Content Analysis and its Application in a Study of Newspaper Editorials

Submitted in partial completion of requirements for graduation with Honors by

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Honors Thesis, I.D. 499
Ball State University
Spring Quarter, 1972
I recommend that this paper be accepted in completion of the requirements for the Senior Honors Thesis (I.D. 499) and in partial completion of the requirements for graduation on the Honors Program.

Signed [Signature]
Advisor, Department of Political Science

Date 15 May 1972
Preface

Content analysis, as a research method for political science, has held my interest since I was first exposed to it in October, 1970. I shortly after decided to use content analysis as the subject of my Honors Thesis so that I might learn more about this method which originally fascinated me. Having studied the theories of content analysis and completed my own content analysis research project, I am pleased to report that the method still holds my interest as a valuable research tool.

This paper only scratches the surface of recent developments in content analysis and I encourage interested readers to consult the listed sources for more complete information.

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Roger G. Hollands, Assistant Professor of Political Science, for his helpful suggestions, guidance and patience. I also express appreciation to my mother, Mrs. Gertrude Kneubuhler, who spent many hours typing this paper.

Kenneth Kneubuhler
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Introduction

Content analysis is a research method that can be applied to any type of communication medium; newspapers, radio, novels, diaries, conversations, et cetera. It attempts to describe the content of a particular communication or set of communications by quantifying all data found in the content which belongs in specified categories. These categories are designed to discover all the data which is relevant to the researcher's hypothesis and assemble it in an easily quantified manner. Content analysis, then, systematically describes a communication by placing its relevant content into categories of analysis and quantifying the resultant data.

History

The history of content analysis is a long one, starting as early as the nineteenth century. But it was not until the twentieth century that the method gained prominence. Up to the 1930's most content analysis was done by American journalists on trends in space allocation between various types of news such as local, state, national and international.1 Studies using content analysis increased in the thirties and forties with the research of men like Harold Lasswell, Nathan Leites, 

L. Janis and I. DeSola Pool. Lasswell was especially important in that he gave content analysis a true political framework in his studies of propaganda.

Traditional content analysis enjoyed its greatest popularity in the late forties and its best definition and explanation in a work by Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, published in 1952. From 1952 to 1955 content analysis seemed to stagnate; little new was added and its popularity waned.

In the winter of 1955 a formal "work conference on content analysis" was called by the Social Science Research Council and held at the University of Illinois. At this conference those still engaged in content analysis research were surprised to find that each working independently had discovered new techniques for the method that expanded its scope further than ever before. One outcome of the conference was a book edited by Ithiel DeSola Pool that included papers presented at the conference and a summary of the current trends in content analysis as revealed at the conference.

This conference marked the beginnings of a new interest in content analysis that has remained relatively constant to the present day. Though there has not been a tremendous number of studies employing

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4There is no clearer or more through statement of basic content analysis than Berelson's. For this reason the reader will note many references to it in this paper.

content analysis presented since 1955, the method has continued to grow in sophistication and applications. These advances will be reviewed after we first discuss content analysis in basic form.

**Definition**

Though a precise and agreed upon definition of content analysis is impossible due to its wide range of application, there are several rules and limitations that have been imposed on its basic form:  

1. The analysis is not done in terms of possible latent intentions of the communications producer.

2. Categories of analysis must be objective such that "different analysts can apply them to the same body of content and secure the same results."

3. The research design must be "systematic" so that the data used is "relevant to a scientific problem or hypothesis."

4. The data and categories should, to some degree, be quantified. (This requirement is called "the most distinctive feature of content analysis" by Berelson.)

The definition used by Berelson in 1952 was: "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." He also lists three assumptions implicit in his definition:

1. It assumes that there exists valid, although sometimes unestablishable, relationships "between intent (of the producer) and content or between content and effect (on the audience)."

2. Content analysis, to have value, must assume the meanings attached to content by its producer can be understood by the analyst as he meant them. Thus a content analysis is not

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7 This limitation still allows for the use of "qualitative" content analysis, a less formal and less quantitative form of content analysis. See chapter five in Berelson's *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, for a discussion of "qualitative" content analysis.
normally valuable when applied to highly interpretive material such as poetry.

