

TRENDS IN EDITORIAL TREATMENT
OF CANDIDATES FOR CITY
COMMISSION OFFICES
IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA

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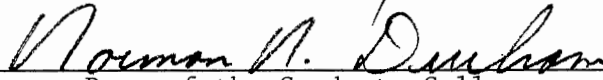
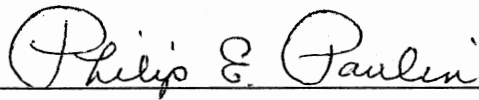
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Thesis Adviser



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PREFACE

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all the people who assisted me in the preparation of this thesis and guided me during my studies at Oklahoma State University. In particular, I am especially indebted to my major adviser, Dr. Marlan D. Nelson, for his patience and sound advice.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Need for Study

Northeastern Oklahoma is the circulation area of two award-winning newspapers. The Tulsa Tribune and Tulsa World are separately owned competing newspapers that share common printing facilities. The newspapers are promoted as distinct media voices in the Tulsa, Oklahoma market. This study will establish the commonality and the differences the newspapers have regarding their city commission endorsements.

Does the World favor Republicans, or perhaps Democrats? Does Tribune support more often match or not match the World endorsements? Through the use of statistical analysis the differences in World and Tribune endorsements will be tested.

The researcher discovered no tabulations of the editorial behavior of these newspapers during literature review for this study. This research establishes a standard to compare the newspapers' behavior against in the future. This study replaces the unknown with objective data.

Background of the Problem

The researcher's thesis idea came about as an attempt to quantitatively measure local editorial writers' behavior during local

elections. While it is possible for a candidate to win an election without the support of the local editorial writers, in Tulsa the consensus pick of the newspapers won twenty-three of twenty-four such commission elections during the period studied. That .958 winning percentage of the candidates recommended by both the Tribune and the World points to the advantage of newspaper editorial support for a candidate in Tulsa city commission elections.

This study analyzes the distribution of editorial endorsements between the two parties.

Statement of the Problem

The problem under study in this thesis is to what extent, if any, did the Tulsa Tribune and the Tulsa World newspapers endorse and support candidates for city commission posts, and to what extent, if any, were there differences in level of editorial support for the competing political parties?

Or, stated another way, what is the relationship between local editorial content (positive and negative) and the average percentage of the vote garnered by city commission candidates in Tulsa, Oklahoma?

A cursory review of the newspapers' editorial page content for the period shows there is a relationship between editorial support and electoral strength. This study examines the statistical strength of the relationship.

Purpose of the Study

One value of this study will be presentation of data to measure the party-line support by the two newspapers. In other words, the data will be analyzed using quantitative information to replace the

subjective perceptions that now exist. The relationship between editorial support and candidate strength has been established by previous researchers (Gregg, Berelson, St. Dizier and others),¹⁻⁴ and this study will further test theory on the subject. More specifically, this study will provide an objective look at actual newspaper performance during the election campaigns for Tulsa City Commission offices.

Questions to be Answered

Questions that have directed this study are as follows:

1. How often does the consensus pick of the Tribune and the World win?
2. What percentage of the editorials under study pertain to local elections?
3. Does one of the major newspapers tend to make greater use of negative editorials?
4. Is the difference between Tribune Republican and Democratic endorsement totals significant?
5. Is there a difference between World Republican and Democratic endorsement totals that is statistically significant?
6. Is there a difference in the newspapers' total endorsements between the two parties?
7. Is there a difference between the Republicans and the Democrats in the number of negative editorial mentions by either the Tribune or the World or both when counted together?

Hypotheses

The hypotheses that directed this study were as follows:

1. Candidates receiving dual endorsements will win in excess of 90% of the races when dual endorsements occur.
2. When there are dual endorsements, the average vote percentage garnered by the endorsed candidates will be greater than 60 percent.
3. When there is a split between Tribune and World endorsed candidates, the Tribune candidate will more often win.
4. Candidates receiving negative mentions from either newspaper will receive a higher percentage of the vote on average than those candidates receiving no editorial mention.
5. Candidates receiving more than one negative mention will receive a higher percentage of the vote on the average than those candidates receiving a single negative.
6. Candidates receiving a negative mention from both the Tribune and the World will receive a higher percentage of the vote than those candidates receiving negatives from only one paper.
7. The Tribune will endorse more Republicans than Democrats.
8. The World will endorse more Democrats than Republicans.
9. Overall both newspapers will endorse more Republicans than Democrats.
10. The World will have a greater percentage of its total editorial positions rated as negative than the Tribune.

Conceptual Assumptions

An assumption in this study is that voters are influenced by the editorial content of their local newspapers. National elections, as opposed to local, make use of television, radio, weekly and monthly publications, and intensive political party funding and organization. In Tulsa there were no broadcast endorsements of candidates during the period studied. There was little, if any, news coverage of city commission candidates before their election in the broadcast media. The only information the bulk of the voting public had on the candidates before an election came from the print media.

The theoretical framework is much the same. If A then B. If there is positive mention in local newspaper editorials, the candidate has an extremely high chance of being elected. This would lead one to ask, what causes positive editorial treatment? Positive editorial treatment appears related to a candidate's leaving a favorable impression on the editorial staffs of the local newspapers. The favorable impression could be some mixture of experience, education, temperament, ability, or positions on key issues. The Tribune and the World make attempts to interview viable Republican, Democratic and well-known independent candidates for the five commission seats. Probably a few well-qualified independents have been overlooked in the past and will be in the future, but their election performance is so poor they are often disregarded. Only two races out of thirty received an independent endorsement; both were longtime Democratic party members and leaders who switched to the independent ticket for the general election when the Democratic incumbent was not available. Is not quite fair to say they switched parties, since there was no organized

independent party in Oklahoma during the study period.

Importance of Study

The importance of this study to mass communications theory can be summarized as follows:

1. Quantify the behavior of the newspapers for the period under study.
2. Support research linking editorial content to election results.

Scope of study

Editorial pages of the Tribune and the World for the city commission election cycles occurring between March 1978 and April 1988 were included in the study. Only those editorials that gave positive or negative editorial comment on city commission candidates for Tulsa, Oklahoma, were evaluated. The dependent variable or reactions measured were the participating voters. The election results were obtained from the official Tulsa County Election Board records. All results are final and official.

Outline of Remainder of Thesis

Remaining chapters will consist of the following:

- II. Review of Literature - A survey of previously published research relating to this topic.
- III. Methodology - Methods for data collection and analysis.
- IV. Findings - The results of the chi-square analyses.
- V. Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations - Further study recommended and major findings noted.

ENDNOTES

¹James E. Gregg, "Newspaper Editorial Endorsements and California Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965), pp. 532-538.

²Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York, 1952), p. 20.

³Bernard Berelson, Reader In Public Opinion and Communications (New York, 1958).

⁴Byron St. Dizier, "The Effect of Newspaper Endorsements and Party Identification on Voting Choice," Journalism Quarterly, 62 (1985), pp. 589-594.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical Background Of The Problem

Publishers historically have influenced the content of their editorial pages. Presumably the publishers desire to have some influence on the editorial pages because they believe the positions championed on those pages will receive additional popular support. Gregg in Journalism Quarterly, 1965, confirmed the scientific basis of this assumption, or correlation.¹ Editorial content does influence the public. This study along with others of the same vein (Nie, Verba, Detrocik; Harvard Press 1980) attempts to statistically confirm the editorial/response relationship.

Published Studies

Dr. Byron St. Dizier of the University of Alabama at Birmingham published a controlled study on this topic in a 1985 Journalism Quarterly, article titled, "The Effect of Newspaper Endorsements and Party Identifications on Voting Choice".² Among St. Dizier's comments were:

1. Nearly all studies examining the impact of endorsements on voting behavior have found a high correlation between endorsement and electoral strength.

2. At a time when party identification appears to be lessening in reliability as a predictor of voter behavior, responses to newspaper endorsements appear to be increasingly reliable.

3. Local endorsements were more influential than state and national endorsements.

(Supporting this researcher's hypothesis that due to the non-existent broadcast endorsements the local print endorsements carry added weight.)

4. Candidates belonging to a party not normally endorsed by a newspaper were helped more by an endorsement than those candidates normally endorsed.

St. Dizier used a "before-after" experimental design with two treatment groups and one control group. The subjects were all students of the University of Alabama at Birmingham. The students were subjected to messages about fictitious candidates for office. Their initial reactions and changes were monitored. While not explicitly stating what statistical test was used, it appears St. Dizier made use of a complex chi-square test, monitoring the percentage shift in his total of votes for each group.

Dr. Kim A. Smith of East Carolina University published a study that was sponsored by the Urban Studies Center at the University of Louisville.³ Appearing in volume 62 of a 1985 Journalism Quarterly, Smith's comments included:

1. A "new look" volatile voter is emerging: knowledgeable, affluent and educated, but likely to abstain, split tickets and feel no allegiance to a particular political party.

2. The decline of partisan voting allows the print media to exert greater influence on voter decisions than previously predicted by Klapper using a limited effect model.

3. Volatile voters appear to seek out information on candidates more often than stable voters.

Smith made use of an actual election held in Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, during November, 1981. The research team kept track of political communication sources available to the voters. The sources were classified as to high and low effort regarding their accessibility. The design for each survey was a quota sample with random starts. A professionally drawn survey was administered by experienced survey takers. Smith used a chi-square test to evaluate the survey.

Three papers published by Encyclopedia Britannica Research Service also added insight into the problem area. The Newspaper Editorial (#2401) was published in Chicago by Britannica in 1988.⁴ This paper's pertinent highlights were:

1. While it is customary for editorials to rank low in readership surveys, the surveys have been missing the variable of the influence of those individuals who do read the editorial page.

2. In most communities it is primarily the leaders who pay the closest attention to editorial content and who are the most likely to be influenced by it.

3. The influence of broadcast editorials is not as great as those of the print media. Moreover, they are not likely to equal the press in impact in the foreseeable future.

Future Trends In Newspaper Journalism (#4R-1787) was also published in Chicago by Britannica in 1988.⁵ This paper pointed out the potential for local control and, therefore, local editorial content to be eroded by national chains and technological advances.

A third study, The Concept of Social Marketing and the Marketing of Ideas, was published by Britannica in Chicago in 1988.⁶ This paper dealt with methods used to affect public opinion through persuasive use of the media. This paper could be very useful for those publishers/editorial writers who desire to have the greatest possible influence with their editorials. This concept applies to James E. Clayton's 1977 The Editorial Page, article, "Audience and Effect": Editorials should be written to provoke some kind of reaction.⁷ The Britannica paper recommends that editorial writers not only persuasively argue for certain positions but, also that they offer information on how people can adopt new behaviors. The paper also recommended that writers of editorials provide ways for readers to facilitate maintenance of the promoted new behaviors.

Berelsons' Content Analysis In Communication Research promotes the procedure of counting negative and positive mentions and their totals. By following this basic method sufficient predictor information should be obtained.⁸ The content analysis technique makes best use of denotative rather than connotative words. The denotative words could just as easily be measured with positive and negative counts. Thus, the measuring of square inches of copy or other such content tests were not needed to evaluate the trends. Berelson, in his Reader In Public Opinion and Communications, established the correlation between media content and the formation of public opinion.⁹

Budd's Content Analysis of Communications expanded on the earlier work of Berelson and supported the methodology of counting only the positive or negative direction of the endorsements and not their supposed intensity or enthusiasm.¹⁰

Budd also stressed the importance of the reproducibility of research. "An important requirement of systematic research is that it be carried out in such a way that its results can be verified by other investigators who follow the same steps as the original researcher; that is, both the original investigator and those who follow him should get essentially the same results."¹¹

Joslyn's Mass Media and Elections was written during the modern recognition of linkage between media content and election results. It is a sophisticated work of refining content to achieve desired results. Joslyn points out the withholding of support phenomenon when he writes, "Journalists exercise political power through campaign coverage in a number of ways. The most obvious involves deciding how much coverage to give a campaign and the candidates involved in it. A candidate who is ignored by the media has a difficult time becoming known to the public and acquiring important political resources such as money and volunteers. Such candidates have little chance of winning."¹² Without media attention a candidate has little chance of election success, he wrote. Without a perceived potential for election success a candidate is likely to receive no coverage, he wrote.

This is the dilemma of this field of study. Do the newspapers create the popularity of the candidates or do they simply recognize an already qualified candidate and publish a view that the majority of voters would agree with given the opportunity to personally interview

the candidates? The researcher uncovered no studies that established findings on this subject. Although, it has been established that publisher William Randolph Hearst sought to popularize a young Rev. Billy Graham with extensive positive press. Eventually the promoted candidates have to stand before the public on their own merits and record of accomplishments once in the public eye.

Lemert wrote in Does Mass Communication Change Public Opinion After All?, "...that there is a need to measure content and election results simultaneously."¹³ The concept of retracing editorial content and matching that to actual votes was suggested by Lemert in his further-studies-needed section.

Clayton's "Audience and Effect" stressed the idea that editorials should be written with some desired response in mind: vote this way, change this behavior.¹⁴ When editorials are written in this style, the desire to influence is most apparent.

