

A CONTENT ANALYTIC STUDY OF THE NEWSPAPER
COVERAGE OF AN EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSY

AT

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to describe the newspaper coverage of a particular educational issue using the methodology of content analysis. Because communication is vital to all educational activities, it is essential that educators be continually increasing their knowledge of this process in order to facilitate effective learning. For nearly two weeks in March of 1967, Simon Fraser University was the setting of an educational controversy that involved the administration, faculty and students. The conflict, which was initiated by the behavior of a group of teaching assistants, generated community-wide and province-wide interest. It was the coverage of this conflict by the local press that was examined in this study. It was hypothesized that the editorial attitude toward a specific issue would affect communication in the news columns concerning that issue. The newspaper reporter was considered a gatekeeper because he controls the flow of news in a communication channel.

In order to obtain a general picture of the local press coverage of Simon Fraser University, it was necessary to examine the history of the relationship between the university and the newsmen. This was achieved through a story-count analysis of articles about Simon Fraser which appeared during the period from July, 1963 to March, 1967, inclusive. An analysis of the gatekeeping behavior of the newspapers involved an examination of the total related content flowing through the news channel and was accomplished by utilizing various content analytic methods. These were: contingency analysis, a qualitative

procedure that seeks to examine the probability that a specified symbol will be drawn given that other specified symbols are in that or related units; evaluative assertion analysis, a quantitative procedure for measuring the evaluative intensity and direction of certain concepts; direction analysis, which involved determining the evaluative direction of each paragraph; and a display index, which provided scores on the display variables that given one item prominence over another. A questionnaire was also given to the local education editors, in order to gain information about their background and duties.

While the results of the background analysis and the analysis of the gatekeeping behavior seemed to support the hypothesis they did not prove anything but only suggested that the gatekeeping behavior of these particular newspapers, in this particular case, seemed to have been effected by the editorial attitude. However, several variables were discussed which may have affected the results. These included: the social organization of the newsroom; the attitudes and perceptions of the reporter; selectivity; the physical production of the newspaper; the student press; polarization of the conflict; and the responsibility of the newspaper. It was suggested that education, as a discipline, must pay more heed to the role of communication in the educational process and must be prepared to support research in this area.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Despite the disparities inherent in the wide range of educational philosophies, it is impossible to imagine an educational situation in which communication does not play a vital role. The concern of this thesis is with a particular communication channel, as it is related to education. Specifically the thesis seeks to describe newspaper coverage of a particular educational issue using the methodology of content analysis. The research is related to three major interests of the education: 1) the communications process; 2) the functioning of the mass media; and 3) school-press relations.

To teach and to learn is to communicate. Because communication is vital to all educational activities, it is essential that educators be continually increasing their knowledge of this process in order to facilitate effective learning. It is only through research that the variables influencing the decoding and encoding of information can be isolated and examined. When these variables are known, it is possible, not only to describe, but to predict behavior and therefore to suggest the most effective means of communicating.

Education is personal development - the growth of those skills and abilities which enable an individual to analyze and evaluate his environment so that he can maintain his self determination and freedom of choice. To this end, the school must provide the students with the information and skills necessary to problem solving and the exercise of free choice. The mass media include those instruments of communication that reach large numbers of people at once with a common message: books, press, radio, television, motion pictures, and magazines. Because these media play a very major, and therefore influential, role in the community it is essential that the individual be able to evaluate everything that he sees, hears or reads. It is hoped that this study will provide a clearer understanding of the functioning of a newspaper in the gathering and reporting of news.

Educational institutions need also to be aware of their relationship to the mass media in general and the press in particular because the newspaper is a primary communication channel between the educator and the public. If the channel is blocked or news is distorted within it, the educator, as well as his purposes or methods, may be misunderstood. Certainly it is to his advantage to insure that the educational institution is receiving the fullest and fairest coverage possible.

The traditional view of the relationship of the behavioral sciences and education implied that there were certain findings, made for other purposes, in the behavioral sciences which seems per-

inent to education. Recently, however, the trend has been toward the investigation of educational problems using behavioral science methods and concepts, many of them designed for the special purpose. It is an interdisciplinary approach to specific problems which necessitates co-operation, rather than just application. The research reported in this thesis is an attempt to use the resources of the field of communications in order to attack a special education problem.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

For nearly two weeks in March of 1967, Simon Fraser University was the setting of an educational controversy that involved the administration, faculty, and students. The conflict, which was initiated by the behavior of a group of teaching assistants, generated community-wide and province-wide interest. It is the coverage of this conflict by the local press that will be examined in this study.

Insofar as it is possible to isolate the objective facts of the issue, a temporal outline of the situation is presented below.

March 10th. Five teaching assistants from the university signed an open letter to the students of Templeton High School urging them to take a stand and fight for freedom of speech, following the suspension of one of their fellow students for writing, and having published in a school magazine, a parody on his English teacher's work.

March 13th. Another letter was distributed at the high school by the five teaching assistants advocating an open meeting

in a park near the school. This gathering broke up in disorder and resulted in the arrest of a teaching assistant and a student who were charged with creating a disturbance by shouting.

March 14th. In a repeat of the previous day's actions, the Simon Fraser teaching assistants and a group of students again were present at the park, disorder again broke out and the same teaching assistant was charged with creating a disturbance and a student was charged with assaulting a police officer.

March 16th. The Board of Governors at Simon Fraser fired the five teaching assistants because: "Their conduct was a negation of the democratic process and further in the letter they recommend contempt for the law and these actions reflect discredit on the university." After the board's decision was made public, Professor T.B. Bottomore resigned as Dean of Arts in order, he said, to: "disassociate myself entirely from the action of the Board of Governors with regard to five graduate teaching assistants who were involved in incidents at Templeton High school."

March 17th. The Executive Council of the Simon Fraser Student Society sent a letter to the President of the university stating that:

..... if the Board of Governors should fail to immediately and unconditionally reinstate the students in question by 12:30 p.m. Monday, March 20th, 1967, the Simon Fraser Student Society Executive Council will call for immediate strike action by all students, graduate and undergraduate, all teaching assistants and all faculty members.

The Faculty Association sent the following resolution to the president:

Whereas some members of the Faculty Association do not necessarily agree with the activities of the five graduate students, we do not believe that their actions constitute academic incompetence, and we therefore deplore the recent actions of the board. The Faculty Association of SFU urges acceptance with the utmost speed by the Board of Governors of the brief on academic freedom with respect to the dismissal of teaching staff submitted by the Association to the Board. It urges the Board to recognize that the brief's provisions in this regard should also apply to teaching assistants. The Association further urges that the Board reconsider its recent dismissal of the five teaching assistants in the light of the acceptance of this statement.

Unanimous

The Graduate Students Association and a meeting of teaching assistants made similar statements.

March 20th. Strike action was postponed pending the decision of the Board of Governors which was to meet Monday afternoon to reconsider its decision. The Board of Governors later that same evening reinstated the five teaching assistants.

During the controversy and in the aftermath, the press was accused of presenting a distorted view of the issue and of being unduly prejudiced against the university. Although this opinion was qualitatively expressed, there was no attempt to quantify the evidence that was presented. The purpose of this thesis is to determine the nature of newspaper coverage given the university at the time of the controversy and to attempt to discover some of the variables affecting the type and extent of the coverage. It is hypothesized that the editorial attitude toward a specific issue will affect communication in the news columns concerning that issue.

The methodology used includes a background analysis of the

coverage of news in the newspapers of the province, as well as content analysis of gatekeeping behavior using contingency analysis evaluative assertion analysis, directional analysis and a display index. Questionnaires were also given to the education reporters of the local newspapers.

Definition of Terms.

For the purposes of this study, the terms given below will convey consistently the meaning as set forth in the definitions.

Beat. A reporter's beat is a series of places he regularly visits to gather news.

Channel. A channel, which is one of the elements in the communication process, is a complete system for transmitting a signal from an input location to an output location. The channel may be an organism, an institution, such as a newspaper, or any combination of physical, organic, and social transmitting media.

Communication. This is the total process whereby one system (a source) influences another system (a receiver) by manipulation of the alternative signals carried in a channel connecting them.

Message. The message is that part of the output of a communication unit which forms part of the input of another unit; a signal or event in a channel relating a source to a receiver. For current purposes it may be taken to mean a sequence of symbols strung together in time according to a pattern and with intent to communicate.

Signal. A signal is any perceptible or measurable event capable of being transmitted. A sign is any object or event, especially an action, perceived as having a significance beyond itself, and this differs from a symbol, in that, a symbol is intended by the performer to have significance beyond itself.

Source. This is the system that emits the signals or other perceptual behavior which influences another system.

Communication Model. A diagrammatical outline identifying the major elements of the communication process is a model.

Copy Editors. These are the editors who edit and headline the material written by a reporter.

Feedback. When used by social psychologists feedback means a direct perceptual report of the result of one's behavior upon other persons.

Gatekeeper. A gatekeeper is any person who controls the flow of news in a channel.

Receiver. The receiver is a system that accepts and is influenced by messages coming from the source.

CHAPTER III

RELATED LITERATURE

It is virtually impossible to obtain a perfect report of an event from an observer. In apparently the same situation the reports of individuals perceiving certain aspects of the physical or social environment may vary greatly both in detail and total perspective. In fact, the same individual may, at different times, perceive very different aspects of a situation and his resulting behavior may therefore appear inconsistent to the objective observer. In the study of communication the process of perceiving is termed decoding, which may be defined as the process of becoming aware of objectives and events that stimulate the sense organs, and of determining the relationships among them. In order to facilitate the mutual exchange of ideas from both psychological and communications research the terms perceiving and decoding will be used interchangeably in this study.

Because this study is concerned with reporters and messages, emphasis must be also placed on encoding which is the process by which perceptions are translated into language for the purpose of communicating messages.

The discussion of the related literature will proceed from an examination of decoding and encoding to communications research, content analysis and school-press relations.

I DECODING

Sherif (1935) performed the first experiment in the area of social perception when he attempted to determine the extent of group influence on the autokinetic effect, which is the phenomenal movement of a point of light when it is fixated by a subject in a dark room. Sherif presented the spot of light to a group of subjects and required each individual to verbally and publicly report on his judgment about the direction in which the light was moving. Over a short period of time each individual gradually changed his report so that it would conform more closely to the reports of the other members of the group until gradually each one said that he saw the light moving in about the same direction. Although many psychologists saw in this experiment the basis for a theory that all perception is the result of cultural learning, it must be realized that the autokinetic effect results from impoverished stimulations, not adequate stimulation. Sherif's experiment demonstrated that in the absence of an external spatial framework, for example, in a darkened room, a group norm provides a frame of reference.

Despite its limitations, this experiment of Sherif's gave rise to an increased interest in the effects of cultural experience on perceptual discrimination. In an experiment conducted by Bruner

and Goodman (1947), the subjects were a group of ten-year-olds who were required to report on perceived sizes of coins by the use of a spot of light whose size could be altered, using a knob varying the size of an iris diaphragm, to match that of the coins seen in a different part of the visual field. When 1-, 5-, 10-, 25-, and 50-cent coins were used the perceived sizes of all the coins were overestimated. The magnitude of the overestimation increased for successive coin denominations up to the 25-cent piece, and then dropped somewhat for the 50-cent piece. With the control group, which was given cardboard disks to use as standards instead of the coins, there was no overestimation. A further comparison was made using two groups of subjects: one from poor homes, and the other from rich homes. The poorer children overestimated the smaller coins to a greater extent than did the rich children: Bruner and Goodman, therefore, concluded that this was because the poorer children valued money more than the rich children did.

Carter and Schooler (1949) redid the Bruner - Goodman experiment and failed to confirm the original findings except in the non-perceptual task of remembering estimations of coin sizes. They found that the smaller coins and disks (both cardboard and aluminum) were underestimated while the larger coins (25-cent and 50-cent pieces) were overestimated. Carter and Schooler concluded that larger sizes are usually overestimated. It should be noted that some of the discrepancy in the experimental results may be attributed to the fact that Bruner and Goodman used different children to estimate the sizes of the coins

and the disks while Carter and Schooler used the same children to perform all of the tasks.

Ashley, Harper and Runyan (1951) confirmed the findings of Bruner and Goodman, but, because the subjects were placed in socio-economic categories by hypothesis, the results are difficult to evaluate.

In another investigation by Bruner and Postman (1948), where social experience determined perception, they discovered that disks containing a dollar sign, which represented a positive value, were overestimated to a greater extent than were disks with a swastika, which represented a negative value, or disks with a neutral symbol (a square with two diagonals marked across it).

A similar experiment was performed by Klein, Schlesinger and Meister (1951), whose results did not indicate a single marked tendency for all subjects but rather a set of consistent individual differences.

This seems to indicate that the overestimation may not be directly attributable to a broad social need but rather to the way that the individual is organized to deal with his needs.

Bruner and Postman (1948) adopted a theoretical approach, the main assertion of which was that the individual brings to each situation a set, which is a function of his current motives, needs, attitudes and personality structure - all of which are products of the interactions between the organism and his social environment.

Perceptual selectivity, then, is determined by a differential sensitization determined by past experience, which predisposes the individual to respond to different aspects of the stimulus complex and in different ways. Bruner and Postman suggest that during the process of perception, the perceiver performs four functions. The first is selection, which occurs when the individual chooses the stimuli to which he responds. Secondly, what is perceived is the result of organization and is seen as an organized configuration. Accentuating is the third function and it occurs as certain aspects of the stimulus field are accentuated. Finally, there is fixation. What is habitually seen in a situation is a result of fixation of previous perceptual responses in that situation.

Postman, Bruner and McGinnies (1948) performed an experiment to illustrate the rôle that the values of an individual play in influencing the duration thresholds at which materials related to these values are recognized. The Allport - Vernon Study of Values was given to twenty-five subjects, so that their scores could be obtained for the six value categories: religious, political, social, aesthetic, economic and theoretical. The subjects were given thirty-six words by tachistoscope, with six words related to each category. The exposure times, which were at first very short, became increasingly longer until the words were correctly perceived. It was found that subjects responded correctly to shorter exposure of words which belonged to the high-value categories. The authors suggested that selective sensitization had lowered the recognition threshold for

high value words and that perceptual defence would increase the recognition threshold for low-value words.

In a similar study Vanderplas and Blake (1940) obtained like results using the intensity of the sound of spoken words as the variable.

McGinnies (1949) further investigated the effect of perceptual defense, by presenting tachistoscopically neutral words and critical words (for example, whore, raped, bitch) to sixteen subjects equally divided as to sex. Longer exposure before recognition was required for the critical words, and galvanic skin responses indicated heightened emotional reactions in the prerecognition stage. McGinnies felt that he had verified the existence of perceptual defense as well as showing that the threatening stimuli aroused automatic reactions before conscious awareness and that this emotional state is a part of the defense mechanism and as such increased the recognition threshold.

The explanation, however, is not entirely acceptable, for perhaps embarrassment and shyness or unfamiliarity (Aronfreed, Messick and Digory 1953; Soloman and Howes 1951), may have accounted for the increased recognition threshold of the critical words.

As well as perceptual defense, Deese (1955) uses the concept of perceptual vigilance as the probability of a response to a given stimulus, and this vigilance is increased by extrinsic stimulus con-

ditions and familiarity from past experience. This approach is supported by Allport and Kramer (1946) who found that anti-semitic individuals are more accurate in their identification of photographs of Jews and non-Jews than are unprejudiced people.

Although the foregoing studies indicate that there is a relationship between the perceptual defense phenomena and an individual's personality, they do not provide the specific variables vital to the prediction of the response. It would seem necessary to determine not only if the stimuli are anxiety-provoking to the individual but also to determine how the individual habitually and typically responds to disturbing phenomena. Eriksen (1963) points out there are two types of defense mechanisms involved: repression, which would result in high recognition thresholds, and intellectualization, reaction formation and projection which would result in lower recognition thresholds. In a significant study Eriksen (1951) found that psychiatric patients who exhibited a high degree of disturbance and avoidance in word association to words associated with homosexuality, aggression and dependence, also showed higher recognition thresholds for the corresponding pictures than for neutral pictures. Similar results were found in other studies by Eriksen (1951) and Lazarus, Eriksen and Fonda (1951) in which subjects, who were able to give freely aggressive and sexual content in the Thematic Apperception Test stories or sentence completion tests, showed heightened sensitivity to hostile and sexual stimuli which were either visual or auditory. The subjects characteristic mode of

response seems to be of greater importance than the characteristics of the stimuli themselves. Stein (1953) indicates that these habitual ways of responding are reliable and repeatable.

Experiments relating to subception, which is the reaction to a stimulus object that is not fully enough perceived to be reportable, are numerous and varied, but usually involve a variation of the study executed by Lazarus and McCleary (1951). They began by conditioning five out of ten nonsense syllables to a Galvanic Skin Response by shocking the subject after these syllables had been presented visually. Each nonsense syllable was then tachistoscopically exposed at duration levels such that the verbal recognitions were fifty per cent correct. In every case the shock syllable gave a greater galvanic skin response than the non-shock syllable and the score of the difference of means was highly significant statistically. The term subception was used by Lazarus and McCleary to describe the process by which some kind of discrimination is made when the subject is unable to make a correct conscious discrimination.

This study was followed by experiments and debate by Eriksen (1956), Lazarus (1956), Eriksen (1960), Bricker and Chapanis (1953) and Murdock (1954). Forgas (1966) has offered what appears to be an adequate explanation for the phenomenon of subception. He suggests that there are two responses involved: the autonomic indicant (galvanic skin response) which may operate with only partial information because it is of a gross discriminative nature and the ac-

curacy indicant (correct recognition), which requires total information to operate. This explanation admittedly cannot account for the fact that partial stimuli may have little meaning outside the context of the whole word.

All of these studies indicate that there are certain psychological and sociological variables which affect an individual's perception and which account for the difficulty of obtaining a perfect, (objectively accurate), report of an event. The variables tested in these investigations included: group influence, social experience, value systems, intensity of the stimulus, and familiarity with the stimulus. Perceptual defense, perceptual vigilance and subception were mentioned as some of the methods which alter perception. Because perceptual distortions or differences do not usually occur through conscious or willful acts, it is absurd to assume that the newspaper reporter can be totally objective when all of the above mentioned variables are influencing his decoding behavior.

II ENCODING

If the term decoding is taken to mean perceiving, then the term encoding means behaving, that is, the transformation of intention into such behavior as can be a signal in a communication system. Although this signal may be any perceptible or measurable event capable of being transmitted, this study is particularly concerned with verbal behavior or more specifically, language, which may be defined as a socially institutionalized sign system. John B. Carroll (1964)

suggests that there are three essential properties of all sign systems: 1) a finite set of discrete signs; 2) referential function of the signs; and 3) arbitrariness of the sign system (pp 5-6). The signs are meaningful because they have reference to objects and events in the non-linguistic world. Communication is the total process whereby one system (a source), influences another system (a destination) by manipulation of the alternative signals carried in a channel connecting them. In this case the alternative signals are linguistic symbols. In order to determine the nature of these symbols, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the phenomenon of concept formation.

The process that bridges the gap between perception, learning, and thinking is concept formation, which involves the generalization of a specific property or properties over stimulus dimensions and the abstraction of this property to form a class or category. Bruner, Goodnow and Austin (1956) suggest that the learning and utilization of concepts represents one of the most elementary and general forms of cognition by which man adjusts to his environment. Through categorization, man can discriminatively order the objects about him thereby reducing the complexity of his surroundings. Man is also capable of using words to symbolize concepts so that each word (symbol) becomes a part of an intricate and interlocking array of symbols which, when shared by many people, constitutes a language.

Roger Brown (1956) describes first language learning as a process of cognitive socialization, which means the taking on of a

culture. Recognition of this intimate relationship between language and culture has led to the proposal of the hypothesis of linguistic determinism by Whorf (1950), Sapir (1949), Lee (1938), Hoijer (1954) and others. They suggest that language determines thought because it perpetuates the view of the world held by its speakers by forcing concept formation into a specific framework dictated by the labels available to a language learner. This extreme hypothesis was perpetrated by many examples of linguistic differences which indicate those concepts in a language which are most highly differentiated are those which are of central importance to the culture. For example: Eskimos and Laplanders have many words for varieties of snow; the Lakuti and many Pacific Island people do not distinguish between the colours blue and green; and the Wintu have many names for varieties of cows.

Although the cultural relativity of the differentiation in these lexicons cannot be denied, it is carrying the relationship between language and perception too far when it is suggested that these concepts cannot be formed by people who have an undifferentiated language. Because snow is not central to the culture of English speaking peoples they have not found it necessary to distinguish among the varieties, but certainly they are capable of perceiving the differences either as a result of necessity, or as an intellectual exercise. The cultural differences would seem to be differences of availability and codability rather than language-bound perception. If a concept is not used frequently then its

availability is low, therefore it is less easily codable and may require a phrase rather than a single word to describe it. Brown (1956) suggests that such differences may be found within the English speaking community. Skiers, for example, widely differentiate varieties of snow just as horticulturalists distinguish among a number of flowers. Therefore, although environment and interests influence cognitive patterns and thus language, this is not evidence that the language determines perception.

There are four theoretical approaches which attempt to determine the common attributes which are abstracted on concept formation. The first suggests that concepts are formed on the basis of specific identical elements of objects (Hull 1920). Thus all green objects may be grouped together in response to the concept of the color green. Another approach maintains that concepts are defined by the gestalt of configurational patterns which are common perceptual relationships. The concept circle is therefore applied to all round objects despite other differences. A third approach purports that concepts are defined on the basis of the common function served by the objects of the concept (Heidbreder 1946; 1947; 1948). Thus radio, television, newspapers, movies and magazines belong to the concept mass media.

Osgood (1953) has attempted to describe a more general characteristic found in concept formation which includes the preceding three approaches and which he has termed a common mediation process (668). He states that:

"the only essential common characteristic is that a group of discrete situations be associated through learning with the same mediating or symbolic reaction. Beets, pole beans and spinach would certainly be classed as 'vegetables' yet there are neither any identical elements nor any common perceptual relations." (666)

Osgood maintains that identical elements, common perceptual relations and common functional uses only facilitate the development of mediation. His hypothesis emphasizes the cortical basis of concept formation because he recognized that the classical stimulus-response theories of learning and the theories based on perceptual principles have ignored organismic variables.

Osgood suggests that "words represent things because they product some replica of the actual behavior toward these things, as a mediation process" (1953, p. 695). Stating the proposition formally:

.... a pattern of stimulation which is not the object is a sign of the object if it evokes in an organism a mediating reaction, this (a) being some fractional part of the total behavior elicited by the object and (b) producing distinctive self-stimulation that mediates responses which would not occur without the previous association of non-object and object patterns of stimulation (Osgood, 1953, p. 696).

The literature on decoding and encoding suggests that the complexity of these processes is intensified by intervening psychological and sociological variables which determine behavior. All of the research reported has been an attempt to further quantify and qualify these variables so that they may be utilized in the prediction of behavior. To this end, an understanding of the factors involved is essential to the study of how a newspaper reporter de-

codes an event and his subsequent encoding of his thoughts for a mass audience.

Gatekeeping. Although the variables discussed in the decoding and encoding processes are applicable in any communicative relationship, it is imperative that it be recognized that the newspaper reporter, because he is an agent of the mass media, is in a unique position. This is so because his audience is very large and also because he may be the sole source of a particular piece of information. The reporter has access to news sources which are not available to the general public, so that he can regulate the news flow. Kurt Lewin's (1947) concept of the gatekeeper describes this control function of the newspaper reporter.

Notwithstanding the validity of the criticisms of his general field theory Lewin introduced a number of promising hypothetical constructs. In social channels through which may flow people, goods, or communications, Lewin suggests that:

... a certain area may function as a gate; the constellation of the forces before and after the gate region is decisively different in such a way that the passing or not passing unit through the whole channel depends to a high degree upon what happens in the gate region (1947, p. 145)

The press, as an institution, is a gate in the communications channel because it can control the flow of news. Figure 1 is an illustration of the communication channel.

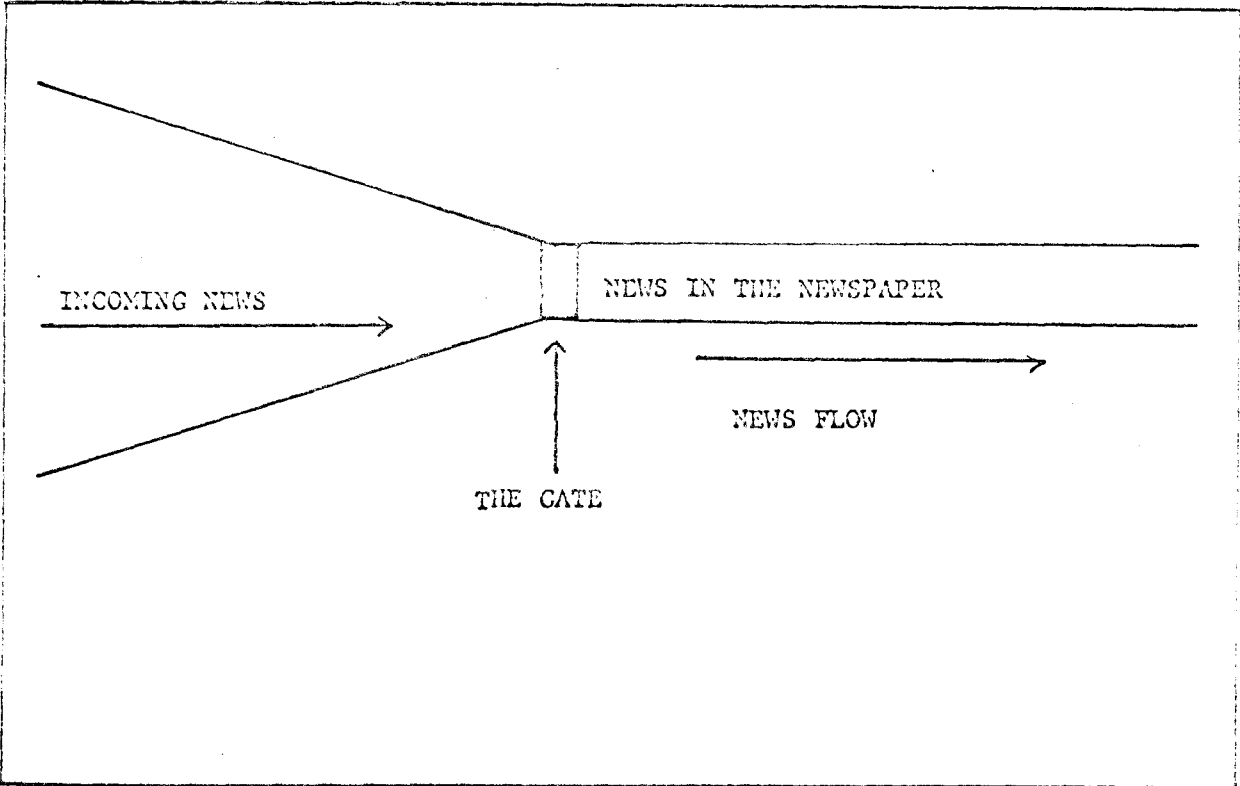


FIGURE 1

THE NEWSPAPER AS A GATE

The incoming news may be items coming over the news wires or directly observed events, it is still different in volume and form from the news which appears in the newspaper after the gate.

These gate sections may be governed either by impartial rules or by gatekeepers which may be an individual or group which has the power to make the decision between in and out. Therefore if the functioning of the gate is to be understood, it becomes necessary to understand those factors which determine the decision of the gatekeepers. When this concept is applied to the press, it becomes evident that each reporter is a gatekeeper controlling a specific area of the channel and, in fact, there exists a very complex system of gates within the total structure. For example, the city news editor may control a gate situated after the gate of the city reporter, or the national wire service may operate a gate located before the gate of the local wire editor.

Lewin describes the importance of these concepts:

The relation between social channels, social perception, and action is methodologically and practically of considerable significance. The theory of channels and gatekeepers helps to define more precisely how certain 'objective' sociological problems of locomotion of goods and persons intersect with 'subjective' psychological and cultural problems. It points to sociologically characterized places, like gates in social channels, where attitudes count for certain social processes and where individual or group decisions have a particularly great social effect (1947, p. 146).

It is difficult to accept the term theory as applied to these Lewinian concepts which at best may constitute a heuristic

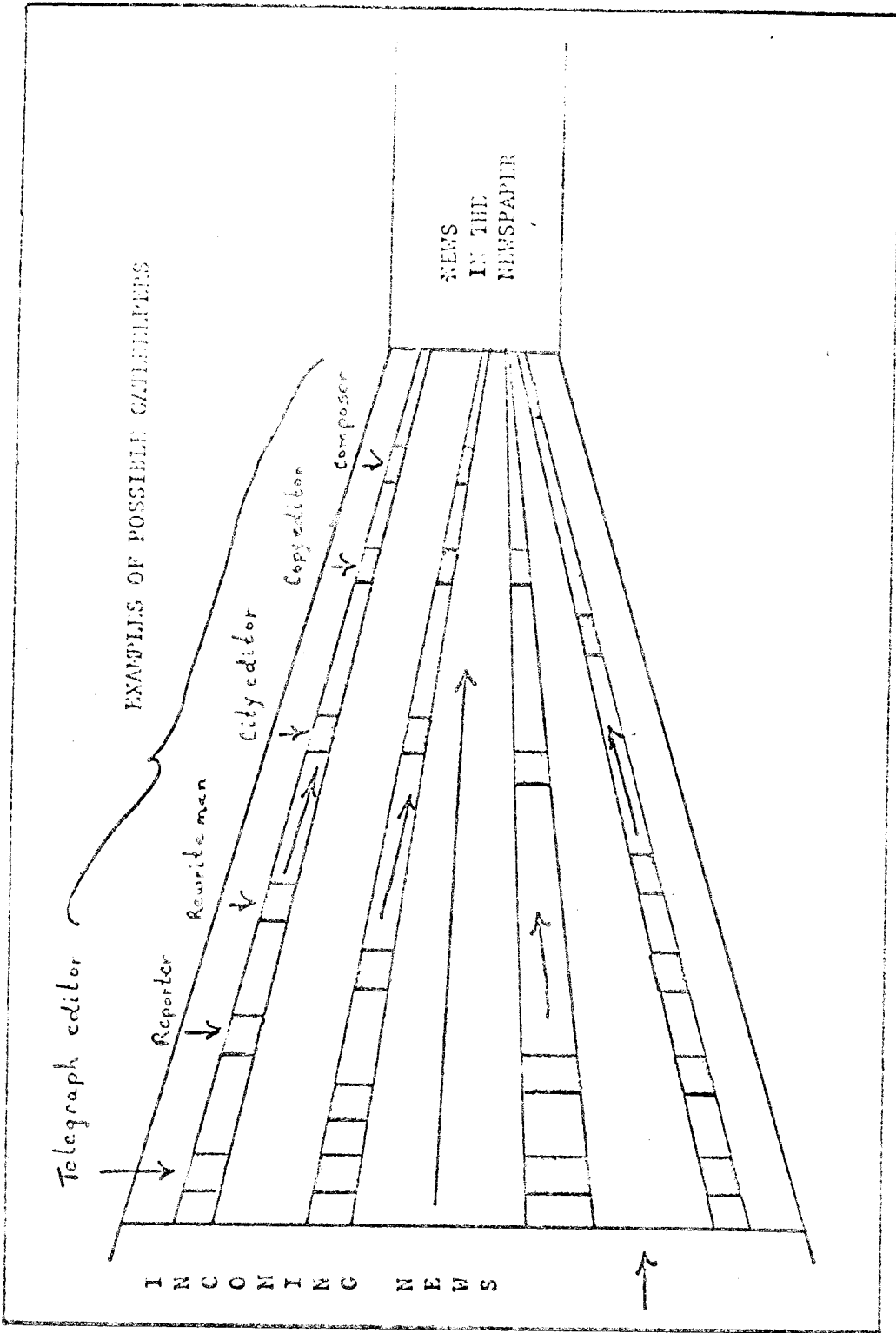


FIGURE 2

THE COMPLEX SYSTEM OF GATES WITHIN THE NEWSPAPER

model or at worst a simple analogy. However, despite its simplicity, it does seem convenient to talk in terms of gates and gatekeepers when discussing the press. Lewin deals briefly with circular channels, which indicates that he appreciates the difficulties in the straight-line flow model. Some of these circular processes correspond to what the physical engineer calls feedback systems, that is, systems which show some kind of self-regulation. The press receive feedback in terms of circulation rates, letters, and personal contacts, all of which may have varying effects.