3. The final assumption is that description of content by frequency counts or quantification of data in general adds depth and precision to results and conclusions of a research project.

Applications

Even in its basic form, content analysis has many applications. Some of the more important uses are discussed here.

A simple yet valuable use of content analysis is to indicate trends and changes in the content of written material over a period of time. This trend analysis is normally done by comparing frequencies-of-occurrence categories for an arbitrary but equal time period, usually one year. Besides the value in discovering the trend itself, this knowledge can be combined with known changes in the producer or audience of the content to provide further information. Newspapers have been a popular subject for trend analysis, with type of subject categories and frequency measured in column inches. An interesting use of trend analysis by Yakobson and Lasswell, in 1949, is cited by Berelson:

The propaganda content of May Day slogans in the Soviet Union moved from "universal revolutionary" symbols to "national" symbols. In terms of the "ratio of frequency to total word count:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Universal Revolutionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A content analysis is often done to discover differences in the communications of various countries. Knowledge of these differences can

\[8\] Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research, pp. 27.
lead to a better understanding of international tensions and disputes. For example, analysis and comparison of newspapers in the United States and Japan could make differing public reactions to President Nixon's latest economics plans more intelligible. Or a comparative analysis of the literature of England and France could possibly disclose conflicting cultural values that have contributed to their poor relations at various times throughout history. Studies have shown the ethnocentrism in history textbooks of the United States and England by comparing their handling of the American Revolutionary War; the differences are great.

On another level of comparison, separate communications media can be analyzed for their varying treatment of like subjects. Radio, television, and newspapers often use different approaches to the same topic and it has been shown in many studies that the differences in approach and media character are significant. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, in a 1944 study of the 1940 presidential campaign, found that magazines favored Willkie over Roosevelt three to one with radio and newspapers favoring Willkie two to one. But significantly, whereas radio and newspapers were found to be more anti-Roosevelt than pro-Willkie, the magazines were largely pro-Willkie. It was speculated by the writers that Willkie's interesting character and career lent itself better than Roosevelt's to the biographical approach of the magazines and, hence, Willkie was given better support. ⁹

The producer of communications material sometimes is the object of a content analysis. Here content is treated as a reliable indicator of the producer's intentions, dislikes, emotional status, et cetera. Under

this area would be the analysis of enemy communications to determine the enemy's morale and future plans in war.

The final general use of content analysis is to gain an understanding of the audiences of communications. The assumption is that the audience is a factor in the production of content and is also affected by it. The content of popular literature is, in part, a function of what the public wants to read and what the public reads partially affects it. Just as communication content reflects its producer, the content reflects its audience. A study cited by Berelson shows a correlation between the changing attitudes on divorce in popular novels and the actual changes in public attitudes toward divorce for the same time period.10

Formulation of Categories

The most important element of a content analysis is the formulation of categories. "The actual work of examining the text is almost secondary to the formulation of the categories," according to one scholar.11 This importance has led many researchers to attempt to devise standardized categories for use in all content analysis projects but without success. Attempts at classifying types of categories have met with only limited success. The common types of categories are listed here without classification into groupings.

One of the most objective types of category is the subject matter type. Content analysis often places the subjects of a communication


into general headings such as newspaper content into categories of sports, government, crime, entertainment, et cetera. Basically any communication material can be described by noting what it is about.

Classification of content into a pro or con attitude toward some subject is an example of a direction category. Positive-negative or favorable-unfavorable categories are variations of this type.

Values found in communication content are often categorized. Political parties, labor groups, religious sects or any group which produces communication material can be investigated through value oriented categories. One detailed use of value categories helped describe the treatment of minority characters in magazine fiction.\(^\text{12}\)

Communication materials can also be described by categorizing the manner in which the content is expressed. Statements can be divided into categories of factual assertion or opinion. The degree of emotionalism in content is measurable if done in terms of a predetermined standard list of emotional words. Obviously this type of category is more subjective than most and care must be taken when applying it.