Gaziano's "Newspaper Credibility and Relationships of Newspaper Journalist to Communities" outlined behavior on the part of newspaper representatives that will enhance the reputation of the newspaper and, therefore, its editorial influence on local communities.¹⁵

Kennamer's "How Media Use During Campaign Affects the Intent to Vote" postulates that opinion leaders make use of high effort sources of information.¹⁶ In local elections, local opinion leaders are more influential than in national elections. Therefore, print editorials have more effect than broadcast editorials, since they influence the local thought leaders.

Times Mirror's "The People, Press and Politics" was a groundbreaking study of public attitudes about the media. This study divides

the voting public into homogeneous groups thus allowing greater targeting of media message in the future.¹⁷ Times Mirror's "Meet The God and Country Democrats" is an excellent follow-up to the earlier study.¹⁸

ENDNOTES

¹James E. Gregg, "Newspaper Editorial Endorsements and California Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965), pp. 532-538.

²Byron St. Dizier, "The Effect of Newspaper Endorsements and Party Identification on Voting Choice," Journalism Quarterly, 62 (1985), pp. 589-594.

³Kim A. Smith, "Political Communication and Voter Volatility in a Local Election," Journalism Quarterly, 62 (1985), pp. 883-887.

⁴"The Newspaper Editorial," Britannica Research Service (1988), #2401.

⁵"Future Trends in Newspaper Journalism," Britannica Research Service (1988), #4R-1787.

⁶"The Concept of Social Marketing and the Marketing of Ideas," Britannica Research Service (1988), #R-1772.

⁷James E. Clayton, "Audience and Effect," The Editorial Page, (1977), pp. 67-71.

⁸Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York, 1952), p. 20.

⁹Bernard Berelson, Reader In Public Opinion and Communications (New York, 1958).

¹⁰R. W. Budd, R. K. Thorp, and L. Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York, 1967), p. 2.

¹¹Budd, p. 2.

¹²Richard Joslyn, Mass Media and Elections (Reading, Massachusetts; (1984), p. 54.

¹³James B. Lemert, Does Mass Communication Change Public Opinion After All? (Chicago, 1981), p. 113.

¹⁴Clayton, p. 67.

¹⁵Cecilie Gaziano and Kristin McGrath, "Newspaper Credibility and Relationships of Newspaper Journalist to Communities," Journalism Quarterly, 1987, pp. 317-328.

¹⁶J. David Kennamer, "How Media Use During Campaign Affects Intent to Vote." Journalism Quarterly, (1987), pp. 291-300.

¹⁷Times Mirror, "The People, Press and Politics," (Los Angeles, 1987).

¹⁸Times Mirror, "Meet the God and Country Democrats," (Los Angeles, 1988).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Overview

This thesis is a study of Tulsa World and Tulsa Tribune editorials published during city commission election cycles from 1978 to 1988.

The editorials under consideration were written by members of the staffs of the respective newspapers. Letters to the editor, syndicated editorials, and news items were not included. Both the World and the Tribune adhered to a consistent editorial page layout during the study period, aiding in the determination of qualifying editorials.

Consistency of measurement was enhanced by the continuity of style in the newspapers. Only those editorials that appeared along with the newspapers' mastheads without personal identification of the authors were studied.

Tulsa holds city commission elections the first week in April during even-numbered years. The commission is made up of five voting members: the mayor, the police and fire commissioner, the streets and public property commissioner, the water works and sewerage commissioner, and the finance and revenue commissioner. This thesis is a study of the relationship among the two newspapers' and the election results for the thirty races for the period 1978 to 1988.

More specifically, editorials published in the newspapers for the month of March prior to an election and those days in April prior to

and including election day were analyzed. The April issues studied were as follows: April 1 through 4, 1978; April 1, 1980; April 1 through 6, 1982; April 1 through 3, 1984; April 1, 1986; April 1 through 5, 1988.

While the selection of the first of March as a beginning date for studying each election cycle was somewhat arbitrary, it was influenced by conversations the researcher had with editorial personnel of the respective newspapers. Jim Sellers of the Tribune said he didn't recall any pertinent editorials appearing before March.

The most important concepts to this study are those that pertain to the editorials that qualified to be counted. The 1,149 surveyed are easily separated. As displayed in both May 30, 1989, (Appendix, page 49), examples there should be no confusion as to what constitutes a local editorial. The Tribune has a typical layout on this day. The three eligible editorials are in a box; they are not identified by author, and the newspaper masthead appears just below the local editorial box. Editorial cartoons were not counted.

A single editorial may be counted as containing both a positive and a negative. If Mayor Jones is praised throughout an editorial and in the last sentence his opponent is mentioned as less qualified, that editorial receives only a positive mention for Jones. However, if Jones is compared and contrasted with his opponent and negative mention is made of Jones' opponent, the single editorial would count as both a positive for Jones and a negative for his opponent. The editorials were evaluated as a whole to be either positive, negative, or neutral in theme toward particular candidates. This style of analysis was advocated by Berelson and Budd. When both candidates were offered as

equally acceptable choices, neither received a positive nor a negative count, since no preference was expressed. Primary intra-party recommendations were not surveyed.

The sorting of countable editorials was performed by the researcher. To confirm the assumption that any logical researcher would sort the editorials in the same fashion, a type of control experiment was used for the editorials published in 1978 and 1980. Lisa K. Allison, B.S. Oklahoma State University, 1986, sorted the editorials as the author did. This experiment enhances confidence that other researchers would come to similar conclusions, since the second researcher achieved the same sort. By eliminating the editorials that didn't deal with city commission races and then sorting the remainder according to an established positive or negative content guideline, any reasonable researcher should have no problem in duplicating this study.

The analysis in this study is much like the thematic analysis covered in Budd's book.¹ The direction (positive/negative) of the themes of the various editorials was the tabulating unit. The simple positive or negative direction of a pertinent editorial theme was chosen over intensity of support/opposition ratings to increase reliability, reproducibility, and account for variances in writing style. The overall effect of support or opposition was best measured by tabulating simple positive or negative theme totals.

The World is similar in layout (Appendix, page 50). A boxed local editorial section appears under the local masthead. The national editorial and cartoon on the right half of the page were not counted. For both the World and the Tribune, the letters to the editor section on the lower right was not counted. Any item outside the official

local editorial box was not counted.

With five commission races held each election cycle and six elections under study, thirty separate elections were studied. The Tribune recorded thirty out of thirty possible editorial positions, while the World recorded twenty-seven out of thirty possible editorial positions. That is the Tribune gave endorsements for all campaigns while the World took no position in three campaigns during the study period. In the three races in which the World took no position, two were declared a "pick either candidate" and in the other the Democratic candidate for finance and revenue commissioner ran without opposition in the general election. The researcher is confident that no positions were missed.

