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AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR
IN THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

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PREFACE

The mission and motives of the underground press have been sadly ignored. Underground newspapers in general have been slighted, and rarely studied in any depth.

Although virtually every facet of the underground press is worthy of systematic study, this thesis limits its investigation to the behavior of language. Because of its exploratory nature, this study takes on a sense of adventure and, in its own small way, a sense of importance.

If the results of this thesis are of any value, it is hoped they will be applied by underground journalists in an attempt to make their medium more effective and a more viable alternative. Further, it is hoped that the data presented herein will prompt others to continue in the long overdue exploration of the underground press.

Many people have affected and, in fact, created the events which led to the completion of this formal study. Perhaps the most influential group of people was the staff of Andromeda, with whom I worked for nearly a year. It was while working with these energetic people that I first began to consider the potential of the tens of thousands of frustrated writers, editors, photographers and artists who had turned to the underground/alternative media.

I would like to acknowledge the cooperation I received

from the staffs of the seven underground newspapers and the three news services who subjected themselves to my questionnaire.

If the first few chapters are at all coherent, at least some credit must go to Professor Don A. Mueller of Baker University, who took the time to proof read the manuscript and who offered many candid and useful suggestions.

I am especially grateful to Bev Oldham for her untiring "legs" and Denise Castro for the tedious and thankless chore of assisting me with the typing.

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Finally, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude for the unsolicited motivation and understanding I received from my parents.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"This is an age of political and cultural insurgency and the underground press is the impassioned voice and prose poet of that revolt," observes Larry Leamer, author of a recent book on underground newspapers.¹

For nearly a decade now, underground journalists have been reporting, proposing and, at times, even creating alternatives to virtually everything which in any way represented their perception of the status quo. It's been an eventful journey, one which certainly merits exploration, if for no other reason than to acknowledge its page in the annals of journalism history. Yet the underground press today seems to remain an oddity, something not to be taken too seriously. And it's still, therefore, rather difficult to assess the accomplishments of the fledgling press, particularly since its impact has been only haphazardly examined. "Past studies of the underground press have been at best inadequate, at worst, irrelevant," notes Sam Feldman, a doctoral candidate at the UCLA School of Education. Feldman's dissertation -- "A Rationale for the High School Underground Press" -- may be, in fact, the first systematic attempt to explore the medium.²

The Medium and Its Language

Much of the notoriety afforded the underground press can be attributed to its somewhat irreverent language. Since the now famous 1966 Supreme Court ruling on obscenity, many underground publications seem to have dedicated themselves to testing the elasticity of "social redeeming value."

A group of high school students in Detroit published a paper called the South Hampton Illustrated Times. The paper, not surprisingly, was most often referred to by its acronym.³ While it was still publishing, the staff of Boston's Avatar was subjected to 58 arrests before a local court found the content not obscene. In 1969 three teen-aged street vendors were charged with possession of obscene material: copies of the Miami (Florida) Free Press, which carried artwork depicting President Nixon and Mao Tse-tung superimposed on a nude woman. The editor of the Washington (D.C.) Free Press was ordered to appear before a Montgomery County, Maryland judge because he had published a cartoon which showed a nude judge masturbating as he presided over a courtroom.⁴

There are, of course, many other examples which could be cited; the point is, however, that the often unrestricted use of "offensive" words and risque graphics has provoked much criticism and concern. The language of the underground press and its "nothing-is-sacred" approach to journalism have been, perhaps, its most frequently discussed features.

This thesis, however, is not primarily concerned with

the purported alienating effect of the underground language. More important, it is believed, is the effect of this language on the people who use it and rely on it. For these people the underground press, with its underground language, is a very crucial factor in their social universe. Their proficiency as communicators will be determined, in part, by the effectiveness of their language. Indeed, the importance of language is paramount, and the language of the underground press is not to be slighted because some may consider it crude or unusual.

To discover the causes of success and failure in the process of human communication is of primary concern here. An analysis of language, it is hoped, will help determine what assists and what hampers that process.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Laurence Leamer, The Paper Revolutionaries (New York, 1972), p. 81.

²Samuel N. Feldman, "A Rationale for the High School Underground Press" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation proposal, UCLA School of Education, 1972).

³Gaye Sandler Smith, "The Underground Press In Los Angeles" (unpub. master's thesis, University of California, 1968), p. 117.

⁴Jack A. Nelson, The Underground Press, Freedom of Information report No. 226 (Columbia, 1968), p. 5.

CHAPTER II

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

Publishers of most large dailies have long abandoned the concept of the special edition; broadcast journalists, it seems, have reduced considerably the urgency of the print media. Noticeably reflecting this trend is the absence of the street hawker, often stereotyped by cinematographers as the young, ambitious lad steadfastly fighting the urban elements and faithfully yelling, "Extra! Extra! Read all about it...." The only hawkers remaining today are of the underground variety.

It's not that the underground press is a clandestine movement, literally forced to operate "underground;" but it is true that many such publications are unable to use contemporary means of distribution. Retailers often refuse to display the papers, schools frequently prohibit their circulation, and professional distributors are not at all impressed with the lackadaisical business approach taken by many of the staffs. For the underground press, distribution has always been a problem and one which continually threatens the longevity of the medium.

For those who desire to stifle the underground newspaper, the most effective method is by simply retarding its

distribution. Few are prepared to go so far as to deny the underground press its constitutional rights, but few also are willing to provide these papers with easy access to the community.

The urge on the part of many to squelch what Leamer calls the voice of today's insurgency, may be interpreted as an emotional response to the content of the underground press, which consists largely of irreverent, brazen attacks on American economics, politics and morality. To many, perhaps, the underground press represents an annoying source of dissonance, and in an attempt to reduce this dissonance underground newspapers are frequently perceived as a threat, an immoral conspiracy.

The Three Categories of the Underground Press

There exists generally three types or categories of underground newspapers: the community newspaper, the special interest publication, and the house organ.

Some of the special interest papers and house organs actually pre-date the current underground press, while others have come into existence with the rise of anti-war sentiment and the civil rights movement. This thesis is especially concerned with only one of the above three categories -- the community paper. That is, the underground newspaper which is circulated among members of a defined geographic community, such as a city, town or university.

The two other categories are to be avoided here since many of the special interest papers and many of the house organs contain language which is unique to a particular philosophy or interest group.

It would be useful if a more explicit definition of the underground press -- or even of a community underground paper -- could be offered, but unfortunately none has been developed.

Underground newspapers certainly do not all digest the same politics or subscribe to the same editorial policies. Some staffs operate with the more conventional editorial hierarchy of an editor, managing editor, advertising manager, and so on, while other staffs form a collective where all decisions are made collectively and responsibility is shared, not necessarily delegated. Some papers are given away free while others charge a cover price. There is, therefore, no such thing as a "typical" underground newspaper. Since the New York Times obviously is not representative of all large, metropolitan dailies, why should one assume that, for example, Atlanta's The Great Speckled Bird is typical of other underground papers?

It's difficult to discover exactly what underground papers have in common, but whatever that may be, it certainly doesn't preclude individuality. As one underground worker puts it:

We all have a lot in common, a general dissatisfaction with life in America. It is necessary for us to be in touch. But why should we agree?

They do their thing; we do ours.¹

Possibly the only common disbelief among all underground papers is that in American economics, particularly the free enterprise system as practiced here in the United States. For the most part, underground journalists seem to prefer a socialist economy, as opposed to capitalism. Beyond that, the underground press remains an abstract coalition of disenchanting journalists and frustrated activists.

The First Underground Newspaper

Actually it was one \$15 investment that eventually blossomed into not only the first underground newspaper but the largest as well. It is the Los Angeles Free Press, founded in 1964, that has acquired the undisputed reputation of being the first underground paper.

On May Day in 1964 Arthur Kunin, a 37-year-old socialist intellectual and former die-maker, showed up at the gates to the Los Angeles Renaissance Faire, an annual event sponsored by radio station KPFK, and started passing out copies of the Faire Free Press. He wore not denims or patched corduroy but the green garb of Robin Hood and a feathered cap, and Los Angeles should have stood forewarned that Kunin's thin and amateurish paper would not prove the typical left-wing publication. Indeed, rechristened the Los Angeles Free Press, it became not only the first, but eventually the biggest underground paper in America.²

The Freeep, as it's commonly called, has grown considerably over the years. From a four-page giveaway in its earlier days to a 48-page tabloid with expenditures of over

\$15,000 per issue.³ Today the Freep is the only underground paper audited by the semi-official Audit Bureau of Circulations. With its 120,000 circulation it ranks as the second-largest paid circulation weekly in the country.

