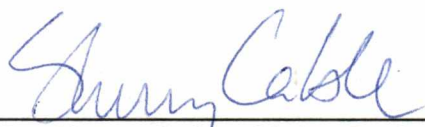


To the Graduate Council:

We are submitting herewith a thesis written by Sabrina Moreland Neeley entitled "News Periodical Coverage of American Student Activism 1961-1987." We have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

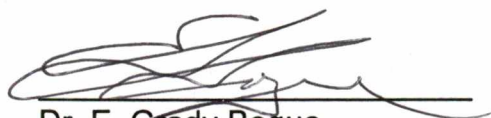


Dr. Sherry Cable, Major Professor



Dr. Suzanne Kurth, Major Professor

I have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:



Dr. E. Grady Bogue

Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of the source is made.

Requests for permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis in whole or in parts may be granted by the copyright holder.

Signature Sabin Mowbray Neelley
Date July 28, 1994

**NEWS PERIODICAL COVERAGE OF AMERICAN STUDENT ACTIVISM
1961-1987**

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Sabrina Moreland Neeley

August, 1994

Copyright 1994 by Sabrina M. Neeley

All rights reserved

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to my committee co-chairs, Dr. Sherry Cable and Dr. Suzanne Kurth, who have provided me with two of the best role models of teachers and researchers I will ever encounter. Thank you for all your assistance, guidance, patience, and encouragement throughout this endeavor.

I would also like to thank my other committee member, Dr. E. Grady Bogue, who has taught me that in the pursuit of success, goals, and dreams, you should never forget your values. Thank you for providing me with an excellent example of what the best leaders should be.

I would like to express my appreciation to my co-workers at The Social Science Research Institute. Dr. Bill Lyons and Dr. John Scheb have given me a rare opportunity to experience the world of research. Thank you Linda Gaddis, Lu Bailey, Shari Garber, Karen Collins, and Brian Ratledge for keeping me sane throughout this entire process.

Additionally, my historical information for this project would not be coherent and complete without the assistance of Maggy Shannon.

I would also like to thank my parents Henry and Gwen Moreland. My educational pursuits would never have been accomplished had it not been for all your encouragement, support, and sacrifices. You have given me the

greatest legacy a person could ever own, an education, and asked only one thing in return - that I give my children the same opportunity.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my husband Grant. Your patience with all the late nights and long hours means the world to me. Thank you for being my inspiration, my encouragement, my supporter, and my best friend.

Abstract

This study examines changes in the frequency of articles reporting incidents of student activism by the news periodical media, and describes characteristics of the placement and presentation of the articles, to provide answers to the following research objectives: 1) To determine whether the frequency of media coverage of American student activism changed since the 1960s; 2) To determine whether the location or placement of articles and their size suggest variation in the importance assigned to student activism incidents; and 3) To determine whether congruence existed between the level of coverage of student activism and the incidence of student activism. The functionalist perspective, which views the media as impartial "selectors" of news was used to develop the research design. The research sample (n=319) was drawn of *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News & World Report* articles published between 1961-1987, and content analyzed.

The data demonstrate that the frequency of reporting of student activism incidents increased from 1961 through 1970, dropped sharply in 1970, then showed a slight increase in the mid 1980s. The location or placement and presentation of articles is shown to relate to the issue of protest and the level of violence associated with the protests. This selection

and placement of articles regarding student protest suggest variation in the importance assigned to student activism incidents. The frequency of reporting student activism is compared to a chronology of political, social, and educational events and activism incidents from the 1960s through 1987. The data suggest that reporting frequency during the 1980s was not congruent with the occurrence of activism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE MASS MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC	7
The Role of the Media in Society	8
Mass Media Shaping of Societal Perceptions	15
Defining News	16
Media's Selection of News	18
Student Activism and the Media	28
Research Questions	37
III. THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE	39
The Selection of News Periodicals	40
Content Analysis	41
Data Collection	46
Data Analysis	50
Summary of Research Procedure	59
IV. STUDENT ACTIVISM FROM THE 1960s TO THE 1980s ..	61
The Civil Rights Movement	62
Educational Reform	64
Vietnam and the Draft	67
The Escalation of Violence	68
The 1970s - A Temporary Decline in Activism	70
The 1980s - A Resurgence of Student Activism	71
The 13th Generation and the Resurgence of Student Activism	75

V.	RESULTS	78
	Examination of Periodical Structure.....	78
	Characteristics of Student Activism Incidents	83
	Time Analysis of Story Placement	90
	Time Analysis of Citation Frequency.....	91
	Frequency of Coverage and Incidence of Activism ...	92
VI.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	103
	Summary	103
	Conclusions.....	105
	Potential for Student Activism in the Future.....	106
	Implications for Additional Research	110
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	112
	APPENDICES	121
	Appendix 1 - Initial Coding Scheme	122
	Appendix 2 - Final Coding Scheme	126
	VITA	127

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1 Subsection Frequency	84
2 News Periodical Placement of Student Activism Issues.	88
3 News Periodical Placement and Level of Violence	89
4 News Periodical Placement and Occurrence of Deaths.	90
5 Historical Timeline of Important Political and Social Events Frequency of News Periodical Citations of Student Activism . .	95

Chapter 1

Introduction

Periodically, a news report appears about the intellectual and social deficiency of American college students. Reports of not only lower standardized exam scores and intelligence levels, but also misgivings about the lack of social concern are disheartening. Numerous statistics are given for the small numbers of American students aged 18-25 who vote in national and local elections, or participate in social causes. These students are often portrayed as self-centered, alienated, bitter, cynical citizens whose only concerns are drinking and making money. Sometimes newswriters report of their longing for the "good old days" of the 1960s when college students cared about society and humanity, and were willing to take a stand and fight, risk arrest, and even die for what they believed.

A stroll across an American college campus presents a different picture of this generation of students. Recycling centers, women's centers, gay and lesbian support organizations, ethnic centers, and flyers advertising debates about political and social issues abound. Only a few years ago, this same venture across campus would probably land a person face to face with a shanty; constructed of cardboard and scrap lumber to symbolize the plight

of black South African citizens and their struggle against apartheid. During the Persian Gulf war, anti-war and pro-military demonstrations were held on campuses nationwide. Additionally, groups such as Lead or Leave, The Peace Corps, Third Millennium, Act-Up, Student Environmental Action Coalition, Greenpeace, Habitat for Humanity, and Amnesty International are experiencing rapid growth on many campuses.

Is there a discrepancy between what the media report regarding American college students and what we see and experience on a typical college campus? Although the media may present formidable statistics regarding graduation rates and SAT scores, why does there seem to be such a difference in the reporting of social participation on the part of these students? We rarely see stories of the thousands of college students who marched on Washington, D. C. in support of women's rights, or the hundreds of college students who spend their spring break building homes and repairing damage in disaster-torn communities. We read reports of rising crime on campuses, but rarely see the "Take Back the Night" rallies in response to crime. The few images we see of these students seem to be heavily influenced by perceptions of young American adults as nothing more than lazy kids who want nothing more out of life than to commune at coffee shops and complain about how they were screwed-up by their parents.

During the 1960s and early 1970s many newspapers, magazines, and television news reports were filled with stories about students protesting on American campuses. We saw how black students from North Carolina A & T sat-in at the Woolworth lunch counter to protest segregation, and provided an initiative for other students to mobilize against these inequalities. We read about students at Berkeley holding the campus under siege when the administration announced it would build on a plot of land where many local homeless citizens stayed. We saw what seemed like nightly accounts of anti-war protests and draft resistance as the U. S. involvement in Vietnam escalated throughout the decade. We were shocked by the accounts of students killed at the hands of National Guard troops at Kent State University on a spring afternoon in 1970. The public was presented with an image of social unrest that necessitated national attention and concern.

Since the early 1970s however, accounts of student activism incidence appears to have disappeared from the media, which seems odd to anyone who experiences the life of a college campus on any regular basis. How can we reconcile news accounts of lazy, apathetic students while we are seeing students mobilizing around various causes? What few media reports we see seem superficial, and completely oblivious to the issue at hand. They focus

more on the people that are involved, or the sheer fact that students are voicing their opinions, rather than on what the students are saying.

If the media shape our perceptions of what is occurring in society, how are we to be sure the picture is an accurate one, or even with what frequency the phenomenon is taking place? If we have the opportunity to experience an event, we can assure ourselves of its authenticity, and can refute any discrepancies the media report concerning the incident. Nevertheless, it is impossible to experience every important event in society, so we are dependent on the mass media to present us with the information we need or desire regarding that event. It is important for us to know that inconsistencies do exist in the media reporting of events, and the media's lack of attention to an issue or event does not necessarily correspond to a lack of action or incidence.

This thesis addresses the frequency of reporting and characteristics of the coverage of American student activism during the period of 1961-1987. It queries how much activism was reported over this time period, and whether or not changes in the amount of coverage are associated with changes in the occurrence of incidents of student activism.

Chapter Two lays the theoretical foundations for this research. Research in the areas of sociology and the mass media is examined for

information regarding the concept of news and the role of the mass media in society. Theorists in sociology, political science, and mass communications have questioned the process of selection and reporting of news items by the media. Finally, this chapter addresses the relationship between student activists and the mass media; their interdependence and their possible conflicts of interest.

Chapter Three introduces the research methodology employed for this study. It explains the selection of a content analysis technique of data collection, and its applicability to this type of research. The examination procedure and coding scheme are presented as part of the discussion of the analysis.

Chapter Four presents an historical account of college student activism in America from the 1960s to the late 1980s. It discusses several predominant student social movements and issues that prompted students to mobilize.

Chapter Five presents the results of the content analysis. It discusses the examination of the news periodicals that were used, and the findings concerning frequency of coverage and information about how the stories were placed and presented within the publications. A chronology of events

and activism incidents is established to compare occurrence with the number of articles reporting activism for the study period.

Chapter Six concludes the study with a summary and discussion of these research findings. Additionally, this chapter presents theories and information regarding the potential for future American college student activism, and suggestions for further research on the topic.

Chapter 2

The Mass Media and the Public

The literature regarding the mass media and society encompasses a wide range of theories and studies in different disciplines. Most writing stems from a core of sociology, political science, and mass communications/broadcasting research. Sociologists tend to examine the mass media in terms of their relationship between society and social institutions. Typically, these researchers investigate the role of the media as one of the primary socialization agents, as well as the value and function of the media within the culture. Political science and political sociology researchers take a narrower perspective, as they typically analyze the media and their relationship to the power structures and power processes within society.

Whereas social science theories of the mass media analyze the relationship of media to society in broad analytical terms, mass communications specialists tend to focus their attention on the day-to-day analysis of the business of the media. This research looks at decision-making structures and processes within the workings of a media organization. Communications researchers examine the factors that contribute to decision-

making and coverage by the media, and the impact these selection decisions have on the sales of the medium.

While the mass media theories from the fields of sociology, political science, and communications may seem to be incongruent, they are very much related. The role and function of the media cannot be analyzed fully without an understanding of the decision-making and organizational processes involved in their structures, and vice versa.

This research on the news media coverage of American student activism incorporates an interdisciplinary perspective and integrates a discussion of both the role and the processes involved in the mass media reporting of the news. Additionally, it looks at the relationship between the mass media and American student activists in terms of coverage and portrayal during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

The Role of the Media in Society

Sociological contributions to the study of the mass media in society often focus on the examination of the role of the media in the community that they serve. The mass media serve a very important role in society, where people cannot experience all important events on a personal level. The public must depend on the media to select and present this information to us. The

theories regarding the role and functions of the media in society fall primarily into two different categories, the functionalist perspective and the elitist perspective.

The functionalist perspective relies on the pragmatic presentation of information and identifies three primary purposes for the mass media in society: 1) to act as observers of the society in which they serve; 2) to facilitate the coordination of the many parts of society in response to actions which may affect that society; and 3) to assist in the socialization process and transmit cultural values and norms to subsequent generations (Lasswell 1960).

The primary assumption supporting functionalist theories is that the media choose the stories they cover based on the marketability of the story (Compaine 1982; Hollstein 1969; Meyer 1985; Underwood 1993). In this case, the media serve in the role of "selector" of information, observing society and choosing the pieces of information that are not only important, but also more attractive to the audience. If the news story is entertaining, eye-catching, or attention-getting, it will sell better than the less exciting story. Additionally, the assumption is that media decision makers are not influenced by outside political forces, and that coverage decisions are made solely to increase market share or sales.

The elitist perspective on the role of the mass media advocates the idea of the media as "gatekeepers," providing checkpoints through which the information must pass in the selection process. At these checkpoints, the decision is made by the journalists, whether to allow the information to continue through the news production chain. If the decision is made to allow the information to continue along the process, it could possibly end up as a news story. Otherwise, the information dies in route and never attains the status of news story. This view argues that, not only do the newsmakers have control over the quantity of information dissemination but this filtering process also allows them to advance the hegemonic ideals of the political and economic elites through the decision of what ideas or events to present as news. It is this support and control over the preservation of the status quo and of the current political structure, that may encourage manipulation or even distortion of the facts in reporting information deemed threatening to the elites (Herman 1986; Lewin 1947; Schramm 1960; White 1964).

Defining Reality and Importance

The American public has grown increasingly dependent on the mass media throughout the 20th century. Citizens rely on the mass media to define and provide a frame of reference for their perception of reality and importance

(Altheide 1976; Turner 1980). Defining reality is difficult, however, due to the fact that "reality" lies not only in what actually happens, but also in what people perceive and expect to happen (Funkhouser 1973). Researchers have often questioned the relationship between what the media cover, and what the public perceives as important. Although the news may be to some extent contrived (as in the case of Dateline NBC's "exploding truck" footage), the world about which it reports is not (potentially dangerous placement of gas tanks on pickup trucks) (Gitlin 1993; Henry 1993). In this case, the issue at hand may be of concern to the audience, but the manipulation of details, or omission of information in the news story may actually lead the audience to perceive the world in a contrived manner.

News may also tell us what is possible, or even eminent in our society or in others. Although we may not experience war or despotic oppression in our country, we know and understand their potential effects on people because of the mass media's coverage of other cultures and societies (Bennett 1983).

The news also serves to justify an issue or action. If the prominent media in society fail to cover an issue, the public tends to question whether or not it is legitimate (Cirino 1973; Parenti 1993). The media may not have the power and ability to persuade people to think in a particular manner, but

through sheer volume of coverage they can affect what issues or problems people think about. Studies have shown that the more the media cover an issue, the greater the probability that people will see it, and consequently, the greater the opportunity people have to build and retain information about that issue. This heightened awareness often leads to people defining the issue as more important than other concerns facing society (Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder 1982; Tuchman 1978).

Nimmo and Combs (1990) posit that as society develops and the mass media become the chief source of information about society, people develop more dependence on the mass media for visions of reality. These authors argue that this dependence on the media promotes the following cycle:

- The more dependent people are on the media, the more they will change their opinions based on the information they receive from the media.
- As the mass-media meet the public's information needs, the public in turn becomes more dependent on them, and the media gain even more influence.
- The more developed the media in a society, the more the citizens of that society will depend on it during times of social conflict, crisis, and change.

Funkhouser (1973) examined the relationship between the issues covered by the mass media in the 1960s and their correspondence with the

public's definition of important national issues in the annual Gallup Opinion Index. He content analyzed the news periodicals *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News and World Report*, and determined the average coverage given a particular issue (Vietnam, Race Relations, Crime, Inflation, etc.) over a ten year period (1960-1970). He then compared the number of articles pertaining to each issue and its corresponding rankings assigned by Gallup Organization surveys of U. S. citizens in the years 1964-1970. He found that the amount of media attention given to an issue influences the visibility of the issue and the public perception of the importance of the issue.