The earliest pertinent editorials were published after the first week in March: March 7 for the Tribune and March 9 for the World. Both were an early endorsement of an independent candidate running in the general election after the incumbent Democratic mayor lost his party's nomination for re-election in 1986. Otherwise the earliest appearing pertinent editorials in all the other elections were in the second half of March. The tabulations support the researcher's premise that the beginning date of March 1 for each election cycle was sufficient to insure the completeness and accuracy of the survey.

During the period under study in this thesis, the Tulsa World published 206 editions, and the Tulsa Tribune published 176 editions. The differences in number of editions is attributable to the newspapers' publishing frequency schedules. The Tribune is a Monday-through-Saturday afternoon newspaper and the World is a Monday-through-Sunday morning newspaper. During the period studied,

the Tribune to World publication schedule was 46% Tribune and 54% World. This accounts for the difference in the number of Tribune and World editions included in the study. During the study period the Tribune published 531 editorials, and the World published 618 editorials for a pool of 1,149 editorials. Thirteen percent (153) of the editorials published in the two newspapers during the period were related to city commission elections in Tulsa. Of the 153 editorial mentions that did apply to this study 69, or 45%, were from the Tribune and 84, or 55%, were from the World. This 45/55 Tribune/World editorial mention split closely mirrors the 46/54 Tribune/World eligible-issue disparity.

The selection of the 1978 election as a beginning for this study was due to two factors. First, there was a change in the local political landscape in 1978. Three-term and popular Mayor Robert Lafortune opted not to run for re-election. Tulsans had the opportunity to choose between two younger politicians. The Democratic nominee was Roger Randle, current Tulsa Mayor, and the Republican nominee was Jim Inhoff, current first district representative in the U. S. Congress. Both were considered attractive candidates by their nominating parties. The new look to the Tulsa election in 1978 seemed to be an appropriate time to begin a contemporary analysis of newspaper editorials as they apply to city commission elections. Second, the number of issues surveyed by going back ten years allowed for enough data to be gathered to be fairly certain that something other than chance was operating. If fewer elections had been studied, there would not have been a sufficient population of editorials for valid statistical analysis.

In summary, this thesis is a study of the relationship between editorials appearing in the two major Tulsa, Oklahoma, newspapers and the Tulsa city commission elections.

The eligible editorials were sorted by spooling the pertinent rolls of microfilm obtained from the Tulsa City/County Central Library. Below is a list of sorting activities:

1. Find the editorial page for the applicable day as stored on microfilm at the Tulsa City-County Central Library.
2. Read the editorials in the local box appearing just below or above the masthead.
3. Eliminate any editorials not dealing with candidates for city commission offices in Tulsa, Oklahoma.
4. If there was editorial support for a candidate running for a city commission office note a positive mention for that candidate on that day.
5. If there was opposition to a candidate for a city commission office in any editorial note a negative mention for that candidate on that day.

The concepts on content analysis were constructed by Berelson, Schramm and others. Berelson wrote in Content Analysis In Communication Research of the need to deal with denotative communication rather than connotative communication.² This philosophy supported the idea of counting positive and negative editorials, rather than measuring message strength. Berelson also wrote in the same book, "content analysis can describe communications but it cannot, per se, evaluate them."³ Their work has been further developed by Budd⁴ and Lemert.⁵

A simple chi-square test was used to evaluate the differences in the data. The statistical calculations were all performed on a hand-held calculator and can easily be verified and repeated.

Definition of Terms

Operational definitions for this thesis are as follows:

1) Eligible Editorial - Only those editorials boxed along with the official masthead of the newspapers were under study. Of those, only the editorials that appeared without author identification during the month of March prior to a city commission election and the editorials that ran during April prior to and including election day.

A total of 382 issues were studied, 206 issues of the Tulsa World and 176 issues of the Tulsa Tribune. The 382 eligible issues provided 1,149 eligible editorials, approximately three editorials per eligible issue. Of the 1,149 eligible editorials 153 were counted as applying to this study or 13.32% of the eligible editorials were pertinent.

2) Negative Editorials - Those eligible editorials that contained multiple negative comments concerning city commission candidates. All of the eligible editorials were subjectively judged by the researcher who evaluated their content and interpreted it to be either negative, positive, or neutral. Those eligible editorials that were sorted according to their negative comments regarding city commission candidates appear in this group.

3) Neutral Editorials - Those eligible editorials that dealt with city commission races but neither supported nor opposed particular city commission candidates.

4) Positive Editorials - Those eligible editorials that supported city commission candidates. The editorials were subjectively judged by

the researcher who evaluated their content and interpreted it to be positive for a particular candidate.

Under the system used by the researcher the editorials could be sorted into five groups:

- A.) Non-Applicable Editorials (the majority, 86.68%)
- B.) Neutral Applicable Editorials
- C.) Negative Editorials
- D.) Positive Editorials
- E.) Editorials containing both a positive and a negative.

Those editorials that contained support for one candidate and expressed opposition to the opponent.

5) Voter - Only those duly registered citizens of Tulsa, Oklahoma that made it to the polls on election day. This study did not make use of a survey of readership reaction to the pertinent editorials. The mode of reaction measurement was the actual election returns recorded by the Tulsa County Election Board. Historically, only a small percentage of the eligible population participates in the democratic process during the city commission elections. This study analyzes the relationships between the newspapers' editorial behavior and the participating voters.

This portion of the population will disproportionately influence the results of local elections. Thus, the topic of this thesis is not a survey of Tulsan's reactions to test editorials. This study is concerned with actual vote results, not a general poll of the population because research has shown (Britannica #2401) that editorials have a greater impact on active participants than on the population as a whole.

Description of Methodology

This study could easily be duplicated. The only variation foreseeable would be in the area of sorting editorial themes. This was somewhat subjective. The editorials when taken as a whole were judged to be basically positive or negative toward a particular candidate. Frequently the style of the Tulsa editorial writers was to make a single negative comment concerning a non-supported candidate in the closing of a "pro" editorial. If these comments had been counted as negative editorials, personal style of the individual editors could have too much influence on this research. The positions of the newspapers were under study, not editorial style. By using the theme standard of Berelson and Budd the problem of excessive negative counts was eliminated.

Tulsa has two large competing newspapers thus allowing a comparison between the respective editorial pages. The data for the elections were readily available from the Tulsa County Election Board. There were no changes in the number of city commission offices during the period studied. Since there were no changes in either the style of government or offices on the city commission, the period studied was consistent and comparable over time.

