AN EXPLORATION IN COMMUNITY INTEGRATION:

THE HOUSTON NEGRO PRESS, 1960-1967

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A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Political Science

University of Houston

———————

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

Jerry Lawrence Rankin

August 1967

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine Negro political communications with reference to the Negro protest and civil rights movement. It is proposed that there is an association between changes in the nature of the communications and the acceleration of the protest movement since 1960. It is proposed, as well, that an alternative model developed out of the communications approach to the study of political integration supplies an useful frame of reference in which to describe and analyze this association of communications and events.

An operational model of communicative integration is constructed as a framework for analysis. The analytical technique is content analysis. A constant interval probability sample of editorial materials is submitted to statistical description and analysis. Results are interpreted in light of the research model and historical events.

One of the newspapers coincides with the central proposition that there has been increasing attention to the integration of the Negro community per se as a prerequisite to national integration. The other paper runs counter to expectations. One paper is found to be promoting a pre-integration of the Negro community. The other is found to be promoting direct integration of individual Negroes into the

greater American community. In sum, one paper encourages a
group influence approach to integration. It is gaining
popularity. The other--declining in popularity--continues
to encourage integration of individuals rather than of the
aggregate.

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CHAPTER I

THE NEGRO PROTEST AS POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In their recent study of southern Negro political
participation, Donald Matthews and James Prothro have made
an admirable step in the direction of what they feel to be
the necessary description and analysis of the new southern
politics.[1] What makes the new southern politics "new"? Has
acceleration of the protest movement been accompanied by
changes in Negro images of the American community and of
themselves? If so, have these new images been reflected by
changes in the posture of Negro political communication? If
these changes have occurred, how do they relate to what is
currently known about southern politics? What might these
changes mean in the long run? These are the central questions
of the subsequent chapters.

Chapter I is devoted to a statement of the nature of
the research problem and to providing an overview of what the
problem amounts to and how the analysis is to be carried out.
Chapter II is a methodological statement aimed at refining
the research conceptualization; fitting the conceptualization
to the case at hand; and designing a means to ferret out usable
indicators. Chapter III is the case analysis, statement of

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[1]*Negroes and the New Southern Politics* (New York:
Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966).

findings, and interpretation of results. Finally, Chapter IV
is an attempt, first, at an overall assessment of analytical
results and, second, to relate the problem and results to the
on-going enterprise of attempting to develop a science of
politics.

I. PROBLEM SETTING

Historically, the political thrust of the Negro protest
has been directed toward achieving an equal participant role
in the American polity. Historically in turn, the Negro press
has supported this thrust.

The Negro Protest.[2] The Negro's quarrel with the
American polity has not been with the system as it is conceived
but rather with the aspects of its implementation, which have
kept him on the outside. In general, then, the movement is
one of reform rather than of revolution.[3] Except marginally,
(at least until recently), the Negro's desire is not to raze

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[2]The protest and the condition of the Negro in general
are well enough documented to require little elaboration. An
exhaustive annotated bibliography is Elizabeth W. Miller, The
Negro in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).
Specific and more recent publications are cited appropriately.
A handy compendium of events of the 1960's--the peak years of
the protest and period of concern here--is Shirley M. Seib,
ed., Revolution in Civil Rights (Washington, D. C.; Congres-
sional Quarterly Service, 1967).

[3]Revolution is the ultimate alternative in effectuating
social change, resorted to when other means are exhausted. Cf.
Chalmers Johnson, Revolutionary Change (Boston: Little, Brown
and Company, 1966).

and rebuild the system anew; rather his desire is to make his way into the existing system.[4] The protest may be thought of as what Anthony Wallace has called the psychological equivalent of revolution: "a deliberate attempt by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture by rapid acceptance of a pattern of multiple innovations."[5] When it appears that there is nothing in the system worth salvaging, then the alternative is revolution.

Although the protest is not new and its dimensions are numerous,[6] it may conveniently be thought of as having

[4]Acceptance of existing social and political conditions is a real havoc-player in attempts to adjust discrepancies in political principle and practice. Cf. James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," Journal of Politics, 22:276-294, Spring, 1960; V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961); and Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, 58:361-382, June, 1964; also John P. Roche, The Quest for the Dream (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963). Despite a majority belief (among survey samples), e.g., William Brink and Louis Harris, The Negro Revolution in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), that the Negro is wrongly discriminated against, general acceptance of discrimination amounts to a lingering consensual assignment of an inferior social and political role for the Negro.

[5]In terms of organizational activity, the principal dimensions of the protest have been cast in three types: (1) legal, (2) educational, and (3) activist; see James H. Laue, "The Changing Character of the Negro Protest," in Arnold M. Rose, ed., The Negro Protest, ANNALS, 357:199-127, January, 1965.

[6]Cf. Arnold M. Rose, ibid., pp. 1-17; and Daniel C. Thompson, ibid., pp. 18-29.

become a bona fide social movement, in terms of the standard definition, with the advent of the Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins in February, 1960.[7] Within a matter of weeks, sit-ins and demonstrations mushroomed all over the South. Soon thereafter, militant, often violent, activity spread over the remainder of the country; and the urgency of the protest has been accelerating ever since. The principal difference of the protest movement from that of previous times is that the Negro, of his own volition, has assumed greater responsibility for making his own way into the system.[8]

It has become fashionable in scholarly circles to speculate about the "new Negro" and his new self-image. Half-interested parties continue to worry about the "Negro problem" and to talk about "patience" and "responsibility" and "how far the Negro has already come." In other quarters, the Negro is being encouraged to think black, buy black, and organize

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[7]This assumes a threshold at which discontents become directional and actions become deliberate; see, e.g., Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1941). David Apter, The Politics of Modernization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), ch. I, is in terms of the existential dilemma faced by people caught between the pulls and hauls of social change. Apter emphasizes a shift in outlook from determinism to choice. This shift in outlook currently bears on the Negro, as he assumes more responsibility for accelerating social change on his own.

[8]Laue, op. cit., p. 125; Stokely Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," Massachusetts Review, Autumn, 1966.

black, which suggests that a segment of the black leadership[9]
is coming to understand the pluralist game of American politics
and how it is played, around--and outside of--the rules.[10] In
short, the direction of the movement is away from love and
patient understanding toward developing a cohesive center of
black influence that cannot be trifled with;[11] but developing
that cohesion is no mean task.[12]

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[9]Although the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC) is atypical of protest organizations, changes in its
policy pronouncements seem to reflect rather accurately the
change in perspective of the movement as a movement in the
1960's from building "a social order permeated by love" (1960),
to building "an inter-racial democracy (that) can be made to
work in this country" (1963), to organizing black institutions
with which to represent black community demands to the larger
society (1966); see Laue, op. cit.. The older Congress on
Racial Equality (CORE) has recently adopted SNCC's position.

[10]The melting pot thesis has scarcely borne out for
the Negro; and before the Negro can join the fray in the
pluralist arena, he must gather his forces and pool his
resources. Cf. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan,
Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press and
Harvard University Press, 1963); Irene Tinker, "Nationalism
in a Plural Society: The Case of the American Negro,"
Western Political Quarterly, 19:112-122, March, 1966. Also
see Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1961), esp. Bk. IV; and H. M. Blaylock, Jr., "A Power
Analysis of Racial Discrimination," Social Forces, 39:53-59,
October, 1960.

[11]Kenneth B. Clarke, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social
Power (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), esp. pp. 200-204.
Also see Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future
of the Civil Rights Movement," Commentary, 39:25-31, February,
1965; and "Black Power and Coalition Politics," Commentary,
42:35-40, September, 1966. Also David Danzig, "In Defence of
Black Power," Commentary, 42:41-48, September, 1966.

[12]Slavery is commonly thought to be responsible for

Influence is not an end in itself. It is a means to the end of equality. If that end is forever in coming, then the movement would logically continue toward revolution. Already there are segments of the movement, which are convinced that it is hopeless to deal with the white man as a citizen and are, hence, determined to deal with him as an enemy. Presumably such tendencies have therapeutic as well as pathological aspects. In other words, threats are more effective in drawing attention to a problem than are protests, when the protests are ignored..

The Negro Press. Negro Newspapers are typically weekly "community newspapers"; they serve a relatively circumscribed clientele with a particular set of problems and interests.[13] Their primary difference from other community newspapers is that boundaries are racial rather than geographic. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the existing literature is consistent in its insistence that Negro newspapers are,

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obliterating any basis of cultural solidarity among Negroes. See, e.g., E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), passim. The object of the Black Power notion is to get black people to think black positively; this SNCC and CORE believe constitutes a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for effective Negro political action, once established on a broad base.

[13]Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

above all else, an organ of the protest.[14]

As a community press the Negro press has both supplemental and community aspects. They are supplemental insofar as they carry local (race) news, "social" and school events, and the like, which seldom reach urban dailies for lower and middle class communities, black or white; and advertisments noticeably cater to "racial need", particularly on cosmetic items.[15] The community aspect carries the burden of expressing Negro interests, defining the Negro group to themselves, and seeking a basis of solidarity.[16]

In general, the literature concerning Negro newspapers

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[14]The dearth of this literature is most striking, particularly for analytical publications. To my knowledge, there are three, and these are somewhat marginal. The best and most recent of these, which cites the others pertinent is Bernard C. Rosen, "Attitude Changes Within the Negro Press Toward Segregation and Discrimination," _Journal of Social Psychology_, 62:77-84, February, 1964. Most of the classics brush over the Negro press rather lightly; notable exceptions are Gunnar Myrdal, _An American Dilemma_ (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 908-924; and E. Franklin Frazier, _Black Bourgeoisie_ (New York: Collier Books, 1957, 1961), ch. VIII.

[15]John H. Burma, "An Analysis of the Negro Press," _Social Forces_, 26:172-181, December, 1947. Frazier (1961), _op. cit._; is particularly harsh on the Negro press for perpetuating what he calls the "world of make believe." In this connection, also see Dave Berkman, "Advertising in 'Ebony' and 'Life': Negro Aspirations vs. Reality," _Journalism Quarterly_, 40:53-64, Winter, 1963.

[16]Myrdal, _op. cit._, 911-912. Also cf. Janowitz, _op. cit._; and Alex S. Edelstein and Otto N. Larson, "The Weekly Press' Contribution to a Sense of Urban Community," _Journalism Quarterly_, 39:489-498, Autumn, 1960.

squares with the other literature concerning the Negro and Negro problems: Negroes protest because they desire admission to the system; they desire admission to the system because they feel "American."[17] There is evidence, though, that the Negro press reflects the increasingly careful Negro perusal of self and environment and the increasing willingness to take pride in the self and to be more critical of the environment.[18]

The chief concern presently, then, is the protest against racial discrimination and how Negro newspapers handle it.[19] Given the heightening desire to slough inferiority and to achieve equal social status and an equal participant role in American society and politics, an examination of content should give some clues as to how seriously Negro Newspapers are taking their supposedly basic function, whether they are breaking the trail for the protest, whether they are straggling, or whether they are somewhere in between.

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[17]Maxwell R. Brooks, The Negro Press Re-examined: Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1959).

[18]Rosen, op. cit.; Jean Ann Burg, "The Impact of Emergent Black Africa on American Negroes," (unpublished honors thesis, Radcliffe College, 1964).

[19]Werner S. Laendecker, "Types of Integration and their Measurement," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenburg, eds., The Language of Social Research (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), discusses and develops a typology of various dimensions of integration.

Given the middle class--but nontheless dissatisfied--control of the Negro press, a safe guess would be that they are somewhere in between. This exploratory case analysis is to add some precision to this guess.

II. RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

Communication is a process that is as basic to inter-personal ralations as association itself; it is the process by which man becomes social.[20] Generically, community may be thought of as a many-dimensioned variable, dependent on the proximity, activity, and psychic state of people trans-acting with one another in their environment.[21] More specifi-

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[20]Charles H. Cooley, "The Significance of Human Com-munication;" and Robert E. Park, "Reflections on Communication and Culture," both in Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, eds., Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966); John Dewey, The Public and Its Problems (Chicago: Gateway Books, 1927, 1946).

[21]Carl J. Friedrich, Man and His Government (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), pp. 136-154, discusses the dimensions of community as a mixed concept, organic in character, and accommodative to the effects of human events. His concern is with associational combinations as affected by values, interests, and beliefs that may bear on the politi-cal community and with the effects of belief systems, territory, structure, and institutions, which for the most part rehashes the Aristotelian concerns of satisfying wants and needs that cannot be realized outside of society. Also see, e.g., Robert MacIver, Community: A Sociological Study (London: The Mac-millan Company, 1920, 1931); Sebastian de Grazia, The Politi-cal Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: Uni-versity of Chicago Press, 1931); and Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

cally and according to Karl Deutsch, "both society and community are developed by social learning, and ... a community consists of people who have learned to communicate with each other and to understand each other well beyond the mere exchange of goods and services."[22] Integration, therefore, may be thought of as the process of developing this communication and understanding.

Despite·the expenditure of a good many years of intensive study of public opinion and political attitudes with reference to communication channels and electoral behavior, about all that can be said with much assurance for the mass media as a channel of communication (and/or understanding) is that there is a mutual influence between exposure and behavior.[23]

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[22]*Nationalism and Social Communication* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1953, M. I. T. Press, 1966), p. 65. Cf. Henry Teune, "The Learning of Integrative Habits," in Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano, *The Integration of Political Communities* (New York: J. P. Lippencott Company, 1964); and Richard M. Merelman, "Learning and Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*, 60:548-561, September, 1966.

[23]Excellent syntheses of the literature are Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (Glencoe:: The Free Press, 1959), esp. ch. 19; and Key, *op. cit.*, esp. ch. 14-15. The work of Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and their many associates and students represents much, if not the bulk, of this material. At any rate, their influence is inescapable in the field; and it is prominent in the foundation of current systems-oriented communication research as well. See., *e.g.*, Lucian W. Pye, ed., *Communications and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), ch. 13-14, update the synthesis of empirical findings and point up the hiatus between results from the

The problem is to develop an understanding of this mutual influence.

Negro Community Integration. Donald Matthews recently noted an increasing interest in the utilization of the modernization concept of political integration in the study of Negro politics.[24] He queried as to what lies at the "other end" of the development continuum and whether a shift from ideological politics to a bargaining situation might facilitate the Negro's realization of an equal participant role in American politics.[25] In other words, would the Negro be better off politically by operating from an ethnic base?[26] Whether the Negro would,

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experimental and survey approaches respectively. A more recent collection is Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, eds., Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966).

[24]In his discussion of Harry Holloway, "Negro Political in the South: Two Cases from Texas Experience," (paper read at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Political Science Association, 1967); also see Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., ch. 9, esp. pp. 261-263. The modernization concept is credited to Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).

[25]Bargaining and "mutual adjustment" notions have received considerable attention; see Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1957); and Charles Lindblom, The Intelligence of Democracy (New York: The Free Press, 1965). These conflict models rest on a pluralist conception of democracy, which has been worked both theoretically and empirically by Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); and Who Governs?, op. cit. Also see Jessie Bernard, "Some Current Conceptualizations in the Field of Conflict," American Journal of Sociology, 70:442-454, January, 1965.

[26]Holloway, op. cit., found that economic interest as

indeed, be better off is a question that must, for the present
remain open; but whether the conditions for a shift to group-
oriented politics are developing for the Negro is a question
worth examining in itself. The question is not necessarily
a new one, and it has been put previously in more specific
terms.