In essence Lewin is stating the same basic principle evident throughout the previously reported literature, that is, to understand or predict an individual's decoding and encoding behavior, his group membership, social experiences, values, and attitudes must be understood. All Lewin has done is to place the individual in a socially significant position so that the effect of his behavior is intensified. Because the news reporter operates within the communications network, communications research and models, and mass communications research will be discussed in the next two sections, followed by research on school-press relations, applicable because this chapter deals with the reporting of educational issues.

III COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

Lee Tisler in an introduction to the reports of the First International Symposium on Communication Theory and Research (1967), suggests that because "it is the processes of communication which

define and maintain the structure and function of living things" (p.v) the life and behavioral sciences have a common interest in communication processes. It is, however, this very universality which has resulted in a dearth of theory and research in the field. Thayer accounts for this by arguing that the ubiquitous nature of communication, a phenomenon which transcends so many traditional boundaries is destined to languish. Although welcome everywhere as an issue it is "... homeless, belonging to everyone but no one, an illegitimate handmaiden of so many disciplines, communication languishes in its own amorphousness" (1967, p.v)

Thus, despite the fact that scholars in all disciplines have recognized for many years the central role of communications, each has felt little responsibility for the development of knowledge about this process. When such investigation was carried out the findings tended to remain within the narrow confines of the discipline, if not jealously guarded, certainly not openly shared. Communications research has been a primary beneficiary of the gradual chipping away of disciplinary boundaries, as scholars are realizing the manifold benefits that accrue through pooling of resources. In deed, what is happening was termed by Dance (1967) a "multidisciplinary juxtaposition of thoughts concerning human communication theory" (p. viii).

The "founding fathers" (Schramm 1963) of communications research in North America exemplify this multidisciplinary approach. These men are: Paul Lazarsfeld, a sociologist who was engaged in

studies on audiences, voting, campaigns, mass media and personal influence; Kurt Lewin, a psychologist who was interested in group communications, norms, roles and attitudes; Harold Lasswell, a political scientist who pioneered in the study of propaganda, international communications and the development systematic content analysis; and Carl Hovland, an experimental psychologist concerned with communication and attitude change. The merging of such diverse interests is the task of modern communications researchers.

Models of the communications process. Deutsch (1952) defines a model as "a structure of symbols and operating rules which is supposed to match a set of relevant points in an existing structure or process" (p. 357). As such, models play a major role in communications research in describing the behavior of organizations, for each organization is, as Deutsch comments:

... composed of parts which communicate with each other by means of messages; it receives further messages from the outside world; it stores information devised from messages in certain facilities of memory; and all these functions together may involve a configuration of processes, and perhaps of message flow, that goes clearly beyond any single element within the system (1952, p. 356).

A model must be used to discuss the behavior of such a system and much of the fruitfulness of the discussion will depend on the degree of similarity or dissimilarity between the model and the organization itself. There are four distinct functions that a model must perform:

1. the organizing function - the ability of a model to order

and related disjointed data, and to show similarities or connections between them which had previously remained unperceived;

2. the heuristic function - the ability of a model to guide or stimulate empirical research despite the fact that it assumes or postulates what remains to be proven;

3. the predictive function - the ability of a model to be verified by physical operations; and

4. the measuring function - the ability of a model to be related to the thing modeled by processes which are clearly understood, so that the data obtained with its help may be called a measure.

Although communications models generally fulfil the organizing and heuristic functions, they are often not rigorous enough to fulfil the predictive and measuring functions. The representative models of Boulding (1956), Berlo (1960) and Westley and MacLean (1957) will be described because they seem to be indicative of the types of models developed in communications research.

Kenneth Boulding attempts to develop a theory of behavior based on the concept of image, which he defines as subjective knowledge built up as a result of past experience. He suggests that this image is molded by messages (structured experiences) which are filtered through a changeable value system. A person has a shared rather than private image of the world and Boulding uses the term "universe of discourse" (1956 p.15) to describe the growth and development of common images in linguistic discourse. He studies "the

growth of images, both private and public, in individuals, in society at large, and even with some trepidation, among the lower forms of life" (1956, p.18).

Boulding's concept of image is closely related to accounts of the field of consciousness in psycho-analysis, Gestaltism, Lewin's concept of psychological field, and Wiener's cybernetics. Indeed when Osgood talks about meaning he is discussing the same phenomenon as Boulding does when he uses the term image.

In his SMCR model Berlo develops a description of the physical and sociological properties of the Source, Message, Channel and Receiver in the communication process. The SMCR model emphasizes the importance of a thorough understanding of human behavior as a prerequisite to communication analysis. A conceptual model, which is shown in Figure 3, was developed by Westley and MacLean in an attempt to describe the communication process at all levels of analysis.

Where X is the totality of objects and events out there, X^1 is these objects and events as abstracted into transmittable form: messages about X's and A-X relationships (such as opinions).

A's (advocacy roles) - This is what is usually meant by the communicator or source - a personality or social system engaged in selecting and transmitting messages purposively.

B's (Behavioral system roles) - This is what is usually meant by the receiver - a personality or social system requiring

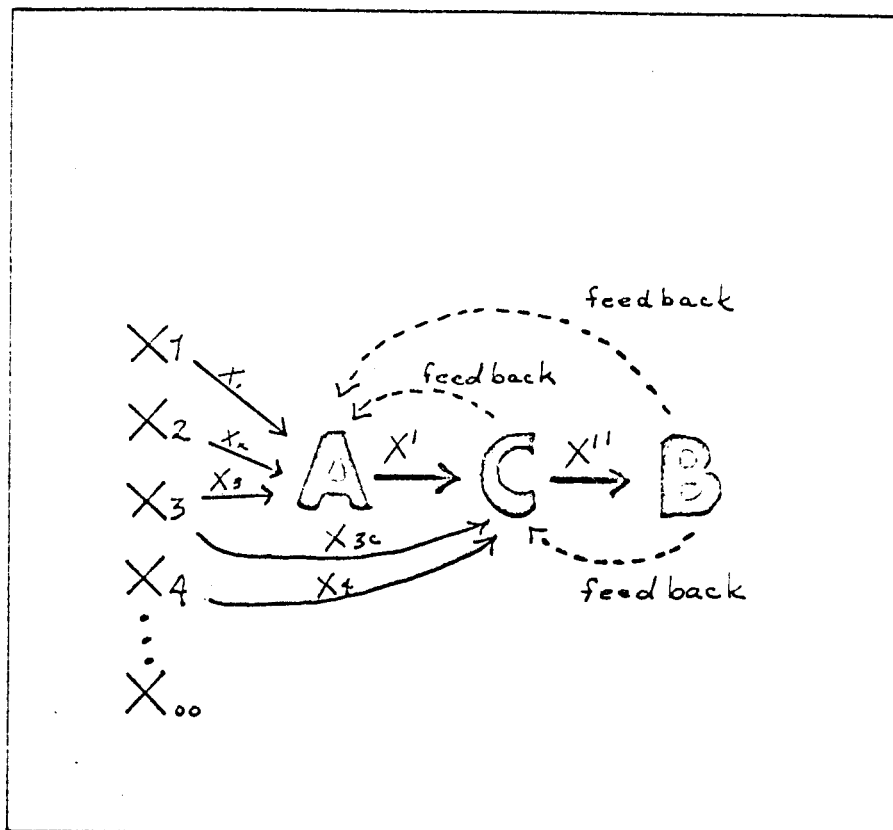


FIGURE 3

WESTLEY AND MACLEAN'S MODEL OF THE
COMMUNICATION PROCESS

and using communications about the condition of its environment for the satisfaction of its needs and solution of its problems.

C's (Channel roles) - Often confounded with A's, C's serve as the agents of B's in selecting and transmitting non-purposely the information B's require, especially when the information is beyond the immediate reach of B.

Channels - the means by which X's are moved by way of A's and for C's to B's.

Encoding - the process by which A's and C's transform X's into Xⁱ's.

Decoding - the process by which B's interiorize messages.

Feedback - the means by which A's and C's obtain information about the effect of messages on B's.

Westley and MacLean's major innovation is the addition of C or channel roles, a concept which is synonymous with the gatekeeping function as described by Lewin. The distinction between the purposive or non-purposive characteristics of the roles refers to sole prescriptions not actual performance. Thus the role of C or the gatekeeper is non-purposive, that is, a transmitting role rather than an influence or advocacy role. This distinction allows for the investigation of the discrepancy between role prescription and role behavior.

The channel roles of Westley and MacLean serve to perform what March and Simon (1958) term the "absorption of uncertainty" which occurs when inferences are drawn from a body of evidence and

the inferences, instead of the evidence itself, are then communicated. March and Simon further suggest that the amount and locus of uncertainty absorption affect the influence structure of the organization.

The newspaper fulfils the mediating function which is variously described in these studies as gatekeeping, channel roles, or uncertainty absorption, and in this capacity it controls a special area of the communication process as indicated by the communication models. The next section will deal more specifically with mass communications research especially newspaper research and content analysis.

Mass communications research. The mass media consist of the press, radio, television and motion pictures, all of which offer information and entertainment to a very large and extremely varied audience. Research in this area consists of investigations in the following areas:

1. mass communications as a social institution - its organization, its social control, its content, its audiences, and its responsibilities and performances;
2. the conditions of effectiveness - the choice of channels, the nature of messages, the self-selection of the audiences, the nature of attention, the problem of transmitting meaning and the relation of group structure and predisposition to effect;
3. and the nature and evidence of effects - what influence mass communication has on the individual and what does it contribute

to social change.

The present study falls into the first category - mass communications as a social institution or, to use different terminology exploration of the gatekeeping functions of mass media. In particular the concern is with newspaper content, and the following discussion indicates the variables which have been investigated in an attempt to discover those factors which are influential in determining content.

An early work which was centered around the journalist as a gatekeeper, although this term wasn't used, was Rosen's (1937) study of Washington correspondents, in which he examined the characteristics and roles of this particular group of reporters.

Swanson (1949) observed the operations of a daily newspaper in a one newspaper city from October 1946, to May 1948 and consequently described the social characteristics of the editing-writing group, their values and appraisal of the newspaper, and its relative control over the power to print. He concluded that the group was not dominated by owner control, but was free to trade opinions, come to a consensus and act. Some members of the editing-writing group shared in every decision about whether or not to print certain items.

A case study was conducted by White (1950) in which he closely examined the way one of the gatekeepers (a newspaper wire editor) operates his particular gate within the complex channels of the whole

organization. For one week White had the wire editor of a morning newspaper of approximately 30,000 circulation in a mid-west city of 100,000 people save all of the wire copy that he rejected and note on it the reasons for rejection. After analyzing these overt reasons, White suggests that the news selection is highly subjective and based on the gatekeepers own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations.

Jones and Swanson (1954) conducted a study to determine if the interests and abilities of small city daily newspapermen varied with that of college students, same occupational groups and metropolitan daily newspapermen. They found that small-city newspapermen perform better than their educational level peers among college students but that they do not perform as well as metropolitan daily newspapermen. In general small-city editors outscore other small-city newspapermen. These findings suggest that the small city newspapermen are less skilled or have less ability, as well as less experience, than those who work on large newspapers.

Breed (1955) interviewed one hundred and twenty newspapermen working for newspapers with a daily circulation between 10,000 and 100,000 newspapers in order to investigate the maintenance of news policy despite the fact: that it often contravenes journalistic norms, that staffers often personally disagree with it, and that executives cannot legitimately demand that it be followed. He used a description of the dynamic socio-cultural situation of the newsroom to explain the adherence to policy. The environmental influences are:

1. institutional authority and sanctions;
2. feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors;
3. mobility aspirations;
4. absense of conflicting group allegiance;
5. the pleasant nature of the activity; and
6. news becomes a value (an end in itself).

Breed concludes that the newspaperman's source of rewards is located, not among his manifest clients, the readers, but rather among his superiors and colleagues. Instead of following societal and professional ideals, the newspaperman re-defines his values to the more pragmatic level of the newsroom group. These conclusions suggest that the informal structure of the newsroom is yet another variable related to newspaper content.

Two studies which were precipitated by the trend of newspaper to merge have been conducted recently to determine what effect the loss of competition has on these newspapers. G.M. Borstal (1956) examined twenty dailies, (six non-competitive, non-chain, six non-competitive chain, and eight competitive non-chain), in cities with a population under 25,000 to determine if non-competing or monopoly newspapers exhibit any tendency to take it upon themselves to present more than one side of debateable issues, to compensate for the lack of a rival journal. He found that there were no consistent differences in the news comment, (editorials, columns, letters and cartoons), along the lines of ownership or competitive status. He concluded that, in this particular sample, the papers tended to be in-

dependent rather than members of a class and differences are related more to the size of the city than to other impersonal factors.

Nixon and Jones (1956) examined the content of fifty-three competitive dailies included in the "Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading" as well as thirteen matched pairs of newspapers (competitive and non-competitive) in cities with a population of between 10,000 and 400,000 people. Their research supports their hypothesis that in cities of less than 400,000 population, there are no significant differences between competitive and non-competitive dailies in the proportions of non-advertising space devoted to various categories of news, editorial and feature material. A tendency does appear for non-competitive dailies in single ownership combinations to devote a slightly smaller proportion of their total space to non-advertising content.

Hennessy (1965) suggests that mergers, which have resulted in newspapers having increased circulation and geographic coverage and therefore a more heterogeneous audience, are a probable reason why there are fewer self-identified partisan papers today. He suggests, for example, that there is evidence that the Los Angeles Times became more liberal when the Mirror and the Examiner (both of which had a majority of Democratic readers) folded. Although, monopoly control of dissemination of news and opinion does give the monopolist an opportunity to exercise bias and distortion, most publishers are not in such a position. The radio and television both offer the newspaper competition in the field of news coverage. There-

fore, although in Vancouver the two major dailies, The Vancouver Sun and The Daily Province, are both published by Pacific Press Limited, a large segment of the audience also has access to the three American television networks as well as the two Canadian networks. The question of monopoly distortion, however, is not a simple one and it may be argued that for daily, in depth, news coverage the people of the lower mainland have only one source.

Gieber's (1955) study is an example of many investigations which have examined the proportion of negative or sensational news in newspapers. Beginning with the hypothesis that: given a universe of news events editors would select a significantly higher percentage of sensational (or negative) items than other types, Gieber examined the wire content of thirty-four Indiana dailies that were receiving wire copy from either Associated Press or United Press. He also measured the amount of copy in each of three categories: negative (those items that report social conflicts and disorganization); positive (those items reflecting social cohesion and cooperation); and other (oddities, sports and entertainment) sent to each newspaper from the wire copy bureau. He found that only one of the newspapers over-selected from negative or sensational stories and that the size of the circulation has no apparent effect on this selection.

From research involving a study of sixteen newspaper telegraph editors, Gieber (1956) concluded that the gates of the editors seemed to be left indiscriminately open until the wire news hole was

filled. The important decisions on wire news, he said, were being made further up the line.

McNelly (1959) emphasized the importance of the locations and beats of the correspondents and stringers at the originating end of the line. He noted a whole series of editing junctures along the lines of flow, where editors handled stories that they cut partially, cut out entirely, rewrote, combined with other stories, used a primer for reaction stories, or otherwise altered. McNelly urged that these key news decision makers be studied.

Using medicare as a stimulus subject Donohew (1967) examined the relationship of publisher attitude, perceived community opinion and community conditions to the behavior of newspaper gatekeepers. His findings suggest that:

1. the publishers's attitude is an important force in the news channel;
2. the publisher's perception of public opinion did not seem to alter gatekeeping behavior; and
3. that community conditions are unrelated to coverage.

The minimized importance of public opinion and community conditions seems to substantiate the findings of Breed.

IV CONTENT ANALYSIS

The methodology used in this thesis is that of content analysis which has been described by Berelson (1952), as "a research

technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". The particular concern of this investigation is to examine the characteristics of content (of the newspapers reporting about the S.F.U. incident), both substance and form, as well as the causes of the content - the reporters. The findings which are cited below indicate the scope of the research, in these three general areas, utilizing content analysis.

Characteristics of Content: Substance

1. In thirty Minnesota weekly papers, the percentage of shop-set news originating in the locality and trade area rose from 28% in 1860 to over 80% in 1890 and thereafter. Personal news increased from less than 6% in 1860 to almost 40% in all years after 1900 (Taeuber, 1932).
2. There was relatively little difference in the extent to which economic, nationalistic, militaristic, or internationalistic motivations were employed in the McGuffey readers and in a sample of school readers in 1930, but there was a considerable difference in the relative use of religious motivations (Estensen, 1946).
3. The propaganda content of May Day slogans in the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1943 moved from "universal revolutionary" symbols to "national symbols" (Yakobson and Lasswell, 1949).
4. As compared with World War I, propaganda in World War II was less emotional, less moralistic and more truthful (Kris and Leites, 1947).
5. In a study of ethnic prejudices of a group of veterans,

the respondents were classified into the intense (anti-Semitic or anti-Negro), the outspoken, the stereotyped, and the tolerant according to whether they made spontaneous restrictive remarks, elicited restrictive remarks, stereotyped responses, or explicit references of a tolerant nature (Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950).

Characteristics of Content: Form

1. A study of the 1940 presidential campaign revealed that significantly more emotional content appeared in the material dealing with Roosevelt than in that dealing with Willkie (Waples and Berelson, 1941).

2. The analysis of the themes used by the opposing sides in World War I illustrated the four major objectives of wartime propaganda: to mobilize hatred against the enemy, to preserve the friendship of allies, to preserve the friendship and if possible to secure the co-operation of neutrals, and to demoralize the enemy (Lasswell, 1927).

3. Classification of the images in Shakespeare's plays illustrates the wide range of figures upon which he drew and also provides a comparison with his contemporaries; in addition, the imagery of particular plays or groups of plays classifies the way the poet achieved his effect (Spurgeon, 1936).

Producers of Content

1. During the war (World War II), official government analyses were made in order to reveal the extent to which German and

Italian propadanda ministries were co-operating, if at all (Berelson and de Grazia, 1947).

These examples indicate the very wide range of the researchers utilizing the method of content analysis, an approach first used exclusively in journalistic studies and later popularized by Lasswell (1927) and his propaganda studies. In 1949 Lasswell, Leites and associates published a book titled Language of Politics based on the theme that "political power can be better understood in the degree that language is better understood", and that "the language of politics can be usefully studied by quantitative methods" (p.1).

A sophisticated concern with the problems of inferences from verbal material to its antecedent conditions and a focus on counting internal contingencies between symbols instead of the simple frequencies of symbols led Charles Osgood (1959) to develop his representational model and appropriate research methods.

Osgood states that the representational model in content analysis assumes:

1. that in semantic encoding by the source the occurrence of specific lexical items in his messages is indicative of the immediate prior occurrence in his nervous system of the corresponding representational mediation processes; and
2. that in semantic decoding by the receiver the occurrence of specific lexical items in messages are predicative of the occurrence in his nervous system of those representational mediation processes which he has developed in association with these signs (1949, p.39).

Osgood continues to explain:

This (the above), of course, is merely a more formal way of saying that words 'express' the ideas of speaker and 'signify' ideas for the hearer. But expression of these permit us to make use of the elaborate machinery of this theory in analyzing psycholinguistic problems in content analysis and elsewhere (1959, p.39).

Two methods of inferring the attitudes of the source from the content material have been derived by Osgood. These are evaluative assertion analysis and contingency analysis. Evaluative assertion analysis is designed to extract from messages the evaluations being made of significant concepts, with a minimum dependence on the effects of the messages on coders or on their existing attitudes. It involves the following stages:

Stage I: the attitude objects (AO) in the message are identified, isolated linguistically, and then masked by the substitution of nonsense-letter pairs;

Stage II: the masked message is translated into an exhaustive series of evaluative assertions which are standard in structure but semantically equivalent to the original message;

Stage III: the assertions and common-meaning evaluations are assigned directions and weights;

Stage IV: assertions relating to each attitude object are collected and averaged in terms of common-meaning evaluation, thereby allocating each AO to a common evaluative scale.

Unfortunately, this method, although certainly rigorous and

explicit, is also extremely time consuming and laborious and is therefore more likely to be used as a research tool rather than in practically oriented areas.

Contingency analysis, which is based on the assumption that greater-than-chance contingencies of items in messages would be indicative of associations in the thinking of the source and less-than-chance contingencies of items in messages would be indicative of dissociations in the source, is somewhat more expedient. It consists of the following steps:

Step 1: the message is divided into units according to some relative criterion;

Step 2: the coder then notes for each unit the presence or absence of each content category for which he is coding;

Step 3: the contingencies or co-occurrences of categories in the same units are then computed and tested for significance against the null (chance) hypothesis;

Step 4: patterns of such greater-than-or less-than-chance contingencies may be analyzed using a table of significant contingencies, a cluster analysis, or models devised from the generalized distance formula.

Osgood's illustrative applications of the contingency method include the analysis of thirty-eight talks given by W.J. Cameron on the Ford Sunday Evening Hour radio program; the analysis of one hundred random samples from the English version of Goebbel's diary,

and the analysis of fifty-five successive taped interviews with a young man undergoing psychotherapy.

It should be noted that this method does not measure the direction nor the intensity of the contingency, however Osgood states that: "I think we must assume that a significant contingency, whether positive or negative, is evidence for an underlying association between such content categories: (1949, p.75). And, "...reflecting the basic psychological principle relating habit strength to frequency of response, the method does indirectly reflect the strength of associations or dissociations. Thus the magnitude of the contingency relation will index the intensity of association". (p.76) Osgood also notes that when analyzing deliberately planned messages, as in the case of newspapers where the source is an institution, it is more reasonable to discuss the policy of the source rather than its association structure. Contingency analysis, is a means of determining the policy of a newspaper in a specific subject area through the examination of the content of the news messages.

Two recent works, one a book edited by Pool (1959) and the other a book edited by North, Holsti, Zaninovich, and Zinnes, (1963) explore descriptive techniques of coding, categorizing and characterizing data, as well as means of organizing and synthesizing data derived from content analysis. North et.al. indicate potential conjunctions of high speed digital computers with content analytic techniques, however such possibilities have not been developed to the experimental stage. Both of these reports indicate a growing concern

with content analytical techniques and suggest that the field has wide possibilities.

V SCHOOL-PRESS RELATIONS

During the past few years the public school has been becoming increasingly aware of the vital role of public relations and has been involving itself in research in this area. Many studies, which have been financed by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare and have been carried out by universities, are public opinion surveys examining public involvement in educational issues, including participation in school board and school tax elections.

Roe, Haak and McIntyre (1954) in the Michigan Communications Study, investigated three areas of study: a newspaper content analysis of school news, a community survey study, and a collection of effective procedures. In the content analysis part of the study, it was revealed that 48 percent of a school news was devoted to athletics, 18 percent to social activities, less than 1 percent to curriculum, and one-tenth of one percent to teaching methods. Monahan's (1960) study of school news in Michigan newspapers provides relatively recent data for analysis. Monahan analyzed the school content in twenty-three randomly selected Michigan newspapers during a three-month period in the fall of 1959. This sample included fifteen weekly newspapers with a circulation range of from 870 to 10,325; and eight daily newspapers whose circulation ranged from 3,477 to

59,345. He found that weekly newspapers print a greater percentage of school news than dailies. The fifteen weekly newspapers' total of school news accounted for 4.6 percent of the total space, whereas in daily newspapers, school news accounted for only 1.9 percent of the total space. In this study, athletics and athletic illustrations accounted for the most space - 53.2 percent of the school content among daily newspapers and 36.7 percent among weeklies. General illustrations, curriculum, finance and miscellaneous school items accounted for another 35.9 percent of the school content in weekly newspapers and for 25.4 percent in daily papers. Together with athletics and athletic illustrations, these categories accounted for 72.3 percent and 64.4 percent of all school content in daily and weekly newspapers respectively.

Not only has the content of school news in newspapers been measured but also many studies have dealt with newspaper editorials on education.

In 1938 C.R. Foster reviewed editorials in twenty-five selected American newspapers appearing from January 1, 1930 to January 1, 1935. He found 44.5 percent of the editorials were favorable, 32.4 percent were neutral, and 23.2 percent were adversely critical. He concluded that educators should cultivate an alertness to public viewpoint, should make a greater effort in the dispensation of reliable information about schools, and should develop more friendly relations with the press.

In a study similar to Foster's Stabley (1941) analyzed editorials appearing in ten daily national newspapers which were analyzed every other day from 1910 to 1936. Some of his conclusions were: change in ownership does not have a great effect on editorial attitude, but a change in the editor does have an effect; periods of prosperity show greater interest in education editorials than periods of war or depression; and eastern editors were generally more favorable in their comments than western editors.

These studies were followed by numerous pieces of research of identical purpose and design varying only in time and place.

E.J. Holtz (1966) in his unpublished doctoral thesis examined editorial expression on American education published by the Pittsburgh Press and Pittsburgh Post Gazette from January 1st, 1945 through May 31st, 1965. He came to the conclusion that their editorials represented a serious attempt to present informative, yet factual reporting of the happenings on the American educational scene.

Carter (1954) reversed the procedure to some extent in an examination of how school district superintendents perceive the newspaper's capabilities in school news reporting. Using a Guttman-type scale he discovered that although the superintendents feel that the news is reasonably completed and approached in a spirit of fairness, they feel that news stories about schools are often incomplete or are crowded out because they are not sensational and that they are usually written by reporters who do not understand school problems. They

maintained that the most important news channel is personal contacts of school people in the community, followed by daily newspapers and children's reports, and finally student publications and radio.

The preceding studies indicate a need for research exploring the relationship between the school (or university) and the press. It is therefore hoped that this study will help to clarify the nature of this relationship and the variables governing it.

CHAPTER IV

PROCEDURE

Most research examining the relationship between educational institutions and the press have been of the survey type, either examining many newspapers over a short period of time or a few newspapers over an extended period of time, for despite the relative popularity of the case study method in the wide area of mass communications research, it has generally played a minor role in this area. The case study approach has been utilized in the current investigation because it allows for an intensive examination of the pertinent variables as well as facilitating the use of complex content analytic methods which are neither appropriate nor convenient for survey studies.

I. THE SETTING

The role of the mass media, generally, and the newspaper, particularly, must be viewed within the total social context because it behaves, not independently, but in relation to the society as a whole. The university, the community and the newspapers are therefore described.

The University

In a report entitled "Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future" presented to the Provincial Government in January 1963, Dr. J.B. Macdonald recommended that a new university be created on the Lower Mainland as soon as possible. Two months later a new Universities Act, which provided for the establishment of Simon Fraser University among its terms, received formal assent in the B.C. Legislature and in May of the same year a Chancellor, Dr. Gordon B. Shrum, was appointed. Construction began in the spring of 1964 and the University opened, with 2,500 students, in September, 1965.

From the beginning Simon Fraser University was innovative. A trimester system was adopted which allows the university to operate year-round and special encouragement was given to interdisciplinary programs, at both the graduate and undergraduate level of studies. The Education Faculty was organized into the Center for Communications and the Arts; the Educational Foundations Center, including Behavioral Science, Social and Philosophical Foundations, and the Professional Development Program; and the Physical Development Center. This organization departs greatly from the traditional mold. The initiation of these innovations, as well as many others, gave the institution a reputation for breaking with tradition even before it opened its doors.

The Community

Although Simon Fraser University is located in the municipality of Burnaby, it seems most realistic to describe its location as

metropolitan Vancouver which includes the cities of: Vancouver, New Westminster, North Vancouver, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody and White Rock; and the municipalities of Burnaby, Coquitlam, Delta, Fraser Mills, North Vancouver, Richmond, Surrey and West Vancouver; as well as the University Endowment Area. Nearly 50 percent (790,165 - 1961) of British Columbia's population is concentrated in this area which is the wholesale and financial area of the province. A sea port with a booming economy, Vancouver also enjoys the benefits of magnificent natural surroundings and a moderate climate which the residents have taken advantage of and have developed a relaxed, informal way of life. Nearly 20 percent of the labor force is employed in the manufacturing industries, which are primarily concerned with the processing of raw materials, while 16.2 percent is engaged in community and business services, 12.6 percent is in retail trade and 11.9 percent of the labor force is engaged in transportation, communication and other utilities.

Market researchers suggest that the people of Vancouver are eager to experiment with new products and are not bound by tradition. (Dhalla, 1966). One reason for this attitude is that the population of metropolitan Vancouver is composed, to a large extent, of first generation families, who tend to be free of family tradition and ties to the extended family. Also, this area has a wide distribution of middle-class secondary industry which is decentralized, and a greater percentage of the labour force is employed in managerial positions than in either Montreal or Toronto (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961).

These people are free of the tradition of the bureaucracy of the large eastern business. These two reasons account for the fact that the people are more ready, or more free, to accept innovation.

Vancouver, because it is a sea port and has a large concentrated population, also has a high mobility rate and a large transient population, which has contributed to some extent to the high rate of illegitimate children, divorce, alcoholism, and narcotics addiction.

The University of British Columbia was established in 1915 and for forty-eight years it was the only university in the province, thus it developed a comprehensive graduate and professional program to supplement undergraduate studies. During these years Victoria College was associated with the University of British Columbia, but until 1959 the College only offered first and second year instruction. Victoria College became the University of Victoria in 1963.

Because the University of British Columbia dominated higher education in the province for nearly half a century, it has become a recognized and trusted institution, distinguished by its many graduates, and a proven member of the community. Simon Fraser University, by comparison is looked on by the members of the community as new and exciting but not yet proven by the traditional test of time. It was in this atmosphere that the events of March, 1967, occurred.