Factors Contributing to the Creation of the Underground Press

Many reasons have been cited for the sudden emergence of hundreds of underground papers in the late 1960s. Particularly significant, perhaps, is the charge that the mass media were not functioning as an outlet for minorities -- any minority -- be it the homosexual, the student, the Afro-American or the American Indian. A report from the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri explores this problem and suggests that some media critics claim that the apparent popularity of the underground newspapers is an indication that the traditional press is not filling the needs of society. "The speculation is that the underground papers are generally successful," the report says, "because they do fill that need."⁴

Although the mass media's inability or unwillingness to give a voice to out-of-stream opinion groups has been the most popular allegation, there have been others:

The press does not report the whole truth, but instead filters the news to reinforce established society.

The press treats deviant groups in news columns with sensationalism which either inflates their

significance or causes their demise.

The press does not believe in total freedom of expression.

It is not contemporary, a kind of anachronism in the electric age.⁵

For many undergrounders, the established or "straight" press had become the senile legacy of Benjamin Harris' Public Occurrences.⁶ Mass audience publications, which did little more than reinforce middleclass mores, were no longer seen as a viable medium for information. Such publications, as the story goes, had become big business, a competitive enterprise which, presumably, perceived news as a commodity. Broadcast facilities and large dailies, therefore, were actually considered dangerous, not just the passive by-product of negligence. "I'd rather put the Times out of business than the New York City Police. It does much more damage," says Raymond Mungo, co-founder of Liberation News Service, the underground's largest and oldest news-gathering agency.⁷ I.F. Stone -- whom some have dubbed the illegitimate father of the underground press -- alludes to this problem when he calls attention to the fact that "most owners of newspapers are businessmen, not newspaper men. The news is something which fills the space left over by advertisers."⁸

Today, the underground press stands opposed to what Lazarsfeld and Merton in 1948 called the three most prevalent functions of the media: status conferral, enforcement of social norms, and what has been called the narcotizing

dysfunction.⁹ For many, the underground press represents a challenge to existing norms and an alternative to conferring status on conventional leaders. But although the underground press may have been created in opposition to these functions, it is interesting to note that many underground papers do confer status and do reinforce social norms -- it's just that the norms are different and the status is conferred on a different breed of people.

There are, of course, many other factors which have contributed to the sudden birth of literally hundreds of alternative publications. Robert Glessing, in his account of the underground press, mentions a few:

The social and political indifference of the Eisenhower years, the youthful involvement in the Southern civil rights movement, the drug culture of the early 60s, the moral resentment of the war in Vietnam, and the bitterness toward a government incapable of solving racial and poverty problems in the world's wealthiest nation -- this is only a rough sketch of the background from which the underground press began to emerge.¹⁰

It's also important to realize, however, that not every underground paper was founded on lofty ideals or launched in an attempt to rid the world of social evils. Consider, for example, Mungo's reasons for the creation of Liberation News Service in 1967.

Lots of radicals will give you a very precise line about why their little newspaper or organization was formed and what needs it fulfills and most of that stuff is bullshit, you see -- the point is they've got nothing better to do and the prospect of holding a straight job is so dreary that they join the "movement"...and start hitting up people for money to live, on the premise that they're involved in critical social change blah blah blah.

And it's really better that way, at least for some people, than finishing college and working at dumb jobs for constipated corporations; at least it's not always boring. And that's why we decided to start a news service -- not because the proliferating underground needed a central information-gathering agency staffed by people they could trust -- but because we had nothing better to do.¹¹

The Rapid Growth of the Underground Press

Be it a fad or phenomenon, there's no denying the astounding pace at which the underground press has grown. In 1968 the Wall Street Journal claimed an estimated one third of a million people read underground papers.¹² In 1969 Paul Slater, while gathering data for his master's thesis, counted 627 such publications.¹³ Today, one source estimates the total readership to be in excess of 20 million.¹⁴

Despite the many external pressures and the near internal chaos, in the last half a decade the underground press has grown at a phenomenal rate. The increase in the number of regularly published underground newspapers is shown in Table I, page 13. From one paper in 1964 (Los Angeles Free Press) to 350 to 400 in 1971.¹⁵ These figures do not take into account the hundreds of irregularly published papers, particularly those distributed on high school campuses.

A list of underground papers is provided in Appendix C.

(In recent months there has been some evidence to suggest that the underground press has reached its potential

TABLE I
GROWTH RATE OF THE
UNDERGROUND PRESS

Year	Number of Publications	Estimated Readership
1964	1	20,000
1965	5	150,000
1966	25	250,000
1967	50	500,000
1968	100	2,000,000
1969	200	5,000,000
1970	300	10,000,000
1971	400	20,000,000

and that its growth was beginning to taper off. A number of well known papers -- particularly those in large metropolitan areas -- have discontinued publication. It's difficult to speculate at this point, since there has always been a large turnover in the underground press.)

Although the rapid increase in the number of underground newspapers had much to do with the increasing popularity of the anti-war movement, the frequency of campus unrest and the coming of age of the so-called psychedelic counterculture, the technical feasibility of printing a newspaper in the late 1960s was also an important factor. The rapid growth of offset printing made it possible for virtually anyone to enter a publishing venture. The technical skills were easily learned and the actual printing costs required a relatively small investment.

...a small, local, and unsubsidized paper did not have to depend on the informality, shoddiness, and graphic limitations of the mimeograph, because the new process of cold-type offset printing was available to them.¹⁶

Unlike other printing techniques, the offset process allowed for the ultimate creativity at the lowest possible cost. Almost anything that could be typed, drawn or photographed could be reproduced with remarkable clarity. The underground press was quick to explore the potential of offset and more than willing to share its discoveries with other alternative publications. Further enhancing the possibilities of offset printing and subsequently promoting the growth of the underground press was the availability of

handy booklets, outlining the procedures for preparing copy, cropping pictures, using screens, and so on. One such booklet, "How To Publish Your Very Own Underground Newspaper," published by the Underground Press Syndicate in New York City, describes a number of printing methods from ditto to offset and includes helpful information on postage regulations, distribution, advertising, a list of do's and don't's and even a section devoted to "What To Do When the FBI Comes."

The Underground Organizations

According to Glessing, the idea for an alliance of underground newspapers was first conceived in the offices of New York's East Village Other in June of 1966. An editorial in EVO that month suggested the following proposals for such an organization:

1. Communication of the news that the middle-class press won't print.
2. Some sort of teletype service between New York, Chicago, L.A., San Francisco, England, etc.
3. Dividing of all income between members.
4. A clearing house, where members can choose to syndicate other members' by-lines, columns and comic strips.
5. An advertising agency which will represent and produce advertising for all members from sources around the country.
6. An agent for all member newspapers to the whole communications industry to represent them and sell news for them to A.P., U.P.I., radio stations and television networks.¹⁷

All that was needed was a name for this alliance -- something that would be descriptive, yet not restricting. An editorial worker at EVO, John Wilcock, suggested "underground." "I don't know what else it could have been called," recalls Wilcock. "It was underground, unknown...."¹⁸ Today the Underground Press Syndicate describes itself as a non-profit association of alternative newspapers and magazines. Because its members have always covered a wide spectrum of interests and beliefs, UPS has remained an anarchistic group, concentrating mainly on just seeing that the papers continue to come out.

With only five member papers in its first year, UPS has grown rapidly in the past few years, and now has offices in Hong Kong, Buenos Aires and London, in addition to the small, basement office in New York's Greenwich Village. Today, members of UPS can be found in almost every major city in the United States and in England, Norway, The Netherlands, France, Scotland, Canada, Argentina, Mexico, New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, and Switzerland.

There is a one-time initiation fee of \$25, but a recent UPS letter explains, "...if you don't have that on hand at the moment, \$5 now and the rest later will do."¹⁹ Once accepted, UPS members are asked to follow a list of rules, which are described as more traditional than legislative. The rules generally explain that all members agree to a free exchange of material; all members should send 10 copies of each issue to UPS in New York and one

copy to each of the other UPS members; all members should note on their masthead that they're members of UPS; and when reprinting another member's story, article, etc., proper credit should be given.

A year after UPS was launched, the underground's first full time news service was in the making. Two former college editors, Raymond Mungo (Boston University News) and Marshall Bloom (Amherst Student), both disenchanted with the United State Student Press Association and for a lack of anything better to do (see Mungo's quote on page 11), created Liberation News Service in 1967 in Washington, D.C. A year later, the news service moved to the upper west side of New York City where the collective of about a dozen people work today.

