item tells about good scholarship in school, the item was classified under education.
11. Miscellaneous--included ~~all~~ items which were not classified in any of the other categories. This category included news of weddings, funerals, and persons in military service.

The definitions of the categories were not an indication of all of the situations belonging in a particular category as this was impossible to anticipate. Instead, the definitions served only as a guide for the content of each category.

The author tested the clarity of the content category definitions and the reliability of classifying material by having five graduate students classify twenty items. Using the classifications of the author as a basis, the percentages of agreement of the five with the author were 90, 80, 75, 80, and 95. It was concluded that this analysis represents a reliable and objective investigation.

#### Standard Data Form

A standard data form was developed and printed on four- by six-inch note cards. The form was used in evaluating each item (article, editorial, or picture). The following information was obtained when applicable from each item:

1. Whether item was an article, editorial, or a picture.
2. Date of publication of item.
3. Content category.
4. Source of the item (wire service or staff).
5. Page on which the item appeared.
6. Position on the page.
7. Length of the item in column inches, headline included.
8. Exact headline.
9. Headline width in columns.
10. Headline size in points.
11. Size of the photo (x columns by xx inches).
12. Position of photo on the page.
13. Whether the item was "jumped" to another page.
14. A short summary of the item.

To determine the position of an item each page was divided into four equal parts--upper left, upper right, lower left, and lower right. To determine the left-right direction, if any part of the item was in the left half, it was said to be left; otherwise, it was right. To determine upper-lower direction, if any part of the item was in the upper half, the item was said to be upper; otherwise, it was lower.

Once the information was recorded, the author used three quantitative measures of the content in the various categories: (1) number of items in each category; (2) number of column inches in each category; and (3) attention score of each category. It should be noted that items that were jumped to another page were not considered separate items in the first two measures. They were considered separate items in determining the attention score of each category. This was done to allow evaluation of the display of the jumps.

#### Attention Score

The attention score was designed to evaluate the display of an item in the newspaper. Others such as Budd, Malcolm W. Klein, Frederick T. C. Yu, and Martin Kriesberg have used such a device for this purpose. Budd used four criteria for determining the relative importance of news stories and their display: horizontal headline size, position of article on the page, length of the article, and the page on which it appeared. He tested the validity of the criteria by asking seven editors questions such as: Is a story with a multi-column headline more important (or prominent) than one with a single column headline?

The variables used in the attention score of this study were: (1) page number and section where the item is located; (2) position on the page; (3) headline or picture width; (4) headline size; and (5) length of item, in column inches. The higher the attention score an item received, the more prominently it had been displayed in the paper, and, presumably, the more likely it was to be read or at least noticed by the reader. To say it another way, the higher the score an item received, the more attention it was given by both the editor and the reader. Each article or editorial could receive up to a maximum of twenty-five points. Each picture could receive up to nineteen points.

Fig. 1 shows the point values assigned to each variable. Fig. 2 shows the variables grouped according to the point values assigned.

#### Comparison of "Pictures"

Information from the content analysis of the Eagle, quantitative and descriptive, was used in constructing a narrative or impressionistic picture of black Americans in Wichita. Information from various sociological, demographic, and other sources was used to construct an empirical picture of Negroes in Wichita. The two pictures were then compared to determine if they were consistent or congruent.

Points	Variable
	1. Location of item.
5	front page (1A)
3	any inside front page (1B, 1C, 1D, etc.)
2	on an inside sports page or on editorial page
1	on all other inside pages
	2. Position of item on the page.
5	upper left
4	upper right
2	lower left
1	lower right
	3. Headline width or column width.
5	for headlines or pictures 5-8 columns wide
1	per column for headlines or pictures 1-4 columns wide
	4. Headline sizes.
6	for headlines larger than 48 points
5	for 48-point headlines
4	for 42-point headlines
3	for 36-point headlines
2	for 30-point headlines
1	for 24-point headlines
0	for 18- and 14-point headlines
	5. Length of article.*
4	over 20 inches
3	16 to 20 inches
2	11 to 15 inches
1	6 to 10 inches
0	1 to 5 inches

\*In determining the attention score, the length of each item was rounded off to the nearest inch.

Fig. 1.--Attention score: point values by variable



Points	Variable
6	Headlines larger than 48 points
5	5- to 8-column headline or picture 48-point headlines Item on page 1A Upper left position on page
4	4-column headline or picture 42-point headline Upper right position on page Over-20-inch item
3	Item located on front page of an inside section 3-column headline or picture 36-point headline 16--20-inch item
2	Located on an inside sports page or editorial page Lower left position on page 2-column headline or picture 30-point headline 11--15-inch item
1	Location on an inside page* Lower right position on the page 1-column headline or picture 24-point headline 6--10-inch item
0	18- and 14-point headlines 1--5-inch item

\*Except sports page, editorial page, or front page of an inside section.

Fig. 2.--Attention score: variables by point value

## CHAPTER III

### THE PICTURE PRESENTED BY THE WICHITA EAGLE

A narrative or impressionistic picture of black Americans in Wichita was constructed through a content analysis of the Wichita Eagle. The information, quantitative and descriptive, was derived from an evaluation of the 374 items in the study. The items were articles, pictures, and editorials which contained specific references to "Negroes" or "blacks" who were residents of Wichita or who visited Wichita during the study period. There were 176 news items, 193 picture items, and 5 editorial items.

The following was a picture of black Americans in Wichita as projected by the Eagle.

#### Sports

Pictorial coverage of the black athlete was extensive, but only rarely was he identified as a Negro in sports news items. Nearly half of all the picture items of Negroes were sports pictures. According to pictorial coverage, the black athlete was often the "star" of a team or the "hero" of a game. He "holds WSU hopes," "seeks rushing record," "scores twice," "leaps for a layup," or ends "brilliant career."<sup>1</sup> This photo

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<sup>1</sup>Pictures, Wichita Eagle, Nov. 30, 1968, p. 3D; Nov. 7, 1968, p. 1E; Oct. 7, 1968, p. 3C; Feb. 22, 1968, pp. 1F; and Feb. 26, 1968, p. 2B.

coverage was largely of football and basketball games of Wichita high schools and colleges. It portrayed game action or pre-game build-up, in most instances.

There were only two sports stories containing specific references to Negroes. Jackie Robinson, the first Negro baseball player in the major leagues, was to speak at a dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Wichita, and the Wichita Soccer Club planned a clinic so that Negro children could learn to play the game. All they needed was a ball, a pair of sneakers, and a field.

As seen in Fig. 3 (end of chapter), 48.7% of the picture items were sports, and 1.1% of the news items were sports. These accounted for 45.1% of the picture inches and 0.4% of the news inches.

### Education

One-fourth of the news items were in the education category, the largest percentage in any news category. The issue of de facto segregation prompted the amount of coverage for the most part as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, HEW, ordered the city to close one predominantly-black intermediate school and to desegregate seven elementary schools or face the loss of \$5 million in federal funds.

A prominent Negro civil rights leader in Wichita charged that the "school districts purposely were gerrymandered to contain Negro students and that teachers and courses in Negro-majority schools were inferior."<sup>2</sup> The school board created a "compliance

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<sup>2</sup>"Negro and Education' to Be Debated," Ibid., Jan. 7, 1968, p. 10A.

committee" to coordinate information necessary to make decisions on civil rights matters. After a meeting with officials of an HEW "compliance team," the board was given more time in which to submit a desegregation plan. The board was, in part, waiting on a special committee report that focused on segregation complaints in the public schools. Various plans were discussed in the meantime, but no committee report was forthcoming. Finally, HEW ordered a desegregation plan to be submitted by the first of the year. The controversy continued after the end of the study period.

One of the plans discussed concerning the junior high was to use it as a predominantly-black elementary school at least on a temporary basis to relieve overcrowding of other Negro elementary schools. Use of it as such would gradually decline until termination in 1970. Then the building could be used as a special education center or as an educational activity center for innovative instruction, both of which would not be predominantly Negro. The director of secondary education in Wichita was asked if use of the school as a predominantly white junior high had been considered. He said yes, but this would mean cross-busing.

One-way busing of elementary school pupils was in its second year in Wichita in 1968, although the scale was small. Eighty students from a predominantly Negro school were bused to other schools. Many of those bused were students with the highest grades. Because they were being bused they could not participate in such activities as Brownies since they had to catch the bus right after school. They also had to be at their

former school earlier because the bus picked them up there. A new building at the former school had been given top priority several times, but had not yet been built.

Plans to bus 200 more pupils from predominantly black elementary schools were announced later. Busing was suggested because of a lack of classroom space and not for integration reasons.

Other news items mentioned efforts being made to educate teachers dealing with disadvantaged children. A sensitivity workshop for about 100 teachers was designed to help them understand themselves and their reactions toward the disadvantaged and to improve their attitudes toward themselves and the disadvantaged. A panel at a Kansas teachers meeting discussed personal injustices suffered by minority group members. The Wichita Community Action Program sponsored a van to be used as a classroom to teach Negro history, for taking underprivileged children on weekend camping trips, and for transportation to the city library.

School activities were discussed, ranging from a high school group formed to promote racial harmony, to activities during Negro History Week in the public schools, to a black culture weekend in conjunction with Homecoming activities at Wichita State University (WSU).

Other items told of the appointment of a Negro as an administrative assistant to the dean of students and sociology instructor at WSU, comments by a Negro sociology professor on violence in America, and a black basketball star now in college

largely because of the help he received in the Upward Bound program which offers tutoring and encourages students to continue in school.

Pastorial coverage in the education category emphasized school activities, special education programs, and individual Negroes. Pictures in the first group ranged from Junior Olympics competition, to a "piano van" program in which elementary school pupils were taught rhythm, music appreciation, and singing, to activities during Negro History Week which included study of famous Negroes and a "time tunnel" by the students in which they projected themselves in the roles of doctors, teachers, and governors, to the production of a movie at a Wichita high school with a biracial cast.

Another group of pictures showed small fry anglers trying their luck in a summer camping and outdoor program sponsored by the public schools, a 6-year-old Negro boy who missed the bus to his Head Start class and walked five miles because he didn't want to miss it, and Head Start children receiving firemen's hats during Fire Prevention Week. It also showed Negro women receiving instruction in various types of classes such as art, clothing, and charm.

The third group of pictures shows individual Negroes, ranging from a high school basketball star in the Upward Bound program, to blacks appointed to positions at WSU, to those speaking out on the present education system and violence in America. The only photo coverage related to the major education issue of desegregation were pictures showing Negro pupils waiting

to board buses for schools in other areas and the Negro attorney who charged the Wichita public school system with perpetuating segregation and brought suit against it which resulted in HEW's desegregation orders.

There was only one editorial in the education category even though this topic received the most news item coverage and even though the education controversy was one of the main issues during the study period. The editorial comment was not related to the controversy. The Eagle supported an attempt by a Kansas legislator from Wichita to work more Negro and other minority group history into the school curriculum, but added that it was out of the legislative realm to do this. It said the Wichita school system is adopting integrated texts, but the problem is that publishers have been slow to react to a national need for books with a more integrated history.

As seen in Fig. 3, 25.0% of the news items were education, and 13.5% of the picture items were education. One of the five opinion items was education. These accounted for 24.6% of the news inches, 18.1% of the picture inches, and 18.2% of the opinion inches.

### Business

News items of blacks in the business category formed a hierarchy in itself, ranging from the black professional to the semi-skilled Negro out of work. At the top were two articles in which George Weaver, Assistant U. S. Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, explained how a tariff hike was a threat to the nation's economy and Leon Wallace, the new head of the

Veteran's Administration facility in Wichita and the first Negro to hold such a position, discussed his views on civil rights.