In his recent survey of the current state of American
political consensus, Robert Lane observes that no one has
traced over time the feelings of frustration among Negroes.[27]
Is Negro displeasure with the condition of race relations
greater or less than in previous times, or has this displeasure
only received greater emphasis as a result of changes in the
mode of protest expression? More specifically, Lane asks
whether any sense of Negro community is intensifying or relaxing
and whether the black perspective on the white community is
more or less favorable than before.[28] Has the protest move-
ment been accompanied by a change in Negro outlook toward the
American community in general? Are Negroes being integrated

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a basis of coalition ran contrary to Negro interests, when
Negroes attempted to work within the boundaries of established
organization. For example, union power--in Houston, at least--
operated in the interest of labor to the exclusion of the
Negro.

[27]"Political Consensus in an Age of Affluence,"
American Political Science Review, 59:874-895, December,
1965.

[28]Ibid., p. 891.

into the greater American community as supposedly intended,
or are they tending to shift attention to the development of
a distinct black community on a separate and equal footing
with the white community?

Communication and Integration. Karl Deutsch's "interim
report" on the continuing enterprise of developing a scientific
theory of politics represents a significant benchmark in that
enterprise.[29] It reflects a growing interest in the communi-
cations approach to the study of politically relevant social
activity,[30] including political communication: "that communi-
catory activity (which) is considered political by virtue of
the consequences, actual or potential, that it has for the
functioning of the political system.[31]

Although the concepts in the rapidly growing body of
communication-oriented literature are diverse, the communi-
cation perspective remains apparent. Some prefer the concept,
"modernization," some "political development," others "social

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[29]The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press,
1963, 1966), updates previous efforts to synthesize theoreti-
cal contributions and suggests and explicates cybernetics
models as an alternative tack.

[30]"Politically relevant" is given to refer to anything
that may bear on the functioning and maintenance of the
political system--anything having public relevance, Dewey,
op. cit.

[31]Richard Fagan, Politics and Communication (Boston:
Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 20.

mobilization" and "integration," and still others "nation building."[32] In any case, the extension of communication and understanding "well beyond the mere exchange of goods and services"[33]--that is to say, integration--is at least implicit in each concept.

If the communications approach is useful and if it is applicable to the "Negro problem," it should shed some light on the process of social change embodied in the Negro protest. As Richard Fagan has noted, no single approach to political inquiry can illuminate all dimensions of the system; however he does allow that "changes in the organization, patterning, use, content, and effects of communication seem particularly sensitive indicators of developmental transformations."[34] If such is the case, examination of the content of Negro communications should illuminate changes in the integrative dimensions of the protest.

Modernization as Integration. Communication occurs in a psychological setting.[35] Daniel Lerner's modernization

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[32]Cf. Lerner, op. cit.; Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Deutsch (1953), op. cit.; and "Social Mobilization and Political Development," American Political Science Review, 55:493-514, September, 1961; Jacob and Toscano, op. cit.; and Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation Building (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

[33]Supra., p. 10.   [34]Fagan, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

[35]See, e.g., Theodore M. Newcomb, "Communicative Behavior," in Roland Young, ed., Approaches to the Study of Politics (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1958).

model of integration is particularly useful in the study of
Negro political communication in that the "theory" of empathy
is founded on psychological correlates.[36] In addition, Lerner
places a good deal of emphasis on the role of the mass media
as a cue bearing on these psychological correlates.

Lerner emphasizes the purposiveness of rationality in
the mobile sensibility, which he refers to as empathy--"the
capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation."[37]
His major hypothesis is "that high empathizing capacity is the
predominant personal style only in modern society, which is
distinctively industrial, urban, literate, and participant."[38]

Lerner continues:

> Especially important for the Participant Style, is the
> enormous proportion of people who are expected to "have
> opinions" on public matters--and the corollary expectation
> of these people is that their opinions will matter. It
> is this subtly complicated structure of reciprocal
> expectations which sustains widespread empathy. Only in
> the lowest reaches of American society, for example, is
> it still discussed whether people ought to have opinions.[39]

The mobilization of empathy occurs, in short, along
three principal dimensions: the physical, the social, and

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[36]Lerner (1958), op. cit., pp. 47-52. Cf. Lerner,
"Communication Systems and Social Systems: Statistical
Explorations in History and Policy," Behavioral Science,
2:266-275, October, 1957; and "Toward a Communication Theory
of Modernization," in Pye, ed.,(1963), op. cit.; and Kenneth
Gompertz, "The Relation of Empathy to Effective Communication,"
Journalism Quarterly, 37:533-546, Autumn, 1960.

[37]Ibid.,(1958), p. 50. [38]Loc. cit. [39]Ibid., p. 51.

the psychic.[40] Social change may, then, be thought of as the
sum of mobilities. The psychic dimension is logically the
most important of the three in that it is the dimension
which divulges the empathizing response to environmental
stimuli, including the mass media.

The mass media possess the potential for transmitting
a greater multiplicity of stimuli than any other environmental
source;[41] although the relation of media stimuli and behavioral
responses remains questionable.[42] Nevertheless it is this
logical connection, which makes the Negro press of interest
against the backdrop of social change in the black American
community.

Protesting Negroes are mobile and thereby "modernizing."
They have long since developed the capacity for social empathy--
to see themselves in a different and more desirable situation.
They have, though with many exceptions in the South, been
physically, socially, and psychically mobile for some time--
that is to say, they have recognized and desired the benefits
of modern (participant) society and participant political
rights.[43]

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[40]Ibid., pp. 47-52.

[41]Ibid., pp. 52-54. Cf. Charles R. Wright, Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1959).

[42]Supra., fn. 23.

[43]Lerner (1958), op. cit., p. 50.

The Modernizing Negro. The modernizing Negro exhibits
the "mobile personality." He has a high capacity for adapting
to his environment; he is equipped to respond to demands out-
side his experience--given the opportunity--whether these
adaptations and demands are imposed on him or whether they
arise from his own empathizing capacity.[44] In short, he is
equipped to operate efficiently in a changing world.[45] He is
impatient with the pace of history. If he is among the more
daring, he is determined to make his own way--in spite of
American political consensus, if need be. He may tend to be
ethnocentric, even xenophobic, in an effort to mobilize his
contemporaries.[46]

Choice has replaced hope in spontaneity.[47] Patiently
"casting down his buckets" and attempting to make himself
respectable has not paid off in either the long or the short
run. He has made steps forward toward his goals; but each
step has been labored with having both formal and informal
barriers to move, while hoping that the rewards for his efforts
would not be forever in coming. Now it appears to have occurred
to him recently that there is an alternative to patience and
hope--influence, exercised by the manipulation of political
resources. Presumably (and ideally) the more this idea

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[44]Ibid., p. 49.   [45]Ibid.   [46]Ibid., p. 47.

[47]Lerner in Pye (1963), op. cit., pp. 342-349; also
Apter, op. cit.

settles on the mobile person, the more he will consciously
accept the alternative and assume responsibility for the
choice and its consequences.

Returning to Lerner's nomenclature, the black American's
revolution of rising expectations was repeatedly doused.
Eventually it gave way to the revolution of rising frustrations.[48]
The alternative effects of frustration are regression and
aggression. For the mobile Negro, there is but one way to go;
regression spells a lapse back into apathy and resignation
to inferiority. Aggression, on the other hand, ranges along
a continuum. It may be healthy or pathological. In either
case, the political function is to maintain stability in
the process.[49]

The above picture of the modernizing black American is
intentionally an exaggerated one. It raises in clear relief
some dimensions of the protest that merit. scrutiny. Admit-
tedly, the formal appearance of influence as an alternative
approach to integration is relatively recent and not too

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[48]Lerner (1963), op. cit., p. 331. Cf. John Dollard,
et. al., Frustration and Aggression (New Haven: Yale Univer-
sity press, 1937); Norman R. F. Maier, "The Role of Frustra-
tion in Social Movements," Psychological Review, 49:586-599,
November, 1942; and John M. Orbell, "Protest Participation
Among Southern Negro College Students," American Political
Science Review, 61:446-456, June, 1967.

[49]Lerner (1963), ibid.

widespread. Indeed, there are aspects of its articulation
that make it repel many Negroes (not to mention whites).
Presently it is a young man's alternative--too radical for
some and potentially incendiary. Still the influence alter-
native runs deep in the movement at present.

Assumption of increasing responsibility for accelerat-
ing change is as much symptom as cause or effect. It is a
symptom of the ailments of the revolution of rising frustra-
tions. Historically lucky to get half a loaf from the white
man even in good faith, Negroes logically face reliance on
their own resources or the risking of giving up bread alto-
gether. The latter alternative is no alternative at all,
given the present summation of mobilities. In short, the
American experience for black people has shown clearly enough
that they can be assured of remembering that they are black
and that it does make a difference to some people. There are
increasingly frequent signs that the difference is perfectly
acceptable to them--so long as their qualifications for
dignity and equal treatment are recognized.

The above developments suggest that there is ample
reason to believe that the self-image of the Negro may be
in flux and in a positive direction. If, as Herbert Kelman
has argued, self-image is anchored in identification,[50] a

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[50]"Processes of Opinion Change," Public Opinion
Quarterly, 25:57-78, Spring, 1961.

positive Negro self-image rests on a positive view of the
Negro group. If, in turn, Negroes are turning more and more
to one another, the Negro community is becoming increasingly
integrated. Given these conditions, if, in the distribution
of mobile predispositions, favorable self and community images
become modal among a sufficient number of Negroes, then the
Negro community will be equipped with the political currency
to enter the pluralist market place and to bargain for its
demands effectively.[51]

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[51]Deutsch (1963), op. cit., pp. 120-122, discusses
the notion of "power as currency."

CHAPTER II

NEGRO COMMUNITY IMAGES: DEVISING INDICATORS

If as Matthews and Prothro have suggested mass communi-
cation content is associated with Negro acceptance of modern
(participation oriented) attitudes,[1] one might rightly expect
a notable change in Negro political communication as the pro-
test has progressed. Matthews and Prothro are referring to
a combination of the mass media rather than to the Negro
press in particular; but the Negro press should, to the
extent that the newspapers participate in the protest, mani-
fest a distribution of behaviors that can be related to
formative events (or history) and interpreted in context.

I. COMMUNITY IMAGES

A functional approach to the study of political com-
munication, as demonstrated by Richard Fagan,[2] permits exami-
nation of mass media as an arena of social communication. By
associating factors and functions within a communication
systems model, Fagan argues, shared politically relevant
cognitive attributes can be "typed" in terms of the flow of
informative and evaluative images. If behavior is conceived

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[1]Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York:
Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966). pp. 261-263.

[2]Politics and Communication (Boston: Little, Brown
and Company, 1966).

of as reflecting a distribution of cognitive attributes
(attitudes), organizing communicative acts (behavior) in a
systematic perspective facilitates the inference of attitudes.

Focusing on the processes of communication, rather than
on the consequences, orders one set of variables so that
another set can be dealt with more effectively. Since internal
effects of communication are only indirectly accessible through
inference, clarifying the nature of communication content is
a prerequisite to judging its impact. In sum, the relation-
ships among psychological attributes, environmental influences,
and behavior still have to be presented in relatively broad
strokes, given the present state of the art.[3] Nevertheless
a sufficient body of systematic knowledge exists, so as to
make the effort at clarifying the relationship worthwhile.

The image is an appropriate conceptual tool for
presenting a relatively modest but useful picture of com-
munication processes.[4] "Image" is an analogy. It is particularly
applicable as a device for representing self-perceptions with
reference to the Negro as reflected in the Negro press.[5]

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[3]Cf. James C. Davies, Human Nature in Politics (New
York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963).

[4]Cf. Leo P. Crespi, "Some Observations on the Concept
of Image," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25:115-120, Spring, 1961;
Kenneth Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
Press, 1956).

[5]Crespi, ibid., delineates the use of the analogy.

Operational aspects are elaborated in the following chapter.

The empirical question of present concern is whether there have been concomitant variations between the outlook of Negroes toward themselves and toward the community and the protest content of the Negro press as the protest has accelerated. The central organizing proposition is that during the 1960's the Negro protest has contributed to the integration of the Negro community per se. Such an event might, hence, be expected to be accompanied by an increased frequency in the occurence of "pro-Negro" images in protest communications. Such a finding would not necessarily invalidate other "pro-American" impressions of the Negro press. It would merely suggest the presumed tendency to think black positively.

In empirical terms, the thesis emerging from the foregoing is that since 1960 there has been a shift in the distribution of images of community identification from "American first" to "Negro first"--not to say anti-American necessarily. To recapitulate, the rank-and-file Negro remains consistent in his desire to be integrated into the American community, but he may be tending to alter his approach. If that approach is the pluralist approach (if implicitly, or even unwittingly), the integration--or re-integration--of the Negro community

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[6]E.g., Maxwell R. Brooks, The Negro Press Re-examined: Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1959).

seems to be a prerequisite. Verification of the hypothesis concerning a shift to a greater ethno-racial identification suggests that integration of the Negro community may be in the offing.

II. THE CASE OF HOUSTON

The politics of Houston, even more so than the new southern politics, has yet to be be described and analyzed; yet to date, Negro politics has received as much attention as any other aspect.[7]

The Houston Negro Community.[8] Though relatively stable proportionally, the Houston Negro community is expanding with the influx of refugees, mostly from rural Texas and Louisiana. Houston Negroes register to vote in smaller

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[7]Sparse background materials include: Kenneth E. Gray, A Report on Politics in Houston (Cambridge: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1960), passim; and Mildred H. Meltzer, "Chapters in the Struggle for Negro Rights in Houston, 1944-1962," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Houston, 1963). Houston is one of Harry Holloway's "two cases from Texas experience" in "Negro Politics in the South," (paper read at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Political Science Association, 1967). A survey study of general Negro concerns with some attention to politics and with some data from Houston is William McCord and Douglas Price-Williams, The Negro Dilemma (tentative title, forthcoming). Also in progress is a study of Negro political leadership by Chandler Davidson for a Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University.

[8]Largely paraphrased from Gray, ibid.

proportions than whites and are typically difficult to mobilize. They experience the usual pattern of segregation in southern cities.

The ghettos are typically over-populated. The people there are under-housed and under-employed; although Houston does have a substantial middle and upper class Negro population. There is concern about police brutality. There are activists among Houston Negro college students (they were sitting-in within a month after Greensboro), who participate in the relatively infrequent civil rights activities.

The rank-and-file can be sporadically mobilized, as against a white bread distributor whose business was boycotted when it was learned that he had contributed to the White Citizens Council. The more readily participant are somewhat optimistic, though impatient, about the future of race relations and, hence, increasingly responsive to the new activism.[9]

The Houston Negro Press. Currently the Houston Negro press consists of an established and long-lived newspaper, the Houston Informer (est. 1893), and a relatively new and increasingly popular tabloid, the Forward Times (est. 1960). Both fit the general national pattern insofar as the supplemental function, community orientation, and protest role are concerned. They also conform generally to a typically southern

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[9]Cf. Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., ch. 12.

pattern of caution and muted belligerence, with some reluc-
tance to depart from general principles and national issues
as points of protest attack.[10] There is, however, a notice-
able increase in the amount of attention in the Forward Times
to Houston ghetto conditions, for which the generalities often
become less glittering than on matters of principle.