Promoting Cultural Values and Norms

The public also depends on the media to promote values and norms that are deemed meaningful in society. Some sociologists such as Roshco (1975) believe that society creates a set of norms and attitudes that define social life and are of interest or importance to its citizens. In this case, news is viewed as a constructed reality that presents a *reflected* vision of societal concerns, interests, and values. This is done simply in the process of covering and disseminating the interesting and important aspects of society to its members.

Other social scientists do not assume a system of socially defined norms, and argue that newswriters define the norms. They contend that news does not reflect society; it *establishes* society as a shared social phenomenon by defining and describing events (Tuchman 1978). The media act as a member of an "elite" group who defines deviant behavior and indirectly acts as a social control agent (Ericson, Baranek, and Chan 1987).

Presenting Public Consensus

The mass media are the only cultural agents that have the ability to disseminate important information and perspectives on such a wide scale in order to stimulate the formation of publicly shared attitudes (Gerbner 1972). Therefore, members of the public rely on the mass media to shape and present the public consensus on social issues (Gitlin 1980; Robinson and Charron 1989). In the United States, this presentation of norms and acceptable behavior often takes the form of stories emphasizing acts of deviance, and control or elimination of this deviance.

Mass Media Shaping of Societal Perceptions

As one of the primary socialization agents, the mass media act as a tremendous influence on the shaping and formation of our attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of society. We can witness the widespread influence of the media in the adoption of music, fashions, and fads after the media present a respected member of society endorsing, or simply wearing the product. We gain many of our ideas about family and career roles that are common and acceptable in society, simply by watching television on any given evening. Our views towards families have changed drastically during the past few decades from the ideal homemaker of June Cleaver to the successful career and family woman in Claire Huxtable. Although the broadcast media are often presented as the most influential media in society, the print media also serve to inspire our perceptions and beliefs. Newspapers and popular magazines may inform us of the latest international crisis; but they also guide us in popular fashion, music, the performing arts, or even the latest gossip on the social scene (Thompson and Hickey 1994). It is this information, or news about occurrences in our social environment that helps guide our daily decisions and behavior.

Defining News

Although we rely upon media reporters to present clear, concise information about things important to us, one of the most difficult concepts for anyone, including reporters, to define is the idea of news. Some journalists will say news is information that people want to know and others may define it as the information people may not want, but need to know. One of the most comprehensive definitions is that given by Altheide (1976) as: *News is the product of an organized process which entails a practical way of looking at events in order to tie them together, make simple and direct statements about their relationship, and do this in an entertaining way* (page 112).

Throughout human history, people have relied upon word-of-mouth communication with others to gain the information necessary to go about their day-to-day activities and define important events in their communities. Individuals were selected to serve as "town criers" to relay this same information on a local or regional scale. We still have a basic need for vital information, but our parameters have grown to encompass a more "global view" and we now desire national and international news that stretches beyond our own communities. We have also grown accustomed within the past decade to complex technology that allows us to observe important events simultaneously, or within a few minutes, hours, or days.

The Social Value of News

Robert Park's theories describe news as having value to society because of the type of knowledge it produces and disseminates. Park posited that news is "acquaintance with" knowledge as opposed to "knowledge about." "Acquaintance with" knowledge acts to inform persons about particular events. Its goal is to make a person familiar with an event by providing specific information about the situation. This knowledge typifies modern news as an information medium. "Acquaintance with" knowledge provides simple, concrete, descriptive information rather than abstract concepts. It is immediate and factual. It presents a current, superficial picture of the condition being covered and provides the opportunity for the addition of later "knowledge about" information if the audience so desires it (Roscho 1975).

The Need for News

Social communication in the form of news is needed and desired in society as a commodity of social exchange. This need exists in groups of all size, from a small family structure desiring information of its members' activities, to a large complex society's need to understand national and international occurrences that support or threaten its cultural structures,

values, and norms. We must have news since it is one of the few things we do have in common with other members of our society (Altheide 1976). Humans have a basic need to know, understand, and control the society and environment around them. This understanding and control cannot take place without the presence of a monitoring system to produce periodic reports of the social and environmental conditions from which we can make decisions about our behavior.

Media's Selection of News

All pieces of potential news information must go through some selection process by the newsmakers. News does not have the inherent capability to select itself. At some point in the news-making process, someone must decide to allow the information to "become news." Typically, this decision is made through a reporter's selling of the story to his or her editor. The debate about the media selection of news does not lie in whether or not the information is selected, but rather in the debate of how it is selected. Two very different perspectives, media as a "gatekeeper" versus media as a "selector," are derived from the two basic theories underlying the role and relationship of media and society, the elitist and the functionalist theories, respectively.

Media as a "Gatekeeper" of News

The idea of the mass media serving as "gatekeepers" in the information process is based on the elitist perspective of the media. Kurt Lewin (1947) was the first to use this term, "gatekeeper," in his discussions surrounding the role of the media in society. He pointed out that as an information message passes through the channels of newsmaking, it is sequentially subjected to critique and possible rejection before it reaches the audience. These channels, and the newswriters who occupy them, serve as "gates" that control the dissemination of information to the outside world. These "gatekeepers" have the ultimate control over what is released or not released to the public via the mass media (Alger 1989; White 1964). These theories of the gatekeeper function of the mass media focus attention not on the outside actors or influences on the process of news, but on the internal media structures and how through a process of censorship, the newswriters have the ability to decide what becomes "news" to the general public. This process places tremendous responsibility and power in the hands of the editors and journalists as they decide what enters the social communication process (Herman 1986; Schramm 1960).

Media as a "Selector" of News

The functionalist perspective views the media as impartial "selectors" of news, informing us of events, issues, and even problems that exist in society. To analyze what constitutes "news" to the American mass media, and therefore the public, we must look at factors that prompt the media to focus their initial attention on an issue or event. Due to the ever-increasing intensity of competition for media attention, the events which will gain the most public attention, and therefore sales, win the coverage. Consider the tabloid press which acknowledges its distortion of information in order to sell more publications. These agencies understand that publishing is a business, which cannot survive unless the papers or magazines are sold. All publication companies, including the mainstream "respected" press, face this constraint also (Hollstein 1969; Meyer 1985; Underwood 1993). They may present information about issues and events in a more "factual" manner than tabloids, but they still may be tempted by the use of sensationalism and entertainment to sell their product.

News magazines must consider the allocation of advertising space and special features, but also take into consideration editorial bias toward running as many stories as possible (Compaine 1982). These pressures

often results in small, concise, less-than-half-page statements concerning the news event. These are the "sound-bites" of the print media.

An additional problem facing the print media is that people tend to exhibit selective attention, perception, and retention of information when bombarded with an overload of news (Cohen and Young 1973; Mayer 1987; Schramm 1954; Silvey 1970). They skip through the magazine or newspaper, looking for headings, statements, or photographs which catch their attention, and only read a story if they perceive it somehow relates to them, or is exciting enough to break through their cognitive frame of the moment. The publishers of the newspaper *USA Today* recognized that people tend not to read a news story past the first page, and their paper took the newspaper market by storm when it introduced its collection of daily news "sound-bites" (Ritzer 1993).

Due to this need to capture the attention of the audience quickly, the media often focus on the action involved in an incident, since that is what draws the reader or viewer to the issue (Dunn 1969). This phenomenon may result in an audience mis-perception of the "reality" of the issue or event. Boorstin (1962) refers to these snippets of mediated reality as "pseudo-events," which he claims are attention-getting because they possess many more interesting and entertaining qualities than the real events.

Although journalists may state that the decision to cover an issue or event as important, or "hard news," is often the matter of journalistic instinct; criteria for selection are commonly based on the issue's general significance, the number of people affected, cultural meaningfulness, immediacy, and even the dramatic quality of the incident (Bennett 1983; Fedler 1989; Nordenstreng 1972; Tuchman 1978; Tunstall 1972; Warner 1970). This need to present news which will quickly catch the audience's attention may lead to journalists relying on the dramatic qualities of an event to entertain the reader or viewer, as in the coverage of deviance.

Issues of Public Concern

The news issues that garner the most public attention tend to be those related to national or international politics, and social problems. The presentation of these issues may prove to be challenging to all parties involved; the actors, the reporters, and the politicians. The functionalist perspective proposes that the role of the media in this circumstance would be to serve as a "watchdog" for the public, informing it of any transgressions or political decisions which might have a direct impact on the citizens. On the other hand, the elitist perspective posits that the media would actually serve

to protect the interests of the political powers and present news items which would not threaten, but preferably, support the status quo.

When reporting political topics and activities, the media tend to take an inconsistent stance. They place a high value on the idea of grassroots response to concerns, but at the same time emphasize the official or "accepted" norms of society and the American government (Gans 1979). Studies have shown that in the coverage of politics, the media tend to place more emphasis on personalities and partisanship, rather than issues and content. This has drawn concern from many who argue that the distorted view of the American political system makes it difficult for the public to make intelligent political choices or even mobilize around critical issues (Parenti, 1993).

Deviance

By searching for acts that deviate from the accepted norms, journalists attempt to draw boundaries and define order in society. Because news reporting relies on the journalist's ability to visualize the event for the audience, deviance is easy to conceptualize in the audience's mind, as is the converse idea of a better society (Ericson, Baranek, and Chan 1987; Ericson, Baranek, and Chan 1991). Once a controversial issue reaches the public

arena, it faces definition as a social problem and is brought to society's attention (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988).

The definition of deviant behavior is subjective and situational, so also the tone of news reports on social disorder is highly dependent on the situation and political considerations. The perception and definition of who constitutes the troublemaker may often be a reflection of the prevailing political attitudes.

Violence

Studies have shown that violent deviance and crimes receive more media attention than non-violent ones (Lotz 1991). The print media frequently present stories of mass murder, rape, assault, and random acts of violence. Even the broadcast waves are not untouched by this trend toward more violent programming. A look at the weekly movie sales and television ratings indicates that the most popular shows and movies are filled with violent images. The local evening news seems to make a more concerted effort to include a few human interest stories to balance their reporting of war and violent crime. Recently, concern has been voiced about the possible effects of this quantity of violence in the media, and its possible effects on children

and the ideas these children develop during the socialization process (Thompson and Hickey 1994).

Examination of the media's reporting of violence requires a return to the basic functionalist assumption that the media make coverage decisions based upon what will sell. If the highest grossing movies and television shows are the ones which show the most graphic violence, then why shouldn't the mainstream news media follow suit, if this violence is what sells? In addition, violence involved in a social action makes a news story more exciting. People may not pay attention to a story about a group of students standing outside a school administration building protesting racial discrimination on campus. However, if the students take the President hostage, and carry weapons on campus, immediately the issue and action escalates to a value of entertainment similar to what a person might see on a television police show, or a *Rambo* movie.

Social Unrest and Control

Analyses of the media role indicate tremendous emphasis is placed on the elimination of social disorder in America. People are frightened by the potential dangers of random street violence or the possibility of someone causing harm to their families, as is broadcast on television news and

reported in newspapers and magazines (Gordon and Riger 1989). Witness the popularity of television shows about police or crime control units (such as *COPS*, *NYPD Blue*, or *The Commish*) in which after thirty minutes or an hour, the threat is vanquished. Throughout the history of the motion picture industry, melodramatic movies such as *The Lone Ranger*, *Terminator II*, and *Lethal Weapon* in which the good guys always win and harm is eliminated, are often the most popular.

The print media have also joined in the pursuit of the fearful audience. Newspapers report studies and polls which indicate citizens are concerned about violence and support increased attention to the elimination of crime (Social Science Research Institute 1993). Magazines often feature human interest stories about an individual who overcame a serious physical threat, escaped from a hostage situation, or prevailed over the murderer or rapist. People live in fear when they hear of a criminal who escaped from the local prison and has eluded police, and they rejoice when the criminal is caught and the neighborhood can rest easy again (Ericson, Baranek and Chan 1991).

Prominent People

When journalists look for the attention-getting aspects of a news story, they may highlight a particular person involved, especially if this person is viewed as a public figure. Why would a newspaper allocate two pages to the minute, and graphical details of a surgical procedure, if that procedure is performed on the President of the United States as opposed to "Joe Public"? Why do tabloid newspapers tend to sell well when the scandal involves a person within the political or entertainment world? Why would Charles Barkley do an athletic shoe commercial in which he espouses "I am paid to play basketball, not be a role model for your children?" Humans seem to have an appetite for news regarding public people. As a result, the media may latch on to a public figure when reporting news regarding an important event.

Gitlin (1980) discusses this phenomenon during the student activism of the 1960s. During the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, Mario Savio was singled out by the media as the figurehead for the group of students. Similarly, Mark Rudd became the symbol of the Columbia Uprising. The arrests of the Chicago Seven refocused the coverage of the riots at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, as did Amy Carter's arrest for protesting at the University of Massachusetts in 1986. As these cases show, when the

media focus on a person involved in an activist event, the report tends to become the story of the person rather than the facts surrounding the issue of protest.

Student Activism and the Media

The massive wave of student protest that took place during the 1960s and early 1970s prompted a widespread interest in the study of activism, and the relationship between the mass media and these activities. Examination of the linkages between the media and student movements is most commonly associated with the work of Gitlin (1980) and his analysis of the nature of media coverage of the New Left in the 1960s. His research focused on the questions surrounding the nature of the media coverage, the activists' responses to the coverage, and the short and long-term consequences of the coverage for the activists. He analyzed the attention (and lack of attention) the media gave the Students for a Democratic Society during the 1960s. He found evidence of techniques which he claims were used by the various media sources to portray the activists and their issues in a manner which distorted the group's actions and intentions. His set of "frames" or themes of coverage that the media uses for social and political activism is one of the

most comprehensive systems of coverage categorization ever developed (Gitlin 1980).

Social activists need the attention of the national media. An issue gains strength when placed before the public. Public attention not only allows a group the opportunity to present their issue and opinion to a larger audience, but also mass media coverage legitimizes the act or issue as one of importance to society (Hansen 1993). As many activists learned in the 1960s, simply gaining news coverage may increase interest and participation in the organization. They may subject themselves to arrest to make news, and have their issue defined as viable (Gitlin 1980). Activists and their causes often gain media and public attention during the early stages of their confrontation because they may be seen as exciting rebels or deviants; however, as the cause ages and loses the competition for media attention, the decline in attention can often lead to the public perception of a decrease in activity or even dissolution of the organization (Altbach 1981; Vellela 1988).

Student Activism as Deviant Behavior

The interaction between the media and activists is often a "love-hate" relationship. Although activists may gain the media's attention, this attention and coverage may not necessarily be supportive (Gitlin 1980; Vellela 1988).

Often student activists are at a clear disadvantage for gaining positive media attention. While they may be responding to a concern by mobilizing, the means by which the students go about their activity and the tactics used to promote their opinions may be perceived as extreme or deviant by the mass media, the government, and the public.

Although the activists perceive their own actions as simply responses to and protests of social ills, the media focus on the dangers of "letting our guard down" and allowing this behavior to exist in society. Gans (1979) discusses how deviance, and especially violence associated with activism, plays a part in the selection of coverage by the mass media. The number of people involved, the incidence of property destruction or injuries, and the occurrence in the public arena prompt the media to report these acts as having national prominence because of the potential of provoking more social upheaval and the threat to social norms and cohesion. He relates this to the idea that the death of students in conjunction with an incident of activism is considered national news, whereas student murder deaths are simply covered on the local news.

As a result, social protest gains media attention because of its perceived threat to the social order. The coverage tends to downplay the

issue at hand while elaborating on the people involved or the public authorities' reaction and attempts to restore order (Gans 1979; Gerzon 1969).

