ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY O'COLLEGIAN COVERAGE OF CAMPUS CONTROVERSIES,

Ву

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ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY O'COLLEGIAN COVERAGE OF CAMPUS CONTROVERSIES, 1989-90

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PREFACE

Because the author also serves as the editorial adviser for The Daily O'Collegian, precautions were taken to avoid a conflict of interest and ensure the accuracy of this endeavor to analyze coverage of campus issues in academic year 1989-90.

First, the study omits the adviser's role in the coverage so that observations would not be misconstrued as the author's opinions or inferences. Information in the thesis is based on published reports and personal interviews except for that under discussion headings. For the record, however, the adviser's role in the coverage was merely in an advisory capacity to encourage aggressive but responsible and ethical coverage of the issues.

To ensure accuracy in the study, the author used the advice and consultation of journalism faculty and other respected journalists in coding information and analyzing stories.

As a result, I am confident the effort provides as accurate assessment of coverage as possible. Accuracy was of utmost importance because a major purpose of this study is to use its results in evaluating the O'Collegian staff's performance and in educating future staffs.

In completing the project, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis adviser, Dr. Marlan Nelson, for his guidance and to Dr. Charles Fleming for his scholarly advice. I also am grateful to Dr. Harry Heath for his interest in this project and for serving on my thesis committee.

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Special acknowledgment goes to my parents, Goldie

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The pages of <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u>, the student newspaper at Oklahoma State University, were dominated in academic year 1989-90 with coverage of two controversial events.

The first issue to make headlines occurred when OSU's governing body, the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, voted unanimously on a motion that would cause the movie, "The Last Temptation of Christ," "to not be shown on the OSU campus" while the Board deliberated on various issues. 1

The second event surfaced when the O'Collegian reported that the university president reinstated seven athletes who were academically ineligible to stay in school.

The O'Collegian's extensive coverage of both events won national and regional awards for journalism excellence. However, some critics said the coverage projected too much negative news about the university and was unfair to university administrators and regents.

The purpose of this research is to determine by content analysis if stories about the topics were slanted or

contained bias concerning university officials, administrators and regents.

Background

Oklahoma State University reached a milestone in 1990. The university observed its 100th birthday and celebrated the 1989-90 centennial year with a myriad of activities that included visits by President George Bush and former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

But major headlines told of controversy and conflict when two unrelated events unfolded in the fall 1989 and spring 1990 semesters. Both made major impacts on campus, the state Capitol, the governor's office and Oklahomans in general.

The first occurred in fall 1989 when university regents attempted to block the campus showing of the movie, "The Last Temptation of Christ." Campus turmoil caused by the controversy included faculty and student protests, intervention by state-government officials and the American Civil Liberties Union, a lawsuit filed against the university and its regents for prior restraint of First Amendment rights, and an injunction hearing in federal court. After the regents later decided in a split vote to allow the movie to be shown, the chief executive officer resigned at the end of an emotion-filled meeting.

Needless to say, coverage of the events filled the pages of The Daily O'Collegian.

The O'Collegian published 41 front-page news stories in the six weeks of controversy, devoted most of its editorial pages to the issue and printed a special edition the Saturday morning of homecoming when the regents decided the previous night to allow the film to be shown.

Follow-up coverage continued periodically through the following months and again regularly when some administrators and faculty proposed a freedom of expression policy in fall 1990 to establish procedures that would prevent a recurrence of the movie controversy. It was adopted in January 1991.

In a campus lecture six months after the "Last Temptation" was shown, Jean Otto, past national president of the Society of Professional Journalists and a founder of the First Amendment Congress, said she "read every word" of the movie's coverage in the O'Collegian. She called it a "compelling story, from the first report that the movie might not be shown on campus to the dismissal of the suit because the university agreed to the showing and the resignation of the regents' chief executive officer."

The second major story occurred in spring 1990 when the O'Collegian broke a story that the university president had reinstated seven athletes who were academically ineligible to remain in school. The O'Collegian scooped local and state professional media on the story and continued to break stories with 23 articles of running coverage.

After the O'Collegian printed the first accounts of what had transpired, the governor called for an investigation of the president's actions, and the general faculty and Student Government Association called for the president's resignation. Six weeks later, the investigation ended with the regents reprimanding but retaining the president. However, the issue provoked new policies and procedures to prevent a recurrence.

Also in the aftermath, the State Regents for Higher Education proposed a "no pass, no play" rule for all college students involved in extracurricular activities and conducted hearings statewide the next several months.

The regents eventually adopted a measure 11 months later that will require all Oklahoma college students to maintain a 2.0 grade point average to be in good academic standing. More than 160,000 students at Oklahoma's colleges and universities will be affected by the toughened retention standards. 4

The <u>O'Collegian</u> used its stories about the two controversies as a basis to gather 10 national awards for journalism excellence and 28 regional awards from the Society of Professional Journalists and Southwestern Journalism Congress.

Among the O'Collegian's national honors were a regional Pacemaker Award, considered the Pulitzer Prize for college journalism, and an All-American rating from the Associated College Press. The newspaper's performances in

monthly competitions in the 31st annual William Randolph Hearst Foundation's Journalism Awards Program earned the OSU School of Journalism and Broadcasting in 1989-90 an eighth-place ranking nationally out of 89 accredited journalism schools.

Also, Robert Ridenour, a May 1990 graduate who authored the stories about the reinstatement of the failing athletes, was named first runner-up for U. Foundation's College Journalist of the Year. He received the award in Washington, D.C., at the national convention of the Associated Collegiate Press and College Media Advisers.

Judge Tom Rolnicki, executive director of Associated College Press, said: "Ridenour's tenacious reporting, clear writing and careful editing paid off in this story about the abuse of power. He got his story in the best tradition of newspaper 'watchdog' journalism and alerted his readers to an important situation at his university."

Ridenour's stories also earned regional awards from the Society of Professional Journalists and Southwestern Journalism Congress, and he was the recipient of the E.K. Gaylord Award given annually by the Oklahoma City Gridiron Foundation for investigative reporting.

Also, staff writer Matt Maile's coverage of a regents meeting about the reinstatements earned a 13th-place award in the Hearst contest for news writing.

And the <u>O'Collegian</u>'s total coverage of the reinstatements won the annual Public Service Contest sponsored by the Southwestern Journalism Congress.

In "The Last Temptation" coverage, staff writer Todd Knott won seventh in Hearst and firsts in SPJ and SWJC for news writing.

Editorial writing on the subject earned Kelly Kurt a ninth in Hearst, Ridenour a first in SPJ and second in SWJC, and Andy Richardson a third in SPJ.

The news staff received a third in in-depth coverage from SWJC.

In her lecture on campus, First Amendment rights advocate Otto said: "The O'Collegian is to be commended. It aired the issue fully and fairly. It showed maturity and judgment. And courage."

The O'Collegian also won second in sweepstakes honors at the SWJC in 1989 and third in 1990. It was named the third best newspaper regionally by SPJ in 1989 and third best by SWJC in 1990.

In receiving the All-American award from the Associated Collegiate Press, the O'Collegian received marks of distinction in all five categories: coverage and content, writing and editing, design, opinion content, and photography, art and graphics.

"Publication is very well-done," judge John Kolb wrote in his critique. "Overall, publication is first-class."

The Problem

Critics said the <u>O'Collegian</u> published too much negative news about the university in the 1989-90 academic year and coverage was unfair about "The Last Temptation" and reinstatement of athletes issues.

Tim Barker, editor-in-chief in 1989-90, said he fielded at least a complaint a day during almost two months of "Last Temptation" coverage. He said some complained that there was too much coverage but most complaints were religion-oriented. "Callers complained about the film because they thought it was blasphemous and shouldn't be shown," he said. "That missed the point. The question was one of free expression."

At a campus protest Feb. 2, 1990, on the Edmon Low Library lawn, more than 100 Students for Academic Equality called for President John Campbell's resignation, but other students attended later, carrying signs in support of Campbell and blaming the O'Collegian for unfair coverage. 9

In its Feb. 5 issue, the <u>O'Collegian</u> ran a page-one story about the protest. The story said students voiced different opinions about Campbell and the paper ran two accompanying photos, one with a sign reading, "We Love (Heart) Campbell."

On the opinion page in the same issue, a letter to the editor supported Campbell and a columnist wrote that protests and negative publicity from the "Last Temptation" and reinstatement issues had grown into more than state

news. "It appears that people all over the country are looking at OSU as one big problem," the columnist wrote. 10 He also wrote that the O'Collegian had written "more 'Last Temptation' articles than your dog could excrete waste on" and "who wants to read Campbell articles in the O'Collegian for the rest of the semester?" 11

Also, H. Jerrell Chesney, chief executive officer who resigned when the regents voted to allow the movie to be shown, wrote in response to a critical opinion column that he did not recall "expressing dissatisfaction with the accuracy and fairness given to an issue previous to the arising of this most recent one involving a certain movie." ... "You have foisted personal harm upon me which, I think, is irreparable. A news reporter may write with zeal, but he at least ought to deal with facts and be committed to truth. Moreover, your article is obviously written with extreme malice." 12

Chesney made the remarks in a five-page letter that appeared on the opinion page in response to Managing Editor Robert Ridenour's column that blamed Chesney for the regents' stance on the movie and applauded his resignation. Ridenour wrote that Chesney, by letting his personal moral beliefs color his decisions, very nearly violated the First Amendment rights of the entire university and that because of his resignation, "I won't have to worry about his bad judgment rearing its head again." 13

In his letter, Chesney said: "You have stated the actions of the Board damaged OSU's credibility. The inaccurate representation (not by <u>The O'Colly</u>, alone) of the Board's intentions and its actions are responsible for any such damage." 14

Chesney requested "a complete retraction and public apology" for Ridenour's remarks in the column and sent copies of the letter to more than 30 people "connected to and responsible for the publishment" of the O'Collegian.