On the next level, the first black-owned and operated supermarket in Wichita was opened, financed by selling \$10-shares of stock and governed by a board of directors which included mothers on welfare, youths, aircraft workers, and professional people. A black youth group originally formed during an outbreak of racial disturbances in the Negro area to "cool" things, was operating a hamburger stand and service station in the black area. The group was sponsoring a Negro fashion show to raise money for younger blacks to open a shoeshine shop. "A delighted crowd of about 200," including Wichita's mayor and a city commissioner viewed "a colorful array of the wildest in men's wear."<sup>3</sup> A black interior decorator and furniture designer had work on display at a local art museum. Another fashion group, black and white, mixed fashions with understanding. A black high school student was the top male achiever of the year in the Wichita Junior Achievement program. And four of "the nine black militants" were suspended from their federal jobs with the Community Action Program pending the outcome of their trials for allegedly assaulting two Model Cities officials.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the news items on the bottom level discussed the need for more and better employment opportunities for minorities and some of the local efforts to create such opportunities. The executive director of the Oklahoma City Human Relations Commission,

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<sup>3</sup>"Style Show 'Shockingly' Different," Ibid., June 10, 1968, p. 5A.

<sup>4</sup>"~~Charged~~ Charged With Motel Attack Suspended From Federal Jobs," Ibid., Nov. 1, 1968, p. 1B.



at a regional conference on employment and human rights in Wichita, charged that adequate employment, the key to human rights, cannot be achieved through present city and state programs. He said part of the present crisis was due to no national program to deal with the problems of the poor. He added that the crisis was not caused by agitators or malcontents, but by good whites who refused to accept others who are different. A resolution passed at the conference stressed integration of non-whites into all levels of business, by preferential hiring if necessary.

Federal agencies in Wichita joined in a campaign to smooth the way for any qualified person to enter federal employment through a program to inform the public about government jobs. In earlier times it was said that blacks and other minority persons could not beat the system so they gave up trying. Now they could, but they still have a negative attitude toward government work opportunities. The plan was not designed to bend the regulations to get a certain number of minority group persons on the government payroll, though.

Because of city commission action, more than two thousand firms doing business with the city were to be scrutinized for compliance with anti-discrimination laws. If they were not complying, they would lose the city's business. The city expected to receive a \$14,000 federal grant to increase employment and job opportunities for minority races with firms contracting with the city. The program would help insure equal employment opportunities for minorities and help firms comply with anti-discrimination laws.

The Women in Community Service is the route women take to enter the Job Corps as it screens prospective female trainees. A program involving the Urban League, the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, and the Community Action Program was helping Negroes break job barriers in Wichita. Also an Apprentice Information Center was formed to help minority group members enter apprentice programs, but success was slow. A major problem was that the applicants would not show up for interviews at prospective places of work. It was believed they felt the tests were being used to eliminate them.

The Human Resources Development Advisory Board learned that while it struggled to develop a major program to find jobs for hard core unemployables, the Wichita Police Department had quietly located jobs for 228 of them, black and white, in the last year. Many of them had criminal records. Eighty-five per cent of them were still working. Twenty minority group persons were enrolled in a training program that would lead to employment in Wichita banks. Halfway through the training period, students, teachers, and founders considered the program a huge success. One of the instructors said she had never taught a more responsive student group in thirty years of teaching.

Members of the Wichita Library Board were told that a case charging racial discrimination in the dismissal of a former library custodial worker was closed after a satisfactory adjustment was made. The dismissed worker was not rehired, however, because she had another job which she did not want to leave.

Picture items formed the same hierarchy, with photos of Weaver and Wallace as well as photos of the head of the summer

recreation planning project and the director of the Head Start program in Wichita.

On the next level, photo coverage ranged from a girl working as a Red Cross volunteer in Vietnam, the furniture designer, and the top male acheiver in Junior Achievement to shoppers in the black-owned supermarket and a former rundown restaurant that was converted into a place where the younger set could get soft drinks and get together.

On the bottom level, photos showed blacks receiving instruction in various training programs and working at a senior citizens center.

Two of the five opinion items were in the business category. The Eagle said the banking industry had taken the lead in starting meaningful action to meet a pressing social need, but the minority training program would be labeled tokenism unless other businesses and professions followed suit. While government action programs can help some, the Eagle contended the ultimate solution lay within the private sector of the economy.

In another opinion item, the Eagle mentioned several examples of private businesses having programs training and employing the hard core unemployed. This shows that help can originate in the private sector as well as in the federal government. It contended this is where the real progress will be made in the future.

As seen in Fig. 3, 12.5% of the news items were business, 8.8% of the picture items were business, and 27.3% of the

opinion items were business. These accounted for 11.3% of the news inches, 9.8% of the picture inches, and 26% of the opinion inches.

### Housing

Another important issue involving blacks in Wichita during this study period concerned a shortage of low-cost housing for low and moderate income families, many of whom were Negro. Charles McCarter, chairman of the Human Resources Development Advisory Board, said that one reason for racial unrest in Wichita has been a lack of adequate housing for the poor. Use of public housing and construction of low-cost housing were possible approaches to the problems, according to news items in this category.

The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) agreed to sell 200 of its 399 repossessed homes in Wichita to the Local Housing Authority (LHA) which would rent them to low-income families. Seventy-five per cent of the present 334 public housing units in Wichita were occupied by white families, largely elderly or disabled. In February, 409 of the 638 applicants to LHA seeking housing assistance were Negroes. A Negro member of LHA opposed the FHA offer because LHA would have its choice of only 346 of the 399 FHA units, all of them located in a predominantly-black area of the city. Later, the choice was changed to include units in other parts of the city.

LHA was considering applying for federal funds to construct 300 additional units of public housing, but decided against this. The Wichita Urban League requested the City Commission to enforce its earlier directive to LHA to apply for funds to

construct the 300 units. Motives of the commissioners were questioned by some blacks after they appointed two persons to LHA who were known to oppose public housing. Efforts of a citizens' housing committee led to 700 more families applying to LHA for public housing, presumably proving a "need" for such housing. In July, LHA announced that it was now accepting applications for public housing only from elderly families, indicating that the work load and the fact that all of the units were filled were reasons for the policy. The article did not explain why applications from the elderly were still being accepted.

The Eagle said a petition campaign to halt public housing in Wichita was slowed because of a lack of funds and a fear of involvement.

The issue involved in the second approach, the construction of housing for low and moderate income families, was largely one of a project applicant getting the property rezoned for such housing over the objections of residents living near the proposed site. The Tabernacle Baptist Church which has a predominantly black congregation was the sponsor of one such project. Its application bounced back and forth between the city commission and the city's planning commission for six months before the property was rezoned. However, area residents were seeking court action to set aside the rezoning.

The Eagle's VOTE ballot, printed in the paper and taken before the meeting on issues that are on the city commission agenda, indicated that the housing project was "voted" down 90--8 in the 98 ballots sent in. According to the article, one

of the comments on the ballots said, "Since this no doubt will be predominantly Negro, why not build it in the northeast part of the city, their area?" Another, with comments addressed to the Wichita mayor said, "You fellows know this shouldn't be approved. . . It will only make unsafe another part of the city and create more hate and violence amongst us. Can you stand the ugly threats if you reject it? Remember, those are the kind of neighbors they make." Of the sample ballot comments, only one was favorable to the project.<sup>5</sup>

Another housing issue receiving some attention was a plea to the city to adopt a fair housing law patterned after the federal law.

The only pictorial coverage in this category was of a Negro attorney who spoke at a city commission hearing. In the only opinion item, the Eagle said state and local governments can apparently stop worrying about fair housing laws because a Supreme Court ruling appeared to have eliminated the need for additional laws. The court had ruled that an 1866 fair housing law barring all racial discrimination, private and public, in the sale and rental of property was a valid exercise of congressional power. The Eagle said the ruling does not mean a rush of Negroes into white neighborhoods because "the vast majority of Negroes cannot afford that type of housing."<sup>6</sup> Nor does the ruling solve the problem of providing adequate housing for poor families of all races, the Eagle added.

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<sup>5</sup>"Tie-Downs Win, Housing Loses in VOTE Survey," Ibid., Oct. 29, 1968, p. 3C.

<sup>6</sup>"Fair Housing, alla 1866 Is Effective Now, Everywhere," Ibid., June 19, 1968, p. 4A.

As seen in Fig. 3, 15.9% of the news items were housing and 0.5% of the picture items were housing. One of the five opinion items was housing. These accounted for 19.6% of the news inches, 0.2% of the picture inches, and 18.2% of the opinion inches.

#### Health

The only news item in the health category was a statement by Wichita-Sedgwick County health authorities that the Northeast Patrol, Inc., a black youth group, would like to form a new "business" and help haul junk cars from private property. The proposal was in connection with a recently passed city ordinance which declared junk cars on private property to be public nuisances and as such they were potential health hazards.

There were no pictorial or opinion items in this category. The single health item amounted to 0.6% of the news items and 0.7% of the news inches.

#### Crime and Judicial Proceedings

News of crimes involving blacks and judicial proceedings arising from crimes were the main areas covered by news items in this category. A Negro, in his early 20's, about 5 feet 9, carrying a small gun scooped up money from a liquor store cash drawer. A 20-year-old Wichitan was shot six times at a dance at a hotel. Police said an organization of young Negroes called Bon Soir had rented the ballroom for a private party. Police reported a series of rapes and attempted rapes of Northeast Wichita residents may have ended with the arrest of a suspect.

The attacker, described as a young Negro male, usually found his victims just before dawn.

In other crime news, there were robberies of a dairy drive-in, laundry, grocery store, and a barber supply owner, all of them committed by Negroes. A partial description, including race, was given in these articles.

Passing motorists became targets for rock-throwing youths, and three high school students were assaulted "by gangs of roving Negroes."<sup>7</sup> There was no mention of any arrests.

In court action, eight witnesses testified at the hearing of a fatal hit-run crash. Three men, Negroes, were charged with driving a stolen car and leaving the scene of an accident. Another court case involved four white youths charged with firing a shotgun at the Sedgwick County sheriff and a group of Negro youths. The youth who allegedly fired the shotgun was convicted of wounding without malice. The nine-month sentence of the youth was later modified to ninety days and a two-year parole. There were no reports of the others involved being tried during the study period.

By far the most important case was one in which pre-trial publicity became an issue. Nine black militants were charged with threatening to kill and assaulting two Model Cities officials for not hiring a fellow militant as a \$990-a-month planner in the program. The arrest of the final three charged was discussed in an article which detailed again the charges but did not repeat what their attorney had said in their defense. The

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<sup>7</sup>"Violence Rocks East High Area," Ibid., Oct. 23, 1968, p. 5A.



attorney filed a motion to restrain "prejudicial pre-trial publicity" and attacked the media for reporting that the nine are "black militants" and members of the "Black Guards," an organization he claimed did not even exist.<sup>8</sup> The motion was refused. A motion to prohibit attorneys, defendants, and witnesses from making statements outside of the court on the merits or evidence of the case was also denied. The prosecuting attorney said the only out-of-court statements made were by the defense and that his statements were part of the court record.

A defense fund to aid five Kansas City men "who were among nine Negroes charged with crimes in the alleged kidnapping and assault of two Wichita Model Cities employes" was started in Kansas City by a biracial group of fifteen persons. A co-chairman of the defense effort said, "I base my belief in their innocence on their past record of performance and achievement."<sup>9</sup>

Pictorial coverage of crime and judicial proceedings was limited to a single picture that was printed twice. According to the caption, "Behind bars there's time for thinking. Youth (is) in county juvenile detention ward." The picture accompanied the first of a series of articles on the rising juvenile crime rate in the city and county. It showed the arms of a Negro draped outside the bars of the cell, cigarette in hand. No face was shown. The same picture appeared eleven months later

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<sup>8</sup>"Publicity Is Trial Issue for Militants," Ibid., Nov. 7, 1968, p. 1A.