Possible types of categories are as varied as the communication materials they are designed to describe. Categories tailored to the content analysis at hand will usually bring better results than ones more general in nature. Finally, categories should be formulated so that they are both reliable and valid. A category is reliable if different researchers record the same data when using it and valid if defined such that it measures exactly what it was intended to measure. Obviously, the test for reliability is to compare data recorded by different researchers

for the same content, but validity is a definitional problem and not testable in any objective sense. The problem of validity is usually overcome if categories are clearly defined.

Units

Before the content can be systematically placed into categories, it must be divided into "units." Words, themes, sentences, paragraphs, whole articles, pages and the column inch are all possible units. The unit placed in a category is usually termed the recording unit. It is also sometimes necessary to define a context unit for a category. A context unit is "the largest body of content that may be examined in characterizing a recording unit."13 In other words, when placing a recording unit such as a word into a category, the sentence (context unit) in which the word was found might determine the proper category.

The selection of units should reflect the degree of precision needed by the content analysis. But it should be noted that smaller recording units are not necessarily more precise than larger recording units.

A Note on Sampling

Content analysis projects sometimes require the use of sampling techniques to select the particular communication material for study from a large universe of relevant material. For example, a trend analysis of several newspapers over a ten or twenty-year period would demand large amounts of time to complete unless a random sample is analyzed. Also while many content analysis studies may not require the use of a sample, valid results can often be obtained and time saved if a sample of the

13 Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research, pp. 135.
content is coded instead of the entire universe of content. In general, when attempting a content analysis, the researcher should remember that proper sampling techniques will allow him to undertake large projects he would otherwise not have resources for or save valuable time on moderate projects that do not actually require the coding of the entire universe of content.

**New Trends: Contingency Analysis**

Many times a content analysis involves a simple frequency count of a word occurring in the content without taking notice of the word in its context. If the word being recorded has various meanings, like the word "liberty," a simple frequency count will gloss over the different usages and give biased data.

This problem has been partially solved by the recent introduction of the contingency method of content analysis. The contingency method attempts to measure a word or symbol with reference to other words and symbols. In other words it attempts to measure the "co-occurrences of symbols" which leads to an understanding of the "associational structure" of the communicator's thinking.

Returning to the problem of recording the frequency of the word "liberty," a contingency category would record not only the occurrence of the word but would also record the symbols occurring with it. This discloses both different meanings of the word "liberty" and different associations with "liberty" in the communicator's mind.

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One of the earliest uses of contingency analysis was a study of a woman's personality through letters to her son's wife and his college roommate by A. L. Baldwin. Baldwin first made subjective judgements about the woman's personality after reading the letters then verified the judgements by conducting a content analysis of the letters using contingency categories to show the associations in her mind.

New Trends: Evaluative Assertion Analysis

The measurement of intensity is often the goal of a content analysis but until recently intensity was objectively measurable only as a function of frequency. Though plausible for most situations, the assumption that frequency of mention correlates with the intensity of attitude in communication content was too limited to completely rely on. Of the many attempts to measure intensity by means other than frequency, the most comprehensive and objective is evaluative assertion analysis.

Charles E. Osgood, the originator of this content analysis method of evaluating intensity of attitude, describes evaluative assertion analysis as a way to "extract from messages the evaluations being made of significant concepts, with a minimum dependence on the effects of the messages on coders or on their existing attitudes." This is done by selecting the evaluative concepts in each sentence, rating them on a continuum scale and averaging all ratings of the same concept to find the final evaluative value of the concept in the analyzed content.

The evaluation is accomplished in four explicitly detailed steps of

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analysis. Step one identifies attitude objects which are symbols in the content whose evaluative meaning can vary with different persons and systematically replaces them with letter pairs to guard against coder bias. Step two structures the messages into standard evaluative assertions composed of a masked attitude object (Ao), a verb phrase called a "verbal connector" and a term of definite meaning called a "common meaning term" or another masked attitude object. In step three the evaluative assertions are given ratings on a continuum scale with positive and negative poles. Finally, in step four all evaluative assertions related to an attitude object are summed and averaged to give each attitude object a place on the continuum scale.