He also wrote: "Perhaps it takes courage for a reporter with The Daily O'Collegian to give fair treatment to the Board of Regents. Be that as it may, the facts remain the same and all the slanted reporting in the world will not change those facts." 15

Rumors circulated that administrators, upset with the O'Collegian's coverage, discussed the possibility of an alternative newspaper on campus so they could exercise control of its content.

Columnist Kelly Kurt, 1990-91 president of the OSU chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, wrote a year later that some administrators would like to see the O'Collegian replaced with a campus newspaper operated by the OSU public relations department. "What well-intentioned administrator would like the O'Collegian after seeing his or her name glare alongside words like 'reinstatement of athletes,' '\$82,000 inauguration' and 'The Last Temptation of Christ,'" she wrote. "A 'positive'

public relations rag would be much more welcome at OSU than the student-run newspaper we now publish."16

Objectives

Content analysis will be used to determine if the O'Collegian's news stories about the "Last Temptation of Christ" and reinstatement of athletes contained biases and met criteria established to determine fairness and balance. Examples of previous studies will be used to establish guidelines in analyzing the stories to measure bias, fairness and balance.

Measuring the concepts in a systematic manner should provide an accurate assessment of the stories that seemed to attract conflicting reaction.

Did they represent objective, quality reporting as the many awards would indicate? Or were they biased as critics and some university officials would indicate?

Assumptions

A basic underlying assumption to this research is that the media have social and ethical obligations despite their First Amendment rights. This principle was brought to attention by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in the 1940s and is called the social responsibility theory. 17

Social responsibility, a theory that began in the 20th century United States, is based on the writings of W.E. Hocking, Commission on Freedom of the Press, practitioners

and media codes. The theory is designed to inform, entertain and sell but chiefly to raise conflict to the plane of discussion. Because a socially responsible press is motivated by its duties to the people, it must serve society or endanger its First Amendment rights. 18

It can be assumed, therefore, that the media face social responsibilities in fulfilling a watchdog role that makes governing bodies and major institutions accountable to the public.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based upon the belief that the media have a responsibility to the public under the social responsibility theory. The Hutchins Commission stated in the 1940s that the duty of the press is to provide "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning." 19

The media's responsibility also is outlined in the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, Code of Ethics. The code states that "news reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue."

The theory and codes can be applied to the O'Collegian's coverage of "The Last Temptation" and reinstatement of athletes. If the newspaper acted responsibly,

accounts of the events should have been accurate, representative and objective.

Importance of Study

No doubt, the <u>O'Collegian</u> has much influence on the OSU campus. At the time, 12,000 copies were distributed five days a week and 88 percent of the 25,000 students, faculty and staff say they regularly read the <u>O'Collegian</u>, according to the OSU Continuing Market Study, 1989-90.²¹

Analysis of the stories could have historic and futuristic value for the O'Collegian in coverage of news events, especially ones involving administrators, regents and authority figures. This research could be used as an educational tool to evaluate performances at the O'Collegian and other college newspapers. Also, it could be of value to other media to help them assess their social responsibility roles.

Endnotes

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 - 3 Ibid
- Jim Killackey, "Grade requirements raised," The Daily Oklahoman, (Dec. 18, 1990), p. 1.
- ⁵ <u>U. The National College Newspaper</u>, (February 1991), p. 4.
 - ⁶ Otto, (April 13, 1990).
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- 8 Personal interview with Tim Barker in Stillwater, Oklahoma, (April 13, 1991).
- 9 Tara Roberson, "Students voice differing opinions over Campbell," The Daily O'Collegian, (Feb. 5, 1990), p. 1.
- 10 Brad R. Pepmiller, "Say 'yes' to Campbell," The Daily O'Collegian, (Feb. 5, 1990), p. 4.
 - 11 Ibid.
 - 12 The Daily O'Collegian, (Oct. 19, 1989), p. 4.
- Robert Ridenour, "Thanks Chesney; It is high time you quit," The Daily O'Collegian, (Oct. 16, 1989), p. 4.
 - 14 The Daily O'Collegian, (Oct. 19, 1989), p. 4.
 - 15 Ibid.
- 16 Kelly Kurt, "Screaming for free speech," The Daily O'Collegian, (April 23, 1991), p. 4.

- 17 William L. Rivers, Wilbur Schramm, and Clifford G. Christians, Responsibility in Mass Communication, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 44-45.
 - ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 50.
 - ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 45.
 - ²⁰ Ibid., p. 293.
 - 21 The Daily O'Collegian, (April 16, 1991), p. 6.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"The Last Temptation of Christ" Background

Stories about "The Last Temptation of Christ" began in the Sept. 8-9, 1989 issue of <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u> when the Student Union Activities Board announced the movie would be shown Oct. 19-21 in the Student Union Little Theater. The controversial movie, called blasphemous by many critics, had not been shown commercially in Oklahoma. "The Last Temptation," an Oscar-nominated film directed by Martin Scorsese, contains a scene that depicts Jesus, while crucified on the cross, fantasizing about married life and having sexual relations with Mary Magdelene. 1

A week later, the O'Collegian reported that a board of administrators would screen the movie to decide if it "meets community standards of decency" and should be shown on campus.²

A few days later, 600 students signed a petition to prevent what they called censorship of the movie, and some faculty were quoted as saying the movie's status is an issue of freedom of expression.

On Sept. 22, the Board of Regents for Oklahoma A&M Colleges voted not to show the film until the issue was studied further and issued 10 legal and ethical questions to university administrators about policies and procedures related to such situations. The regents said they based their decision on reaction from outraged alumni and the Oklahoma Christian community.³

After the regents meetings, 12 professors met to form the Committee for the First Amendment⁴ and the <u>O'Collegian</u> ran a front page editorial critical of the regents' decision and denouncing the governing body for infringement upon First Amendment rights.⁵

In the Sept. 27 issue, the O'Collegian reported that Governor Henry Bellmon had sent a letter to the regents, warning them of his concerns of censoring information on campus. Regardless of the merit or demerits of this movie, I am concerned that the regents are establishing a policy of attempting to censor the distribution of ideas or information on campus, Bellmon wrote. Censorship is inadvisable, impractical and inappropriate.

Regents chairwoman Carolyn Savage responded that the regents had not made a final decision.

On the same day, about 300 people attended a meeting of the Committee for the First Amendment. The committee drafted a petition urging regents to rescind their temporary order to ban the movie because the university should

be allowed to carry out its educational missions free from pressure by the public and the government.⁸

On Oct. 4, about 800 faculty and students protested on the Edmon Low Library lawn in support of showing the movie⁹ and later that day, about 250 faculty members approved recommendations denouncing the regents' actions and expressing a lack of confidence in President John Campbell's handling of the issue.¹⁰

The next day, Oct. 5, an American Civil Liberties
Union attorney filed a lawsuit on behalf of the Committee
for the First Amendment in U.S. District Court against the
university and regents for prior restraint of First Amendment rights. 11 The preliminary injunction hearing was
scheduled Oct. 12 in Tulsa, the day before the regents were
scheduled to meet in special session to decide the movie's
fate. After seven hours of testimony in the hearing, the
federal district judge delayed a decision until after the
regents meeting the next day. 12

The regents met Oct. 13 on the OSU campus. After a one-hour meeting in executive session with the regents, defendants attorney Burck Bailey reported in open session that it was his "opinion that the Board cannot constitutionally vote to prevent the showing of the film." 13

After more than three hours of discussion and sometimes heated debate, the regents voted 6-2, with one abstention, to allow the movie to be shown. After the vote, chief executive officer H. Jerrell Chesney ended a

15-year association with the board with a surprise resignation because "I do not support and, in fact, renounce the film and its promotion." 15

Committee for the First Amendment leaders said they were "astonished" by the debate, split vote and Chesney's resignation. 16

Chesney later told the <u>O'Collegian</u> that his personal beliefs and loyalties to Christ, not a protest to the decision to show the film, were reasons for his resignation. ¹⁷

On Oct. 19, a day-long teach-in was conducted to inform the public of First Amendment rights before the debut of the movie, which attracted more than 700 people during its five showings. Five Stillwater ministers led discussion groups in exploring symbolic and theological meaning of the movie after each showing. 18