<sup>9</sup>"Fund Started for 5 Accused of Kidnapping, Attacks Here," Ibid., Nov. 14, 1968, p. 3D.

labeled "Juvenile Prisoner." The photo was part of a local art exhibit.<sup>10</sup>

There were no opinion items in this category. As seen in Fig. 3, 13.6% of the news items were crime and judicial proceedings, and 1.0% of the picture items was crime. These accounted for 10.2% of the news inches, and 1.2% of the picture inches.

### Civil Conflict

The only news item in the civil conflict category discussed dissent by students and student violence. The dean of students at Wichita State University divided the dissenting students into three groups--the New Left, a campus issues group, and black students seeking dignity and respect. He said the student violence may produce a backlash that is worse than the situation they are striving to correct.

There were no picture or opinion items in this category. As seen in Fig. 3, 0.6% of the news items and 0.4% of the news inches were civil conflict.

### Politics

The major political issue in the news items was an attempted boycott by blacks of the Human Resources Development Advisory Board (HRDAB). The board is eligible for some federal funds if it meets certain guidelines, including adequate representation by minority races. Five Negro appointees were boycotting the board in an attempt to force the city to consider

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<sup>10</sup>Pictures, Ibid., Jan. 7, 1968, p. 1A and Nov. 17, 1968, p. 3G.

a fair housing law, construction of 1,200 low-cost housing units, a hands-off policy toward the local Community Action Program, stricter enforcement of the city codes, building a recreation center in the predominantly-Negro section of Wichita, and hiring more blacks in city positions.

The city commission appointed five new members to HRDAB when the others continued to refuse to serve. Four of these were Negroes. The new Veterans Administration director, a Negro, was appointed along with three black ministers. The Eagle reported that the VA director had accepted the appointment, but in a later article said the appointment was a misunderstanding and that he had not agreed to serve on HRDAB. The ministers did agree to serve, upsetting many in the black community. Various Negro groups and individuals demanded the three appear at a neighborhood meeting and explain why they accepted the positions breaking the boycott. The three did not appear at the meeting and the blacks attending voted to boycott their churches.

A second group of news items covered various Negro individuals. Chester Lewis, Negro attorney from Wichita and member of the NAACP, led a splinter drive to change the focus of the organization during its fifty-ninth annual convention. He charged the present actions of the NAACP were irrelevant to the needs of black people. However, the "old guard" beat back the attempt by the "young Turks" to make "the moderate civil rights organization more militant."<sup>11</sup> Lewis announced he was

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<sup>11</sup>"Lewis Loses in Motion for NAACP Shift," Ibid., June 26, 1968, p. 9A.

leaving the NAACP. "Although white racism put us in the ghetto, black inferiority keeps us there," he said. Blacks must build an economic and political basis of power to be meaningful.

"Only power speaks to power. The missionary area for white people is not in the ghetto. It is in the white community."<sup>12</sup>

In another article, Lewis said black power is pro-black, not anti-white.

In other news items, the newly-elected president of the Wichita chapter of the NAACP told of his goals for the organization, the main one being respect for the black man, the Negro city commissioner nominated a person to the Local Housing Authority who was known for rehabilitating a number of apartments in the Negro area and for his activities in the Urban League, a Negro minister from Wichita was nominated to the State Probation and Parole Board although his approval was being held up in order for state senators to investigate comments he allegedly made in a speech to the Movement of Afro-American Unity, and a Negro announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Sedgwick County sheriff.

In another group of news items, the city commission conducted a series of "town hall" meetings in the predominantly Negro northeast section of the city. Commissioners were to listen to neighborhood complaints and concerns and give the residents a chance to speak directly to city officials. In one of the meetings, a neighborhood committee proposed that landlords be required to obtain annual occupancy permits in order to rent units.

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<sup>12</sup>"Lewis to Quit NAACP," Ibid., July 3, 1968, p. 1A.

It was also proposed that a tenant's court be established to settle disputes between landlords and tenants. City officials heard complaints and concerns regarding Model Cities program planning, public housing programs, and the city's code enforcement program.

The Kansas Commission on Civil Rights appealed a recommended \$33,787 reduction in its budget which was earmarked for a branch office in Wichita. The commission's executive director noted that 31 per cent of all the complaints received by the commission since 1961 were from Wichita. He also noted that 28 per cent of the Negro work force in Kansas was in Wichita.

Photo coverage in the category of politics showed pictures of the black minister appointed to the State Probation and Parole Board but not yet approved, of Chester Lewis when he left the NAACP, the Negro city commissioner who was a speaker at the YWCA youth board conference, of Negro candidates for the state legislature from Wichita, and of the newly-elected president of the Wichita chapter of the NAACP.

One of the five opinion items was in this category. The Eagle commented on the exit of Wichita Negro attorney Chester Lewis from the NAACP and concurred with his comments on the use of economic and political power by Negroes. This was how the Jews, Irish, and Italians bettered their situations. Their chief advantage over Negroes has been pride in their ancestry which was a unifying force. "And this is what black power advocates are trying to promote."<sup>13</sup> The Eagle noted local

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<sup>13</sup> "Chester Lewis' Program for Negroes Makes Sense," Ibid., July 5, 1968, p. 4A.

black-owned supermarkets, a hamburger stand, and a service station. It added that similar projects ought to be started on a grander scale.

As seen in Fig. 3, 21.6% of the news items were politics, 3.1% of the picture items were politics, and one of the five editorials was on politics. These accounted for 22.6% of the news inches, 0.7% of the picture inches, and 20.0% of the opinion inches.

#### Amusements

The only news item in this category was an interview with Negro comedian Bill Cosby before his appearance at Wichita State University. He said he preferred talking to college-age persons most. He discussed how he started in show business, his television series, and future performances. He said he goes on speaking tours to offset the tension of his work in television.

Photo coverage showed comedian Bill Cosby smoking a pipe as he was being interviewed, a jazz pianist appearing at a Wichita night club who said a musician's life is a good life but a hard one, a soap box derby entrant making a trial run down the race track, and a girl at a summer camp receiving archery instruction.

There were no opinion items in this category. As seen in Fig. 3, 0.6% of the news items were amusement and 2.6% of the picture items were amusement. These accounted for 0.5% of the news inches and 2.0% of the picture inches.

### Civic Recognition

There were three news items in the category of civic recognition. Turned back once by flames, a seventeen-year-old Negro youth crawled into a window and pulled a neighbor's child from her blazing bedroom. He suffered a gash on his knee in the incident. A white youth, saluted in the regular Eagle feature "Tops among Teens," said he wants to help the "underdog" and expressed special concern for Negroes because he believed they were not receiving "a fair shake." He became interested in a tutoring program in which Negro children were helped with their school work. Negro Col. Fitzroy Newsum was named vice commander of the 381st Strategic Missile Wing at McConnell Air Force Base in Wichita. He was deputy commander for maintenance. He was a command pilot with more than twenty-seven years in the military.

Photo coverage of blacks in Wichita showed a youth who rescued a two-year-old neighbor child from a fire in her home. He was later rewarded with a transistor radio by the Downtown Kiwanis Club. A fund started for him contained nearly \$60.

Other photo coverage included a Negro youth who was one of 167 winners in the annual Kansas Regional Art Contest, a man who had suddenly gone blind but was determined to be a door to door salesman with the help of his seeing eye dog sponsored by the Lions Club, the election of a Negro elementary school principal as president of a national fraternity of men interested in community problems, and the promotion of the Negro Colonel at McConnell Air Force Base to vice commander.

There were no opinion items in this category. As seen in Fig. 3, 1.7% of the news items were civic recognition, and 3.1% of the picture items were civic recognition. These accounted for 1.2% of the news inches and 2.2% of the picture inches.

#### Miscellaneous

All items not classified in any of the other categories were placed in a miscellaneous category. Although it might have been possible to devise another content category and reduce the percentage of items in miscellaneous, it was decided that this was not necessary for comparative purposes with the empirical picture.

One article in the category was an in-depth look at the Negro ghetto a year after the area was the scene of racial disturbances. Two clearly definable issues were emerging--black power and white racism. The biggest change in the black community was said to be a growing emphasis on black power, an attitude that was pro-black, not anti-white. The harangue of "hate Whitey" was being replaced by "black is beautiful" as blacks came to grips with what they had to do to help themselves economically, politically, and socially. Afro haircuts and new black-owned businesses were evidence of the introspective viewpoint taken by the black community. However, the second issue, white racism, was still being avoided by whites.

In another article, the Sedgwick County Sheriff confirmed that he had given civic talks criticizing the news media for "irresponsible reporting" during and after last summer's racial



disturbances. He said anyone can make a statement, but if it is of an inflammatory nature, it should not be printed without proof. He was also critical of the Wichita Police Department for helping to form the Northeast Patrol, Inc., a Negro youth group. He cited the long arrest records of some of the members and said they should not have any authority. Police said they have no law enforcement authority and they carry no weapons. A patrol member said their function was to influence their peers to conform to the law and to provide information on potential troublemakers.

The head of the Wichita chapter of the Urban League criticized local and national white communities for "childishness" in dealing with minority groups. He said prejudice is practiced because of a need to be better than someone else. Citing the Boeing Aircraft Company in Wichita, he said it was ridiculous that as long as the company has been there with its thousands of employes that it has only two Negro supervisors. He charged that local Negroes, even those who were well educated and trained, usually found themselves by-passed in promotions.

The national president of Women in Community Service (WICS), a Negro, spoke at the Kansas WISC Day meeting and warned that if white America does not change its attitudes towards black America, there will not be a corner of the country that does not suffer. YWCA dialogue groups, with Negroes and whites, have met to discuss various topics, including the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The groups are a national project of the YWCA. An interracial youth group

at a local church was seeking new answers to the race question. They learned that a "black" thought of himself as being black and was proud to be black while a "Negro" was one who let someone else name him. The object of the group was better understanding between races.

Other news items concerned the wedding of a Negro girl, the family of the black director of Wichita's Community Action Program, a saddle club founded by a Negro, and the formation of the first fashion club for black models whose goal was to get more Negro models into Wichita fashion shows and to establish a scholarship program to send blacks to college or charm school.

One reason for the large percentage of picture items in this category was that the author decided to classify weddings, obituaries, and military service news as miscellaneous. These accounted for ten of the thirty-six items in the category. Thirteen more items were of blacks modeling the latest in clothing styles, some of whom were in fashion shows.

Other picture items showed a Negro fireman crawling over tires in a fire at a salvage yard, five coeds at the spring formal of a Negro sorority at Wichita State University, a YWCA interracial dialogue group discussing various topics, a worker loading telephone books into a car for delivery to Wichita residents, the family of the Community Action Program director, a young black girl who told what it was like to be young and black in the Eagle's guest youth column, a white Girl Scout helping a Negro boy in a children's home with a puzzle device, and two Negroes who were guest speakers at meetings in Wichita.

There were no opinion items in this category. As seen in Fig. 3, 6.8% of the news items were miscellaneous, and 18.7% of the picture items were miscellaneous. These accounted for 7.8% of the news inches and 20.7% of the picture inches.