The newspapers under study maintained a consistent editorial page layout during the period studied. The local editorials were always either boxed or easily identifiable. No editorial counted was given personal attribution.

Only those local editorials concerning city commission candidates were counted. A manila folder was prepared on each election. The

folder contained the election results and date allowing for the appropriate suspension of the survey on the April election dates. Also in the folders were notes counting the editorial page survey results on a day-by-day basis for each newspaper. This system of gathering the information allowed for ease of tabulation and analysis.

Research Design

The key independent variable was the editorial treatment. This treatment could have been dual positives, opposed positive and negative editorials in the two newspapers, or positive editorials in the Tribune and no position taken by the World. The dependent variable was the election performance of the various candidates, so essentially, a survey of Tribune and World editorials was undertaken. A total of 1,149 editorials was studied, 153 of which proved to be pertinent to this study. The editorials totaled: Tribune, 64 positive, 5 negative; and World 65 positive, 19 negative.

Summary

The simple chi-squares judged against Fisher and Yates' statistical table were used to evaluate the data. This test allows for the measurement of small samples. Although 1,149 editorials were surveyed, only a small number met the criteria for any single test.

ENDNOTES

¹R. W. Budd, R. K. Thorp, and L. Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York, 1967), p. 15.

²Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York, 1952), p. 20.

³Berelson, p. 46.

⁴Budd, p. 34.

⁵James B. Lemert, Does Mass Communication Change Public Opinion After All? (Chicago, 1981), pp. 212-217.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Questions Considered

The first problem statement for this thesis is, "What is the tendency, if any, for both or either of the newspapers to support one major party over the other in city commission elections for Tulsa, Oklahoma?"

TABLE I

TOTAL OF TULSA TRIBUNE AND TULSA WORLD ENDORSEMENTS - CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988.

	Republican	Democrat	
Total Endorsements	60.38%	39.62%	N = 53

Significant at the .05 level.

Table I represents the major finding of this thesis. There was a tendency for the Tulsa newspapers to support Republicans about 50% more than they supported Democrats. This is fertile ground for further research. Several factors could have influenced this difference. The local party candidate recruitment could be stronger among the Republicans. The editorial writers could have a preference for Republicans. These relationships merit further analysis.

There was a significant difference between the level of support given Republicans versus the level of support given to Democrats. The newspapers favor the Republicans (Table I, page 28). This difference proved significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Table II, page 29, shows a numerical edge for Republicans regarding Tribune endorsements, but nothing statistically significant.

TABLE II

TULSA TRIBUNE ENDORSEMENT TOTALS - CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988.

	Republican	Democrat	
Tribune Endorsements	53.57%	46.43%	N = 28

Not a significant difference.

The difference-maker in the outcome of the overall endorsements was the World.

Table III, page 30, shows that the World's preference for Republicans is significant at the .001 level. The Tribune endorsed 53.57% Republicans and 46.43% Democrats. The World endorsed 68.00% Republicans and 32.00% Democrats. The difference in the World endorsements was the predominant factor in the overall endorsements being significantly divergent.

TABLE III

TULSA WORLD ENDORSEMENT TOTALS - CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988

	Republican	Democrat	
World Endorsement	68.00%	32.00%	N = 25

Significant at the .001 level.

The second problem statement of this thesis is, "What is the relationship between local editorial content (positive and negative) and the electoral popularity of city commission candidates in Tulsa, Oklahoma?"

Table IV, page 31, deals with the negative mention differences between the two newspapers. Table IV shows that 22.71% editorial

mentions in the World were negative and 7.29% editorial mentions in the Tribune were negative. As Table IV shows the World accounted for more than 70% of the negative editorial mentions published during the period studied. This, too, merits further study. Why does the World make greater use of negative editorials than the Tribune? The variation could be due to the personal style of the editorial writers or some other as yet undiscovered factor(s).

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF TULSA TRIBUNE AND TULSA WORLD NEGATIVE MENTION TENDENCIES
- CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988.

	World	Tribune	
Percentage of total negative mentions.	75.60%	24.40%	N = 30

Significant at the .001 level.

A disparity as large as the one observed between World and Tribune negative mention totals would occur by chance less than one time in 1,000 experiments. We can conclude that the World makes greater use of negative position editorials than the Tribune.

Table V, page 32, also applies to problem statement number two. More than any other table, Table V points to the correlation of editorial content with election success. When the two newspapers agree

the consensus candidate is virtually unbeatable. The only loss of a jointly endorsed candidate could be attributed to a unique situation. In 1986 the Democratic incumbent for mayor lost his own party's primary and there were 20 candidates running for mayor in the general election. This confusing mix of candidates probably, in large part, accounts for the blemish on the jointly endorsed candidates winning percentage. An independent received the support of both newspapers in 1986, allowing the Republican candidate to win the general election without either newspapers' endorsement.

TABLE V

JOINTLY ENDORSED CANDIDATE WINNING PERCENTAGE - TULSA CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988.

	Joint Endorsed Wins	Joint Endorsed Loses	
World/Tribune Endorsement	95.83%	4.17%	N = 24

Significant at the .001 level.

The consensus pick of the World and the Tribune won 95.83% of the time period studied. This success compared to the non-endorsed candidates is significant at the .001 level. This Table (V, page 32) also answers question Number One, "How often does the consensus pick of

the Tribune and the World win?" (95.83% of the time)

Question Number Two, "What percentage of the editorials under study pertain to local elections?," did not require a chi-square test. Of the 1,149 eligible editorials, 153 were pertinent. About thirteen percent of the total eligible was about city commission races.

Question Number Three, "Does one of the newspapers tend to make greater use of negative editorials?" is addressed, as mentioned earlier, by Table IV, page 31. The World makes use of the negative editorial much more than the Tribune. Significant at the .001 level.

Question Number Four, "Is the difference between Tribune Republican and Democrat endorsements significant?" is primarily addressed by Table II, page 29. There is no difference.

Question Number Five, "Is there a difference between World Republican and Democrat endorsements that is significant?" is answered Yes by Table III, page 30. The World endorses more Republicans than Democrats, significant at the .001 level.

Questions Number Six, "Is there a difference in the newspapers' total endorsements between the two parties?" is answered by Table I, page 28. There are significantly more Republicans endorsed by the two newspapers.

Question Number Seven, "Is there a disparity between the Republicans and the Democrats regarding the amount of negative editorials published by either the Tribune or the World or both when counted together?," is addressed by the researcher's tests. As shown by Table VI, page 34, there is no difference between the parties' negative mention totals.

TABLE VI
 NEWSPAPERS' NEGATIVE MENTION DISTRIBUTION - TULSA CITY COMMISSION RACES
 1978-1988

	Democrats	Republicans	
World/Tribune Negative Mention Totals	57.14%	42.86%	N = 14

Not a significant difference.