Media Coverage of 1960s Student Activism

The functionalist theory regarding the media and society would tend to argue that coverage (or frequency of coverage) of American student activism during the 1960s would be very high. Much of the events and uprisings that took place during this period contained dramatic qualities that were perceived as deviant and violent (Fraser 1988).

The early Civil Rights Movement sit-ins and confrontations over segregated facilities exhibited national prominence and exciting violent clashes between protesters, police, and resisters. As the decade progressed, the demonstrations and fights for racial equality and educational reform moved to the college campuses, canceling classes, and in several cases, included the taking of hostages. As the 1960s culminated, the U. S. experienced more violent confrontations between police and students over the ongoing military conflict in Vietnam. These clashes resulted in many injuries and even a few deaths (Bayer and Astin 1969; Fraser 1988). National issues such as civil rights and war, violent behavior and destruction by the

students, and the public desire for control of the unrest would predictably lead to frequent coverage by the media.

The elitist perspective on the student activism of the 1960s asserts that the media would attempt to maintain the attitudes of the political powers and cover the events either sparingly, or possibly even distort some of the information. Much of the activism by students in the 1960s was in direct conflict with decisions made by the government, and by the administrative leaders at the educational institutions. Many of the students were demonstrating against the military involvement in Vietnam, civil rights violations, and in support of widespread educational reform. According to the elitist perspective of the media as a gatekeeper, the expectation would be limited frequency of the reporting of the issues behind student activism, and more coverage of the control of the unrest.

Media Coverage of 1970s and 1980s Student Activism

The student activism surrounding issues such as the U. S. military conflict in Vietnam and Southeast Asia could be expected to wane as the military began its withdrawal of troops during the early 1970s. This issue was no longer in the forefront of American concern, and other national problems, such as Watergate and an economic recession, would seem to be of more

importance to the public. The functionalist theory would argue that as the students became less violent, and the issues of concern turned to a more educational focus, the coverage of student activism would not gain as much media attention as earlier activism had. According to the elitist perspective, the information regarding any activism that did take place would be manipulated in support of the status quo.

The theoretical predictions regarding the student activism of the 1980s are more complicated. Again, the functionalist theory posits national prominence of issues, deviance, violence, and the involvement of important persons as being crucial to the entertainment qualities, and therefore coverage of the event. The elitist theory would assert that activism which is congruent with the ideas of the current political powers would be covered in more "realistic" detail than activism in opposition to the political consensus. The activism of the 1980s is difficult to assess because some of the activism was in support of current political views (disgust with the apartheid system in South Africa) and contained dramatic qualities (the construction and destruction of apartheid shanties on campuses). At the same time though, protests occurred in direct conflict with other political forces (CIA recruitment on campus, military actions in El Salvador, and abortion rights).

Media Reporting of Student Activism

Studies of media coverage of student activism by Gitlin (1980), Parenti (1993) and Vellela (1988) suggest various techniques are used by the mass media in their reporting of activism to eliminate perceived threats to the status quo. All three researchers, following in the elitist tradition, identify reporting techniques which may distort the reality of the activism.

- **“Sound-bites”** : This technique frames the activism incident as a simple spectacle, having no meaning outside its original occurrence. One commonly used method is scanting content, or reducing the information to even simpler thematic pieces. During the Vietnam and Persian Gulf Wars, much of the activism was simply presented under the theme “Anti-War.” Neither the meaning of the particular incident, nor the context in the political environment were presented.
- **Frivolity**: Often the activists are portrayed as irrational and frivolous, as is their staged event. This coverage focuses on how the protesters are dressed, the interesting wording on the signs they carry, their age, their use of abusive or obscene language, or even a significant person involved in the incident. In the event of student activism, the scene is often portrayed as “Oh, those students are complaining about something again!” Trivialization was very prevalent in the coverage during the 1986-

87 coverage of the CIA recruiting protests at The University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The media focused their attention on the arrest and trial of Amy Carter, rather than on the actual issue or event.

- **Activist as Deviant:** This technique presents the activists as lacking credibility in their encroachment on the political process. In this type of coverage, the activists are presented as deviants or criminals who lack self-control or rational decision-making abilities. Many of the reports of the student activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s portrayed student activists as "long-haired, pot smoking, rock throwing, violent threats to orderly society."
- **Constructed Reality:** In this case the media often distort the information about the event by employing several tactics. *False balance* involves placing a disproportionate amount of attention to a counter-demonstration that supports the status quo. The larger, more organized group may receive little coverage of their opinions, while a smaller opposition may receive as much, or more attention. During the Vietnam and Persian Gulf Wars, the media were accused of "gatekeeping" by placing much more emphasis and attention on the demonstrations supporting the military efforts, than on those which opposed the conflict and involvement of the United States.

Undercounting presents the attendance of the protest in much smaller numbers, while the attendance of the opposition may be exaggerated. This framework provides a “packaged” story which attributes little validity or viability to the protest organization. Gitlin (1980) discusses the use of this approach in the selection of photographs used in the New York Times reporting of the 1965 Vietnam protest march at the White House. As he demonstrates, the camera angles and positioning used by the photographers distorts the perception of the number of attendants at the protest, and the counter-demonstration.

Omitting coverage of the event is considered to be the most common form of distortion used by the media. Protests may no longer be considered important news by the media, and re-definition could lead to complete lack of coverage of the issue or event.

- **“Sixties-style Activism”:** Vellela (1988) suggests that the student protests of the 1980s and 1990s are often compared to the 1960s protests when covered by the media. The comparison of current activism to that of the previous generation is perceived as unfair by many students who currently mobilize to fight injustice (Howe and Strauss 1993; Strauss and Howe 1991; Vellela 1988; Williams, et al 1985). The media seem to be able to define the characteristics of a “60s Style Activism,” even though

the participants of those events in the 1960s have not come to a conclusion as to comprehensive characteristics. Much of the coverage of student protests during the Persian Gulf War relied on the use of this schema. The media coverage would begin with a brief scene of a protest occurring on campus. The reporter might mention the fact that the protest occurred on a particular day or at a particular location. Then the remaining coverage would focus on a retrospect of the anti-war protests of the 1960s.

Research Questions

This research seeks to analyze and describe two dimensions involved in the coverage of American student activism from 1961-1987. The functionalist perspective was used to develop the research. First, the frequency with which student activism incidents were covered will be addressed to determine changes that may have occurred during this period of time. Second, articles written about specific student activism incidents will be analyzed in order to determine patterns in the characteristics of the activism. This analysis will attempt to provide answers and descriptions in response to the following research questions:

- Has the frequency of media coverage of American student activism has changed since the 1960s?
- In various periods between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, have students expressed public concern about political, social, and educational issues?
- Was more recent student activism, primarily in the 1980s, not covered as much by the mass media as activism of the 1960s?
- Did a decline in coverage by the media give the impression that the actual incidence of activism has declined dramatically, even though this may not be the case?

Chapter 3

The Research Procedure

The purpose of this project was to examine and describe changes in the frequency of reported incidents of student activism by the news periodical media, and to describe the coverage those activism incidents received in terms of magazine placement. A time period (1961-1987) was selected to examine the most visible period of student activism in U. S. history and to compare media coverage in that era (1960s) with one in which the public may have perceived a decrease or even absence of student activism (1970s and 1980s) (Levine and Wilson 1979; Schlesinger and Baldrige 1982). The primary research question was whether the frequency of reporting activism changed during the period. A second research question considered whether the location or placement of the articles, and their size suggest variation in the importance assigned to student activism incidents. The third research question addressed whether there was congruence between the level of coverage of student activism and the incidence of activism? The unit of analysis for this study is individual articles about student activism incidents in popular news magazines.

For this project, student activism is defined as any specific action taken by college students in response to a political, social, or educational concern. Articles discussing activities that did not specifically mention college students were excluded, as was any article that discussed student activism in general or an individual's explanations and theories for the activism, which did not include mention of one or more specific incidents.

The Selection of News Periodicals

Much of the research regarding media coverage of issues or events centers around newspapers and network television, for these media tend to exhibit the greatest influence over political and social attitude formation for the American public (Bennett 1983; Funkhouser 1973; Gitlin 1980; Greenberg 1972; Robinson and Zukin 1976; Tuchman 1978). This project is different in that the periodical news publications *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News and World Report* were selected because of their nationwide distribution and resulting wider audiences than regional newspapers or television. Studies suggest that certain national news magazines in the United States may exhibit great influence on the attitudes of the American public, including the "intellectually elite" and policy makers (Funkhouser 1973; Kadushin, Hover, and Tichy 1971). Although limited by constraints, print

media are not as restricted as television in space allocation and thus tend to cover issues in more depth.

Content Analysis

This study utilizes a content analysis data collection procedure to draw inferences from the context of the articles covering student activism in the United States. Content analysis techniques allow a researcher to explore the relationship between the symbolic component of the text and its societal context in a systematic manner (Berelson 1971; Holsti 1968; Phillips 1985). This counting and recording of information results in a quantitative description of the textual content that emphasizes the representativeness of the chosen sample (Golden 1976; Neuman 1994). Berelson (1971) posits that content analysis operates under three general assumptions: 1) the inferences about the relationships between intent/content/effect can be established; 2) the study of the manifest content (what is actually written) is meaningful; and 3) the quantitative description of the content is important. Content analysis research strives to employ contextual data to answer questions of what?, how?, to whom?, why?, who?, and with what effect? (Babbie 1992; Holsti 1968).

Content analysis is often used to describe thematic content, to count words for inferential reference, and to assess symbolic components of the text; however, the technique can also be used to analyze changes in the media coverage. A trend analysis can be performed to determine changes in the amount of attention given to a particular issue, or changes in the attitude toward a particular issue over time. Additionally, a covariance analysis may be performed to determine the existence of relationships among two or more categories of information (Budd and Thorp 1963).

Weber (1990) suggests that a content analysis technique is especially appropriate for research purposes that examine the focus of individual, group, or media attention. Content analysis is advantageous in this research project because:

- analysis is performed on samples of communication content.
- information can be used to support perceptions based on non-methodical observations.
- data can be analyzed for information over a span of time.
- the researcher serves as a non-influential observer of the information that has previously been recorded by another person (Neuman 1994; Weber 1990).

Unit of Analysis

The determination of units of analysis for a content analysis project is important in order to insure an accurate sample is drawn, and reliability and validity are maximized. When researching the context of a passage, these units are typically thematic classification, issue, and space allocation (Babbie 1992; Budd, Thorp, and Donohew 1967). The *context units* are those pieces of data which are assessed for the research. The *recording units* are those pieces of information which are being coded, and are usually classified as part of the larger context unit (Budd, Thorp, and Donohew 1967).

Sampling

Sampling methods for a content analysis study can utilize many techniques, depending upon the research question and purpose of the study. Random, stratified, and cluster samples are often used; however, the research goals of this project were best met through a purposive sampling method.

Reliability

One of the greatest challenges in using a content analysis technique is the issue of classification and coding reliability. *Stability* across time may be

weak due to the presence of one principal coder. *Intercoder reliability* is also a concern and should be addressed through a coding check by another individual to identify any discrepancies in the classification or coding schemes chosen. Any confusion or ambiguities in text wording can lead to misclassification or coding problems. Intercoder reliability for two coders can be measured using the formula:

$$R = 2(C_{1,2}) / C_1 + C_2$$

where two times the number of categories consistent between the coders is divided by the sum of all the categories coded by both individuals (North, Holsti, Zaninovich, and Zinnes 1963; Weber 1990).

Validity

An additional concern when using content analysis is the problem of validity. *Face validity* is important since it refers to the extent to which the classification scheme corresponds to the concept being measured, and may be affected by different interpretations of researchers. A measure has *construct validity* if it correlates with another measure of the same variable, and serves as an indicator of the generalizability of the construct across other methods. An examination of the results can aid in the determination of *hypothesis validity*, or the extent to which the data behave in the "expected"

manner, i.e., consistent with the original question (Babbie 1992; Weber 1990).

In this project, validity was established by a three-fold system. First, the characteristics of student activism in this project were carefully operationalized and coded to reduce possible ambiguities in definition, and to establish the face validity. Second, a chronology of other sources such as news and oral history accounts of activism incidents which occurred from 1961-1987, was established to evaluate the construct validity. Finally, hypothesis validity was evaluated by examining the data and evaluating their behavior in relation to the research questions.

Coding

The development of the coding scheme is important in the use of content analysis methods of research. Most coding schemes, as with this project, describe the most common attributes of textual content: frequency, direction, intensity, and space. *Frequency* refers to the number of times a particular item occurs. *Direction* of the message along a continuum is also an important characteristic of many messages. *Intensity* measures the strength of the message in one direction. Finally, *space* can also be analyzed to

determine size or amount of textual content allocated (Holsti 1968; Neuman 1994).

The unit of analysis and the classification categories must be defined in such a way as to eliminate or decrease the likelihood of ambiguities in the coding and analysis. Additionally, the issues of exhaustiveness and breadth of category definitions should be addressed. (Babbie 1992; Budd and Thorp 1963; Weber 1990).

Content analysis techniques are highly useful in providing information regarding content messages, although the technique cannot address the issues regarding the intentions of the original writer, nor the actual effects of the text on the audience (Berelson 1971; Neuman 1994).

Data Collection

Unit of Analysis

This project used a content analysis technique to collect data for examination and description of the frequency and coverage of student activism by the news periodical media. The *context units of analysis* selected for the research were the individual citations regarding incidence of student activism by U. S. college students between 1961 and 1987. The *recording units* for this research were the specific pieces of information within each

citation (coverage, issue, level of violence, and deaths). The data regarding coverage were operationalized by an index of factors including placement, length, photographs, and subsection assignment. The issue data were examined and assigned to categories that related to the focus of the issue surrounding the incident (education, military issues, civil rights, etc.) and then the number in each category was recorded. The data describing the level of violence associated with the activism was operationalized by intensity levels. The articles which contained reference to deaths occurring in conjunction with an activism incident were counted also. (Babbie 1992; Holsti 1968). These variables will be discussed further in the explanation of the coding scheme.

Sampling Frame

This study employed a purposive research sample drawn from the three most popular and most widely distributed American news periodicals, for the years 1961-1987 (n=319). *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News and World Report* are easily recognized and accessible to the average American citizen, have the largest and widest coverage of the news periodicals, and are the most likely of popular publications to inform the general public about important world events (Funkhouser 1973; Thompson and Hickey 1994). Initially, a larger sample of all citations for 1961-1987 in the *Reader's Guide*

to *Periodical Literature* under the following headings: college student political activities, protests, demonstrations, student movement, and listed cross references regarding activism by American college students, were drawn (n=1530). This large sample was examined and initial coding performed on research variables. In the interest of this research, the decision was made to limit the study to the smaller sample of articles from the news periodicals (n=319).

Possible weaknesses exist with this method of sampling and testing, and have been considered. Due to the structure of the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, some articles related to student activism during this period may have been missed if they failed to appear under the examined subheadings. Some material may have been listed by the Reader's Guide under different, and untested subheadings, such as the name of the school (e.g. Harvard), or the issue of the protest (e.g. animal rights). This difficulty could lead to a lower incidence of citation (Funkhouser 1973). The possibility of multiple listings of one article was accounted for in the examination of each article, and the subsequent elimination of any duplicates.