#### A Quantitative Summary

The author believed it was valid to compare coverage among the various content categories, but not coverage among news, picture, and opinion items; and Figs. 4 through 8 were developed with this in mind. Comparisons of the categories were made on the basis of the three quantitative dimensions used in the study--items, column inches, and attention scores.

Fig. 3 shows the number and percentage of items and column inches in each category and the total and average attention scores in each category. Basically it is a summary of the raw data obtained in the study.

Figs. 4 through 8 were developed for comparative purposes. For instance, education, politics, housing, crime and judicial proceedings, and business ranked first through fifth respectively in having the most news items (Fig. 4). The order was only slightly different in Fig. 5, with education, politics, housing, business, and crime and judicial proceedings ranked first through fifth respectively in having the most news inches. There were more crime stories involving Negroes than business stories, but the average business story was longer. The average attention score of all news items was 16.8 (Fig. 8). Only housing (20.9), education (17.7), politics (17.7), and health (17.0) exceeded the average. Crime was 12.3 and business was 14.3.

Sports, miscellaneous, education, and business ranked first through fourth respectively in having the most picture items (Fig. 6). The ranking for picture inches is the same, as seen in Fig. 7. The average attention score for all picture items was 9.6 (Fig. 8). Only crime and judicial proceedings (11.5), housing (11.0), education (10.5), and sports (9.8) exceeded the average attention score.

Because of having only five opinion items, it was deemed unnecessary to compare the content categories formally. Only one category had as many as two items, and it produced the range of length of editorials, eight and one-half inches to fourteen and one-half inches. Attention scores ranged from nine to thirteen in the opinion items.

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF ITEMS						COLUMN INCHES						ATTENTION SCORE					
	News	Pct	Photo	Pct	Opin	Pct	News	Pct	Photo	Pct	Opin	Pct	News	Avg	Photo	Avg	Opin	AVG
Sports	2	1.1	94	48.7	0	0.0	12	0.4	904	45.1	0	0.0	18	9.0	920	9.8	0	0.0
Education	44	25.0	26	13.5	1	20.0	813	24.6	362	18.1	10	18.2	780	17.7	273	10.5	9	9.0
Business	22	12.5	17	8.8	2	40.0	385	11.5	196	9.8	24	43.6	315	14.3	150	8.8	25	12.5
Housing	28	15.9	1	0.5	1	20.0	639	19.6	3	0.2	10	18.2	584	20.9	11	11.0	12	12.0
Health	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	23	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	17.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Crime & Jud Proceedings	24	13.6	2	1.0	0	0.0	333	10.2	24	1.2	0	0.0	304	12.7	23	11.5	0	0.0
Civil Conflict	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	9.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Politics	38	21.6	6	3.1	1	20.0	738	22.6	14	0.7	11	20.0	673	17.7	39	6.5	13	13.0
Amusements	1	0.6	5	2.6	0	0.0	17	0.5	41	2.0	0	0.0	15	15.0	45	9.0	0	0.0
Civic Recognition	3	1.7	6	3.1	0	0.0	38	1.2	45	2.2	0	0.0	48	16.0	51	8.5	0	0.0
Miscellaneous	12	6.8	36	18.7	0	0.0	255	7.8	414	20.7	0	0.0	190	15.8	346	9.6	0	0.0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3261</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2953</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>1858</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>12.2</b>

Fig. 3--The number and percentage of items and column inches in each category and the total and average attention scores in each category.

Fig. 3.--Continued

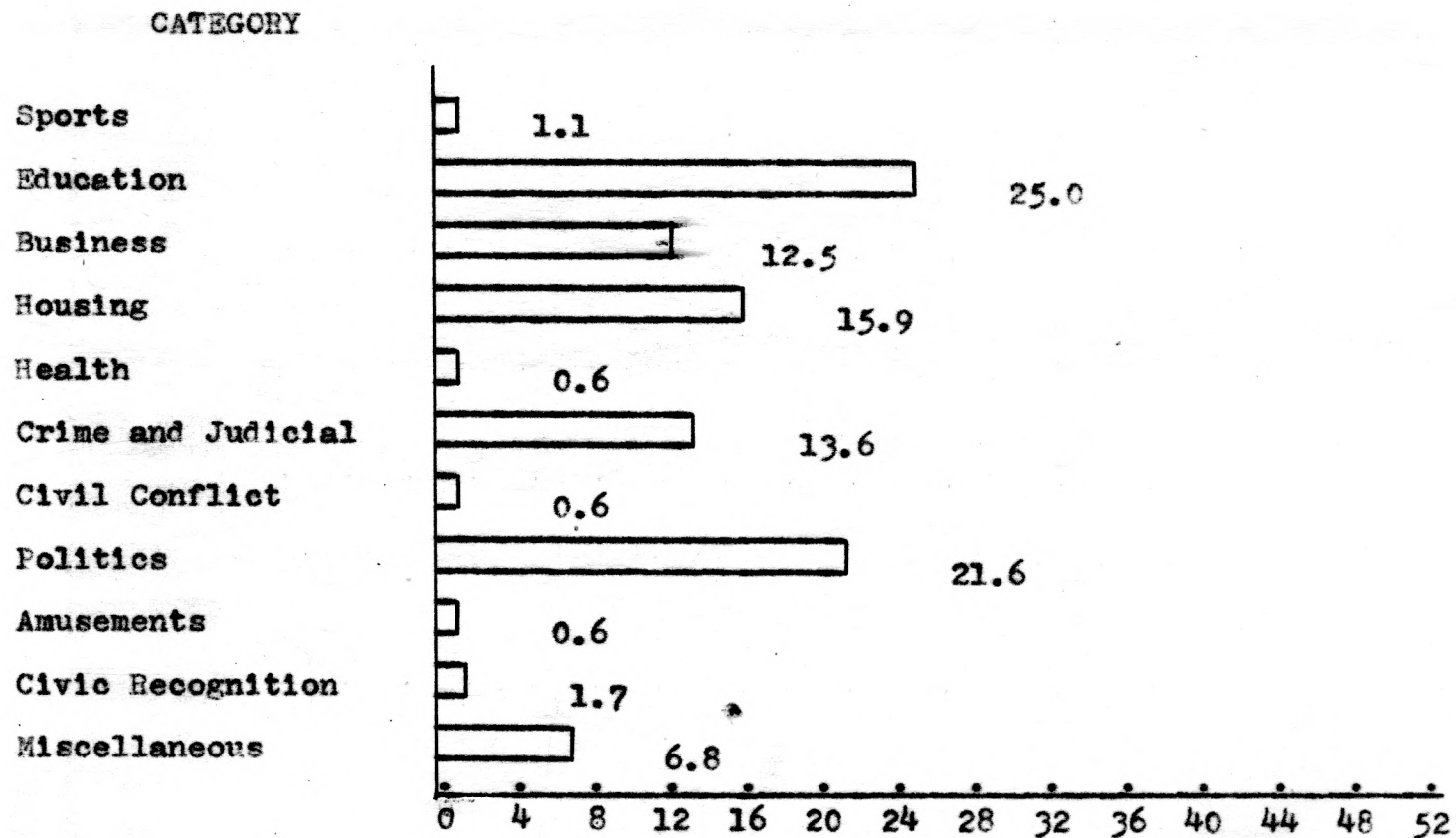


Fig. 4.--Percentage of news items in each category

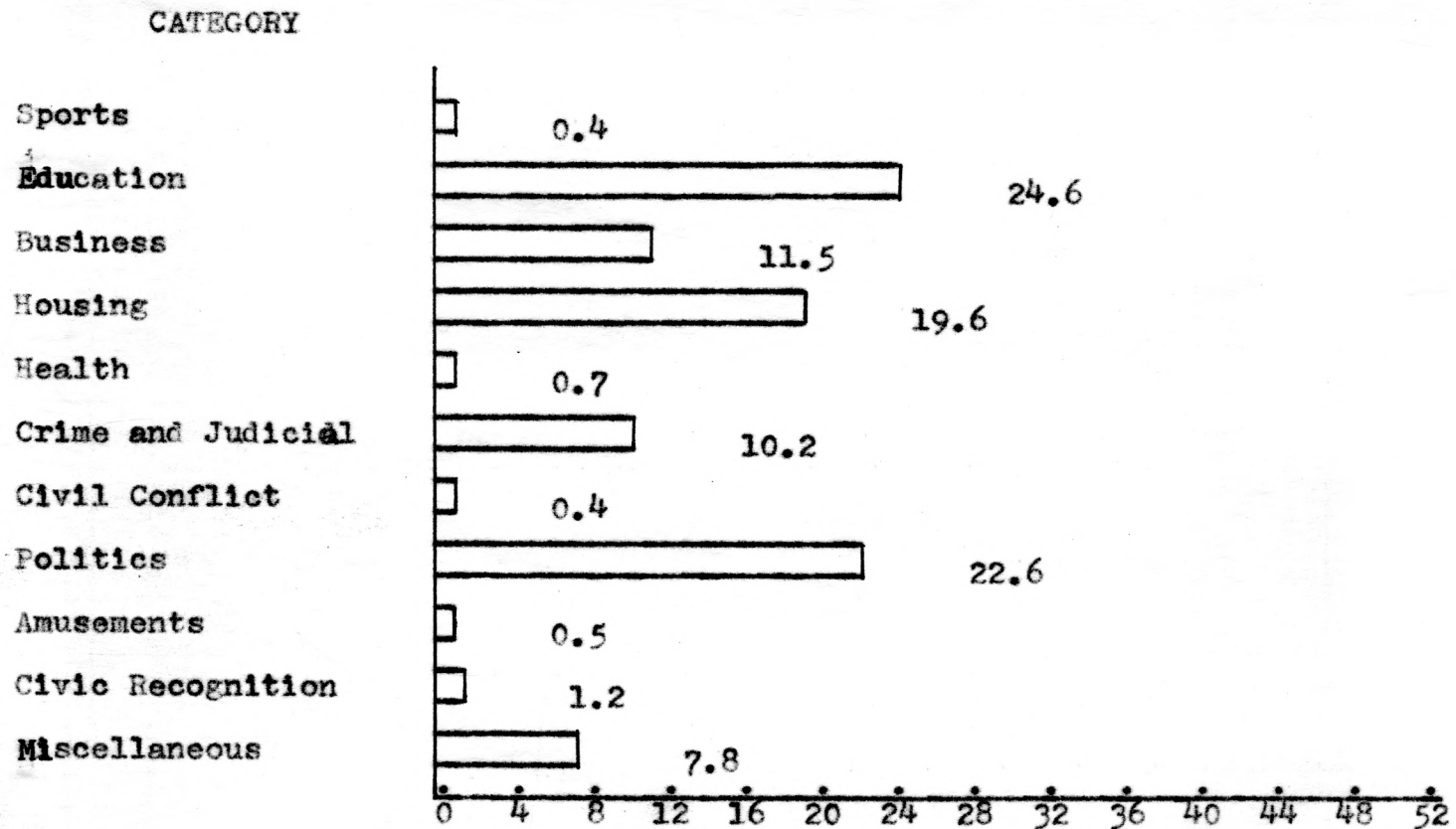


Fig. 5.--Percentage of column inches in news items in each category.