After Terry Young's defeat in the Democratic primary for mayor in 1986, the general election was filled with novice independent candidates. Only three of twenty candidates for mayor received editorial mention: the Democratic nominee, the Republican nominee, and a longtime Democrat-turned-independent. The candidates receiving editorial comment averaged 30,637 votes. The seventeen independents received a total of 4,345 votes or an average of 256 votes each. Clearly, the poorest candidates received no editorial treatment. Even negative editorial treatment is reserved for candidates that are viable. As a matter of fact, the winning candidate's only editorial treatment was a negative editorial appearing in the World. The consensus pick finished second. This was the only race in which a consensus candidate lost during the period studied.

Table VII, page 35, shows there is no difference between negative treatment of Republicans and Democrats by the World.

TABLE VII

TULSA WORLD NEGATIVE MENTION DISTRIBUTION - CITY COMMISSION RACES
1978-1988

	Democrats	Republicans	
World Negative Mentions	58.33%	41.67%	N = 12

Not a significant difference.

A similar Tribune chi-square would show a difference with the Tribune being more negative toward Democrats, but since the 'N' was only three the results are not reliable.

In the three races where the World and Tribune split, the Tribune won two and the World one. However, the average percentage of the vote for the Tribune candidates was 38.81% and for the World candidates 41.19% when there was a split. So, regarding split endorsements, there was no clear picture. What is clear is that the majority of the time, 24 out of 30 races, or 80% of the time, the Tribune and World agreed on candidates that merit voter support. This may indicate that the newspapers are attempting to judge the candidates on their own merits. However, the newspapers could have similar promotional goals/ulterior motives in mind and therefore choose to frequently support the same candidates. This, also, merits further study.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE VOTE RECEIVED WHEN TRIBUNE AND WORLD SPLIT ENDORSEMENTS - TULSA
CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988

Tribune/World Endorsement Split	World Percentage	Tribune Percentage	N = 80
	51.49%	48.51%	

No difference.

In the three races the World gave no mention, there were disparate election results. The divergent results showed no apparent trend in the three races where the World took no position. One office had no race, the Tribune-supported candidates won one and lost one.

So, there were 60 possible endorsement positions. There were five city commission offices, six election years studied, and two newspapers' editorial behavior analyzed. The Tribune recorded 30 out of 30 possible positions. The World recorded 27 out of 30 possible positions. A total of 57 out of 60 possible positions were recorded.

Hypotheses Considered

The hypotheses listed in Chapter I are analyzed in the following section. It is not necessary that the hypotheses be supported for the research to be valid. The hypotheses are merely educated guesses that are either supported or not supported by a particular mode of analysis. It is only necessary that scientific data replace the unknown with the known.

1. Candidates receiving dual endorsements will win in excess of

90% of the races where dual endorsements are present. This hypothesis prove to be true, (23/24= 95.83%); Table V, page 32. An overwhelming majority of the jointly endorse candidates won their races. This finding lends additional support to the theoretical value of editorial endorsements.

2. When there are dual endorsements the voting percentage average of the endorsed candidates will be greater than sixty percent. This hypothesis was not supported, (59.27%). No table was needed for this analysis. The 24 such candidates voter percentage support was averaged and totaled just short of 60%. The 60% was an arbitrary figure, the concept was that jointly endorsed candidates would fare very well and that proved to be the case.

3. When there is a split between Tribune and World endorsed candidates, the Tribune candidate will more often win. The results here are still unknown, (2 to 1), not statistically testable. With only three examples of such a Tribune/World split, the two Tribune wins versus the single World supported candidate victory didn't yield enough examples to test statistically. Even the three cases observed yielded mixed results, with the average percentage of the vote garnered by the World supported candidates exceeding that of the Tribune.

4. Candidates receiving negative mentions from either newspaper will receive a higher percentage of the vote on average than those candidates receiving no editorial mention. This hypothesis was supported, (35% to 12%); Table IX, Page 38.

Is the relationship at work here the positive effect negative editorials have on voter appeal? What is more likely is that only those candidates with a reasonable chance of winning ever receive any

editorial treatment. The negatively treated candidate may disagree with the newspaper on a key bond issue, for example, and the newspaper will treat that otherwise well qualified candidate negatively in their editorial columns. This relationship certainly merits further study. In 1986, for example, the inexperienced candidates that filed for office after the political fall of Terry Young received no treatment. Dick Crawford, the eventual elected mayor, received only negative mentions.

TABLE IX

CANDIDATES GIVEN NEGATIVE MENTION VERSUS CANDIDATES RECEIVING NO MENTION - TULSA CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988

	Mentioned	No Mention	
Candidates Mentioned Negatively v. No Mention Candidates	74.47%	25.53%	N = 47

Significant at the .001 level.

5. Candidates receiving more than one negative mention will receive a higher percentage of the vote on the average than those candidates receiving a single negative. This hypothesis was not supported, (42.10% to 30.90%).

TABLE X

MULTIPLE VERSUS SINGLE NEGATIVE MENTION VOTE TOTALS - TULSA CITY
COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988

	Multiple Negative Mentions	Single Negative Mentions	
Multiple v. Single Negatives	57.67%	42.33%	N = 73

Not Significant.

6. Candidates receiving a negative from both the Tribune and the World will receive a higher percentage of the vote than those candidates receiving negatives from only one newspaper. This hypothesis was not supported, (49.20% to 33.80%), not a significant disparity.

Table XI as in Table X before it displays a numerical edge for the multiple/joint negative candidates, but nothing statistically significant. The negative mentioned candidates do make an extremely strong vote garnering showing when compared to the no mention candidates though.

TABLE XI

JOINT NEWSPAPER NEGATIVES VERSUS A SINGLE NEWSPAPER NEGATIVE - TULSA
CITY COMMISSION RACES 1978-1988

	Joint	Single Paper	
Joint Negative v. Single Paper	59.28%	40.72%	N = 83

Not Significant.

7. The Tribune will endorse more Republicans than Democrats. This hypothesis was not supported, although numerically the Republicans had an edge, the difference was not great enough to overcome chance distribution. Table II, page 29, shows the relationship is not significant.

8. The World will endorse more Democrats than Republicans. This hypothesis was not supported, just the reverse was supported. The World favors Republicans in City Commission races, as displayed in Table III, page 30. This difference was significant at the .001 level of confidence.

9. Overall the newspapers will endorse more Republicans than Democrats. This hypothesis was supported, Table I, page 28, shows the edge in Republican endorsements during the period studied. This difference was predominately influenced by the disparity in World endorsements.