Reinstatement of Athletes Background

A banner headline in <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u> on Jan. 22, 1990, read, "Campbell asks dean to reinstate athlete." In the story carrying Robert Ridenour's byline, President John Campbell is quoted as saying he asked a dean to reinstate a football player whose grades were not high enough to stay in school. ¹⁹ Smith Holt, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, confirmed in the story that the player failed to raise his grade point average to the required level and would have been dropped from the university had the president not intervened. ²⁰

The banner headline in the next issue read, "7 athletes with low grades reinstated." The story, again carrying Ridenour's byline, quoted university officials saying that seven athletes were reinstated despite not meeting minimum grade requirements.²¹

The next day, another Ridenour story quoted Campbell saying he was "solely responsible" for the readmission of the seven suspended football players. 22 He said he based the decision on coaches' recommendations about players they believed "deserved another chance." 23

In a news conference Jan. 24, Faculty Council chairman John Thornton said athletic officials requested the reinstatements and Campbell's action to comply was contrary to normal procedure. 24 Campbell said in a prepared statement that the decision was made in the "spirit of compassion and in the best interests of the individuals as students." 25

The following day, Governor Henry Bellmon asked the Board of Regents for OSU and the A&M Colleges to investigate the president's action and report findings to the Speaker of the House and Senate Pro Tempore. The governor called the situation "highly damaging to the credibility of the university and the state higher education system." 26

The same day, a sidebar story reported that an academic adviser said the president "issued an ultimatum" to reinstate the athletes "regardless of the rules." Campbell would not comment on the charges. 27

On Jan. 28, a state academic audit was initiated to examine OSU's compliance with regents' retention standards, and Chancellor of Oklahoma Higher Education Hans Brisch said in a news conference that Campbell faced "an uphill battle" to regain credibility. 28

Petitions critical of the president began to circulate on campus, and the Student Government Association called for Campbell's immediate resignation in a 27-10-2 vote.²⁹

On Feb. 2, more than 100 protesters gathered on the Edmon Low Library lawn to denounce the president's actions, while a small group of Campbell supporters also assembled to criticize the <u>O'Collegian</u> and staff writer Ridenour for unfair coverage of the issue.³⁰ Campbell said he would not resign.³¹

On Feb. 13, the state audit ordered by the governor showed OSU not in compliance with state regents' retention standards. 32

The next day, the general faculty voted 209-182 to oust Campbell, citing "abusive management style" and violations of university policy. 33

Two weeks later, OSU's Board of Regents retained

Campbell after a nine-hour meeting in which they called the reinstatements "regrettable" but "essentially well intentioned." The regents directed Campbell to set policies to prevent a recurrence but took no disciplinary action. 35

The Committee for the First Amendment, formed the previous

semester during the "Last Temptation" issue, called it "a slap on the hand." 36

At a meeting March 19, the regents gave a 7-1 vote of confidence to President Campbell and called on administration, faculty and students to set aside their differences. Campbell said he appreciated the vote of confidence. 37

Bias, Fairness and Social Responsibility

The Canons of Journalism adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors call for every effort to be made "to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly. ... Journalists should respect the rights of people involved in the news, observe the common standards of decency and stand accountable to the public for the fairness and accuracy of their news reports." 38

Violations of the canons were among press-performance criticisms issued by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in 1947. In a study of attitudes toward press responsibility 34 years later, Barbara W. Hartung, an associate professor of journalism at San Diego State University, found it startling how contemporary the directives of the commission were in 1981 and how unchanging the problems of the press in America appear to be. ³⁹ "Certainly there are dated items but generally they capture the essence of an ideal—that newspapers ought to be responsible to society."

There is no question that <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u>
devoted much space to the coverage of "The Last Temptation
of Christ" and reinstatement of athletes issues. The coverage generated award-winning stories, as cited earlier,
but questions do arise. Were the stories free from bias?
Were they fair? Did the <u>O'Collegian</u> act socially responsible?

Robert Ridenour, managing editor during "Last Temptation" coverage, said maintaining objectivity was difficult in the movie coverage because the <u>O'Collegian</u> staff believed the situation attacked First Amendment rights and that attack affronted the staff's beliefs.⁴¹

Ridenour's opinion coincides with responses in Hartung's 1981 study in which 100 percent of editors and publishers surveyed said newspapers should inform the public of First Amendment rights and the need to protect freedom of the press. 42

But Ridenour defended the newspaper's coverage. "It was hard not to be biased, but I felt we were objective in our reporting," he said. "It was a great story—in our own backyard—so we needed to approach it from all angles. I thought we did a great job and public awareness stemmed from our efforts." 43

Tim Barker, editor-in-chief in 1989-90, said that editorially the newspaper took pro-movie and anti-reinstatement stances, but he initiated steps to ensure his staff's objectivity on the news pages.

For instance, reporters covering the movie issue were not allowed to participate in campuswide protest efforts for First Amendment rights, and reporters covering the news were not allowed to write editorials or columns of opinion until after the issues had been decided. Barker said no media can be completely without bias, but he was confident the paper presented the news in objective, fair and responsible fashion.⁴⁴

The two stories differed in that "The Last Temptation" involved constitutional rights concerning the public showing of a movie, and the reinstatement of athletes surfaced because of investigative reporting in a classic watchdog role of the press.

While the movie issue seemed to stir more emotion campuswide, the reinstatements also made a major impact because football is such a high-profile operation at OSU. The program produced a Heisman Trophy winner and Holiday Bowl Championship in 1988, but was saddled with NCAA sanctions the same year for recruiting violations. OSU also made national headlines in 1989 when Dexter Manley, an All-Pro defensive lineman for the Washington Redskins, testified in front of a U.S. Senate education subcommittee about a lifelong struggle with a learning disability that left him essentially illiterate. Manley attended school and played football at OSU from 1977 to 1981.

After the reinstatement of athletes, Editor-in-Chief Barker penned an editorial critical of President Campbell's actions and the negative image resulting from Manley's confessions about his educational experience at OSU:

If our president really values this educational institution, he needs to prove it by making a commitment toward that "academic excellence" of which he speaks so highly.

The OSU policy on readmission says nothing about being readmitted on the basis of athletic prowess.

Unlike Dexter Manley after four years at OSU, surely President Campbell knows how to read the rules. 46

Ridenour, who broke the reinstatement stories, said it was easier for him to be objective with the investigative stories than the movie stories. "I went to great lengths to be objective," he said, "because I wanted to be fair and find out what his (President Campbell's) explanations were."

Ridenour said that because Campbell would not return telephone calls made to his office after the first few days of the controversy and his home phone number was unlisted, he went to the president's home on two occasions late at night in attempts to balance stories he was writing on deadline. He said the president refused to talk to him on both occasions and the stories ran without the president's reactions to the charges. 48

The effort he said he put forth to ensure fairness reflects results of the previously cited 1981 study about attitudes toward press responsibility. In that study, 97 percent of editors and publishers agreed that newspapers should strive for fairness and balance as they report the news. 49

But some students at a protest criticized Ridenour's stories and said negative publicity generated by the O'Collegian's "unfair and biased" coverage was destroying the university. 50

Barker, in an editorial, called the charges against the newspaper a classic example of blaming the messenger for bad news. "We haven't conjured up anything we've reported," Barker wrote. "We have interviewed people and told our readers what they said. ... We have given Campbell every opportunity to tell his side. He has refused. ... What we do have is a legitimate story that has generated a lot of interest around this state and the rest of the country." 51

Defining News and Objectivity

It probably is safe to assume that most journalists would consider the banning of a movie on a university campus and the reinstatement of failing athletes as legitimate news stories for a campus newspaper—or any media, for that matter. But the legitimacy of the news stories is not the question of this study. The question is whether the stories were biased or unfair. But before that can be answered, definitions of the relevant terms are necessary. And by the subjective nature of the terms, the task is not easy.

The definition of news varies, but most journalists agree that news is the account of an event, not the event

itself. An infinite number of events occur simultaneously, and the reports of those events become news. It is obvious that all events cannot be reported, thus creating a decision-making process.

Professional newsgatherers judge the potential interest and/or importance of an event before deciding whether to render an account of it, thus making it news. These newsgatherers are men, not deities. They possess no absolutistic yardstick by which to judge what to report and what to ignore. There is nothing that cannot be made interesting in the skillful telling; and only a supernatural power could say what is important. 52

News starts with the source, whether someone dies, is born, gives a speech, commits a crime, wins an honor, takes a trip--the list is endless. But nevertheless, it is the source, not the reporter, that creates the news. However, reporters are human, and humans do practice a selective perception. It is possible for the source and reporter-with the possible influence of other factors--to affect the final news product. Communicator David K. Berlo says:

First, the number of possible perceptions, possible observation is infinite. We can never observe everything, or all of anything. We must select. Perception must be perceptive if it is reported. ... A simpler way of saying this is 'We see what we want to believe, our beliefs determine what we see.' 53

Defining objectivity, one of the most basic principles of journalism, also results in varying definitions. One dictionary definition: "expressing or involving the use of facts without distortion by personal feelings or prejudices." Most journalists believe that facts are safe,

and a reporter's duty is to provide his readers with the facts.