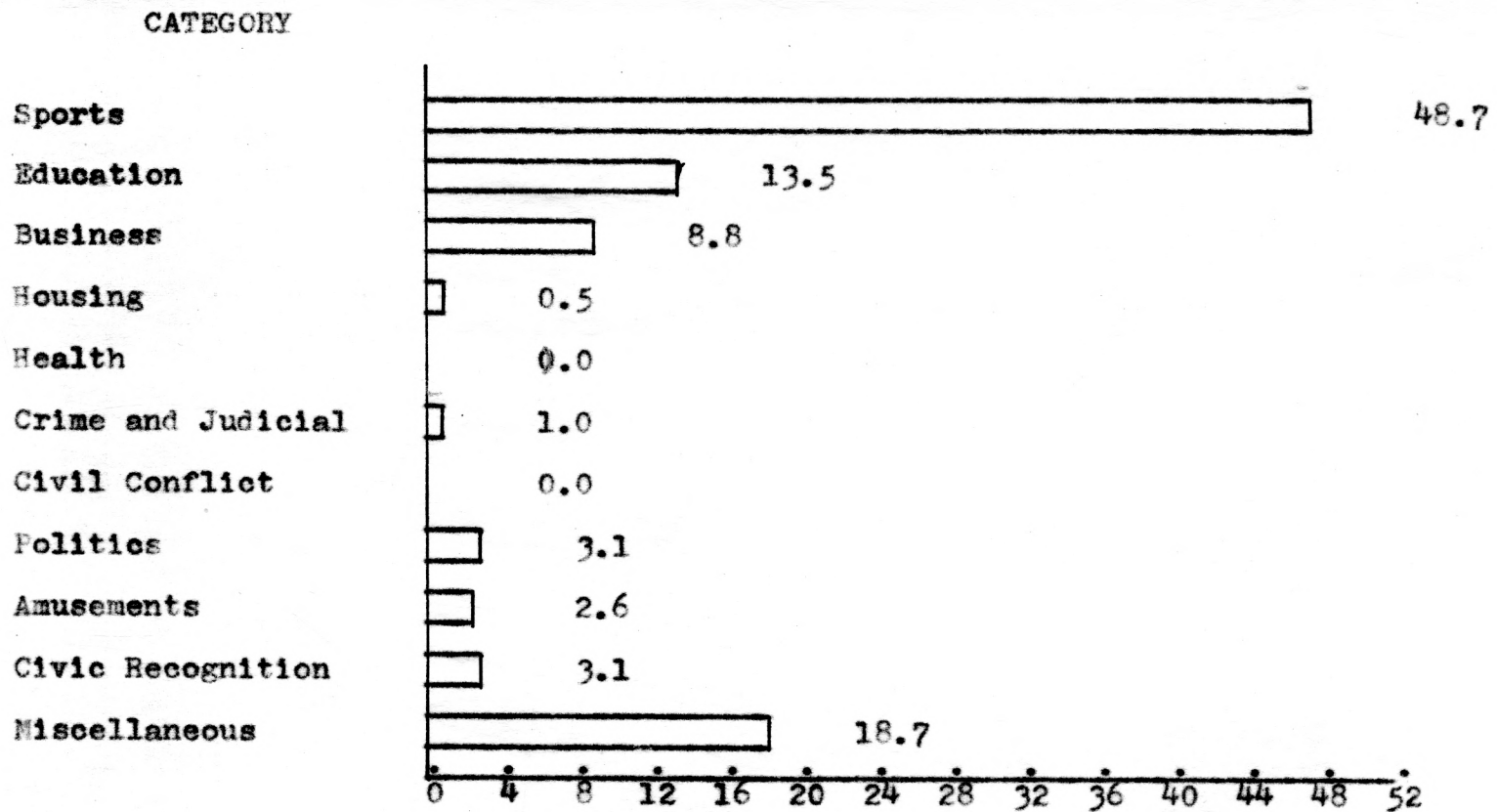


Fig. 6.--Percentage of picture items in each category



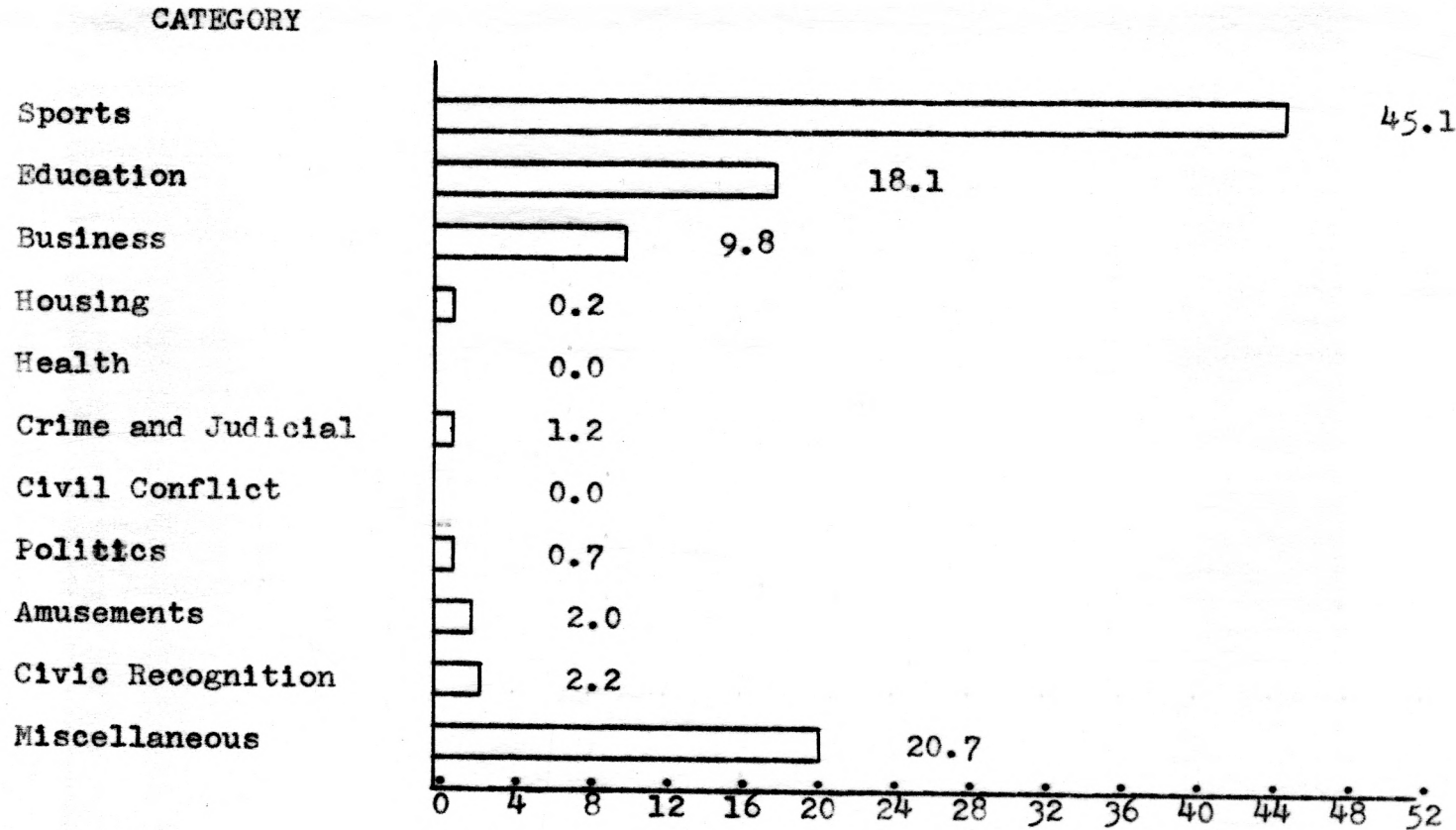


Fig. 7.--Percentage of column inches in picture items in each category

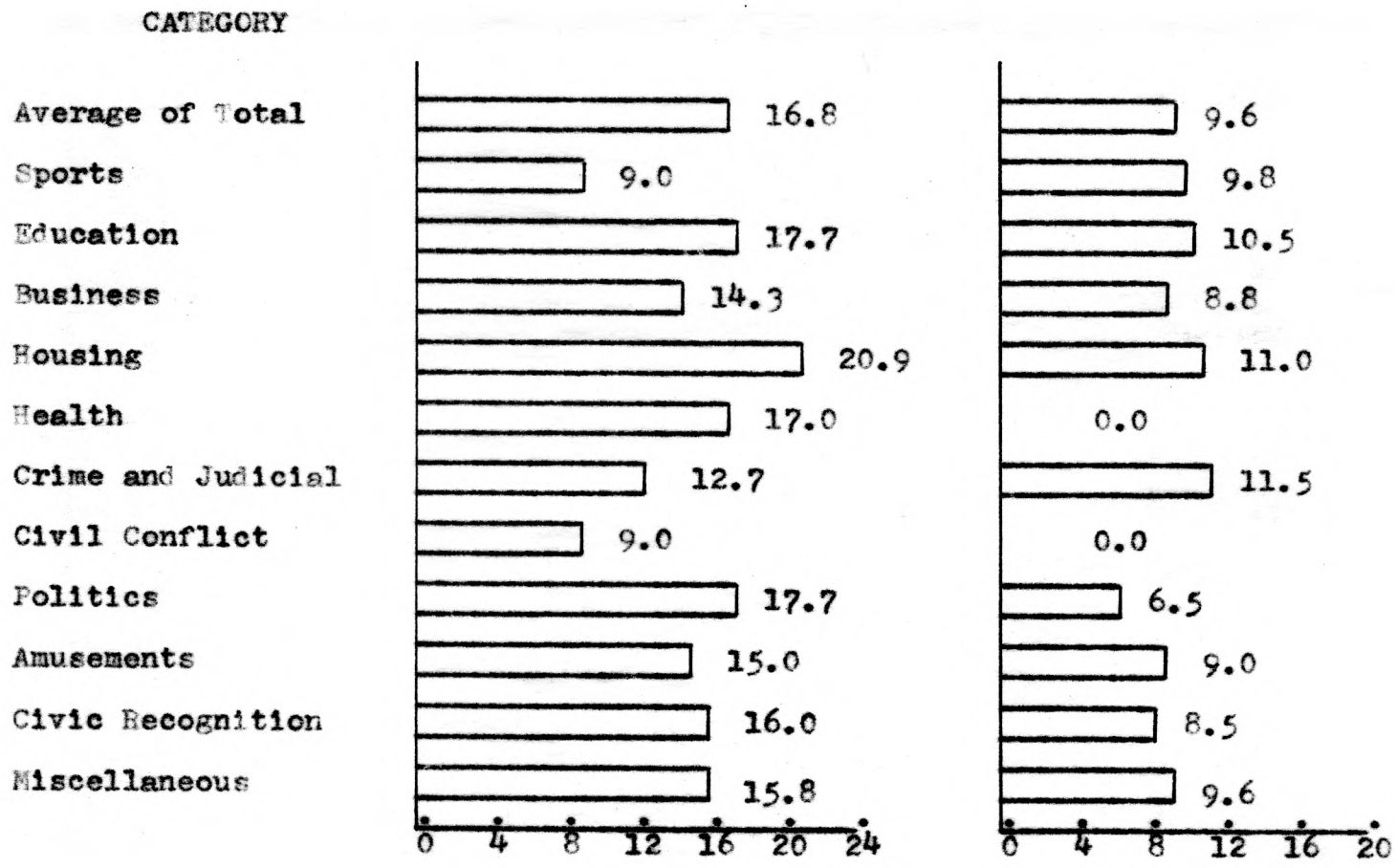


Fig. 8.--Average attention score of news items by category, left; average attention score of picture items by category, right.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EMPIRICAL PICTURE

The empirical picture of the black community in Wichita was constructed with information from various sociological, demographic, and other sources. The basis of the picture was a study of the black community by the National Urban League in 1965. The study utilized information gathered that year as well as data from the 1960 census. Other sources were used to update or supplement the information when available.