An example will clarify this process. We will use the statement that, "The evil Americans are beginning to dominate the heroic people of South Viet Nam," and take it through the four steps.

In step one attitude objects would be identified as "Americans" (Ao1) and the "people of South Viet Nam" (Ao2).

Then in step two the statement is structured into evaluative assertions:

1. Ao1 / are / evil
2. Ao2 / are / heroic
3. Ao1 / are beginning to dominate / Ao2

Values are assigned to each verbal connector (C) and common meaning term (CM) on a scale of -3 to +3 with verbal connectors given positive valence if they associate the Ao with the common meaning term and common meaning terms given a positive valence if favorable in direction. Each verbal connector and common meaning term is also given a degree rating of 1, 2, or 3. Unqualified verbs are given a 3, verbs with helpers a 2 and
hypothetical verbs a 1. Common meaning terms are rated as 3 for extreme, 2 for moderate and 1 for slight.\(^{18}\)

Thus  \(A_{01} / \) are / evil, becomes  
\[A_{01} / +3 / -3\]

Likewise  \(A_{02} / \) are / heroic, becomes  
\[A_{02} / +3 / +3\]

and  \(A_{01} / \) are beginning to dominate / \(A_{02}\) becomes\(^{19}\)

\[A_{01} / -2 / +3\]

In step four the attitude objects are given their final values by summing their ratings in each evaluative assertion and dividing the sum by 3 times the number of assertions (n).

The formula is\(^{20}\)

\[A_{0x} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} Cx_iCMx_i + \sum_{i=1}^{n} Cx_i(AO_2)x_i}{3n_x}\]

Therefore  
\[A_{01} = \frac{+3(-3) + -2(+3)}{3(2)} = \frac{-15}{6} = -2.5\]

\[A_{02} = \frac{+3(+3) + 0}{3(1)} = \frac{+9}{3} = +3\]

Note that dividing by 3 is merely arbitrary and is done only to bring the final values within the original scale of -3 to +3.

We now have a method for answering most hypotheses concerning

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\(^{18}\)Robert C. North, et al, Content Analysis, pp. 94-95.

\(^{19}\)\(A_{02}\) cannot be rated when it is the final segment of an evaluative assertion until it has been rated and given an average value as a subject  \(A_{0}\). This was done in the following fourth step.

\(^{20}\)This is a simplified form of the formula found in North, et al, Content Analysis, pp. 96.
attitude intensity. By using evaluative assertion analysis on large amounts of materials a ranking of many attitude objects is obtained and the intensity of the attitudes in the content is measured. One valuable result of using this set procedure is that results of different studies are comparable without alteration.

New Trends: Content Analysis Through Computers

One of the major improvements in social science research techniques has been the introduction of computers. Applying them to content analysis has been especially valuable for a number of reasons.

A computer can handle more material with greater speed than can human coders. Even at this greater speed it produces more reliable results. And if the computer system being used is sophisticated enough it will include an "informational retrieval system" that allows for re-analysis of new categories immediately. When computers are employed "the whole process of theory testing is speeded up."21

An indirect benefit of using computers comes from the programming requirements. When designing a content analysis, careful definition of categories, recording units and context units has always been necessary for coder reliability, but when a computer is the coder, working definitions must be made even more explicit. The benefit is the greater precision with which the content analysis must be designed and the resultant understanding of the decision making involved in coding.

The cost of preparing data in the form needed by the computer seems to be the major disadvantage of computer content analysis. Hopefully, 21

this will not be a problem in the near future as work is progressing on
"optical scanning devices for digitizing large quantities of materials
directly into a machine-manipulated medium."22 Once more sophisticated
scanners are developed, raw content can be fed to the computer for ana-
lyzing, thereby saving time and money for more important parts of the
project.