An in-depth analysis of each periodical was conducted to determine the structure of the magazine, the placement of regular subsections, the average length of stories, accompanying photographs, and average number

of pages in each periodical. Each citation was examined and analyzed to determine the coverage the periodical gave the incident. This coverage was measured by an analysis of the following:

- placement in magazine (cover story, first-half, and second-half increments).
- length of the article (1/2 page increments up to 2+ pages).
- number of accompanying photographs (black and white and color photos).
- subsection in which the article was placed.

The issue surrounding the incidence of activism, the level of violence, and the number of deaths that occurred in conjunction with the activism incident were examined in relation to the placement each received within the publication.

This research explores and describes information in response to the following research questions:

- Has the frequency of media coverage of American student activism has changed since the 1960s?
- In various periods between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, did students express public concern about political, social, and educational issues?

- Was more recent student activism, primarily in the 1980s, not covered as much by the periodical news media as activism of the 1960s?
- Was there a decline in coverage by the media which did not correspond with the incidence of student activism?

Data Analysis

General Plan of Analysis

An in-depth analysis was conducted on the selected news periodicals to determine attributes of each magazine format. The data collected through the content analysis procedure were then coded according to a scheme which reflects characteristics of student activism incidents that may contribute to the activism receiving more media attention (issue, level of violence, deaths). These data were examined in detail to determine if patterns in the characteristics exist. The goal of this research is to provide comprehensive descriptions of the periodical news media coverage of student activism from 1961-1987.

Periodical Structure

News magazines place their primary emphasis on the most important news topics of the past week or two. These publications are arranged so that

the most important story is placed as the cover story, and takes up a larger number of pages than the other articles. The front half of the magazine is comprised of the regular subsections of the publication that most often deal with national and international issues of importance, known in the journalistic profession as "hard news." The second half of the magazine is often semi-regular subsections that appear once or twice per month, and typically report the news about prominent people, social institutions, the arts and entertainment, and sports, often referred to as "soft news" (Gans 1979).

Length of Articles

The contents of each periodical were examined and estimates were made concerning the average length of stories within the magazine. Many of the news publications attempt to provide brief explanations of issues or events so they do not lose readers' attention while turning pages to complete the article. The cover story or special feature story comprises more pages of text than other stories, or even subsections. Many of the stories reported within these magazines are on-going events or issues, and the magazines are published on a weekly basis so the news about those phenomena may appear to be covered superficially, or simply as a weekly update.

Accompanying photographs

An examination and analysis was also conducted on the photographs which accompany many of the news stories in these periodicals. Often, the presence of photographs to accompany a news story is more dependent upon the presence of a photographer's attendance at the event than any other factor. However, photographs may also be purchased from an "eyewitness" or media information source (Associated Press or United Press International). Pictures add meaning and relevance to a story. They enable the reader, or audience to gain more understanding of the dynamics of the situation by visualizing the action or event. Critics of the news process may argue that accompanying photographs may actually distort the meaning or "actuality" of the situation by focusing attention away from the issue or event, and on another subject (Gitlin 1980; Parenti 1993).

The selection of black and white or color photographs, at least in earlier editions of the periodicals examined, may be a factor of technology more than conscious choice. Film processing costs may have prevented color photographs from inclusion except for the magazine cover, which must draw attention in order to attract readers.

Coding Scheme

Information about the following categories of investigation was collected for each citation, and coded according to a scheme based on the literature review and initial examination of the articles (See Appendix 1).

Initial analysis of the entire sample (n=1530) was based on the examination of a larger number of categories than used in the final stages. The periodicals in this preliminary sample were coded according to the following variables (See Appendix 2):

- Placement - The placement of the story within the magazine was originally delineated on quarters of the publication pages. Each article was then classified as cover story, first quarter, second quarter, third quarter, fourth quarter, and editorial. Eventually these categories were combined into cover story, first half, and second half for the final analysis.
- Type of periodical or expected audience - These categories included African American, business, education, general interest, ideological/political, men, news, professional, religious affiliation, special interest, teen, women.
- Issue - Original inquiry resulted in a set of thirty-two issues around which the protest centered; these were later collapsed and reduced to six categories, under which they are described later in this section.

- **Tactics** - Twenty-three different tactics were reported to have been used by student protesters. These categories were collapsed to reflect three intensity levels of violence for the final analysis.
- **Person/Group** - Initial examination was attempted to determine any patterns in the reporting of particular people involved in the activism. Eighteen persons or groups were identified, but were determined to be inconclusive and were eliminated from the final analysis.
- **Location** - Data were recorded from early analysis of the sample in the attempt to distinguish patterns of reporting activism incidents in particular locations, primarily questioning a higher rate of reporting of incidents at Ivy League or "prestigious" educational institutions. No convincing patterns were determined in this review, and the data were subsequently dropped from the analysis.

After initial examination of the entire sample, the decision was made to limit the final project sample to only those articles from the three news periodicals. This reduction resulted in a research sample size of $n=319$. Analysis categories were then combined and collapsed into placement, issue, level of violence, and deaths.

The placement of the story within the publication was coded as either cover story, first half of the magazine, or second half of the magazine. Issue,

level of violence, and deaths were all analyzed according to the frequency of placement within the confines of the periodical.

The issues that incited students to activism during this period were grouped into the six categories of educational issues, U. S. military involvement in other countries, civil rights, ideological issues, other issues, and multiple issues.

The category of educational issues was comprised of concerns that affect students' educational attainment and life on campus. These include the idea of *in loco parentis*, student discipline, visitation regulations, supervision, control over student behavior, curricular choices, education reform, administrative decision-making, admissions procedures, costs, services, free speech, recruiting on campus, defense research, ROTC, facilities use, faculty, and the town/gown relationship.

The issue category of U. S. military involvement in other countries encompasses a wide range of historical events during the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. Primarily this grouping includes all actions surrounding the Vietnam conflict, the draft, and military involvement in the governmental structures of Central American and Middle Eastern countries.

The civil rights classification contains all issues regarding the basic rights and treatment of humans. For this research study, this category

includes citations related to the Civil Rights Movement, racism, affirmative action, segregation/desegregation of public educational institutions, and anti-apartheid/divestment activism.

Ideological issues include ideas associated with a particular political belief system such as conservative students and ideas or liberal students and ideas. This categorization most often appeared in reference to conservative students protesting the activism of the liberal students, and vice versa.

The category of other issues includes women's concerns, gay/lesbian rights, environmental concerns, and nuclear research/war. Many incidents of student activism in the 1960s involved several issues. Students were upset about the possibility of losing educational draft deferments, and at the same time they were protesting student rights issues and often racism on campus. If no conclusive decision could be reached regarding one particular overriding issue, the citation was coded as "multiple issues."

The categories selected to represent the level of violence associated with the tactic chosen by the activists were designated as violent civil disobedience, non-violent civil disobedience, and traditional political tactics (See Appendix 2). Violent civil-disobedience is comprised of tactics which pose serious threat to property or persons. These include riots, throwing

objects, vandalism, looting, arson, property destruction, taking of hostages, and bombings.

Non-violent civil disobedience is comprised of any action that causes attention to be drawn to the students or issue, but which does not threaten persons or property. These include such tactics as vocal protest, demonstrations, rallies, disruption of speakers, sit-ins, boycotts, strikes, picketing, teach-ins, moratoriums, marches, blockades, mobilization, and the building of shanties (e.g. anti-apartheid protests).

Traditional political tactics are those which the general public associates with any accepted action to promote or protest an idea, such as those commonly used in mainstream politics. These tactics include lobbying political representatives, campaigns, elections, voter registration, petitions, legal action such as lawsuits and stock purchases, and also visual tactics such as flyers, posters, banners, newspapers, armbands, and television interviews.

The articles which reported the occurrence of deaths in conjunction with an incident of student activism were counted and frequencies determined in association with the placement of the story within the publication.

Intercoder Reliability

The analysis categories were tested and confirmed to be reliable by employing another graduate student (PERSON 2) to code a selection of the test sample in the same manner as this investigator. A sample of fifty citations were selected and coded by PERSON 2 on the variables of issue and level of violence. The decision was made not to check the coding reliability for incidence of deaths because the occurrence is logical, either the deaths occurred or they didn't. This leaves no room for possible ambiguity or discrepancy between coders.

A reliability measurement factor was calculated for both issue and level of violence according to the formula presented previously. On the intercoder reliability of issue, 92% of the sample coded by PERSON 2 and this author were consistent, as was 90% of the sample for level of violence. The discrepancies that occurred between coders in this sample can be attributed to three factors: 1) two citations regarding activism contained no clear reference to a particular issue; 2) ambiguity regarding the assignment of protest about CIA recruitment on campus as an educational or military issue; and 3) the assignment of one particular issue or multiple issues to the citations which discussed incidents occurring in multiple locations. These weaknesses in the coding scheme have been noted, and should be taken

into consideration, or modified for future investigation of this subject. In all but one case of discrepancy between coders in level of violence assignments, PERSON 2 perceived a higher level of violence in the situation than did this author.

Summary of Research Procedure

The purpose of this project was to examine and describe characteristics and changes in the frequency of reporting and in the placement and presentation of student activism incidents by the news periodical media between 1961-1987.

Content analysis data collection was used, and a purposive research sample drawn which selected all articles regarding incidents of student activism from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News and World Report* for the years 1961-1987. An in-depth analysis was conducted of the selected news periodicals to determine characteristics of each magazine format, including story length and photograph accompaniment. This information was then used as a basis for qualitative comparison with the data collected regarding articles written about student activism incidents.

A coding scheme was developed which reflects the typical characteristics of student activism incidents that contribute to the event

attracting the attention of the news media. These data were used to describe attributes of the student activism incidents which occurred between 1961-1987, and distinguish patterns related to that activism.

Chapter 4

Student Activism from the 1960s to the 1980s

To study the changes in media coverage of student activism over a period of time, a basic historical understanding of activism must be established. Oral histories, observations, and interviews of student activists during the 1960s and early 1970s were reviewed to establish details of the activities that took place during that decade and the ideology of the students who were involved. Publications by researchers who observed the activities and interviewed the participants of student activism in the 1980s were also used to draw a picture of the mobilization efforts of that era also. Journal articles published between the 1960s and the 1980s by educational researchers are used as an example of other theories of the activism which were present during the time period.

Examination is made of changes in the activists' behavior in this chapter, and descriptions of the changes in media coverage of the activism are presented in Chapter 5, but causal linkages between the two are difficult to make. The historical account of student activism in the U. S. between 1961-1987 is used to establish a chronology of activism events, and is

presented at the end of Chapter 5 so occurrence can be compared to the reporting of these incidents.

The increase in incidence of student activism in the United States during the 1960s and early 1970s prompted concern among the public and questions about the role and responsibility of higher education institutions and government authorities. From the federal court orders that forbade racial segregation of public schools and encouraged the civil rights movement, to educational reform, to the anti-war demonstrations that prompted military action, student protests were viewed unlike any previous events in history. Students were expressing dissatisfaction with society, even though many of the white middle class students had been raised in post-war prosperity. The late 1970s and 1980s saw incidence of student activism also, but these protests may not have been as visible to the general public as the activism of the 1960s.

The Civil Rights Movement

On February 1, 1960, four black students from North Carolina A & T University sat-in at a Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina and refused to leave until they were served, bringing public attention to a new tactic for fighting racial segregation and initiating an increase in the activism by college

students who supported the growing civil rights movement (Fendrich 1993; McAdam 1982). For the next several months, students around the country mimicked the actions of those students in Greensboro, staging sit-ins at "white-only" locations and subjected themselves to arrest in order to spotlight the inequalities in American society. As the civil rights movement grew and gained more attention, student groups formed to fight racial injustice. This student mobilization soon drew support from other parties such as religious groups and the media.

In late 1959, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held its first interracial conference in Florida, prompting two Florida A & M University students to organize a student chapter (Fendrich 1993). From its inception, student CORE members were active in the promotion of sit-ins and protest demonstrations at public locations and college campuses in the southern United States.

CORE students joined the members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (also founded in 1960 as a student arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in trying to make societal changes in racial inequality from a grassroots level. These two groups organized one of the largest mobilization efforts to register voters in U. S. history. In 1964, busloads of over 700 college student volunteers left

exclusive Ivy League universities for the deep south and Mississippi Freedom Summer, with the goal of bringing attention to the issue of civil rights, and registering black voters (Goldberg 1991; McAdam 1982) .

As the decade progressed, student protesters turned their attention from desegregation to racial understanding, equality and justice at many American institutions of higher education. The Black Panthers organized in 1966 to promote awareness of the African-American culture in what would soon become known as "Black Power" (Fraser 1988; McAdam 1982; O'Neill 1971). For the remainder of the 1960s and the early 1970s accusations of racism and unfair disciplinary practices, demands for cultural recognition and representation gained attention from protesters of all races (Fraser 1988; Vellela 1988).

Educational Reform

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement was the first widely recognized demonstration by white students in the 1960s. Although it did not initiate the "student movement," it provided hints at the tensions and issues to follow (Breines 1982; Goldberg 1991). The emerging ideology called for the role of the university to change. The belief that the university was responsible for the guidance and control of the "whole person" came under attack. Students

did not want the schools to serve as surrogate parents, as earlier educational institutions with strong *in loco parentis* ideals had. Students argued for control of their own personal development and rights to the freedoms of adulthood without institutional interference (Carden 1976; Goldberg 1991). The students wanted to have the freedom to voice their opinions and their opposition to university policies.

For the first time in history, the students were lashing out at the university in their frustration with the problems of society. They argued that the universities should play an active role in the revitalization of the country, but instead they perceived only apathy and complacency by the educational institution (Altbach 1981).

Why did the campus become the forum for student discourse and debate about larger societal issues? One mission of most institutions of higher education is to provide a setting for students to acquire new ideas and critique old ones (Kerr 1972; Veysey 1965). Some educational researchers such as Levitt (1984) theorize that one of the primary reasons for higher education being forced into the spotlight during the 1960s was the socialization of these "privileged" students. He argues that these students were born and raised during the idealism and prosperity of the 1950s. They were told that the world would be theirs -- they could achieve wealth,

success, and power and still help their fellow humans. They were encouraged by a youthful president who challenged them to seek social responsibility and action. The only prerequisite was that they obtain a college degree. Once these students realized that the promised prosperity did not necessarily come with a college education, they became disgruntled (Levitt 1984). These disillusioned students faced the future and could see no path to follow. They turned back to the generation that raised them, only to find adults confused over the situation also.

Although educational researchers presented disillusionment with promised prosperity as the force behind much of the student activism of the 1960s, many of those who participated in the activism saw a different picture. These students saw hypocrisy on the part of the educational system and the government. They saw problems in society that were not being addressed by the institutions which had the power to affect change (O'Neill 1971; Fraser 1988; Morrison and Morrison 1987; Unger 1974).

This frustration with the "establishment" resulted in the formation of organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society in 1960. Its founders criticized the hypocritical multiversity which required that students learn to be highly perceptive and intelligent in the narrow environment of their discipline, but at the same time ignore the political and social world around

them (Goldberg 1991; Hyman 1972). These idealistic views of society prompted the onset of a decade of student activism. Throughout the decade of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, students engaged in activities (demonstrations, sit-ins) to both oppose some societal activities and propose new directions. These public demonstrations were often used to recruit and mobilize other students for the cause.

Vietnam and the Draft

The United States military involvement in Vietnam and southeast Asia only added fuel to the protest fires already burning on many college campuses. Students were afraid of being drafted into military service in a combat situation they did not support. The costs, both in money and lives grew rapidly. The students saw their country engaged in a war with a questionable enemy, thousands of human atrocities on both sides, and little hope for peace (O'Neill 1971). Hundreds of thousands of students mobilized at universities nationwide, and some traveled to Washington, D. C. for larger organized marches against the war and the draft. Young men refused induction into the military and burned draft cards in protest. Others claimed they would go to Canada or to jail rather than fight for a cause with which they did not agree.