Theodore Glasser, a journalism educator currently at Stanford University, says objectivity means that sources supply the sense and substance of the day's news:

Sources provide the arguments, the rebuttals, the explanations, the criticism. Sources put forth the ideas while other sources challenge those ideas. Journalists, in their role as professional communicators, merely provide a vehicle for these exchanges. 55

But authors Sharon M. Murphy and James E. Murphy say reporters tell what they think they see happening, and they write the "facts as their perspectives and biases and backgrounds and assignments suggest they write. And they see these facts according to their own interior programming, according to the principles of importance and interest and drama each takes to viewing the world."⁵⁶

The meaning of objectivity has changed somewhat through the years, as some journalists stress the need to present more than straight facts to provide the public with accurate perceptive information. William E. Rowley and William V. Grimes, teachers of journalism and philosophy, respectively, at the State University of New York at Albany, break the concept of objectivity into three principles:

1. Factual objectivity. Getting the hard data of our perception of the facts as straight as we can, and in the right pattern, a pattern that comes as close as we can make it to fitting the facts, one that gives us the right lead.

- 2. Dramatic objectivity. Getting and communicating the emotional quality of the event, the experience, the development, which is just as much a part of the story as the facts.
- 3. Moral objectivity. Getting the moral implications of the story as straight as we can. This is an act of conscience. It means clearing one's head of preconceptions, prejudices, stereotypes, as one perceives and evaluates the facts, so as to represent the moral issues involved in the situation clearly and justly. Reporting is not a neutral act; it cannot reflect integrity and be amoral. 57

Even the Commission on Freedom of the Press, in its critical account of press performance, reported in 1947:
"It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact.⁵⁸

Washington Post reporters Carl Bernstein and Robert Woodward became famous for their watchdog-role exposure of Watergate, corruption in the White House and the deceptions that led to the resignation of President Nixon. Rowley and Grimes say the reporters exercised objectivity in their stories that resulted from hours of in-depth, investigate efforts in their search for truth. "The ethical, as well as factual and dramatic, dimension of both reporters' objectivity lay in the tension between their muckraking zeal and the restraint they and their editors imposed on it."⁵⁹

The watchdog role, regarded as another basic duty of the press, concerns making government and officials accountable to the public. It is a role cited previously in this study by journalists judging the O'Collegian's coverage in 1989-90.

Regarding the media's watchdog role, <u>Time</u> magazine reported that without a strong and trusted press, people would have almost no way to keep their government and other big institutions honest.⁶⁰

Alan Barth, the late editorial writer for the <u>Washing-</u> ton Post, summed the situation in a 1977 speech:

If you want a watchdog to warn you of intruders, you must put up with a certain amount of mistaken barking. Now and then, he will sound off because a stray dog seems to be invading his territory or because he sees a cat or squirrel or is outraged by a postman. And that kind of barking can, of course, be a nuisance. But if you muzzle him and leash him and teach him to be decorous, you will find that he doesn't do the job for which you got him in the first place. Some extraneous barking is the price you must pay for his service as a watchdog. A free press is the watchdog of society."61

Some observers believe criticism toward the media is common when the media are reporting bad news. In a <u>Time</u> magazine story mostly critical to the press, it was reported: "The press, by its nature, is rarely beloved-nor should that be its aim. Too often it must be the bearer of bad tidings. Since World War II, journalists have covered the turmoil of the civil rights movement, conveyed vivid scenes of domestic protests and battlefield gore during the Vietnam War, and participated in the collapse of a presidency." 62

Those views are consistent with those of Barker, the O'Collegian editor-in-chief who defended the newspaper's coverage of the controversial issues in 1989-90.

Barker wrote in an editorial that protesters' charge of unfairness against the newspaper was "a classic example of killing the messenger because of the message he's bearing."

Previous Studies

This research is based on several published studies using content analysis to measure objectivity, fairness and balance in reporting.

These undertakings include a study of news media coverage of issues during the accident at Three-Mile Island, a study of newsmagazine coverage of the Supreme Court and an analysis of coverage of the Vietnam veteran.

In those respective studies, researchers' findings did not support the charges that coverage of issues with political consequence raised during the accident at Three-Mile Island were unbalanced. First Amendment decisions by the Supreme Court were the most frequently reported by news magazines, and the press gave favorable coverage to the Vietnam war and Vietnam veteran.

However, this study attempts to replicate as nearly as possible the methodologies of two studies: a 1989 study, "Covering Conflict and Controversy: Measuring Balance, Fairness, Defamation," by Todd F. Simon, Frederick Fico and Stephen Lacy, and a 1965 study, "How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents," By John C. Merrill. Also replicated are parts of follow-up studies to Merrill's analysis. They are

"Time Magazine Revisisted: Presidential Stereotypes Persist" by Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske and Joe Hall in 1979, and "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy" by Fedler, Meeske and Ron Smith in 1983.

Merrill used six bias categories to analyze <u>Time's</u> coverage of Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy. They were: 1) attribution bias, 2) adjective bias, 3) adverbial bias, 4) contextual bias, 5) outright opinion, and 6) photographic bias.

In considering the categories, Merrill and his panel of coders noted instances of bias as either positive (favorable) or negative (unfavorable). Indications of bias thought dubious by the panel were not counted as bias in the study. It was further decided that there was no need to compare space treatment given the three presidents, since space in itself has no necessary bearing on subjectivity or bias. What was considered important was the language used to describe each president, with special emphasis on the presence or absence of "loaded" words and expressions and on general contextual impressions presented. 64

Merrill's study indicated that <u>Time</u> editorialized in its regular news columns and used trickery to bias stories to lead the reader's thinking. The magazine also presented the reader with highly loaded essays of a subjective type

that were anti-Truman, pro-Eisenhower and neutral toward Kennedy. 65

In the 1989 study of stories covering conflict and controversy, the researchers measured the concept of fairness by determining if contact was made with someone representing the two major sides of an issue.

Of the 21 newspapers used in the study, successful contact was made with both sides in 66 percent of the stories. Contact was not made in 6 percent of the stories, but a statement was included that contact was attempted but failed. In 28 percent of the cases, no contact was made and no explanation was offered by the writer. 66

Summary

Sacramento Bee ombudsman Art Nauman says readers notice and complain about "loaded adjectives and phraseology" in stories. "It doesn't take much to damage a news story's fairness or to betray a bias--an anathema to good good journalism," he wrote in a column. 67

In siding with readers' complaints, he cited examples of pejoratives in loaded leads and phrases in the California newspaper's news stories. "Eschew adjectives and adverbs. They'll turn around and bite you every time," he wrote. 68

However, a <u>Los Angeles Times</u> poll in 1985 found that readers perceive a liberal bent among the nation's newspa-

per reporters and editors but believe the bias does not unfairly influence news coverage. 69

Also, veteran journalist Vance Trimble, 1960 winner of the Pulitzer Prize for a series about nepotism in Congress, said in a lecture on the OSU campus in 1991 that all writers are biased but the stories they produce must include their biases both for and against an issue to ensure balance and objectivity in reporting. 70

This study attempts to utilize the systematic measurement of bias and fairness established by previously published studies and apply them to the O'Collegian's award-winning coverage of major issues in 1989-90. Did the O'Collegian comply with ideals set forth by the social responsibility theory and media codes, and was its coverage of "The Last Temptation of Christ" and the reinstatement of athletes an example of solid, fair and objective reporting as the judges' comments and awards would indicate? Or was it an example of slanted, unfair and irresponsible journalism as critics, some regents and some administrators would charge?

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study utilizes content analysis to determine the frequency of bias and concepts of fairness and balance in The Daily O'Collegian's coverage of the attempted banning of the campus showing of the controversial movie, "The Last Temptation of Christ," in fall 1989 and the university president's reinstatement of seven failing athletes ineliquible to remain in school in spring 1990.

All front-page news stories published within the periods of the controversies were analyzed in the study.

Definition of content analysis, as proposed by Bernard Berelson in 1952, is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."

Guido H. Stempel III calls content analysis a formal system for doing something that all people frequently do informally--draw conclusions from observations of the content of media coverage.²

To exemplify the importance of content analysis,

Stempel uses the seldom-resolved controversy about television violence. "Such situations make the need for formal

content analysis rather evident," he writes. "Issues like television violence are too important to be resolved on the basis of people's impressions."

It is for these reasons the system is used in this study to analyze the student newspaper's coverage of the two major issues that engulfed the OSU campus in academic year 1989-90.

Scope of the Study

Because the study deals with the universe of all locally written, front-page stories published in roughly two, six-week periods in fall 1989 and spring 1990, few generalizations can be made beyond this group of stories.

Also, because of the transient nature of student-newspaper staffs and the shifting climate caused each semester by changing editors-in-chief and staffs, it is difficult to generalize beyond this group of student journalists.

However, the analysis could be used to determine the quality of stories of a college student newspaper, The Daily O'Collegian, in its coverage of two specific controversies concerning the school's president and regents.

Some generalizations about findings could be projected toward the content of future O'Collegian coverage of similar events and coverage by other college newspapers, in general, of such sensitive issues.