An example of a sophisticated computer system available for content
analysis is the General Inquirer System developed by P. J. Stone and his
associates at Harvard University. The General Inquirer can consider
"both denotative and connotative meanings, use words and sentences as
units, can be extended to theme analysis, automatically classifies words
into categories, and processes data in such a way that quantitative re-
sults are produced."23 The General Inquirer also contains an informa-
tional retrieval system.24


II. Newspaper Editorial Support in the 1970 Indiana Senate Campaign.
Newspaper Editorial Support in the 1970 Indiana Senate Campaign

Introduction

The 1970 United States Senate seat campaign in Indiana, unlike many in which the differences between candidates are obscure, offered two hopefuls with opposing beliefs and voting records. The winner, incumbent Senator Vance Hartke, was known as an anti-Viet Nam dove and a liberal Democrat lacking qualms over an unbalanced budget. In contrast, Richard Roudebush was a conservative Republican Congressman from Indiana's fifth district, completely pro-Nixon and fearful of deficit spending.

Given this setting one could reasonably hope that the bulk of campaigning would center around specific issues and that specific issues would be the deciding factor in the election. But this was not the case in the 1970 version. Meaningful issues were present but not in forms which voters could clearly perceive them. The television debate between the candidates was characterized by the South Bend Tribune as consisting of "trite political hack stuff." And the campaign in general is remembered for its arguments over financial support and controversial television commercials, the visit by President Nixon to help Roudebush, and the bitter aftermath of a court fight for a recount.¹

This paper is an attempt to develop a better understanding of the 1970 Indiana U. S. Senate campaign by examining the nature of newspaper support.

¹The recount issue was finally settled by the Supreme Court decision that Indiana's recount law was unconstitutional and a recount allowable (92 S.Ct. 804, 1972).
editorial opinion directed at the candidates. Specifically, the content analysis method was used to determine the actual attitudes of the newspapers beyond their explicitly given endorsements.

The newspaper editorial has been selected as the unit of analysis in this study for several reasons. First of all, compared to other communication materials relevant to the campaign (political speeches, radio commentaries, et cetera), the newspaper editorial is more readily available. Also, of these relevant materials, newspaper editorials are the only substantial source of independent political opinion. Finally, the newspaper editorial was selected because it is often used by the candidates themselves to gauge their relative appeal and progress throughout the campaign.

Methodology

Eight of Indiana's largest newspapers were used in this study.\(^2\) They are ranked here by circulation in relation to all Indiana dailies in 1970:

1. Indianapolis Star (224,764)
2. Indianapolis News (182,564)
3. South Bend Tribune (117,553)
4. Fort Wayne News-Sentinel (76,416)
5. Gary Post-Tribune (72,377)
6. Fort Wayne Journal Gazette (65,479)
7. Evansville Courier (65,354)
8. Evansville Press (46,248)

A random sample was not used to select the newspapers included in this study. They were chosen by circulation and availability on the assumption that an analysis of Indiana's largest circulating newspapers

\(^2\)The Muncie Star and Muncie Evening Press were to be included in the research but it was discovered that they carried the same state issue oriented editorials as the Indianapolis Star and News respectfully. The Louisville Courier Journal was also examined but the results added nothing to the findings.
would provide significant results.

Each editorial relevant to the campaign in these eight newspapers from September 1 to November 2, 1970 was analyzed and described in terms of four categories; direction, use of the name Hartke, use of the name Roudebush and theme.

The editorial direction measures the expressed feeling of the editorial toward the candidates. Each candidate was given a separate rating in each editorial from this set of possibles; pro, anti, neutral, qualified pro and qualified anti. Thus one candidate could have a "pro" rating and the other a neutral rating in the same editorial. Pro and anti were used in the normal sense while neutral means either "indifference towards" or "no mention of." The term "qualified" was added when the editorial contained reservations such as an endorsement with a "lesser evil" reasoning.

The next two categories record the number of paragraphs in which the name Hartke or Roudebush is mentioned at least once. Category two records mention of Hartke and category three of Roudebush.

The editorial theme, category four, outlines the major thrust of the editorial. It is recorded in no more than two sentences.

Reliability tests were not attempted due to the low subjective qualities of the categories. Statistics were checked for several editorials with no discrepancies found.