The editorship of both papers is typically middle
class with apparently a middle class ideology, the Informer
perhaps less so.[11] The more popular Forward Times is viewed
by militants as a "black bourgeois" paper with a "Tom" editor--
an impression not borne out by the data. The Informer is a
crusading, or at least plugging, paper with a respected and
straightforward editor--an impression borne out by the data,
but not without some surprises. The editorship of both papers
allows considerable rein to columnists, who can change editor-
ial posture noticeably, when by-lines are ignored or nonexis-
tent; nevertheless what goes into policy carrying (editorial)
content can be taken as editorially endorsed.[12]

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[10]Cf. John F. Burma, "An Analysis of the Present Negro
Press, Social Forces, 26:172-180, December, 1947.

[11]Cf. ibid.; and E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie
(New York: Collier Books, 1957, 1962), ch. VIII.

[12]This is in terms of an idealized typology of journal-
istic functions in which editorial policy is the framework
for interpretation and prescription by the mass media. Charles
R. Wright, Mass Communications: A Sociological Perspective
(New York: Random House, 1959), p. 23, elaborates some of the
aims and functions of communication specialists, drawing on
and expanding a Lasswellian typology.

Circulation of the two papers presents a peculiar
pattern. Since its origin in in 1960, the Forward Times'
circulation has climbed steadily, while the Informer's has
declined. Figures are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

CIRCULATION[a]

Year	Houston Tuesday	Informer Saturday	Forward Times	Total
1960	5,316	14,646	-------[b]	19,962
1961	5,192	14,280	-------	19,472
1962	4,183	12,506	19,723	36,412
1963	3,758	11,193	24,162	39,113
1964	2,897	8,790	26,644	38,351
1965	2,603	8,125	25,346	36,074
1966	2,229	6,808	26,722	35,759
1967	1,954	6,000	27,699	35,653

[a]Compiled from N. W. Ayer & Sons, Directory of News-
papers and Periodicals (Philadelphia, 1960-1967), published
annually.

[b]Not listed.

The peak years for the Informer were the early 1940's,
during the battle over the white primary. Although circulation
began falling in the late 1940's, the decline is noticeably
sharper after 1963, when the editor/publisher became incapaci-
tated after many active years. The decline has been about

proportional for both editions, the (Tuesday) Houston Informer and the (Saturday) Informer and Texas Freedman. The Saturday paper is the older of the two and has both city and state editions, hence the greater circulation.

The Forward Times seems to more nearly fit the stereotype of Negro newspapers. Its community and supplemental functions are clear cut. There is much greater attention given to church, school and social events than in the Informer. Feature stories are much more prominent than in the Informer, and there is much less attention to non-local affairs than in the Informer. The sensationalist aspect--borrowed from the white (yellow) press, aimed to expand circulation, and appealing to the lower class[13]--is much more prominent in the Forward Times. As the figures show, the aim at increased circulation is fulfilled, whether by the sensationalism or by the excellent coverage of community events. In any case, the Forward Times draws both applause and criticism, particularly on the "black (crime news) pages".

Both papers are nominally independent; but an attachment to the Democratic party is obvious in the Informer, while the Forward Times appears either non-partisan or mixed, depending on the political season. But circulation, stance, and longevity aside, the two Negro Newspapers in Houston are acceptable for an exploratory case analysis.

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[13]Burma, op. cit., p. 178.

To the extent that, nationwide, most Negro newspapers fit the same mold,[14] the Houston papers find a place for themselves. They fit the protest condition. For present purposes, this is adequate. Other factors are coincidental.

III. DESIGNING IMAGE ANALYSIS

"Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."[15] Content analysis is concerned with what is said. It defers questions of effect and related problems such as selectivity of perception and personal influence on the flow of communication.[16] This analysis seeks to not only classify and assess patterns of

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[14]Ibid., p. 174.

[15]Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), quoted in Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, eds., Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 263. For qualifications of the technique, see, e.g., Dorwin Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," in Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz, eds., Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953); and Robert C. North, et al., Content Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963), pp. 37-53. A general bibliographic source is Richard W. Budd and Robert K. Thorp, An Introduction to Content Analysis (Iowa City: University of Iowa School of Journalism, 1963).

[16]Well documented surveys of these questions are V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), ch. 14, esp. pp. 359-366; and Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), ch. 13, esp. pp. 536-555.

communication but also to relate the messages internally to one another and externally to formative events.[17]

Problems of Design.[18] Designing content analysis requires a number of initial decisions with reference to time, source, data, and sample. The nature and scope of the study impose limits on these decisions, just as the decisions tend to influence results.

As suggested in Chapter I, the 1960's are of particular interest as a result of changes in the protest, its outlook, and methods. The protest accelerated. It became militant. Direct action became firmly established as a mode of protest. In addition, the Houston case is limited by the 1960 establishment of the Forward Times; although this factor is as convenient as it is limiting, in terms of manageability. The availability of the Houston Negro newspapers is the principal factor governing the selection of a case source, with some reliance on the assumption of general nationwide similarity of Negro newspapers.[19]

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[17]See, e.g., Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner, The Comparative Study of Symbols (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 36-39, for alternatives in design.

[18]See William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), pp. 313-340, for general methodological considerations in designing case analyses in general and content studies in particular.

[19]Supra., p. 29, fn. 14.

The data are from editorial content of the <u>Forward</u> <u>Times</u> and the (Tuesday) <u>Houston</u> <u>Informer</u>. The Tuesday <u>Informer</u> is an arbitrarily selected alternative from the three editions published, given some assurance of like editorial posture in all three editions. Any material on the editorial pages that appears relevant to Negro community images as conceived of here (detailed in the scheme below) is construed to be relevant data. Stories on heart surgery, for example, or other materials of clearly no political relevance are not included. For the <u>Informer</u>, editorial content includes the editor's regular column and guest editorial materials on the editorial page. For the <u>Forward</u> <u>Times</u>, materials included are the editor's regular "photo-editorial", a regular column by the managing editor, and occasional guest editorial material.

Limiting the data to editorials means sacrificing valuable material in the interest of project managability. Protest-relevant material is noticeable throughout the papers, often in features, and sometimes even in straight news; however the editorial is suitable for exploratory analysis. It is consistently protest material. It is the pulse of the particular paper's policy and therefore suitable for comparative purposes in analyzing the paper's handling of the protest. In short, if the papers are pacing the protest--whether in step or not--editorial materials should reflect it; however there is the factor of the small number of people involved in

producing editorial materials to be accounted for.

The potential for distortion exists in any communication system, as messages tend to be distorted by each "screen" through which they pass. The editorial screen of news interpretation is no exception. In other words, the interpretative role of the editor provides for the introduction of personal bias, which is ideally absent in straight reporting; however the potential for the same bias exists in editorial selection of straight news as well.[20] In addition, the Negro editor—like any other editor—has to judge what is "selling".[21]

Selecting a sample for analysis requires decisions as to the number of issues that will adequately represent the trends in question and still remain manageable. A systematic (constant interval probability) sample is selected for each paper per quarter: the first week in February; the second seek in May; the third week in August; and the fourth week in November.[22] Once the dates for selection are specified, they are arranged in simple random order in the interest of avoiding a skewing of the trends as a result of what might be "learned"

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[20]See, e.g., Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom," Social Forces, 33:326-335, May, 1955.

[21]Cf. James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 117-122.

[22]This sampling technique is taken from Bernard Berelson and Patricia Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, 10:356-371, Fall, 1946.

in the process of reading and recording the data.

Such a sampling technique assumes that, if there is a general change in editorial posture during the period, the sample will reflect it. As it happens, the distribution of images fluctuates erratically, much as might be expected of a weekly or monthly sample.[23] These erratic fluctuations suggest that the sample may not be as representative as it might be; nevertheless recognizable trends emerge, which for this exploration is adequate.

A Typology.[24] The nature of the hypothesis that intensification of the protest in the 1960's was accompanied by an intensification of Negro community identification dictates that the research indicators characterize shifts along at least two dimensions, here specified as identity and loyalty. The relationship of the dimensions provide indices of (1) cognitive images of community and (2) community identification.[25]

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[23]See Appendix.

[24]The image typology--and the entire conceptualization--owes much to Richard L. Merritt's studies of the American colonial press: "Public Opinion in Colonial America: Content Analyzing the Colonial Press," Public Opinion Quarterly, 27: 356-371, Fall, 1963; "The Emergence of American Nationalism: A Quantitative Approach," American Quarterly, 17:319-335, 1965; and Symbols of American Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966). Also see Erik H. Erikson, "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries," The Negro American, DAEDALUS, 95:145-171, Winter, 1966.

[25]Cf. Fagan, op. cit., pp. 72-78, a discussion of the informational and evaluative aspects of communication.

The typology, Table II, illustrates the relationship of these dimensions.

TABLE II

COMMUNITY IMAGE TYPOLOGY

Community[b] Loyalty	Community Identity[a]	
	Communal	National
Ethnic	Negro	Negro American
Social	American Negro	American

[a]Community Identity here as "Communal" refers to the Negro community; whereas "National" refers to the greater American community.

[b]Community Loyalty may be thought of as a sort of secondary identification, which would attenuate Community Identity in the face of a decision requiring an alternative stand with one community or the other.

The arrangement of this typology is intended to represent a sort of continuum of identification intensity or integration level from most intense Negro community identification to least intense, which is here designated as the most intense "American" community identification undifferentiated by race. Image categories, then, are the four cells of the typology.

Defining the Image Types. According to the typological categories, the "Negro" (cell 1) thinks of himself as a black man in a distinct black social aggregate with distinct black

loyalties--first, last, and always. The "Negro American" (cell 2) thinks of himself as an American but with stronger ties to the Negro group. The "American Negro" (cell 3) thinks of himself as a Negro but with more enduring ties as an American citizen when forced to make a stand with one community or the other The "American" (cell 4) thinks of himself as an American, undifferentiated by race. In other words, Type 1 may have a pessimistic view of the American polity and believes that no satisfactory solution to integration into the greater American community is possible--or necessarily even desirable. Type 2 may feel a great deal of racial pride, like Type 1, but that something can and must be done immediately about the situation in which his ethnic group exists. He may insist that his group organize along race lines to forcefully gain entry into the system. He can take the system or leave it. If it will accommodate him and "get the honky off his back", he will take it. If it fails to accommodate him, he can walk away from it and not look back. Types 3 and 4 are more optimistic.

Type 3 may feel that piecemeal changes in Negro-white relations are a start toward the goal of equality but that a good deal remains to be accomplished. He may insist that individual Negroes make themselves more responsible and more respectable, if they are to carve out a niche for themselves in some respectable stratum of American society. He may be angry as well, but he is reluctant to jeopardize his present position by threatening to "burn something." Finally, Type 4

may feel that things are "so much better than they used to be" that time will mend the rest and that he is an American for better or worse anyway.

The present analysis revolves about the question, "how does the Negro press present the Negro community?" Indicators along the identity dimension range from praising the Negro to acquiescing to the status quo. This assumes, first, that editorial policy promotes integration in one way or another as part of its interpretative role in mass communication. It assumes, second, that distributions of images can be compartmentalized operationally, albeit with subtle distinctions. The identity typology is assumed to comprise an ordinal scale[26] of Negro community integration ranging from most to least intense as defined by image type. The basis of unit paragraph classification by image is the question, "how does this paragraph suggest that the Negro might, or should, identify--as type 1, 2, 3, or 4? Distributions across the cells suggest intensity. In other words, for a given issue of the paper a clustering of "Ethnic" image types 1 and 2 suggests a high encouragement or potential for Negro integration; whereas a clustering of "Social" image types 3 and 4 suggests a high

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[26] See, e.g., Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), pp. 186-189, on types of scales and measurement; Goode and Hatt, op. cit, ch. 15-17, is a lengthier discussion of the basic problem and various techniques of scaling.

encouragement or potential for integration into the national

community. Recording the data by identity category automati-

cally yields frequency distributions by category. The distri-

butions and their percentage conversions constitute the form

in which the data are analyzed.

Specifying the Indicators. To clarify the subtlty of

the interplay between the identity and loyalty dimensions of

the typology, it is helpful to view the typology from the

perspective of the political styles represented by the typology

categories. In terms of the modernization framework, image

types 1 and 2 represent a modernizing style, while types 3

and 4 represent a traditional style. Both styles are parti-

cipant styles. The distinction is in the alternative approaches

which they represent. Modernizing patterns, constituted by

"Negro" (type 1) images and "Negro American (type 2) images,

refer to a pluralist group-oriented approach to participation.

Traditional patterns, constituted by "American Negro" (type 3)

images and "American" (type 4) images, refer to a sort of

individual-in-stratum (or structure) orientation. The "moderniz-

ing" Negro, then, would confront the polity as a member of a

group seeking to wield political influence. The "traditional"

Negro would make himself (as an individual) more respectable

and more responsible and on this basis expect to gain entry

into the system as a participant. The distinction between

Modernizing and Traditional styles, then, is made by the

respective "ethnic" and "social" divisions in the typology.

The typology, represented as a continuum of intensity, may be thought of rather as a five point scale, Likert style, with a zero mid-point and with two degrees of intensity amplification in each direction, positive and negative. For example, if the notations +2, +1, -1, and -2, were assigned to image types 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively, the zero mid-point would represent an identification "threshold" between Modernizing and Traditional patterns.

Modernizing and Traditional patterns are not to be confused with Communal and National patterns. For example, although Negro American (type 2) images occur in the National pattern, they (type 2) refer to a more intense Ethnic identification. Conversely, American Negro (type 3) images occur in the Communal pattern; nevertheless they are across the identity threshold and as a result are a segment of the Traditional pattern. Again it is the aspect of approach which makes for the distinction. Type 3 images suggest a Communal identity but a more imposing Social loyalty; hence type 3 images suggest a predisposition to operate within the context of the status quo, rather than attempting a shift to a group influence approach.

Content Analysis: A Technical Note. Communication is symbolic behavior, qualitative, and social psychological in

nature. Content analysis research[27]aims at explaining the

behavioral implications of communication by combining quanti-

tative methods and what is known about social psychology.[28]

The field has been surveyed periodically as levels of analyti-

cal sophistication have risen;[29] but in general the approach

still involves three alternative tacks: trend analysis of the

presentation of attention and direction of data in a predeter-

mined time series; analysis of covariance of trends among

symbol clusters; and interaction to associate the flow of sym-

bols with the flow of events.[30] It should be noted that these

three alternatives, taken respectively, extend or incorporate

the others.

Techniques in content analysis range from a simple

frequency count of words, paragraphs, column space, or entire

stories to highly complex computer-adapted techniques such as

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[27]A theoretical consideration is Abraham Kaplan, "Content Analysis and the Theory of Signs," Philosophy of Science, 10:230-247, 1943; cf. the sections on communication and sign behavior in Rollo Handy and Paul Kurtz, A Current Appraisal of the Behavioral Sciences (Great Barrington: Behavioral Science Research Council, 1964), for a well documented survey.

[28]See North, et al., op. cit., ch. I, for a discussion of purpose, definitions and basic assumptions and ch. III on quantitative analysis of content.

[29]Cf. Berelson (1952), op. cit.; Ithiel de Sola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959); and North, ibid.

[30]Lasswell and Lerner, op. cit., pp. 36-39.

factor analysis.[31] The more complex the technique, the more
reliance is placed on linking empirical data and theoretical
formulations by way of operational definitions and models.[32]
Clearly, the quality of inferences from content studies, as
in any research, relies on the meticulousness of research
design and conduct.