The population of Wichita in 1968 was 282,406 of which about 25,000 or almost 9 per cent were Negro. The percentage of blacks in Wichita had increased 1 per cent since 1960 when they represented about 8 per cent of the city's population. In 1950, a little less than 5 per cent of the population was Negro. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population increased 146 per cent. As a result of this recent surge in Negro population, it became a predominantly young sector of the total population. As seen in Fig. 9, 19 per cent of the Negro population was under five years of age, compared with 12 per cent of the white population; 42 per cent of Wichita Negroes were under fifteen, compared with 32 per cent of the whites.

Both the Negro and white populations in Wichita had a slight preponderance of females. There were 110 Negro females for every 100 males and 107 white females for every 100 white males.

Age	Negro	White
Under 5	19%	12%
14 or less	42	32
20 to 45	34	35
60 or older	7	11

Fig. 9--Partial age breakdown of Negroes and whites in Wichita.<sup>1</sup>

### Housing

Wichita was one of the most highly residentially segregated cities in the country, ranking fourteenth among 211 large cities in 1950. Since then the Negro population had increased, and the ghetto had expanded.<sup>2</sup>

Nearly all of the city's 25,000 blacks were crowded into the northeast section of the city. In 1960, one in every five blacks lived in one census tract. About 90 to 95 per cent of Wichita's Negro population resided in six census tracts. There were 107 census tracts in the city.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of racially-oriented housing patterns that restricted large low-income families to an area of small one- and two-bedroom houses vacated by lower middle class whites during and after World War II was the largest single factor in creating the present Negro ghetto. There was at this time no

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<sup>1</sup>Warren M. Banner, A Review of the Economic and Cultural Problems of Wichita, Kansas, Study conducted for the Wichita Urban League by the National Urban League, pp. 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup>School and Society in One City, Report of the Low Economic Area Problems Committee, July, 1969.

<sup>3</sup>Urban League Urban Crisis, Annual Report of the Wichita Urban League, 1968, p. 6.

local ordinance of any substance governing fair housing.<sup>4</sup>

Negro areas of occupation in Wichita were similar to those in other cities. Affluent and poor Negroes lived side by side.

While some Negro families wish to live in areas unoccupied by other Negroes, the real estate agents of my contact found that most of them wish to live in the neighborhoods which they know. They wish to be near their friends and their resources, including the church. However, theoretically, there is an open market for the Negro occupant.<sup>5</sup>

However, discrimination in the sale of housing was still apparently a fact of life in Wichita. One example included the executive director of the Urban League who was refused housing. When reminded that the city had a fair housing ordinance on the books, the would-be seller said, "Yes, I know, but it is not effective."<sup>6</sup>

The affluent Negro, living beside the poor, has not been able to protect the investment in his home because of the surrounding neighborhood. In the open market his home did not have the exchange value it would if located elsewhere.

The census tracts with the largest percentage of non-whites had 16 per cent of the "dilapidated dwelling units" in the city in 1960. Even though the black community had a high percentage of the city's dilapidated units, only 5 per cent of the housing in the Negro area was dilapidated.

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<sup>4</sup>Phase-1--Vol. II--Problem Analysis and Program Elements, Wichita, Kansas, Model Cities Program, 1969, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup>"Newsletter," No. 2, Wichita Urban League, October, 1968.

A Model Cities report on a plan for a model neighborhood area, which included 64 per cent of the blacks in Wichita, was more descriptive of the housing problems. Ninety per cent of the housing in the model area was constructed prior to 1930, and much of it was in poor condition. Lack of maintenance or poor construction had hastened the impact of time, weather and intensive use. Almost 30 per cent of the residents of the area earned less than \$3,000 annually. The area contained 12 per cent of the population 65 years old or older. Most of them were on an inadequate income and lived in homes that were beyond their ability to maintain.

The report indicated that in the model neighborhood area, almost 33 per cent of the housing was dilapidated or deteriorating, as defined by the Model Cities definition. Basic causes of this were said to be as follows:

1. Tenants did not have the pride that comes with ownership;
2. Tenants had been unable to organize to enforce decent housing standards;
3. Many residents did not have the financial ability to maintain homes adequately;
4. The city housing code had not been effectively enforced;
5. Because of overcrowded conditions more than normal wear was the rule;
6. Environmental deficiencies caused by mixed land use patterns and the lack of public improvements in the area had effectively discouraged remodeling or the building of replacement housing.

Overcrowding was another housing problem in the model neighborhood area. About 2,000 dwelling units (12.5 per cent) in the area were considered overcrowded. Basic causes of this cited by the report were as follows:

1. Wichita's racial minority groups were largely concentrated within the area. A number of factors, including discrimination, low income, and security of numbers combined to keep them in one area.
2. Twenty-three per cent of the city's population increase since 1960 was accounted for by the Negro race, and most of this increase had been absorbed in the model neighborhood area.
3. The average number of rooms per housing unit in the area was 3.7; it was 4.5 per unit for the entire Wichita area.
4. Nineteen per cent of the housing units having six or more occupants were in the model neighborhood area.
5. Almost 25 per cent of the families receiving public assistance payments from welfare lived in the model area.
6. Less than 1 per cent of the four-, five-, and six-bedroom home construction had occurred in the model area during the past thirty years.

The main concerns of housing listed by residents of the predominantly-black census tracts in the model neighborhood area were:

1. Too many low-income families were renting substandard housing from slum landlords. Units in most cases were too small and not maintained, but it was also the only housing available.
2. A large number of people were literally put into the streets because of landlord eviction.
3. Property which, because of the owner's low income, was not properly maintained.
4. Residential and non-residential insurance rates were too high because areas in the black community had been designated high risk. Structures properly maintained and in good repair could not get insurance.

#### Education

In the fall of 1968 there were 6.8 million students in college, an increase of 46 percent [sic] over the 1964 total of 4.6 million.

Of those enrolled in college in 1968, 434,000 were Negroes, or 6 percent [sic] of the total college enrollment. The number of Negroes in college in 1968 was an

85 percent [sic] increase over the number enrolled in 1964.<sup>7</sup>

Enrollment in the Wichita public schools in June, 1964, was 62,694. Of this, 6,770 or 11.8 per cent were Negroes. The black community accounted for the following totals:

1. Almost 20 per cent of those in Wichita in 1960 having less than five years of education.
2. Fourteen per cent of those with five to seven years of education.
3. Thirteen per cent of those with one but less than four years of high school.
4. 4.7 per cent of those with four years of high school.
5. 3.4 per cent of those with four or more years of college.
6. Fifteen per cent of the high school dropouts in 1964.

In 1964, Negro children attended about a third of the elementary schools in Wichita. However, most were in predominantly-black schools. One school was all-Negro, four had a 98 or more per cent Negro enrollment, and another, 77 per cent. Eleven of the fourteen junior highs had Negroes, one of which was 98 per cent black. All but one high school had Negroes. One had a Negro enrollment of 15 per cent, and another was 7 per cent Negro. Black enrollment at the others was minimal.

Fig. 10 indicates the racial composition of Wichita schools in 1967.

There were ninety-one elementary schools in Wichita in 1967, and Negro enrollment tended to be restricted to seven of them. Seventy-six per cent of the Negroes in elementary schools attended predominantly black schools. Junior and senior high

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<sup>7</sup>Pamela Swift, "Youth Notes," Parade, March 29, 1970, p. 8.



schools were not as racially segregated.

Race	Elementary	Junior High	Senior High	Students
Whites	84 %	86.6%	89.1%	59,467
Negroes	13.9	11.3	9.0	8,554
Mexicans	1.5	1.5	1.3	1,002
Indians	0.4	0.4	0.3	305

Fig. 10--Racial composition of Wichita schools, 1967.<sup>8</sup>

A report in 1970 indicated that 15 per cent of all elementary pupils, 13 per cent of all junior high pupils, and 11 per cent of all high school pupils were black. Highly segregated elementary schools were still a fact, partly because of the racial housing patterns and because of the use of portable classrooms at already predominantly black schools. Seven Negro elementary schools had fifty-four portable classrooms or 21 per cent of those being used. The other 205 portables were spread over forty-nine schools.

In 1964, the public school system employed 4,280 persons of which 6 per cent were Negro. Three-fourths of the total employees were certified or professional personnel. Six per cent of these were black. While a large number of black teachers were in predominantly-Negro schools, the school system was beginning to distribute them more widely throughout the system. After a staff desegregation program in 1969, the faculties at the seven predominantly-Negro elementary schools mentioned earlier were 70 per cent white and 30 per cent black.

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<sup>8</sup>School and Society in One City.

In 1964, tests given to pupils in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades at the five schools with the highest percentage of Negroes were among the lowest tenth among eighty-nine schools. Two other elementary schools with a high percentage of Negroes did not do much better. Many of the sixth grade pupils scored a year below on the tests. In 1969, forty per cent of the students at the same seven predominantly-Negro elementary schools scored in the middle quartile on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills while sixty per cent scored in the lower quartile.

In 1964, the junior high school with a 98 per cent Negro enrollment offered no classes in foreign languages, and it had no honors classes. Other junior highs did offer foreign languages and honors classes. The high school with the highest percentage of Negroes had a distributive education program, but no office practice program.

Those who enter the distributive education program were "carefully screened" prior to last year (1964). This screening tended to eliminate most of the applicants from the Negro group. The value of the employment experience for the youth involved was a factor weighing selection. The distributive education program has had difficulty finding jobs for Negro youth.<sup>9</sup>

#### Employment and Business

In general, blacks in Wichita tended to be underemployed or unemployed. In 1960, 65 per cent of non-whites were in unskilled jobs while less than 9 per cent of the whites were in unskilled positions. Seventy-three per cent of all non-white employed women were in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs compared to 28 per cent of employed white women.

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<sup>9</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 32.

In 1965, more than 40 per cent of the children receiving payments from Aid to Dependant Children lived in the black community. More than 27 per cent of the General Assistance cases in the county lived in the ghetto.

The unemployment rate for the labor force in Wichita was 4.5 per cent at this time. For Wichita Negroes, as was true throughout the country, the rate was higher.

At the Wichita Post Office, there were eighty-nine Negroes employed. They ranged from levels one through five. Whites ranged from levels one through fourteen. Eighty-eight per cent of the Negroes employed by federal establishments in Wichita in 1963 were at grade five or below. Among those above were fourteen supervisors. The major state employer in Wichita was the employment service. Four of the eighty-five staff members were Negro. Two were custodians.

The employment picture in private industry was about the same. Of twenty-six of the largest employers in Wichita, Negroes accounted for 1 professional, 1 stenographer, 4 clerical, 1 sales clerk, 7 foremen or supervisors, 97 skilled workers, 298 semi-skilled workers, and 208 unskilled or service workers. In the public school system among classified workers, 4.6 per cent of the clerical help was Negro while 10.5 per cent of the custodial help was Negro.

The situation had not changed much in 1968. Seventy-two per cent of the Negroes seeking service jobs such as maids, janitors, or waitresses were placed. Sixty-five per cent of those seeking skilled jobs such as machine and press operators, mechanics, sheet metal workers, and welders were placed. It was

noted that once in these positions it was often difficult for Negroes to move into supervisory capacities. Only 11 per cent of those seeking clerical jobs were placed as such even though there was the greatest number of registrations and referrals in this category.

In addition, Negroes still accounted for a disproportionate number of persons on welfare. Thirty-eight per cent of the county's welfare cases were Negro although blacks constituted only about 8 per cent of the county's population.

How blacks felt about employment in Wichita was indicated in the Model Cities report:

Most of these people work at Cessna, Beech and Boeing Aircraft plants in various capacities. Some work for the city but can usually be listed as making over \$6,000 per year. Most of these people feel that getting hired is not the problem, but getting ahead once they are hired. There is a whole new group of Negroes who not only are educationally qualified for jobs in business and industry, but are more willing to serve.