Unlike UPS, Liberation News Service (named after the National Liberation Front) is not considered an alliance or cooperative. Its 800 subscribers simply pay a monthly rate for the service (\$20), which consists of two news/graphics packets each week. But since many underground papers are often unable to meet their monthly obligations, LNS has adopted a rather lenient billing policy. "We have always been committed to sending the packets to groups and papers which cannot afford to pay," explains the LNS collective.²⁰

Operating on a budget of \$7,000 a month, the LNS collective consists of:

...13 people working full-time -- 10 women and 3 men. We want to maintain a ratio of two women to one man. We find the battle against sexism is easier that way, while at the same time, the policy gives women a chance to work in a "man's field."

Our ages range from 17 to 25 and we have a couple of college grads, lots of college drop outs and a couple of high school drop outs.

We have one third-world woman on the staff; class -- that's hard to say. Most of us come out of some kind of student background. Of the 13, 5 of us come from the N.Y.C. area, two from Philadelphia, one from New Jersey, one from Vermont, one from Missouri, two from Massachusetts, and one from Florida.

We also have one baby -- Safra, going on 16 months -- two cats -- Scaredy Cat and Bat Morgan, and quite a few friends in the neighborhood who come in to help us drink beer and stuff the packets into envelopes. We have a schedule for taking care of Safra that gives everybody the responsibility and fun of looking out for her about 5 hours a week.²¹

In contrast to their commercial counterparts, LNS workers donate much of their time, receiving a weekly salary of only \$35 for what is usually a 60 to 70 hour work week.²²

In the past few years, many smaller news services and organizations have appeared. The Amerikan (sic) Press Syndicate, which started out as a West Coast paper exchange, has recently blossomed into a nation-wide operation with more than 35 members. Alternative Features Service, operating out of Berkeley, California, has been distributing weekly feature packets since June 1971.

More recently, small groups of local papers have banded together to form what has been termed "media coops." In Texas, for example, 12 such papers and alternative radio

groups launched the "Texas Blimp Works," a group which will try to strengthen cross-state communication and find possible solutions to mutual problems.

The Potential Impact of the Underground Press

The chairman of the journalism department at Indiana University, Richard G. Gray, among others, believes the underground press has great potential. The underground press, he says, "holds the possibility of initiating changes just as significant as those introduced at earlier critical junctures in the history of journalism."²³

Unfortunately, the success or failure of the underground press too often is judged by the same standards used to evaluate conventional media. An article in The Nation a few years ago said the underground press "has certainly not improved the quality of journalism."²⁴ Such profundities -- and there have been many -- miss the point. Underground journalists aren't trying to improve journalism; they are trying to change it! Many undergrounders find repulsive the reportorial philosophy of the daily press. "We see ourselves as enemies of the New York Times and other establishment papers and the interests they represent.....," says LNS.²⁵ Specifically, the LNS collective notes the important distinction between the liberal press portraying the war in Viet Nam as a blunder and the underground press' attempt to interpret the war as logical extensions of United States

foreign policy. So, it's really not a matter of improving journalism, as the underground journalists see it. More important, they believe, is trying to design new ways of presenting information.

Underground journalists have attempted to bring to their readers a sense of honesty and sincerity. For them, the concept of "objective" reporting has become obsolete, something which shouldn't even be a distant goal. Leamer explains why:

The false scientism of contemporary journalism -- so mistakingly labeled "objective journalism" -- was not developed as a means to bring a richer and more honest news coverage to the public. Originally, it was simply a technique invented by early cooperative news-gathering associations, so that their services could be sold to the highly partisan papers of the day. As advertising and circulation burgeoned, the papers themselves became "objective." They could not afford to offend any element of their readership, and they assumed a stance of political and moral neutrality.²⁶

It's still, of course, quite early to assess the impact of the underground press, particularly since it's virtually impossible to view it in any historical perspective. Yet the underground press today remains for many a viable alternative to other media and that in itself should be evidence enough that underground papers are indeed worth watching.

FOOTNOTES

¹Ethel G. Romm, "Protest Tabloids Turn On To Color Printing," Editor & Publisher (November 11, 1967), p. 68.

²Laurence Leamer, The Paper Revolutionaries (New York, 1972), p. 27.

³Robert J. Glessing, The Underground Press In America (Bloomington, 1970), p. 18.

⁴Jack A. Nelson, The Underground Press, Freedom of Information Report No. 226 (Columbia, 1969), p. 1.

⁵Ibid., p. 3.

⁶Benjamin Harris' newspaper is generally regarded as the first American newspaper. It lasted only one issue in 1690 because Boston authorities found it overly critical. Based on today's standards, the paper could be easily categorized as "underground."

⁷Mitchell Goodman, The Movement Toward A New America (New York, 1970), p. 414.

⁸Michael L. Johnson, The New Journalism (Lawrence, 1971), p. 6.

⁹Ibid., p. 4

¹⁰Glessing, p. 11.

¹¹Raymond Mungo, Famous Long Ago (Boston, 1970), p. 8.

¹²Nelson, p. 2.

¹³Campbell Watson, "New Youth Press Laid To Vacuum," Editor & Publisher (September 20, 1969), p. 12.

¹⁴Underground Press Syndicate Advertising Directory (New York, circa 1970), p. 3.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶Johnson, p. 14.

- ¹⁷Glessing, p. 69.
- ¹⁸Leamer, p. 41.
- ¹⁹Letter from UPS (New York, circa 1972).
- ²⁰LNS News Packet No. 385 (October 23, 1971), p. 1.
- ²¹LNS News Packet No. 417 (March 11, 1972), p. 22.
- ²²LNS News Packet No. 385, p. 1.
- ²³Glessing, p. xi.
- ²⁴Thomas Pepper, "Growing Rich On The Hippies," The Nation, Vol. 206 (1968), p. 570.
- ²⁵LNS News Packet No. 417, p. 24.
- ²⁶Leamer, p. 189.

CHAPTER III

THE LANGUAGE OF THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

In 1966 Bob Dylan wrote, "The times they are a-changin'." By 1968 Ralph Gleason, rock music critic for the San Francisco Chronicle observed, "The language she is changing," too.¹

Unless you happen to be at least somewhat familiar with the hip-slang terminology used in many underground newspapers, you'll need either a translator, one of the new slang dictionaries, or a profuse imagination. Apparently, the problem of decoding had become so difficult that Robert Glessing, in his 1970 account of the underground press, was obliged to include a glossary, listing the most commonly used terms in underground papers.

It is, of course, possible to decipher many of these words by merely studying the context in which they are used or by simply making a concerted effort to locate an authentic reference source. Still, that doesn't explain why so many underground editors have resorted to the use of a modified and self-limiting language, one which is unintelligible to a great many in their potential audience. It's almost as though these writers were purposely trying to confuse their readers by playing a snobbish "Guess What

This Means?" game.

The Evolution of the Un- derground Language

Eugene E. Landy, a clinical psychologist in Los Angeles and author of the Underground Dictionary, believes that the underground language was initiated by drug addicts and criminals in the 1920s and 30s. The language, then, according to Landy, was used to prevent infiltration by outsiders, usually the law. Today, Landy explains, the underground language has "created a feeling of cohesiveness, togetherness, and belonging with others who share common beliefs, traits and behavior patterns."² Glessing refers to this as a vital language; a gut language which seeks originality, the expression of individuality. "The new language," says Glessing, "was slanted against puritanical sex attitudes, the war in Vietnam...and it was for, as the saying went, 'Peace, Pussy and Pot.'"³ Glessing, however, traces the origin of the language to a rejection of parental behavior:

Calculated to put down as well as close out or reject parents, much of the hip culture language was a reaction to parents who were considered delinquent rather than permissive by their offspring. The rejection inherent in leaving a baby-sitter to mind the kids while the parents frolicked night after night at the country club came back to haunt the parents. Their children designed a language to exclude them.⁴

Both Glessing and Landy seem to agree that the language of the underground press was intentionally designed to pro-

vide for a limited and selective audience. Or, put more succinctly by a University of Oregon student: "The new press of the new young has failed to establish itself as an effective means of communication with any but its own kind."⁵

New Words and New Definitions for Old Words

Underground newspapers and the culture they supposedly represent have, at times, sought words to express experiences for which words did not exist. For example: Zapped -- to have been cheated; Zonked out -- exhausted, to be useless as if drugged or drunk; Bumner -- generally something undesirable. The language of the underground press, however, also consists of words which have adopted unconventional definitions, such as: Aunt -- an older homosexual man who wants to take care of a younger man; Bag -- one's vocation and/or avocation; Bread -- money; Hairy -- a very tense or uncomfortable experience.⁶

Illustrating the use of words which have acquired different definitions is a recent cartoon in Playboy magazine. The artist depicts a baker placing a loaf of bread in an oven. He turns to a co-worker and says, "So I told this chick I made a lot of bread and she got real friendly...."⁷ The point to be made here, of course, is that the word "bread" was used as a symbol for money, not something baked in an oven.