The Newspapers

The Vancouver Sun, the Vancouver Daily Province and the Columbian (New Westminster, Burnaby, Coquitlam and Surrey) were chosen for intense analysis for the following reasons:

1. Circulation area close to the university
2. General wide coverage of university affairs.
3. Extensive coverage of the particular incident which is of central interest in this study.
4. Availability of back issues.

The articles found in each of the newspapers were broken down into the following categories:

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Sun</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Columbian</u>
News Stories	19	9	6
Columns	4		4
Editorials	1	2	
Letters	9	8	
Features	—	<u>1</u>	—
Total:	33	20	10

There follows certain technical information concerning the three newspapers for which separate scores for coverage have been tabulated. (Canadian Advertising Rates and Data, 1966)

The Vancouver Sun

Established: 1886 (Independent-Liberal)

Publishers: Pacific Press Ltd.

Printed: Evening except Sunday.

Market:

City population (1961 census)	384,522
City zone (ABC)*	655,427
City retail trading zone	907,531

Circulation (reports based on ABC* publishers' statements
6 months ending 30-9-66)

Total city zone	154,195
Total retail trading zone	39,683
Total all other	46,555
Total Paid (excluding bulk)	240,388

The Vancouver Province

Established: 1898 (Independent)

Publishers: Pacific Press Ltd.

Printed: morning except Sunday

Market: same as Sun above

Circulation: (reports based on ABC* publishers' statements
for 6 months ending 30-9-66)

Total city zone	67,228
Total retail trading zone	16,783
Total all other	22,490
Total paid (excluding bulk)	106,501

The Columbian

Established: 1860 (Independent)

Publishers: The Columbian Company Limited

Printed: evening except Sunday

Market:

New Westminster	33,654
Burnaby	100,157
Surrey	70,838
Coquitlam	29,053
City Zone (ABC)*	33,654
City and retail trading zone	204,213

Circulation (based on ABC* publishers' statements 6 months
ending 30-9-66)

Total city zone
 Total retail trading zone
 Total all other
 Total paid (excluding bulk)

* Audit Bureau of Circulation

II. BACKGROUND

In order to obtain a general picture of the local press coverage of Simon Fraser University, it was necessary to examine the history of the relationship between the university and the newspapers. This was achieved through a story-count analysis of articles about Simon Fraser which appeared during the period from July, 1963 to March, 1967, inclusive. The clippings files at the Information Office of the university were used for this purpose, as they are the most reliable records available, as well as being easily accessible. Because these files contain clippings from all of the daily and weekly newspapers in British Columbia, a story count was made for the entire province and a list of these newspapers is given in Table I.

Each story about Simon Fraser University was categorized by month as well as by subject matter, using the following categories:

- 1) Administration - articles directly related to the chancellor, president, senate, board of governors, registrar or other part of the administrative body or statements made by any person in an administrative office; for example, speeches made by the president, news items about registration or news items about appointments to the board of governors.
- 2) Construction - all those stories whose subject matter was any phase of construction on the university campus - calling of tenders, construction progress, etc.

- 3) Curriculum - stories directly related to the course of studies at the university, for example, articles about the Professional Development Program or methods used in the language laboratories.
- 4) Faculty - any news items about the university's faculty including appointments, achievements, etc.
- 5) Finance - news items related to the financing of the university, for example, items about provincial grants or fund drives.
- 6) Special Events - stories about special visitors to the university and events at the university open to the public.
- 7) Sports - any item about sports on the university campus.
- 8) Students - news items about university students and student affairs.

In some cases a news article would overlap two or more categories, in which case it was placed in the category which seemed predominant. Because the count was intended to be a broad general one, it is not felt that these ambiguous items in any way distorted the total picture.

It is fully recognized that the story count is certainly not the most accurate form of content analysis, for certainly the varying lengths of the stories as well as the difficulties imposed by broad categories, influence the final scores obtained. However, this method has the advantage of being expedient, and considering the large volume of material to be covered, was the logical choice. It is therefore felt to be justified under the circumstances, as a more detailed analysis would have been very difficult, if not impossible.

TABLE I

British Columbia Newspapers Analyzed
for their
Coverage of News About Simon Fraser University

A. Dailies

Kamloops Daily Sentinel	Prince George Citizen
Kelowna Courier	Prince Rupert News
Kimberly - The Daily Bulletin	Trail Times
Nanaimo Free Press	Vancouver Sun
New Westminster Columbian (Surrey, Burnaby, Coquitlam)	Vancouver Daily Province
Penticton Herald	Victoria Colonist
	Victoria Times

B. Weeklies

Alert Bay North Island Gazette	Haney Gazette
Armstrong Advertiser	Hope Standard
Burnaby Courier-Examiner	Kitimat Northern Sentinel
Campbell River The Upper Islander	Ladner Optimist
Castlegar News	Ladysmith-Chemainum Chronicle
Cloverdale Surrey Leader	Langley Advance
Courtenay Comox Free Press	Lillooet Bridge River
Creston Valley Advance	Lillooet News
Cranbook Courier	Powell River News
Dawson Creek Peace River Block News	Prince George Progress
Duncan Cowichan Leader	Sechelt Peninsula Times
Fernie Free Press	Squamish Howe Sound Times
	Terrace Omineca Heralds
	White Rock Sun
	Williams Lake Tribune

III GATEKEEPING BEHAVIOR

An analysis of the gatekeeping behavior of the newspapers involved an examination of the total related content flowing through the news channel and was accomplished by utilizing various content analytic methods. Several methods were attempted in order to obtain a valid measurement of the volume, intensity and direction of the news.

The first step involved categorizing each item related to the controversy into one of the following categories: news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, columns, and features, and the number of items found in each category in each newspaper was noted. The following operations were then carried out on the material collected.

Contingency Analysis

As was previously noted, contingency analysis is a quantitative procedure that asks not how often a given symbolic form (word) appears in each of several bodies of text, but how often it appears in conjunction with other symbolic units. Contingency analysis seeks to examine the probability that a specific symbol will be drawn given that other specified symbols are in that or related units. The procedures used in the contingency analysis are noted below.

1) Unit. The unit chosen for analysis was the total item, as the content falls into what Osgood calls natural units, that is, it is divided into separate news items.

2) Content Categories. Using an information, rough, frequency analysis, the content categories in Table II were abstracted because they are directly related to the subject of the study and because they appear frequently in the content. Thus, these content categories were chosen because they do appear often in the news items and because the object of contingency analysis is to determine which categories are contingent upon each other.

It should be stressed that the selection of the categories and the judgment of what to include or exclude from each is a highly subjective process, but from this point on the method is objective in the sense that the procedure may be replicated by another analyst following the rules, and the same results obtained.

3) Raw Data Matrix. Each unit was inspected and scored on a raw data matrix as shown below. Each row in the table represents a different unit (1, 2, 3...n) and each column a different content category (A, B, C...N):

A. Raw Data Matrix

		Content Categories		
<u>Units</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C - N</u>	
1	1	0	2	etc.
2	4	3	1	
3	5	2	2	
:	4	1	2	
n	etc.			

Because the units were relatively large and many categories tended to occur in most units, the actual frequencies of reference

TABLE II
Content Categories Used
in the
Contingency Analysis

1. elders public tax payers police	2. beatniks rebels protesters reactionary radical activist	3. academic freedom right expression of freedom
4. image status	5. teaching assistants graduate students	6. responsibility discipline
7. nonsense irresponsibility misbehavior unconcerned intemperate	8. Board of Governors President McTaggart- Cowan	9. disturbance incidents turmoil mob violence
10. controversial	11. firing expelled dismissed	12. inexcusable appalling
13. boycott threat strike	14. high school students Templeton	15. laboratory experiments
16. silent vigil support rally	17. academic excellence	18. victory
19. faculty Dean Bottomore	20. unjust	21. reinstated
22. appeal	23. immigrants	24. Simon Fraser University

were noted in the cells. The median for each column was then computed and each cell assigned a plus or minus depending on whether its frequency was above or below the median, as shown below.

B. Raw Data Matrix

Content Categories				
Units	A	B	C	- N
1	+	-	+	etc.
2	-	+	-	
3	-	+	-	
:	+	+	-	
n	etc.			
per cent	.40	.20	.60	

If the units has been slightly smaller (for example all units the same length as the editorials), it would have then been sufficient to note merely the presence or absence of references to each content category.

4) Contingency Matrix. The information necessary for comparing expected or chance going-togetherness of categories with actual obtained going-togetherness is found in the contingency matrix as exemplified below.

C. Contingency Matrix

		A	B	C	- N	
	A	-	.08	.24	etc.	expected (chance) contingencies
	B	.06	-	.12		
obtained	C	.38	.02	-		
contingencies						

The expected (chance) contingency for each pair of columns

was obtained by multiplying together the sheer rates of occurrence of these two categories, that is, P_a times P_b in analogy with the probability of obtaining both heads (HH) in tossing two unbiased coins whose P_h are both .50. The probabilities or relative rates of occurrence for each content category are found in the row labelled per cent at the bottom of the raw data matrix (B). Thus, since A occurs in 40 per cent of the units and B in 20 per cent, we would expect A and B to be contingent in only 8 per cent of the units on the basis of chance alone. Extending this to all possible pairs of categories, the upper right cells of the contingency matrix may be filled in, A/B, A/C, B/C, etc. In the corresponding lower left cells of this matrix, for example B/A, C/A, C/B, etc., the actual or obtained contingencies are entered; these are the percentages of units where pluses occur in both of the columns being tested. If the obtained contingency is greater than the corresponding expected value (e.g., C/A .38, A/C .24), these events are co-occurring more often than by chance; if the obtained contingency is less than the corresponding expected value (e.g., C/B .02, B/C .12), these events are co-occurring less often than by chance.

5) Significance of Contingencies. In order to determine the significance of the deviation of the obtained contingency from the expected value, Osgood suggests the use of the simple standard error of a percentage, $\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{N}}$, where p is the expected value in the upper right half of the contingency table, q is equal to $1 - p$, and n is the total number of units sampled. This formula was used to give

an estimate of how much an obtained percentage may be expected to vary about its expected value; for example, if the sigma is .07 then a difference between the expected and obtained contingencies of .14 (taus sigma) would occur only about five times in a hundred (two-tail test, direction of difference unspecified) by chance alone.

Osgood readily admits that this method of estimating significance creates two major problems in interpretation. With a large number of significant estimations being made, it is to be expected that 5 per cent of them would be significant at the 5 per cent level by chance alone, 1 per cent at the 1 per cent level, and so on, and one must therefore rely on the meaningfulness of the clusters of related (or unrelated) categories. Secondly, there is a serious question of lack of independence in applying this or any other statistical test of significance across the several columns of the matrix; for example, the contingency of A with B is not apt to be independent of that between A and C, A and D, and so on. No suggestions have been advanced to remedy this problem but work needs to be done on a better method.

Evaluative Assertion Analysis

Earlier in this paper a description was offered of Osgood's representational model which, in part, assumes that "in semantic encoding by the source the occurrence of specific lexical items in his messages is indicative of the immediate prior occurrence in his nervous system of the corresponding representational mediation processes (1959, p.39). In an attempt to determine the nature of the

representational process, Osgood and his colleagues used factor analysis to study the variations within the single individual for different signs, and between individuals for the same sign. Of the several basic factors indicated (including potency, evaluation, receptivity, activity, stability, and others), the factor accounting for the largest proportion of the variance is nearly always evaluation. Because Osgood felt that this aspect of the representational process should influence the assertions constructed about attitudinal items, he developed evaluative assertion analysis as a technique designed to isolate and index this component of variation in the meanings of lexical terms.

The method is based on the following assumptions:

- 1) That reasonably sophisticated users of a language can distinguish between two classes of symbols - 'attitude objects', which are differentially evaluated depending on life experiences (for example, socialism), and 'common meaning terms' whose evaluative meanings vary minimally (for example, evil).
- 2) That reasonably sophisticated users of a language can make reliable and valid judgments as to when two alternative constructions are equivalent or non-equivalent in meaning.
- 3) That coders can agree to a satisfactory degree on the direction and intensity of assertions.
- 4) That coders can agree on the direction and degree of evaluativeness of common meaning terms.

For the purposes of the current study an attempt was made to evaluate the news stories in the five newspapers being analyzed using the evaluative assertion analysis; however, the trail runs proved unsuccessful for the direction and degree of evaluativeness of attitude objects in the news stories proved to be negligible. This is not to say that there were not isolated cases of attitude objects being definitely evaluated, but the point being made is that they were not frequent enough to justify a detailed analysis of all of the news stories. It must be admitted that what this method gains in rigor and explicitness, it loses in terms of laboriousness as indicated by a rough check made by Osgood which indicated that using sets of three coders (each performing one step in the analysis), it takes about one hour of coder time for each one hundred and thirty-three words of material. Therefore, only the editorials were analysed using this method.

It must be stressed that this is a method for getting at the evaluations explicitly being made in the message itself; it tells the analyst what the message per se says, not what the source may have really intended.

Reliability. Osgood has done extensive reliability checks for each stage in the process (1959, p.440. The between-coder reliability of Stage I procedures (marking of attitude objects) was checked by having seven coders mark eighteen different messages. The percentage of agreement for each pair of coders on each message was computed by the formula:

$$\frac{2(AO_{1,2})}{AO_1 + AO_2}$$

where AO_1 is the total number of attitude objects isolated by coder one (each AO counting as many times as it appeared), AO_2 is the total number isolated by coder two, and $AO_{1,2}$ is the total number agreed upon by both. The criteria for agreement were quite stringent - exactly the same lexical material had to be included, agreement in substitution of symbols for pronouns was counted, and differences in the exhaustiveness of different coders was counted. The average intercoder agreement by this index was 82 per cent over all eighteen messages, the lowest value for a pair of coders being 77 per cent and the highest being 88 per cent.

Testing the reliability of operations in Stage II (Translation of Message into Assertion Form), Osgood reports the following findings:

Although there is room for considerable variability in the construction of such assertions, both the averaging of many assertions related to the same AO and the functional equivalence of terms in language permit satisfactory reliability of the terminal values. Since...the subsequent stages of analysis prove to be extremely reliable, we can best estimate the reliability of this stage by correlating the final evaluative locations of the AO's in a test message as between different coders (where subsequent stages were done by a single analyst to minimize this source of variability. The rank-order correlations for pairs of coders across the ten AO's in a 1,000 word message ranged from .71 to .98, with a median r of .90. The evaluative allocations also displayed high face validity.(41)

Osgood prepared approximately fifteen pages of assertion charts, based on materials from several sources to check the relia-

bility of operations performed in Stage III (Assigning Directions and Intensities to Connectors and Evaluators). After the seven coders judged the direction and intensity of both connectors and evaluators, separate product-moment r 's (correlations) for connectors and evaluators were computed between each pair of coders, the N (numbers) for connectors approximating 225 and that for evaluators approximating 68. Reliability as to direction (+ or -) in coding was very high: the percentage of entries falling in the error diagonal of the scatter-plots was only 4 per cent for connectors and 3 per cent for evaluators. The r 's for use of the total seven-step scales (+3 to -3) thus including both direction and intensity, averaged .85 (range from .71 to .92) for connector judgements and .90 (range from .82 to .97) for evaluator judgments.

Congruity Check. Given the final evaluation for each attitude object in a message, the logic of the congruity principle made it possible to check the consistency of the entire analysis. On the assertion chart a plus or a minus was inserted for each attitude object (AO), depending on its determined evaluative direction on the final scale. Then each assertion was check to see if it includes an even number of minuses, 0, 2, 4 etc. Any assertion not meeting this criterion was incongruent. Such incongruency may be a result of an error in the analysis or an evaluative inconsistency in the source.

Directional Analysis

A simple paragraph count was made and each paragraph was

assigned to one of the following categories: for the teaching assistants, against the teaching assistants, for the board of governors, against the board of governors, for Simon Fraser University, against Simon Fraser University, or neutral. If three coders could not agree on the category it was placed under the 'neutral' heading. Although the difficulties of placing a total paragraph in a single category were recognized, this measure was used to give a general indication of the direction of the news items.

Display Index

A display index was also implemented that provided scores on the variables that give one item prominence over another such as: the number of columns occupied by the headline, position in the newspapers, position on the page and the length of the article. The index is based on Budd's (1964) "attention score".

1) One point was assigned to any article with a headline two columns or more in width, except that an article carrying a headline that occupies horizontally more than half the number of columns of the page was assigned two points.

2) One point was assigned to any story appearing above the fold or above the measured center of any page. To be considered above the fold, the first line of the body text of the story had to appear above the fold.

3) One point was assigned to any article occupying three-fourths of a column, or more (based on the column length of the news-

paper concerned). For purposes of assigning the attention score, pictures accompanying articles were measured as part of the overall length of the story.

4) One point was assigned for any article appearing on page one or the editorial page.

IV QUESTIONNAIRE TO EDUCATION REPORTERS

The questionnaire which appears in Appendix A sent to the education editors of the Sun, Province and Columbian, in order to gain information about their background and duties.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

1. BACKGROUND OF THE COVERAGE FIVEN S.F.U. NEWS

Special Highlights

Construction

April 2nd, 1964- The Toronto Globe and Mail Magazine carried a special feature: "No Room for Ivy at Simon Fraser"

Curriculum

February 1964- Simon Fraser announced that it would operate on a trimester system. This caused comment in newspapers across the country.

Athletics

February 1964- In the same month as the above announcement, it was also announced that SFU would offer athletic scholarships to deserving young athletes and Simon Fraser again received wide coverage.

Administration

October 1963- Dr. Patrick McTaggart-Cowan was appointed president of the university.

Finance

Financial problems are of major concern for most educational institutions and when these institutions are financed by the government the general public also becomes involved. It was not surprising, therefore, that in the early stages of the development of SFU there was speculation that the two other provincial universities (University of British Columbia and Victoria University) would obtain less than their share of the funds allotted to higher education. These fears were voiced by the education reporter of the Sun, John Arnett, in a feature page of November 16th, 1963, titled, "Bigger, Better Fights for University Dollars," in which he stated:

University of B.C. officials already are looking fretfully at the plans for Burnaby's Simon Fraser University and wondering if the government plans to pour money into that university at the expense of others.

Already there are distressing signs that this could be the case and that perhaps the government may be planning to make SFU a sort of Social Credit monument to higher education in B.C.

The Sun's concern in this matter was predictable considering the policy of the Pacific Press newspapers tends to be very strongly anti-Premier Bennett and his Social Credit government.

Early in 1964, all indications pointed to the initiation of separate public fund drives by each of the three provincial universities. On February 11th, 1964, an editorial in the Victoria Times suggested: "A Co-operative Approach Needed;" however, a concrete plan was not forthcoming and the bickering and dickering continued.

In May 1964 the Tri-University Fund Drive was launched as a joint venture of the three universities to collect twenty-eight million dollars through an appeal to the public. Although this plan was hailed as a solution to the financial dilemma, it rapidly became apparent that the sharing formula to divide the money collected was less than acceptable to all parties concerned. An editorial in the Province on June 3rd, 1964, suggested that:

Since Simon Fraser appears to be assured of funds, one way or another, it is apparent that the provincial government will have to make a far greater contribution if UBC and Victoria are to get anything approaching what they think they need.

The Sun also felt strongly about the Universities' appeal, as indicated in this excerpt from a June 18th editorial:

...the arrangement by which Simon Fraser gets as much from the government grant and public appeal (\$18 million and \$12 million) as the University of B.C. has caused raised eyebrows.

UBC authorities must, in fact, be commended for generously subordinating their own pressing needs to the new institution's launching.

In the same edition of the Sun, there appeared a news item with the headline, "Victoria University Faces Cutback", which reported that: "The chancellor feared a provision giving Simon Fraser University in Burnaby the initial \$4 million from the fund will mean 'we would get nothing in Victoria'".

The end of June brought the end of the editorials dealing with the financing of the three universities, for 1964 at least,

presumably because the situation was no longer news. News reports about the Fund Drive made up the bulk of the financial copy dealing with higher education during the remainder of the year.

In the year 1965 no new financial crisis developed and no emphasis on allocation of funds for higher education in the local newspapers. In September of that year the university was opened and all attention appeared to be focused on that event.

In February of 1966, however, the Sun again protested the sharing formula, for the same old reasons. On February 18th this editorial appeared:

... there is some fear at UBC that the government will continue to favor the two universities set up under Social Credit.

It apparently is not enough that the universities themselves, the Bladen Commission and the federal government agree that the education dollars should go where they are most needed. Mr. Bennett wishes to be free to apportion them where they will do him the most good politically.

On April 12, 1966 an editorial in the Sun questioned the sharing formula by which the University of British Columbia was granted \$370.00 per student, while the University of Victoria received \$1093.00 per student and Simon Fraser University was allotted \$1378.00 per student. The primary argument of the Pacific Press was that the sharing of funds among British Columbia's universities was not in accordance with the Bladen Report which urged larger per student grants for universities with a large percentage of graduate and professional students. The document which is called the Bladen Report is the report of a Commission to the Association of Universities and

Colleges of Canada, which is entitled Financing Higher Education in Canada. The Commission was chaired by Vincent W. Bladen. In the Report it is suggested that "all provinces give serious thought to the advantage of determining the annual operating grants by use of a published formula relating the size of the grant to the number of students in various categories weighted in accordance with the different cost per student in such categories" (p.71). The report further suggests a possible weighting for these grants: first and second year students to count as 1; third and fourth year students as 2; students in a fifth or later year (other than doctoral candidates), 3; doctoral candidates in their second or subsequent years of graduate studies, 5; part-time students registered for an undergraduate degree, 1/4; part-time students registered for a post-graduate degree, 1.

Those people opposing the editorial attitude of the newspapers suggested that if this formula were implemented in British Columbia, the University of British Columbia would receive the largest per student grant because it has a larger percentage of senior and graduate students than the other two universities. However, they argued that none of the newspapers mentioned that the Report also recommended that "the special needs of the emergent universities require some special provision beyond that prescribed by a formula devised for the established universities", and that "special consideration would have to be given to weights for students in institutions operating on a year-round basis". In 1966 Simon Fraser University

was an emergent university and a year-round university and so was qualified for the special provisions which it received.

A Province editorial on April 21st, 1966, maintained that:

This means the province should underwrite one fine graduate school; not merely several fair-to-medium universities. It means giving one university more money than the others to develop the courses, the equipment and the faculty to offer the finest training in Canada.

Another editorial in the Province on April 22nd asked "Will Ottawa have to help UBC directly?", while the Sun on April 27th proclaimed, "Education Loses, Politics Wins", and suggested that Premier Bennett was trying to embarrass the federal government. Because the battle which had raged in the newspapers throughout April has been so one-sided, the Province in an April 30th editorial was prompted to ask:

Does silence give consent to the accusation that the government is really not interested in encouraging the best students and getting the most out of higher education?

The government remained silent.

The same theme was repeated in the editorial of May 21, 1966:

By giving Simon Fraser University \$1,378 per student and UBC only \$730, he (Premier Bennett) neatly managed to make useless the higher federal grant given UBC.

Over the years the attitude, or perhaps it is best to say policy, of the local press concerning the financing of higher education has been that the government has allotted more than its share of money to Simon Fraser University because it was built during the years of Premier Bennett's term of office. Although the newspapers have been careful to lay no blame for this situation on the university itself, just as one does not blame the spoiled young child, it

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does not seem presumptuous to suggest that such an attitude may definitely affect the newspapers' perceptions of Simon Fraser.

Students

In September of each year news coverage of students increased as all newspapers carried reports of government scholarship winners. Other than the regular news stories about student activities, only two expressions of opinion about Simon Fraser students were made by the local press. On June 2, 1966, a Columbian editorial, related to the Simon Fraser Student Council's support of labor unions and condemnation of students who choose to cross picket lines, stated that the editor was against "... political policy-making by the Student Council and the subsequent dictatorship of that policy to the student body."

On June 25th, 1966, Bill Rayner, in a Sun Page Six feature titled "New Left: Beards and Beats at U.B.C.", chided SFU students for their non-involvement:

There are also some beards slopping around Burnaby Mountain, but SFU has still not shaken its high school mentality and the spirit of revolt is totally lacking. SFU did not bother to join the October 27th March (The Canadian Union of Students' march in favor of free tuition) and has contented itself so far with gripes about the student cafeteria.

Until the 'Issue' in March 1967, students at Simon Fraser had received no "negative" publicity to speak of.

Faculty

Most of the newspaper space devoted to the faculty at Simon

Fraser has contained news of appointments, research and speeches. However, in October 1966, the actions of a group of professors prompted several editorial comments and letters to the editor. At this time several Simon Fraser University professors joined with several University of British Columbia professors to form the "Committee to Aid American War Objectors". A Province editorial on October 19th accused the group of being "fuzzy with misguided emotions" and their actions as being an affront to the United States government and people".

The Columbian on the same day made this comment, "...it ill behooves any group of individuals in this country - especially a group of university professors - to encourage this attitude (of the draft-dodger) or offer refuge to deserters". The Victoria Colonist offered similar sentiments in an editorial on October 21st, when they stated: "The professors may mean well but that does not mean that they are morally or ethically right".

This group of professors were the only ones who drew derogatory comments from the newspapers during the nearly four years previous to the March 1967 incident.

Classification of News Items by Subject Category

The bar graphs in Figures 4 to 9 describe the number of items in each category, in each of the three local newspapers, the two Victoria papers (Colonist and Times) and the combined totals found in the collection of the smaller newspapers during the period from July 1st, 1963 to March 30th, 1967, inclusive.