Two common techniques for measuring attitudes and
behavior are Q-Sort and pair comparison scaling.[33] Both
techniques provide measures of direction and intensity of
variables. Both call, first, for systematic recording and
compiling of data. Sampling units are then rank-ordered,
classified, and assigned to intensity categories by "reliable"
(inter-subjectively consistent) judges. Once the data are
classified, elementary statistical operations can be applied
to derive the desired measurements. Q-Sort and pair compari-
son scaling, then, form a scale out of the material. Data are
gathered and assembled. Judge reliability is established.
Data are then scaled and finally measured.

If, as in the present case, the research perspective
tightly delimits the material concerned, the research instru-
ment can be geared to the conceptualization so as to eliminate

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[31]See, e.g., North, et al., op. cit. ch. VI-VIII, on
"evaluative assertion analysis", "pattern analysis and factor
analysis", and on computer content analysis in general.

[32]Ibid.   [33]Ibid., ch. IV-V.

much of the labor and tedium involved in conventional techniques.
For example, the identity typology forms the image categories,
which constitute a preconceived scale; whereas techniques such
as Q-Sort and pair comparison derive a scale out of the col-
lected data. The present scheme permits placement of the data
on the scale as is is read.

The present scheme, by developing judge-coder reliability
before data-collection is begun,[34] permits collection, tabula-
tion, and scale placement in one operation. There is no need
to transcribe the materials. It automatically yields frequency
distributions of each image-scale type; data are in quantita-,
tive form and ready to analyze. Recording the data on an index
card for each issue in the sample with notations of the news-
paper, date, and story title facilitates rapid handling by
simple pencil-and-paper (and desk calculator) methods.
Keeping story titles supplies a ready reference to the exact
source and general posture of the material in a given issue,
should some peculiar category distribution raise a question.

[34]Reliability is developed through practice on any
material chosen at random (or haphazardly), so long as it is
drawn from the universe concerned. Reliability, derived by
simple percentage agreement, $r = \frac{p\ ab}{pa + pb}$, for two successive
codings of the same material was established at 91.6 before
the data-gathering phase. Half-way through, a check showed
92.4. A check made upon completion of gathering the data
showed 94.8.

CHAPTER III

NEGRO COMMUNITY PATTERNS: HOUSTON, 1960-1967

Previous content studies of the Negro press have
emphasized its protest role, Frazier's "world of make believe",
the generally favorable outlook of the Negro press toward the
American political community, and the more recent surge of
demands for equal treatment in all areas of life.[1] The data
on two selected dimensions of communicative integration as
expressed in the presently selected Negro political communi-
cations suggest that these communications have greater impli-
cations than meet the (naked) eye.[2] Results square, in gen-
eral, with the scant literature, but uncover some aspects of
Negro communication that have heretofore remained speculative
or implicit.

I. THE DATA

The sample as outlined in Chapter II includes all the
paragraphs of editorial materials appearing to bear on inte-
gration. The data analyzed include all scalable paragraphs--
that is to say, those paragraphs which can be scale-typed by

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[1]Cf. John H. Burma, "An Analysis of the Present Negro
Press," Social Forces, 26:172-180, March, 1947; Dave Berkman,
"Advertising in 'Ebony' and 'Life': Negro Aspriations vs.
Reality," Journalism Quarterly, 40:53-64, Winter, 1963;
Maxwell R. Brooks, The Negro Press Re-examined: Political
Content of Leading Negro Newspapers (Boston: Christopher

the image categories in the identity typology. Breakdowns of

the sample, scalable, and non-classifiable paragraphs appear

in Table III.

TABLE III

THE DATA

		N (Sample)	n^a (Scalable)	Other
Houston	Informer	1072	750	322
Forward	Times	982	531	451
Total		2054	1281	773

[a]The proportionally greater amount of scalable (relevant) material in the Houston Informer results, chances are, from its greater "political" orientation as compared to the Forward Times. Cf. the discussion of the Houston Negro press, supra, Chapter II, pp. 25-29. ·

References to formative events remain speculative, given

the nature of the design and data; but impressions serve from

time to time to clarify some of the findings. Quantification

Publishing House, 1959); and Bernard C. Rosen, "Attitude Changes Within the Negro Press Toward Segregation and Discrimination," Journal of Social Psychology, 62:77-84, February, 1964.

[2]Karl W. Deutsch, "Transaction Flows as Indicators of Political Cohesion," in Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano, eds., The Integration of Political Communities (New York: J. P. Lippencott Company, 1964), p. 84, in his discussion of the use of content analysis in the search for indicators, proposes the examination of Negro communications for indicators of change in values and attitudes of those who have grown dissatisfied with their traditional "place" in Southern society.

of relationships between formative events and these data
would be difficult to establish in any case because of the
"general principles" orientation of the Negro press.[3] The
Houston Informer and the Forward Times contain a relatively
small quantity of direct references to protest events; although
there appears to be a somewhat more clear-cut relationship
between policy events and image trends.[4]

In terms of relevant (scalable) material, 1963 appears
to be the most critical year of the period. This was the year
of Martin Luther King's stand in Birmingham, Medgar Evers'
murder, Governor Wallace's "blocking the school house door",
and the March on Washington.[5] This was the time during which
violence became part and parcel of the confrontation between
the movement and the resistance. This was the year when the
Civil Rights Act of 1964 was faring badly in Congress—until
November 22.

After 1963, there is a two year period of decline of
relevant material. In 1965 the decline levels off and begins
a slow and erratic climb, peaking around the respective times

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[3]Supra, Chapter II, p. 26, fn. 10.

[4]The Appendix is a chronology of major incidents and
policy with a quarterly distribution of relevant paragraphs
for comparison.

[5]The mood of the Negro leadership as of this time is
perhaps best expressed in Martin Luther King, "Letter from
Birmingham City Jail," New Leader, June 24, 1963, pp. 3-11.

of (1) the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (July),
(2) the Watts riots (August, 1965), (3) the emergence of
Black Power demands (summer, 1966), and (4) the eruption of
violence in various cities in the spring of 1967. Time
distributions of the data appear in Figure 1 and the Appendix.

Patterns of Identity. Over the period in question,
Table IV illustrates that both newspapers contain roughly
equal percentages of community images.[6] It appears by inspec-
tion that the images might come from the same population. In
other words, Table IV suggests that the editorial policy of
the Houston Informer and the Forward Times might be set by
like-minded people. Furthermore, statistical test corroborates
this hypothesis,[7]

TABLE IV

PERCENT COMMUNITY IMAGES

Identity Pattern	Houston Informer	Forward Times
Modernizing	37	38
Traditional	63	62
Total	100% (n=750)	100% (n=531)

There are almost twice as many images falling into
Modernizing patterns (American Negro and American). Utilizing

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[6]The principal reason for concerting image frequencies
to percentages is to reduce the material to a common base in
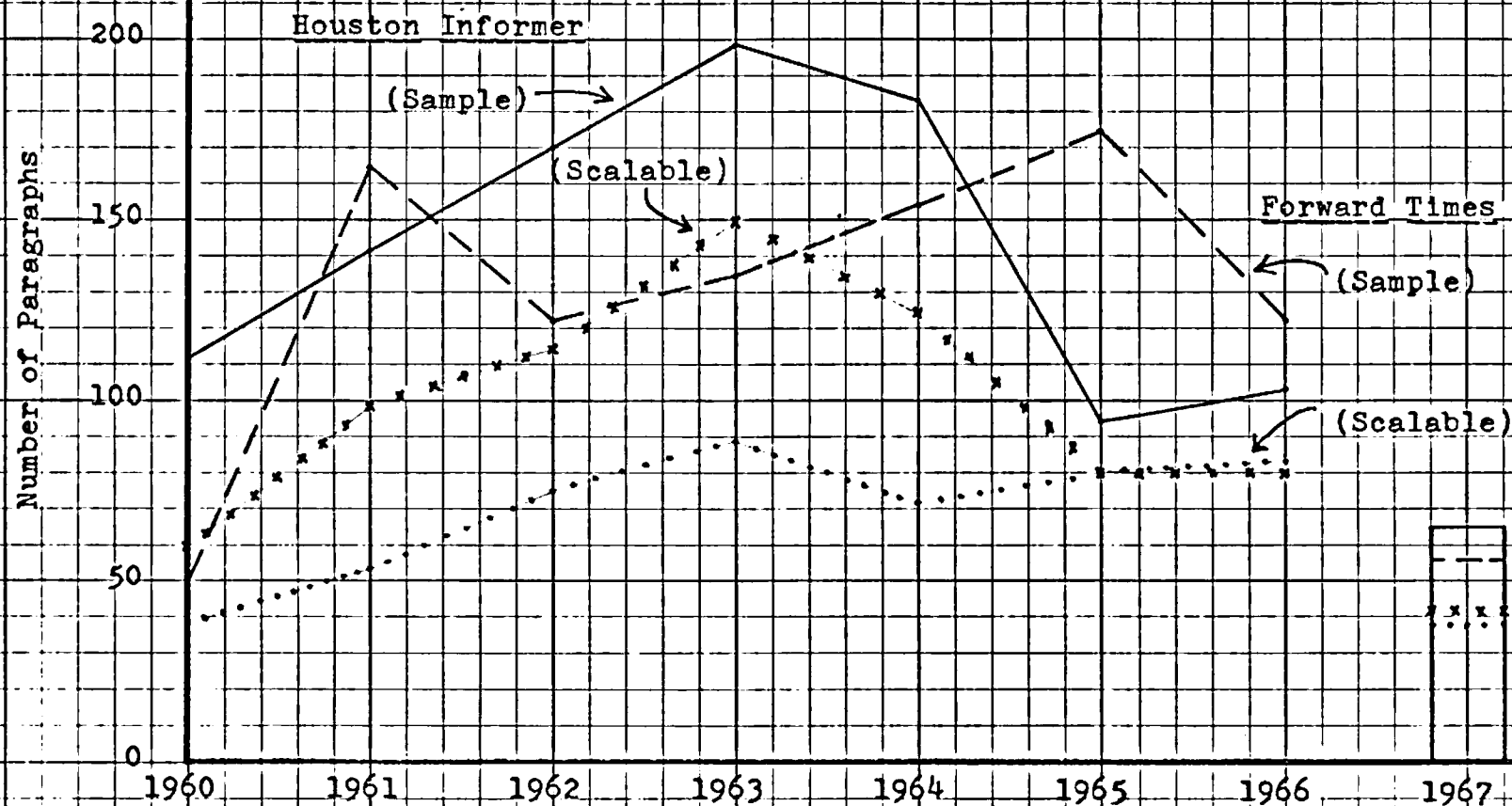order to include the half-year, 1967, for comparison.

FIGURE 1

DISTRIBUTIONS OF PARAGRAPHS: TOTALS,

SAMPLE AND SCALABLE

BY YEAR

a scheme to amplify the intensity of Negro (type 1) and American (type 4) images shows that the "threshold" of community identification is crossed in the direction of modernizing patterns only at the beginning and end of the period.[8] The time distribution of these scale results is shown in Figure 2.[9]

Segmenting the Integration Variable. Statistical support of the hypothesis that the two newspapers possess similar editorial postures--both with a heavy American community orientation favoring the "traditional" approach to gaining access to the system--would seem at first glance to close the matter of community integration as portrayed in the Houston Negro press. However the divergence of trends in Figure 2 suggests differences between the papers that make closure at this point premature. Specifically, this divergence suggests that the time dimension should not be ignored. Table V.further divides the community patterns into image categories.

Story titles supply the first clue to whether a given

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[7]A chi-square test for two independent samples failed to reject the null hypothesis that the images come from the same population: $X^2 = 1.4437$; df = 3; p > .5.

[8]Supra, Chapter II, pp. 34-38.

[9]The derivation of this weighted index of community identification is:

$$i = \frac{+2a + b - c - 2d}{a + b + c + d}$$

, where a, b, c, and d represent image types 1, 2, 3, and 4. Application of this scale is not and must not be construed to assume interval data; weights are imposed on types 1 and 4 merely to amplify their respective intensities, already assumed to represent the ends of a continuum.
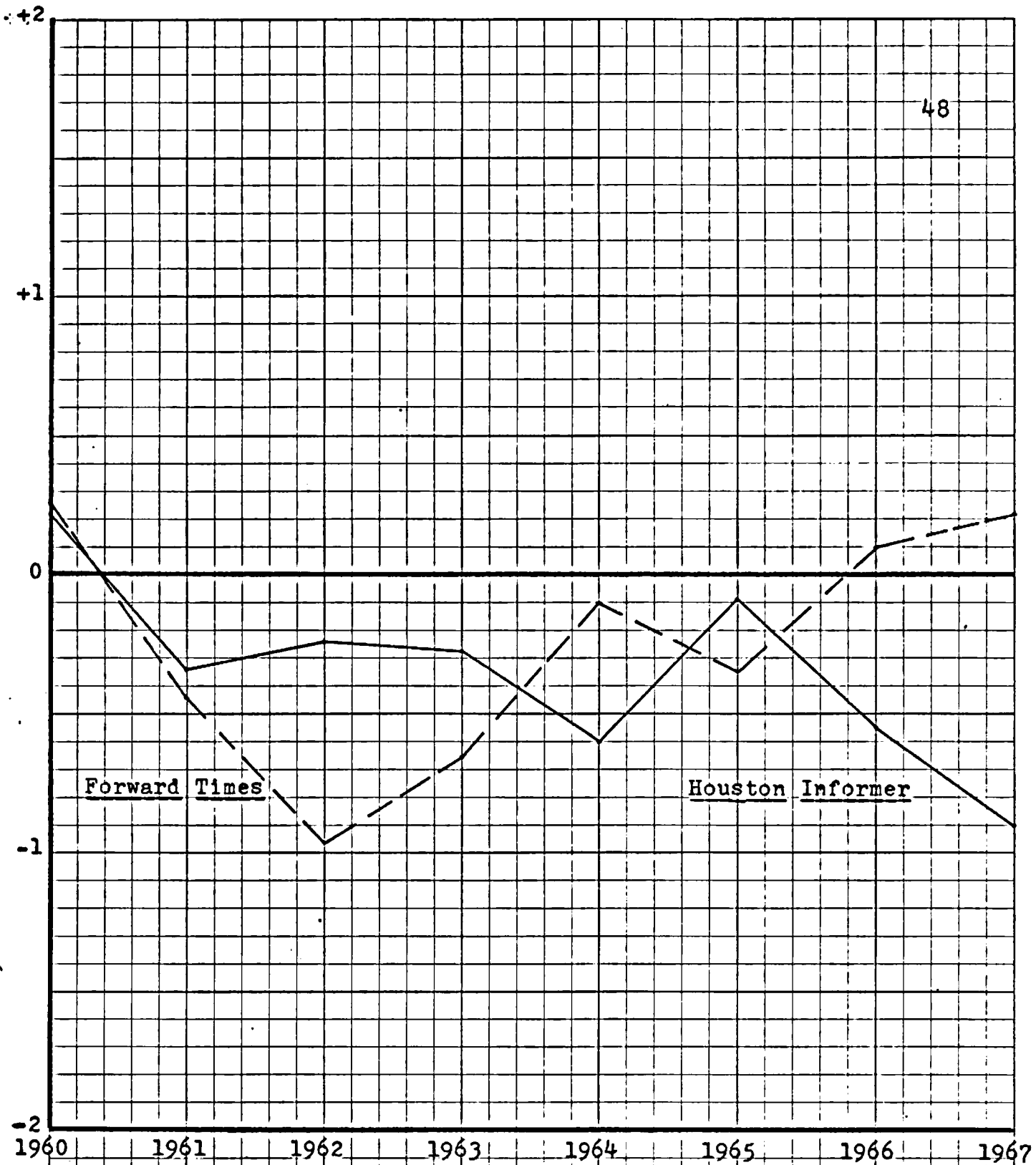
FIGURE 2

ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCALE SCORES

story might be of relevance, given the focus of the research.
For example, a title such as "New Method Causing Many Medics
to Lay Knife Aside in Operation" suggests a subject that falls
outside the research context. A brief examination to determine
whether the title might be misleading usually confirms that the
story can be safely rejected from consideration. Stories that
appear relevant are examined with the perspective uppermost in
mind; if they fit into the framework, they are placed in one
of the four image categories.