Newspapers Selected

Issues of the <u>O'Collegian</u> selected for this study consisted of all those containing page-one locally produced coverage of the two major stories in 1989-90.

"Last Temptation" coverage began in the Sept. 8-9,
1989 issue when SUAB announced its intentions to show the
controversial movie that had not been shown previously in
Oklahoma theaters. Examined newspapers continued from that
issue through the Oct. 23, 1989 issue, which contained
reaction of the movie after it was shown in the Student
Union. Forty-one front-page stories were published on the
issue during this time frame.

Reinstatement stories began in the Jan. 22, 1990 issue when the O'Collegian reported that the university president asked the dean of an OSU college to reinstate a football player whose grades were not high enough to stay in school. Newspapers used in the study continued from that issue through the March 19, 1990 issue in which regents ended weeks of speculation by giving a vote of confidence to the president and calling on administration, faculty and students to set aside their differences. Twenty-three page-one stories were published on the issue during this time period.

In total, 64 stories--41 movie and 23 reinstatements-and nine photos were examined for the study.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study was intended to answer four questions about

The Daily O'Collegian's coverage in academic year 1989-90

of "The Last Temptation of Christ" and the university president's reinstatement of the seven athletes:

- Did the news stories in the <u>O'Collegian</u> contain biases toward the university (i.e. administrators, regents, president)?
- Were the stories presented fairly with both sides of the issue represented?
- 3. Were the stories balanced?
- 4. Was there any relationship in type of coverage given the movie issue and the reinstatements?

From these research questions, six specific hypotheses were formulated:

- There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in the <u>O'Collegian's</u> two major news stories in academic year 1989-90.
- 2. There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in "Last Temptation" coverage.
- There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in reinstatement coverage.
- 4. There is no significant relationship between frequency of bias and subject matter.
- 5. There is no relationship between concept of fairness and subject matter.

6. There is no relationship between concept of balance and subject matter.

Definitions of Terms

Coverage: Because the study was concerned with only the bias, fairness and balance that appeared in news columns, the author considered only news stories, news headlines and photographs—not editorials, columns, cartoons or letters to the editor. To be considered, a story, headline or photograph had to appear on page one during the height of the movie (Sept. 8, 1989, through Oct. 23, 1989) and reinstatement issues (Jan. 22, 1990, through March 19, 1990).

Bias: The author defined bias as any expression of opinion, and positive or negative bias as any variance from neutrality. Items of bias were classified as positive, negative or neutral.

Fairness: The author defined fairness by determining if both sides of the issues were represented in each story.

Balance: The author defined balance by finding the absolute value difference between different sides in each story.

Categories of Analysis

Categories of bias used to determine objectivity were formulated from classification in previous studies: attri-

bution bias, adjective/adverb bias, outright opinion, contextual bias, headline bias and photograph bias.

Categories were defined according to Fedler's 1979 and 1983 studies. Isolated words and phrases were classified as examples of adjective/adverb or attribution bias.

Entire sentences or paragraphs deemed biased were classified "outright opinion" of the author, and whole overall impression created by each story was classified "contextual bias." Headline bias also was determined by overall impression created by the headline. Photographs, packaged with their cutlines, were judged positive, negative, or neutral in the category of photograph bias. If a photograph was positive but its cutline negative, the photograph was judged negative.

It was decided, as in the Merrill study, that there was no need to compare space treatment given the subjects, since space in itself has no necessary bearing in subjectivity or bias. What was considered important was the language used to describe each issue, with special emphasis on the presence or absence of "loaded" words and expressions and on general contextual impressions presented.

Concepts of balance and fairness were measured using the 1989 study of Simon, Fico and Lacy. Balance was measured using the absolute value of the difference between sides in stories of conflict or controversy. Fairness was measured by determining if contact was made with someone representing the two major sides of the controversy.

More specific definitions are:

Attribution Bias

Attribution bias was measured as positive (favorable) toward regents and administrators, negative (unfavorable) or neutral. The category concerns the story's means of attributing information to a source. The bias is contained in the verb. For instance, the attribution verb "said" is neutral because it is not opinionated and evokes no emotional response. "Shouted" is negative since it involves emotion, and "smiled" is favorable because it is positively affective. 4

Adjective/Adverb Bias

Adjective bias attempts to build an impression of the person described by using adjectives, favorable or unfavorable, with the person. Examples are "sensitive to the mood of the students" for favorable and "flushed with anger" as negative. They are sometimes called judgmental adjectives because they tend to prejudice the reader for or against the person described. They actually are subjective in nature and are the opinions of the writer. Examples of objective or neutral adjectives are "the blue sky" or "the new car." Adverbial bias depends on qualifiers or magnifiers—adverbs—to create an impression in the reader's mind by telling how or why a person said or did something.

Examples are "he said sarcastically" (negative) or "he skillfully answered the question" (positive).

Contextual Bias

Contextual bias is the bias in whole sentences or paragraphs or in other units of meaning, to determine the overall impression created by an entire story. The purpose is to present the person or issue reported on in a favorable or unfavorable light by the overall meaning or innuendo of the report, not by specific words and phrases alone. The whole context must be considered. Since one's own biases or interpretations might determine what is considered contextually biased, it is necessary to get the opinions of a panel. Contextual bias is counted only when there is agreement among the panelists.⁸

Outright Opinion

Outright opinion is the most blatant and obvious type of subjectivity in newswriting. The expression of opinion by the publication might be called "presenting a judgment," which S.I. Hayakawa says should be kept out of reports. Hayakawa defines "judgments" as "all expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing. An example would be that "campus unrest grows as the protest nears."

Headline Bias

Headline bias is the positive, neutral or negative impression created by the headline to draw the reader to the story. Previous studies included headlines in the contextual category, but this study looks at headlines as a separate classification because they should tell the news—the gist of the story—to the reader of headlines alone and should show relative importance of stories by size of type and column width. As in contextual bias, the opinions of a panel are necessary to interpret meanings. Headline bias is counted only when there is agreement among panelists.

Photographic Bias

Photographic bias is determined by how people are presented in photographs—dignified, undignified, angry, happy, calm, nervous, etc. Bias can be unintentional, however, intention is not considered in the treatment of this or any other category.

Fairness

The concept of fairness is measured by determining if contact is made with someone representing the two major sides of a controversy. Also measured is if stories do not make contact but include a statement as to why of if stories contain no contact and no explanation as to why. For the purpose of this study, fairness is not applicable to some stories because they are not conflict stories but

merely informative pieces related to the subject matter. These stories were discarded in the fairness test and not tested for the fairness concept. Conflict stories, as defined in previous studies, were determined as those in which the primary focus was in explicit opposition on topics of public or private organizational policy as represented by two or more parties from opposing positions. 11

<u>Balance</u>

The concept of balance is measured using the absolute value of the difference between sides. The absolute value difference is measured in paragraphs by determining the number of paragraphs devoted to each side and total number of paragraphs in the story. In this study, articles not meeting the criteria for "conflict" stories as outlined above were discarded because balance measurement was not applicable.

Quantification System

Items for analysis were counted and listed for each story. Items of bias were listed under the different categories of bias whether the items were positive, negative or neutral with respect to the university (i.e. regents and administrators). Data collected were nominal data or frequency count.

Coding

Two experienced journalists were used as coders: an award-winning writer and the author. Also, a former journalism educator offered guidance and advice in the coding process. The 64 stories were clipped, and coders worked independently in reading the O'Collegian articles about "The Last Temptation of Christ" and reinstatement of athletes. Each recorded instances of bias in positive, negative and neutral categories, and each recorded the concepts of fairness and balance. Stories not meeting the "conflict" definition were not measured for fairness or balance concepts because the concepts were not applicable.

Coders followed the procedures established by Berelson and other authorities on content analysis by meeting to discuss items of disagreement or ambiguity in an attempt to reach common agreements. Articles or points in which no agreement could be reached were discarded from the study.

To check procedures and estimate intercoder reliability, a pre-test was conducted to analyze <u>O'Collegian</u> news stories covering the university president's inauguration. It was a controversial subject on campus in spring 1989 because of its expense. An intercoder reliability test was conducted.

Statistical Analysis

As data collected were nominal, chi-square analysis was used to examine content differences and relationships

in the stories. The 95 percent level of confidence was used to determine which differences were statistically significant.

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Intercoder Reliability

To check coders' reliability in counting and categorizing bias, an intercoder reliability test was conducted between the two coders. The formula used was

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

M is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree, and N1 and N2 represent the total decisions made by coder one and coder two, respectively.

The intercoder reliability (R) for test stories about the university president's inauguration was 0.986, and for the stories in the study is 0.978. On a scale of 0 to 1.0, where 1.0 is perfect reliability or agreement, 0.986 and 0.978 indicate a high reliability between coder decisions.

In stories about "The Last Temptation of Christ" and reinstatement of athletes, coders independently studied 64 stories and nine photographs. They considered 849 items for bias and agreed upon 98 percent or 830 items. The coders met and discussed the 19 items of disagreement and eventually reached agreement on 18. One item was considered ambiguous and discarded from the study.