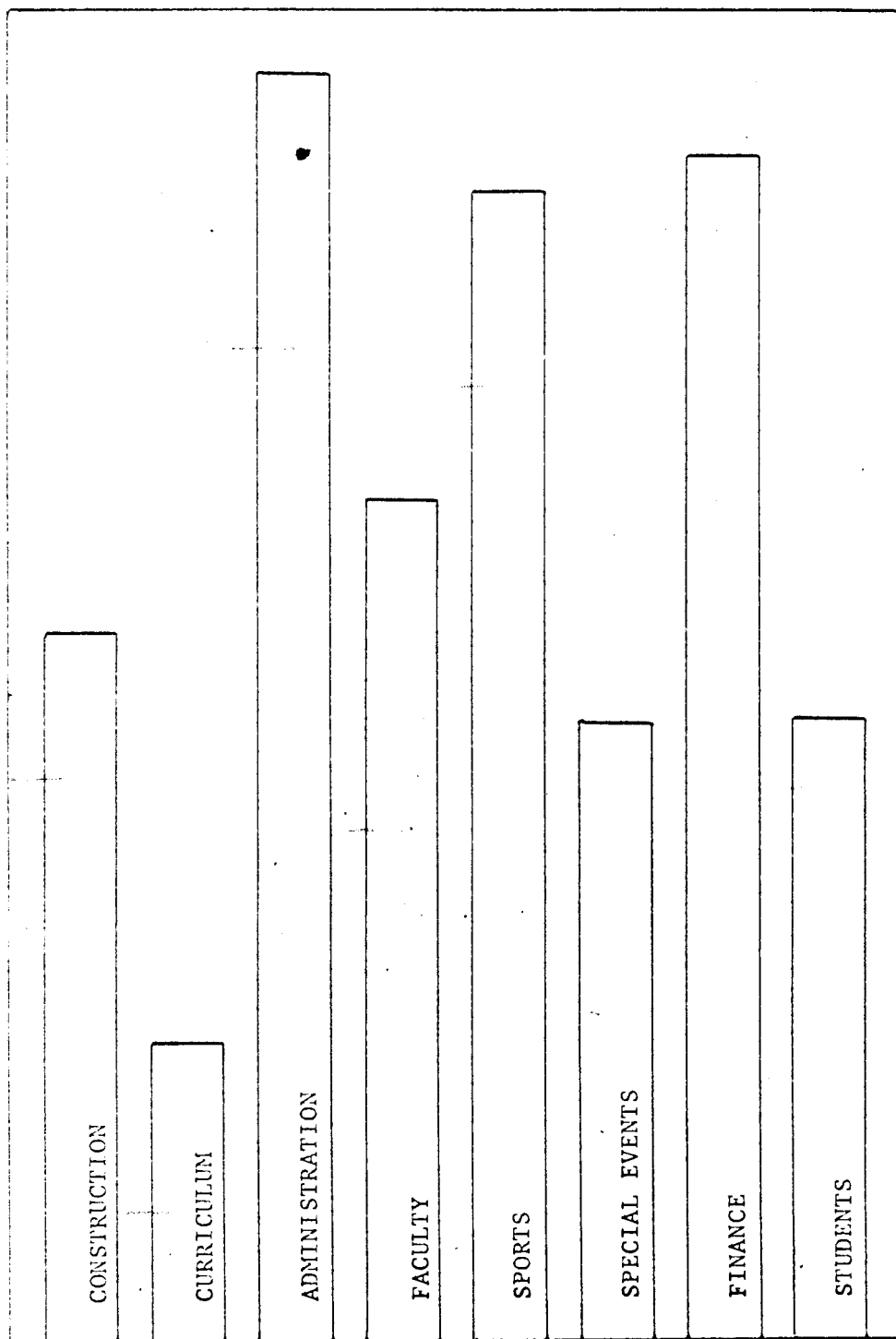


FIGURE 4

NEWS STORIES BY CATEGORY
IN THE SUN

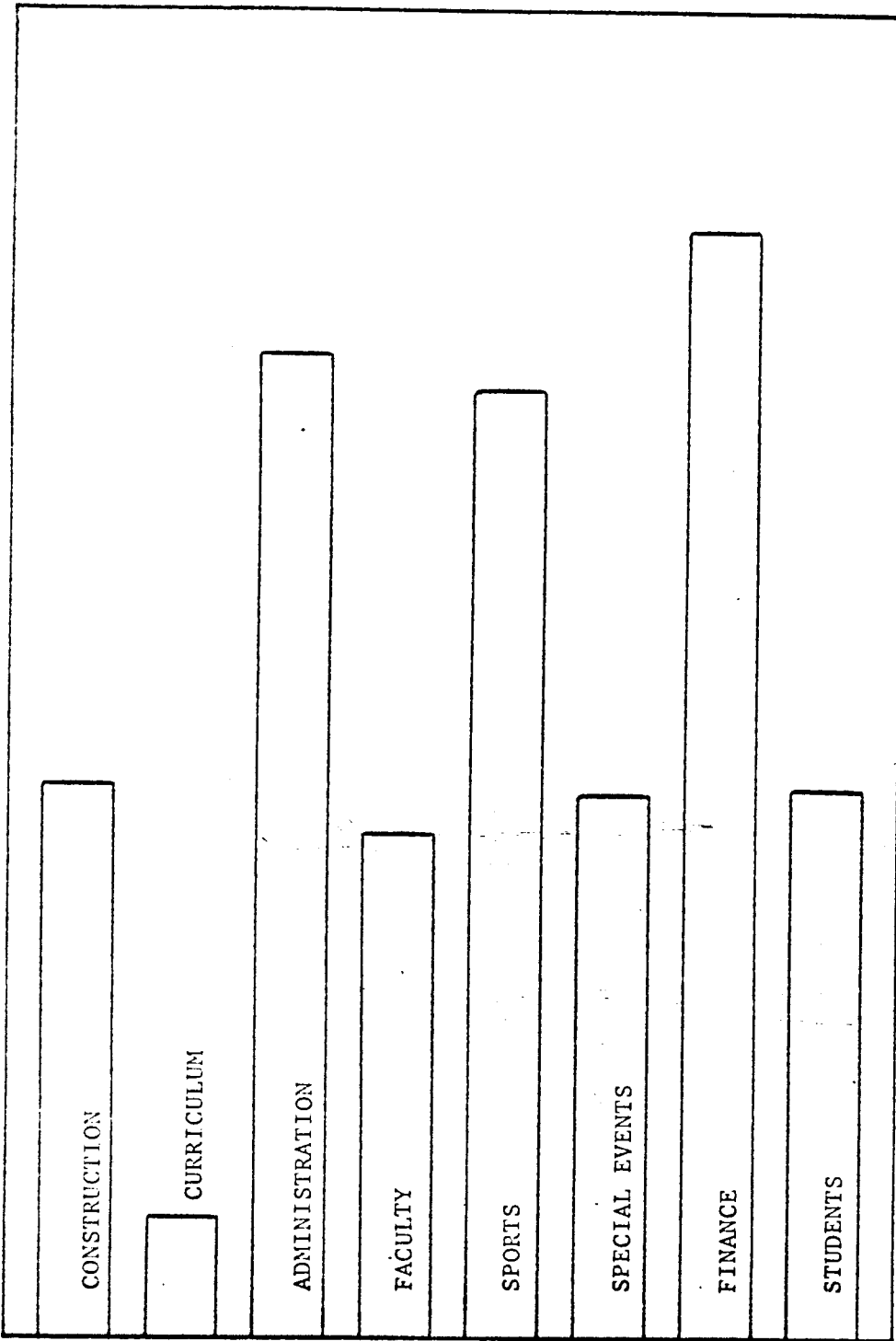


FIGURE 5

NEWS STORIES BY CATEGORY
IN THE PROVINCE

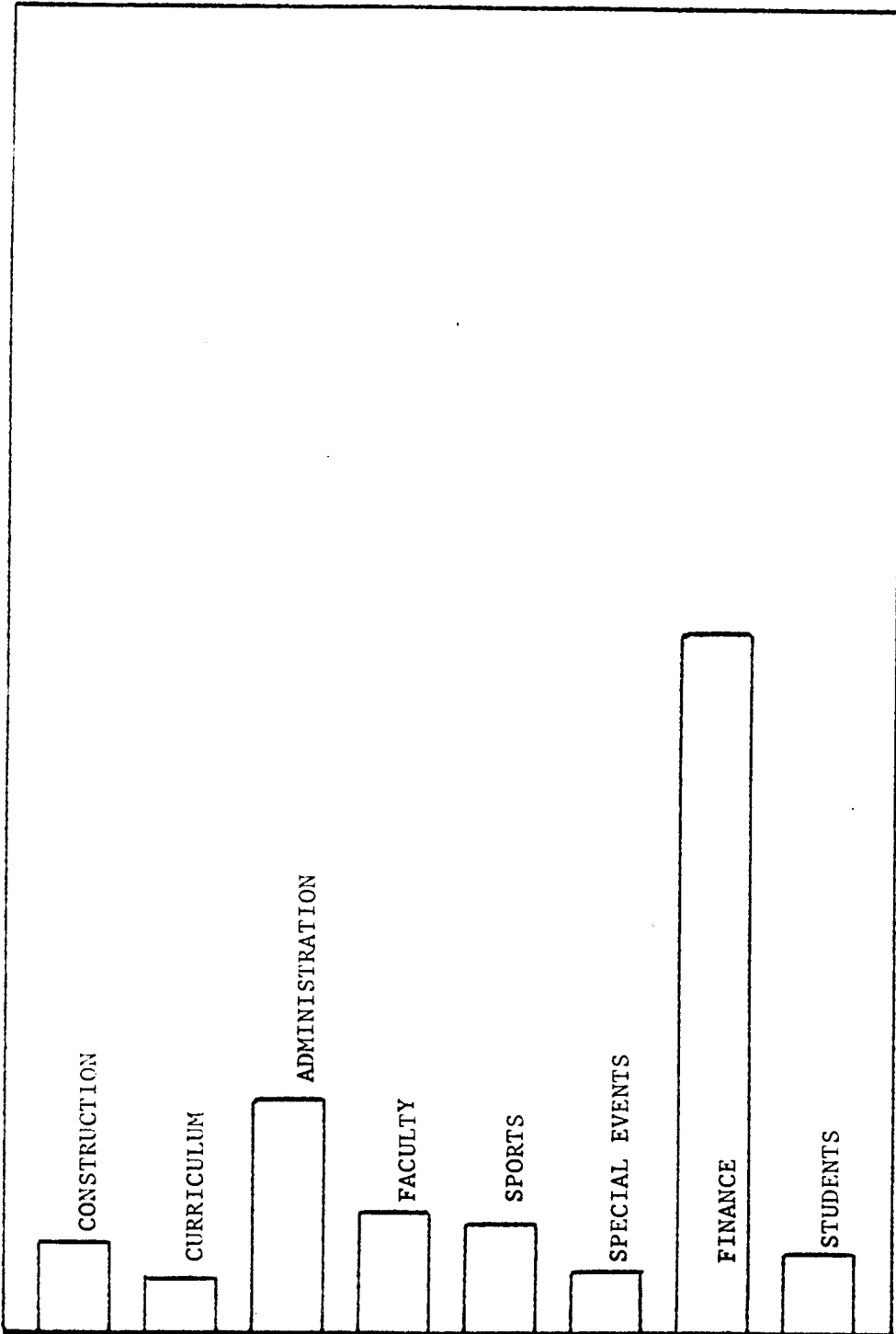


FIGURE 6

NEWS STORIES IN CATEGORY
IN THE COLONIST

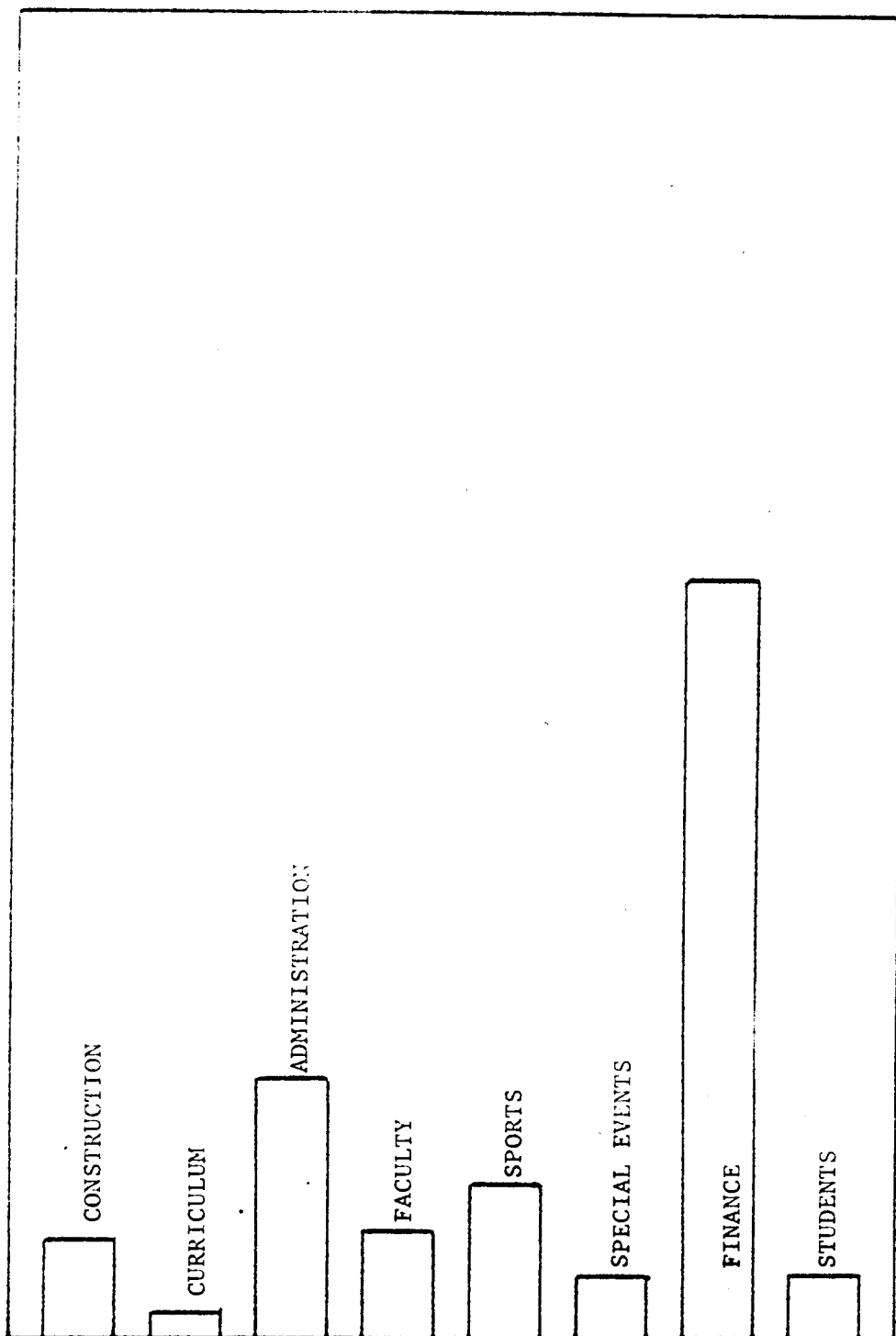


FIGURE 7

NEWS STORIES BY CATEGORY
IN THE TIMES

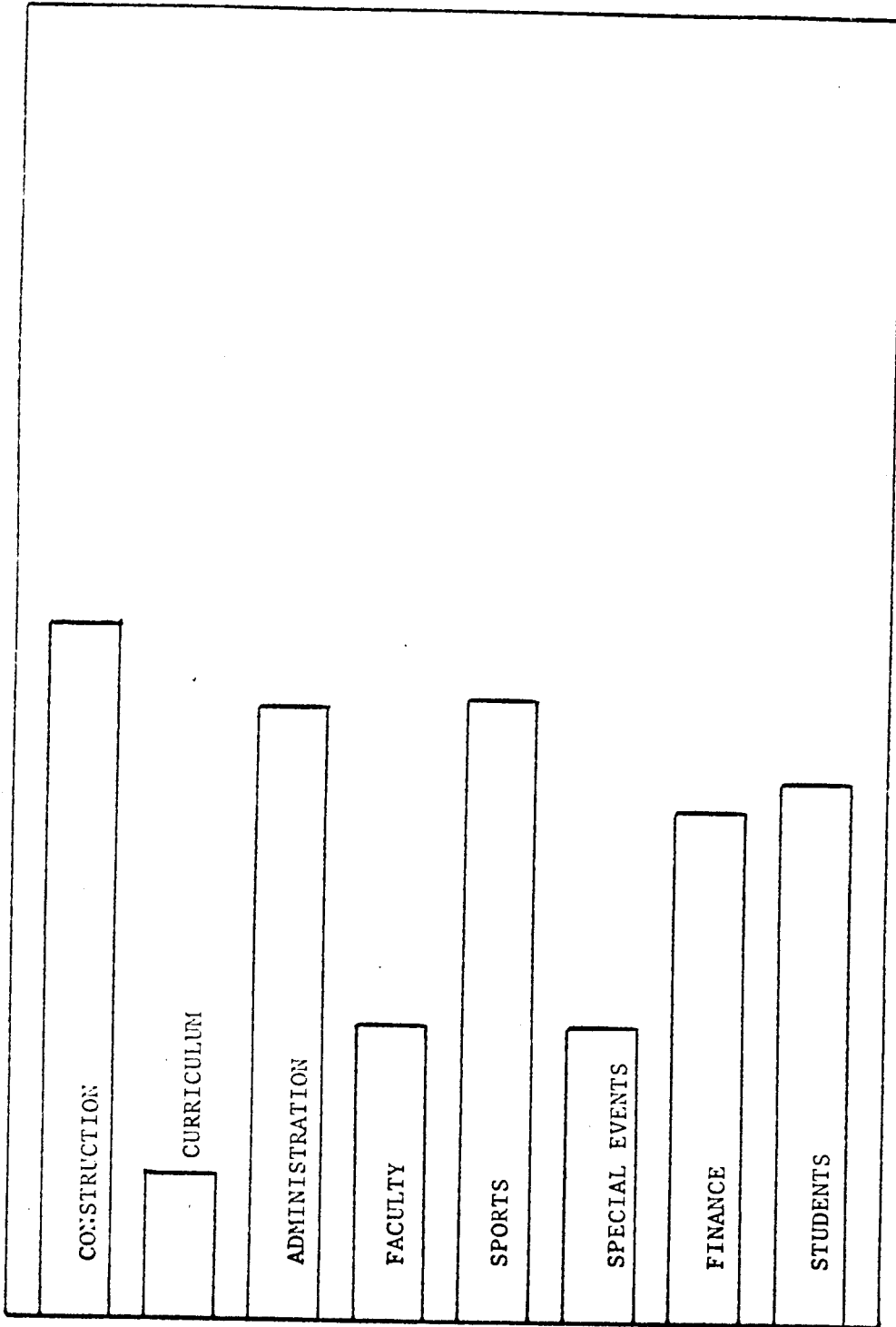


FIGURE 8

NEWS STORIES BY CATEGORY
IN THE COLUMBIAN

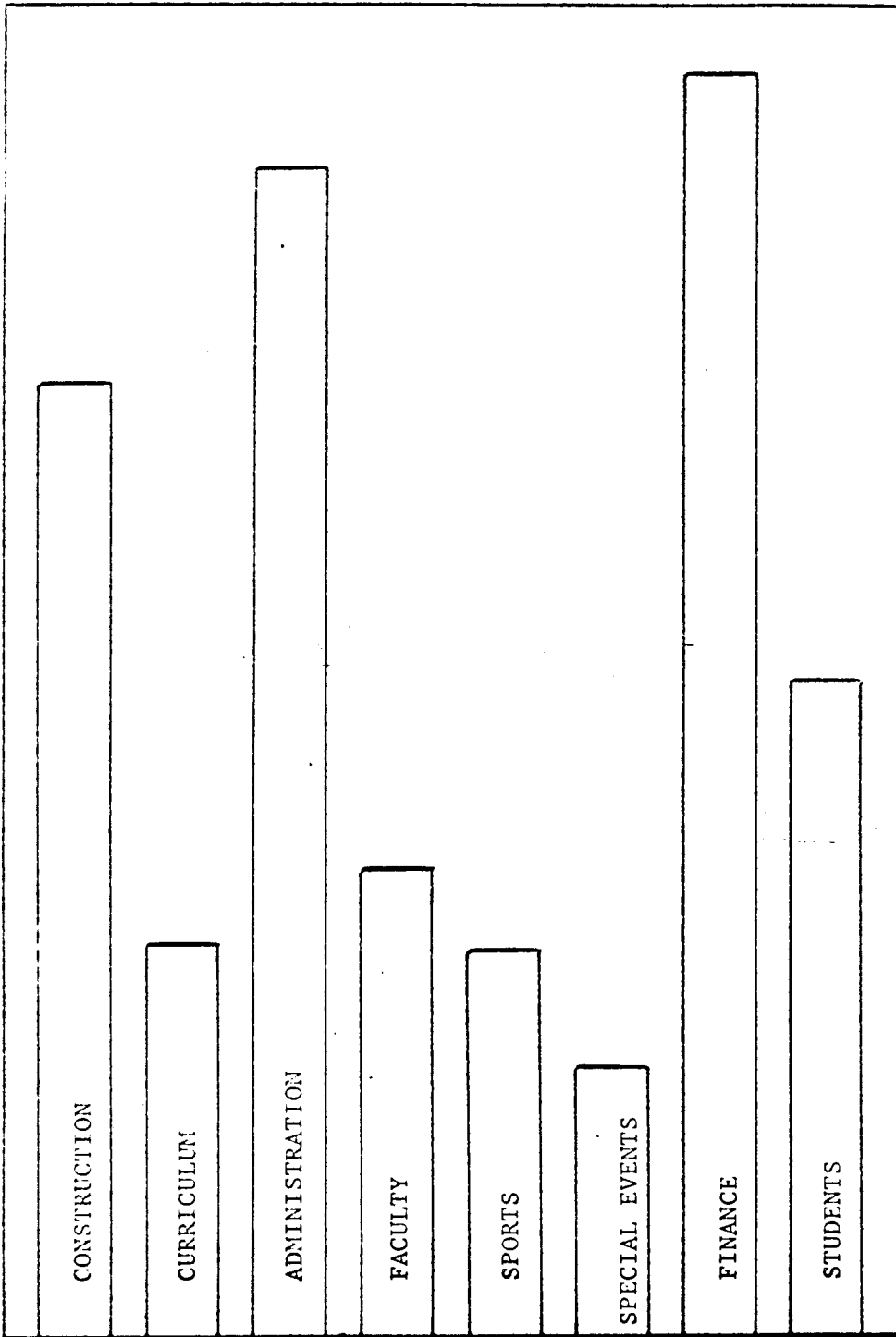


FIGURE 9

NEWS STORIES BY CATEGORY IN OTHER WEEKLIES
AND DAILIES IN THE PROVINCE

Of the five newspapers, the Sun had the most items in each category with the exception of sports where it placed second to the Province. In view of the large circulation of the Sun and greater total number of inches of copy, these findings are easily explainable. Most of the items in the Province, Colonist, Times and Combined dealt with financial matters. The number of items in this category was second in volume in the Sun, but very close to the first place "administration" which was second in the other four papers mentioned. The concern of the taxpayer to know how his hard-earned money is spent, as well as the specific financial issues mentioned earlier, account for the large number of items in the finance category. The Columbian was the only exception to this trend, for in it the number of items devoted to finance was only fifth in volume. The only probable explanation for this drop is the fact that, because it is a newspaper serving the area immediately adjacent to the university, it reflected the pleasure of the public that so much money was being put into Simon Fraser and offered little criticism of the sharing formulas; therefore the volume of items in this category was markedly reduced. The high placing of construction in the numbers of items may also reflect this local interest in construction progress which was not so widespread in more distant areas.

The high placing of administrative news is probably a result of the fact that most press releases are issued by the administration and concern administrative affairs. Also many items in this category are announcements of or reports about speeches given by members of the administration, particularly the president or the chancellor.

In each of the five newspapers for which the statistics are noted separately, news about "curriculum" received the least play, ranking last in all papers. Perhaps this is because the curriculum remains relatively constant and rarely constitutes "news". The newspapers from the rural and smaller urban areas gave relatively more play to this category; in particular they included a larger portion of news both about the trimester system and the Education Department's Professional Development Program.

Coverage of S.F.U. News by the Month

The line graphs in Figures 10 to 15 indicate the number of news stories that appeared each month in each newspaper. Two trends are noticeable in most of the newspapers: 1) a rise in coverage in the late fall and earlier in the year as provincial budget time neared, and, 2) a slump in coverage during the summer months, despite the fact that the university has a summer semester. December was generally a low month because of the Christmas holidays. Figures 16 to 23 describe the news coverage of each category, by month, in the Sun, Province and Columbian.

II. RESULTS OF CONTINGENCY CONTENT ANALYSIS

Sun

The contingencies both at the 5 per cent and the 1 per cent level of significance found in an analysis of clippings from the Vancouver Sun are found in Table III. A cluster analysis was made of this data, with the results shown in Figure 24. Certain inferences