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY IMAGE CATEGORY

	Houston Informer	Forward Times
Negro	17	18
Negro American	20	20
American Negro	36	33
American	27	29
Total	100% (n=750)	100% (n=531)

The paragraphs below are examples of paragraphs that
go into each of the image categories, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Type 1. We feel it is ironic that less than a week
after much of the Houston "power structure" drew a sign
of relief that Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael
departed from our midst without incident, that Mrs
White should be put down so abruptly. Baby, it's enough
to make Uncle Tom scream, "Down with whitey!"[10]

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[10]Regular column in the Forward Times, April 29, 1967.

Type 2. The picture is simple. We are cursed on both ends. First for being paupers and tenants and later for being social problems and recipients of welfare funds. If we work to keep the dollar in our neighborhoods in the first place,"will have cut out a big cause of the cursing. We will have created new levels of personal and group dignity that will demand the respect of other groups.[11]

Type 3. We do not believe this means that Utopia has arrived. We do not believe that the Houston School Board, or the department heads at City Hall, or the County Commissioners will suddenly become color blind, and start treating all citizens equally. But it is important that the law is now on the side of democratic principles, decency and human dignity. This represents a change from the days when the law itself was on the side of the racist, the segregationist and the demagogue.[12]

Type 4. But we confess we are a little bit surprised that the Richmond (Va.) human relations council thinks Stokely Carmichael can make a contribution to this cause. Our guess is that he will set human relations in the Richmond area back about five years.[13]

Segmenting the major dependent variable, integration, by community and further by image category, can show fluctuations in trends of the Negro press' representation of the question of integration. Segmenting the variable, integration, cannot illuminate the various dimensions of the major independent variable, the protest; it must be taken as is, for the dimensions of the protest lie outside the domain of the study. The question at hand is how events related to integration are presented by the Negro press. Presumably, illuminating the

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[11]Ibid., February.25, 1967.

[12]Editorial in the Houston Informer, April 11, 1967.

[13]Ibid.

community dimensions of integration and relating these dimen-
sions at various points to protest events should yield some
conclusions concerning the current state of Negro integration
as portrayed by Negro newspapers. The subsequent sections of
this chapter, then, are devoted to clarifying the two specified
dimensions according to the distribution and flow of the four
image indicators.

II. THE HOUSTON INFORMER

Fluctuations of community images over time as suggested
by the time distribution of intensity-weighted scale scores in
Figure 2 are clearer by far when the image indicators are plot-
ted separately. Figure 3 permits comparison of the time flows
of the indicators as well as combining them into the two
discrete patterns specified by community-sense dimension.

The Traditional Pattern. Although a greater bulk of
relevant material in the Informer occurred around 1963, the
highly favored Traditional patterns (Tables IV and V) show a
notable increase the whole time period (Figure 2). This
observation is further verified by the increasing occurrence
of Traditional patterns over the period as illustrated in
Figure 3. The net increase is clearly a result of the marked
upward trend of American Negro (type 3) images; but although
relatively "flat", there is a discernable upward trend in
American (type 4) images.

American
Negro

American

Negro

Negro
American

Percent

1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967
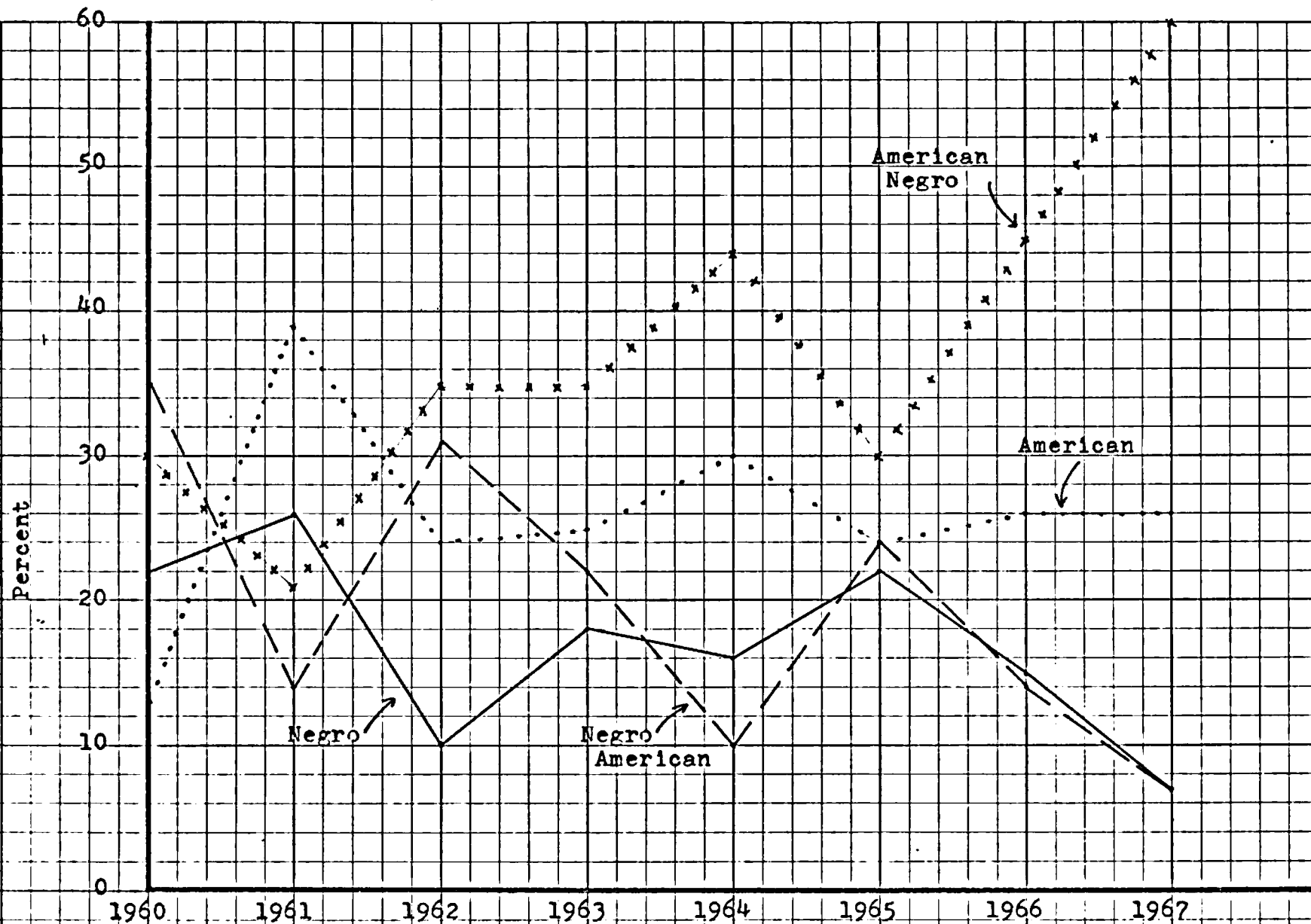
FIGURE 3

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES BY CATEGORY IN THE HOUSTON INFORMER

52

The most active period in the flow of American images during 1960-1962 encompasses the period when direct action as a mode of protest was becoming firmly established once and for all. A slow increase occurs as violence became more and more common and peaks in 1964, when the Civil Rights Act was passed. There is another decline for the period when a number of anti-civil rights murders were committed; the trough is deepest in 1965, when Watts exploded. Finally, the flow of American images rises and levels off between 1966 and 1967, during the period of more frequent rioting in major cities and after the emergence of Black Power.

American Negro (type 3) images exhibit flow patterns that correspond with American images along the time dimension; and with the exception of the first two years, which are reversed, the ebb and flow are the same. The difference already noted is that the fluctuations and slope of the American Negro images are much more marked.

The flatness of the American image trend suggests--with the exception of a wide fluctuation between 1960 and 1962--a reasonably steady identification with the American community and a desire for obtaining the benefits, which it purportedly stands for. On the other hand, the upward trend of American Negro images suggests an increasing sense of Negro community, albeit directed toward the "traditional" approach to gaining access to the benefits of the American community.

This trend may be interpreted as a trend in the direction of editorial encouragement for Negroes to stop being ashamed of being Negro and for them to comply with the dictates of American folklore and to make themselves too responsible and too respectable to be ignored as individual citizens.

The Modernizing Pattern. The comparatively irregular distributions of the two Modernizing image indicators of Negro community, running counter, for the most part, to Traditional patterns of American community, exhibit a downward trend clear enough to require little elaboration. However interpreting these trends raises some questions concerning their relation to Traditional patterns. In general, the distributions of the four identity indicators for the Informer balance away from Modernizing patterns in favor of Traditional patterns.

It is peculiar that from year to year over the entire period Negro (type 1) and Negro American (type 2) images in Figure 3 distribute counter to one another. Similarly, it is peculiar that Negro images fluctuate in the same direction as its extreme opposite, American (type 4) images, until 1963 and then part the ways. The central categories, Negro American and American Negro (type 3) images, also vary together until 1963 and then separate. In the case of Modernizing patterns, as in the case of Traditional patterns in the section above, the trend of the central category, Negro American, is more marked. In sum, were it not for the remarkable upward sweep

of American Negro images, the general identity of the _Informer_ would be difficult to establish by inspecting Figure 3.

In addition to breaks in the data, there are a number of (historical) factors that suggest reasons for the critical appearance of the year, 1963. If any one point of no return could be established for the movement, it might easily be 1963. By 1963 the deliberateness and determination of the Negro was unmistakable. By 1963 the most sweeping ameliorative legislation in the history of the protest was before Congress. The goal, "free by '63", and failed, only to make the demand, "freedom now", more urgent. Insofar as the _Houston Informer_ is concerned, however, 1963 was a logical breaking point because it was in 1963 that its crusading editor/publisher became incapacitated by poor health.

The greater spread in identity trends occurs after editorial responsibilities for the _Informer_ became more diffuse-- after 1963 when the trends turn decisively in favor of Traditional patterns, particularly in terms of American Negro images. Until then the range is more compressed as though there were some question as to which pattern of integration has more to offer the Negro community. After 1963, attention to Modernizing patterns lapsed, and so did circulation![14] This suggests two possible interpretations. Either the editor had a considerable following of his own, or the reading Houston Negro public prefers reading material that falls into Modernizing

patterns.[15] The two are not, however, mutually exclusive.

People frequently seek reinforcement of their own attitudes, opinions, and beliefs in communication, which they consume.[16] To the extent that this bears on newspaper circulation, the decline of the _Informer_ is accompanied by a sharp drop as it turns unmistakably in favor of Traditional patterns. This drop illustrates that, whether because of a discernable Negro community identity reflected in American Negro (type 3) images or in spite of it, the _Informer_'s readership became more dissatisfied after 1963. Certainly it became less numerous.

Whatever the basis of the curious interplay of images along the Ethnic and Social dimensions of integration in the editorial content of the _Houston Informer_, the sum of factors weighs in favor of Traditional patterns. Apparently, then, the _Informer_ would have its clientele think black to some extent but to seek political accommodation in traditional ways.

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[15]See, e.g., Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, _Human Behavior_ (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), esp. ch. 13, pp. 536-554, on selectiveness of perception (and comsumption) of persuasive communications, including interpretive news coverage.

[16]_Ibid._, also ch. 14.

III. THE FORWARD TIMES

Whereas image trends for the Houston Informer tend to "open" through the entire seven and a half years, trends for the Forward Times open early in the period and then tend more toward convergence late in the period. In other words, it appears in Figure 4 that the new Forward Times (est. 1960) begins with an obvious committment to Traditional community patterns and lapses into a period of relative indecision--also in 1963. By the end of the period, there is a notable surge that pushes the Forward Times over the threshold toward Modernizing patterns as illustrated in Figure 2.

The Traditional Pattern. To the extent that first impressions are important, it may be that the Forward Times got its reputation among militants as a black bourgeois-Uncle Tom paper in the first years of its existence; and this is still the militants' impression of it. Until 1963, the Forward Times clearly shunned Modernizing patterns in favor of the Traditional. After 1963, sentiments appear to have become mixed; but a Negro community stand appears in Figure 4, and particularly in Figure 2, to have been made around 1965, when the direction of the protest had become clear in no uncertain terms. Events between 1963 and 1965 seem to have demonstrated that insistence on equal treatment would pay off, if in a piecemeal fashion insofar as the insistent are concerned. The most noticeable result is, of course, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
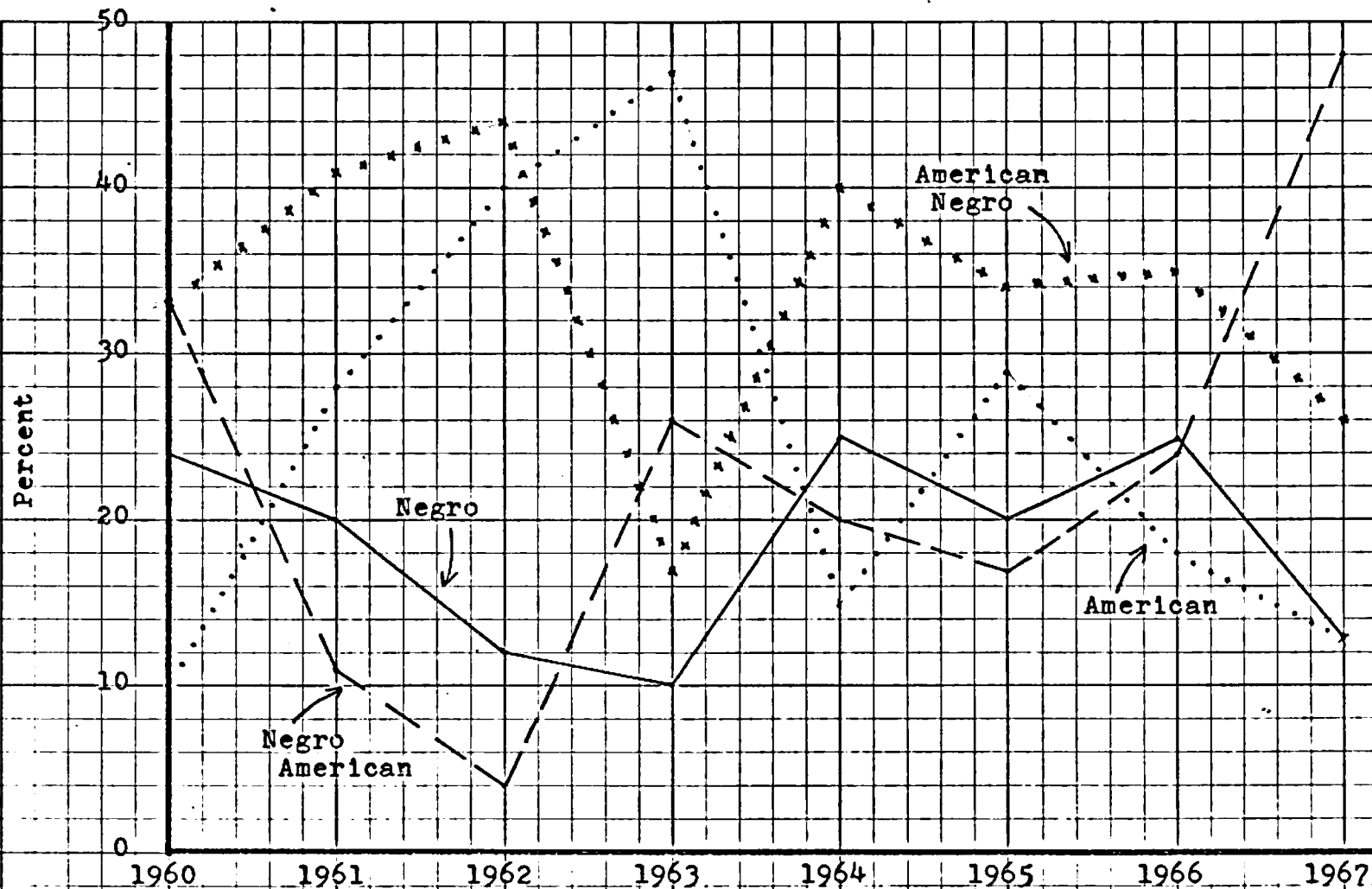
FIGURE 4

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES

BY CATEGORY IN THE FORWARD TIMES

58

The narrowing of fluctuations in all four image indica-
tors in conjunction with the overall downward trend of Negro
American (type 3) images suggests some connection with the
tempo of the protest. The scarcity of direct reference to
protest events, however, makes this intuitive connection
tenuous. If anything more than the general post-1963 decline
of Traditional patterns and the surge of Negro American images
toward the end of the period that lends credence to the hypo-
thesis concerning a connection of the protest and the change
in the Forward Times' posture of community identity, it is the
more marked decline of Traditional patterns around and after 1966.