Some of the words which were first popularized in the underground press recently have become adopted by more conventional media. In November 1972, Newsweek referred to Bing Crosby as a "golf freak."⁸ The word "freak," so far as Newsweek was concerned, merely indicated that Crosby had an obsession for golf. For many underground journalists, however, the word "freak" (often spelled "freek" to signify freedom) conjures up images of long-haired, dope-smoking proponents of the so-called counterculture. Other words, such as "rip off" (to steal), also have been frequently used by publications other than of the underground variety.

Words as an Activating Force

In contrast to more conventional media, the underground press perceives its role as that of an activating force, a medium which suggests, coordinates and evaluates action. "There is no distinction for us between words and action," explains a former LNS worker.⁹ It's not enough that underground papers provide entertainment and information; more important, apparently, is their activating function. An editorial in the Berkeley Tribe offers a rationale for such a role:

The TRIBE is not only a newspaper, but also a collective of people working toward basically the same goals. Lately, the TRIBE has been doing a lot of thinking about who and what we are; what the paper is and should be. We've been changing the way we see the TRIBE -- hopefully not so much as a newspaper but as a potential activating force in the community. We've begun to realize

exactly how many resources we have access to, in terms of people and organizations we have contacts with, other media and community services. Rather than sitting in our office writing about what is going on, we should be out attempting to draw more people into things.¹⁰

The New York Times may, for example, tell its readers about President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia; the underground press would go one step further: it might suggest a demonstration, a protest march or perhaps a more militant response. Although the Times frequently offers suggestions on its editorial pages, the underground press often integrates its advice into news and feature stories.

The ability, in some instances, of underground papers to motivate and activate their readers is in contrast to what sociologists call the "narcotizing dysfunction" of the media.

The individual reads accounts of issues and problems and may even discuss alternative lines of action. But this rather intellectualized, rather remote connection with organized social action is not activated. The interested and informed citizen can congratulate himself on his lofty state of interest and information and neglect to see that he has abstained from decision and action. In short, he takes his secondary contact with the world of political reality, his reading, listening and thinking, as a vicarious performance. He comes to mistake knowing about problems of the day for doing something about them. His social conscience remains spotlessly clean. He is concerned. He is informed. And he has all sorts of ideas as to what should be done. But, after he has listened to his favored radio program and after he has read his second paper of the day, it is really time for bed.¹¹

Although the language of the underground press may promote action, the many slogans and epithets that are used

frequently as substitutes for logical persuasion and sound reasoning may have created a situation which Rommetveit describes as "semantic satiation." This phenomenon -- the experience that a word after a series of repetitions tends to lose its meaning and appear as a peculiar, empty sound -- was most recently studied in 1964, although the research did not concern itself specifically with the underground press. Rommetveit explains the process:

Continued fixation of a written word...for a prolonged period of processing, far beyond the very minimal interval required in order for semantic attribution to occur. The consequent "loss of meaning" and the resultant experience of the word as a strange and empty visual...form may then possibly emerge as the outcome of a shift of focus of attention.¹²

Ambiguity: the Overriding Defect of the Underground Language

Although the invention of words and the use of words which have acquired unconventional definitions may limit the potential audience of the underground press, the most damaging defect in the underground language seems to be the careless use of words which seldom conform to any definition -- either traditional or otherwise. The use of ambiguous, abstract and vague terminology has made it virtually impossible to anticipate the effect of a message. That is, it has become increasingly more difficult to insure that the message sent will actually be the message received.

An article in Harper's magazine a few years ago described the underground language as one which uses an oddly obscure vocabulary:

They talk compulsively and ritualistically about power structures, systems, establishments, bureaucracy, technology, and the vagueness of these words, when used singly, to describe specific conditions in the real world, is symptomatic of their function as empty perjorative metaphors for problems not personally engaged in by those who use them.¹³

A 16-year-old high school coed in New York has gone one step further -- she has invented a word which not only describes an experience for which an appropriate word does not exist but actually describes any experience which she finds it difficult to describe. "Keites," she explains, "is the ultimate, it's beyond being wicked."¹⁴ The word's greatest asset, presumably, is its ambiguity. Similarly, such words as establishment or institution, unless the author takes the time to explicitly explain which institution or which establishment, also thrive on their vagueness. Even the name of the medium itself -- "underground" -- defies definition. "Underground is a sloppy word," says a worker at the Underground Press Syndicate in New York. The word is "meaningless, ambiguous, irrelevant, wildly imprecise, undefinitive, derivative, uncopyrighted, uncontrollable, and used up..."¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert J. Glessing, The Underground Press In America (Bloomington, 1970), p. 113.

²Eugene E. Landy, The Underground Dictionary (New York, 1971), p. 14.

³Glessing, p. 115.

⁴Ibid., p. 118.

⁵Timothy Kenny, "In The Land of the Blind the One-Eyed is King," The Magic Writing Machine, ed. Everette E. Dennis (Eugene, 1971), p. 59.

⁶Glessing, pp. 175-177.

⁷Playboy (January 1973), p. 239.

⁸"The Real Columbo," Newsweek (November 13, 1972), p. 93.

⁹Ethel Romm, "You Go Underground For 'Inside' Report," Editor & Publisher (May 11, 1968), p. 82.

¹⁰The Berkeley Tribe (January 28, 1973), p. 1.

¹¹Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, eds. Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts (Urbana, 1971), p. 565.

¹²Ragnar Rommetveit, Words, Meaning and Messages (New York, 1968), p. 106.

¹³John W. Aldridge, "In The Country of the Young," Harper's (October 1969), p. 59.

¹⁴Personal communication with the author, November 1972.

¹⁵Glessing, p. 4.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE

First, it is important to put aside the commonly held misconception that there exists some inherent "meaning" in the words of a language. Actually, words are only a sign:

...that is to say something which has to be interpreted and may be misunderstood in the process, or in the case of language itself takes the form of a code or cipher, unintelligible to anyone who does not possess the key. To believe that the word is the thing (or part of it), that the name contains the reality of its meaning, is -- as Ogden and Richards have shown -- to lapse into mentalism, or a "magical" belief in an intimate link between the sign and the object referred to. Words, like any other medium of transmission, mean nothing in themselves: they are simply instruments which can be used to convey meaning.¹

If it's still difficult to disassociate meaning from the function of words and language, consider Bertrand Russell's explanation:

To have meaning is a notion confusedly compounded of logical and psychological elements. Words all have meaning, in the simple sense that they are, symbols which stand for something other than themselves. But a proposition, unless it happens to be linguistic, does not itself contain words: it contains the entities indicated by words.²

Berlo suggests that meaning is learned, not discovered. It is a personal property, not fixed or God-given. Language does not possess meaning; rather it is used to

express and elicit meaning. There is a critical distinction to be made here between the "expression" of meaning and the "transmission" of meaning, for Berlo maintains that "Communication does not consist of the transmission of meaning."³ Meaning is not an entity which can be transmitted from one person to another, although it can be expressed and an individual can render a response to that expression. This process of responding to an expression of meaning is, in fact, the process of learning to which Berlo refers.

All this is not an attempt to dismiss the importance of language, since language does provide the medium for communication (the expression of meaning). Communication, for purposes of this thesis, is most appropriately defined as the discriminatory response of an organism to a stimulus.⁴ (The expression of meaning in the human communication process assumes the role of the stimulus.)

As the primary medium for the expression of meaning, language is a very important variable to consider in determining what type of response the expression of meaning or stimulus will elicit.

Adhering to the Rules of Language

The language of the underground press, not unlike any other language, must operate with a set of "rules," and those who use the language must adjust themselves to these

rules. The importance of such rules lies in the concept of language as a game -- those who don't know the rules simply can't play. In more scholarly terms, the rules of language determine how effective the organism-stimulus relationship will be and, naturally, the success of the entire communication process.

If a person to whom a communication is addressed is not conversant with the rules of the language in question, he will miss the meaning of the communication; his response will be "inadequate" in terms of the rules of the language as standards of meaning. But it may also happen the author of the communication violates a rule of the language. In this case the communication itself will be meaningless; it will not lend itself to interpretation in a certain language.⁵

J. J. Aranguren has categorized these rules as follows: (1) the rules of semantics, (2) the rules of syntactics, and (3) the rules of pragmatics. The rules of semantics, explains Aranguren, control the substitution of one symbol by another; the rules of syntactics control the relation between these symbols; and, most fundamental of all, the rules of pragmatics control the relation between symbols and their users.⁶

Ogden and Richards expand on the rules of semantics in their Six Canons of Symbolism:

Canon of Singularity: One symbol stands for one and only one referent.