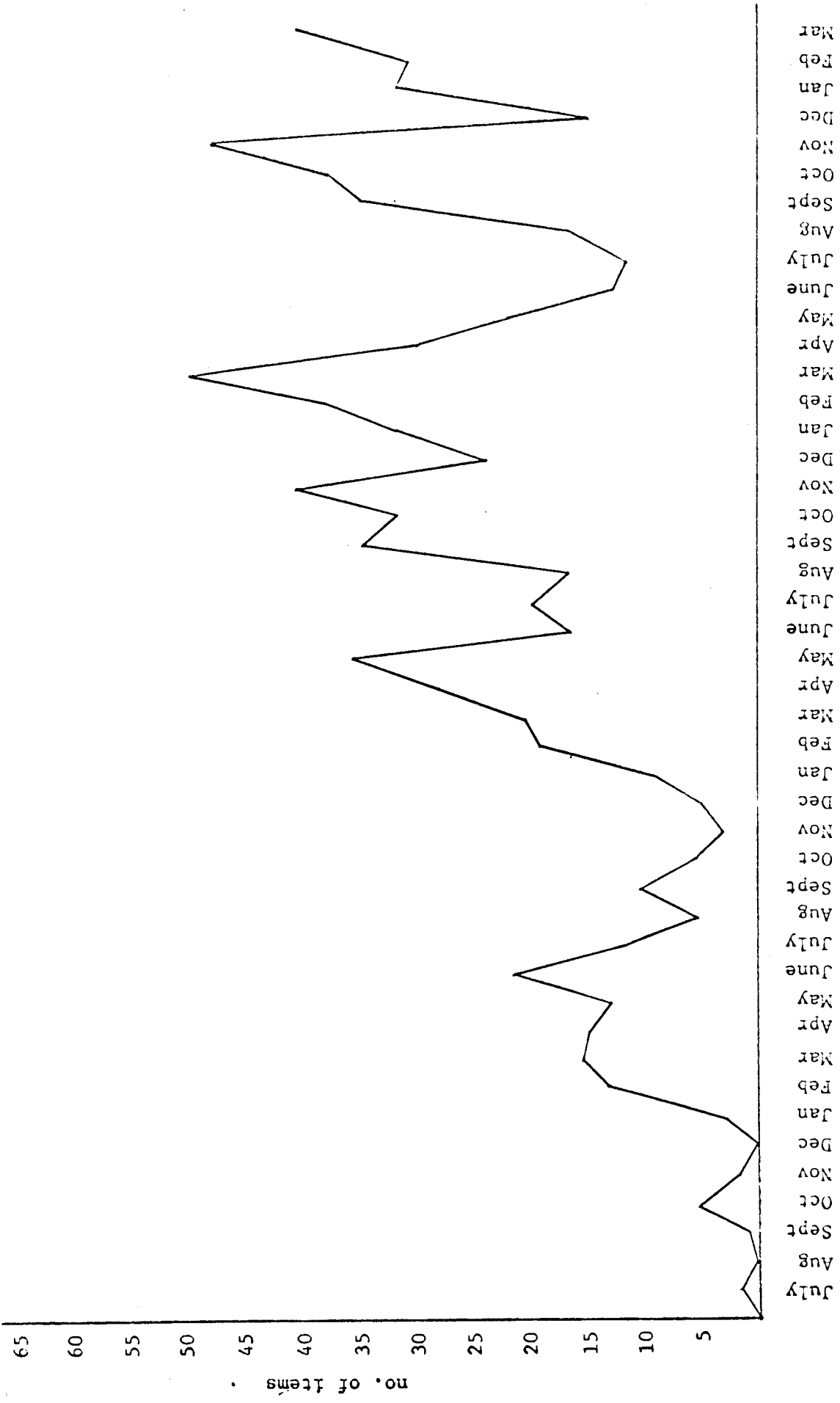


FIGURE 10

NEWS STORIES BY MONTH IN THE SUN

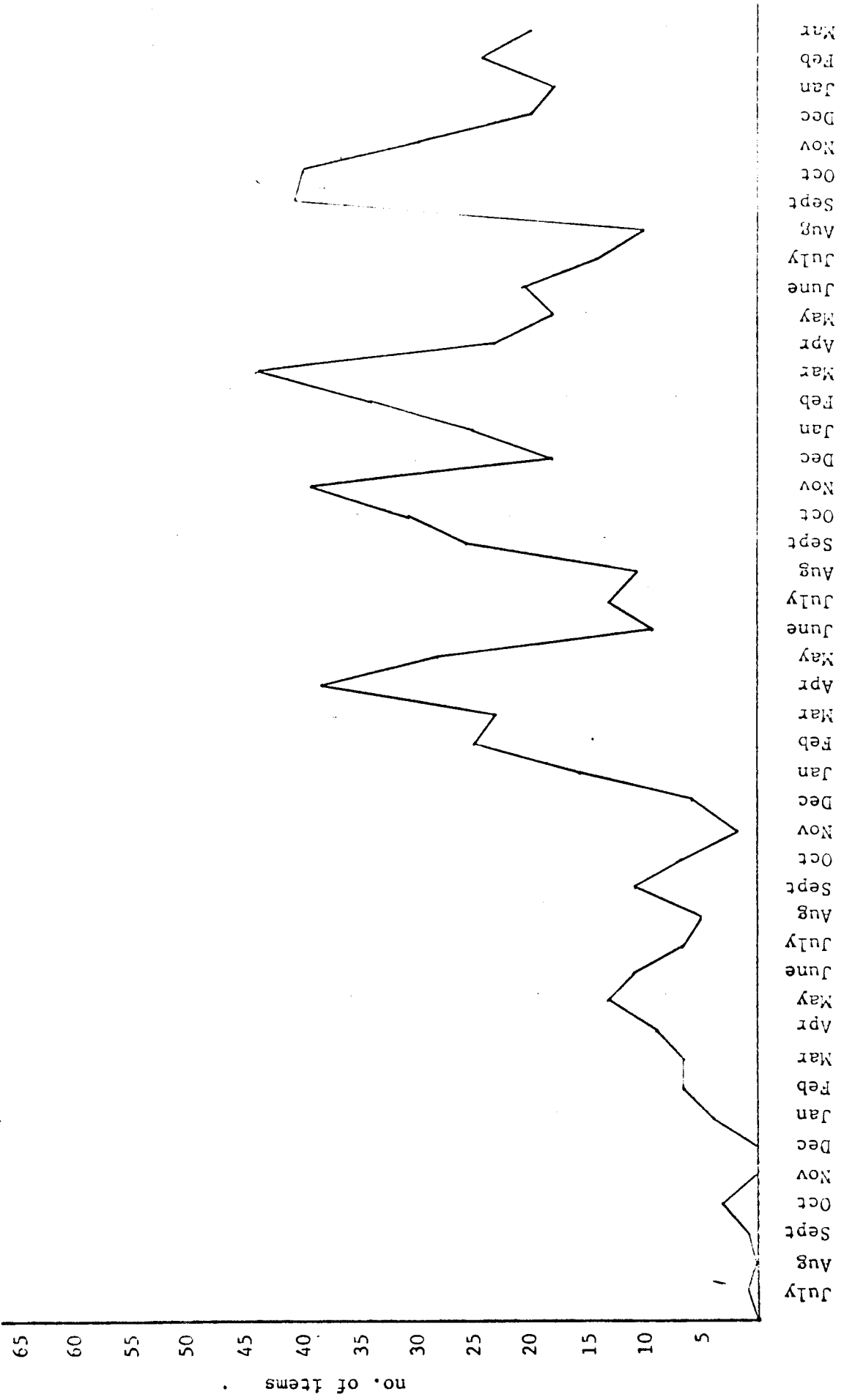


FIGURE 11
NEWS STORIES BY MONTH IN THE PROVINCE

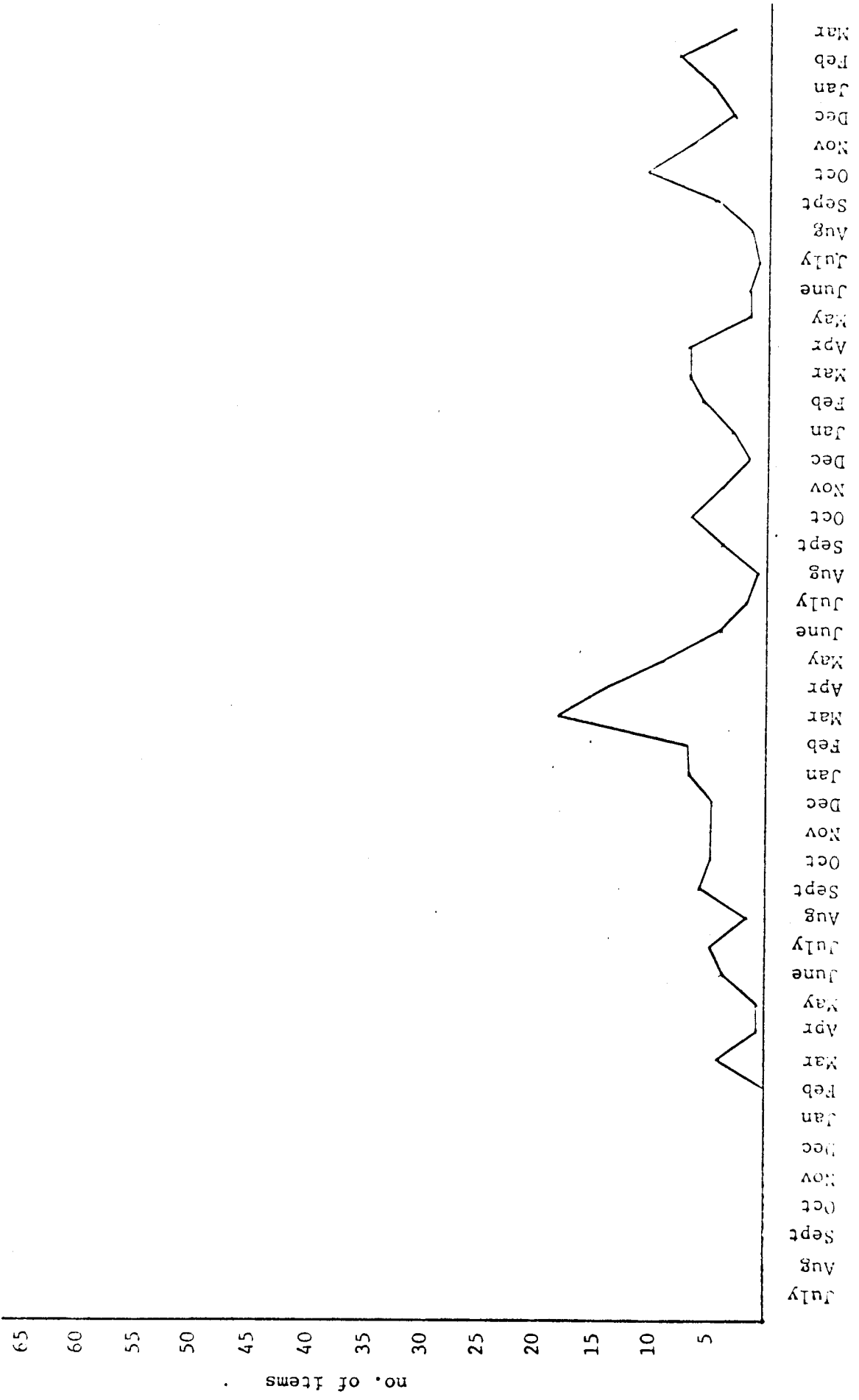


FIGURE 12

NEWS STORIES BY MONTH IN THE COLONIST

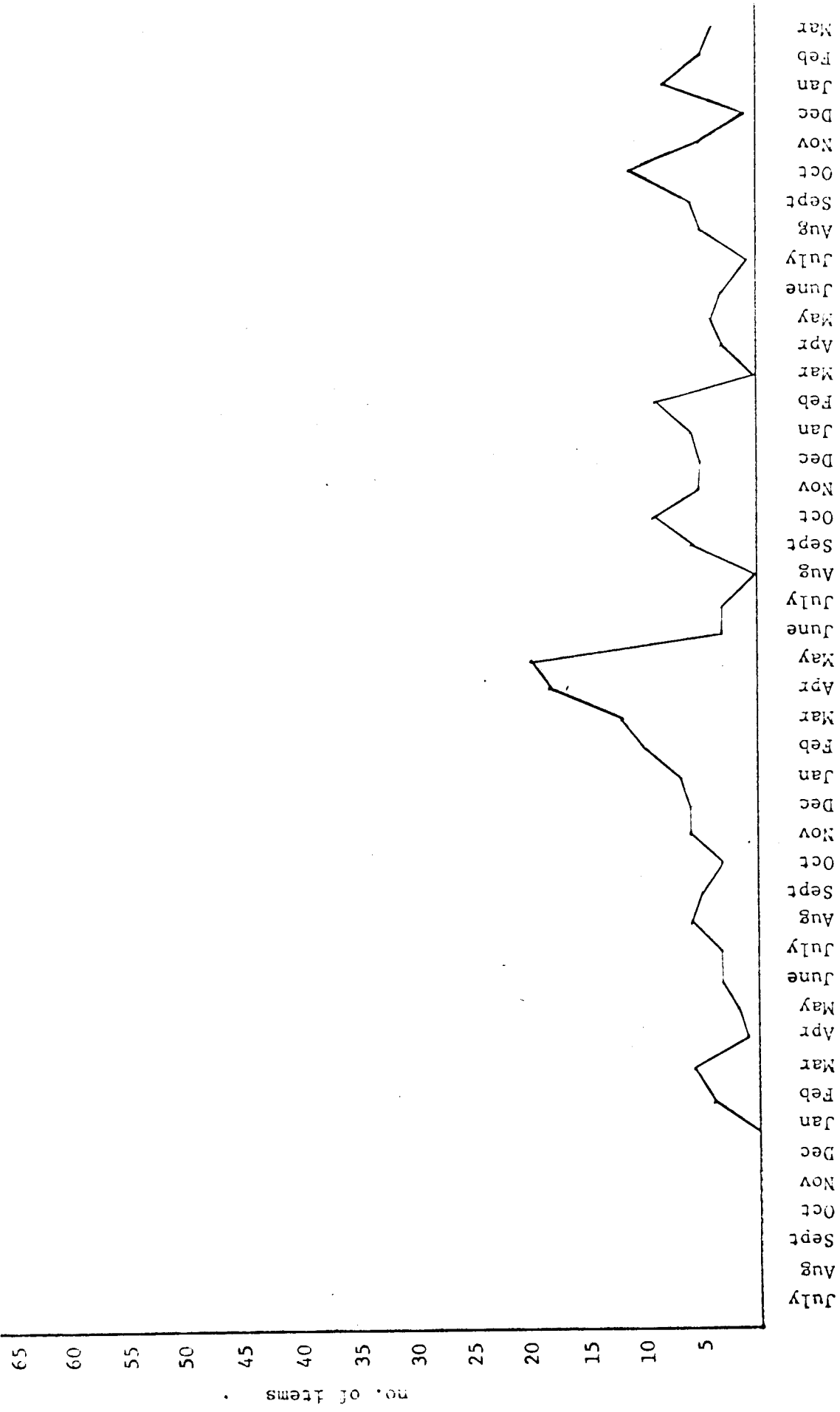


FIGURE 13
NEWS STORIES BY MONTH IN THE TIMES

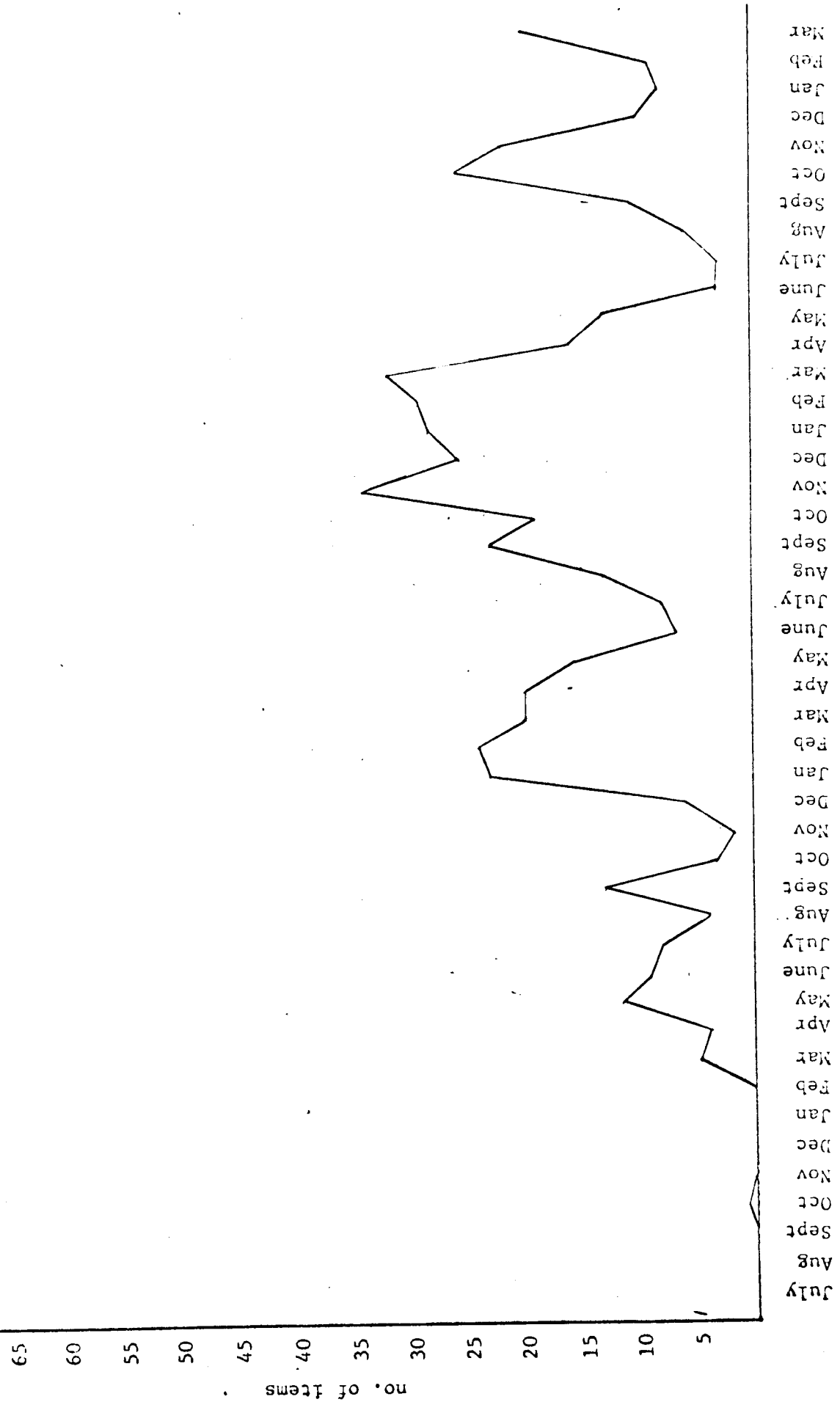


FIGURE 14
NEWS STORIES BY MONTH IN THE COLUMBIAN

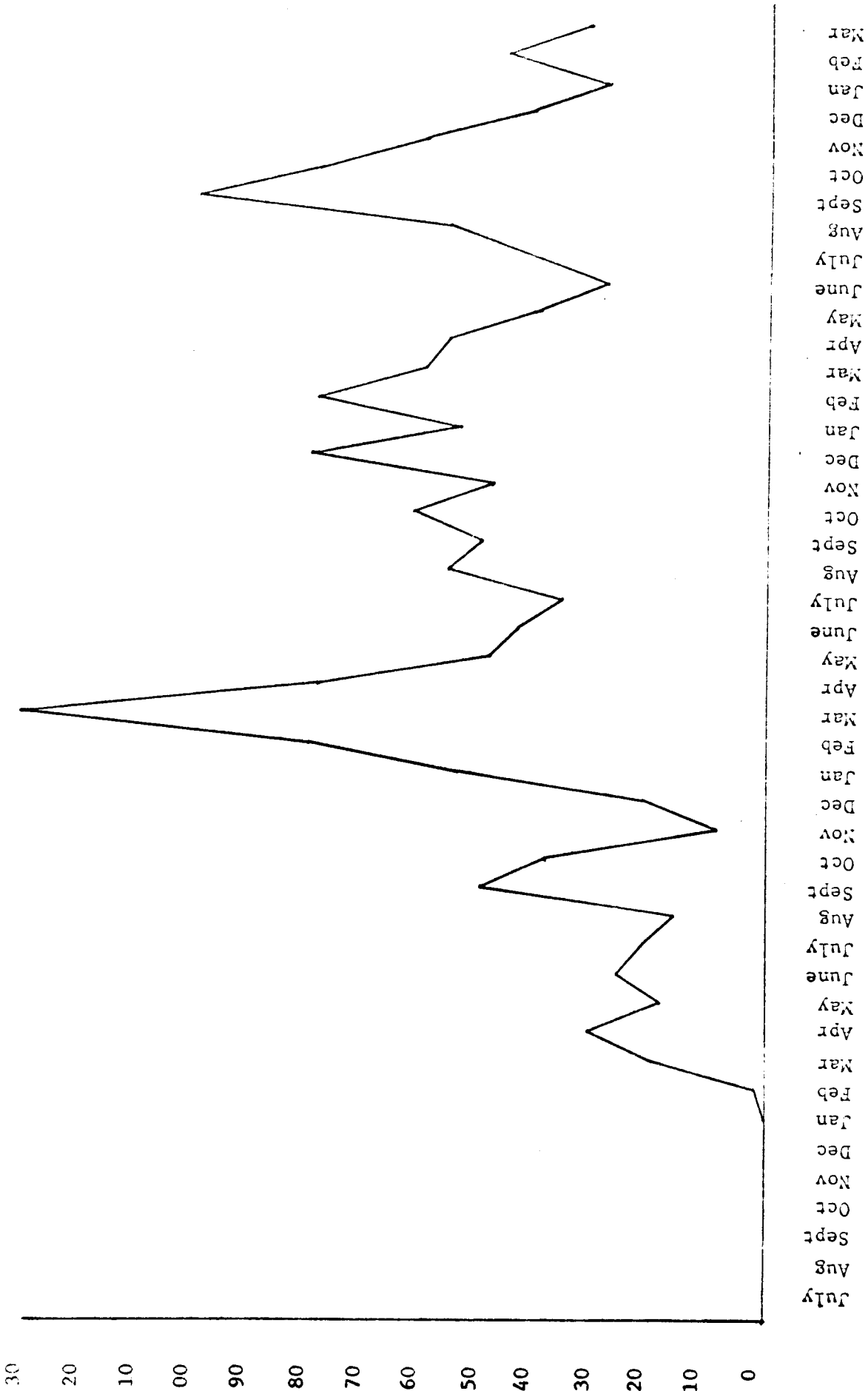


FIGURE 15
 COVERAGE OF EVENTS BY THE MONTH IN OTHER PUBLICATIONS
 AND DAILIES IN THE PROVINCE

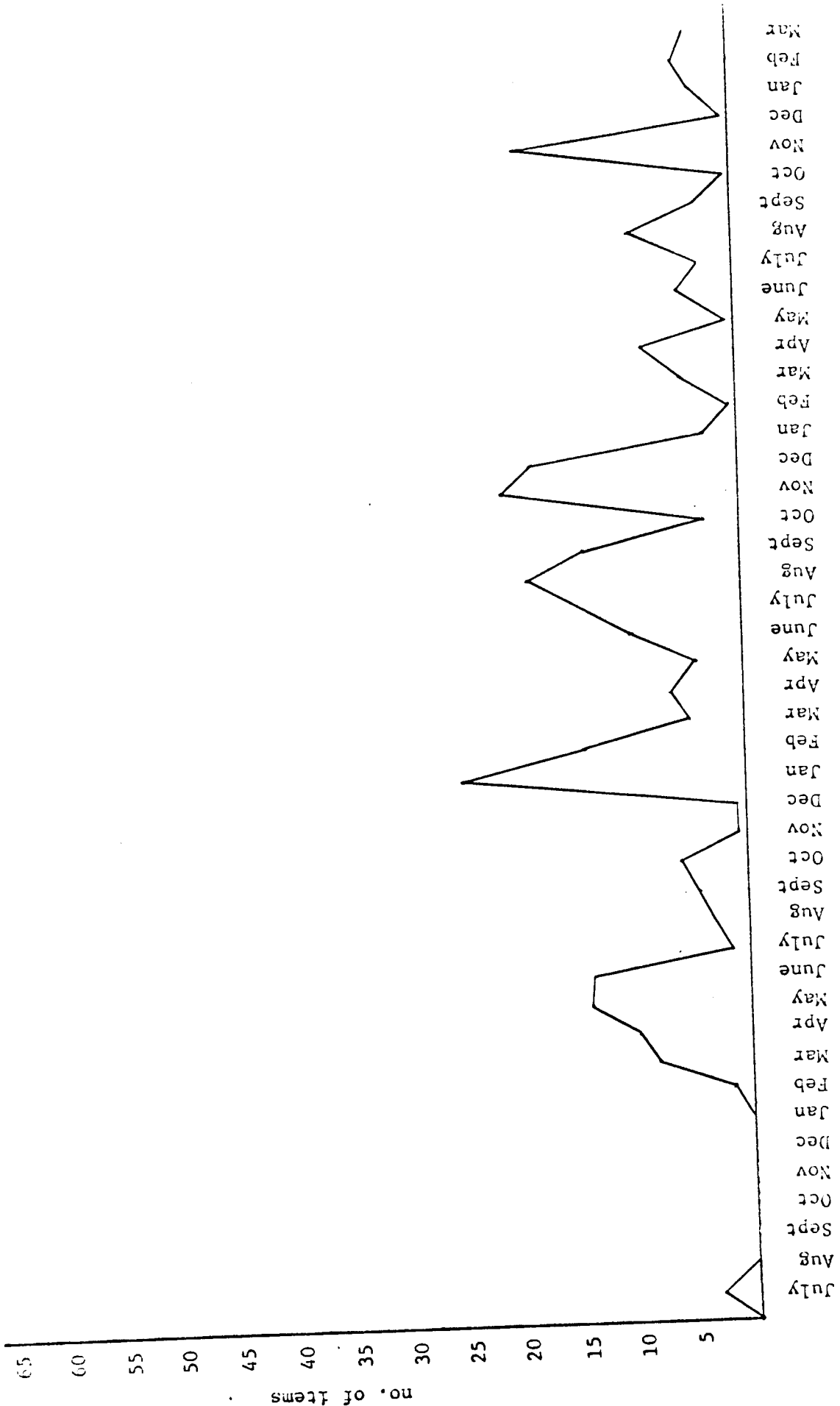


FIGURE 16
CONSTRUCTION NIMS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLOMBIAN

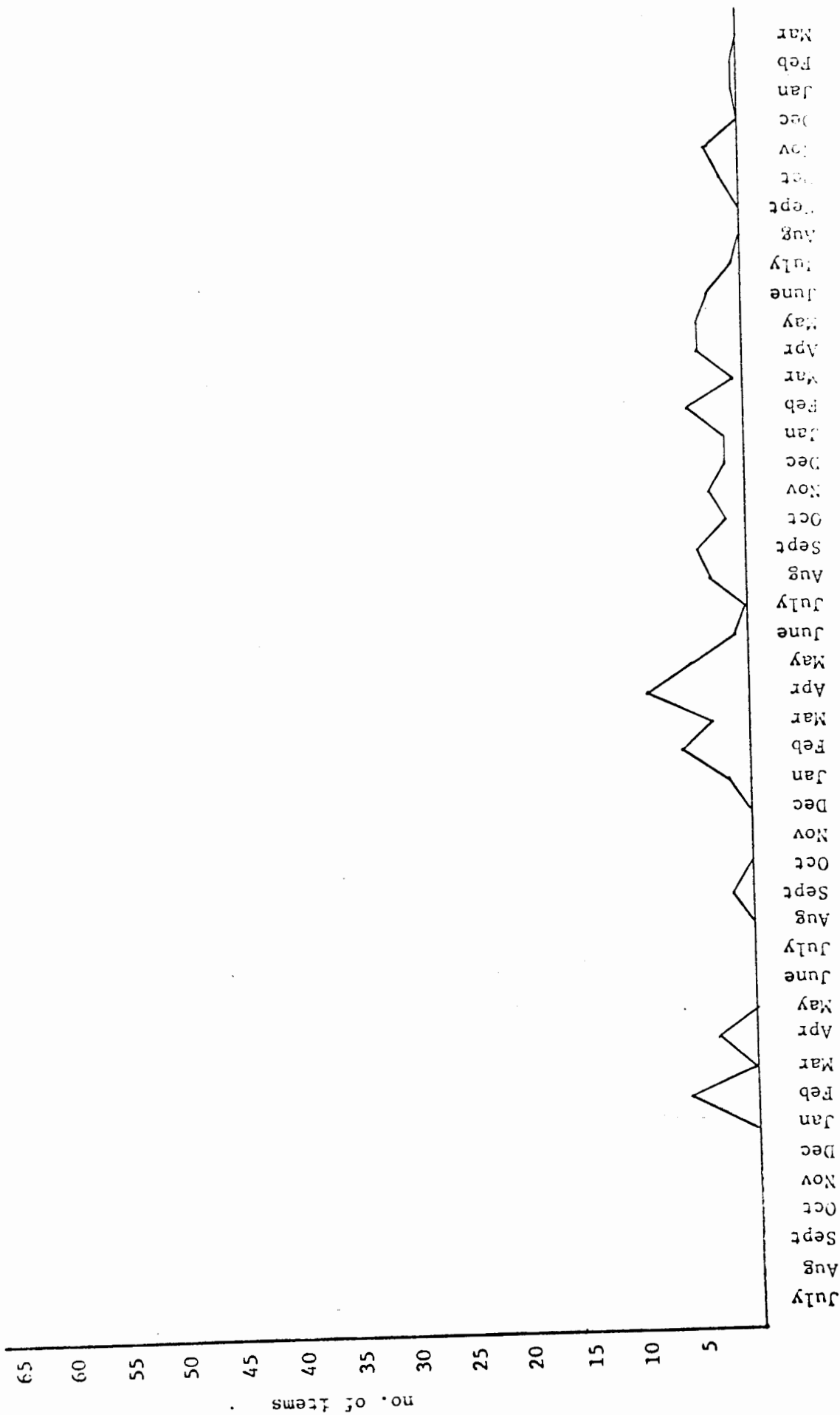


FIGURE 17
 CURRICULUM NEWS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLOMBIA

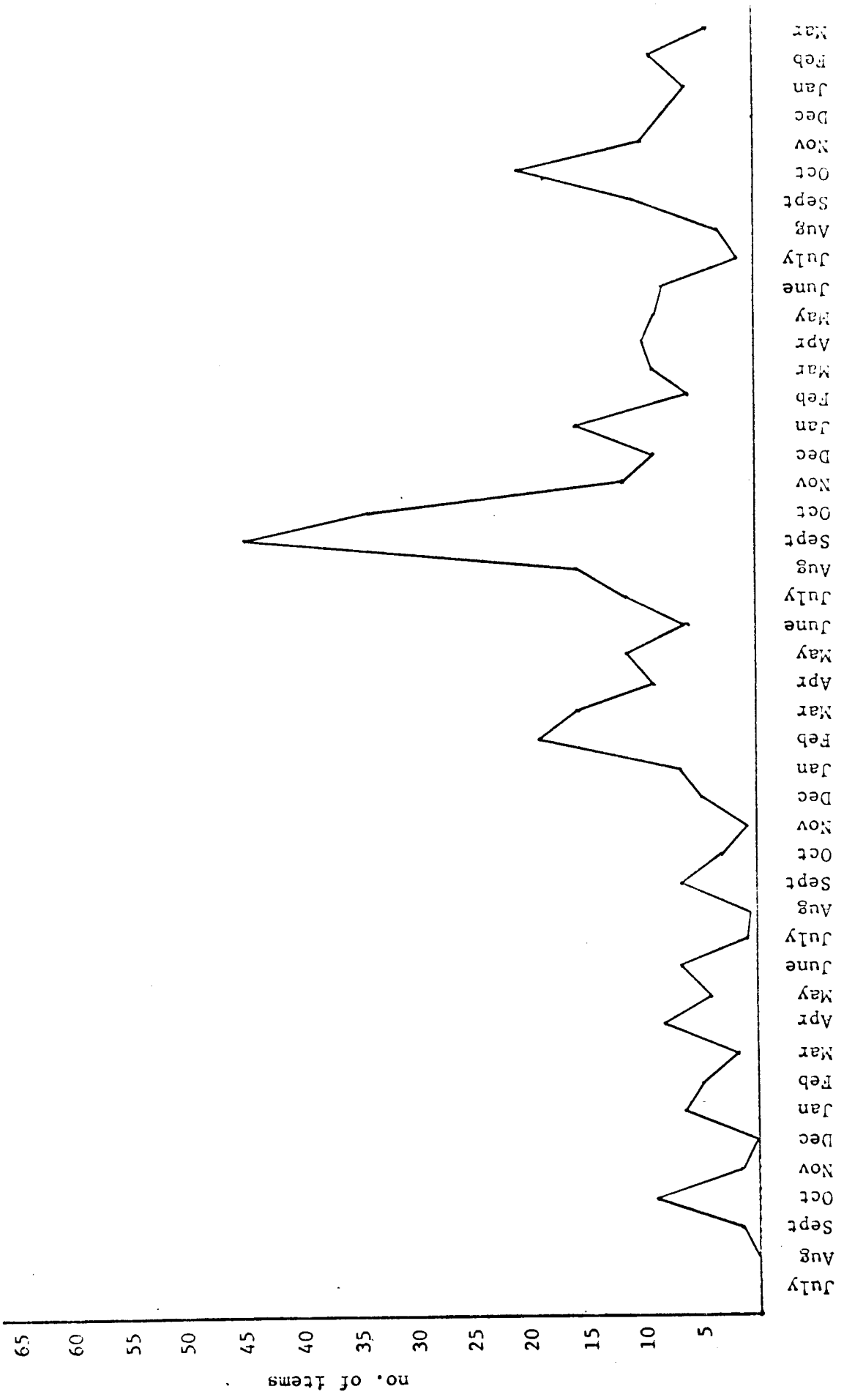


FIGURE 16
 ADMINISTRATION ITEMS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLUMBIA

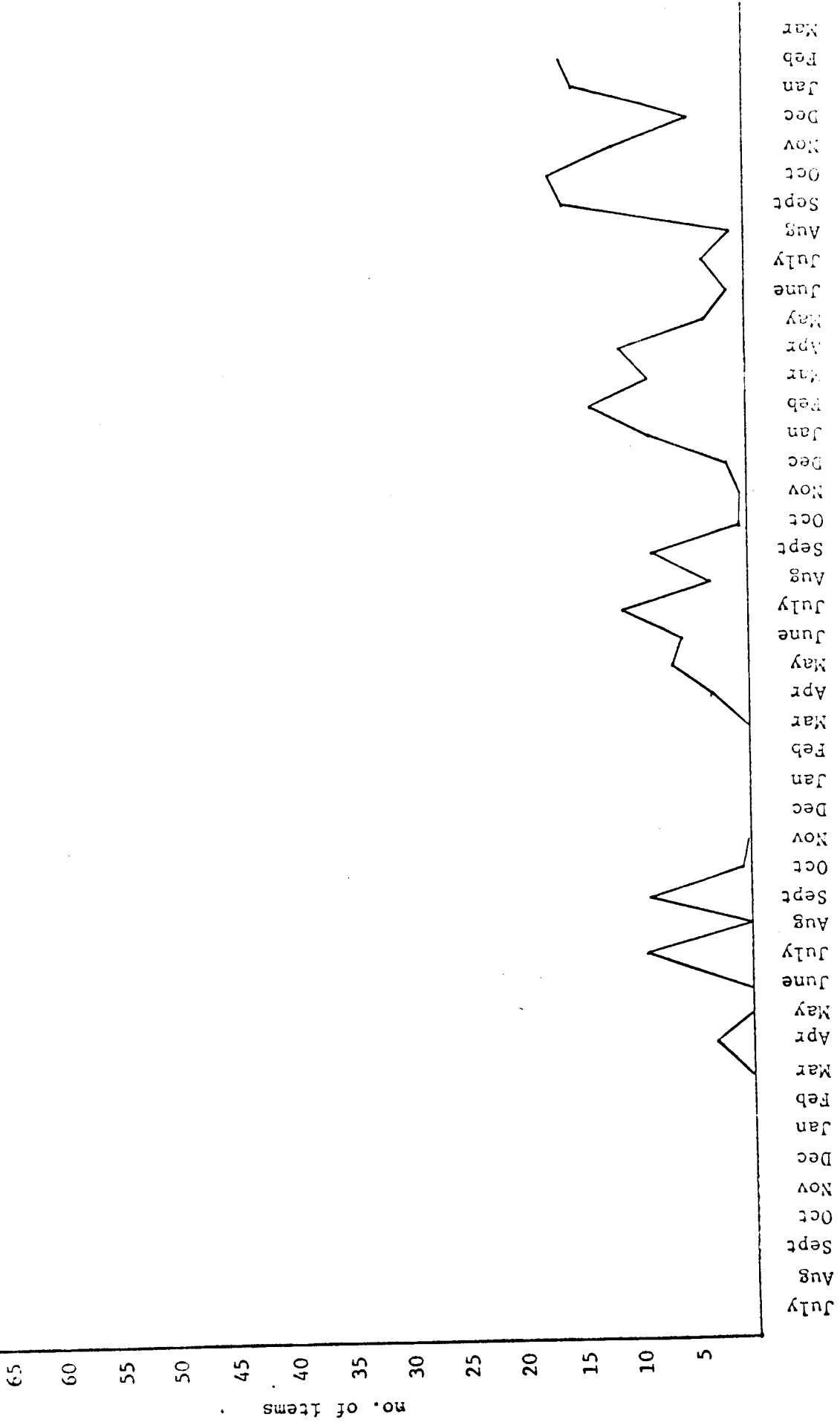


FIGURE 19
 FACULTY NEWS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLLEGIAN

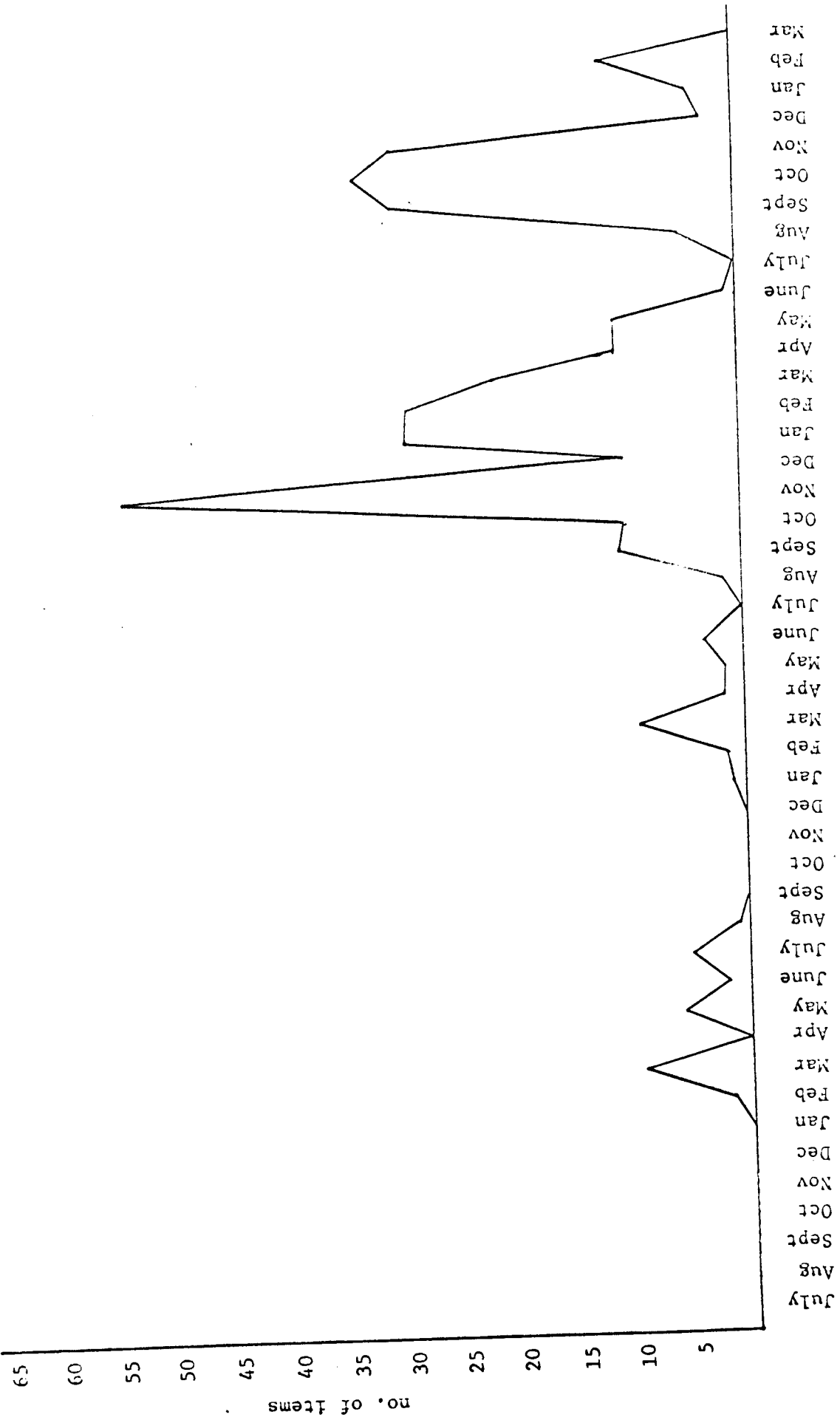


FIGURE 20
SPORTS NEWS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLUMBIAN

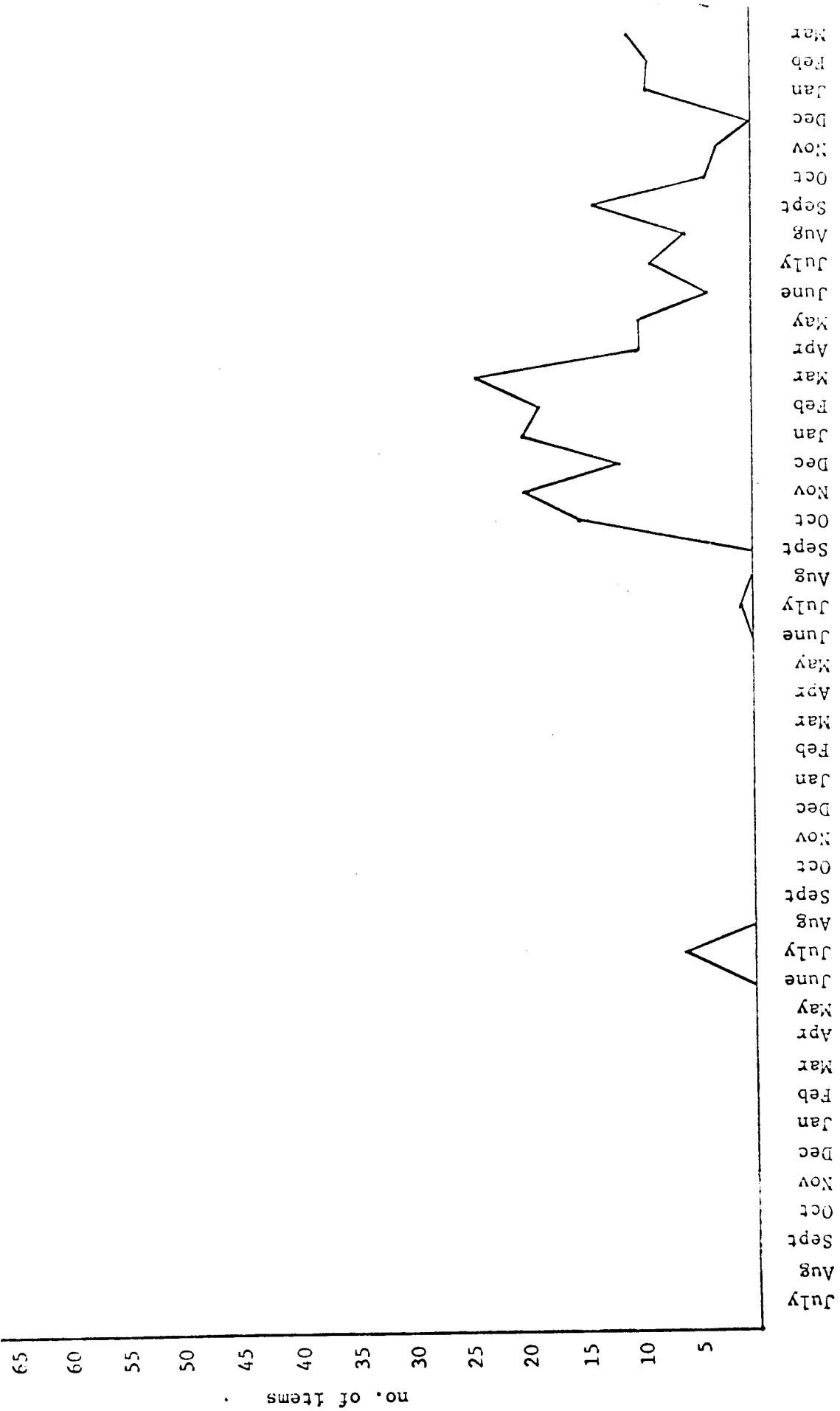


FIGURE 21

SPECIAL EVENTS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLOMBIAN

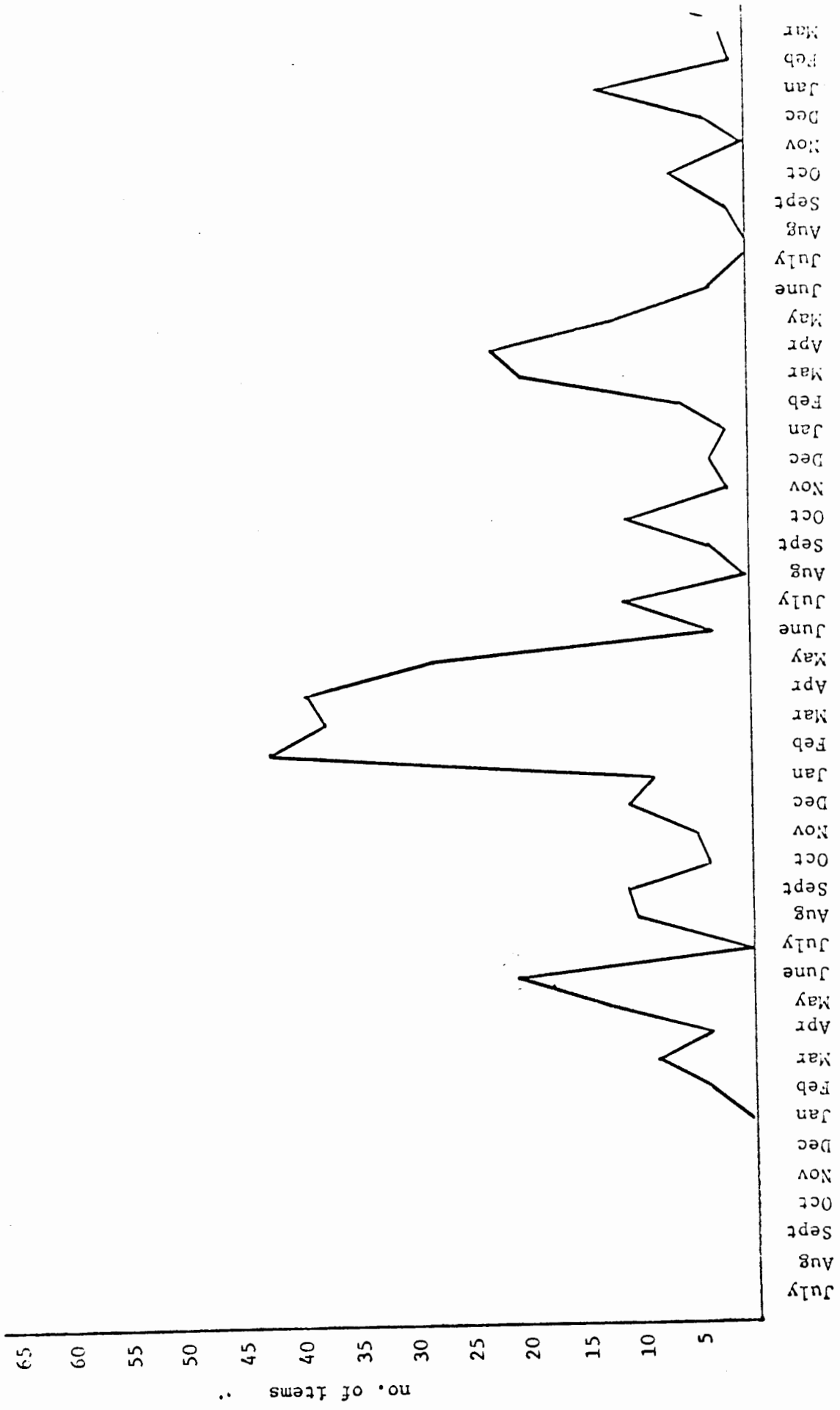
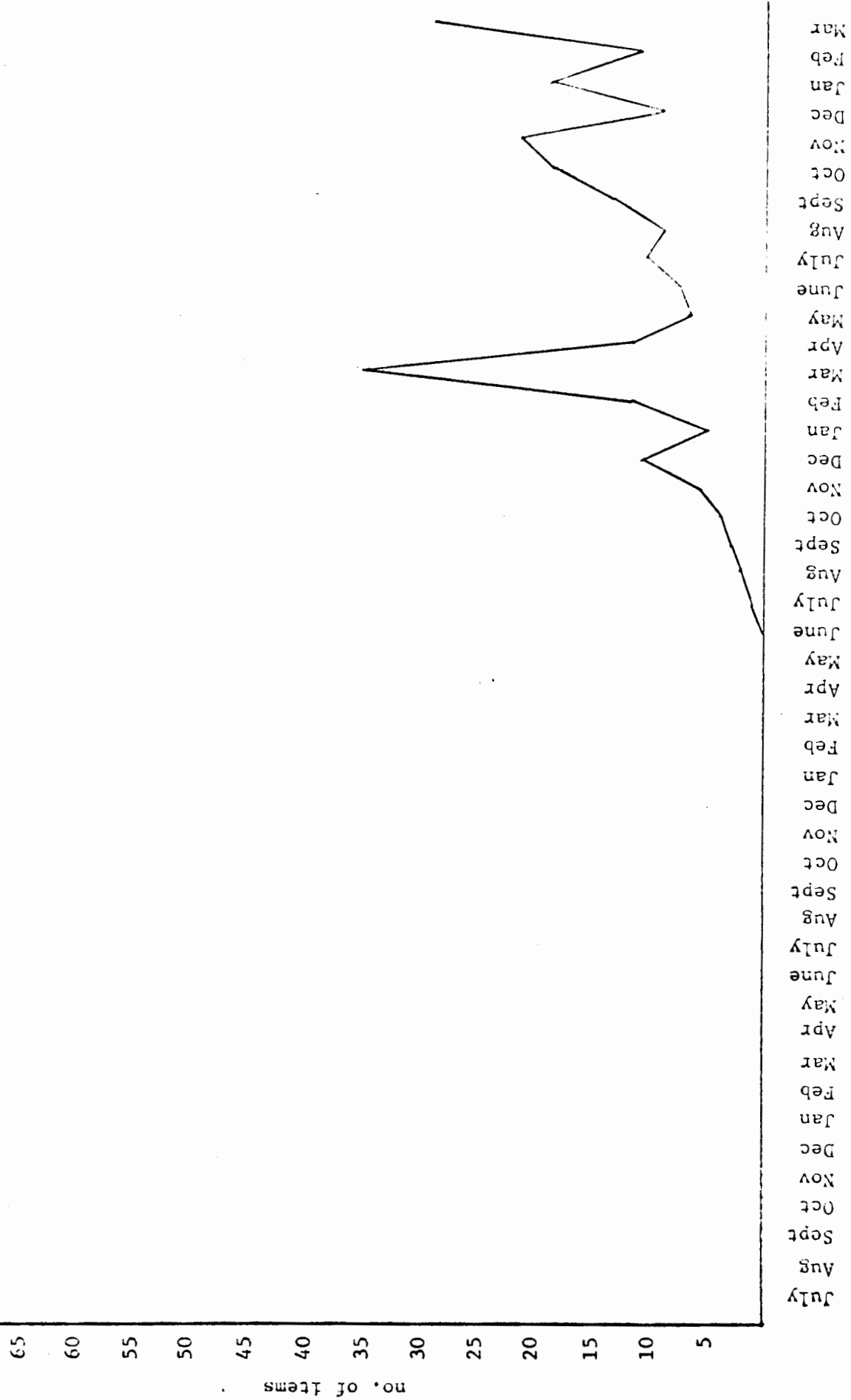


FIGURE 22
PELVAGE NUMS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE and COLONBIAN

STUDENT NEWS IN THE SUN, PROVINCE AND COLLEGE

FIGURE 23



may be made from this chart, but it must be kept in mind that they are only inferences. That references to the firing of the teaching assistants were contingent upon references to the strike, rally and appeal is not particularly surprising, for these four concepts were central to the issue and it would in fact be very odd if they were not associated. It is, however, interesting that also associated with these concepts was the notion of image, i.e., the image of the university, which suggests that the newspaper was concerned with image of the university as a result of the firing, rally and appeal. The newspaper left little doubt as to the factors which constituted this image for references to this concept were contingent upon academic excellence and responsibility which are presumably central to the maintenance of a good image. Contingent also upon references to responsibility were references to immigrants and to controversy. Although some inferences may be made about the contingency of responsibility and immigrants, it seems unwise to do so because, although their contingency was significant at the 5 per cent level of significance, they, in fact, only occurred together once. The statement that they appeared together because the newspaper associates immigrants with lack of responsibility, however, would have a greater face validity than to say that the newspaper associates immigrants with responsibility. The association of responsibility with controversy indicates recognition of the concept of responsibility as central to the issue.

The association of radicals and academic freedom probably

does not suggest that the newspaper finds academic freedom a radical concept but only that it was the battle cry of the radical element and, knowing what the newspaper actually said in its editorials, it can be suggested that it considered this to be a phoney cry of a phoney cause. References to laboratory experiments were significantly contingent upon references to inexcusability and to reinstatement which implies that although the experiments (which the political activists were performing) were inexcusable, the teaching assistants should have been reinstated. The associations also need qualification because they appeared in an article in which Dr. Stanley Cooperman was heavily quoted. Certainly the high display score of the item (because it appeared on the front page and was several columns wide) indicates that although the quotations were given high priority by the newspaper, the actual verbal associations were those of Dr. Cooperman.

Province

In the Vancouver Province references to disturbances (at Templeton High School) were significantly contingent upon references to inexcusability which were, in turn, related to references to nonsense. (See Table IV). This seems to indicate that although the incidents were nonsense they were, in fact, inexcusable. Another concept associated with disturbances was that of firing, which may imply that, because these disturbances were inexcusable, the firing was justified or the verbal association may just have been because of the casual relationship between disturbances and the consequent

TABLE III

Contingency Analysis Results
for The Vancouver Sun

Significant Deviations of the Obtained Values From the
Expected Values.

I. Significant at the 5 per cent level above chance.

1. beatniks rebels protesters radicals reactionaries activists	academic freedom right expression of opinion
2. boycott threat strike	firing expelled
3. academic excellence	image status
	responsibility discipline
4. teaching assistants graduate students	appeal silent vigil support rally
reinstated	high school students Templeton
immigrants	responsibility discipline

II. Significant at the 1 per cent level above chance.

1. controversial	responsibility discipline
laboratory experiments	inexcusable appalling reinstated
firing expelled dismissed	image status

TABLE III (Cont'd)

	silent vigil
	support
	rally
	appeal
appeal	image
	status

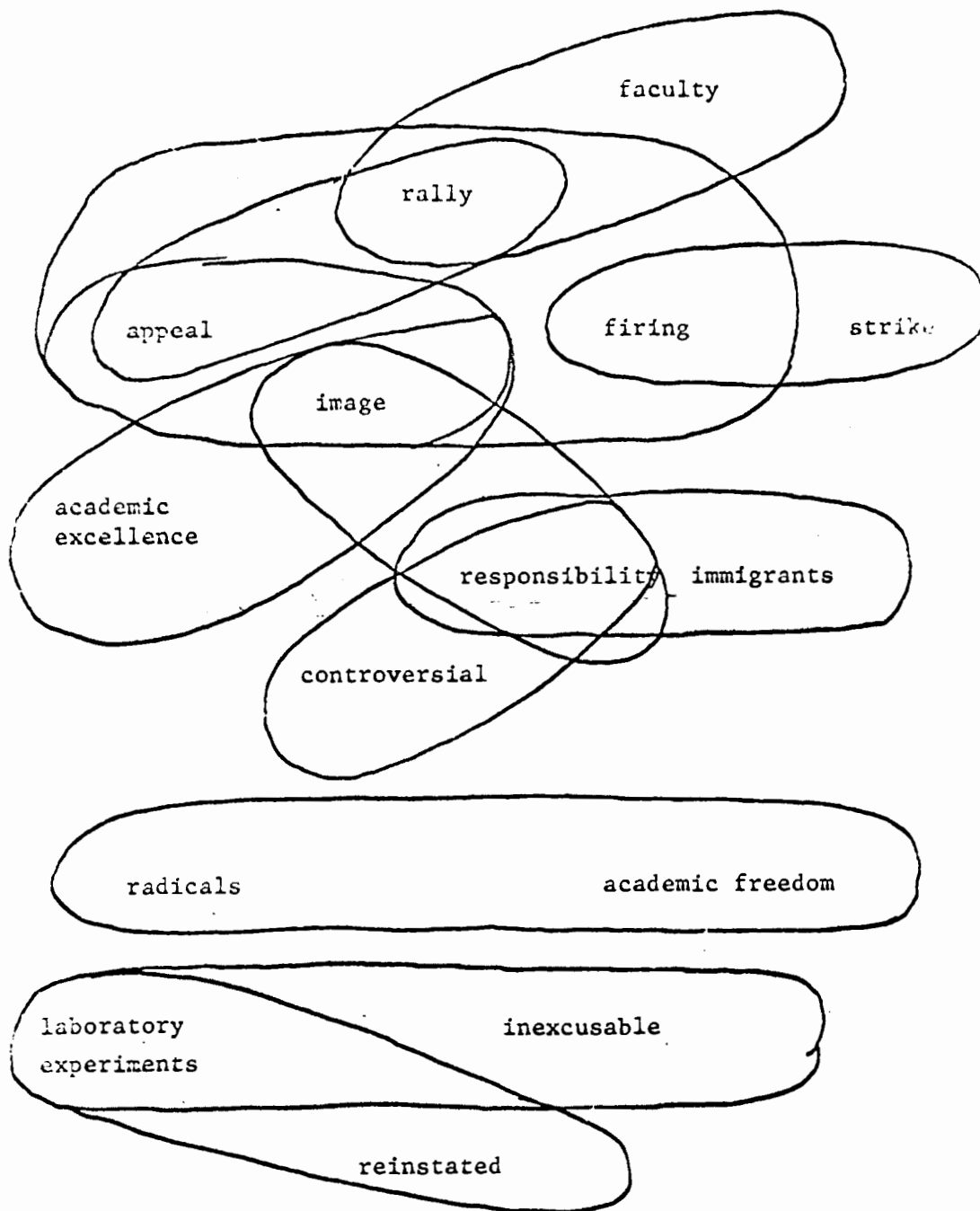


FIGURE 24

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF THE CONTINGENCY ANALYSIS OF
THE SUN

firing. The significant contingency between disturbances and high school students quite probably also occurred because earlier news reports linked the high school students and disturbances, whereas later the involvement of the teaching assistants in the disturbances was of central importance and the high school students were mentioned less. This would tend to make the obtained contingency significantly higher than the expected contingency.

Also, in the Province, references to the teaching assistants were contingent upon references to the Board of Governors at the 5 per cent level above chance and this association led to the notion of appeal. References to the teaching assistants were also associated with the rally in support of the five, but references to the rally were contingent about references to responsibility. Referral to the whole news items and editorials suggests the feeling on the part of the newspaper that this rally (or rallies) showed a lack of responsibility, and responsibility, as the contingency analysis reveals, was significantly contingent with academic excellence. Although a significant (at the 5 per cent level) contingency was found between the concepts of Simon Fraser University and image indicating concern or interest, the contingency between image and academic excellence was not significant. A cluster analysis appears in Figure 25.

Columbian

The only significant contingency in the Columbian, as indicated in Table V, was between victory and inexcusability with the association

TABLE IV

Contingency Analysis Results
for the Vancouver Daily Province.

Significant Deviations of the Obtained Values From
the Expected Values.

I. Significant at the 5 per cent level above chance.

board of governors	teaching assistants
President McTaggart-Cowan	graduate students
	appeal
	silent vigil
	support
	rally
high school students	disturbances
Templeton	incidents
	turmoil
	mob violence
academic excellence	responsibility
	discipline
Simon Fraser University	image
	status

II. Significant at the 1 per cent level above chance.

firing	disturbances
expelled	incidents
dismissed	turmoil
	mob violence
inexcusable	nonsense
	irresponsibility
	misbehavior
	incompetent
	intemperate
	disturbances
	incidents
	turmoil
	mob violence
silent vigil	responsibility
support	discipline
rally	

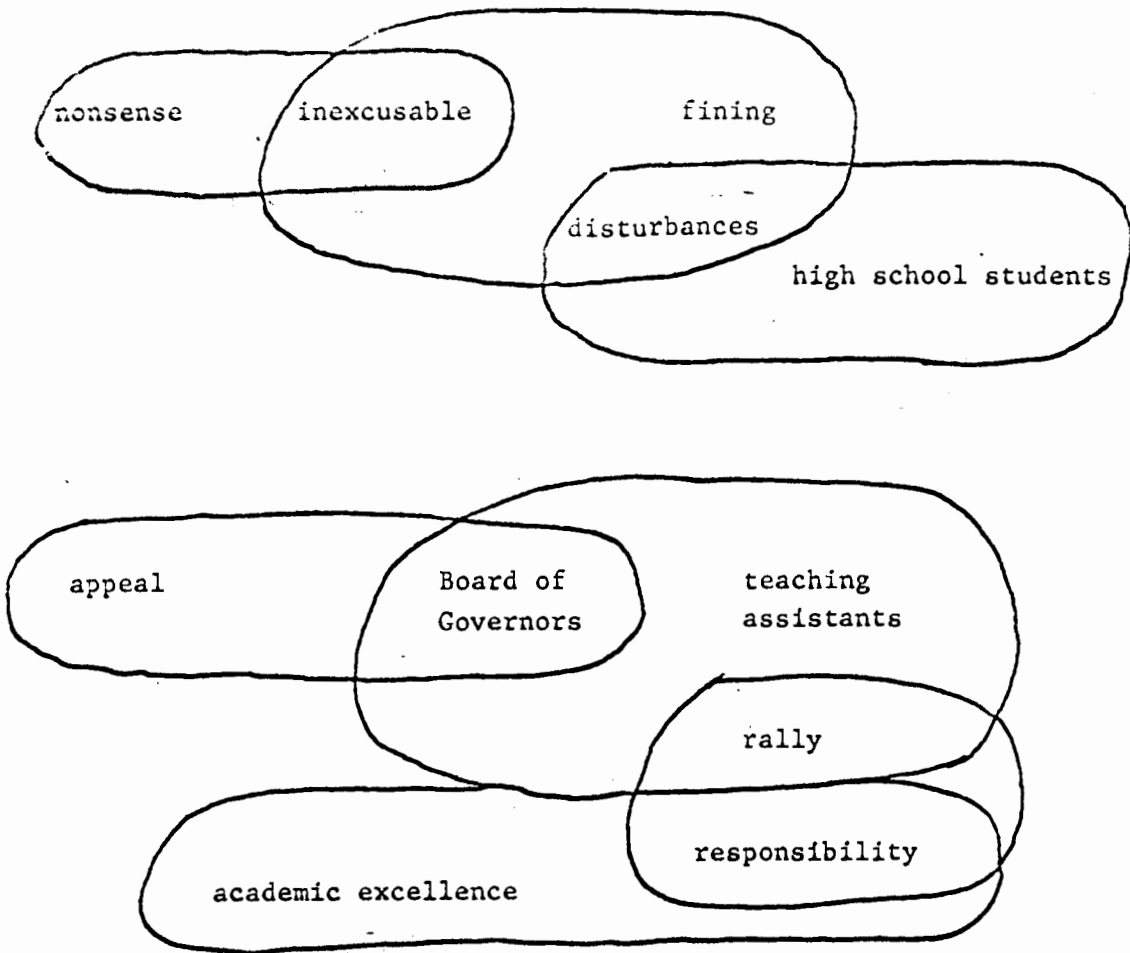


FIGURE 25

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF THE CONTINGENCY ANALYSIS OF
THE PROVINCE

TABLE V

Contingency Analysis Results
for the Columbian.

Significant Deviations of the Obtained Values From the
Expected Values.

I. Significant at the 1 per cent level above chance.

victory

inexcusable
appalling

perhaps being that the students achieved an unwarranted victory with the reinstatement of the teaching assistants, because the behavior of these people was inexcusable, or that it was inexcusable that the teaching assistants were allowed to score a victory. Figure 26 is a cluster analysis.

The most significant inference, in the data gathered through the contingency analysis, is that image, responsibility and academic excellence were closely associated by the two Pacific Press newspapers.

III. RESULTS OF THE EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS

Sun

Figure 27 shows the final evaluation chart for the editorials and columns excerpted from the Vancouver Sun. The PUBLIC was the concept most favorably evaluated by the newspaper, which is an expected evaluation considering the stated concern of the Sun for the general public and the taxpayer. The FACULTY (of the university) was rated slightly lower but still favorable, which is indicative of the recognition that the professors possess considerable knowledge. Allocated toward the negative pole, although still topping the concepts in this area was the BOARD OF GOVERNORS, which was presumably evaluated thusly because of its decision to reinstate the teaching assistants - a decision not popular with the newspaper editor. Grouped together at the negative end were the FIVE TEACHING ASSISTANTS, GOVERNMENT, REINSTATEMENT, CAUSE OF THE TEACHING ASSISTANTS (stated as academic freedom), and UNIVERSITY STUDENTS. The Pacific Press papers make no secret of the



FIGURE 26

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF THE CONTINGENCY ANALYSIS OF
THE COLUMBIAN

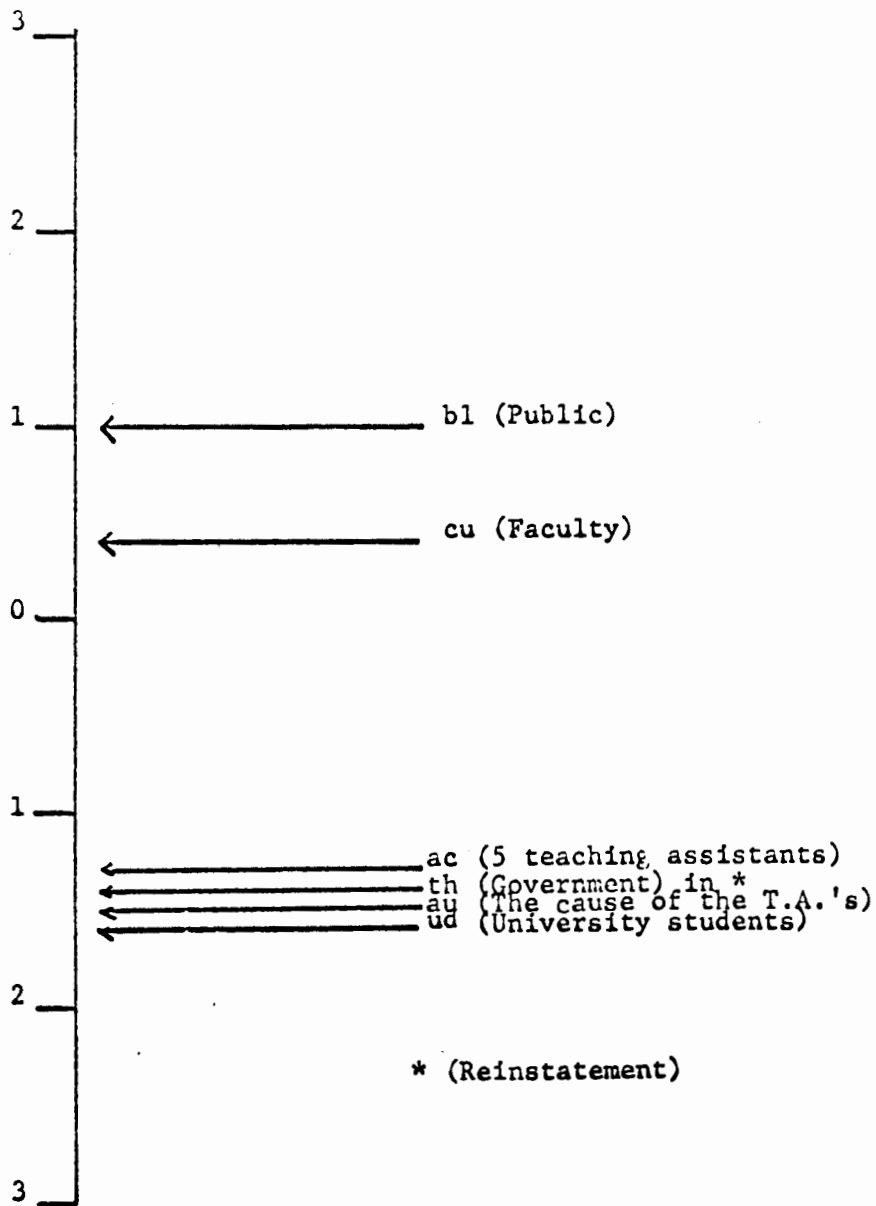


FIGURE 27

EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS OF
THE SUN

fact that they oppose the Social Credit government in this province, therefore the negative placement of this concept has considerable face validity. The other negatively placed concepts substantiate the fact that the newspaper saw the firing of the teaching assistants as a justified reprisal and their consequent reinstatement an error. The association of UNIVERSITY STUDENTS with these other negative concepts suggests that this negative perception became somewhat generalized to include all students. The complete Tables appear in Appendix B.

Province

The Vancouver Province did not positively evaluate any of the concepts, as indicated in Figure 28. THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, however, was rated the best of the negative evaluations. The editorials suggest that although the newspaper agreed with the Board's decision to fire the teaching assistants, they did not agree with their subsequent behavior in reinstating the five. Allocated a position slightly below the BOARD OF GOVERNORS was the PUBLIC at $-.67$; however this placement is somewhat misleading and therefore deserves clarification. There was in fact only one reference to the public which stated that "... the public blamed all of S.F.U." and although this statement received a negative score, the actual meaning in context implied that it was in fact an "honest" mistake. Again, as in the Sun, the Province ranks all UNIVERSITY STUDENTS negatively. Very negatively evaluated were the FIVE TEACHING ASSISTANTS and their CAUSE. Appendix C contains the complete Tables.

Through the marking of the attitude objects, this evaluative

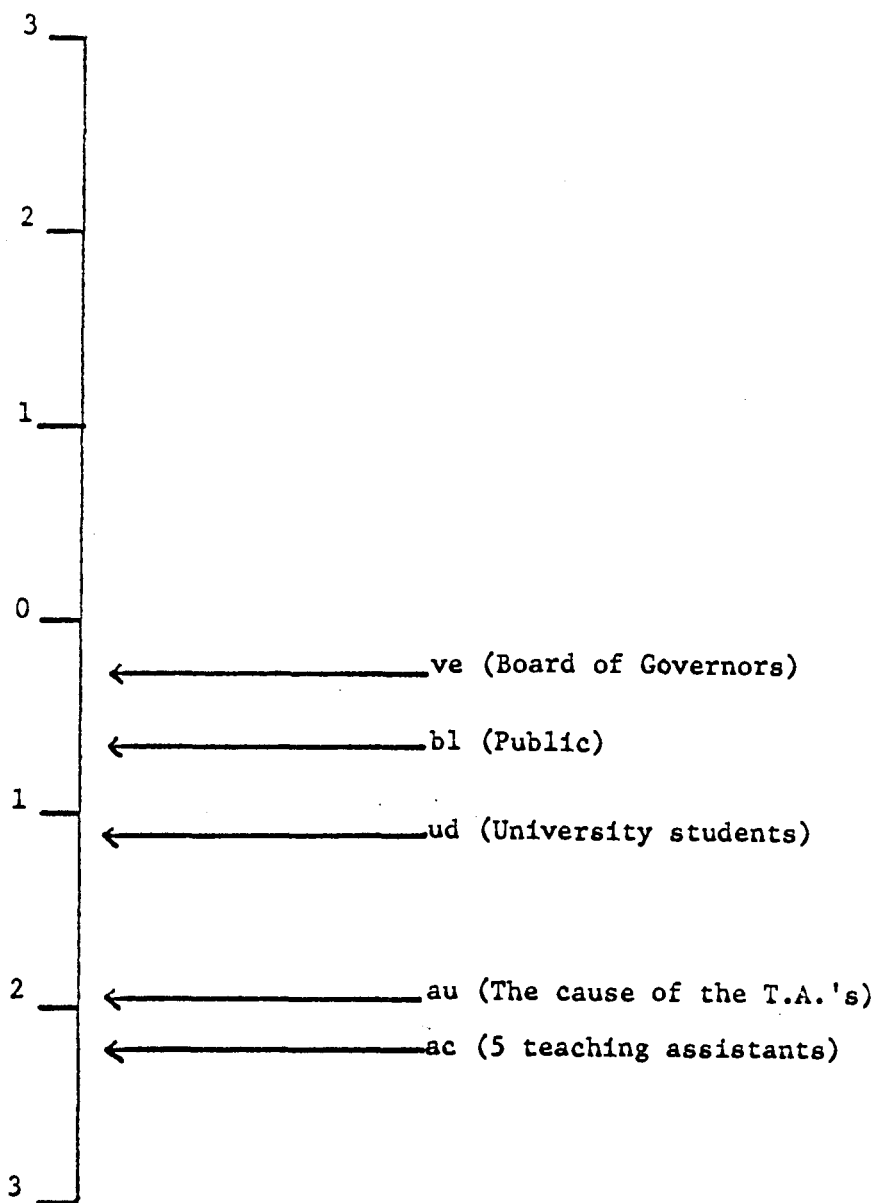


FIGURE 28
EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS OF
THE PROVINCE

assertion analysis becomes a more objective and explicit method than the subjective evaluation of the editorials and news stories, because like the contingency analysis it relies on actual verbal behavior. In this particular case it is interesting to note that 94 per cent of all the assertions were of the type that linked the attitude object to a common meaning term, that is, the writer "came right out and said it in plain language" rather than employing evaluation by association.