10. The World will have a greater percentage of its total editorial positions rated as negative than the Tribune. This

hypothesis was supported, Table IV, page 31, shows the relationship to be significant at the .001 level. The World tallied 22.62% negative mentions while the Tribune was only 7.25% negative.

Interpretation

The overall endorsements favor the Republicans, due predominantly to the large difference in the number of Republicans and Democrats endorsed by the World. The 68 percent preference of the World for Republicans is significant at the .001 level.

The World makes greater use of negative comment in its editorials. This is probably due to the personal style of its editors. There were no partisan negative differences.

The jointly endorsed candidate is highly successful. Only an unusual Democratic incumbent scandal in 1986 kept the winning percentage of the jointly endorsed from being 100%. This relationship was significant at the .001 level.

Summary

This thesis was an analysis of Tulsa World and Tulsa Tribune editorial behavior and the relationship between that behavior and Tulsa City Commission election results. The data were analyzed using simple chi-square tests.

The World endorsed significantly more Republicans than Democrats in city commission races; this difference was significant at the .001 level. The consensus candidate in city commission races was virtually assured of victory, 95.83% success rate, significant at .001 level. The World makes greater use of negative editorials in city commission

racers than the Tribune; this relationship was significant at the .001 level. Negative editorial mention is only given to viable candidates in city commission races; this relationship was significant at the .001 level. Overall the newspapers favor Republicans over Democrats in city commission races; this relationship was significant at the .05 level.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This thesis is an analysis of Tulsa World and Tulsa Tribune editorials pertaining to city commission elections for the six elections held between 1978 and 1988. A total of 1,149 editorials were surveyed. Of those, 153 were found to be pertinent. The editorials were counted and sorted by their positive/negative themes about candidates. Republican and Democratic endorsements were tabulated. Chi-square analysis was used to analyze the data. The chief finding of this thesis was that the Tulsa World endorsed more Republicans than Democrats during the period studied.

An interesting relationship was observed while compiling the data. Those candidates receiving negative mention in the editorial pages fared better than the candidates receiving no mention. One could conclude that negative editorial mention is somewhat helpful. However, this probably is not the determining variable in this instance. According to editorial staff comments, only those candidates considered viable will receive any mention. An unknown independent, no matter how radical his stance, will likely receive no mention. In an extremely close race when the newspapers believe they can influence a disparity of a few percentage points, the negatives will actually increase. The relationship was significant at the .001 level.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the World is not a partisan Democratic newspaper as reflected by its coverage of city commission elections. The hypothesis which postulated that the World would endorse mostly Democrats was not supported. The opposite is likely to be true.

The World is a more frequent user of negative editorial comment than the Tribune. The researcher reached no conclusion as to why. This area could be fertile ground for further study.

Negative comments aren't given to the little-known candidates. The least-known candidates received no mention at all. Only candidates whom editorial writers disagree with and who have a chance of winning are given a negative editorial.

As suspected the most endorsed party of the two newspapers was the Republican party.

Recommendations

The research project yielded mixed results. One thing that was clear was the value of the endorsements. There was a great disparity between the performance of the jointly endorsed candidates and their opponents. If you are a candidate for office in Tulsa, this research suggests it would be quite beneficial for you to find a way to garner the editorial endorsements. Further research should be done to analyze the respective editorial board's decision making procedures and editorial philosophy. Since the endorsements have a close relationship with election success, a study of the reasons for endorsements needs to be undertaken. Also, a study could be performed to see why editorial writers differ in their capacity to write negative editorials. The

World staff made greater use of negative comment. Research into the factors that influenced the disparate results observed regarding negative editorial mentions could benefit mass communications scholarship.

Closing

The public's opinions regarding the local reputations of the Tribune and World would make a good study. Research into the public's preconceived perceptions regarding the two Tulsa newspapers would further add to the body of knowledge regarding this subject. Other research has indicated that voters seek out sources that support values they already hold. This thesis operated on a hypothesis that the World and Tribune would have different behaviors. On the hypothetical basis that the newspapers would have different editorial behaviors this thesis was supported.

The similarity of endorsements (24 out of a possible 30) by the Tribune and World indicates the newspapers are following the recommendations of the Hutchins Commission Report regarding fair editorial evaluation of candidates on their own merits. "A Free and Responsible Press" by the Hutchins Commission exhorts members of the media to recognize their civic responsibilities. "Frequently there is only one media operator in a given community, the commissioners urge that the needs of the democracy be placed above the interest of the operators."

The most pertinent finding of this study was that the World endorsed statistically significant (.001) numbers of Republicans running for city commission offices.

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TULSA WORLD EDITORIAL PAGE

TULSA WORLD
 "Oklahoma's Greatest Newspaper"
 ESTABLISHED 1898
 1969-1949

Page A-8 Tuesday, May 20, 1969

ROBERT E. LORTON, Publisher
 DON HARROLD, Business Editor
 ALEX ANDRAK, Editor, Editorial Page
 GENE CURTIS, Managing Editor
 KEVIN NEAL, Assistant Editor

BIBLE THOUGHT
 A true witness delivers truth; but a deceitful witness speaks lies. — Proverbs 14:5

Housing: Improving?

Is it possible that the Tulsa housing market is recovering?

Statistics offered by the Metropolitan Tulsa Board of Realtors show a glimmer of hope for housing here. The group reported 1,588 sales during the first three months of 1969, an 18 percent improvement over the same period in 1968.

There's still a big inventory of houses and the average price of houses sold has declined. But the number of houses on the market has declined since 1968 and reduced prices are an inevitable result of a glutted market.

The inventory, key to the industry regarding its health, has declined to 6,262 houses for sale. In 1965, there were 7,677 houses for sale at this time; in 1966, 7,185; in 1967, 7,002, and 1968, 6,874. The reduction in inventory is accelerating a bit, it appears.

None of these figures indicates Tulsa's housing market has regained its health.

But the signs are "pretty positive," according to Larry Hubertson, the realtor's executive vice president.

Veterans in the Tulsa housing market have known for some time that the recovery would be a slow one with massive numbers of houses to be sold before any significant demand for new housing can develop.

The numbers don't suggest a building boom ahead. They do suggest that Tulsa's recovery is occurring and that it is accelerating a bit.

In the kind of market that Tulsa has suffered for five years, this must be considered good news.

Our Economic Hope

PUBLISHER James B. Hayes delivered a familiar message to Tulsans last week: The public school system will have the greatest impact on the nation's economic future.

Familiar, true. But worth repeating over and over if Oklahoma finally accept it.

Hayes, publisher of Fortune magazine, spoke at the Tulsa Business Forum sponsored by Oklahoma State University's college of business administration.