Canon of Definition: Symbols which can be substituted one for another symbolize the same referent.

Canon of Expansion: The referent of a contracted symbol is the referent of that symbol expanded.

Canon of Actuality: A symbol refers to what is actually used to refer to; not necessarily to what it ought in good usage, or is intended by an interpreter, or is intended by the user to refer to.

Canon of Compatibility: No complex symbol may contain constituent symbols which claim the same "place."

Canon of Individuality: All possible referents together form an order, such that every referent has one place only in that order.⁷

The rules of language -- in particular, the semantical and syntactical rules -- do not regulate language behavior but actually create it. To distinguish these from regulative rules, John Searle calls them "constitutive rules."⁸

In order for there to be some consistency in the linguistic behavior of those persons who use a specific language, the rules of that language must be in common to both the writer and the reader.

A number of communication scholars have emphasized the importance of "shared meaning."⁹ Equally important, of course, is the concept of shared rules, where the writer's and the reader's perception of the rules of their language are at least somewhat similar. If the language of the writer and the language of the reader were not being governed by the same set of rules, there would be no way to anticipate how the reader would interpret the writer's message.

The ability to properly encode a message is largely dependent on the writer's awareness or knowledge of the

reader's limitations as a decoder. It is, therefore, the writer's responsibility to be certain that his/her message will be deciphered in such a way as to assure that the message sent has some resemblance to the message received.

Obviously, the success of a language depends on people acting in accordance to its rules; but that's not to say that those who use the language are conscious of these rules or are able to formulate them.

Some Dysfunctions of Language Behavior

Even if there existed a culture or sub-culture whose constituents rigidly adhered to the rules of their language, there would still be many ways by which language behavior could become detrimental to the communication process.

Wendell Johnson discusses some of these dysfunctions; he refers to them as "maladjustments." Johnson discusses three forms of language rigidity, each of which seems especially relevant to the language of the underground press. These maladjustments are content rigidity, formal rigidity, and evaluational rigidity.

Content Rigidity

Those people who have become obsessed with only a few interests, and who subsequently limit their concern to these topics, tend to develop what Johnson terms content

rigidity. "They tend to be too heavily absorbed in their own few interests to feel any genuine concern for the personal interests and points of view of other people."¹⁰

Formal Rigidity

The use of words over and over again or a style of writing which is heavily loaded with profanity or slang illustrates formal rigidity. This trait seems to be somewhat similar to Rommetveit's concept of semantic satiation, discussed in the preceding chapter. Johnson uses the following anecdote to illustrate formal rigidity:

She often occupies the place of honor in reception lines, and it is said that under these conditions the one response that she gives, like a broken record, to any and all remarks is, "Oh, how lovely!" The story has it that one of the younger and less "regular" matrons of the town decided one evening to test the lady's reputed invariability of verbal response. As she approached the head of the reception line she prepared herself for the experiment and, upon reaching the town's social lioness, she smiled sweetly and said, "Today I gave my husband arsenic." And she received the graciously lilting reply, "Oh, how lovely!"¹¹

Evaluational Rigidity

Closely related to the other two forms of rigidity, evaluational rigidity is exhibited by persons who are, according to Johnson, "chronic pessimists" or "perennial pollyannas." Individuals who are afflicted by this language ailment can be characterized best by their unconscious projection to extraordinary degrees. "What they

express as evaluations of reality are merely projections of their own sour stomachs, or their over-stimulated thyroids, whichever the case may be."¹² Such people apparently create their own sense of reality, with reappearing visions, semantic illusions, verbal mirages -- a world which Johnson describes as "...an either-orish Never-Never Land of Good and Bad, of Right and Wrong, of Love and Revolution."¹³

These dysfunctions (or maladjustments) and the inability to adhere to the rules of language are further discussed, specifically as they relate to the language of the underground press, in Chapter VII, page 60 of this thesis.

FOOTNOTES

¹J.L. Aranguren, Human Communication (New York, 1967), pp. 22-24.

²C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning (New York, 1923), p. 273.

³David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York, 1960), p. 175.

⁴Colin Cherry, On Human Communication (Cambridge, 1957), p. 7.

⁵Paul Kechskemeti, Meaning, Communication, and Value (Chicago, 1952), p. 78.

⁶Aranguren, p. 32.

⁷Ogden and Richards, pp. 92-106.

⁸Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, eds., The Process and Effects of Mass Communication (Urbana, 1971), p. 31.

⁹John R. Searle, "Human Communication Theory and the Philosophy of Language: Some Remarks," Human Communication Theory, ed. Frank E.X. Dance (New York, 1967), p. 125.

¹⁰Wendell Johnson, People In Quandaries (New York, 1946), p. 254.

¹¹Ibid., p. 256.

¹²Ibid., p. 260.

¹³Ibid., p. 261.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY: EVALUATING THE EMOTIVE AND COGNITIVE RESPONSE TO THE UNDERGROUND LANGUAGE

Ogden and Richards have contributed much to the realization that meaning exists in an individual's response to an object, not in the object itself or in the words and language used to describe the object. Words and language, we've been told, function only as a medium for the expression of meaning. Meaning itself, of course, cannot utilize language as a vehicle for transmission since meaning is not an entity which can be transported -- it is simply a personal response to another's expression of meaning.

Ideally, an individual's response to an expression of meaning should be identical to the response of the individual who initiated the communication. Similarly, an individual's response to a word should be identical to his/her response to the object to which the word refers. The message sent should be the message received; words and language should reflect, not distort, reality. Ogden and Richards warn there should be no rivalry between "real" and "verbal" definitions.¹

Unfortunately, the human communication process rarely operates "ideally." One researcher notes that scientists have come to regard the human link in the communication system in much the same way they regard random noise: "Both are unfortunate disturbances in an otherwise well-behaved system."²

The interpretation or decoding of a language depends largely on the experiences -- past and present -- of those who use the language. Since no two people have had exactly the same experiences, it is virtually impossible to insure a uniform response to words and, in general, language. A cautiously constructed language, however, will take this into consideration, so to reduce word-object variation or discrepancy.

The ability to frame definitions and to design a language comes for most people only with practice, and certainly the prerequisite for such a task would be at least some knowledge of communication theory. Perhaps those who have designed the underground language have not had "adequate" practice or may have ignored or been unaware of the many principles which govern the human communication process.

In an attempt to determine whether the words of the underground language promote or hamper the communication process, this thesis will explore 20 individual responses to six frequently used word-concepts.

Measuring Meaning

The measurement of meaning is no easy task, for the researcher must first come to grips with the "meaning" of meaning. In their classic work, Ogden and Richards constructed what they called a "representative list" of definitions of meaning. It included 16 categories and 22 definitions.³ For purposes here, meaning is defined and will be measured as (1) the emotive response to words, and (2) the cognitive response to words. The emotive dimension, as described by Aranguren, is expressive; the cognitive dimension is descriptive.⁴

Of primary concern here is to determine whether such words as FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY, STRAIGHT, ESTABLISHMENT, INSTITUTION, and IMPERIALISM -- all specifically chosen for their frequency of use and apparent ambiguity -- allow for a uniform response from among members of the underground press.

The term "meaning" is defined as "response;" that is, if two or more people have a similar response to a particular word, it is said they have a similar meaning of the word. To quantitatively examine "meaning," subjects' responses are measured in terms of their emotive and cognitive dimensions. The emotive responses are measured by means of rating the intensity and direction of the subjects' attitudes and beliefs toward the above mentioned six word-concepts. The cognitive responses are measured

by administering agreement indices, the results of which should indicate the extent to which the subject's perception of word usage is in agreement.

Formally stated, the problem is: To what extent do members of the underground press agree on the use and meaning of six frequently used word-concepts?

It is believed there exists a damaging difference among underground press workers' "meaning" of words, specifically those words which are frequently used as labels or vague concepts.⁵ Two hypotheses are proposed:

- (1) There will be a significant difference among subjects' emotive responses to the six word-concepts, and
- (2) There will be a significant difference among subjects' cognitive responses to the six word-concepts.

A modification of Charles Osgood's Semantic Differential is used to test the first hypothesis; the second hypothesis is tested by administering Wendell Johnson's Extensional and Intensional Agreement Indices.