His problem is, however, that once he is hired, he seems to get caught in a quagmire. After several years of employment in executive training programs and lower level management positions, many young Negroes see themselves treading water while white men and women who were hired at the same time shoot ahead in job authority and pay.

Application after application for better jobs have been made. . .

. . . only to have employers give them excuses, involve them in long testing exercises and tell them they cannot be hired.<sup>10</sup>

In 1965, there were about 125 business establishments owned and operated by blacks in Wichita. The majority of them were located in the northeast part of the city. Twenty-five were professional, some were sales, but most were service businesses such as beauty shops, cafes, restaurants, auto services,

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<sup>10</sup>Problem Analysis and Program Elements, pp. 226-7.

real estate, and radio and television repair shops. The businesses were simple in structure, usually single ownership. Partnerships or corporations, if any, were minimal. The capitalization was small in most of them. The majority of the businesses were owner-operated with few paid employees other than members of the family.

Officials at financial institutions indicated that the majority of black businesses were not considered a good risk for loans. Blacks have more of a relationship with the banks as small depositors, installment buyers, and applicants for personal loans than as businessmen interested in commercial loans. Only a few loans had been made on black business ventures. In 1968, one bank volunteered to act as an advisor and trustee to black business ventures. Through the sale of \$10 shares of stock, blacks did finance the opening of a supermarket in the Negro community in 1968. The Wichita Urban League was working with the Small Business Administration in an educational program to encourage more blacks to become trained to operate their own businesses and to obtain loans to establish their own businesses.

#### Health, Welfare, and the Black Family

The white birth rate for the city of Wichita in 1960 was 27.0 per 1,000 live births; the non-white rate was 44.7 per 1,000. Almost all births were attended by physicians in hospitals, but of those that were not, a disproportionate number was non-white. The rate for illegitimate live births among whites in 1960 was 26.6 per 1,000 live births and among non-whites

was 228.3 per 1,000. In 1962, the rates had increased to 32.3 per 1,000 for whites and 266.0 per 1,000 for non-whites. The non-white death rate was lower than the white death rate. The infant mortality rate among whites in 1960 was 24.7 per 1,000, but it decreased to 22.8 in 1962. The rate for non-whites in 1960 was 30.6 per 1,000, but unlike the white rate, it increased to 36.6 in 1962.

Tuberculosis was a disease of poverty, and the non-white community was over-represented in TB cases. Also, there was reason to be concerned about the incidence of venereal disease among non-whites. The public health program did not conduct prenatal clinics, and. . .

. . .the watchful eye that searches for pregnancies to see that they are not too long without care does not prevail in the Negro community. Especially is this true among Negro unmarried mothers who may go unattended by medical services until late in their pregnancies.<sup>11</sup>

Warren Banner, National Urban League Survey director, contended that although it was a common belief that unmarried white mothers usually want to place their babies up for adoption while Negro mothers in the same situation did not, those familiar with the situation say that similar services were not available to both races. Also, it was the general opinion in the community that volunteer agencies providing casework services were reluctant to serve unmarried Negro mothers. "Agencies in this field throughout the entire country have conditioned their intake with regard to Negro children because 'they could not find' adoptive homes for these children."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 40n.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

Banner also contended that in Wichita as in other cities, the black community requests less from agencies that do not provide material assistance because what they offer in services is not sufficiently understood.

In 1968, hundreds of families suffered from the need for adequate low-income housing, a disproportionate percentage of Negroes were on welfare, the infant mortality and illegitimate birth rates were higher in the black community, the need for foster and adoptive homes for black children was acute and chronic, the incidence of disease was higher among Negroes, code enforcement and neighborhood inspection was on a complaint basis only, and a broad capital improvement program to improve street and alley pavement, street lighting, sewers, and sidewalks in the Negro area was needed.

A casual observer would notice that areas of occupancy by the Negro population were scattered with debris which were potential if not actual harbors of rats. There was an absence of these in areas not occupied by Negroes. Reportedly, "the first responsibility of sanitarians, who are assigned by districts, is to answer formal complaints before giving attention to routine inspections."<sup>13</sup>

In 1960, more than 15 per cent of the divorces and separations recorded that year were for persons in the black community. More than 26 per cent of the children under 18 living with only one or no parent were in the Negro area.

The situation had not changed much by 1968 as the Negro area still had a high rate of broken homes. In fact in two census

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<sup>13</sup>Banner, p. 41.

tracts the rate of broken homes was 48.5 per cent and 50.3 per cent. The implications of such a situation were termed "staggering."

Children being reared with only one parent, many of whom are poorly educated, with limited incomes, provides a combination filled with a tremendous potential for trouble for the future.<sup>14</sup>

### Crime and Juvenile Delinquency

There were 10,262 persons arrested in 1968 by the Wichita Police. Of these, 2,344 or almost 23 per cent were Negroes. There were 4,194 juveniles arrested during 1968, of which 1,012 or more than 24 per cent were Negroes.

For Negro juveniles, the most frequent offenses were larceny (496), burglary (106), auto theft (70), simple assault (48), and runaway (43). For white juveniles, the most frequent offenses were larceny (885), runaway (459), burglary (287), curfew violations (207), and auto theft (187).

For all Negro age groups, the most frequent reasons for arrest were larceny (680), drunkenness (363), burglary (186), simple assaults (182), and auto theft (104). For all white age groups, the most frequent reasons for arrest were drunkenness (2,630), larceny (1,146), driving while intoxicated (471), simple assault (414), and burglary (410). It was quite possible that an economic motive was more of a factor in Negro crime than in white crime.

The offenses of murder, robbery, residence burglary, larceny, and auto theft increased in number from the previous

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<sup>14</sup>Problem Analysis and Program Elements, p. 83.



year. The number of offenses of manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, total burglaries, and non-residence burglaries decreased in 1968. The total number of arrests increased 3.5 per cent.

In 1963, there was 1 Negro police detective, 3 Negro patrolmen, and 2 Negroes in parking control. As part of the training at the police academy in 1965, "officers are exposed to lectures in race relations."<sup>15</sup>

Wichita was not without racial unrest in the summer of 1968 as looting and burning occurred, and the National Guard patrolled the streets of the black community.

That ever/present [sic] communication gap between black and white was more present during the height of the disturbances. . . A stronger security measure for the ghetto was one result of this communication. The basic problems, however, were again not addressed.<sup>16</sup>

#### Recreational and Cultural Activities

According to Wichita Park Board policy, the city's recreational facilities and programs are available to all without regard for race. In 1961, one of the city's fulltime recreation centers was in the black community. There was also a golf course, swimming pool, program for the aged, teenage recreation program, and summer recreational program in the Negro community. All were sponsored by the city. The YMCA and the YWCA had branches in the black area. Five per cent of the Girl Scouts were Negro, and about two-thirds of them were in mixed units. It was not known how many of the 11,000 Boy

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<sup>15</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup>"Newsletter."

Scouts were Negro, but it was believed that "residents of upper income areas participated more. . . than individuals in lower income areas."<sup>17</sup>

A survey conducted by the Wichita Area Community Action Program in the fall of 1968 indicated that a frequent complaint of the poor was the absence of recreational facilities and the absence of money and time to use what facilities were available and accessible. Negro presence was often missing and was not solicited from such public and tax exempt organizations as the Wichita Art Museum, the Art Association, the symphony orchestra, and the Choral Society.

Surveys of private clubs, country clubs, museums, cultural events and other areas of community life indicate clearly that black people are a disadvantaged and excluded group.<sup>18</sup>

The first black arts festival in Wichita was Labor Day weekend in 1968, and many Wichita residents visited the Negro community to view the festival. They walked the same streets which the National Guard patrolled a few days earlier. The Urban League claimed that the festival opened up new possibilities and opportunities for communication between blacks and whites.

#### Race Relations in Wichita

Banner used certain events in Wichita as a barometer of race relations in 1965. One was an airplane disaster which destroyed several blocks of the Negro community. "Much still

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<sup>17</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 58n.

<sup>18</sup>School and Society in One City.

remains to be done. . .but the community responded sympathetically without thought of the identity of those in the neighborhood. There was not even any mention of race in the various reports of the crash."<sup>19</sup>

Another "barometric" event was the honoring of a college basketball star, a Negro, who had completed his eligibility. The press gave full coverage to the hero, including several spreads over a number of days. The Negro community knew about the silent prayers during the disaster and the Negro heroes. However, they also felt that the prayers stopped when the crisis was under control and the applause on the basketball court died with the last whistle that terminated play for each game.<sup>20</sup>

Banner felt the news media gave evidence of concern for bettering human relations and that their treatment in published accounts had been positive.

However, in 1968:

The citizens living within the Model Neighborhood Area (MNA) an area which included 64 per cent of the black population generally display a mistrustful attitude. The adults of all the ethnic groups openly express, and demonstrate by their belligerent talk and actions, that they believe there is a strong conspiracy by the "boys downtown" or the "power structure" to use the social resources of the MNA citizens for the purpose of enhancing the commercial and business potential of the downtown core area. This attitude of mistrust is passed on from the adults to their children thereby perpetuating it.

The mistrust of the MNA citizens leads to actual hatred for public officials and all governmental institutions. Adults and juveniles believe that the police who patrol the MNA are prejudiced against them and are unnecessarily brutal in their dealings with

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<sup>19</sup>Banner, Economic and Cultural Problems, p. 69.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

the MNA citizens. It is generally believed that the City Commissioners will dictate policies which keep the MNA citizens in a lower social class. Federal funds available for use in Wichita are expected to be diverted by "the City Fathers" to projects which the power structure favors in their neighborhoods. All the local or federal government sponsored programs which will be initiated in the MNA are expected to be planned and administered by the "power structure" without the advice or consent of the MNA citizens.

The result of this problem of mistrust is a total waste of the social energy of the MNA. Nobody can be expected to work hard when he knows that he will be held in a lower social class regardless of how hard he works. Nobody can be expected to spend money maintaining a house in a neighborhood which will consistently [sic] be degraded. Nobody can be expected to get favorably excited about the completion of a new convention hall downtown when the streets and sewers around his home have been in need of repair for 30 years. The citizens of the MNA expend their social energy in fighting "the power structure" in rebellious riots.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Problem Analysis and Program Elements, pp. 252-3.

## CHAPTER V

### A COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

A comparison of the descriptive picture of blacks presented by the Wichita Eagle and an empirical picture of blacks was made to determine if the two were consistent or congruent.

The author's impression of the black athlete as projected by the Wichita Eagle was derived almost solely from pictorial coverage because only two news items and no opinion items contained references to Negroes or blacks. As projected, the Negro athlete was often the star of the team or the hero of the game. One need only attend a basketball, football, or baseball game to verify this.

It was evident from items in the education category that many blacks attended apparently de facto segregated schools and that the education received was possibly inferior to that received by the majority of whites in Wichita. A new school building in the black community which had had a high priority tag on it several times still was not built. Blacks were bused to other schools but there was no mention of busing of whites. A more integrated history book was being sought. Although some of the coverage told of classes, Negro History Week, and black homecoming activities, much more was concerned with the underprivileged or disadvantaged Negro student. The empirical picture confirmed that most blacks in Wichita were in segregated schools

and that they were often the recipient of second-rate instruction and facilities.