Some of the student veterans of civil rights protests such as Freedom Summer in 1964, drew on their experiences and organized Vietnam Summer in 1967. Over 20,000 students participated and organized anti-war protests and activities that summer (O'Neill 1971). The fall activism progressed with the "Stop the Draft Week" and the march on the Pentagon which drew approximately 85,000 participants (Fraser 1988; Morrison and Morrison 1987). As educational draft deferments were rescinded, and additional troops sent to Vietnam, the protests escalated not only in frequency, but also in magnitude, and the level violence exhibited by both the students and the authorities trying to control them (Collier and Horowitz 1990; Fraser 1988; Morrison and Morrison 1987; O'Neill 1971; Unger 1974).

The Escalation of Violence

As the decade progressed, so did the escalation of violence associated with the student protests. University administrative reaction changed from vocal discontent and refusal to change policies, to the activation of police and military forces to combat the students. According to Wood's (1974) study of university and federal records, during the first six months of 1969, 292 major student protests took place on 232 college and university campuses. His examination of 28 campuses reveals that more than

1750 students had faced some type of disciplinary measure for their protest activities. He also states that FBI records of the period indicate that protests led to over 4000 arrests during the 1968-69 academic year and about 7200 arrests during 1969-70. American citizens finally realized the extent to which these protests and efforts to control them had grown when in a single week in 1970, the violence finally culminated in the deaths of four students at Kent State University and two students at Jackson State University at the hands of government agents.

As American colleges and universities tried to come to grips with the killings at Kent State and Jackson State and worked to prevent the same occurrences on their own campuses, social science researchers and government agencies tried to make sense of the problems. Research such as Bayer and Astin's 1969 study for the American Council on Education attempted to evaluate the unrest on college campuses to lay the foundations for policy changes. Administrators sought to understand how they could lose control of their campuses. Faculty were confused about their expected roles in the activities and the potential threat to their academic freedom. Students were worried about how far they could go in voicing their opinions in what was supposedly an open-minded environment which encouraged questioning.

In addition to numerous studies conducted by researchers at universities where disturbances occurred, the federal government also took steps to curb future activism. The U. S. Congress, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, and courts involved themselves in amending, recommending, and ruling on general guidelines for universities to follow when deciding on disciplinary actions for protest participants (Schlesinger and Baldrige 1982; The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education 1971).

The 1970s - A Temporary Decline in Activism

Public response to the escalated violence by the students and the educational institutions and governmental forces trying to control them may have contributed to the decrease in student activism that took place following the 1970 tragedies. The downturn in protest activity may also be attributed to the end of the military conflict in Southeast Asia. A new generation of students entered college in the 1970s, for whom social responsibility was not a top priority.

Social scientists and educators believed that student activism was a phenomenon of the 1960s, fueled by the civil rights movement and the Vietnam conflict (O'Neill 1971; Schlesinger and Baldrige 1982). With the abolition of the military draft, the lowering of the voting age to include college

students, and periodic educational reform that allowed more student voice on campus issues, many people perceived that students had nothing left to claim as their cause.

However, in the mid-1970s, the group Catalyst was formed to sponsor speakers to campuses nationwide to discuss the circumstances surrounding the South African apartheid system and the U. S. response to it. Speakers in 1976 and 1977 encouraged students to pressure their university administrations to divest financial holdings in companies which did business in South Africa. Few administrators apparently paid attention to the students. Hampshire College became the first university to succumb to student and public pressure, divesting its portfolio in 1977 (Vellela 1988). Seven years passed before additional political oppression of blacks in South Africa prompted widespread divestment by U. S. educational institutions.

The 1980s - A Resurgence of Student Activism

The 1980s saw a resurgence of student activism on many issues. Although the political climate became more conservative again, and young people were often perceived as being self-centered "yuppies," growing social, political, and educational concerns drew many students into activist groups.

Anti-Apartheid

The anti-apartheid movement served as a precursor to a renewed interest in students' rights and representation in university decisions. Initially, academic administrators ignored or rebutted student demands to divest university financial holdings from companies doing business in South Africa, in protest of the country's policies on racial inequality. Administrative resistance to the divestment demands prompted students to question how close the university was bound to governmental influence (Fraser 1988). Universities had not expected the students' actions to garner attention and public support.

In 1985, increased resistance by the blacks in South Africa and violence by the government and resisters prompted the government to declare a state of emergency. American students responded to the injustices they perceived and began demonstrating for an end to the system of apartheid. Students built shanties of cardboard and scrap lumber to symbolize the plight of black South Africans. The increasing media attention placed on the renewed activism apparently prompted other students to adopt the same tactics on their own campuses. The public's displeasure with the apartheid activities they saw on the evening news coupled with the students' protests finally exerted enough pressure on many public and private

universities to convince them to divest their financial holdings in order to prevent further negative publicity (Altbach and Cohen 1990; Vellela 1988).

CIA Recruitment on Campus

In addition to the anti-apartheid movement, students grew interested in many causes not necessarily perceived as "student issues". Although the Central Intelligence Agency had often been the target of anti-war protests during the Vietnam conflict, realization of the involvement of the CIA in the establishment of the Nicaraguan contras provoked widespread protest on campuses nationwide (Vellela 1988). Not only were students angered by the actions of the government agency, but also they were further disgruntled over university complacency at allowing the CIA to recruit employees on university campuses. Students mobilized to block entrance of CIA recruiters to campus. Former President Jimmy Carter's daughter, Amy, was arrested during a CIA protest sit-in at the University of Massachusetts.

Educational Issues

Students in the 1980s displayed interest and concern over educational issues. Student participation in university decision-making, student rights, growing racism on campus, curricular reform, free speech and growing costs

prompted students to mobilize and voice their opinions. Universities faced growing diversity in the demographic composition of their student bodies and the students' demands for increased cultural recognition and acceptance (Beeler 1985; Vellela 1988)..

Other Issues

Environmental concerns also drew the students' attention as they continued the Earth Day tradition started by the 1960s activists, mobilizing and eventually organizing the Student Environmental Action Coalition in the late 1980s. The threat of nuclear power and the dangers of nuclear research provoked many protests from students, especially following the Three Mile Island incident in 1979. As the political climate in the United States changed to a more conservative one in the 1980s, students perceived the need to mobilize on issues they believed were being suppressed by the elites. Women's issues, gay/lesbian rights, international human rights violations, animal rights, the United States' continued involvement in the governmental structures of Middle East and Central American countries, and the growing AIDS epidemic generated controversy on college campuses, as well as in other sectors of society.

The 13th Generation and the Resurgence of Student Activism

Howe and Strauss (1993) address the problems and concerns encountered by what they title the 13th Generation, those persons born 1961-1981. This is the generation that entered college and initiated the increase in student activism during the mid 1980s. Based on their discussions with other researchers and 13rs, they conclude that members of this generation exhibit a serious self-image problem and cynicism due to the experiences they shared as children of the 1970s and 80s.

As these students arrived at the universities, they saw a discouraging economic forecast of college-educated unemployment and underemployment. Presented with accounts of rising crime, social injustice, unethical public officials, and the reality of AIDS, they faced the prospect of being the first generation in American history to have a standard of living below that of their parents.

Students in the 1980s encountered a less optimistic society than students in the 1960s. They were also aware that they were compared unfavorably with students of the 1960s. These 13rs adopted the attitude that they could not live up to the idealism of the 1960s, although they perceived that they were expected to fix the problems of the nation (Howe and Strauss 1993). These students became involved in activities on college and university

campuses, providing networks of fellow students with similar backgrounds and attitudes. While accepting the fact that they were not able to make widespread social changes, 13rs decided that some action was better than no action. The resources necessary for mobilization were present and the political conditions ripe in the mid 1980s. As long as they relied on nonviolent tactics to advance their causes, these students were able to garner support, not only from within the institution, but also outside it (Altbach and Cohen 1990; Beeler 1985; Levine and Hirsch 1991).

The Potential for Activism

During the period in question, students at American colleges and universities did not change from social activists to egoists. Depending on external events and governmental or administrative actions, students responded to various social issues. Student activists of the 1980s adopted different tactics than those used by the late 1960s activists. Some researchers claim that more recent movement involvement was more reminiscent of the nonviolent activism that occurred in the early 1960s (Altbach and Cohen 1990). Social scientists and educators agree that students are a recognizable force in their sheer numbers and willingness to fight for what they think is right; however, they are most likely to express their

opinions with nonviolent tactics (Altbach and Cohen 1990; Beeler 1985; Levine and Hirsch 1991; Levine and Wilson 1979; Schlesinger and Baldrige 1982).

The biggest dilemma facing politically and socially conscious students today is the vast number of causes in which they can participate. Many students complain of having difficulty choosing a cause (Howe and Strauss 1993). Due to the assimilation of students into organizations that promote causes not exclusive to students (Pro-life/Pro-choice, Gay Rights, Animal Rights, Women's Rights, etc.) the activism that takes place is not recognized as "student activism" but simply as students participating in larger activist causes (Levine and Wilson 1979).

Data from content analysis is presented in the next chapter which suggest that at various periods between 1961-1987, American college students mobilized to voice their opinions or present their ideas for social change. A chronology compiled from oral histories, observations, and interviews is presented at the end of Chapter 5 which records dates and details of many of the activism incidents that took place during this period of time.

Chapter 5

Results

The purpose of this project was to examine and describe characteristics of and changes in the frequency and type of coverage of student activism incidents by the news periodical media between 1961-1987. The primary research question was whether the frequency of reporting and the type of news coverage changed during the period. A second objective was to explore characteristics of student activism incidents, such as the protest issue and the level of violence involved, and examine the coverage the different types of incidents received. The third objective was to determine whether congruence existed between the level of coverage of student activism and the incidence of student activism.

Examination of Periodical Structure

An investigation of the structure of the news magazines showed several similarities in the way the periodicals are organized and articles are placed and presented. News coverage for this project is operationalized as a combination of factors including placement of the story within the magazine

(in relation to cover story, first half, second half), length of story, accompanying photographs, and subsection assignment. All publications focus their articles on issues considered to be important to the American public. Each periodical had three column pages of both text and photographs.

Placement of Stories

Each magazine includes a cover or feature story, several smaller stories of importance placed in regular subsections, and brief, semi-regular subsections which focus on a particular social institution or prominent people within society. Typically the stories deemed most important for the week are placed either as the cover story or in the first half of the magazine.

Examination of these data revealed that the placement of most stories regarding incidents of student activism reflected their subsection assignment based on the protest issue. Stories regarding incidence of student activism were featured as the cover story in 15.2% of the cases. The majority of these cover stories involved the issue of U. S. military involvement overseas and were categorized as having multiple issues (which encompasses military involvement). Student activism articles were placed within the first half of the magazine in 50.7% of the sample, and in the second half of the magazine in 34.1% of the cases (See page 87).

Story Length

The feature or cover stories in all publications averaged approximately 4-6 pages in length, with subsection articles averaging 1 to 2 pages. The only difference was noted in publications which contained a special report on an issue or event. In these cases, the special report was captured by numerous related articles and essays, multiple pictures, and tended to average 8 to 10 pages. Length of the article was determined in half-page increments up to a length of two pages or more. For this research sample, the mean length of articles regarding student activism was 2.67, with a standard deviation of 1.44. These data correspond to an average article length of between .5 and 1.5 pages, with a standard deviation of approximately .5 pages. This mean is consistent with the average length of non-feature stories in the publications.

Photographs

Cover stories often had a color feature picture and internal black and white photographs to complement and add visual impact to the article or issue. An exception to this was in the special coverage of the Kent State Tragedy in which the graphic violence was displayed in multiple pages of color photographs. During the analysis of early sixties publications (in which

technological advancements in color photography may have played a role) a curious fact was that color photographs complemented the feature articles about student activism in all but two cases -- feature stories about incidence of activism involving African-American students or institutions. In both cases, the cover photograph as well as the interior photographs were black and white. The content analysis of photographs within articles regarding incidents of student activism found a mean of 2.6 photographs per article for the sample examined. One article was an extreme outlier with thirteen photographs.

Subsections

Newsweek and *Time* magazines had regular (weekly) subsections which appeared to reflect what the editors deemed "hard news." These subsections usually presented national and international issues. Both periodicals contained subsections for national affairs, international affairs, editorial, business, and industry. Semi-regular (once or twice monthly) subsections in both magazines contained stories regarding education, healthcare, law, people, sports, and entertainment. If an issue was reported in the news over a number of years, it seemed to generate its own subsection, such as Integration did in the early 1960s.

The articles contained within each subsection seemed to be written objectively, and bias in the information presented was difficult to determine. Most of the stories were informative accounts of an event or issue; giving details, names, statistics, or other vital information about the phenomena.

U.S. News & World Report contained a unique subsection titled variously "Front Page of the Week, March of the News, and Currents in the News" that seemed to report on issues and events that were immediate in nature, similar to newspaper headlines. *U. S. News and World Report* also appeared to offer more guest writers, interviews, and articles positing an individual's theories or opinions regarding the incidence and motivation of activism, rather than third-person reports of the incident.

Articles regarding incidence of student activism during this twenty-six year period of study tended to appear most often in the education subsections of *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines. Student activism incidents were reported in the National Affairs section of the publications in 28.7% of the citations, and the number in this section increased throughout the 1960s and early 1970s (See Table 1).

Table 1 - Subsection Frequency

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Education	112	45.3%	45.3%
National Affairs	71	28.7%	74.1%
Special Feature	7	2.8%	76.9%
Update	2	.8%	77.7%
Current Events	40	16.2%	93.9%
Essay	3	1.2%	95.1%
Law	3	1.2%	96.4%
People	3	1.2%	97.6%
Editorial	2	.8%	98.4%
Other Section	4	1.6%	100.0%
No Subsection (<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>)	72 (22.6% of all observations)	n/a	n/a
Total	319	100%	100%

This analysis is limited, however, by the fact that *U.S. News & World Report* does not subsection its articles in the same manner as *Newsweek* and *Time*. *U. S. News & World Report* has a few regular sections such as business and industry, but generally the articles are simply listed under the section "Contents". *U. S. News & World Report* articles listed only as "Contents" comprised 22.6% of the observations.

Characteristics of Student Activism Incidents

To identify patterns or similarities that might relate to the placement the story received within the periodical, an examination was performed of particular characteristics of the student activism incidents. The issue(s)

surrounding the activism incident, the level of violence associated with the incident, and the occurrence of deaths in conjunction with the activism were all explored, and analyzed according to story placement within the magazine.

Frequency of Activism Issue(s)

During this time period the United States military involvement in overseas activities was the most prominent concern, which may have affected the frequency with which particular issues were covered by the national media. The military conflict in Vietnam and southeast Asia commanded the attention of most Americans throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Sometimes the two issues converged, i.e., when students protested the military draft.

Racism and the civil rights movement tended to garner quite a bit of media attention. Again, in some cases there was convergence. During the 1960s, civil rights and desegregation efforts drew college students in America as they worked to register voters and fight what they saw as racist attitudes on campus. In the mid-1980s students also fought their university administrations over the divestment of financial holdings in South Africa because of its system of apartheid.

Educational issues may stimulate questioning and protest by students because they affect their immediate situation. Students attending U. S. colleges and universities throughout the time period were periodically faced with new educational issues from desegregation in the early 1960s, educational and curricular reform in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to policy and funding issues of the 1980s.