Coders categorized occurrences of bias as positive, negative and neutral in six categories: attribution, adjective/adverb, outright opinion, contextual, headline and photograph.

Findings

The stories published in <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u> about the two major issues in 1989-90 indicated overall objective reporting with 96 percent of the occurrences of bias classified as neutral. (See Table I.) Less than 1 percent of the items were listed as positive bias toward the university, regents and administrators with the remainder classified as negative bias.

Chi-square analysis of occurrences of positive, negative and neutral bias in the major stories shows a significant difference ($x^2 = 396.187$, df = 10) at the .01 level of confidence. The difference among bias categories is real, not merely a chance difference. However, frequency counts are low in some cells and might render the chi-square test invalid.

The table shows the highest frequency of bias classified as neutral (812), followed by negative (32) and positive (5).

In stories about "The Last Temptation of Christ," most occurrences of bias again were classified as neutral. (See Table II.)

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF BIAS IN MAJOR NEWS
STORIES, THE DAILY O'COLLEGIAN,
1989-90

Positive	Attribution Bias	1
Negative Neutral		4 679
	Adjective/Adverb Bias	
Positive Negative Neutral		3 2 2
	Outright Opinion	
Positive Negative Neutral		0 10 12
	Contextual Bias	
Positive Negative Neutral		0 8 55
	Headline Bias	
Positive Negative Neutral		0 7 57
	Photo Bias	
Positive Negative Neutral		1 1 7
Total Positive Total Negative		5 32
Total Neutral		812

TABLE II
FREQUENCY OF BIAS IN "LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST" STORIES

Positive	Attribution Bias	1
Negative Neutral		1 392
	Adjective/Adverb Bias	
Positive Negative Neutral		1 1 2
	Outright Opinion	
Positive Negative Neutral		0 6 8
	Contextual Bias	
Positive Negative		0 5
Neutral		35
	Headline Bias	
Positive Negative	•	0 5
Neutral		36
	Photo Bias	
Positive		0
Negative Neutral		1 4
Total Positive		2
Total Negative Total Neutral		19 477
		* ' '

Chi-square analysis of occurrences of positive, negative and neutral bias in "Last Temptation" stories shows a

significant difference ($x^2 = 157.818$, df = 10) at the .01 level of confidence. The difference among bias categories is real, not merely a chance difference. However, frequency counts are low in some cells and might render the chi-square test invalid.

The table shows the highest frequency of bias classified as neutral (477), followed by negative (19) and positive (2).

Regarding stories about the reinstatement of athletes, most occurrences of bias also were classified as neutral.

(See Table III.)

Chi-square analysis of occurrences of positive, negative and neutral bias in stories about the reinstatement of athletes shows a significant difference ($x^2 = 253.710$, df = 10) at the .01 level of confidence. The differences among bias categories are real, not merely chance differences. However, frequency counts are low in some cells and might render the chi-square test invalid.

As with the other major story, the table shows the highest frequency of bias classified as neutral (335), followed by negative (13) and positive (3).

Stories also were compared to determine if there was any difference in the type of coverage each of the two subject matters received. (See Table IV.)

Chi-square analysis of the relationship between direction of bias and subject matter showed no significant difference at the .05 level of confidence. The difference

TABLE III
FREQUENCY OF BIAS IN REINSTATEMENT OF ATHLETES COVERAGE

	Attribution Bias	_
Positive		0
Negative Neutral		3 287
Neutrai		287
	Adjective/Adverb Bias	
Positive	,	2
Negative		1
Neutral		0
	Outright Oninion	
Positive	Outright Opinion	0
Negative		4
Neutral		4
	•	
	Contextual Bias	_
Positive		0
Negative Neutral		3 20
Neuclai		20
	Headline Bias	
Positive		0
Negative		2
Neutral		21
	Photo Bias	
Positive	FIIOCO BIAS	1
Negative		0
Neutral		3
1		
Total Positive		2
Total Positive Total Negative		3 13
Total Neutral		335
TOOME HOMOTHE		555

might be due to chance, however, frequency counts are low in some cells and might render the chi-square test invalid.

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DIRECTION OF BIAS AND SUBJECT MATTER

	"Last Temptation of Christ"	Reinstatement of Athletes
	Attribution Bias	
Positive	1	0
Negative Neutral	1 392	3 287
Neuclai	392	207
	Adjective/Adverb Bias	
Positive	1	2
Negative	1	1
Neutral	2	0
	Outright Opinion	
Positive	0	0
Negative	6	4
Neutral	8	4
	Contextual Bias	
Positive	0	0
Negative	5	3
Neutral	35	20
	Headline Bias	
Positive	0	0
Negative	5	2
Neutral	. 36	21
	Photo Bias	
Positive	0	1
Negative	ı	0
Neutral	4	3
Total Positive	2	3
Total Negative	19	13
Total Neutral	477	335

 $x^2 = 0.727$, df = 2, NSD

The table shows both subject matters dominated by neutral occurrences of bias, followed by negative and then positive occurrences.

In a test of fairness, the subject matters were analyzed to determine if both sides of the controversies were represented. (See Table V.) The test of the fairness concept shows that successful contact was made in 77.4 percent of "Last Temptation" stories and 55 percent of stories about the reinstatement of athletes. No contact was made but stories included statements as to why in 3.2 percent of movie stories and 15 percent of reinstatement articles. There was no contact and no explanation why in 19.4 percent of movie stories and 30 percent of reinstatement stories.

TABLE V
RELATIONSHIP OF FAIRNESS WITH
SUBJECT MATTER

	"To	emptation"	Reinstatement
Successful contact with both sides	2	4 (77.4%)	11 (55.0%)
No contact, but statement as to why		1 (3.2%)	3 (15%)
No contact and no explanation as to why		6 (19.4%)	6 (30%)
1	1 =	31	20

 $x^2 = 3.625$, df = 2, NSD

Chi-square analysis of relationship of fairness with subject matter indicates no significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence. Again, the difference might be due to chance. However, frequency counts are low in some cells and might render the chi-square test invalid.

More than 80 percent of "Last Temptation" stories successfully contacted both sides or explained to readers why there was no contact, while 70 percent of reinstatement stories did likewise.

In a test of balance, an absolute value difference—number of paragraphs devoted to each side of the issues—was measured for stories about both subject matters. (See Table VI.) In "Last Temptation" stories, 41.2 percent of paragraphs were attributed to sources or information favorable to banning the movie, and 58.8 percent of paragraphs were attributed to sources or information unfavorable to banning the movie. In reinstatement stories, 25.5 percent was favorable to the reinstatements and 74.5 percent was unfavorable.

Chi-square analysis of relationship of balance with subject matter showed a significant difference at the .05 level of confidence. The difference is real, not merely a chance difference. Stories pertaining to the "Last Temptation" were more balanced in terms of space devoted to each side of the issue than were stories about the reinstatements. A contingency coefficient of 0.583 shows a moderate strength of relationship of balance with subject matter.

TABLE VI
RELATIONSHIP OF BALANCE WITH
SUBJECT MATTER

	Favorable	Unfavorable
"Last Temptation"	41.2%	58.8%
Reinstatement of Athletes	25.5%	74.5%

 $x^2 = 26.28$, df = 1, p < .05 N = 51, C = 0.583

Analysis of Content

Aside from the quantitative findings and analysis, other observations are relevant and complement the empirical findings.

Nature of Coverage

The findings show a statistical difference in classification of positive, negative and neutral biases in stories about the "Last Temptation" and reinstatement of athletes with both dominated by neutral occurrences of bias.

Findings also show similarities in reporting of subject matter with no significant difference in the relationship of bias and type of story.

The test for fairness shows no significant difference in type of fair coverage given the two subjects, but the test for balance shows a significant difference in balance in the two stories with "Last Temptation" stories more balanced than reinstatement stories.

Other observations about coverage, types of bias, and fairness and balance concepts are:

Attribution Bias

Stories about both subjects were predominantly objective in the attribution category. There were 679 uses of the neutral word "said" in attributing information to sources in the 64 stories. "Said" is considered neutral because it is not opinionated and evokes no emotional response. The only positive attribution was the word "urged," used in a "Last Temptation" story when a state representative "urged" the regents to prohibit showing the movie because he said it violated a state statute. Five instances of negative attribution were found.

One was in a quote from a Nigerian student, who supported showing the film because some international students on campus come from oppressed countries: "We've come too far to see the same thing here," he said, receiving a standing ovation for his statement.

Two negative biases occurred in attributions when stories reported that President Campbell "admitted" to reinstating the athletes, and another occurred in a story

when Campbell "acknowledged" he rushed to a judgment in reinstating the athletes.

Adjective/Adverb Bias

Only seven instances of adjective or adverb bias were found in the stories. One story said Campbell had been "sharply" criticized by students and faculty for readmitting the seven athletes. Another story said the faculty "overwhelmingly" voted to express a lack of confidence in Campbell's handling of the "Last Temptation" but did not provide the reader with a Faculty Council vote count.

An example of a positive bias occurred after the regents voted to retain the president. The story said Campbell appeared relieved and spoke casually with reporters after the meeting.