Osgood's Semantic Differential

The Semantic Differential is administered by designing a seven-point scale, using a pair of polar adjectives with each scale. Osgood has determined that certain polar adjectives indicate different factors or dimensions, specifically, (1) evaluative, (2) activity, and (3) potency.⁵ The direction and intensity of these dimensions

are revealed by the individual's score on a particular scale.

The Semantic Differential provides for a type of "linguistic encoding" and, for purposes of this study, a modified version will enable us to evaluate the emotive response or reaction in form of the subjects' attitude and belief.⁶

Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales

Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, which were developed in 1962, are essentially an application of Osgood's Semantic Differential, except that Fishbein was only interested in two dimensions (attitude and belief) as opposed to Osgood's three (evaluative, activity, and potency).

Recognizing attitude as an evaluative dimension, Fishbein attempted to discover which adjectives (scales) were reliable indicators of belief. Based on a systematic study of 22 pairs of polar adjectives, Fishbein was able to design a method for measuring the direction and intensity of belief.⁷ Osgood, incidentally, had noted previously the Semantic Differential's ability to measure attitude:

Direction of attitude, favorable or unfavorable, is simply indicated by the selection of polar terms by the subject; if the score falls more toward the favorable poles, then the attitude is taken as favorable, and vice versa. A score that falls at the origin, defined by "4" on the scales,

is taken as an index of neutrality of attitude. Intensity of attitude is indexed by how far out along the evaluative dimension from the origin the score lies, i.e., the polarization of the attitude score.⁸

The Attitude-Belief Scales (Figure 1, page 45) consist of 10 scales, five of which measure attitude and five of which measure belief. Other scales are filler items, which serve to disguise somewhat the purpose of the instrument. Those scales which measure attitude are marked with an A in the left hand column; those measuring belief are marked with a B. The numbers 1 through 7 indicate the direction of the scales. None of these markings, of course, was present when the scales were administered to the subjects.

Belief is defined here as the probability dimension of the concept: Is its existence probable or improbable? Attitude is defined as the evaluative dimension: Is it good or bad?⁹

Johnson's Extensional and Intensional Agreement Indices

Both the Extensional Agreement Index and the Intensional Agreement Index provide us with the subjects' cognitive or descriptive response to the words of their language. Unlike Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, Johnson's indices do not measure intensity and direction of a response; rather, they indicate the "usefulness" of

(Concept to be rated is inserted here)

	rational	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	intuitive
A	harmful	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	beneficial
A	wise	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	:		:	foolish
A	dirty	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	clean
	successful	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	unsuccessful
B	impossible	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	possible
	educated	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	ignorant
	cruel	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	kind
	graceful	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	awkward
	potent	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	impotent
B	false	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	true
	active	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	passive
B	existent	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	:		:	nonexistent
A	bad	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	good
B	probable	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	:		:	improbable
	skeptical	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	believing
B	unlikely	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	likely
	honest	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	dishonest
A	sick	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	:		:	healthy
	strong	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	weak

Figure 1. Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, a Modification of the Semantic Differential

a particular word in terms of its anticipated application and usage.

The Extensional Agreement Index concerns itself with word-fact relating. It is administered by asking a person to define a given term extensionally; that is, by pointing to or otherwise indicating the actual object to which the term refers. In this study, there are six such objects: (1) Jerry Rubin, (2) Richard Nixon, (3) Angela Davis, (4) Philip Berrigan, (5) John Sinclair, and (6) Daniel Ellsberg. The three of the six word-concepts used with this index are: (1) FREAK, (2) REVOLUTIONARY, and (3) STRAIGHT.

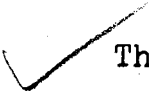
The index basically expresses the degree of agreement among the subjects in defining a term extensionally. "This index shows how well people agree in enumerating a certain thing as a member of the class of things symbolized by the word."¹⁰

The Intensional Agreement Index is administered by asking subjects to give their verbal equivalents of a word.¹¹ In this study, subjects are asked to list the two most appropriate synonyms for each of the following three word-concepts: (1) INSTITUTION, (2) ESTABLISHMENT, and (3) IMPERIALISM. This index expresses agreement among the subjects in defining a word intensionally.

The Word-Concept Variable

The six word-concepts chosen for this study -- FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY, STRAIGHT, ESTABLISHMENT, INSTITUTION, and IMPERIALISM -- are not necessarily representative of the language of the underground press and they should by no means be considered "typical." The selection was not based on a quantitative content analysis; however, an extensive review of the underground press was conducted in addition to an elaborate review of the literature written on the subject.

The word-concepts chosen, perhaps, represent the extremes in the underground language. They were specifically chosen for their ambiguity, vagueness and abstractness when used singly or without proper identification or qualification. The selection, however, was also based on their frequency of use: the six word-concepts used in this study appear very frequently and often not in conjunction with an explicit qualifier, that is, a word or phrase which would indicate clearly which institution or what freak.



The Sample

The subjects used in this study do not represent a random sample of workers in the underground press. The obtained results, therefore, do not assume any degree of generalizability beyond the subjects tested.

A total of seven underground newspapers in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri participated in this study in addition to three underground news services -- two in New York and one in California.

Underground newspapers are defined here as any publication belonging to the Underground Press Syndicate and subscribing to Liberation News Service, although certain papers which met this requirement were not used because it was believed they might contain words which were peculiar to a particular interest group or political philosophy, etc. House organs, for example, such as the Young Socialists' publication, were avoided. Papers representing special interest groups, such as ecology, the GI movement, etc. were also avoided. Membership in UPS and LNS was deemed a necessary requirement for two reasons: (1) both organizations would be part of the sample and since they were the two largest underground organizations, their inclusion as part of the sample would provide for a comparison between their workers and their members' workers; (2) such a requirement eliminated the possibility of having to consider all unconventional papers as potential subjects.

Geographically, the sample was somewhat arbitrarily selected: the mid and Southwest were convenient and did not necessarily offer a representative sample of the underground press.

The following newspapers participated in the study: Hooka (Dallas, Texas), Iconoclast (Dallas, Texas), Rag (Austin, Texas), Andromeda (Stillwater, Oklahoma), Vortex (Lawrence, Kansas), Westport Trucker (Kansas City, Missouri), Issue (Columbia, Missouri), and the following news organizations: Liberation News Service (New York, New York), Underground Press Syndicate (New York, New York), Amerikan Press Syndicate (Beverly Hills, California).

Two of the papers were no longer publishing, although they were still listed by both UPS and LNS and it was, fortunately, possible to locate members of their respective staffs. Two subjects from each paper/organization were interviewed personally, except for the Amerikan Press Syndicate and one subject from the Westport Trucker, whose questionnaires were handled through the mail.

Directions and Procedures

Subjects were not given any verbal directions, but were told to ask questions if the questionnaire proved confusing. For the Attitude-Belief Scales, the written directions explained: "The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain persons or things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales." Subjects were asked to

make their judgments on the basis of what the word-concepts meant to them. Each word-concept was listed on a separate page and beneath it a set of 15 scales. Each subject was asked to rate the concept on each scale. (See Appendix D for a sample questionnaire)

The Intensional Agreement Index was administered by asking subjects to indicate "the two most appropriate synonyms for each of the three listed word-concepts (ESTABLISHMENT, INSTITUTION, and IMPERIALISM). The word "mighty" was used as an example, for which the two most appropriate synonyms might be "strong" and "powerful."

For the Extensional Agreement Index, subjects were told: "For each of the following personalities, please indicate which is the most appropriate label." The labels (FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY, and STRAIGHT) were to be chosen for Jerry Rubin, Richard Nixon, Angela Davis, Philip Berrigan, John Sinclair and Daniel Ellsberg.

Subjects were also asked questions concerning their age, sex, education, the number of years of work with the underground press, and the amount of formal training in journalism.

FOOTNOTES

¹C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning (New York, 1923), p. 110.

²Lee Thayer, Communication Theory and Research (Springfield, 1967), p. 34.

³Ogden and Richards, p. 186.

⁴J.L. Aranguren, Human Communication (New York, 1967), p. 67.

⁵Charles E. Osgood et. al., The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, 1957), p. 16.

⁶Ibid., p. 18.

⁷Martin Fishbein and Bertram H. Raven, "The AB Scales," Human Relations, Vol. 15 (1962), pp. 35-44.

⁸Osgood, p. 192.

⁹Fishbein and Raven, p. 42.

¹⁰George A. Miller, Language and Communication (New York, 1951), p. 113.