The Directional Analysis

When each paragraph in the pertinent articles in the newspapers was placed in a special category it became possible to analyze the direction that the news reports seemed to take. The results of this analysis, for each newspaper, is noted below.

Vancouver Sun. The results of the directional analysis of the paragraphs in the Sun, as seen in Table VI, indicate that of 364 paragraphs, 45 per cent were neutral, 32 per cent expressed opposition to the behavior of the teaching assistants, 13 per cent expressed opposition to the behavior of the board of governors, 5 per cent expressed favorable attitudes toward the behavior of the teaching assistants, 3 per cent expressed a favorable attitude toward the behavior of the board of governors, and 2 per cent expressed a general favorable attitude toward Simon Fraser University as a whole. It should be noted that these scores do not necessarily indicate that an overt opinion was expressed by the writer, although this was the case in the editorials and the signed columns, but it indicates the general idea stated in the paragraph. If, for example, a paragraph was reporting about the hostility of the high school students towards the teaching assistants, then it was rated as expressing disfavor with those five; but if it was describing the threat of strike by the university students then it was considered favorable to the teaching assistants. Although nearly half of the paragraphs were rated as being neutral the next two largest categories expressed disfavor with the teaching assistants and with the board of governors, which seems

Key for TablesType

1. News story
2. Signed regular column
3. Editorial
4. Letter
5. Cartoon
6. Feature

Directional Analysis

- + T.A. in favor of teaching assistants behavior
- T.A. against teaching assistants behavior
- + B.G. in favor of board of governors action
- B.G. against board of governors action
- + S.F.U. favorable to Simon Fraser University
- S.F.U. unfavorable to Simon Fraser University

TABLE VI.
 News Items in the Sun
 during the
 Period of Controversy, March 14th - March 31st, 1967.

Unit	Date	Type	Headline
1	14	1	Students Tangle Again
2	14	1	The Street 'N Narrow (Jack Wasserman)
3	14	1	SFU Pair Charged In School Melee
4	15	1	SFU Instructor Has Bail Refused
5	16	1	SFU Raps Templeton Protesters
6	16	1	SFU Students On Carpet
7	17	1	Students Threaten Boycott Unless SFU Reinstates Five
8	17	1	Need New Image
9	18	1	Jack Wasserman
10	18	1	Students At SFU Postpone Boycott
11	28	1	SFU Teacher Gets Bail
12	18	1	Students 'Not Vegetables'
13	18	1	Firings Appealed In W ke of Crisis
14	20	1	SFU Dean Gives Reason for Quitting
15	20	1	Campus Used As Laboratory
16	20	1	SFU Boycott Now Stated For Tuesday
17	21	1	Five Students Reinstated After Marathon Appeal
18	21	2	S'Fuss 'N Bother (Jack Wasserman)
19	22	3	Undermined From The Inside
20	22	1	Finish Lines
21	22	1	SFU Head Says Objectivity Shown in Rein-statements
22	22	4	That's Freedom
23	23	4	Learn To Riot
24	23	1	Dean Stays Quit Says SFU Board
25	27	1	Worker's Trained
26	28	2	Reporters Notebook (Jack Wasserman)
27	28	4	Vote of Thanks
28	29	4	Students Fed Up
29	29	4	Action Explained
30	29	4	Required Reading
31	30	4	Affair Sickening
32	30	4	SFU An Infant
33	31	4	Purpose Defined

TABLE VII

Directional Analysis and Display Index
of
News Items in the Sun During the Controversy

Unit	Directional Analysis (no. of paragraphs)						TOTAL	Display Index	
	+T.A.	-T.A.	+B.G.	-B.G.	+SFU	-SFU			NEUT.
1		4					6	10	5
2		4						4	1
3		7					7	14	2
4		10					12	22	2
5		1					7	8	0
6							3	3	0
7		12		9			5	26	4
8					3		9	12	0
9		2						2	4
10		1					9	9	3
11		6						6	0
12	2						6	8	2
13		5		19			14	38	4
14				6			4	10	2
15	1	15		7			15	38	4
16		1		5				6	2
17	13	3	3	1			18	38	5
18	1	9						10	4
19		7						7	3
20		1						1	1
21		2	6				18	26	4
22		5						5	0
23		3					4	7	0
24							12	12	2
25							1	1	1
26	3	6					2	11	3
27			3					3	1
28		3						3	1
29							7	7	0
30							2	2	0
31		4						4	0
32		6						6	1
33					5			5	0
Total	20	116	12	47	8		161	364	60

to support the contention that news is more important if it is negative or disruptive. The score expressing disfavor with the board of governors, however, is somewhat ambiguous because some of the paragraphs are concerned with the decision to fire the teaching assistants while the others regarded the reinstatement of the teaching assistants. It is interesting to note that only 5 per cent of the paragraphs expressed attitudes favorable to the teaching assistants while over six times that number expressed disfavor.

Vancouver Daily Province. The results of the directional analysis of the paragraphs in the Province, as indicated in Table IX were very similar to those of the Sun. Of 234 paragraphs, 41 per cent were neutral; 30 per cent expressed disfavor with the teaching assistants; 13 per cent expressed a favorable attitude toward the teaching assistants; 8 per cent expressed disfavor with the behavior of the board of governors; 6 per cent expressed a favorable attitude toward the university. The significant difference between this newspaper and the Sun is the more equal distribution of the paragraphs for and against the teaching assistants found in the Province.

The Columbian. In the Columbian 35 per cent of the 133 paragraphs were neutral, while 24 per cent expressed an unfavorable attitude toward the board of governors; 21 per cent expressed an unfavorable attitude toward the behavior of the teaching assistants; 12 per cent expressed a favorable attitude toward the teaching assistants; and 8 per cent expressed a favorable attitude toward the board of governors. The unfavorable direction of nearly one quarter

TABLE VIII

News Items in the Province
 During the
 Period of Controversy, March 14th - March 31st, 1967

Unit	Date	Type	Headline
1	14	1	Pair from SFU Charged in City School
2	15	1	Calm Action by Police Saves Day at Templeton Disturbance
3	17	1	SFU Fires 5 Assistants for Protest
4	17	4	Divine Right of Professors is Nonsense
5	18	1	SFU Teachers Join Student Firing Protest
6	20	1	'Stall and We Strike'
7	21	1	SFU Man Rehired by Board
8	21	3	A Great Issue: The Right to be Silly
9	21	4	Withdraw Support for SFU Troublemakers
10	21	4	" " " " "
11	22	1	SFU Youths Not REALLY Bad
12	22	3	Inviting More Campus Silliness
13	22	4	Society Can't Exist Without Rules
14	23	1	Students to Probe Dean's Dilemma
15	23	4	Public Has No Sympathy for SFU 'Red Guards'
16	23	4	" " " " " " " "
17	23	4	" " " " " " " "
18	25	6	What's the Trouble at SFU?
19	31	1	Varsity Graduates Offer Teachers Help
20	31	4	Trouble Makers

TABLE IX
 Directional Analysis and Display Index
 of
 News Items in the Province During the Controversy

Unit	Directional Analysis (no. of paragraphs)						Display Item Index		
	+T.A.	- T.A.	+B.G.	-B.G.	+SFU	-SFU	NEUT.	TOTAL	
1							9	9	2
2		13					6	19	2
3		6					1	7	0
4							4	4	2
5		4		9			11	24	4
6	7	2					5	14	1
7	20	4					12	36	2
8		9					4	13	3
9		10					3	13	3
10		6						6	3
11		4			11		2	17	4
12		1		7				8	3
13		4						4	2
14							9	9	2
15		4						4	2
16						2		2	2
17						2		2	2
18		2		3	2		28	33	5
19	4						2	6	2
20		2						2	0
Total	31	71	--	19	13	4	96	232	46

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TABLE X
 News Items in the Columbian
 during the
 Period of Controversy, March 14th - March 31st, 1967

Unit	Date	Type	Headline
1	17	1	Students Urge Strike
2	17	1	S.F.U.: Where the Action Is
3	18	1	Student Strike Will Go Ahead
4	20	2	Alan Jay
5	21	2	Alan Jay
6	21	2	Glyn Lewis
7	21	1	SFU Strike Is Off
8	22	2	Alan Jay
9	23	1	Dean's Position Studied
10	20	1	Students Set, But Sit Tight

TABLE XI
 Directional Analysis and Display Index
 of
 News Items in the Columbian During the Controversy

Unit	Directional Analysis (no. of paragraphs)							Display Index	
	+T.A.	-T.A.	+B.G.	-B.G.	+SFU	-SFU	NEUT.		TOTAL
1		5		6		4		15	5
2		5				7		12	4
3		1	10			1		12	5
4		5		3		3		11	3
5		6				5		11	3
6		5				3		8	2
7	15					15		30	4
8				1		0		1	1
9				1		7		8	1
10				23		2		25	4
Total	15	27	10	34		47		133	32

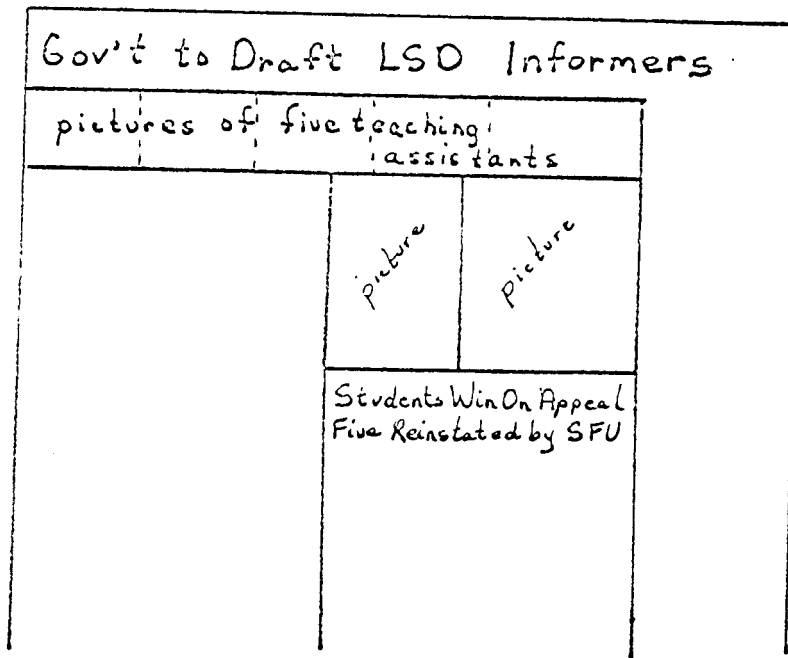
of the paragraphs expressing disfavor with the board of governors is due primarily to the final item which contained twenty-three such paragraphs which indicated opposition to the board's decision to reinstate the teaching assistants. Table XI illustrates the results.

The Display Index

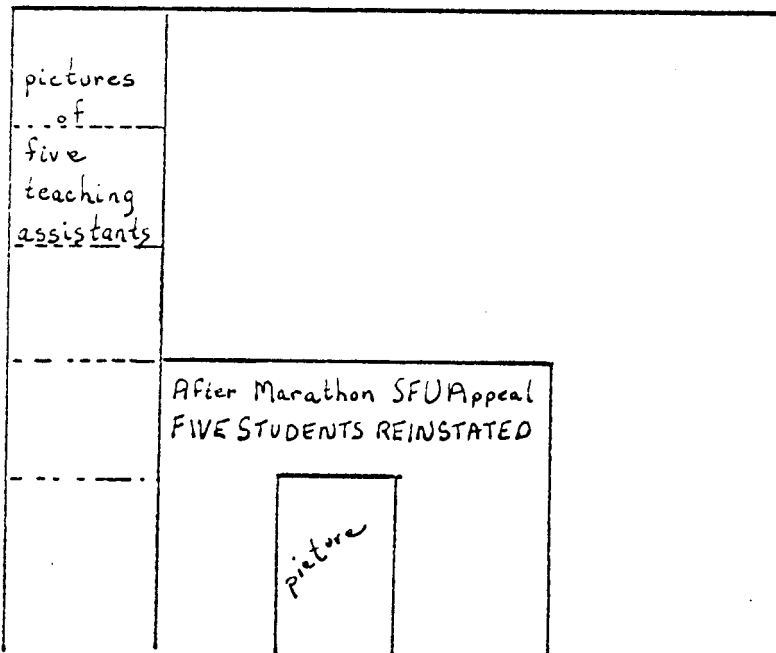
The average display index for the Sun was 1.8, for the Province 2.3, and for the Columbian 3.2. The averages, as represented in Tables VII, IX, and XI, may indicate that the Columbian gave more "play" to the news about Simon Fraser University or it may be the result of the large number of letters in the Sun and the Province which received a display score of zero. It is also significant that the Sun carried 3 editorial cartoons and the Province carried 2, all of which would receive a display score of four.

On March 21st when the reinstatement of the teaching assistants was reported in the newspaper the Vancouver Sun used an unfortunate front page arrangement in the first edition as indicated in Figure 29. This was changed in the final edition as is also indicated in Figure 29.

Interviews with the newspaper personnel indicate that the arrangement of the pictures in the first edition was just an unfortunate error and not an attempt to misrepresent the news.



FIRST EDITION



FINAL EDITION

FIGURE 29

QUESTIONNAIRE TO EDUCATION REPORTERS

Questionnaires were given to the education reporters of the Vancouver Sun, the Vancouver Daily Province and the Columbia. Although one reporter chose to give his name, the questionnaire was considered anonymous. One of the reporters is less than thirty years old, while one is between fifty and fifty-nine years old. Two have completed high school and one university. The reporter who completed university had taught school while the other two had been employed only in newspaper work. Although all three reporters had been covering education news for less than three years, one had been involved in newspaper work for over twenty years while the other two had been working for a newspaper for between eight and eleven years. Only one reporter spent 100 per cent of his time handling education news. The other two reporters who spent less than 25 per cent and between 5 per cent and 75 per cent, respectively, of their time on education news found that this time was only fairly adequate to cover their beat. These two reporters also were assigned to general news and features. All of the reporters stated that other staff members were assigned to cover education news, but that no individuals were given specific educational areas, levels or topics to cover. All of the reporters had education beats which were identical and included all of the universities and junior colleges in the province, elementary and secondary schools, the British Columbia

Institute of Technology, vocational schools, the British Columbia Teachers Federation, the British Columbia Trustees Association, school boards and special conferences and seminars. About one half of the reporters time allotted to education news was spent covering news about higher education. Two reporters felt that university officials should make wider use of the press conference in the dissemination of university news but one stated that such conferences kill competition for news, and it is therefore better to issue releases through the Information Office as items come to hand and let newsmen follow up on their own initiative. He stressed that there must be no bias as to the time that the release or telephone tip is made.

The following chart indicates the frequency that the stated sources are used by the three reporters:

<u>Sources</u>	Frequently	Occasionally	Very Seldom	Never
1. Minister of Education	1	2		
2. President of a University		3		
3. University Information or Public Relations Office	3			
4. University Professors	1	2		
5. University Students	1	2		
6. University Board of Directors			3	
7. University Senate			3	
8. Faculty Associations		3		
9. Student Associations		3		
10. Registrar		1 (added)		
11. Bursar		1 (added)		
12. Extension Departments		1 (added)		

The major differences seen were that one reporter used the Minister of Education frequently while the others used this office only occasionally and just one reporter used professors and students frequently.

The following chart indicates the credibility of the sources:

<u>Sources</u>	Highly Accurate			Moderately Accurate					Less Accurate		
	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
1. Minister of Education			1	1				1			
2. President of a University		1			1	1					
3. University Information or Public Relations Office						3					
4. University Professors			1	1	1						
5. University Students					2				1		
6. University Board of Directors						3					
7. University Senate					2	1					
8. Faculty Associations				1		2					
9. Student Associations						2	1				

The only unanimous ranking was given to the Information Office and the Board of Directors. The greatest disparity was noted for the President of a university who was rated at a high of ten and a low of six. The lowest rating was given by one reporter to university students.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

I SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

The purpose of this study has been to determine the nature of the gatekeeping behavior of the local newspapers during a conflict situation on a university campus. The campus: Simon Fraser University; the conflict: The March, 1967, dispute between the board of governors and elements of the student and faculty population; and the newspapers: the Vancouver Sun, the Vancouver Province and the Columbian (New Westminster, Burnaby, Surrey and Coquitlam.)

It was hypothesized that: the editorial attitude of a newspaper toward a specific issue will affect communication concerning that issue in the news columns.

The method chosen to test this hypothesis was content analysis, a technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

The following operations were then performed: background analysis, evaluative assertion analysis, contingency analysis, directional analysis and computation of the display index. A questionnaire was also sent to the education editors of the news-

papers and informal interviews were conducted with several persons in the newspaper business.

Below the results of the analysis are summarized.

Background Analysis

A story-count analysis of all of the news items about the university which have appeared since the idea for the university was first conceived suggests that in the Sun and the Province financial and administrative matters generally received the greatest coverage. Coverage of administrative matters, however, was primarily, if not exclusively, limited to the news pages, while the financial matters often got to the editorial page, allowing an assessment of editorial policy. Briefly put, the policy seemed to be this: the newspapers did not and do not favour the provincial Social Credit Government, and they feared that Simon Fraser University, because it was established under this government, would receive more than its share of the money allocated to higher education.

Evaluative Assertion Analysis

This analysis, performed solely on the editorials and special opinion-type columns, was designed to determine the policy of the newspapers as stated on the editorial page or other non-news areas. This policy as inferred from the indications of the analysis was that the five teaching assistants were in the wrong and rightly fired, therefore, those protesting the firing were in the wrong also, and the reinstatement of the teaching assistants was a mistake.

Contingency Analysis

The contingency analysis suggested that the above stated policy tended to affect the news stories which to a degree reflected the editorial opinion.

Directional Analysis and Display Index

Both the directional analysis and display index support the indications that the editorial attitude affected news coverage.

II EXPLANATION AND DISCUSSION

While these results seem to support the hypothesis they do not prove anything but only suggest that the gatekeeping behavior of these particular newspapers, in this particular case, seems to have been affected by the editorial attitude. To close the study at this point, however, would be a grave mistake, for there are too many variables involved to make the conclusion so simple and neat. In the next few pages these essential areas will be explored in the hope that they may place these results in the proper perspective.

The Social Organization of the Newsroom

Although, in this particular case, the editorial policy did seem to be followed in the news stories, this does not necessarily mean that the editor called his staff around him and dictated what the policy of the paper was to be. In fact interviews with several newsmen suggest that the social organization of the newsroom accounted for this maintenance of policy rather than authoritarian orders. This is in accordance with the previously mentioned findings of Breed (1955) who suggested several explanations for the above phenomena which have been somewhat modified to fit this situation.

The desire to obtain the approval of superiors

The reporter tends to feel a certain obligation and responsibility toward his superiors and therefore will attempt to make his writings of the type that will be approved by his editor or editors. If these feelings on the part of the reporter also include esteem for his superiors then the likelihood of conformity is even stronger. The editor, of course, has the power to change or ignore certain stories which may contravene the newspaper's policy or may assign a "safe" reporter to a policy story. Rarely is the policy made explicit, but the reporter comes to know it through his associations with other members of the staff and the executive, and his experiences in having his stories or portions of them accepted or rejected.

The word "policy" is being used as a convenience here, but it should be emphasized that it is used to mean short-term rather than long-term policy. Policy, as such, is usually taken to mean a consistent orientation but, in this case, the concept is being used to describe the newspapers' stand in this particular conflict situation. If, indeed, any long-term policy could have been said to have dictated the short-term decision, it may have been a policy of conservatism versus radicalism especially in regards to the running of a university and student power.

Security

Although the majority of the reporters and editors interviewed implied that firings and demotions are indeed quite rare, they remain a possibility and those reporters desiring a secure position don't "rock the boat" by submitting anti-policy

stories. Similarly, if the reporter has aspirations toward improving his status, this can be best achieved through conformity to policy.

The agreeableness of the job

All of the reporters interviewed enjoyed their work and their associations with the other staffers and executives in an informal atmosphere. Because of this attitude they are willing to co-operate as a member of the organization.

News becomes a value

This final factor is exactly as it was stated by Breed. He suggested that the production of news becomes a value in itself and this is the task for which the newsman is rewarded. Breed also states:

A consequence of this focus on news as a central value is the shelving of a strong interest in objectivity at the point of policy conflict. Instead of mobilizing their efforts to establish objectivity over policy as a criterion for performance, their energies are channeled into getting more news (1955, p. 331).

It is difficult to assess the extent to which this factor was manifested in the Simon Fraser University situation, but it seems to be a plausible influence on the reporters' behavior especially in the context of the social system of the newsroom.

The reporter may by-pass policy in some cases as a result of the following five factors:

- (1) The norms of policy are not always clear.
- (2) Executives may be ignorant of particular facts and staffers may use their superior knowledge to subvert policy.

(3) A reporter may "plant" a story in another newspaper or wire service, then plead with his editor that it is too big to ignore.

(4) Of the five types of news stories, the policy or campaign story, the assigned story, the beat story, and the story initiated by the staffer, the latter two allow the reporter the greatest freedom.

(5) Staffers with 'star' status or long time reporters can more easily transgress policy than can cubs.

Which of these factors could have operated in the coverage of the Simon Fraser situation? Certainly the norms of the policy were very clearly stated in the editorials so that the only place that the policy could have been contravened by taking advantage of its inexplicitness was in the one or two news stories that appeared before the first editorial. It is unlikely, however, that, even at this stage, the editors' opinions were unknown to the reporters.

It seems possible that the reporters on the scene may have uncovered facts which were unknown to the editors, however, these do not seem to have been utilized if, indeed, they were collected.

The probability of a "plant" in another paper seems remote because certainly the subject wasn't being ignored. Some of the stories were covered by education reporters as a part of their regular beat, however, and they were less bothered by editors in their decision of what news to pursue and what to ignore. Also, of the education reporters on the three newspapers (Sun, Province and Columbian), two were long-time reporters, one with over twenty years

experience, sixteen years of which were with his present employer. Surely this reporter could have successfully ignored the policy of the paper.

If there was opportunity for the reporters to deviate from the opinions on the editorial page and they didn't, then the alternative answer seems to be that they didn't want to. For a closer look at this suggestion we must examine the attitude of the reporters.

The Reporter: His Attitudes and Perceptions

Just as the newspaper as an organization is a gatekeeper, so is the reporter a gatekeeper within the larger gate. In the foregoing section some of those factors of the social organization of the newsroom which may influence the reporter were discussed, however they were based on the assumption that the reporter did not agree with the editorial policy. It is equally valid to suggest that perhaps there was no casual relationship between the editorials and the news stories, but that they were a result of the shared attitudes of the executives and the staffers. There are three areas pertinent to such a suggestion: 1) shared background, 2) role perception, and 3) selectivity.

Shared Background. The staffers and executives would have a similar background in the area of education in that both groups of people attended school (and in some cases university) a number of years ago and have been earning a living for many years. For this reason both would be likely to view radicals (extremists or those desiring rapid changes on the campus) with a skeptical eye, and be

quicker to judge university students and faculty by traditional standards than would those constantly in the university environment. There also seems to exist the feeling among lower mainland residents that Simon Fraser University has yet, because of its youth, to earn the respect of the community through academic excellence as has the University of British Columbia which, in its many years of existence, has established a reputation and a tradition. Therefore, all eyes are on the neophyte academic institution for clues on how it is progressing; certainly the newsmen are a part of this quizzical throng and they perceived this conflict as bad for the image (as determined by responsibility and academic excellence) of the university.

Role Perception. It is important to recognize that the relationship between the newsman and the general public is transactional rather than causal, that is, the communication channel is two-way rather than one-way and by means of feedback, the newsmen evaluate their performance. Deutsch (1966) explains this process as follows:

In other words, by feedback -- or, as it is often called a serrio-mechanism -- is meant a communications network that produces action in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own action in the new information by which it modifies its subsequent behavior (p. 188).

The feedback concept, borrowed from modern control engineering, may be adapted to describe any means by which the newsman can determine how his writing is perceived by the public either through formal letters, phone calls or visits from his readers, or through his daily informal contacts. The emphasis on

the newsroom in the previous section was not meant to convey the impression that the reporter is oblivious to the community about him, because certainly his perception of public opinion will influence his behavior to some degree. In sociological jargon this phenomenon has been called role fulfillment and L.A. Dexter (1964) has suggested that part of the role of mass media has been to reinforce the societal attitudes, and he maintains that "because people generally treat the mass media as entertainment - and entertainment ceases for most to be entertaining if it challenges what they already believe - the mass media most of the time reinforces what people already believe" (p. 14). This statement makes the situation far too simple in the light of the "two-step-flow" studies of Katz and Lazarsfeld (1964), who argued that mass media stimuli did not reach most of the audience directly, through the intermediary of opinion leaders. Such opinion leaders, moreover, are different for each area of decision making. The journalist, therefore, must consider and weight not only his perception of the general public, but also his perceptions of these opinion leaders. That he does, in practice, do this is indicated in a book by John Hohenberg (1962) who has the following to say to the editorial writer:

Not everything in every newspaper is prepared for the average reader; nor, for that matter, does the average reader expect it to be. Otherwise he would have a far livelier interest in the market place of ideas that is the editorial page. But, in full realization that average readers usually pass up editorials, sensible editors plan, argue, and persuade in an effort to appeal to the molders of public opinion in their community - the influential businessmen and industrialists, the professionals such as doctors and lawyers, clergymen and teachers; the men and women who lead civic and fraternal groups or social and religious organizations. Thus, by aiming at the influential reader, the average editorial page is likely to carry weight

far beyond its readership or lack of readership by the average person. (p. 334).

Both the editorial writer and the news writer, then, actively consider the opinions of the newspaper's consumers - the reading public. The reporter's perception of this opinion is either negatively or positively incorporated into his writing and his perception of his role is determined to some extent by the expectations of this audience.

Selectivity. The first two sections have dealt with the background of the newsman and his perception of his role and it is these two factors which help to determine the individual's selective perception. Selectivity may be defined as the perceptual response to aspects of stimuli together with the ignoring of others and is determined by the nature of the stimuli, what the observer is prepared to see, and the specific motives in play at the time. Berelson (1964) reports that:

People tend to see and hear communications congenial to their predispositions; they are more likely to see and hear congenial communications than neutral or hostile ones. And the more interested they are in the subject, the more likely is such selective attention (p. 529).

It is obvious that selective perception is necessary because, particularly in the newspaper business, it is impossible to respond to all stimuli. A major determinant of what stimuli will receive attention is differential intensity, thus the unexpected or contrast compels attention. In fact, the very concept of news is that it is unusual or unexpected as well as being recent. By these criteria the actions of the Simon Fraser teaching assistants and the

consequent behavior of those concerned certainly qualified as news, but it was the background and role perception of the newsmen that determined how the events were perceived by the newspaper. Thus, truth becomes a difficult term to distinguish and to define.

It is also important to remember that when a communication is being judged for its objectivity and truth the receiver of the communication also participates in self-selection of exposure in line with his predispositions and will generally seek out communications congenial to his point of view. Both the communicator and the audience tend to analyze their existing dispositions which may result in misinterpretation or distortion that is primarily conscious but can operate non-consciously as well. It is, therefore, naive to suggest that, because results show that to some degree the editorial position was reflected in the news stories, this was the result of a conscious and deliberate effort to sabotage Simon Fraser University or any of the people involved in the conflict. Thus, while it may have been that the news reports were deliberately calculated to approach the editorial stand, it is more probable that selective perception was a major contributory factor.

The physical production of a newspaper. In order to understand the content produced by the newspaper it is essential that the organization of the newspaper as an institution be examined. It is unrealistic to discuss the policy of a newspaper as though it were a magical independent entity unrelated to the practical business of gathering and processing news and the social organization of the newsroom.

In Figure 30 the typical organization of a large city daily newspaper is described and the outline below suggests the newspaper's sources of news and features.

A. News.

1. Local

a) Beat reporters are those reporters who are responsible for definite sources, such as education, city hall or the police station.

b) Assignment reporters are assigned special stories by the various editors.

c) City news bureaus which exist only in very large cities and which are simply news gathering and distributing agencies for routine news.

d) Small town and rural correspondents.

e) Publicity and press releases of clubs, schools and business organizations.

f) Residents of a community who either bring the news to the newspaper office or telephone it in.

B. Nonlocal

a) Press Associations.