"Without high standards in education, we can forget about high standards in industry," Hayes said.

He said the United States was responsible for 43 percent of the world's productivity in the 1950s but that figure has fallen to 25 percent or less, an indication of the country's losing effort to compete in the global marketplace.

"Aids discovered and grew on America's historic message of learn-learn-learn and built on our values," and called on corporate America to play a greater role in helping the schools.

Hayes' message is one that Oklahomans will ignore at their peril.

Leader after leader keeps telling us that quality education is the key to economic prosperity, but there are few signs that anyone is listening.

Instead, most citizens oppose investment in education because this means more involvement of individuals and a higher tax burden to provide the money to raise Oklahoma's educational institutions from the bottom ranks of rankings of the 50 states.

Hayes and others like him can do no more than sound the alarm. Until enough citizens start listening, education is doomed to decline, and with it, the U.S. economy.

Lure of the Jackpot

CONTRARY to what is touted by promoters, a lottery is not a painless way to raise taxes. Two Duke University economists, Charles Christler and Philip Cook, offer evidence in a book to be published this fall that the states' share of the lottery amounts to a heavy tax on people who can least afford it. They also believe it undermines attitudes toward hard work and its rewards.

In the 26 states that have lotteries, \$16 billion was raised last year. Of every dollar bet, 48 cents went for prizes while another 18 cents covered the cost of promotion, sales and administration. That left 37 cents for the states — or 35.7 billion. But at what cost? Lower income people gamble a larger percentage of their income than wealthier people.

A study of the Maryland lottery showed that people earning less than \$10,000 buy the most tickets. In California, where ticket sales average \$78 per person, a 1966 Los Angeles poll showed that 10 percent of adults made \$5 percent of the wage.

California's school superintendent complained that although lottery proceeds were earmarked for education, the

Getting Priorities Established

By David S. Broder

LONDON — To give the charge, but I'm really proud of two of my fellow blind boys, Don Hodenkowski and Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwiel. They're giving me a book in the capital when it needs all the help it can get.

Hodenkowski, the veteran Chicago Democrat and chairman of the House War and Veterans Committee, has been leading the battle against the Bush administration scheme to hike the cost of the savings-and-loan bailout by keeping it off budget.

The Bush also cracks of the clean promise in which politicians by the advantage of money. If you have a dollar, you know it represents an obligation you have to repay. The government had the

The plan creates something called the Housing Financing Corporation and authorizes it to sell \$50 billion in bonds to pump money into the program. The ERLs. Because the HUD is not technically a governmental agency even though the Treasury would pay the interest on the bonds, the \$50 billion would not be counted as part of the deficit. That, it is not.

Hodenkowski doesn't think so. His concept of straight-up and financing goes back to the days when his small office was a part of the S&L in Chicago. It was an unglamorous cabinet, where on the first day of each month the homing agent would tell their mortgage payments in assigned categories and called in the pre-written principle that had been left to them.

Hodenkowski deplores the subtleties in the budget game that executive administrations have played with Congress and the American people. While others were celebrating this year's plum budget agreement, he said bluntly: "There is no way we can continue this blue smoke and mirrors. This year or next, long we have been doing, and get our economic house in order."

He objected that the administration bailout scheme would cost the taxpayers an extra \$4.5 billion because the bond issue could demand higher interest rates from the real government. He said that the real cost of the Treasury bailout, he believed, that he argued against the \$10 billion cost "off budget" would be far more than that, an indication of the way the deficit has been presented.

CONGRESS PREFERS TO CLEAN UP THE S&L MESS... WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM THE U.S. TAXPAYER.



Will Rogers cartoon

The school system in Chicago and apparently surprised the White House by receiving the majority of the money from the federal government. The Chicago school system has done well in the past, but the federal government has not done so well in the past.

Derwiel, the veteran Chicago Democrat and chairman of the House War and Veterans Committee, has been leading the battle against the Bush administration scheme to hike the cost of the savings-and-loan bailout by keeping it off budget.

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Hodenkowski deplores the subtleties in the budget game that executive administrations have played with Congress and the American people. While others were celebrating this year's plum budget agreement, he said bluntly: "There is no way we can continue this blue smoke and mirrors. This year or next, long we have been doing, and get our economic house in order."

He objected that the administration bailout scheme would cost the taxpayers an extra \$4.5 billion because the bond issue could demand higher interest rates from the real government. He said that the real cost of the Treasury bailout, he believed, that he argued against the \$10 billion cost "off budget" would be far more than that, an indication of the way the deficit has been presented.

What do you think of the...
 The school system in Chicago and apparently surprised the White House by receiving the majority of the money from the federal government. The Chicago school system has done well in the past, but the federal government has not done so well in the past.

Derwiel, the veteran Chicago Democrat and chairman of the House War and Veterans Committee, has been leading the battle against the Bush administration scheme to hike the cost of the savings-and-loan bailout by keeping it off budget.

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The People's Voice

Will Rogers Turnpike in Need of Re

In the heat of the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority's up and down road, it is not surprising that the road has been taken over, nothing has been done. But a person can make an on the Will Rogers Turnpike.

There are some spots where the road has not been paved at all this year. I have never seen the turnpike look so bad as it is now. Some of the road areas are almost beyond use. There are some stretch areas where the road is half of the turnpike.

I have found out why so many of our roads are in such a state. It is the Will Rogers Turnpike. I have found out why so many of our roads are in such a state. It is the Will Rogers Turnpike. I have found out why so many of our roads are in such a state. It is the Will Rogers Turnpike.

plan my route and some extra lookups around the Turnpike. It is only if one notices the road that people were paid along the road. It is only if one notices the road that people were paid along the road. It is only if one notices the road that people were paid along the road.

As you see the Turnpike is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way.

The Will Rogers Turnpike need to be overhauled. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way. It is in a bad way.

With so much emphasis being placed on the Oklahoma Turnpike, it is not surprising that the road has been taken over, nothing has been done. But a person can make an on the Will Rogers Turnpike.

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not a state and in Oklahoma, allow a person to have the best and the best more rapidly. More important, the people who are the reason and the most are a person.

It could happen. The people might come out and see a person in the plan.

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VITA²

James Len Allison

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: TRENDS IN EDITORIAL TREATMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR CITY
COMMISSION OFFICES IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA

Major Field: Mass Communications

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Pawnee, Oklahoma, November 10, 1962,
the son of L. D. and Peggy Allison. Married to Lisa K.
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Education: Graduated from Claremore High School, Claremore,
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Degree in Agricultural Economics from Oklahoma State
University in July, 1985; completed requirements for
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December, 1989.