¹¹Wendell Johnson, People In Quandries (New York, 1946), p. 512.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: DEMOGRAPHICS

Although the subjects used in this study were not randomly selected, the sample did consist of a rather diverse population. The subjects ranged from a 17-year-old high school junior in Missouri to a 31-year-old doctoral candidate at the University of Texas in Austin. The average was 25.25; 70 percent of the sample was male; half the subjects had been graduated from college; the average number of years of experience with the underground press was 2.11; only four subjects had had formal training in journalism.

The following tables in this chapter contain the demographic data for each of the 20 subjects: age, sex, education, number of years of work with the underground press, and formal training in journalism.

There is no hypothetical premise used here to predict any causal relationship between the above variables and the subjects' attitude and belief scores or the subjects' input into the agreement indices. Tather, it is believed the above data will be useful in interpreting the results of Fishbein's scales and Johnson's indices.

In the tables, figures and chapters that follow,

subjects will be referred to by a letter-number combination. This "code" is deciphered in Table II, page 54.

TABLE II
 SUBJECTS' LETTER-NUMBER CODE

Code	Subject
A 1	Westport Trucker
A 2	Westport Trucker
B 1	Iconoclast
B 2	Iconoclast
C 1	Hooka
C 2	Hooka
D 1	Rag
D 2	Rag
E 1	Andromeda
E 2	Andromeda
F 1	The Issue
F 2	The Issue
G 1	Vortex
G 2	Vortex
X 1	Amerikan Press Syndicate
X 2	Amerikan Press Syndicate
Y 1	Underground Press Syndicate
Y 2	Underground Press Syndicate
Z 1	Liberation News Service
Z 2	Liberation News Service

TABLE III
SUBJECTS' AGE DISTRIBUTION

Subject	Age
A 1	20
A 2	20
B 1	27
B 2	23
C 1	25
C 2	27
D 1	31
D 2	27
E 1	22
E 2	19
F 1	17
F 2	29
G 1	24
G 2	28
X 1	20
X 2	19
Y 1	23
Y 2	29
Z 1	22
Z 2	25

TABLE IV
SUBJECTS' SEX DISTRIBUTION

Subject	Sex
A 1	M
A 2	M
B 1	M
B 2	M
C 1	F
C 2	M
D 1	M
D 2	F
E 1	M
E 2	F
F 1	F
F 2	M
G 1	M
G 2	M
X 1	M
X 2	M
Y 1	M
Y 2	M
Z 1	F
Z 2	F

TABLE V
SUBJECTS' EDUCATION LEVEL

Subjects	Last year of formal education
A 1	12
A 2	10
B 1	15
B 2	16
C 1	16
C 2	17
D 1	22
D 2	21
E 1	14
E 2	13
F 1	11
F 2	14
G 1	16
G 2	17
X 1	13
X 2	14
Y 1	16
Y 2	17
Z 1	14
Z 2	16

TABLE VI
 EXTENT OF SUBJECTS' EXPERIENCE
 WITH THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

Subjects	No. of years work with the underground press
A 1	0.66
A 2	6.00
B 1	6.00
B 2	0.50
C 1	2.00
C 2	2.50
D 1	1.00
D 2	4.00
E 1	1.00
E 2	1.00
F 1	0.25
F 2	1.50
G 1	0.25
G 2	3.00
X 1	2.00
X 2	----
Y 1	1.00
Y 2	2.00
Z 1	2.50
Z 2	3.00

TABLE VII
SUBJECTS' FORMAL TRAIN-
ING IN JOURNALISM

Subjects	Formal Training in journalism
A 1	No
A 2	No
B 1	No
B 2	No
C 1	No
C 2	No
D 1	No
D 2	No
E 1	No
E 2	Yes
F 1	No
F 2	No
G 1	No
G 2	No
X 1	Yes
X 2	Yes
Y 1	Yes
Y 2	No
Z 1	No
Z 2	No

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS: EMOTIVE RESPONSES

In this chapter the results of Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales are examined. Fishbein's modification of Osgood's Semantic Differential, as mentioned earlier, is used in this study to measure the subjects' emotive response to the six word-concepts.

In discussing these results, it will be useful to explore not only the different attitudes and beliefs toward the six word-concepts, but also the difference and similarity among subjects, so that we may develop some understanding as to why such attitudes and beliefs exist.

Mean Attitude and Belief Scores

The subjects' mean attitude scores for each of the six word-concepts (Table VIII, page 61) represent the average of the five scale ratings used to measure attitude (see Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales on page 45). The subjects' mean belief scores (Table IX, page 62) were derived in a similar manner.

These mean scores indicate both the direction and intensity of the subjects' attitude and belief toward the six word-concepts (FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY, STRAIGHT,

TABLE VIII
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES

		Freak	Revolu- tionary	Straight	Insti- tution	Estab- lishment	Imper- ialism
A	1	4.8	4.0	4.8	4.2	3.4	1.8
	2	4.6	3.6	3.8	3.4	3.4	3.2
B	1	3.4	4.2	4.0	3.6	3.6	2.6
	2	4.6	4.8	4.4	3.4	3.4	2.2
C	1	4.6	4.2	4.0	3.8	3.8	2.8
	2	6.0	6.6	4.8	5.4	3.8	1.2
D	1	4.2	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.0
	2	5.4	5.4	4.2	3.8	2.2	1.6
E	1	4.2	4.0	3.6	4.0	1.6	3.4
	2	6.0	5.2	3.8	2.6	3.2	3.8
F	1	4.8	5.8	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.2
	2	3.4	4.8	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.0
G	1	5.4	6.4	4.0	2.4	1.6	2.4
	2	6.0	6.0	4.4	4.0	2.4	1.0
X	1	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.4	2.8
	2	5.2	4.6	4.2	3.4	3.0	2.8
Y	1	4.8	6.0	2.4	1.8	1.6	1.4
	2	5.6	4.0	3.6	4.4	3.8	3.8
Z	1	4.6	6.0	3.6	2.6	2.4	1.8
	2	5.2	6.0	4.6	3.4	2.4	1.6

TABLE IX
MEAN BELIEF SCORES

		Freak	Revolu- tionary	Straight	Insti- tution	Estab- lishment	Imper- ialism
A	1	5.6	4.6	3.6	5.4	3.4	4.2
	2	4.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.0	4.6
B	1	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.4
	2	4.2	5.4	4.4	5.2	4.4	5.6
C	1	4.8	4.2	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.4
	2	6.6	6.2	6.6	6.0	5.8	5.4
D	1	4.2	3.4	4.0	4.4	3.8	4.0
	2	6.6	6.4	6.2	6.0	5.8	6.4
E	1	4.2	4.0	3.8	4.0	4.0	4.0
	2	5.8	6.4	5.8	5.8	5.8	6.6
F	1	4.4	5.0	4.0	4.0	4.8	4.8
	2	4.2	5.6	3.2	3.4	4.0	4.0
G	1	5.4	7.0	4.2	2.0	1.2	5.4
	2	5.8	6.0	4.8	4.0	4.0	4.4
X	1	4.8	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.6
	2	5.2	4.4	5.8	5.6	6.4	6.0
Y	1	4.4	5.6	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.0
	2	4.4	4.6	3.8	3.2	4.0	4.4
Z	1	4.8	5.8	4.6	5.2	5.6	5.8
	2	5.0	5.8	3.6	4.6	4.0	5.2

INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHMENT, and IMPERIALISM). For the mean attitude scores in Table VII, page 61, the direction of a response is determined by whether the mean score is greater or less than 4.0: a higher score represents a "favorable" response; a score of less than 4.0 represents an "unfavorable" response.¹ A 4.0 score indicates neutrality; the subject's response is without intensity and direction as measured by this particular instrument.