The Press Associations most heavily relied upon by the Canadian newspaper are: Canadian Press (CP), Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). Although Canadian Press and Associated Press began as co-operative, non-profit organizations and United Press International was formed as an independent commercial enterprise, all of the agencies grant essentially

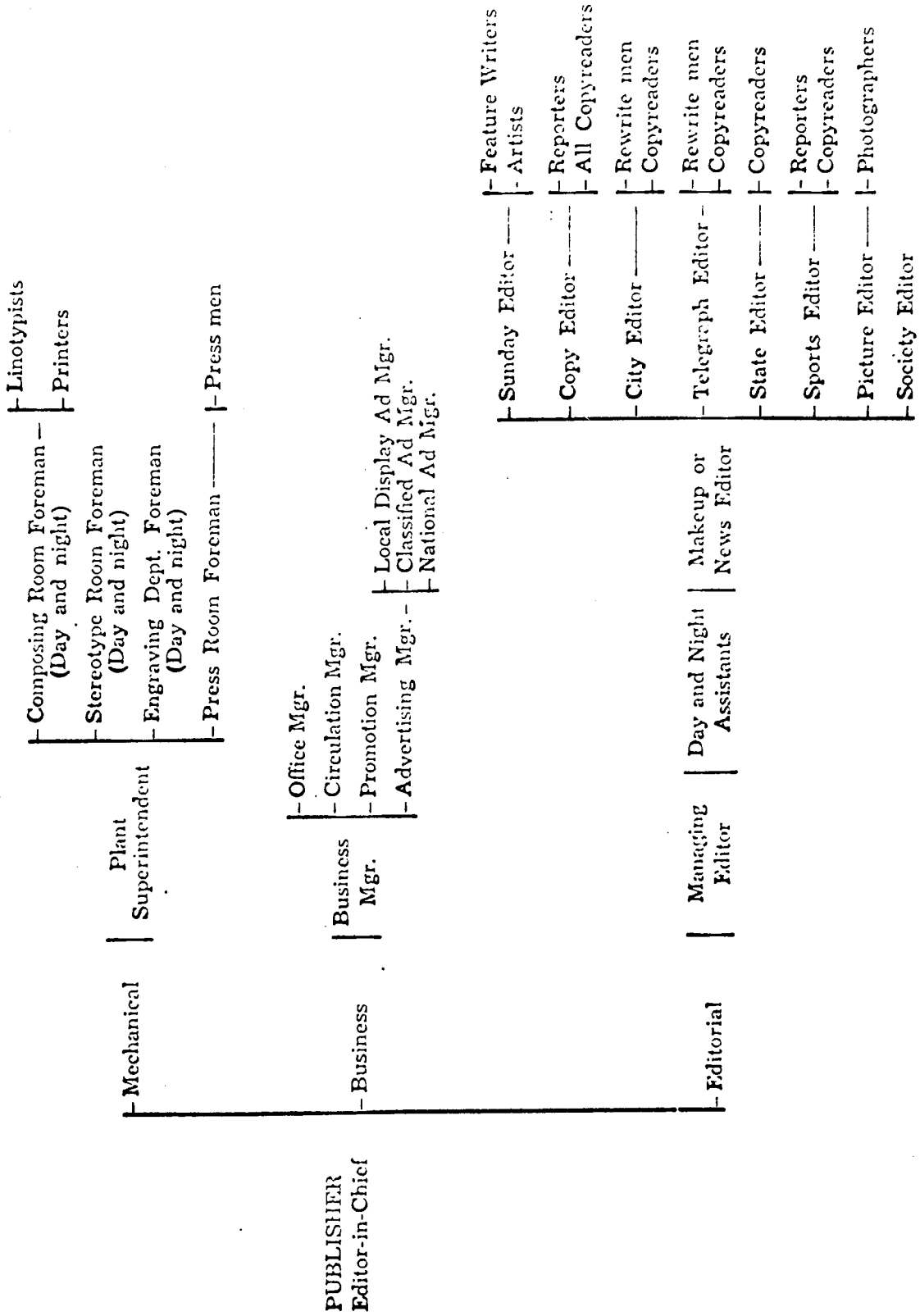


FIGURE 31

ORGANIZATION OF A LARGE NEWSPAPER (from English and Hach, 1962, p.253)

the same services. The newspaper receives teleprinter news on a perforated tape so that typewetting machines may be operated automatically, and the member newspaper is required to furnish news originating in its own area. The newspaper may also receive special wires such as financial wires and wirephotos or other special features. News may also be received from foreign press associations such as British Reuters and the Russian Tass.

b) Special correspondents may be located in Victoria, Ottawa or other news centers as well as in foreign countries.

c) Office news agencies may be operated by very large newspapers who sell news especially gathered for its own newspaper to papers in non-competing territory.

C. Features.

The term features includes cartoons, comic strips, magazine sections, and signed columns. Features may be secured from two sources:

1. Staff members who are specialists.
2. Syndicates.

a) Syndicates owned by newspapers which sell material only to papers in noncompeting territory.

b) Independent syndicates, most of which sell features only to one newspaper in a competing area.

Figure 31 traces the flow of copy through the newspaper and below the process is outlined. Although various newspapers may deviate slightly from this description the general procedure is common to all.

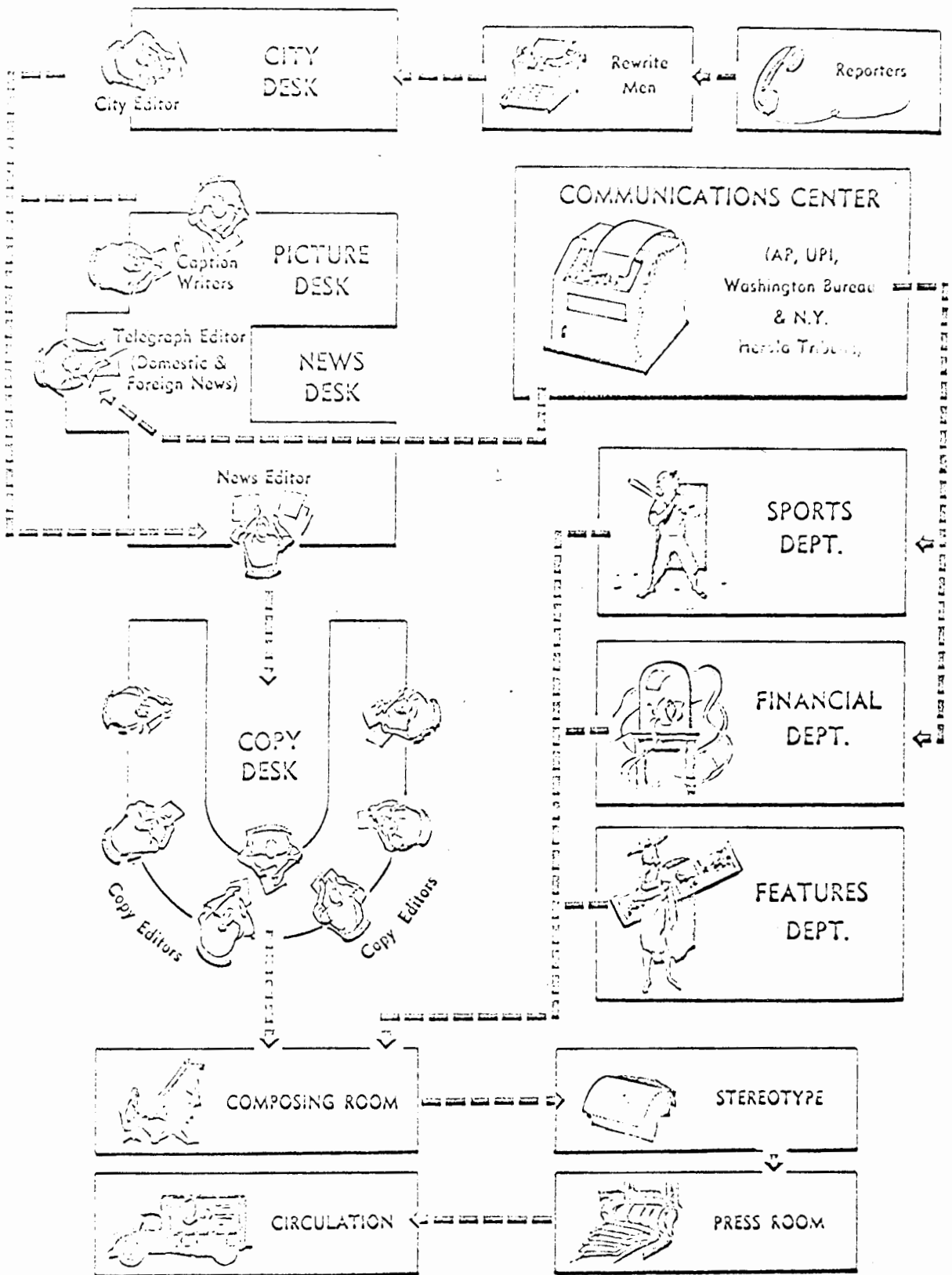


FIGURE 31

FLOW OF NEWS THROUGH THE NEWSPAPER (from English and Hach, 1962, p.251)

1. A local story usually is assigned to a reporter by the city editor, who supervises the gathering of all local news except society and sports news.

2. The reporter covers his assignment, writes his story and turns it in.

3. After checking by the editor responsible for that type of copy, the story is either edited by him or his staff or sent to the universal copy desk for processing.

4. The story is then sent to the composing room where it is set in type and then placed in a galley. When the galley has about a column of type in it, a proof, known as a galley proof, is pulled and sent to the proofreader to check with original copy. Proofs also are sent to all editors, to the copy desk, and to the makeup editor, who has kept a record of the relative news values of the copy available for a particular edition. The makeup editor may confer with other major editors concerning the placement of stories.

5. After the galley proof has been read, the corrections made, and the headlines inserted, the type is transferred from the galleys to a chase, a steel frame the size of a page. Here the makeup man arranges the stories according to the directions he has received from the makeup editor.

6. When the chase is filled with stories, headlines, and cuts, the page is locked up and sent to the stereotyping room where the plate is made.

7. The plate is then sent to the press room where it is affixed onto the rollers of a rotary press. Large newspapers may cast several plates from the same mat and have several presses

printing the same page at the same time.

8. When all plates for an edition are locked in place, the switch is thrown, and the papers flow from the press.

9. From the rotary presses the newspapers are conveyed to the mailing room where they are prepared for distribution.

The description of the flow of the copy indicates that there are several gatekeepers who may alter the news copy: the reporter, the education editor, the city news editor, the managing editor, the copy editor and the makeup editor. Each of these persons operates a gate and therefore participates in the control of the communication channel. Overall control may be exercised either directly or indirectly by the publisher. It should be emphasized that the editor or publisher may make his values known in subtle ways that do not involve an overt statement of policy. This was certainly evidenced in Breed's previously mentioned study about social control in the newsroom and the phenomena noted by him are in no way unique. Because the newspaperman's feedback from his audience tends to be indirect, he relies heavily on the feedback that he receives from his co-workers and superiors. The production of a newspaper is a co-operative venture in the sense that several people contribute their skills before an article is printed and therefore the rewards for the newspaperman may be concrete and immediate. He consequently sees his responsibility as being to the newspaper organization rather than to the public.

Two other conventions of newspaper writing affect the content of the news stories. These are the deadline and the inverted pyramid form. The deadline forces the reporter to have his copy

ready at a very specific time and may result in the news being incomplete or hurriedly written. The inverted pyramid is a mold that separates facts in diminishing order of importance. The most important fact is at the beginning so that it can take the headline and the lesser facts are at the end where they can be chopped off at will to fit the demands of time, space, and editorial operation. The story begins with a summary lead which is followed by documentation. The inverted pyramid format has been criticized in the literature of professional journalist organizations and societies and, in recent years, a more varied pattern has developed in features, interpretive news and news of slight importance. The inverted pyramid remains, however, as the standard form for straight factual news. Its primary defect is that the form may distort the content because the reporter may order the facts in such a way as to change them or may misrepresent the most important aspect in the brief lead. Allied closely with this problem is shortage of space, as this is the reason for the inverted pyramid format. The emphasis on brevity may result in some facts being left out at the reporter's or editor's discretion. It then appears that the entire story has not been told.

Added to these difficulties is the fact that the reporter who gathers the news is not necessarily the same one who writes the news, these being the legman and the rewrite man. The probability of discrepancies is therefore increased.

All of the elements of the newsroom may serve to impede as well as expedite the flow of the news through the communications channel.

The Student Press

The student press is not subject to the same type of controls as are the city newspapers and, therefore, the distinctions between news and editorial comment is much less noticeable. The Peak, the student newspaper at Simon Fraser University, certainly makes no pretense of being objective or unbiased.

Russell Kirk (1966) a conservative fictionist and philosopher, offers the following philosophy of the student press:

I hold that the student newspaper or magazine ought to enjoy a higher degree of freedom than does the public commercial publication; that is, the editors and contributors should be secure in a greater latitude of judgement and expression than are the editors and contributors to most periodicals. For the student press should share in the privileges and immunities of academic freedom (p. 115).

The Peak was against the board's interference with the behavior of the five teaching assistants in question, and consequently staged a vigorous campaign for their reinstatement. Because it was operating with a guaranteed income and circulation, as well as an easily accessible audience which was more homogeneous than are the general public, the student newspaper did not have to conform to any monetary demands. Usually published weekly on Wednesday, the Peak distributed special editions on March 17th, March 20th and March 21st, 1967, in order to keep up with the events as they were happening. The nature of its specialization allowed the student newspaper to provide significantly more coverage of the controversy than did the city newspapers.

Most of the reporters interviewed indicated that they regularly read the Peak, but it is difficult to determine if this fact had any bearing on the reporters own news reporting behavior.

The Polarization of the Conflict

The polarization of the conflict at the university was manifested in the press coverage. James Coleman (1957) who has attempted to lay the groundwork for a general theory of conflict in the community setting purports that the first change in issues that occurs in the escalation of conflict is in the transformation from specific to general issues. He states that:

It seems that movement from specific to general issues occurs whenever there are deep cleavages of values or interests in the community which require a spark to set them off - usually a specific incident representing only a small part of the underlying difference (Coleman, 1957, p.9).

While the city newspapers presented the general issue as being irresponsibility, the student newspaper saw it as a general issue of academic freedom and the newspapers gained support from those who held similar views. It is difficult to determine whether the newspapers were reflecting the polarization in the community or whether they were playing a vital role in the development of polarization.

Two homogeneous groups, the concerned taxpayers and the students, seemed to develop, and, as the dictomy became more intense, heterogeneity and its neutralizing influence disappeared. As social polarization (that is, the proliferation of associations among those who are taking one side, the attenuation of those who feel differently) occurred feelings were mutually reinforced and were intensified. This was exemplified particularly in the letters to the editor in both the city newspapers and the student newspapers. As the dicotomy increased, the conflict became more unrealistic and derogatory and scurrilous charges replaced dispassionate issues in both the letters and signed columns.

The news reporter was no doubt also a victim of this polarization and he may have been gathering and reporting the news as though the situation was bipolar.

Responsibility

The first Canon of Journalism of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, as contained in Gross (1966), which concerned responsibility, states that:

The right of a newspaper to attract and hold readers is restricted by nothing but considerations of public welfare. The use a newspaper makes of the share of public attention it gains serves to determine its sense of responsibility which it shares with every member of its staff. A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unworthy purpose is faithless to a high trust (p. 405).

The fact that the press has a certain responsibility to the public is undeniable, but the interpretation of this responsibility and its exercise in practice is certainly a debatable area.

Clifton Daniel (1966) Managing Editor of the New York Times, comments:

It (the press) must tell the people what they need to know, not what they would like to hear. If you ask me who decides what the people need to know, I can only say "the editor". If he can't do that he has no right to the title. If he allows someone else to do it for him - the government or some special interest - he forfeits his freedom (p. 151).

Daniel later further elaborates this point:

The news has always required interpretation, but interpreting the news does not exclude the possibility of objectivity in reporting it. As I have said, a reporter knows pretty well when he is being objective, and so does his editor. The important thing is that they should appreciate the need for objectivity and its relationship to the role they play in our democracy and that they should constantly strive for democracy (p. 155).

That the newspaper has a responsibility to the public to be objective seems to be unquestionable, and yet, most newspapermen would say that the newspaper must also have a conscience. Norman E. Isaacs (1966), Vice-President and Executive Director of the Louisville, Kentucky Times states that conscience is the most important of the criteria of a good newspaper and he says of such a newspaper:

It's a newspaper dedicated to the service of the reader, of the community, of the state and of the nation. It has principles, ethics and morals. It believes in itself and in its mission. It is conscience that makes a newspaper different from every other industrial organism in society. It is conscience that gives a newspaper its individual character. It is conscience that makes a newspaper perform above and beyond the call of duty. (p. 144).

If the newspaper should have a conscience, on what kinds of things should this conscience dictate? Jenkins Lloyd Jones (1966), editor and publisher of the New York Times, suggested in a lecture that the newspaper must participate in selective truth-telling. In matters of bad taste, in situations that lay the newspapers open to libel actions, in matters of questionable justice - these are some of the instances when Mr. Jones believes it is more human of the editor to err by omission than sin by commission. There are certainly no hard and fast rules because at times this policy involves double standards and Mr. Jones comments that "the newspaper's obligation to the welfare of its community is so fundamental that there are even times when a newspaper must print a lie" (p. 165). There do occur those occasions when the newspaper feels that it would be wrong to present the plain unvarnished facts.

There are those also who question the premise that the responsibility of the press is, first and foremost, to the public. Mr. Hy Steirman (1966), the publisher of Coronet Magazine and Paperback Library purports that putting his own sense of ethics and conscience before the will of the public is the only honest way the public can be served with truth and with taste. Basic to his contention is his view of the editor and/or publisher as the synthesis of his collective readership; ergo, to please himself is to please his audience. Mr. Steirman's central thesis is that without the integral honesty of the editor/publisher there can be no honest press and, as a corollary, no honestly informed public. This seems to be the crux of the whole matter, that is, what is really being discussed is not responsibility per se. but the editor's or publisher's perception of his responsibility. This perception is manifested in his decision making behavior.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

While the results of the contingency analysis, evaluative assertion analysis, directional analysis and display index seem to suggest a relationship between the editorial stance taken by the Vancouver Sun and the Vancouver Province during the conflict at Simon Fraser University during March of 1967, the relationship was at best suggested or inferred. Several areas of concern were suggested as relating to these results including: the social organization of the newsroom, the attitudes and perceptions of the reporter, the physical production of the newspaper, the student press, the development of the conflict and the responsibility of the press. This last

area seems to hold the greatest promise for change because the members of the general public can do little to directly change the situation in the other areas.

Wilbur Schramm (1960), Director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University, suggests that there are three instruments that a society may use to encourage or prod the mass media to responsible performance: 1) the media themselves, 2) the government and 3) the public (p. 648). Government interference in the operation of newspapers (or any of the mass media) is a dangerous move, because the newspapers jealously guard their freedom of the press. State intervention, therefore, should be used cautiously only as a last resort when all else has failed. If the media and the public accept their responsibilities there should be little need for government agencies to take any action. While the media certainly must accept the central responsibility, the public has the task of recognizing its needs and of making these needs known to the mass media agencies. Too often the public under-estimates its power to actively determine the form and content of the communications it receives from these agencies. The importance of feedback to the newsman was mentioned earlier, but the extent to which his perceptions are realistic is determined by how articulate his audience is.

Below are some specific steps that a reader may take if he is unsatisfied with the performance of his local newspaper:

- 1) Make himself an alert and discriminating reader.
- 2) Make his views known to the newspaper through letters, phone calls, personal visits or a mass, organized appeal.

3) Encourage intelligent criticism of the newspaper.

Educators particularly can play a major role in the following three steps:

4) Encouragement of the discussion of the proper use of newspapers in the public schools and the development of active questioning minds rather than passive minds which will blindly accept what the media offers.

5) Development of journalism schools which will turn out newsmen who will have, not only the technical training, but also the great awareness and sensitivity so necessary for their profession.

6) Encourage research in all areas of communication through the provision of men and facilities so that knowledge in this area may be advanced.

The above steps suggest that the public does, indeed, hold the balance of power and when it recognizes this, the responsibility of the newspapers can be greatly increased.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study has looked at only one part of the communication process - the content. The difficulties in isolating a single element are evident throughout the paper, because it is difficult to maintain a realistic perspective when discussing the preceding and antecedent conditions. This indicates that a major study should be undertaken to investigate the total communication process including the source, the message, the receiver, and the feedback, in order to better understand the total situation. It should be an interdisciplinary study which would involve not only psychologists and sociologists, but also linguists and communications experts. To the writer's

knowledge an investigation on this scale has not been attempted in the field of education, nor have any attempts been made to eliminate the artificial division of the process of communication.

Although the survey approach has been widely used in research concerning school-press relations, the case study has been sadly neglected. Certainly more individual case studies need to be developed to examine the variables in depth, and to distinguish between those factors which are unique and those which are universal.

The content analytic methods used in this research need a great deal of development before they will have the measuring precision necessary to render the findings predictive. Both in the areas of theory and statistical devices content analysis will require much research, some of which must necessarily be repetitive.

Research examining reporters' attitudes on educational issues, using attitude scales such as the semantic differential, would be extremely valuable. By examining these results predictions could be made concerning the behavior of a reporter in certain circumstances.

Continuing investigation of the newsroom milieu and patterns of pressure and influence are needed, including role analysis and the study of reference groups. Also, the questionnaire to the reporters indicated that more emphasis should be placed on research examining the content consequences of different patterns of interaction and relationships between specific gatekeepers and specific news sources.

Education, as a discipline, must pay more heed to the role of communication in the educational process and must be prepared to support research in this area. The study of communications should

not be limited to the communications engineer but the educator must recognize his obligations to the study of this vital social process.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO
THE EDUCATION EDITORS

1. Age - Check the category that includes your age:

___ less than 30 years

___ 50-59 years

___ 30-39 years

___ 60-69 years

___ 40-49 years

___ 70 years or over

2. Check the category that describes the last schooling you completed:

___ junior high school

___ professional or trade
school

___ high school

(Please specify) _____

___ university

___ other (please specify)

3. If you have university training what was your field of emphasis?

___ English

___ Science

___ Journalism

___ Education

___ Social Science

___ Other (please specify)

4. What other kinds of work besides newspaper work have you done?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. For how many years have you been doing newspaper work?

___ 0-3 years

___ 12-15 years

___ 4-7 years

___ 16-19 years

___ 8-11 years

___ 20 years or over

6. How long have you been associated with your present newspaper?

___ 0-3 years

___ 12-15 years

___ 4-7 years

___ 16-19 years

APPENDIX A
(Cont'd)

7. What is your present title or position?
- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> School Editor | <input type="checkbox"/> Education Reporter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education Editor | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education Staff Writer | _____ |
8. How long have you been covering education news?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 0-3 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 12-15 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4-7 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 16-19 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 8-11 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 20 years or more |
9. About what portion of your newspaper work time is spent handling education news?
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> under 25 per cent | <input type="checkbox"/> 76-99 percent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 26-50 per cent | <input type="checkbox"/> 100 per cent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 51-75 per cent | |
10. Do you feel the amount of time you are able to devote to covering education is:
- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> very adequate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fairly adequate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> very inadequate |
11. What other assignments, if any, do you handle?
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> general news | <input type="checkbox"/> advertising and promotion |
| <input type="checkbox"/> features | <input type="checkbox"/> specified types of news |
| <input type="checkbox"/> editorial functions | <input type="checkbox"/> or departments (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> none | _____ |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) |
| | _____ |

APPENDIX A
(Cont'd)

12. (a) Are other staff members besides yourself assigned to cover education news?

_____yes

_____no

- (b) If you answered "yes" above, are specific individuals given specific educational areas, levels or topics to cover?

_____yes

_____no

13. Do you have a regular education beat?

_____yes

_____no

If so, who is included on this beat?

1. _____ 4. _____

2. _____ 5. _____

3. _____ 6. _____

14. About what per cent of your time is spent covering higher education (past high school)?

_____under 25 per cent

_____51-75 per cent

_____26-50 per cent

_____76 per cent

15. Should university officials make wider use of the press conference (i.e., open interviewing by members of the mass media) in the dissemination of university news..

_____yes

_____no

Comment:

EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS FOR THE
EDITORIAL AND SIGNED COLUMNS IN THE VANCOUVER SUN

<u>Attitude</u> <u>Object</u>	<u>Connector</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Common</u> <u>Meaning</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Produ</u> <u>Column</u>
bl	doesn't need	-3	a diploma to...	-2	+6
bl	doesn't believe	-3	administration has been im- proved	-2	+6
in	hasn't made	-2	improved administration	+2	-4
ac	brought discredit	-2	no	+2	-4
ac	were dismissed	+2	discrediting	-2	-4
ac	would not have been hired	-2	behavior	+1	-2
ac	regard	+2	repremands as purple heart	-3	-6
ac	are	+3	retained on pay- roll	0	0
au	has no relationship	-3	scholastic excellence	+3	-9
au	foments	+3	discord	-2	-6
ue	capitulated under	+2	threat of a strike	-3	-6
ve	was	+3	post-midnight	-2	-6
ve	earns	+3	no credit	-2	-6
ve	invites	+3	outbreaks of mob pressure	-3	-9
ac	interfere	-3	matters which don't concern them	+1	-3
ac	are	+3	irresponsible	-2	-6
ac	can't throw	-3	university status into high school case	+1	-3
bl	doesn't wish to restrict	+1	legitimate self- expression	+2	+2
bl	doesn't establish	-3	forums for infla- tion of egos	-2	+6
bl	doesn't maintain	-3	forums for infla- tion of egos	-2	+6
bl	doesn't sympathize (in the slightest degree)	-1	shut down	-1	+1
ud	have	+3	artificially induced indig- nation	-2	-6
no	is	+3	expensive	-1	-3
bl	are	+3	bill payers	+1	+3
bl	are gaining an impression	+2	money is wasted	-3	-6

APPENDIX B
(Cont'd)

<u>Attitude</u> <u>Object</u>	<u>Connector</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Common</u> <u>Meaning</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Product</u> <u>Column</u>
ad	think	+3	the pursuit of knowledge	-2	-6
ad	like	+3	secondary joys of trouble making	-2	-6
ad	is	+3	unfortunate	-1	-3
tn	is hostile	-2	no	+2	-4
ac	play into	+1	hands of anti- intellectuals	-2	-2
au	are	+3	picayune	-2	-6
ae	are	+3	stupid	-1	-3
ac	are	+3	immature	-1	-3
ac	don't understand	-2	consequences of folly	-1	+2
au	was	+3	ridiculous	-2	-6
ac	are	+3	weirdies	-2	-6
ac	had	+2	strange conduct	-1	-2
ac	were	+2	just practising	-1	-2
ac	started	+1	riot	-3	-3
ac	are	+3	kook fringe	-2	-6
ac	were laughed at	+2	by high school students	+1	-2
ac	use	+3	SFU as a base	-1	-3
ac	are	+3	"characters"	-1	-3
ac	are	+3	"characters"	-1	-3
su	is not	-3	funny	+1	-3
ac	are messing	-2	welfare of a human being	+3	-6
au	isn't	-3	harmless	+1	-3
ac	went	+3	beyond the per- missible limits of free speech	-3	-9
au	was	+2	a tempest in a teapot	-1	-2
ac	cries were	+3	phoney issue	-1	-3
ve	allowed to be trapped	-2	by ac	-1	-2
ve	failed to observe	-2	the proper forms	+2	-4
ac	were	+3	frantic	-1	-3
ac	are	+3	mewling im- migrants	-2	-6
ac	are	+3	malcontents	-1	-3
ac	was	+2	an effort to disrupt	-2	-9
	was of a piece with	+2	Berkley disturb- ance	-2	-4

APPENDIX B
(Cont'd)

<u>Attitude Object</u>	<u>Connector</u>	<u>Value Column</u>	<u>Common Meaning</u>	<u>Value Column</u>	<u>Product Column</u>
ou	have	+3	considerable knowledge	+3	+9
ou	have	+3	peculiar axes	-1	-3
ve	is to be commended	+2	reconsideration of status	+2	+4
ac	are	+3	frantic	-1	-3
ve	had fallen into	+2	a trap	-1	-2
ac	were seeking with	+2	phoney plays	-1	-2
ve	created	+3	"issue"	-1	-3
au	wasn't	-2	free speech	+3	-6
ac	are	+3	mewling	-2	-6
ac	are	+3	immigrant beatniks	-2	-6
ac	didn't create	-1	an issue of academic freedom	+3	-3
ac	have been frustrated	+2	efforts to stir up a Berkley situation	-2	-4
au	is	+3	artificial	-1	-3
au	is to create	+2	an activist atmosphere	-1	-2
au	was not	-2	a minor conflagration	0	0
au	was	+3	a hubbub	-1	-3
ud	didn't know	-1	what the issue was	+1	-1
ve	stripped away	+2	the status of teaching assistants	+2	+4

KEY TO ATTITUDE OBJECTS

ve	board of governors
bl	public
ud	university students
au	cause of teaching assistants
	the five teaching assistants
ou	faculty
tr	government

EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS
FOR EDITORIALS IN THE
VANCOUVER DAILY PROVINCE

<u>Attitude</u> <u>Object</u>	<u>Connector</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Common</u> <u>Meaning</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>Column</u>	<u>Product</u> <u>Column</u>
ud	are	+3	rebels	-1	-3
ud	can't define	-2	the principle	+1	-2
ud	are willing to	+2	strike	-3	-6
au	is	+3	the right of a few to be immature	-2	-6
au	is	+3	the right of a few to be silly	-2	-6
ac	do	+3	real damage to reputation	-3	-9
ud	found	+3	A Great Cause for Protest	-2	-6
ud	swooped down	-2	on student at Templeton	+1	-2
ud	weren't wanted	-2	by high school students	+1	-2
ud	were removed	-2	by high school students	+1	-2
ud	were looked at	-2	bl	+3	-6
bl	blamed	-2	all SFU	+1	-2
ud	have	+3	lack of judge- ment	-1	-3
ud	have	+3	lack of perspec- tive	-1	-3
ve	had no	-2	respect for au	-1	+2
ve	fired	-2	au	-1	+2
ve	did	+2	right	+2	+4
au	was	+2	demagoguery	-3	-6
au	was	+2	a silly incident	-1	-2
au	became	+2	a great issue	-1	-2
ud	are	+3	ready to strike	-3	-9
ud	have	+3	a flimsy basis	-1	-3
ve	have	+3	averted a strike	+3	+9
ve	have	+3	staged a retreat	-2	-6
ve	invite	+3	more student un- rest	-3	-9
ve	invite	+3	more student silliness	-2	-6
ve	was	+3	right	+1	+3
ve	fired	-3	ac	-1	+3
ac	discredited	-2	SFU	+2	-4
ve	reprimanded	-1	ac	-1	+1
ve	punished	-2	ac	-1	+2
ve	didn't fool	-1	bl	+2	-2
ve	didn't fool	-1	ud	+1	-1

APPENDIX C
(Cont'd)

<u>Attitude Object</u>	<u>Connector</u>	<u>Value Column</u>	<u>Common Meaning</u>	<u>Value Column</u>	<u>Product Column</u>
ud	cheered	+1	the decision	+1	+1
ve	turned inside out	+1	after strike threat	-3	-3
ud ₂	supported	+1	ac	-1	-1
ud ₂	threatened	+2	to strike	-3	-6
ve	made a	+3	surrender	-2	-6
ve	what	+3	appetites of those seeking to disrupt	-2	-6
ud	is	+3	otherwise sensible	+1	+3
ud	got away with	+2	silliness	-1	-2
ud	is	+3	a small element	0	0
au	is	+3	superficial	-1	-3
ve	should have	+1	stuck to their guns	+1	+1
ud	should have	+1	gone on strike	-3	-3
au	wasn't	-3	a struggle for academic free- dom	+3	-9
au	was	+3	student rebel- lion	-3	-9
ud	were	+3	testing bound- aries of tolerance	-2	-6
ud	are	+3	strong enough to move boundaries	-2	-6
ve	are inviting	+2	another trial of strength	-2	-4