Originally the research project was to include results from interviews with editorial writers and observations by both candidates on the content of relevant editorials. But after the outcome of the first interview proved unsatisfactory they were discontinued. The letter to the candidates induced comments which are referred to in the paper. (See appendix for text of the letter and replies.)
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 1</th>
<th>Pro-Hartke</th>
<th>Anti-Hartke</th>
<th>Neutral-Hartke</th>
<th>Qualified Anti-Hartke</th>
<th>Pro-Roudebush</th>
<th>Anti-Roudebush</th>
<th>Neutral-Roudebush</th>
<th>Qualified Anti-Roudebush</th>
<th>Category 2</th>
<th>Category 3</th>
<th>No. of Paragraphs</th>
<th>No. of Editorials</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evansville Press</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 4, Themes:

Indianapolis News

Sept. 2: The communist paper "Daily World" has helped Roudebush by coming out against him. It's a compliment to his anti-communist stands.

Sept. 3: Contrary to what Bayh says, Hartke has helped the economy and government spending get worse through his voting record.

Sept. 9: Hartke shouldn't complain about Nixon's economy moves when he doesn't make any himself.

Sept. 10: Hartke is a very big spender and shouldn't be elected. Also he is receiving money from special interest groups - too much money.

Sept. 18: Roudebush is right in his T.V. commercial and elsewhere to criticize Hartke's voting record on trading with communist nations.

Sept. 24: "There seems to be some peculiar haze fuzzing the financial picture of Senator Vance Hartke."

Sept. 28: Hartke wants campaign spending watched closely but hasn't done it himself.

Oct. 1: Hartke has always voted to raise the Federal debt ceiling until now when Nixon wants it.

Oct. 6: Indianapolis conservatism and not Hartke's liberal economics has kept the Indianapolis unemployment rate low.

Oct. 7: Hartke was once a friend of Bobby Baker but now denies it.

Oct. 8: Hartke changed views on Viet Nam in 1966 after re-elected in 1964.


Oct. 21: Although Hartke votes for busing, he says he isn't. He's trying to cover his tracks.

Oct. 22: Hartke allies himself with extremists but says he hasn't to Indiana voters.

Oct. 27: Hartke is a "super-spender" and has no one to blame but himself for inflation, etc.
Oct. 29: "For those who don't like radical liberals (Hartke), Roudebush is the man."

Fort Wayne News-Sentinel

Sept. 11: Which party has more money for the campaign isn't the issue; Hartke's resources and record is.

Sept. 19: The T.V. commercial that Hartke was mad about does open up a "legitimate political question" about trade with communist nations.

Sept. 22: Hartke missed 4 out of 5 roll call votes recently and voted wrong on one he did make; yes on the McGovern-Hatfield amendment.

Sept. 24: The Decatur paper, "The Daily Democrat", by supporting Roudebush over Hartke shows serious minded Democrats are being left out of the party. The paper should be welcomed to the Republican Party.

Sept. 26: Hartke can't take his own punishment, the commercial he is complaining about is like the one used by the Democrats against Goldwater in 1964.

Oct. 14: Hartke isn't helped by McGovern's endorsement; it keeps Hartke from cleaning up his image.

Oct. 15: The T.V. debate between Hartke and Roudebush proved little except that Roudebush better represents Indiana than Hartke does.

Oct. 16: Nixon wants Roudebush elected to support his policies and Indiana's, we (News-Sentinel) agree.

Oct. 21: Elect Roudebush as Nixon asks.

Oct. 22: Both candidates are in favor of increased Social Security benefits but we (News-Sentinel) question how much the people can afford in increases.

Oct. 28: By calling attention to ties between Roudebush and Whitcomb, Hartke may be helping Roudebush not hurting him. Whitcomb isn't as unpopular as Hartke thinks.

Oct. 29: Hartke is grabbing for issues and making excessive charges, e.g. "Nixon is deliberately causing unemployment."

Oct. 31: Governor Whitcomb was right in turning down Hartke's request for a tour of the state prison because the tour was for political reasons.
Nov. 2: Roudebush has "fairly represented" his constituency and Hartke has not.