The Modernizing Pattern. The upward sweep of Modernizing
patterns in the Forward Times illustrated in Figure 2 does not
appear particularly surprising, until it is noted that Negro
(type 1) images decline in frequency at about proportional
rates as both indicators of Traditional patterns during the
last year. On the other hand, over the entire span, there is
a discernable overall upward trend of Negro images along with
Negro American (type 2) images.

The fluctuations in Modernizing patterns in the early
years of the period are equally as dramatic as those for
Traditional patterns. The decline through the first two years
is too clear cut to overlook. As the momentum of the protest
was being accelerated by direct action through 1962, Figure 4
illustrates the Forward Times' tenacious hold Traditional

patterns at the expense of Modernizing patterns. When the
critical year, 1963, is reached, the image trends for the
Forward Times become less erratic; but the range of fluctua-
tions narrows considerably, which suggests that some clearer
pattern of ethnic loyalty and identification may have been in
the making.

Peculiarly, at the time of the passage of the Civil
Rights Act of 1964, Negro images peak higher than at any other
time except in 1966 (after rising from a trough following the
Watts incident), when the utterance, "Black Power," was first
heard. Through the 1964-1966 period, the flow of Negro images
is accompanied by like fluctuations in Negro American (type 2)
images. After 1966 Negro American (type 2) images sky-rocket,
while all others decline. This backed up by the pattern emer-
ging in Figure 2, implies that a clear cut ethnic identity
is developing.

The overall upward slope of both indicators of Moderniz-
ing patterns, illustrates that the Forward Times coincides with
the original guiding proposition of the study. It was hypo-
thesized that there would be an increasing incidence of Mod-
ernizing patterns accompanied by a comcomitant decline in
Traditional patterns through the time span analyzed. Whereas
the Houston Informer exhibits generally opposite trends, the
Forward Times conforms with the expectations of the original
research conceptualization. Whereas the Houston Informer
exhibits Traditional patterns overall, the Forward Times

exhibits Modernizing patterns. In short, the <u>Forward Times</u> would seem to be encouraging its clientele to develop racial pride and to work together in this frame of mind toward gaining political access and the benefits purportedly due to citizens.

IV. FURTHER EVIDENCE AND RECAPITULATION

In terms of the foregoing, inspection of the data has yielded substantial impressions of the comparative trends of community identity in the two Houston Negro newspapers over the period from 1960 to mid-1967. Generally, while trends of Modernizing patterns drop in the <u>Houston Informer</u>, they rise in the <u>Forward Times</u>. While Traditional patterns drop in the <u>Forward Times</u>, they rise in the <u>Houston Informer</u>, with one exception; and that exception is overshadowed in the long run. Generally, it appears that 1963 is a crucial year for both papers; the flux in their perspectives stabilizes as time progresses. These impressions are clarified by further empirical examination.

<u>Establishing the Patterns</u>. Combining the percentage distributions of the four image indicators by the two loyalty dimensions for the two newspapers provides for the presentation of time distributions of Modernizing patterns of ethnic integration and Traditional patterns of social integration as such. Modernizing patterns—is should be recognized—refer—to Negro images; and Traditional patterns refer to American images.

This combination of indicators along the two principal dimensions makes the trends easier to detect. In addition, the computation of regression (or trend) lines[17] for each dimension as represented by each paper firmly establishes the trends as illustrated in Figures 5 and 6.[18] Furthermore, the intersection of the lines of regression at 1963 lends further credence to the hypothesis that the content of each paper assumes a different posture after 1963;[19] this test also serves as a test of significance (of sorts) for the regression lines.[20]

The verified change in the nature of the data after 1963 flies in the face of the original test at the beginning of this chapter, which failed to reject the null hypothesis that all

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[17]V. O. Key, Jr., A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954, 1966), ch. 13, pp. 78-81. The equation for the line of regression, p. 79, is $Y_c = a + bX$.

[18]For Traditional patterns, a = .45; b = .041; and Y = .65 in the Informer. In the Forward Times, a = .68; b = -.02; and Y = .58, where $X = 5$. Since the line is computed on percentages, Modernizing patterns in each case perfect mirror images; therefore values for Modernizing patterns in each case are equal distances "on the other side" of 50 percent.

[19]A chi-square test firmly rejected the null hypothesis that the content of the two papers came from the same population before and after 1963. For before 1963, $X^2 = 11.24$; df = 1; p < .001. For after 1963, $X^2 = 9.16$; df = 1; p < .01.

[20]According to W. Allen and Harry V. Roberts, Statistics: A New Approach (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 562, the method of least squares (which is the basis of computation for the lines of regression) provides reasonably good points for establishing a line to describe time series; although it invalidates the estimate of standard errors—hence the chi-square as the only "confidence test".
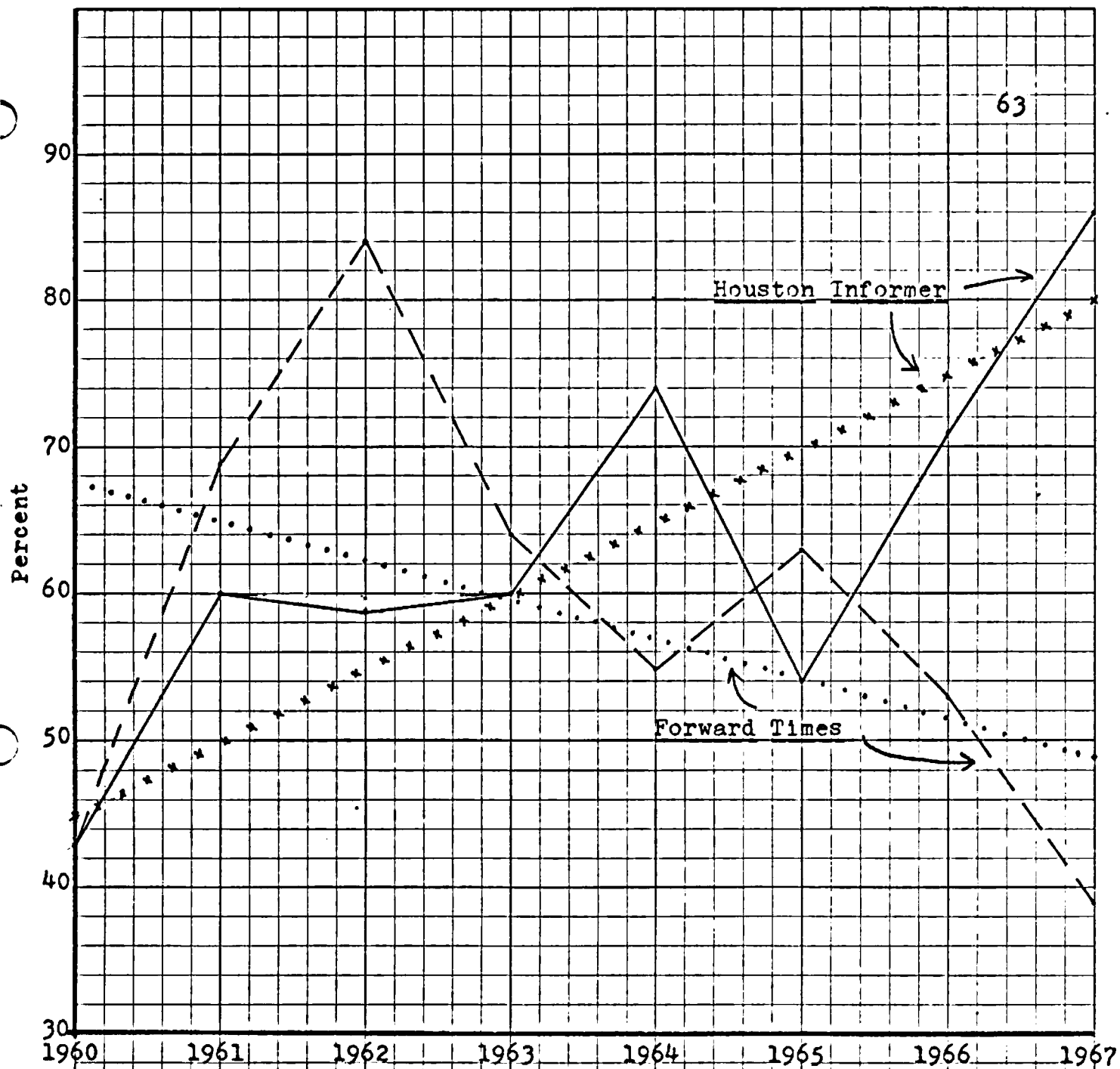
FIGURE 5

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF

AMERICAN COMMUNITY IMAGES

WITH REGRESSION LINES

Percent

70

60

Forward Times

50

40

30

20

Houston Informer

10

0

1960   1961   1962   1963   1964   1965   1966   1967
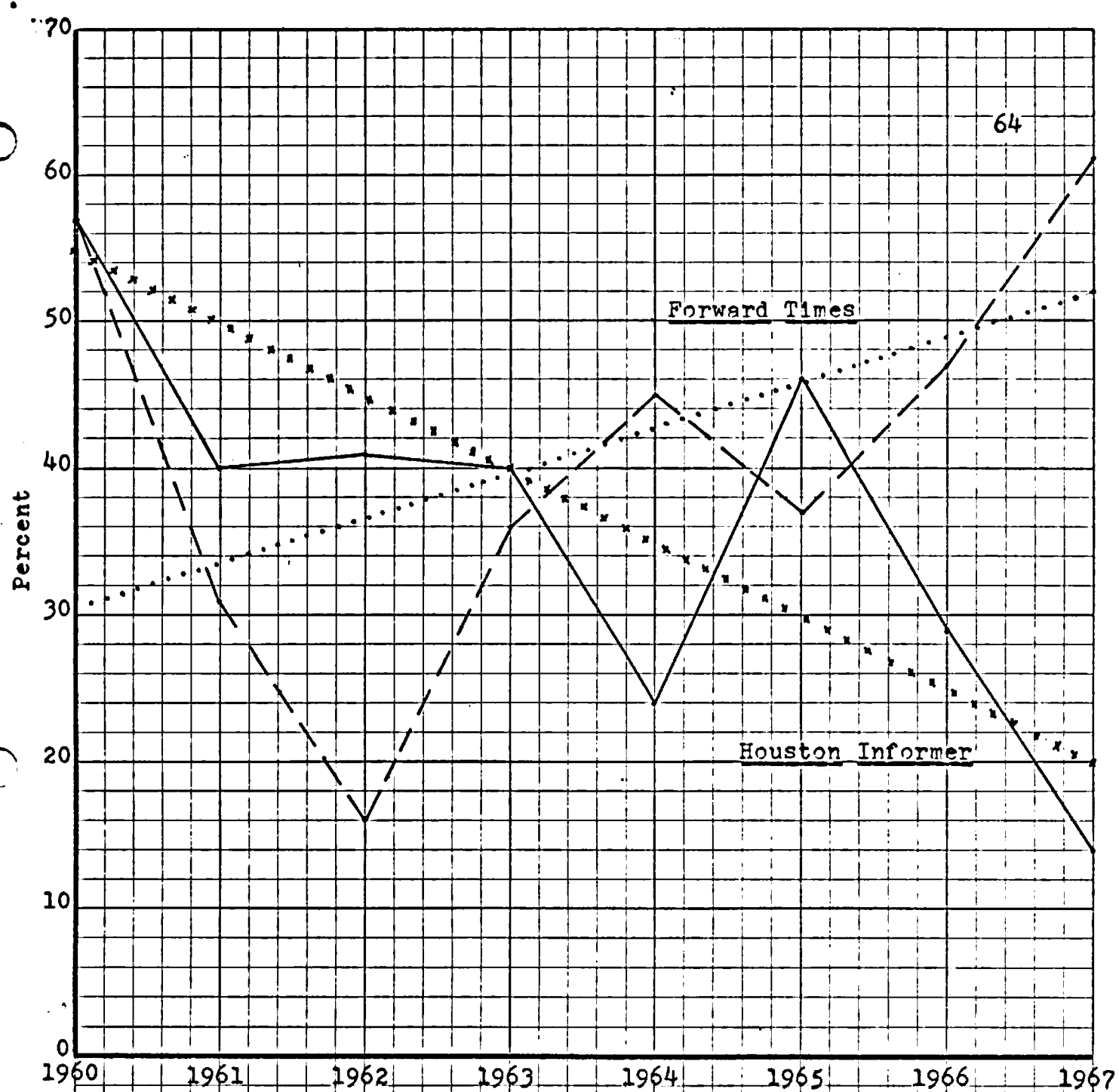
FIGURE 6

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF

NEGRO COMMUNITY IMAGES WITH

REGRESSION LINES

the material came from the same population.[21] In short, the
latter test shows the possibility of change over time; and this
possibility is the reason for controlling for time in the first
place, not an interest in time per se.

Reducing the trends to straight lines clearly establishes
the overall patterns for the two papers, but the continuing
fluctuations even after 1963 illustrate that positions are by
no means hardened. Both papers vacillate--almost wildly;
nevertheless the regression lines make the overall tendencies
unmistakable. The Forward Times is as clearly Modernizing as
the Houston Informer is Traditional in their respective approaches
to integration.