Outright Opinion

Six occurrences of negative outright opinions were found in "Last Temptation" stories. They were deemed as the author's opinion, not objective or attributed statements. Examples are:

A group of professors met and ridiculed the regents for postponing the film.

H. Jerrell Chesney, the board's chief executive officer, scheduled the special meeting to address the issue under pressure of a pending lawsuit and mounting public pressure on campus.

Under pressure from the pending court decision, the board met Friday and in a split vote ...

Four negative outright opinions were found in reinstatement stories. Examples are:

Vice President James Boggs knew who made the order (to reinstate them), but when asked who the order came from, he said, "I don't want to answer that."

The group says the athlete reinstatement is one of a number of Campbell abuses since he came to power 18 months ago ...

Contextual Bias

Fifty-five of the 64 stories were classified as neutral. However, two "Last Temptation" stories were classified as negative. One compared the regents' decision not to show the movie to action in 1970 that banned political activist Abbie Hoffman from speaking on campus. The story used a former legal counsel at OSU as its only source in reporting that there is a history of attempts by the OSU regents and administration to censor activities on campus. The other story classified negative was published the day after the movie was shown. Its lead paragraphs read: The last line of the film, "The Last Temptation of Christ" was a quote from Jesus as portrayed by William DaFoe: "It is accomplished ... it is accomplished."

Three reinstatement stories were classified as negative. One had a direct quote lead: "I won't cave in. I'm

not a quitter. The thought of resigning hasn't crossed my mind. No way," said Oklahoma State University President John Campbell Monday. Another story lead was: The faculty of Oklahoma State University adopted a "sad but necessary" resolution late Wednesday night calling for an end to President John Campbell's reign at OSU, citing his "abusive management style" and violations of university policy.

Headline Bias

Five of the 41 "Last Temptation" headlines were called negative: They were: "Decision outrages faculty," "Local cable to censor 'Temptation' showing," "'Temptation' furor reaches fever pitch with lawsuit, threats," "Faculty slams Campbell role," and "CFA calls for prompt departure of Chesney, two dissenting regents." The two of 23 reinstatement headlines classified negative were "Campbell admits noncompliance" and "Regents do not discipline Campbell."

Photo Bias

Of the nine published photographs, one was positive, one negative and the other seven neutral. The negative photo showed two sign-carrying students at a protest in support of showing the movie. The negative bias was in the cutline, which quoted one subject as saying the two students attended the protest "to raise hell and tell the regents what we think. No way I settle for somebody else telling me what I can see." The positive photo was taken

at a campus protest of the athletes' reinstatement. In the two-photo package was a picture of anti-reinstatement protesters listening to a speaker, and in the other was two students displaying a dominant sign that read, "We Love (Heart) Campbell."

<u>Fairness</u>

The concept of fairness shows that in more than 80 percent of "Last Temptation" stories, contact was made with someone representing the two major sides of the issue or a statement was included as to why no contact was made. In 70 percent of reinstatement stories, contact with both sides was successful or stories included an explanation as to why no contact was made. No contact and no explanation as to why occurred in 19.4 percent of "Last Temptation" stories and 30 percent of reinstatement stories. Statistically, there was no difference in fairness treatment of the subjects.

Balance

The findings showed a significant difference in the relationship of balance with the two subjects. "Last Temptation" stories were statistically more balanced than reinstatement stories. However, numbers used in the chi-square analysis were calculated on absolute value differences of paragraphs devoted to each side of the issues. As stated previously, the fairness test showed 15 percent of rein-

statement stories had no contact but included statements as to why. Those statements-usually "no comments"--commonly were made in one paragraph, thus reducing the absolute value given to that side of the issue.

Discussion

While statistics suggest that <u>The Daily O'Collegian</u> coverage of "The Last Temptation of Christ" and the reinstatement of athletes represented objective and overall responsible reporting, some methodological factors should be considered.

First, tests for bias used in the study were ones developed by Merrill in his 1965 study of <u>Time</u> magazine and used in subsequent 1979 and 1983 studies of news magazines. The tests for bias probably are more useful for magazines, which use a more colorful and interpretative writing style than does the <u>O'Collegian</u> newspaper.

Merrill's study documented numerous occurrences of positive and negative bias in <u>Time</u>'s coverage of Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy and numerous examples of subjective, judgmental and opinionated reporting.

Using attribution bias as an example, the Merrill study showed many ways the magazine placed a president in favorable or unfavorable light by using different verbs to describe how he made a statement: He shouted, he smiled, he demanded, he said expertly, he said with a sly grin.

In contrast, the <u>O'Collegian</u> attributed statements with the neutral verb "said" on 679 of 684 occasions. The newspaper showed negative bias in attributions only four times and had one instance of positive bias.

Perhaps an explanation for the O'Collegian's objectivity in this area is that staff members consist almost entirely of young reporters who work at the student newspaper while receiving their education at Oklahoma State University. Most of these students are subjected to teachings from journalism faculty and O'Collegian editors and advisers who insist on the use of the word "said" because of its neutrality and because it evokes no emotion in attributing information to a source. Staff members seldom deviate from this lesson, stories in the study indicate.

The concept of fairness, used in a 1989 study of major newspapers, shows the O'Collegian to be fair in its treatment of the issues. As stated earlier, in more than 80 percent of "Last Temptation" stories, reporters contacted both sides or made a statement as to why there was no contact. This was true in seventy percent of reinstatement stories as well. In the '89 study of major newspapers, one side of controversies was not contacted 28 percent of the time.

The test of the concept of balance, similar to the one in the same 1989 study, shows "Last Temptation" stories significantly more balanced than reinstatement stories.

However, the figures could be misleading. Fifteen percent

of the reinstatement stories revealed no contact but contained statements as to why there was no contact. Those statements, usually made in one paragraph, have minimal impact when figuring the number of paragraphs devoted to each side of an issue.

In one reinstatement story, the writer reported in one paragraph: "Campbell could not be reached for comment.

Messages asking for comment have been left for two days, but Campbell has not replied."

Also, as previously stated, the principal writer of the reinstatement stories said the president would not return telephone calls after the first four days of published stories, making it difficult to balance stories.

Overall, the O'Collegian news stories were relatively free of negative bias toward the university, regents and president. Editors, as mentioned earlier, said the paper was pro-movie and anti-reinstatements on its editorial pages, but the statistics indicate they did a high quality job of not letting prejudices creep onto the news pages.

Positive bias was nearly non-existent, but negative bias also occurred in insignificant numbers in the newspaper's news coverage of the campus controversies.

Summary

A study of 849 items of bias in 64 stories and nine photographs about "The Last Temptation of Christ" and reinstatement of athletes shows the coverage significantly neu-

tral and no significant difference in the relationship of bias and subject matter.

Of the 849 items, 812 were classified by the coders as neutral, 32 as negatively biased and five as positively biased. That translates into 96 percent neutral, less than 1 percent positive and the remainder negative.

Tests also reveal no significant difference in fairness shown to the two major stories. In more than 80 percent of "Last Temptation" stories, reporters successfully contacted both sides or included statements in their stories as to why contact was not made. Seventy percent of reinstatement stories included successful contact or an explanation.

Balance of the two stories was significantly different with movie stories more balanced than reinstatement stories. Movie stories were split 58.8 percent to 41.2 percent in amount of space devoted to the two sides of the issue, while reinstatement stories might be misleading, since administrators often would not comment or were unavailable for comment, thus reducing the number of paragraphs devoted to that side of the story.

Findings supported five of the six hypotheses. The data revealed:

 No statistically significant frequency of positive or negative bias in the <u>O'Collegian's</u> two major news stories in academic year 1989-90.

- 2. No statistically significant frequency of positive or negative bias in "Last Temptation" coverage.
- 3. No statistically significant frequency of positive or negative bias in reinstatement coverage.
- 4. No statistically significant relationship between frequency of bias and subject matter.
- 5. No statistically relationship between concept of fairness and subject matter.

Only the sixth hypothesis was rejected by the findings. The research showed a significant difference in the relationship between concept of balance and subject matter.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Two major campus news stories confronted <u>The Daily</u>
O'Collegian in academic year 1989-90 when the university
regents temporarily banned the showing of the controversial
movie, "The Last Temptation of Christ," and the university
president reinstated seven athletes who were not academically eligible to stay in school.

Both events attracted state and some national attention to Oklahoma State University.

They provoked gubernatorial intervention, protests from some faculty and students, and the movie issue included a lawsuit filed against the university and regents by the ACLU on behalf of a group of faculty and students calling themselves the Committee for the First Amendment.

The O'Collegian published 41 front-page news stories in the six weeks of the movie controversy, and 23 page-one stories when it broke the news about the reinstatement of athletes.

The O'Collegian's coverage of both events won national and regional awards for journalism excellence. However, some critics said the coverage projected too much negative news about the university and was unfair to university administrators and regents.

The purpose of this research was to determine by content analysis if stories about the topics were slanted, contained bias or were unfair or unbalanced.

The theoretical framework was based upon the belief that the media have a responsibility to the public under the social responsibility theory.

The theory and media codes were applied to the O'Collegian's coverage to determine if the newspaper acted responsibly and if its coverage was objective, fair and balanced, as the journalism awards would indicate.