The category of Ideological Issue in this project relates to incidents in which the protest revolved around ideas that tend to be associated with a particular political party or belief system. In most cases, these articles disseminated information about conservative students opposing the actions and protests of the liberal students, and vice versa. Often, the students were already polarized around other issues as in the groups opposing and supporting the Vietnam war, and the building and destruction of shanties during the anti-apartheid demonstrations.

The most obvious difficulty in analyzing the issues surrounding the student activism is that during the protests of the 1960s, students' agendas often contained multiple issues. The students were angry and concerned over not only the possibility of a military draft, but also racism, and educational reform. These activities were often grouped together by the media, which made analysis of individual issues challenging and required

creation of a “multiple issues” category. The multiple issues provoking the protests were grouped for this analysis and were the most frequent “issue” of activism (See Figure 1).

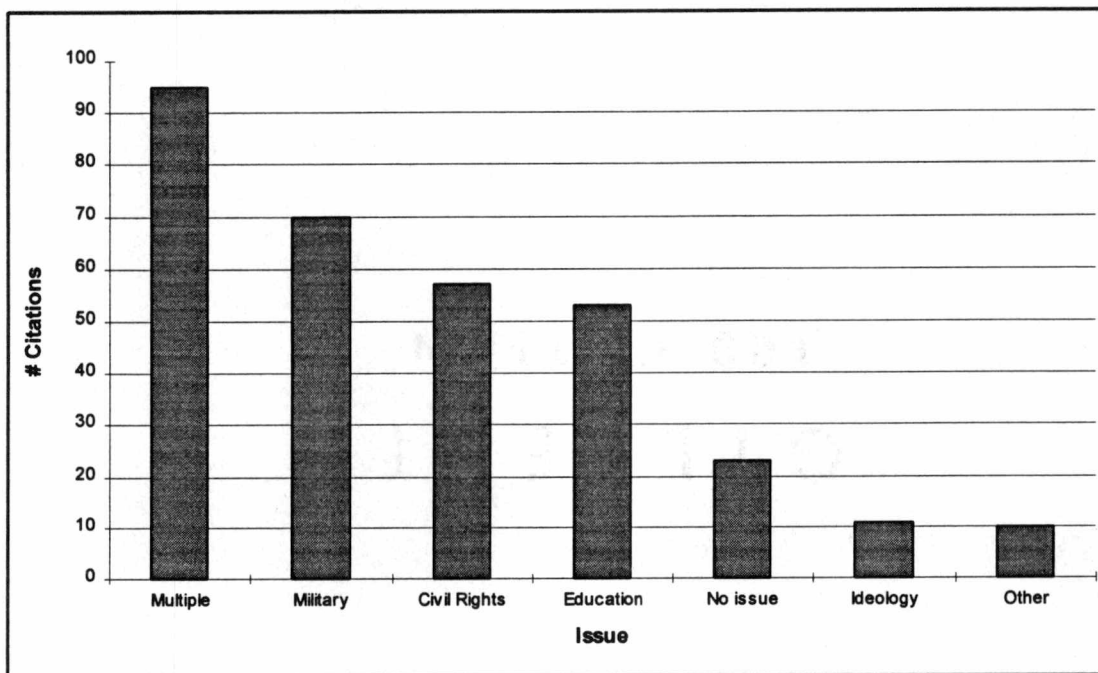


Figure 1 - Issue Frequency

Placement of Activism Issue(s)

Issues of a national scale were placed closer to the front of the magazine than were issues apparently of more concern to students than to the general public, such as the protests surrounding U. S. military

involvement and civil rights (See Table 2). Of the articles relating stories of military protest, 18.6% of those appeared on the cover of the magazines, and 55.7% appeared within the first half of the magazine. Although 54.7% of the articles about educational activism were placed in the second half of the magazine, this less prominent coverage can be attributed to the fact that the Education subsection of the magazines (*Newsweek* and *Time*) is typically placed towards the back portion of the periodical.

Table 2 - News Periodical Placement of Student Activism Issues

	Education Issues	U.S. Military	Civil Rights/ Racism/ Anti-apartheid	Ideological Issues	Other Issue	Multiple Issues	Total (n=319)
Cover Story	3.8%	18.6%	12.3%	9.1%	0%	23.2%	15.2%
1st Half	41.5%	55.7%	61.4%	63.6%	50.0%	44.2%	50.7%
2nd Half	54.7%	25.7%	26.3%	27.3%	50.0%	32.6%	34.1%
							100%

Note: 23 observations in which no issue mentioned in conjunction with the activism

Level of Violence

The level of violence in the student activism incident may be related to whether the incident subsequently was perceived as more interesting to the general public. Violence may draw some attention to a situation, and this may have been the case in the more prominent placement of violent activism.

Violent civil disobedience episodes (riots, bombings, taking hostages) garnered cover story placement in 22.4% of the cases, and first half coverage in 52%, whereas non-violent civil disobedience (demonstrations, pickets, sit-ins) only gained cover placement and first half placement in 11.5% and 47.9% of the cases, respectively (See Table 3). Traditional political tactics (petitions, interviews, flyers) associated with an activism incident were placed in the first half 61.8% of the time, raising doubts that drama or violence is absolutely essential for media attention.

Table 3 - News Periodical Placement and Level of Violence

	Violent Civil Disobedience	Non-Violent Civil Disobedience	Traditional Political Tactics	Total (n=319)
Cover	22.4%	11.5%	10.9%	14.8%
1st Half	52%	47.9%	61.8%	51.6%
2nd Half	25.5%	40.6%	27.3%	33.6%
				100%

Note: 1 observation in which no tactic mentioned in conjunction with the activism

Deaths

Deaths that occur in conjunction with an activism incident were used in this research as an indirect measure of the level of violence. Deaths may add an additional dramatic quality to an incident, and they apparently did since stories which related the occurrence of deaths in conjunction with

activism were placed on the cover of the magazine in 23.3% of the cases (See Table 4). The small number of articles about deaths (43) in the sample (n=319) limits the generalizability of this finding, as does the small number of deaths related to protest.

Table 4 - News Periodical Placement and Occurrence of Deaths

	No Deaths	Deaths Occurred	Row Total
Cover	13.4%	23.3%	14.7%
1st Half	50.4%	60.5%	51.7%
2nd Half	36.2%	16.3%	33.5%
			100%

Idiosyncrasies of News Coverage

An initial analysis during the early stages of this research was conducted to assess other characteristics that might be associated with the media reporting of student activism. Protest site and the involvement of a well-known person in the activism were included as variables in early inquiry. An examination was made to determine if activism was reported at Ivy League (e.g. Harvard) or highly respected educational institutions (e.g. University of Chicago) at a higher rate than that of other schools. No clear pattern related to type of locations appeared.

An examination was conducted to determine any association between the involvement of well-known people in the activism and reporting frequency. In all cases except that of Amy Carter and the sit-in at the University of Massachusetts, there were no clear examples of the media focusing on the involvement of a person who was prominent before the protest.

The case of the increased media attention surrounding the arrest and trial of Amy Carter in 1986 was more of an anomaly in media coverage than the rule. During a two-week time period in November, 1986 twenty-four out of over one hundred students were arrested for occupying a building at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in protest of CIA recruiting on campus. Those arrested included veteran protester Abbie Hoffman, and Amy Carter, the daughter of former President Jimmy Carter. Until the trial ended the following spring, media attention flourished regarding the incident, but it focused on Amy Carter's arrest rather than the actual protest incident or issue.

Time Analysis of Story Placement

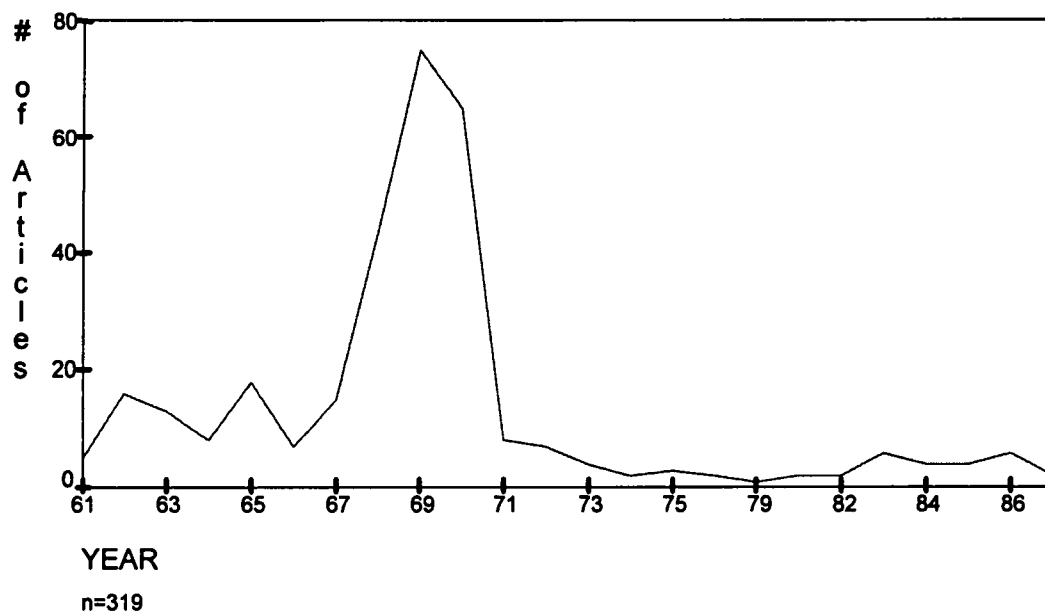
An examination of the placement of articles regarding incidence of student activism revealed some changes in the assignment to subsections from 1961-1987. Articles about the incidence of student activism were more

often placed in the "National Affairs" section, and therefore the front of the magazine, during the 1960s and early 1970s than during the 1980s. Articles about activism in the 1980s most often appeared in the "Education" subsection.

Time Analysis of Citation Frequency

With a sample size of 319 observations, the data were entered into a computerized spreadsheet and a trend analysis performed (See Figure 2). The results show a small peak in media reports of student mobilization activity from 1961-1966, corresponding to the activities of the Civil Rights Movement. The largest number of articles appeared during the period of 1968-71, corresponding to the Vietnam conflict. A drastic decline in articles occurred from approximately 1972-82, and then a small growth in reporting emerged beginning in 1982 and increasing with the anti-apartheid and CIA protest activities.

A brief examination has shown that some issues of concern for students such as civil rights, educational issues, and the environment have remained the same throughout the twenty-six year period. The most frequently reported movements during the activism of the middle and late 1980s were those of women's rights, the environment, gay/lesbian rights,



**Figure 2 - News Periodical Coverage of Student Activism:
1961-1987**

anti-apartheid/divestiture of university funds, and protests against CIA recruiting on campus and U. S. involvement in Nicaragua. Figure 2 suggests that the frequency of media reporting of student activism incidents has changed dramatically since the early 1960s.

Frequency of Coverage and Incidence of Activism

The frequency with which student activism was reported by the news periodical media was higher in the 1960s than in later decades. The number of articles increased slightly during the period of 1961-1965. From 1967-

1971 the number of reports of student activism peaked, then dropped-off dramatically and continued to decrease until 1980. In 1982, a slight increase was observed in the number of articles, and this increase continued through 1986, then dropped again. The number of articles regarding student activism from 1971-1987 never regained the 1960s level.

Oral histories, diaries, interviews, and other evidence exists to support the massive student mobilization efforts that occurred during the 1960s and early 1970s. This information was used to construct a chronology of student activism during this period, to compare with the number of articles published in periodical news media regarding activism.

The information documenting the incidence of student activism during the 1980s, when compared to records of media coverage of this activism, suggests that more recent student protests were not covered with as much frequency as in earlier periods (See Table 5). This historical timeline of political and social events that occurred between 1960 and 1987 pinpoints events that may have contributed to students' concerns, and documents activism incidents. It also details the number of articles about student activism from this research sample that appeared during the same year. Students in the 1960s had a number of events and issues that provoked them to mobilize and protest and the number of articles relating to student

Table 5 - Historical Timeline of Important Political and Social Events and Frequency of News Periodical Citations of Student Activism