Indianapolis Star

Sept. 5: By labeling Roudebush as a redbaiter, the communist paper "Daily World" has boosted Roudebush's candidacy.

Sept. 6: Hartke should explain his sources of funds and tell Indiana voters who he's representing.

Sept. 27: Hartke's dovish votes attempt to tie the hands of the President. He shouldn't be re-elected because of this.

Sept. 30: Hartke's record on trade with communist nations is bad and he'll have to face up to it.

Oct. 15: Roudebush watches over spending and therefore "votes for the people" not against them as Hartke does when overspending.

Oct. 18: Hartke is fiscally irresponsible; Roudebush isn't.

Oct. 21: Hartke as happens often, "didn't know what he was doing" when he gave the black power salute.

Oct. 23: Hartke is the biggest spender in the Senate; Roudebush has more spending sense.

Oct. 27: Hartke says the cost of living has risen twice as fast under Nixon as under Johnson but it hasn't; it has risen only 1.39 times faster.

Oct. 30: Hartke and other Democrats caused the inflation not Nixon's Administration.

South Bend Tribune

Sept. 5: The proposed T.V. ideas are a good idea.

Oct. 14: Both did poorly in the debates, never getting beyond the "trite political hack stuff." Maybe they will do better in the next debate.

Oct. 21: Too bad Nixon's Ft. Wayne appearance has caused cancellation of the second debate. But another time can be found if both are sincere in wanting another debate. Maybe the next debate will be more than partisan politics.

Oct. 27: Hartke's book, "You and Your Senator," was ghost written; though this is done by many in both parties at Washington, it isn't right to do so.
Nov. 1: Hartke has failed to distinguish himself as a "Senator" so the Tribune endorses Roudebush because he will support Nixon in the Senate and be fiscally conservative.

Evansville Press

Sept. 6: Up to now, the campaign has been devoted to "nit-picking" issues. The proposed debates are welcome.

Oct. 9: Hartke is the best choice for Senator because of his record: one of concern for all people.

Oct. 13: Opening statements in the first T.V. debates were important. Hartke talked about his record and issues "Roudebush talked about his personal history."

Oct. 18: Hartke should be re-elected because of his better record.

Oct. 25: Though Roudebush cries that Hartke is guided by too much non-Indiana influence, he has had Nixon, Agnew, and Cabinet members campaign for him.

Gary Post-Tribune

Oct. 24: Hartke should be elected over Roudebush because Hartke better represents the whole state while Roudebush only represents his rural constituents.

Fort Wayne Journal Gazette

Nov. 2: Hartke should be elected over Roudebush because of his fine record. Roudebush is merely "a rubber stamp" for President Nixon.

Findings

An endorsement of a political candidate can mean less than true support. That much has become clear in this study. One could, I suppose, consider the criticizing of an opponent a form of support, but only in a negative sense. It is in this negative sense that Roudebush was given most of his support. The actual direction and emphasis of the editorials belie the explicit endorsements of Roudebush. The editorial direction and content was determined more by a reaction against Hartke and his record than an appreciation of Roudebush.
Consider the results of the content analysis. Of eight papers analyzed, five endorsed Roudebush. These five papers accounted for 45 editorials or 87.5 per cent of the total number analyzed. Yet only 13 of those 45 were actually pro-Roudebush. Surprisingly, 29 editorials written by newspapers endorsing Roudebush were neutral-Roudebush. Either no mention or no favorable mention was made of him in well over half of the editorials one would normally assume were pro-Roudebush.

Now examine the statistics of the same five papers in relation to Hartke. Out of 45 editorials, 40 were anti-Hartke and only 3 were neutral-Hartke. Clearly the emphasis was on Hartke not Roudebush.

This overemphasis of Hartke in the editorials shows up again in the statistics of categories two and three. The name Hartke appeared in 188 paragraphs at least once while Roudebush appeared in only 72, a 2.6:1 ratio.