This study utilized content analysis to measure frequencies of bias and the concepts of fairness and balance, as established in published studies, and applied the measurements to O'Collegian coverage of the events in 1989-90.

To do this, the research attempted to replicate parts of the methodologies of four previous endeavors: "Covering Conflict and Controversy: Measuring Balance, Fairness, Defamation," by Todd F. Simon, Fredrick Fico and Stephen Lacy in 1989; "How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents," by John C. Merrill in 1965; "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist" by Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske and Joe Hall in 1979; and "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy" by Fedler, Meeske and Ron Smith in 1983.

Categories of bias used to determine objectivity were formulated from the previous studies: attribution bias,

adjective/adverb bias, outright opinion, contextual bias, headline bias and photographic bias.

The concept of fairness was measured by determining if contact was made with someone representing the two major sides of controversy, and the concept of balance was measured by using the absolute value of the difference of paragraphs devoted to the two sides in each story.

Six specific hypotheses were formulated:

- There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in the <u>O'Collegian</u>'s two major news stories in academic year 1989-90.
- 2. There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in "Last Temptation" coverage.
- 3. There is no significant frequency of positive or negative bias in reinstatement coverage.
- 4. There is no significant relationship between frequency of bias and subject matter.
- 5. There is no relationship between concept of fairness and subject matter.
- 6. There is no relationship between concept of balance and subject matter.

All front-page news stories published within the periods of the controversies were analyzed in the study. In total, 64 stories--41 movie and 23 reinstatement--and nine photos were examined.

Two coders worked independently in reading the articles. They recorded instances of bias in positive, nega-

tive and neutral categories, and recorded the concepts of fairness and balance. Coders met to discuss items of disagreement or ambiguity in an attempt to reach common agreements. Articles or points in which no agreement could be reached were discarded from the study.

Coders identified 849 occurrences of bias in the study. As data collected were nominal, chi-square analysis was used to examine content differences and relationships in the stories. The 95 percent level of confidence was used to determine which differences were statistically significant.

The findings supported the first five hypotheses but rejected the sixth.

Chi-square analysis shows the coverage significantly neutral and no significant difference in the relationship of bias and subject matter.

Of the 849 items, the coders classified 812 as neutral, 32 as negatively biased and five as positively biased.

Tests showed no significant difference in fairness shown between the two major stories. More than 80 percent of "Last Temptation" stories successfully contacted both sides or contained statements as to why contact was not made. Seventy percent of reinstatement stories had successful contact or explanation.

Balance of the two stories is significantly different with movie stories more balanced than reinstatement sto-

ries. Movie stories were split 58.8 percent to 41.2 percent in amount of space devoted to the two sides of the issue, while reinstatement stories were divided 74.5 percent to 25.5 percent. However, figures for reinstatement stories might be misleading since administrators often would not comment or were unavailable for comment, thus reducing the number of paragraphs devoted to that side of the story.

Discussion

Because the study deals with the universe of all locally written, front-page stories published in roughly two six-week periods in fall 1989 and spring 1990, few, if any, generalizations should be made beyond this group of stories.

Also, because of the transient nature of student-newspaper staffs and the shifting personalities of staffs caused each semester by changing editors-in-chief, it is difficult to generalize beyond this group of student journalists.

Editors said the <u>O'Collegian</u> was pro-movie and antireinstatements on the editorial pages, but steps were taken to ensure objectivity or at least the appearance of objectivity on the news pages. The findings of this study indicate the editors were effective in their efforts not to allow those prejudices to spill onto the news pages. Instances of negative bias did occur, but they were few in number. Contributing factors could be reporting that was overly zealous, sloppy editing, time limitations caused by imminent deadlines and space limitations for headlines. Overall, news pages indicate objective reporting, relatively free of bias in coverage of the events.

However, the editorial pages show the staff was adamant in its support for First Amendment rights to see the movie and unyielding in stating the university's academic mission and questioning the ethics involved in reinstating the athletes.

Perhaps the charges of unfairness by critics were generated by the editorials and columns of opinion. The critical letter from regents CEO Jerrell Chesney, for example, was in response to a column of opinion on the editorial page, not coverage on the news pages.

Another factor could be that readers sometimes confuse news pages that are designed to provide objective accounts of news events and editorial pages that offer opinions and a public forum for free expression. Also, the O'Collegian editorial page, published twice weekly in 1989-90, probably has a higher impact in a traditionally 8- to 10-page paper, as was the O'Collegian in 1989-90, than the editorial page in major newspapers containing many more pages.

Even though few generalizations can be made beyond the 1989-90 staff and time period, the analysis can be used to determine the quality of stories of a college student news-

paper, The Daily O'Collegian, in its coverage of two specific controversies involving the school's president and regents. Some generalizations about findings could be projected toward the content of future O'Collegian coverage of similar events and coverage of news events, especially ones involving administrators, regents and authority figures. This research could be used as an educational tool to evaluate performances at the O'Collegian and help its leadership assess the newspaper's performances and social responsibility roles.

Conclusions

The student staff at The Daily O'Collegian faced a unique situation when two major news stories broke in academic year 1989-90. It undoubtedly was quite a challenging and educational experience for the young editors and reporters.

The <u>O'Collegian</u> coverage drew accolades from journalism experts and criticism from some readers, university administrators and regents.

For its efforts, the newspaper produced the first runner-up for College Journalist of the Year and received a regional Pacemaker Award and an All-American rating from the Associated College Press. Its coverage also received national awards from the William Randolph Hearst Foundation and regional awards from the Society of Professional Journalists and the Southwestern Journalism Congress.

The author concluded that the <u>O'Collegian</u> was deserving of its national and regional awards for journalism excellence.

This study shows overall coverage was objective with 96 percent of occurrences of bias classified as neutral. Positive bias was almost non-existent, and although negative bias did occur, its frequency was relatively low.

The previously cited critique by the Associated Collegiate Press sums the matter up from the viewpoint of outside critical judges: "Publication is very well-done. Overall, publication is first-class."

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APPENDIX A

REPRINTS OF SAMPLE COVERAGE OF "THE LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST"

Decision outrages faculty

Agroup of Oklahoma State University pre-resers nest Sordey and ridiculed the Board of legerate for perspinety indefinitely the shawing of The Last Tempsation of Christory the shawing of The Last Tempsation of Christory the survey a list of 10 The faculty members also criticised the regrots or asting administrators to ensure a list of 10

The Daily-



Oklahoma State University football coach Pat Jones wat-ches as the Cowboys lose their third straight game in Sat-See page 6 for game stories.

Regents ignore basic freedoms

An O'Collegian editorial

Regents postpone 'Temptation' decision

10 questions regents say OSU administrators must answer

CII. Exactly how is the Student Union Activities Board constituted with the earthurity to independently make a decision which might have a University-wide impact, with potential implications which might be of encormous significance to the general wellaxe of the University and which may be of extraordinary interest to the several constituences of the University of CII. It was to the several constituences of the University of CII. It was the Student Wide Activities Board or other made

with owerall responsibility for the University, particularly or matters which may have a University-wide impact affecting general gaidle support, financial support, etc.? CA. On matters having University-wide implications, are there and shead there have upon the control of the control of the such as the SUAB should operate? CM. Pries to the Stodent Union activities Board announcing a



The Daily-

O'Collegian Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla. Regent 'not opposed' to seeing film The Matt Malle, State Malle





Student contacts ACLU, expects movie lawsuit





The Daily-Collegian Oklahoma State University. Stillwater, Okla.

Protest mounts on movie issue

Students rally for film, rights



Faculty slams Campbell role



Regents yield to 'Temptation'

Chesney quits after 'yes' vote



CFA 'astonished' at decision

Resigning executive ends 15-year career



APPENDIX B

REPRINTS OF SAMPLE COVERAGE OF THE REINSTATEMENT OF ATHLETES



-The Daily-

Collegian

athletes with low grades reinstated

The Ridebour State University of Control of the President of the State S



-The Daily-

Campbell takes blame for reinstatements



-The Daily-

Bellmon requests investigation by regents

Academic adviser explains reinstatement



The Daily-

Collegian Oklahowa State University. Stillwater. Okla.

Petition calls for Campbell's resignation (APP) Reporter (HA-OCAN RE



The Daily-Collegian

Investigation shows Causon expenses legal

Campbell retains presidency

Regents: his skills eclipse his mistakes



Regent response

Above, Regents Chief Ex-ecutive Officer Jerrell Chemey confers with Pres-ident John Campbell, Left, John Moutgomery ap-pleads L. E. "Denn" Str-inger at their March

See Campbell pg. 2.

VITA

Jack Alan Lancaster

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY O'COLLEGIAN COVERAGE OF

CAMPUS CONTROVERSIES, 1989-90

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Professional Experience: Sports Editor, Alva Review Courier, 1973 to 1974; Sports Editor, Elk City Daily News, 1974 to 1975; Managing Editor, Elk City Daily News, 1975 to 1982; Editorial Adviser, The Daily O'Collegian, Oklahoma State University, 1982 to 1991.