Discrimination in employment was also evident from coverage by the Eagle. Some items discussed blacks in white collar jobs and positions of authority, but much more prevalent were blacks who were either underemployed or unemployed. That impression was strengthened by reading various efforts to create more and better job opportunities for members of racial minorities. The empirical picture warified that many Negroes in Wichita were underemployed or unemployed. In 1968, it was still easier for a Negro to get a job as a maid or janitor than as a clerk-typist or stenographer. The Eagle did little to indicate that once Negroes were employed they were still subject to discrimination by being bypassed for promotion.

The only mention of black businesses by the Eagle was the opening in 1968 of the first black-owned, black-operated supermarket in the city and of a black-owned hamburger stand and service station. The empirical picture indicated that most of the Negro businesses were located in the black community, most were service businesses such as beauty shops and cafes, most were small, single-owner shops, and that there were few paid employees other than members of the family. The Eagle did not indicate that black businesses were hindered by a lack of willing capital.

Blacks in Wichita were in great need of low- and moderate-cost housing and public housing. Much of the coverage in this category was prompted by the efforts of various groups to provide more housing and the battles which resulted. The Eagle established

the fact that there was a lack of adequate housing, but did not indicate the quality of housing that Negroes did live in. A need for a local fair housing law received minor attention, and the Eagle commented that a Supreme Court ruling apparently eliminated the need for additional local fair housing laws. The empirical picture verified the need for more low-cost housing, but it also indicated a need for rehabilitating some housing in the black community. More importantly, it revealed that discriminatory practices were involved in establishing the black area or ghetto in the first place and that the same practices were still being used in 1968 despite fair housing laws. Neither picture revealed anything about the housing of middle- and upper-income Negroes.

The only item in the health category indicated there might be enough junk cars on private property, though not necessarily in the black community, to cause a health problem. The empirical picture showed that blacks had a higher birth rate and a lower death rate than whites. They also had proportionately more illegitimate births and a higher incidence of most diseases, but frequently had less access to medical and social services. Family stability among blacks was often more tenuous than among whites, and a black neighborhood was more likely to have inadequate street lighting, sewers, and sidewalks than white neighborhoods.

Negroes were involved in robberies more often than any other crime according to items of crime and juvenile delinquency, although there were also incidents of aggravated assault, rape, rock-throwing, and leaving the scene of a fatal crash. Juvenile

crime was on the increase in the county and city, but it was not necessarily caused by blacks. Nine "black militants" were charged with assaulting and threatening to kill two Model Cities officials. The empirical picture verified that blacks were arrested for burglary or larceny more often than other crimes. It also indicated that in most instances for a particular crime the percentage of blacks arrested exceeded their percentage of the total population.

The only item in the civil conflict category was a warning by the dean of students at Wichita State University that student violence, black and white, might produce a backlash worse than the situation they were trying to correct. However, for the second straight summer there were racial disturbances in Wichita. Eagle coverage did not indicate this presumably because it occurred during the only summer month not included in the study.

Both the Eagle and empirical sources indicated blacks were politically active to some extent. There was a Negro city commissioner, candidate for sheriff, and appointees to various city boards and committees. Blacks attempted to make their grievances known to city officials in various ways.

Negroes participated in the annual soap box derby, and some attended summer camp, but the Eagle did not indicate that black participation was frequently missing from the city's symphony orchestra or choral society, private clubs and country clubs, and other civic or community groups.

In an in-depth look at the Negro ghetto a year after the area was the scene of racial disturbances, the Eagle mentioned



a growing black power movement which involved an attempt to increase Negro economic and political power. Black participation in politics and the opening of black-owned and operated businesses verified this. However, little attention was given to the state of race relations in Wichita even though there were racial disturbances two successive years.

The author concluded that the narrative or impressionistic picture of black Americans in Wichita as projected by the Wichita Eagle was consistent or congruent with the empirical picture of black Americans in Wichita as indicated by sociological, demographic, and other data. Thus, the hypothesis of the study, that the pictures would not be consistent or congruent, was refuted.

In other words, the coverage of the Eagle was accurate according to empirical data--but only for as far as it went. While that which was presented was generally accurate, the author did not feel that the quality or quantity of coverage of the black community was adequate or that the Eagle fulfilled its social responsibility in the area of race relations.

The coverage by the Eagle represented only a segment of the broad spectrum of race relations. There were economic, political, and social aspects of the relationship which were not covered. However, the empirical picture showed them to be important.

"Communication, in its broadest form, is perhaps the most important foundation of a harmonious society."<sup>1</sup>

Howard Hayes, Jr., editor of the Riverside, California, Press Enterprise, was quoted as saying:

. . .my contention is that newspapers, in reporting racial news, have a responsibility to concern themselves not only with riots, picketing, court decisions, sit-ins, and other concrete news happenings, but also with uncovering and exploring the whole picture of the relationship between the races in their communities. . .News-papers have a leadership responsibility and there isn't any area where this responsibility is more apparent than the area of racial problems.<sup>2</sup>

The Eagle could be criticized for the way some things were reported, and it could be criticized for not reporting other things at all. Pre-trial publicity was actually an issue in a court case involving "nine black militants" who allegedly assaulted and threatened to kill two Model Cities officials for not hiring a fellow "militant." When the final three "black militants" were arraigned, the article again detailed the charges against them but did not repeat what the defense attorney had said. They were reportedly members of the "Black Guard," an organization the defense lawyer contended did not even exist. He also said the officials had not been injured. The Eagle tried to piece together what it thought the Black Guard was: "Though militant, the organization at its present stage probably is not cut of the same mold as the Black Panthers or others who advocate civil warfare."<sup>3</sup> It was no wonder that the defense attorney objected

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<sup>1</sup>Jack Lyle, ed., The Black American and the Press (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, c1968), p. x.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Dan Garrity, "Status of the Black Guard," The Wichita Eagle, Nov. 9, 1968, p. 1A.

to coverage when his clients were compared to the Panthers in this manner. It was interesting that in later articles the nine black militants became nine Negroes.

Like other newspapers, the Eagle had a tendency to identify criminals by race only when a Negro was involved. As sociologist Elliot M. Rudwick said in 1962, the practice of race labeling seemed unfair and misleading. While it was often true that Negroes had a higher arrest rate than whites, a newspaper's practice of labeling Negroes but not whites tended to give the impression of an even higher rate of Negro crime.

As mentioned by Hayes, the whole picture of the relationship between the races in their communities should be explored. For example, with housing in Wichita being such a prominent topic the Eagle could well have investigated the condition of present housing in the black community. Of that which was dilapidated, was it because the owner refused to fix it up or did his income prevent his doing so? Other aspects of the black-white relationship needed exploring as well, but the Eagle was lax both in its in-depth coverage and in its editorial leadership. It was beyond the author how the Eagle could say that apparently no local fair housing legislation was needed after the Supreme Court upheld an 1866 housing law because the city was under federal order to desegregate its schools, largely because of racial housing patterns. Five months later, editorially commenting on the law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex, the Eagle stated, "Outside of the fair housing law, this is probably the most

disregarded law on the books."<sup>4</sup>

The author did not feel that coverage by the Eagle was like that of the black communities in the San Francisco bay area--"incomplete, sporadic, and tending to report only the most dramatic and violent happenings or the most articulate, colorful Negro spokesman, with very little attempt made to do background or in-depth reporting."<sup>5</sup> However, the difference might only be one of degree.

Traditional news gathering methods and traditional attitudes that put emphasis on quick, spot news rather than on investigative research have excluded regular, consistent coverage of social problems and issues in Negro communities in the past and continue to hamper such coverage. . .<sup>6</sup>

The Eagle might well re-evaluate its traditional definition of news, and the black community or race relations could be an important beat. Few would deny that race relations was not a major problem.

The need for better coverage has been demonstrated in this and many other studies.

Only such a resolution provides hope of achieving through the mass media a rational dialogue between white and black Americans which, in turn, can lead to mutual understanding, trust, and tolerance. The main responsibility at this point rests upon the publishers.<sup>7</sup>

The author wanted to discuss the relationship between the paper and the black community with the editors and publisher of

<sup>4</sup>"Lawsuit Might Help," Ibid., Nov. 25, 1968, p. 4A.

<sup>5</sup>Jean Ann Houghton, "The Establishment Press and the Negro Community." Journalism Abstracts, VII (1969), Abstract No. 174.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Lyle, The Black American and the Press, p. 83.

the Eagle, but the scope of the study prevented this. Instead, it must be left for ~~future~~ study. A comparison of the views of the black-white relationship as seen by staff members of the paper and members of the black community would be in order. A study of the lines of communication between the Eagle and Wichita Negroes and the sources used to obtain Negro news might also be pertinent.

A final word on a mechanical aspect of the study. In the classification of content, 6.8 per cent of the news items and 18.7 per cent of the picture items in the study were classified miscellaneous. The percentages could have been reduced considerably by a "social" or "society news" category. However, as mentioned earlier, the author did not feel the present system would hinder a comparison of pictures.

Another questionable category was that of politics. The author combined news of politics and government when it would have been more precise to separate them or at least label the category as politics and government. However, it too did not hinder the comparison of the descriptive and empirical pictures which was the main intent of the study. For the most part, the categories in the content analysis and the divisions in the empirical picture were easily comparable.

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWS OF BLACK AMERICANS  
AS PRESENTED BY THE WICHITA EAGLE AND  
A COMPARISON WITH EMPIRICAL DATA

by

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B. A., Kansas State University, 1968

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Technical Journalism

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1970

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWS OF BLACK AMERICANS  
AS PRESENTED BY THE WICHITA EAGLE AND  
A COMPARISON WITH EMPIRICAL DATA

The questions of what kind of an image of black Americans was being projected by newspapers, what aspects of Negro life were most likely to reach the pages of "white" newspapers, and whether the image projected was consistent or congruent with empirical data led to a study of the Wichita Eagle and its coverage of the black community in that city. The city has a very highly segregated racial housing pattern and was under federal orders to desegregate its public schools in 1968.

One part of the study was a descriptive picture of Negroes in Wichita as constructed from data assembled in a content analysis of the Eagle. Another part was an empirical picture of Negroes in Wichita as shown by sociological, demographic, and other data. A comparison of the two pictures followed to determine if the image of blacks in Wichita as presented by the Eagle was consistent or congruent with the empirical image. Newspaper coverage of the black community was also compared with the "ideal" as expressed in the theory of social responsibility of newspapers and various journalism codes of ethics.

The content analysis was descriptive as well as quantitative and covered all issues of the Eagle in a six-month period in 1968. All articles, pictures, and editorials with specific references to Wichita Negroes or blacks visiting in Wichita were

evaluated. Eleven content categories were devised for classification of the material. The coverage in each category was then evaluated along three quantitative dimensions -- item count, column inch count, and attention scores.

Data from the content analysis were used to construct an descriptive picture of blacks in Wichita. Empirical data from sociological, demographic, and other sources were used to construct an empirical picture of Negroes in Wichita and the two pictures were then compared. It was hypothesized that the two would not be consistent.

It was concluded that the pictures were consistent and that the information presented by the Eagle was generally accurate according to empirical data. However, it was also concluded that the quality and quantity of coverage of the black community in Wichita was not adequate and that the paper was not fulfilling its social responsibility in the area of race relations. The author criticized the Eagle for the way it reported some information such as news of Negroes involved in crimes. At one point, pre-trial publicity became an issue in a case involving nine blacks. The Eagle was also criticized for not reporting and editorially commenting on certain other important problems in the city.

It was concluded that the Eagle might well reevaluate its traditional definition of news and give more attention to the black community which was becoming more restless each summer. The empirical picture indicated serious economic, political, and social problems existed. With a rapidly increasing Negro population in Wichita the potential for the future was for problems of even greater magnitude. Many of them were not being addressed by the Eagle.