It will be recalled that the patterns of communication
are intended to be reduceable to patterns of community sense.
In Figures 5 and 6, Traditional patterns, represented by Ameri-
can community images, refer to a sense of national community;
while Modernizing patterns, represented by Negro community
images, refer to a sense of ethno-racial community. The overall
patterns that emerge, then, suggest that the Houston Informer
is promoting direct integration into the greater American
community; while the Forward Times is promoting a pre-integra-
tion of the Negro community as a prerequisite to national
integration.

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[21]Supra, p. 47.

<u>Modernization in the Houston Negro Press</u>. The Houston
Negro community has at its disposal one Traditional Negro news-
paper and one Modernizing Negro newspaper--the <u>Houston Informer</u>
and the <u>Forward Times</u>. The shortness of the span and the nature
of the data present a relatively narrow picture; but whatever·
the implications of these limitations, the results bear suffi-
cient coincidence with events to merit the present inferences
concerning concomitant variations between changes in the protest
and changes in the nature of Negro political communication.

The decline of Modernizing patterns illustrates the
<u>Informer</u>'s commitm ent to conventional patterns of gaining
access and accommodation in the American polity. In the present
frame of reference, Traditional patterns do not depreciate the
protest role of the paper. The importance of the distinction
is that Traditional patterns imply an encouragement for Negroes
as individuals to make an effort to carve out for themselves a
niche in some desired stratum of society. This perspective is
founded on a stratified social system, which is understandable.
The Negro tends always to find himself at the bottom.

Conversely, Modernizing patterns are apparent in the
results from the <u>Forward Times</u>. Patterns of identification
with the American community decline, and Negro identity
patterns occur more frequently. The increasing incidence of
Modernizing patterns represents the genesis of a different
kind of protest. Modernizing patterns represent a different

social perspective than Traditional patterns. This perspective
portrays social relations as occurring among pluralist social
clusters rather than among strata. Communication is horizon-
tal rather than vertical. Modernizing patterns, then, imply
that the Negro community has social and political resources
and that it should develop them. Once accomplished, the Negro
community could be about the business of horizontal exchange
without worry of being at the bottom of any social structure.

CHAPTER IV

THE MODERNIZING NEGRO IN A PLURALIST SETTING

This chapter is an attempt, first, to relate the Negro
press generally to matters of political learderhip and parti-
cipation, second, to recapitulate and account for some of the
surprises that emerge in the analysis and, third, to assess
analytical results in terms of implications for Houston
Negro politics. Finally, there is an attempt to assess the
current state and implications of the protest movement with
reference to political theory.

I. LEADERSHIP, PARTICIPATION, AND THE NEGRO PRESS

The political styles represented here resemble typolo-
gies of leadership styles constructed for various studies of
Negro political leadership.[1] The definition of the relation-
ship among types of leadership styles given by Elaine Burgess
for her leadership typology is appropriate for clarifying the
distinctions among the present participant styles: "Aggressive-
ness in opposing all forms of discrimination."[2] The potential
influence of the Negro press as a political communication

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[1]See Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leader-
ship in the South (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966),
p. 148, provides a resume and citations of race leadership
typologies in five Negro leadership studies.

[2]Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press, 1962), quoted in
Ladd, ibid.

channel and the way in which it goes about opposing disorini-
nation imputes a leadership function to the Negro press.

Leadership. Everett Ladd has noted that Negro leader-
ship is issue leadership, and as such it is subject to popular
approval.[3] The leadership aspect of the Negro press is no
less related to popular approval as indicated by the popular-
ity of a given newspaper. In other words, popularity and
aggressiveness in opposing discrimination are related in terms
of the level of aggressiveness preferred by a given clientele.
In addition, there is an apparent relation between popularity
and aggressiveness of Negro press leadership and Negro
political participation.

In their discussion of the role of the Negro press,
Matthews and Prothro observe that "regular exposure to the
Negro press is associated with incrementally higher rates of
political activity than is (Negro) readership of the 'white'
press."[4] They note, however, the difficulty of interpreting
this association. Interpeting the association of exposure
and activity raises questions concerning the self-selection
of the audience and whether they might be active anyway. It
raises the question of literacy and the ability to consume
printed communication. It raises the question of affluence

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[3]Ladd, ibid., p. 4.

[4]Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York:
Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), p. 260.

and who can afford to spend money for newspapers.

Assessment of the above factors concerning the connec-
tion between exposure and participation suggest that the people
who read Negro newspapers would be politically active with or
without them. Matthews and Prothro, however, present other
data that show higher levels of participation among those who
read Negro newspapers than among those who expose themselves
only to the white press. This latter finding does, then, tend
to verify the hypothesis that exposure to the Negro press con-
tributes more significantly to political activity than does
exposure only to the white press.[5]

Shifting the perspective from popularity, aggressiveness,
and participation to the goals of the aggressiveness further
clarifies the matter of political style. Ladd's division of
status goals and welfare goals is an useful one: "Welfare
goals involve 'gut' needs ... Status goals, in contrast,
involve the Negro's image of himself."[6] Ladd continues
generally:

> Welfare goals--higher pay, better schools, better hos-
> pital facilities, fair treatment in the courts--generally
> arouse less white antagonism than do status goals, which
> involve putting Negroes and whites together in swimming
> pools, lunch counters, and neighborhoods.[7]

In the present context, the Traditional style partici-
pant emphasizes welfare goals over status goals. the Moderniz-
ing style participant demands both. If white antagonism is

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[5]Ibid.   [6]Ladd, op. cit., pp. 155f.   [7]Ibid., p. 156.

argued by such demands, the Modernizing Negro believes, simply, that it is time for antagonism to become a two-way street, until the sources of <u>Negro</u> antagonism are relieved.

According to Harry Holloway's discussion of "modern" big city politics in Houston, as contrasted with "traditional" rural politics in Marion County,[8] one of the greatest sources of Negro anatgonism is the frustration resulting from futile efforts in dealing with the liberal coalition. These problems are dealt with more extensively below, but the crux of the matter is that the Negro fails to receive satisfactory political returns from his investment of political resources in the coalition.

<u>Participation.</u> What is presently referred to as a traditional style resembles the big city political style referred to by Holloway as "modern" in comparison to patterns in East Texas. Insofar as the <u>Informer</u> is respected by the Democrat-labor-Negro-Latin coalition, it is presumably the result of its participation in old style (big city) liberal politics—as opposed to a sort of "new liberal" style implicit in the development of what is presently referred to as Modernizing patterns.[9]

According to Holloway, the big city (modern) style is

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[8]"Negro Politics in the South: Two Cases from Texas Experience," (paper read at the annual meetings of the South-western Political Science Association, 1967), esp. pp. 24-31.

[9]Cf. Jack Newfield, <u>A Prophetic Minority</u> (New York: New American Library, 1966).

at the opposite end of a continuum from his rural (traditional) style. In terms of the present conceptualization, Holloway's big city style falls somewhere in the middle of the continuum. Negro political aspirations still meet with frustrations, despite considerable advantages over the rural situation. The modernizing participant style as conceived of here implies pluralist coalition politics, but it implies a desire for a more cohesive center of Negro influence--in short, a Negro bloc. The big city modern style implies Negro participation in pre-established inter-racial blocs in which Negroes tend to be excluded from the benefits of coalition. This kind of conflict may be more frequent in the South, however, than in the North.

James Q. Wilson, for example, found evidence of the same kinds of conflict in his studies conducted in the North; but he believes that, in general, organized labor has worked to the new benefit of the Negro.[10] This is probably a manifestation of the general notion that welfare goals are more easily attainable in the North than in the South.

Presently, then, traditional patterns of participation entail participation in the context of the existing political order. Modernizing patterns would attempt to alter that context. The Modernizing style seeks Negro benefits resulting from the exertion of Negro influence--Negro qua Negro--whereas big city patterns presumably tend to water down both the

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[10]Negro Politics (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

influence and the benefits. These conditions and related events have several implications for the Houston Negro newspapers.

The analysis turns up some results that raise as many questions as answers. Some previous answers contribute to understanding the present questions, and in doing so, raise new questions. The remainder of the paper is an attempt to make sense of this interplay.

IV. SUMMARY VIEW

Research results run against the grain of pre-analysis impressions. Both papers were expected to present Modernizing patterns overall with more notable trends in the Houston Informer. The analysis in Chapter III indicates that the Informer, however, runs counter to expectations and that the Forward Times is the more Modernizing. The Informer's overtly political content distributes in patterns consistent with conventional patterns of American politics. The Forward Times, although fitting the model of typical community newspapers, presents distributions, which suggest that it is seeking an alternative to conventional patterns. Refitting impressions in light of the analysis permits clarification of some of the apparent peculiarities.

The Newspapers. The Forward Times not only comes nearer to conforming with research expectations, but also it goes beyond expectations in that it appears to be shaking off

any Uncle Tom characteristics, which it may have once had.
Informally reviewing the data, it appears that the regular
column by the managing editor is responsible in the main for
pushing the Forward Times over the threshold toward Modernizing
patterns. To be sure, the editor's photo-editorials exhibit
increasing numbers of images contribution to the development
of Modernizing patterns; but for the most part, these images
tend to cluster in American Negro (type 3) patterns. There
are, however, sufficient Negro (type 1) and Negro American
(type 2) images in the managing editor's column to eventually
shift the paper's stance across the threshold toward Modernizing
patterns. In any case, results cast serious doubts on the
accusation that the Forward Times is as an Uncle Tom. Below
the surface, it is very much Negro community oriented.

In terms of pre-analysis impressions, the Houston
Informer is an anomaly, but it is an anomaly that can be inter-
preted in retrospect.[11] Kenneth Gray's informants indicate
that the former editor and his wife (who currently runs the
paper) are both well respected by white liberals and Negroes.[12]

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[11]It is an anomaly particularly in light of a conversa-
tion with one of Houston's angriest young black men, proponent
of Black Power, who said as a corollary to the statement that
the Forward Times is an Uncle Tom newspaper, that "the Informer
is a paper that's trying to take a stand."

[12]A Report on Politics in Houston (Cambridge: Joint
Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of
Technology and Harvard University, 1960), sec. V, p. 23.

The stance of the Informer with its committment to organized labor and to the Democratic party not only suggests a reason for this respect but also a reason for its evidence of Traditional patterns and a possible connection with its decline in circulation. The Informer might be respected for whatever contribution which it might make to the liberal coalition, while at the same time Negroes are cut out of the benefits of coalition as Holloway suggests. The Informer, in short, appears to be caught in the strategic dilemma between committment to the liberal coalition and popular Negro resentment of the paltry political returns from coalition involvement.

The Informer is an overtly political newspaper. The Forward Times is a thoroughgoing community tabloid. The Informer can be linked to coalition politics. The Forward Times cannot. Informer exhibits Traditional "American" patterns of community images. The Forward Times exhibits Modernizing "Negro" patterns of community images.

There is a certain logic to this "shotgun" profile of the two papers. This logic facilitates explanation of the anomalous research results, when interpreted in light of Holloway's findings. His critique of liberal coalition strategy with reference to Negro politics yields a number of useful propositions: (1) The working (white) man is not the Negro's best friend in the South; (2) labor dominates the liberal coalition; (3) Negro candidates on the coalition ticket aid

in drawing the Negro vote to the coalition ticket; (4) the
Negro vote is not so large as the labor vote; hence the Negro
vote aids the coalition but without assurrance that the Negro
on the ticket will win. Holloway concludes that the machina-
tions of the liberal coalition does not represent the most
efficient utilization of Negro resources toward satisfying
Negro interests.[13]

Negro participation in liberal coalition politics
represents a Traditional political style, which has failed to
satisfactorily benefit the political interests of Negroes.
Holloway cites an alternative suggested by James Q. Wilson:
an alignment of the Negro and the Southern Bourbon.[14] Hollo-
way's own suggestion is for a loosening of coalition ties and
dealing with whomever offers the best bargain, be they liberal
or conservative. Like coalition strategy, these two alterna-
tives are Traditional approaches. The Modernizing approach
is a bargaining approach as well, but the stakes are higher,
and Negroes are more centralized.

The _Informer_, like most newspapers carries proportionally
small amounts of politically relevant material, compared with
its entire content; but there is unmistakable political content.
This content is aligned with a political coalition that benefits

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[13]Op. cit., p. 30.

[14]"The Negro in Politics," in Stephen R. Graubard, ed.,
The Negro American, DAEDALUS, 94:968, Fall, 1965.

from Negro resources, while returning an inordinately small
political payoff. The Forward Times is not visibly aligned
with the coalition or any other political organization. Its
politically relevant content is proportionally even smaller
than the Informer's according to Table I. In addition, the
analysis indicates that the two papers are strikingly different
in their political perspectives.

The decline of the coalition-aligned Informer and the
comparatively soaring popularity of the Negro community orient-
ed Forward Times, with their respective Traditional and Moder-
nizing patterns suggest an increasing Negro interest in the
discrete Negro community. It is noted above that Traditional
communication patterns focus primarily on welfare goals to be
achieved through traditional patterns of political participa-
tion and that Modernizing patterns focus on both welfare and
status goals, which for the most part meet with frustration
when pursued through traditional means. Therefore when the
circulation of the increasingly popular Forward Times with its
Negro community focus is construed as an indicator of Negro
interest in the Negro community as such, three hypotheses
emerge to account at least partially for the anomaly of the
Houston Informer.

First, there is a decreasing Negro interest in pursuing
political goals through Traditional patterns of participation.
Second and corollary to the first, there is an increasing Negro
interest in pursuing political goals through Modernizing patterns.

Third and encompassing the first and second, the Houston Negro community is becoming increasingly integrated. In sum, there is a growing tendency in the Houston Negro community to think black--that is to say, there is an increasing ethnic loyalty. The Houston Informer is maintaining a predominant social loyalty, and it is losing ground. The Forward Times exhibits a predominant ethnic loyalty, and it is gaining.

It should be emphasized that the foregoing dogmatically stated hypotheses are not so presented to imply a definitive statement concerning the integration of the Houston Negro community--quite the contrary. They are stated in empirically testable form in an effort to stimulate further pursuit of the question.

It should be emphasized as well that, although more research is need in Houston, the question of Negro community integration is open to be pursued more generally and without need to start from scratch; public opinion data are on hand.[15] Combining analysis of public opinion data with content studies is also a potentially fruitful alternative, which could have greatly strengthened the present analysis.[16] Unfortunately

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[15]Robert E. Lane, "The Politics of Consensus in an Age of Affluence," American Political Science Review, 59:891, fn. 37, December, 1965, notes that these data are accessible both at the Roper Center, Williamstown, Mass., and at the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[16]This possibility was suggested by Richard L. Merritt, personal communication, June, 15, 1967.

such a combination is beyond the scope of the study.

Beyond the Data. The body of literature stimulated by
the work of Paul Lazarsfeld and his associates and by Carl
Hovland and his associates remains divided on the question of
the relation between mass communication and political behavior;[17]
but insofar as consumption of communication is selective, there
would seem to be a connection between patterns of community
integration purveyed by a newspaper and its circulation. Cer-
tainly there is such a covariation in the Houston Negro press.