Year	Event	# of Articles
1960	Black students sit-in in Woolworth's, Greensboro, N.C.	n/a
	SNCC Founded	
	Anti-HUAC demonstrations in San Francisco	
	Kennedy elected President	
	National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam established	
1961	Freedom Riders attacked	5
	First US military personnel lands in Vietnam	
	Berlin Wall built	
	Bay of Pigs invasion	
	Peace Corps created	
1962	SDS: Port Huron Statement	16
	Integration of University of Mississippi	
	Cuban Missile Crisis	
	Rachel Carson's <i>Silent Spring</i> published	
	Michael Harrington's <i>The Other America</i> published	
1963	Birmingham bombings and riots	13
	Medgar Evers assassinated	
	Betty Friedan's <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> published	
	Fall of Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon	
	Test Ban Treaty on nuclear weapons	
	Civil Rights March on Washington	
	Martin Luther King "I Have A Dream" speech	
	John F. Kennedy assassinated, Lyndon Johnson assumes presidency	
1964	Freedom Summer	8
	Civil Rights Act signed	
	Gulf of Tonkin incident	
	Urban riots in New York, Rochester, Newark, Chicago	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1964(cont)	Berkeley Free Speech Movement	8
	President Johnson elected	
	African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela arrested and imprisoned for his efforts in reversing the apartheid system in South Africa	
1965	Escalation of Vietnam War	18
	Malcom X assassinated	
	Vietnam Teach-in at University of Michigan	
	Civil Rights March from Selma to Montgomery	
	SDS Anti-War March, Washington	
	International Days of Protest, anti-war rallies initiated by Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee	
	Caesar Chavez organizes grape pickers strike in California	
	National teach-in broadcast to 100 colleges	
	Voting Rights Act passed	
	SDS national meeting decides to focus actions on war issue	
	Urban riots in Watts, Los Angeles	
1966	Stokely Carmichael elected chair of SNCC	7
	Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE) founded	
	Abolition of automatic student draft deferments	
	Black Panther party founded	
	National Organization for Women (NOW) founded	
1967	Che Guevara killed in Bolivia	15
	"Summer of Love", Haight-Ashbury	
	The Resistance formed	
	Black uprisings in Newark, Detroit, and riots in 27 cities	
	Dow Chemical demonstration at University of Wisconsin	
	March on the Pentagon	
	Anti-Rusk demonstration and fighting, New York	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1968	Tet offensive	44
	My Lai massacre	
	Martin Luther King assassinated, riots in 126 cities	
	Columbia University occupation	
	Robert Kennedy assassinated	
	Chicago Democratic Convention riots	
	Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia	
	San Francisco State strike begins (ends April 1969)	
	550, 000 US military troops in Vietnam	
	Richard Nixon elected President	
1969	Nixon begins withdrawal of troops from Vietnam	75
	U. S. Secret bombing of Cambodia	
	SDS Chicago convention, begin dissolution of organization	
	Woodstock music festival (500,000 attendance)	
	Weathermen Days of Rage in Chicago	
	Hometown demonstrations against the war	
	300,000 demonstrate in Washington - teargas used and mass arrests	
	25 Black Panthers killed in 1970	
1970	First American Walks on the Moon	65
	SDS officially disbanded	
	Weathermen goes underground after accidental bomb detonation kills 4 members	
	Chicago Seven convicted of conspiracy	
	U. S. invasion of Cambodia	
	Kent State riot and killings	
	Jackson State killings	
	Nationwide student strike in protest of Kent State and Jackson State killings, over 400 colleges and universities closed	
	Earth Day promotes recognition of environmental concerns	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1970(cont)	Environmental Protection Agency created	65
	OSHA created	
1971	Ralph Nader founds the Public Interest Research Group program	8
	Anti-war rally in Washington draws 400,000 demonstrators	
	U. S. invades Laos	
	Wage and price freeze enacted	
1972	President Nixon reelected for second term	7
	President Nixon visits China	
	SALT I agreement approved	
	Break-in at the Democratic headquarters at the Watergate hotel	
	Christmas bombing of North Vietnam	
	Congress passes Equal Rights Amendment	
1973	American-Indian Movement occupies Wounded Knee	4
	Senate Watergate Hearings begin	
	Vice-President Agnew resigns	
	Vietnam cease-fire agreement signed, US troops withdraw	
	End of the U. S. draft	
	Arab oil embargo, oil crisis begins	
	Roe v Wade legalizes abortion in the United States	
1974	House Judiciary Committee votes to impeach Nixon	2
	President Nixon resigns office, Gerald Ford becomes president	
	Indian Self-Determination Act passed by Congress	
1975	Watergate trial ends with conviction of 4 administrative officials	3
	US withdraws troops from Cambodia	
	Saigon captured by NLF	
	Statistics released - US dead in Vietnam -56,555	
	Vietnamese dead more than - 1,250,000	
	thousands still missing	
	Economic recession in the U. S.	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1976	America celebrates Bicentennial	0
	Jimmy Carter is elected President	
1977	Department of Energy created	0
1978	3500 students held a candlelight vigil in Harvard Yard, protesting college ownership of stock in corporations doing business in South Africa	2
	A three-day anti-apartheid conference at Yale drew more than 400 students from 46 colleges	
	120 students occupied the president's office at Wesleyan University, protesting apartheid	
	Panama Canal Treaty signed	
1979	Iranian student take Americans hostage in Tehran	1
	Three Mile Island nuclear accident	
	Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty signed	
1980	Ronald Reagan elected President	2
	The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) formed to seek an end to United States intervention in Central America	
	U. S. boycotts Summer Olympic Games in Moscow in protest of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	
	U. S. military attempt to rescue Iranian hostages fails, killing 8 soldiers	
1981	American hostages released from Iran on Inauguration Day	0
	The National Student Campaign Against Hunger formed	
	AIDS first diagnosed in the United States	
	Economic recession begins	
	Assassination attempt on President Reagan	
1982	United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War founded	2
	U. S. supported Nicaraguan contras organized by CIA	
	Israeli troops invade Lebanon	
	Nuclear Freeze March in New York City draws 800,000 demonstrators	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1983	U. S. Marine invasion of Grenada	6
	Car bomb attack on U. S. Marine barracks in Beirut 239 Marines killed	
	U. S. deploys Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe	
	Reagan proposes Strategic Defense Initiative "Star Wars"	
1984	Ronald Reagan re-elected for 2nd presidential term	4
	Withdrawal of Marines from Beirut	
	Congress bans military aid to the Nicaraguan contras	
1985	National Anti-Apartheid Protest Day saw sit-ins, rallies, and teach-ins on over 70 campuses nationwide	4
	7000 students protested Berkeley's financial investments and called for full divestment of its \$2.4 million holdings in companies doing business in South Africa	
	About 1000 demonstrators arrested following two weeks of ongoing anti-apartheid protests at Cornell	
	At Columbia, students agree to abandon their 20-day blockade of university buildings in support of divestment	
	Multiple Palestinian terrorist attacks	
1986	Challenger explosion	6
	Ivan Boesky sent to prison for insider trading scandal on Wall Street	
	U. S. air raid on Libya	
	Congress passes sanctions on South Africa	
	More than a dozen anti-apartheid protests were held nationwide, encouraging thousands of students to build shanties on campus	
	1000 students demonstrate against CIA recruitment at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, eight other universities experience CIA protests and numerous student arrests	
	Nationwide, students conduct a Fast for Peace in Nicaragua, joining students from Great Britain, Canada, Ireland, Greece, West Germany, and Norway to raise money for solidarity efforts. Approximately a dozen other schools and governmental offices see protests regarding the U. S. involvement in Central American politics, primarily Nicaragua and El Salvador.	

Table 5 (continued)

Year	Event	# of Articles
1986(cont)	Widespread protests of discrimination against gays and lesbians prompt revision of university nondiscrimination policies to include sexual orientation	6
	Women students joined 80,000 others in the National March for Women's Lives	
	Thousands of students mobilize nationwide to protest Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research on campuses	
1987	300 Penn State students march through the administration building to push for divestment from companies doing business in South Africa	2
	Iran-Contra Congressional hearings begin, questioning members of the Reagan administration about covert involvement in funding Nicaraguan contras	
	Stock Market crashes	
	Graduate students at SUNY, Stony Brook in response to the university's refusal to collective bargain on a wage dispute, stage a two-day work stoppage, closing down most job-related activities and leaving many classes without instructors	
	The Second Annual Fast for Peace in Nicaragua draws more than 1300 participants from 42 campuses and raises over \$40,000 for humanitarian aid	
	Student government officers at Alabama State University sponsor a two-month boycott of all administrative events until the school agrees to allow a student member on the Board of Trustees	
	April 25th Weekend in Washington attracted students to "Mobilize for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa" - crowd estimates ranged from 125,000 to 1 million demonstrators	
	Thousands of students joined protesters in the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force March in Washington	

Sources: "A Wave of Campus Protest on Apartheid." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no. 16. April 22, 1985. Bonventure, Peter. "Marching Again." *Newsweek*. vol. 91, pt. 2, no. 19. May 8, 1978. "Days of Rage, '80s Style." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no.18. May 5, 1985. Fraser, Ronald. 1968: *A Student Generation in Revolt*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1988. Meighan, Jamie. "Energizing the Movement." *U. The National College Magazine*. April, 1993. Morrison, Joan and Robert K. Morrison. *From Camelot to Kent State: The Sixties Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*. New York: Times Books. 1987. Unger, Irwin. *The Movement: A History of the American New Left 1959-1972*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1974. Vellela, Tony. *New Voices: Student Political Activism in the 80s and 90s*. Boston: South End Press. 1988. Williams, Dennis A., George

Raine, Susan Katz, Elisa Williams, and Susan Hutchison. "A New Breed of Activism." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no. 19. May 13, 1985.

protest was higher also. From 1985 -1987, several large student activism incidents occurred, but little media attention resulted. Most of the articles during the 1986-1987 period focused on Amy Carter's trial, rather than other mobilization which was taking place.

Although relationships cannot be established through this research, data were examined in relation to the following research questions:

- **Question 1** - Has the frequency of media coverage of American student activism changed since the 1960s? The time analysis graphically demonstrated shifts in coverage.
- **Question 2** - In various periods between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, have students expressed public concern about political, social, and educational issues? The data regarding protest issue indicated the various types of concerns which prompted student activism during this period.
- **Question 3** - Was more recent student activism, primarily in the 1980s, covered as much by the periodical news media as the activism of the 1960s? The number of articles regarding student activism in the 1980s

was low although the historical timeline indicated events occurred in which students were involved.

- **Question 4** - Did the decline in coverage frequency by the media may give the impression that the incidence of student activism declined dramatically, even though this may not be the case? The assertion that student activism died during the 1970s and 1980s was refuted by the historical timeline which showed that despite the lack of media coverage, students still engaged in activism around issues of concern.

The following chapter concludes this study with an overview and discussion of the association between the research questions, the theoretical framework, and the results of the examination. Additionally, Chapter 6 presents theories and information regarding the potential for future American college students activism, and suggestions for further research on the topic.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this project was to examine and describe changes in the frequency of reporting, and the coverage of American student activism by the news periodical media between 1961-1987. A content analysis technique was used to examine articles regarding student activism incidents printed during this period by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News & World Report*.

Summary

This project used the functionalist perspective, which views the media as impartial "selectors" of news, to develop the research design. The media select the stories they cover, and the placement is based on the need to attract the attention of the audience and sell their publications. This selection often may be based on characteristics of the event such as the dramatic quality or even the level of violence involved in the incident.

This study demonstrated changes occurred in the frequency of reporting and the media coverage of student activism during the time period 1961-1987. Student activism of the 1960s and early 1970s was reported at

a much higher frequency than the activism of the 1980s. These changes point to a common problem in analysis of media reporting of events, analyzing the procedure the media follows for selecting topics. The media may not cover an event perceived to lack national concern. Theoretically, the coverage of an issue or event by the news media is often a reflection of level of potential interest, or an underlying dramatic quality of the incident that makes it more attention-getting (Bennett 1983; Dunn 1969; Fedler 1989).

This study found that the placement and presentation of an incident of student activism was often associated with issue and subsection assignment. Those articles reporting a protest centered around an issue perceived to be of national importance (war, civil rights) were placed in a subsection such as "National Affairs," which the publications place in the front half of their magazines. Issues of protest considered to be of more concern to students than the general public (educational issues) were generally assigned to the "Education" subsection, which was typically placed towards the back of the periodical.

Deaths which occur in conjunction with an activism incident were used as an indirect measure of the level of violence. These data suggest that the level of violence associated with the activism incident, and especially the occurrence of deaths may also be associated with more prominent placement

of the stories within the magazine, because these characteristics draw attention to the situation.

Conclusions

Some researchers believe more recent student activism is not as violent as that of earlier decades, nor are the protesters often focused on a national or international issue such as Vietnam (Altbach and Cohen 1990; Beeler 1985; Levine and Hirsch 1991). As a result, if the activities are covered by the media at all, they are often treated as a local issue and there is less coverage in the national media. This argument may provide some explanation of the findings of this study. This lack of coverage should not necessarily be confused or attributed to a lack of activity (Beeler 1985).

An example of this lack of media coverage is the protests of the late 1980s. College students during this period mobilized and organized dozens of protests in response to apartheid, racism, discrimination, crime on campus, educational budget cutbacks, and U. S. military involvement. Vellela (1988) cites what he refers to as only a sample of the activism incidents that took place from January 1986 - April 1987. He describes ninety-nine incidents of student activism that occurred during this seventeen month period, involving hundreds of thousands of students. *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U. S. News and*

World Report had only eight citations regarding student activism during 1986 and 1987, the majority of which focused on Amy Carter's arrest and trial. If Amy Carter had not been involved, would there have been any coverage at all?

Additionally, the assimilation of college students into larger groups (Pro-Choice/Pro-Life, Gay and Lesbian Rights, Greenpeace, Amnesty International) may redirect media attention away from the students and campus, and toward the larger activist group.

Potential for Student Activism in the Future

During some periods in American history, college students mobilized and voiced their opinions in disagreement with social, political, and educational policies. Although some people may believe that student activism ceased after the 1960s, students continued to involve themselves on campus and in their communities throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, mobilizing for causes in which they believed. Divestment protesters in the 1980s were able to mobilize a successful nationwide student movement during the terms of two very conservative presidents, although their activities did not receive media attention to the same extent as the activists of the 1960s (Altbach and Cohen 1990).

Although there were similarities between the student civil rights protesters of the 1960s, and the anti-apartheid protesters of the 1980s, future student activism will probably be different from earlier periods. One of the biggest differences in the activism of the 1960s and the more current activism is that these recent occurrences have taken forms that are not traditionally identified as student activism (Levine and Hirsch 1991; Levine and Wilson 1979). Employment in programs such as Teach for America has grown rapidly in the past few years as students try to make a difference in some part of the world. College students' voices may not always be as public or loud as they were in the 1960s, but these same students went to the polls in record numbers in 1992, electing a young (former activist) to the White House (Dunn 1993; Howe and Strauss 1993). Organizations such as Lead or Leave and Third Millennium have formed dozens of campus chapters and nationwide networks in the past two years, and continuously work within the system to lobby the U. S. Congress on issues such as social security entitlements and a balanced federal budget (Farley 1993; Shapiro 1993). There is hope for students of the future. The U. S. is not locked into a future of apathetic college students becoming apathetic leaders of the community.

Researchers such as Altbach and Cohen (1990) argue that future activism will probably take on the same non-violent characteristics as the

early civil rights movement. We saw evidence of these sit-ins, rallies, and petition drives in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Students may be working within the system to accomplish their goals, and only relying on civil disobedience in extreme circumstances, as the anti-apartheid protesters did in the 1980s. Researchers in the 1980s predicted that a national crisis could catalyze students to protest again, but probably not with the same level of violence as in the late 1960s (Beeler 1985).

These predictions rang true during the Persian Gulf War in 1990-1991. Students mobilized, in small numbers on some campuses and larger groups at others, to let their opinions of this military conflict be heard. Interestingly, during the Persian Gulf War, the question of bias was once again raised regarding the media coverage of war events, and the possible governmental influence and control of the reporting, as the country insisted it would not accept another "Vietnam." What little media coverage the students received during this time tended to reminisce about the anti-war protests of the 1960s and 1970s, rather than focus on the conflict at hand and the current students' opinions.

Once again, the biggest challenge facing politically and socially conscious students today is the vast number of causes in which they can participate. This plethora of causes, coupled with constraints on students'

time as many work to support their educational pursuits, contributes to a lack of one central theme around which students can mobilize. As a result, many of the concerned students take the pragmatic approach of assimilating into local chapters and contributing in small ways to an organization, instead of national or large-scale mobilization.

Strauss and Howe (1991) in their generational cycle model of American history and future argue that as a "Reactive" generation, 13rs (those born 1961-1981) who are the pragmatic and self-reliant college students of today, will eventually give way to the "Civic" Millennial generation (born 1982-2003) of the future. These Millennials will view society from the same overprotected, highly moralized belief system that the G. I. generation of "civics" did in the 1940s and 1950s.

Today's college students are not lazy, or apathetic, as some reporters would like us to believe. The students do care about society and are concerned about its problems. They attempt to change the system in the ways that seem best for them. These tactics may include public demonstrations and protests, more likely however, non-violent and even non-public actions like using computer networks to link-up to information databases and mobilize other students will be the norm. Legal actions and congressional lobbying may be necessary and possibly even preferential for

asserting concerns about issues such as cutbacks in education funding, better job opportunities, national healthcare and social security entitlements. Students will continue to pay attention to the media, but sources such as campus publications, MTV News, direct mailings, and Rock the Vote programs may influence them more than any other source of information.

Implications for Additional Research

This study provides the basis from which a wide variety of research topics could be addressed at a later date. Gitlin (1980) and Parenti(1986) suggested a set of frames which are used by the media when reporting activism incidents. Additional content analysis studies could be performed to examine these frames. A thematic content analysis study could also be undertaken to determine common and dissenting themes and possible hegemonic bias in the reports. A study such as this could open many door for further investigation of the "gatekeeper" function of the media.

The development of a survey of university administrators and their perceptions of the changes in student activism on campus during this period of time could lend interesting additional data to correlate with these results. Questions could be asked regarding number of incidents, issues, level of

violence, university response, and even local or national media coverage of the events.

Finally, an analysis of the annual Surveys of College Freshmen could contribute insightful information to the study regarding changes over time in the attitudes, goals, and ambitions of first year students.

Bibliography

Bibliography

- "A Wave of Campus Protest on Apartheid." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no. 16. April 22, 1985. p. 71.
- Alger, Dean E. *The Media and Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. 1989.
- Altbach, Philip G. (ed.). *Student Politics: Perspectives for the Eighties*. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1981.
- Altbach, Philip G. and Robert Cohen. "American Student Activism: The Post-Sixties Transformation," *Journal of Higher Education* vol. 6, no. 1 January/February 1990. pp. 32-48.
- Altheide, David L. *Creating Reality: How TV News Distorts Events*. Vol. 33, Sage Library of Social Research. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc. 1976.
- Babbie, Earl. *The Practice of Social Research, Sixth Edition*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company. 1992.
- Bayer, Alan E. and Alexander W. Astin. *Campus Disruption During 1968-1969*. American Council on Education: ACE Research Reports vol. 4, no. 3. 1969.
- Beeler, Kent D. "American College Student Activism in the Mid-1980s." *NASPA Journal*. vol. 22, no. 4. Spring 1985. pp. 9-17.
- Bennett, W. Lance. *News: The Politics of Illusion*. New York: Longman Inc. 1983.
- Berelson, Bernard. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner Publishing Company. 1971.
- Bonventre, Peter. "Marching Again." *Newsweek*. vol. 91, pt. 2, no. 19. May 8, 1978. p. 56.

- Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream*. New York: Atheneum. 1962.
- Breines, Wini. *Community and Organization in the New Left: 1962-1968: The Great Refusal*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1982.
- Budd, Richard W., and Robert K. Thorp. *An Introduction to Content Analysis*. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa School of Journalism. 1963.
- Budd, Richard W., Robert K. Thorp, and Lewis Donohew, *Content Analysis of Communications*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1967.
- Carden, Maren L. "Communes and Protest Movements in the U.S., 1960-1974: An Analysis of Intellectual Roots." *International Review of Modern Sociology* vol. 6, Spring 1976. pp. 13-22.
- The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *Dissent and Disruption: Proposals for Consideration by the Campus* New York: McGraw-Hill. 1971.
- Cirino, Robert. "Bias Through Selection and Omission: Automobile Safety, Smoking" in *The Manufacture of News*. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (eds.). 1973. pp. 40-61.
- Cohen, Stanley and Jock Young (eds.). *The Manufacture of News*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications. 1973.
- Collier, Peter and David Horowitz. *Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts About the '60s*. New York: Summit Books. 1990.
- Compaine, Benjamin M. *The Business of Consumer Magazines*. White Plains, NY: Knowledge Industry Publications, Inc. 1982.
- "Days of Rage, '80s Style." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no. 18. May 6, 1985. p. 26.
- Dunn, Delmer D. *Public Officials and the Press*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1969.
- Dunn, William. *The Baby Bust: A Generation Comes of Age*. Ithaca, NY: American Demographics Books. 1993.

- Ericson, Richard V., Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan. *Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1987.
- Ericson, Richard V., Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan. *Representing Order*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1991.
- Farley, Christopher J. "Taking Shots at The Baby Boomers." *Time*. July 19, 1993.
- Fedler, Fred. *Reporting For the Print Media, 4th ed.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. 1989.
- Fendrich, James Max. *Ideal Citizens: The Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1993.
- Fraser, Ronald. *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1988.
- Funkhouser, G. Ray. "The Issues of the Sixties: An Exploratory Study in The Dynamics of Public Opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol 37, pp. 62-75. 1973.
- Gans, Herbert J. *Deciding What's News*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1979.
- Gerbner, George. "Mass Media and Human Communication Theory" in *Sociology of Mass Communication*. Denis McQuail (ed.). 1972. pp. 35-58.
- Gerzon, Mark. *The Whole World is Watching: A Young Man Looks at Youth's Dissent*. New York: The Viking Press. 1969.
- Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1980.
- Gitlin, Todd. "Hyping the News." *The Nation*. vol. 256, no. 9. March 8, 1993. pp. 328-329.

- Goldberg, Robert A. *Grassroots Resistance: Social Movements in Twentieth Century America*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company. 1991.
- Golden, M. Patricia. "Chapter 1: Choices and Constraints in Social Research" in *The Research Experience*. M. Patricia Golden (ed.). 1976. pp. 19-31.
- Gordon, Margaret T. and Stephanie Riger. *The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois. 1989.
- Greenberg, Bradley. "Children's Reactions to TV Blacks." *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 49. 1972. pp. 5-14.
- Hansen, Anders (ed). *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*. London: Leicester University Press. 1993.
- Henry, William A., III. "Where NBC Went Wrong." *Time*. vol. 141, no. 8. February 22, 1993. p. 59.
- Herman, Edward S. "Gatekeeper versus Propaganda Models: A Critical American Perspective." in *Communicating Politics: Mass Communications and the Political Process*. Peter Golding, Graham Murdock and Philip Schlesinger (eds.). New York: Leicester University Press, Holmes & Meier. 1986. pp. 171-195.
- Hilgartner, S. and C. Bosk. "The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94. 1988. pp. 53-78.
- Hollstein, Milton. *Magazines in Search of an Audience*. Magazine Publishers Association. 1969.
- Holsti, Ole. "Chapter 16: Content Analysis." in *The Handbook of Social Psychology, Second Edition. Volume Two - Research Methods*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1968.
- Howe, Neil and Bill Strauss. *13th Gen: Abort, Retry, Ignore, Fail?* New York: Vintage Books. 1993.

- Hyman, Sidney. *Youth in Politics: Expectations and Realities*. New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1972.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Mark D. Peters, and Donald R. Kinder. "Experimental Demonstrations of the 'Not-So-Minimal' Consequences of Television News Programs." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 76. 1982. pp. 848-858.
- Kadushin, Charles, Julie Hover, and Monique Tichy. "How and Where to Find Intellectual Elite in the United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 35. 1971. pp. 1-18.
- Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1972.
- Lasswell, Harold D. "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society." in *Mass Communications*. Wilbur Schramm (ed.). 1960. p. 117-130.
- Levine, Arthur and Deborah Hirsch. "Undergraduates in Transition: A New Wave of Activism on American College Campus." *Higher Education*. vol. 22. 1991. pp. 119-128.
- Levine, Arthur and Keith R. Wilson. "Student Activism in the 1970s: Transformation Not Decline." *Higher Education* vol. 8. 1979. pp. 627-640.
- Levitt, Cyril. *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1984.
- Lewin, Kurt. "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Part II - Channels of Group Life; Social Planning and Action Research." *Human Relations*, vol. 1, no. 2. 1947. pp. 143-153.
- Lotz, Roy Edward. *Crime and the American Press*. Praeger Series in Political Communication. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1991.
- Mayer, Martin. *Making News*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1987.

McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930-1970*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1982.

Meighan, Jamie. "Energizing the Movement: In Four Years, SEAC Goes From Grassroots to Global." *U. The National College Magazine*. April 1993. pp. 16-17.

Meyer, Philip. *The Newspaper Survival Book: An Editor's Guide to Marketing Research*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 1985.

Morrison, Joan and Robert K. Morrison. *From Camelot to Kent State: The Sixties Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*. New York: Times Books. 1987.

Neuman, William Lawrence. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon. 1994.

Nimmo, Dan and James E. Combs. *Mediated Political Realities, Second Edition*. New York: Longman. 1990.

Nordenstreng, Kaarle. "Policy for News Transmission" in *Sociology of Mass Communication*. Denis McQuail (ed.). 1972. pp. 386-405.

North, Robert C., Ole R. Holsti, M. George Zaninovich, and Dina A. Zinnes. *Content Analysis: A Handbook with Applications for the Study of International Crisis*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press. 1963.

O'Neill, William L. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s*. New York: Times Books. 1971.

Parenti, Michael. *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1993.

Phillips, Bernard. *Sociological Research Methods: An Introduction*. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press. 1985.

Ritzer, George. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. 1993.

- Robinson, Gertrude J. and Claude-Yves Charron. "Television News and the Public Sphere: The Case of the Quebec Referendum." *Communication For and Against Democracy*. Marc Raboy and Peter A. Bruck (eds.). Montreal: Black Rose Books. 1989. pp. 147-162.
- Robinson, Michael J., and Clifford Zukin. "Television and the Wallace Vote." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 26, no. 2. 1976. pp. 79-83.
- Roshco, Bernard. *Newsmaking*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1975.
- Schlesinger, Sue and J. Victor Baldridge. "Is Student Power Dead in Higher Education?" *College Student Journal* vol. 16, no. 1. Spring 1982. pp. 9-17.
- Schramm, Wilbur. "Introductory Note: The Anatomy of Attention." in *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*. Wilbur Schramm (ed.). 1954. pp. 29-34.
- Schramm, Wilbur. "The Gatekeeper: A Memorandum." in *Mass Communications*. Wilbur Schramm (ed.). 1960. pp. 175-177.
- Shapiro, Joseph P. "Just Fix It." *U. S. News & World Report*. vol. 114, no. 7. February 22, 1993. pp. 50-56.
- Silvey, Robert. "Reflections on the Impact of Broadcasting" in *Media Sociology: A Reader*. Jeremy Tunstall (ed.). 1970. pp. 301-313.
- Social Science Research Institute. *Tennessee Poll*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, Knoxville. 1993.
- Strauss, William and Neil Howe. *Generations: The History of America's Future 1584-2069*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. 1991.
- Thompson, William E. and Joseph V. Hickey. *Society in Focus: An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers. 1994.
- Tuchman, Gaye. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press. 1978.

- Tunstall, Jeremy. "News Organization Goals and Specialist Newsgathering Journalists" in *Sociology of Mass Communication*. Denis McQuail (ed.). 1972. pp. 259-280.
- Turner, Kathleen J. "Ego Defense and Media Access: Conflicting Rhetorical Needs of a Contemporary Social Movement." *Central States Speech Journal*. vol. 31. Summer 1980. pp. 106-116.
- Underwood, Doug. *When MBAs Rule the Newsroom: How the Marketers and Managers are Reshaping Today's Media*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1993.
- Unger, Irwin. *The Movement: A History of the American New Left 1959-1972*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1974.
- Vellela, Tony. *New Voices: Student Political Activism in the 80s and 90s*. Boston: South End Press. 1988.
- Veysey, Laurence R. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965.
- Warner, Malcolm. "Decision-Making in Network Television News" in *Media Sociology: A Reader*. Jeremy Tunstall (ed.). 1970. pp. 158-167.
- Weber, Robert Philip. *Basic Content Analysis, Second Edition*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. 1990.
- White, David M. "The 'Gatekeeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News." in *People, Society, and Mass Communications*. Lewis Anthony Dexter and David Manning White (eds.). New York: The Free Press. 1964. pp. 160-172.
- Williams, Dennis A., George Raine, Susan Katz, Elisa Williams, and Susan Hutchison. "A New Breed of Activism." *Newsweek*. vol. 105, no. 19. May 13, 1985. pp. 61-62.
- Wood, James L. *The Sources of American Student Activism*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company. 1974.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Initial Coding Scheme

Type of Periodical

- A African-American
- B Business
- E Education
- G General Interest
- I Ideological/Political
- M Men's
- N News
- P Professional (Discipline-oriented)
- R Religious Affiliation
- S Special Interest
- T Teen
- W Women's

Placement

- 1 Cover Story
- 2 First quarter
- 3 Second quarter
- 4 Third quarter
- 5 Fourth quarter
- 6 Editorial

Issue

- 1 Student rights (in loco parentis, discipline, visitation, supervision, etc.)
- 2 Curricular issues/education reform/administration
- 3 Admissions procedures/costs/services
- 4 Free Speech
- 5 U. S. aggression in SE Asia (Vietnam, Indochina, Cambodia, draft)
- 6 Recruiting on campus
- 7 ROTC
- 8 Civil rights/racism/affirmative action
- 9 Apartheid/divestment
- 10 Labor issues

Issue (cont)

- 11 Women's issues
- 12 Defense research
- 13 HUAC
- 14 U.S. aggression in Central America
- 15 Facilities use
- 16 Police/military aggression against students
- 17 Town/Gown responsibility
- 18 Voting rights
- 19 Nuclear research/nuclear war
- 20 Environment
- 21 Professors' issues (hiring, firing, tenure)
- 22 Left Students (liberal issues)
- 23 U. S. aggression in Middle East
- 24 Right students (conservative issues)
- 25 Desegregation
- 26 Gay/Lesbian rights
- 27 CIA
- 28 U. S. involvement in Grenada
- 29 Peace
- 30 International human rights
- 88 Other issue
- 99 Multiple issues

Tactics

- 1 Vocal protest/disruption/demonstration/rally
- 2 Vandalism (arson, looting, destruction of property)
- 3 Occupation/sit-in
- 4 Riot/throwing objects
- 5 Boycott/strike
- 6 Traditional political (lobby, campaign, voter registration, election)
- 7 Petition/letters
- 8 Visual (flyers, banners, signs, newspapers, armbands, posters, TV interview)
- 9 Picket
- 10 Conference/convention
- 11 Teach-in
- 12 Hostages
- 13 Mobilization
- 14 Shanty

Tactics (cont)

- 15 Moratorium
- 16 PIRGS
- 17 March
- 18 Legal action (lawsuit, stock purchase)
- 19 Bombing
- 20 Grass roots
- 21 Blockade
- 88 Other
- 99 Violent & non-violent tactics

Person/Group

- 1 Students for a Democratic Society
- 2 Student Non-violent Coordinating Commission
- 3 Mario Savio
- 4 Mark Rudd
- 5 Stokely Carmichael
- 6 Young Americans for Freedom
- 7 National Student Association
- 8 Tom Hayden
- 9 Abbie Hoffman
- 10 Amy Carter
- 11 The Weathermen
- 12 Todd Gitlin
- 13 Black Panthers
- 14 Ralph Nader
- 15 James Meredith
- 16 Henry Gantt
- 17 Jean Kirkpatrick

Location

- 1 Berkeley
- 2 Columbia
- 3 Cornell
- 4 SUNY Buffalo
- 5 Ole Miss
- 6 Stanford
- 7 Harvard
- 8 San Francisco St. College
- 9 Yale
- 10 Kent State

Location (cont)

- 11 Wisconsin
- 12 Michigan
- 13 Howard
- 14 Univ. Massachusetts
- 15 Indiana
- 16 Univ. Chicago
- 17 Dartmouth
- 18 Chicago (city)
- 19 Washington D.C.
- 20 Boston
- 21 New York
- 22 Univ. Pennsylvania
- 23 Jackson State
- 24 Princeton
- 25 Univ. of Texas
- 26 Notre Dame
- 27 West Point
- 28 Brown
- 88 Other
- 99 Multiple locations mentioned

Appendix 2

Final Coding Scheme

Placement

- 1 Cover story
- 2 First half
- 3 Second half

Length of Article

- 1 1/2 page or less
- 2 1/2 to 1 page
- 3 1 to 1 1/2 page
- 4 1 1/2 to 2 pages
- 5 2 pages or more

Photos

- 1 Color
- 2 Black & White
- 3 Both color and black & white
- 0 No photos

Section

- 1 Education
- 2 National Affairs
- 3 Special feature
- 4 Update
- 5 Current events
- 6 Essay
- 7 Law
- 8 People
- 9 Editorial
- 10 Other
- 0 None

Issue

- 1 Educational issues
- 2 U. S. military involvement
- 3 Civil rights/racism/apartheid
- 5 Ideological issues
- 88 Other issue
- 99 Multiple issues
- 0 No issue

Level of Violence

- 1 Violent civil disobedience
- 2 Non-violent civil disobedience
- 3 Traditional political tactics

VITA

Sabrina Moreland Neeley was born in Canyon, Texas on April 11, 1968. She attended elementary school in the Canyon School District and graduated from Canyon High School in May, 1986. The following August she entered Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas. In December, 1990 she received the degree of Bachelor of Business Administration in Marketing. In August, 1992 she entered The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and in August, 1994 received a Master of Arts degree in Sociology.

She is presently employed as a Graduate Teaching Associate by the Department of Sociology at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. In addition, she works as a Research Assistant with the Social Science Research Institute and as an Undergraduate Advisor for the College of Liberal Arts Advising Services at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

She is a member of the Southern Sociological Association and the Southwestern Social Science Association.