Category four adds depth to the statistics by showing the same emphasis of Hartke in terms of editorial themes. This category also points out differences in the approaches of the analyzed newspapers. For instance, the Indianapolis Star and Indianapolis News both used government spending as the main issue, criticizing Hartke as fiscally irresponsible and praising Roudebush for being fiscally conservative. In contrast the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel did not place emphasis on any one issue, hitting Hartke on various points and giving Roudebush support because he would support Nixon and better represent Indiana than did Hartke.

The three papers endorsing Hartke do not show similar characteristics. First of all, there was an average of 2.3 editorials per Hartke endorsing paper as compared to 9 per paper that supported Roudebush.
The 7 editorials written by these three papers were predominantly pro-Hartke (5) with 2 neutral-Hartke and predominantly anti-Roudebush (6) with 1 neutral-Roudebush. As in Roudebush supporting papers, these three referred to Hartke more than Roudebush but in a lower ratio of 2:1. Category four is of little significance here as the editorials for Hartke generally expressed a preference for his record over the conservative record of Roudebush.

The responses of Mr. Roudebush and Mr. LeRoy, Administrative Assistant to Senator Hartke, to a request for comments on the relevant editorials contained important differences (see appendices A, B, and C). Mr. Roudebush mentioned the occurrence of newspaper endorsements and not the direction these endorsements often took. In contrast, Mr. LeRoy commented on the direction of the editorials without reference to any newspaper endorsements.

Conclusion

This content analysis was an attempt to systematically describe newspaper editorial opinion directed towards the 1970 campaign for a United State Senate seat between incumbent Senator Vance Hartke and Richard Roudebush. The findings suggest a possible explanation of the narrow Hartke victory which came as a surprise to many.

We have seen that the newspapers endorsing Roudebush in this study were definitely against Hartke but gave little attention or positive support to Roudebush. This overemphasis of attention to Hartke cannot be rationalized as a case of an incumbent running against a political unknown. Roudebush too, owned a long record as a congressman which could

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have been contrasted to Hartke's at every point had editorial writers been interested in supporting Roudebush rather than intent on defeating Hartke. In contrast, newspapers endorsing Hartke gave more equal attention to the candidates, both supporting Hartke and criticizing Roudebush.

The general impression one receives from the findings is that the concern of leading conservative newspapers in Indiana was the defeat of Senator Hartke and not the election of Richard Roudebush. The support given Roudebush was mostly indirect and probably did little to inspire their readers to vote for him.

The logical effect of this editorial direction would be to keep many unsure voters from voting for Hartke but not necessarily lead them to vote for Roudebush. Both candidates would be left with only their loyal followers. Considering that Hartke had a statewide following due to his twelve years as Senator and Roudebush had grass roots support in only Indiana's fifth congressional district, it is natural to assume a Hartke victory within this framework.

The 1970 Indiana Senate race was decided by roughly 4,000 votes, a narrow margin which many factors could conceivably account for. This study suggests that one determining factor was the lack of positive support given Richard Roudebush by Indiana newspaper editorial opinion. Though possibly effective in leading some voters away from Senator Hartke, the editorials did little to present Mr. Roudebush as an attractive alternative.
APPENDIX
Appendix A
Text of Letter to the Candidates

December 20, 1971

Dear Sir:

As a senior at Ball State University, I am nearing completion of a "Senior Honors Thesis." One portion of my paper is a research project using the content analysis technique on editorials concerning the 1970 Indiana Senate campaign that appeared in Indiana's eight largest newspapers. Though the main objective of the research project is to systematically describe the contents of the editorials and test stated hypotheses, I will also be comparing the research data to observations on the editorials received from interviews of several of the editorial writers.

In hope of comparing the research data to observations by the candidates themselves, I would be interested in any comments you might have on the editorial opinion directed at the Senate race.

I am especially interested in your observations on the frequency of editorials supporting your candidacy as contrasted to the frequency of those supporting . Also of special interest would be comments on the themes of the editorials.

If you do have any such observations, I would appreciate receiving them. As is customary, a copy of my completed paper is available if it is of interest to you.

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