The central concern of the Forward Times as a typical
community newspaper is representing the Negro community to it-
self.[18] In V. O. Key's terms, it is a "common carrier" rather
than a "cue giver".[19] On the other hand, the Houston Informer
conforms more to the model, which Key labels the "old fashioned
partisan press".[20] In short, the Informer is more ideologically
oriented than the Forward Times, which conversely, more nearly
conforms to the Modernizing style represented by Negro community

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[17]Cf. Hovland, "Reconciling Conflicting Results Derived
from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude Change," The
American Psychologist, 14:8-17, January, 1959; Bernard Berelson,
and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior (New York: Harcourt, Brace,
and World, 1964), ch. 13; V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and
American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), ch. 14-
15; and Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe: The Free Press,
1959), ch. 19.

[18]See Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York:
Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 908-924.

[19]Key, op. cit., p. 319.   [20]Ibid.

patterns, which it exhibits and promotes. In sum, the Forward Times is more pragmatic.

The modernizing style, in its pure form, suggests a desire for the benefits of a middle class life without the bonds of middle class ideology.[21] If the Houston Negro community is modernizing, it seems to be getting something of the kind of reinforcement, which it would presumably desire, from the Forward Times; however the patterns of Negro community, which are detectable in the Forward Times, are, of course, in no pure form. It promotes Negro community patterns of integration generally. When a stand is required, it expediently takes a safe stand and opens itself for charges of being Uncle Tom.

The foregoing sections facilitate further interpretation of the situation of the Houston Informer. The Traditional patterns of Negro integration represented in the Informer are in an ideological context that conforms with the big city political style. As it has happened, traditional styles of politics and integration have not yielded the Negro community much satisfaction. If the Negro community is coming to seek alternatives to this style, there may well be a connection with the declining circulation of the Informer. Certainly, the association is there.

As Table I indicates, Informer circulation did drop

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[21]Cf. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).

sharply after 1963,[22] when the original editor retired and
when Traditional patterns began to emerge clearly. It could
be that a considerable body of loyal subscribers "retired"
with the editor. And it could be that the emergence of National
patterns in content is connected with the change in editorship.
Whatever the relation, the association is substantial enough
for the inference of the connection concerning the decline of
the newspaper and its content, just as there is evidence for
the reverse patterns in the Forward Times' circulation and
its content.

III. POSTSCRIPT

The basis of the new southern politics, the content of
modernization, and the success of community and national inte-
gration all impinge on one key concept: political participa-
tion. Given the pluralist environment, integration of the
Negro community appears to be a prerequisite to effective
participation; and effective participation appears to be a
prerequisite to Negro integration into the American community.

Review and Overview. Matthews and Prothro define the
new southern politics in terms of expanding Negro participation
as traditional barriers go down. According to Lerner, moder-
nization entails participation as individuals assume more and

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[22]Ibid.

more responsibility for their own fate as a result, at least in part, of vicarious experience. The more people come to think alike, the greater is the potential for integration; and in the current epoch, the end of community integration is to contribute to developing a smoother operating participant (democratic) polity. In other words, the goal is to develop a broad understanding of the boundaries and contest of political conflict--the limited conflict upon which democracy is said to thrive.

Boundaries of political conflict are constituted by the normative goals to be maximized by the system, while the context of conflict involves the empirical political phenomena common to generically democratic systems. Robert Dahl has contributed notably to the effort of explaining democratic processes in these terms.[23] In the United States, the normative aspect is defined by the postulated goals of the Madisonian and populistic "theories" respectively: (1) a non-tyrannical republic and (2) popular sovereignty and political equality.[24]

Dahl has found it useful to conceive and define the empirical context of conflict as "the distribution of political

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[23]A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), esp. ch. III.

[24]Ibid., p. 63

resources,"[25] by way of a process of bargaining.[26] He finds
the concept particularly useful in his effort to explain the
ethnic aspect of conflict in New Haven,[27] but the implications
are by no means limited to a single case study.

Integration and the Pluralist Polity. The Negro group
has faced more insurmountable hurdles to integration into the
American community than any other ethnic group. Given the
tenor of American race relations, color would seem barrier
enough; but race and color constitute only an aspect of the
problem.

Other ethnic groups have been integrated into the Ameri-
can community, but they have not been integrated by merely
being present. The melting pot thesis is a myth. These other
groups have been integrated by engaging--together by ethnic
identity--in the process of the distribution of political
resources, as Irishmen, as Germans, as Poles. Together
their political resources were sufficient to permit effective

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[25]Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).
The literature of community power studies constitutes a debate
concerning the context of conflict as a question of stratifi-
cation vis-à-vis the pluralist perspective. A survey is
Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New
Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[26]Cf., e.g., Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of
Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1957); and Charles Lind-
blom, The Intelligence of Democracy (New York: The Free
Press, 1965).

[27]Op. cit.,(1961).

bargaining for demands. Once the groups established for themselves a participant role in the system, identity and understanding developed; they were integrated into the system.[28]

To assume a place among pluralist centers of influence, a competitor must possess enough coordination and sense of purpose to enter the political market place and make its demands known. Above all, a competitor must possess the political currency with which to bargain for demands. The Negro has been on hand for some time, and his goals are clear enough. What is lacking is sufficient political where-with-all to bargain effectively. His resources are fragmented.

The Negro in the Pluralist Polity. For whatever reason (often thought to be the destructive impact of slavery on Negro culture), the Negro group has not massed its resources as a group. The obvious hypothesis emerging from this is that Negroes have become "Americanized" enough to think American despite being refused a participant role in the system. This is understandable, given the absence of any basis of cultural solidarity.

Recent developments in th protest movement suggest that some Negro leaders are coming to recognize the utility of group solidarity in the pursuit of group political demands. Black

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[28]Cf. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1963); Dahl, op. cit. (1961); and Irene Tinker, "Nationalism in a Plural Society: The Case of the American Negro," Western Political Quarterly, 19:112-122, March, 1966.

separatists, like black apathetics, have given up; and many others have become discouraged with conventional approaches to integration.

Black Power--at least as originally articulated[29]--is the most promising development in favor of integration in the history of the protest. It symbolizes a means for the Negro community to confront the American polity realistically and on its own terms. It is pragmatic rather than ideological;[30] and most importantly, it calls for a "pre-integration" of the Negro community as a prerequisite to an effective political confrontation.

The notion of a pluralist approach to integration did not crop up recently by happenstance. It was articulated at least a half-century ago by W. E. B. DuBois[31] and has lain dormant until recently. If constitutional principle were a necessary and sufficient condition for the effectuation of equality, the Negro would not have had to face the century-predicament of an outsider in his own home. Kenneth Clark has succinctly summed up the implications of this dilemma: "The value of ethical appeals is to be found only when they

[29]Stokely Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," Massachusetts Review, Autumn, 1966.

[30]Cf. Daniel Boorstin, The Genius of American Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

[31]Economic Cooperation Among American Negroes (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1907).

can be harnessed to more concrete appeals such as economic,
political, or other power advantages to be derived from those
with the power to facilitate or inhibit change."[32]

Summary Conclusion. The urban Negro is as a rule fur-
ther along the transition continuum than the rural traditional
Negro depicted by Matthews and Prothro and by Holloway. They
have been exposed to a broader range of alternatives by mere
proximity to modern life. Exposure to diverse alternatives
provides for the development of an acute sense of deprivation.[33]
The first concern is for the satisfaction of welfare needs.
Those who have time for leisure have higher standards, which
meet with frustrations as well; hence the Negro's sense of
deprivation knows no socio-economic limit, except perhaps
intensity.[34]

The sense of deprivation among urban Negroes is no longer

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[32]Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York:
Harper & Row, 1965), p. 204.

[33]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., ch. 10, esp. pp.
285-294.

[34]Cf. John A. Loftus, "Status Doubted as a Factor in
Riot," The New York Times, July 30, 1967, Sec. 1, p. 46, col. 3,
which cites a preliminary report on a study under a grant from
the Office of Economic Opportunity by Raymond J. Murphy and
James M. Watson of the Department of Sociology, U. C. L. A.
Findings indicate that discontent runs the social gamut. The
notion of the "desertion" of successful Negroes is, then, open
to question and exception. They note as well that welfare
goals take priority for the less fortunate and that status
discontent rises with SES.

approaching the critical stage; it has arrived. Violence is
no longer a risk; it is a reality. Militance is steadily
heightening and steadily gaining approval. In their most
recent book, William Brink and Louis Harris note from their
survey findings that despite absence of agreement on defini-
tion of the term, twenty-five percent of the rank-and-file and
thirty-one percent of the Negro youth approve of the Black
Power concept.[35]

Respected "moderates" are becoming increasingly free to
move to the left and still remain in the middle as (new) left
positions become more radical. Perhaps the most notable example
of this movement is Martin Luther King's recent position in
opposition to the war in Viet Nam. In addition, more conserva-
tive leaders such as Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young have recently
taken a cautious step to the left. For the urban Negro the
alternatives to participation are there—-from apathy to
open revolution.

Matthews and Prothro have established that exposure to
mass media is associated with the acceptance of modern attitudes
with reference to the Southern Negro.[36] With the desire for
alternatives to a traditional way of life come the predisposi-

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[35]Cited from a book review by C. Eric Lincoln, "A Hand-
book of the Struggle," Saturday Review, August 5, 1967, p. 28.

[36]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., ch. 9, esp. pp. 261-
263.

tions to assume responsibility for attaining the alternatives. With this responsibility comes the desire for political participation as a means to the end of modern life. Mass communications, in general, facilitate exposure. The Negro press, in particular, interprets what is exposed.[37] This analysis illustrates that it does make a difference.

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[37]Ibid., esp. pp. 258-260.

APPENDIX

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a means of chronologically comparing the quarterly distributions of paragraphs, Figure 7, with civil rights policy measures and events of the protest.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF POLICY[1]

1960	Civil Rights of 1960
1961	Executive orders on enforcement of Civil Rights Act of 1960
1962	Further Executive orders on enforcement
1963	Policy activity stepped up on all fronts: voting, school desegration, public accommodations, federal funds
1964	Civil Rights Act of 1964; "the most far-reaching civil rights legislation since Reconstruction"
1965	Voting Rights of 1965; Federal voting registration
1966	1966 civil rights bill killed in the Senate
1967	Censure and un-seating of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell; Cassius Clay convicted for refusing induction into the armed forces; anti-riot legislation; rat control legislation killed.

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[1]From Shirly M. Seib, ed., Revolution in Civil Rights, 3rd ed. (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967).

II. CHRONOLOGY OF INCIDENTS[2]

February, 1960   Greensboro sit-ins

May, 1961   Freedom rides

September, 1962   Meredith's enrollment at the
                      University of Mississippi

April, 1963   King in Birmingham

June, 1963   Medgar Evers' murder; Wallace at the
                      University of Alabama

Summer, 1963   Discrimination in skilled labor barred
                      in Northern cities; March on
                      Washington

Summer, 1964   Three civil rights workers' murder in
                      Mississippi (June); riots in Harlem,
                      Rochester, Jersey City, and Philadelphia

March, 1965   Reeb, Liuzzo murders

August, 1965   Riots in Watts; Chicago; Springfield, mass.

April, 1966   Incidents in Nashville at Fisk; SCLC in
                      Louisville

June, 1966   Meredith ambushed

Summer, 1966   Riots in Chicago; Jacksonville, Fla.;
                      New York City; Southbend, Ind. with
                      "Black Power" heard for the first
                      time in Cleveland

December, 1966   Rochester, demonstrations against Eastman
                      Kodak employment practices

Spring, 1967   Violence in Southern cities; general
                      rise in racial tension

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[2]Ibid.

Number of Paragraphs

Houston
Informer

Forward
Times

Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov. | Feb. May Aug. Nov.

1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967

FIGURE 7[a]

QUARTERLY DISTRIBUTION OF

RELEVANT PARAGRAPHS

[a]The erratic appearance of the data is probably related to the effects of aberrant cases in the small sample of dates; cf. Figure 1, supra., p. . for the annual plotting of the same data.

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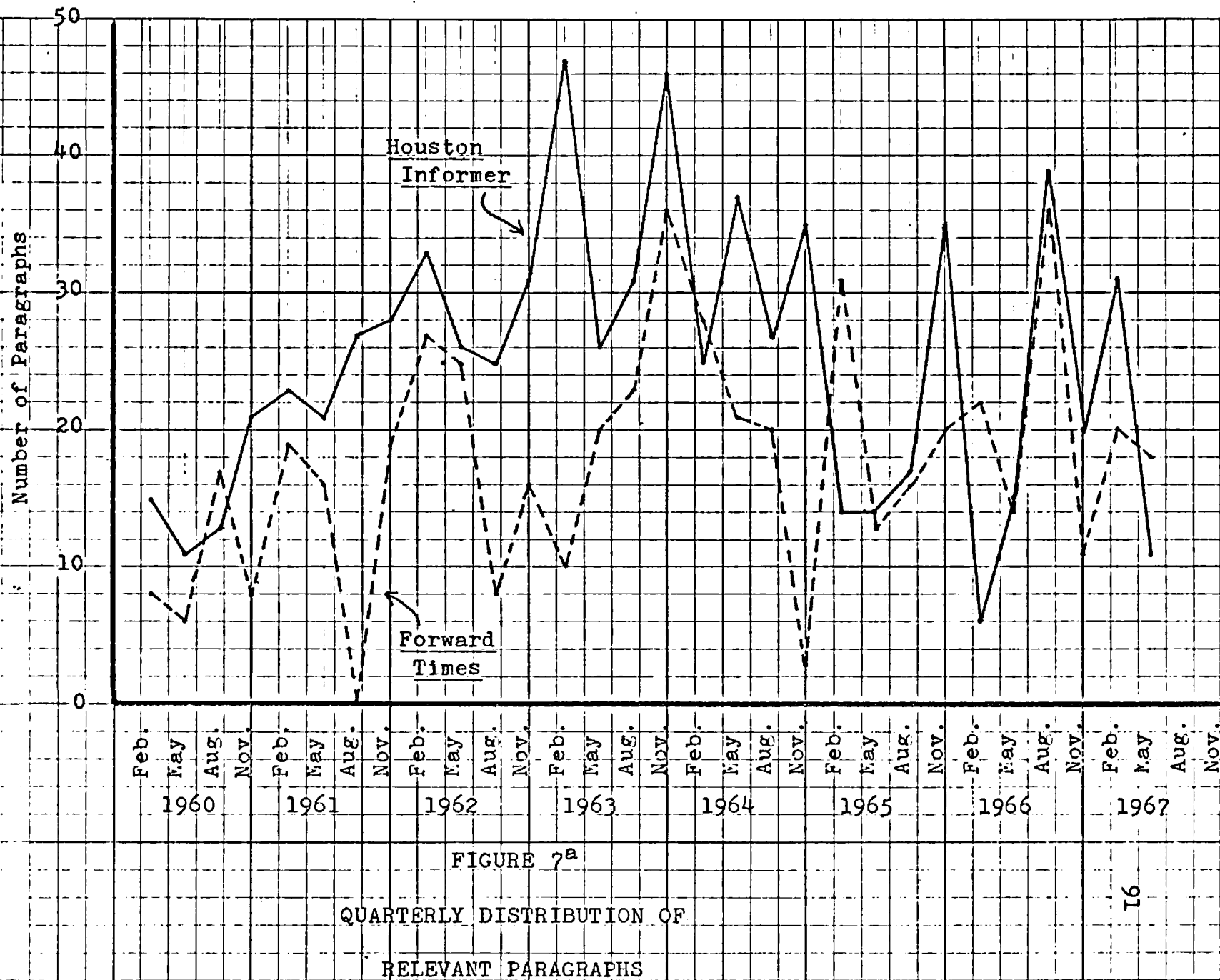
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