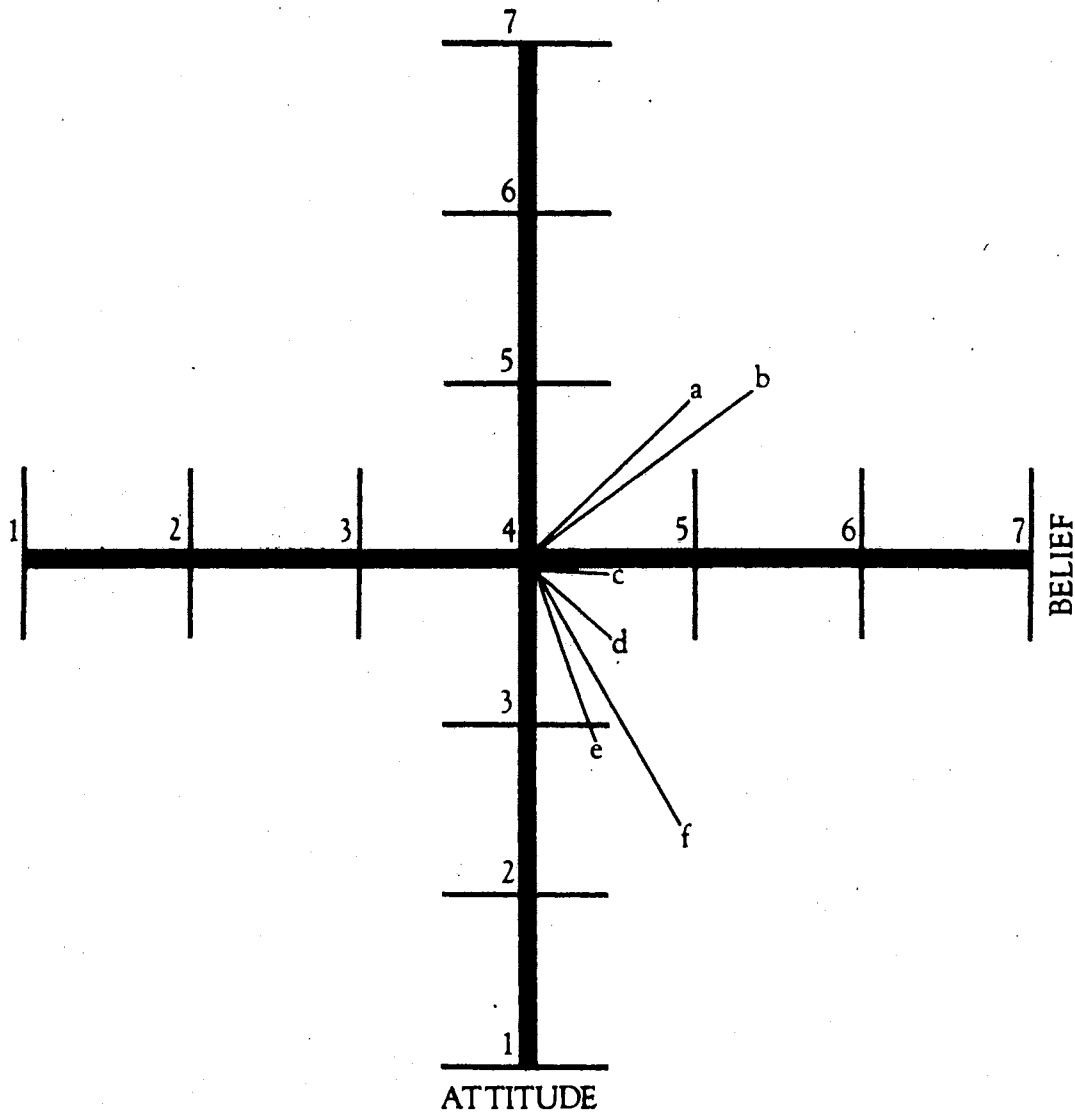
The intensity of a response is somewhat arbitrarily measured -- generally the more extreme the score, the more intense the response is said to be. A score of 7.0, for example, would be extremely (or very) favorable. Conversely, a score of 1.0 would be interpreted as extremely "unfavorable." A score of 5.0 may be said to be "somewhat favorable," while a 6.0 score may be explained simply as "favorable." Different adverbs may be used, depending on the desired gradations of intensity.

The mean belief scores in Table IX, page 62, are interpreted in much the same way, except that belief is not defined in terms of "favorable" or "unfavorable." Fishbein's scales measure belief as the "probability" dimension. A score above 4.0 indicates probability of existence is not probable. Again, the intensity of the response is determined by how far from neutrality (4.0) the score falls.

In an attempt to illustrate or display the subjects' aggregate emotive response to the six word-concepts, a semantic profile graph is constructed. In Figure 2, page 65, such a graph shows the relationship between the word-concepts in what is referred to as "semantic space."² The ordinate represents the attitude dimension; the abscissa represents the belief dimension.

Osgood explains that in interpreting words that have been "defined" by their position in semantic space, the word's meaning can be represented by a vector from the origin out to where the word lies. The length of the vector, Osgood says, would index the "meaningfulness" of the word, and the direction of the vector would index the "semantic quality" of the word. Moreover, the distance between the end points of any two vectors in this semantic space will index the "meaningful similarity" of the words.³

In applying Osgood's interpretation to the graph in Figure 2, page 65, three clusters of words appear to be evident: (1) FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY; (2) STRAIGHT, INSTITUTION; and (3) ESTABLISHMENT, IMPERIALISM. The words in each of these three clusters seem to have the least amount of semantic space between them. It may be said, therefore, that the two words in each cluster have more meaning similarity among themselves than with any of the other four words. It is important to remember,



Coordinates: (Attitude, Belief)

a = Freak (4.85, 4.95); b = Revolutionary (4.94, 5.36);
 c = Straight (3.96, 4.46); d = Institution (3.54, 4.48);
 e = Establishment (2.90, 4.40); f = Imperialism (2.42, 4.91).

Figure 2. Semantic Profile Graph, Showing the Positions of the Six Word-Concepts

however, that semantic quality and meaningfulness is measured in this study by only two dimensions (attitude and belief) as opposed to the three dimensions (evaluative, potency and activity) used by Osgood.

Similarity Among Subjects

In examining the 1,200 attitude and belief scores (see Appendix A) obtained by administering Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, it is important to identify those subjects who tend to have similar scores. By so doing, this study might answer not only the question of whether subjects have similar or different responses to the six word-concepts, but the more important question of why.

The purpose here, therefore, is to quantitatively determine which subjects group together and, further, to label the factors to which the commonality may be attributed. McQuitty's suggested procedure of linkage analysis (a form of factor analysis) is used to obtain such information.⁴ The method consists of isolating clusters of subjects -- which McQuitty refers to as "prototypes" -- by identifying the attitude and belief scores most highly related. McQuitty's linkage analysis is used independently for both the attitude and belief scores so that the obtained correlations and analysis will reveal which subjects have similar beliefs and which

subjects have similar attitudes.

Table X and Table XI, pages 68-71, list the correlation coefficients of each subject with each of the other 19 subjects. The correlation coefficients in Table X, pages 68 and 69, express the degree of similarity among the subjects' attitude scores; the correlations in Table XI, pages 70 and 71, refer to the subjects' belief scores.⁵

Following the procedure outlined by McQuitty, four clusters or prototypes were located in Table X, pages 68 and 69, each consisting of subjects whose attitude scores were most highly related. The same procedure revealed five prototypes in Table XI, pages 70 and 71, each consisting of subjects whose belief scores were most highly related.

The four attitude clusters are Prototype I -- subjects Z1, Z2, G1, B1, Y1, Y2, F1, C1; Prototype II -- subjects E1, G2, C2, F2, B2, D2, X2; Prototype III -- subjects D1, A1, X1; and Prototype IV -- subjects A2, E2. The five belief clusters are Prototype I -- subjects B2, D2, E2, X2, Y1, Z1, Z2; Prototype II -- subjects C2, F2, G1, G2; Prototype III -- subjects A1, A2, D1, X1; Prototype IV -- subjects C1, E1; and Prototype V -- subjects B1, F1, Y2. Figures 3 through 11, pages 72-77, show the constituents of each prototype, the particular subject they were most highly correlated

TABLE X
CORRELATION MATRIX:
ATTITUDE SCORES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	1.00000 (.30)	0.41706 (.30)	0.29299 (.30)	0.41827 (.30)	0.48822 (.30)	0.60006 (.30)	0.59057 (.30)	0.54170 (.30)	0.31147 (.30)	0.30212 (.30)
2	0.41706 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.27133 (.30)	0.26778 (.30)	0.44336 (.30)	0.26306 (.30)	0.52566 (.30)	0.47319 (.30)	0.10669 (.30)	0.57172 (.30)
3	0.29299 (.30)	0.27133 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.42286 (.30)	0.09292 (.30)	0.41046 (.30)	0.16780 (.30)	0.45239 (.30)	0.00238 (.30)	0.11775 (.30)
4	0.41827 (.30)	0.26778 (.30)	0.42286 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.39852 (.30)	0.59697 (.30)	0.37438 (.30)	0.64273 (.30)	0.30775 (.30)	0.29388 (.30)
5	0.48822 (.30)	0.44336 (.30)	0.09292 (.30)	0.39852 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.56498 (.30)	0.38575 (.30)	0.41380 (.30)	0.13245 (.30)	0.26389 (.30)
6	0.60006 (.30)	0.26306 (.30)	0.41046 (.30)	0.59697 (.30)	0.56498 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.39509 (.30)	0.77853 (.30)	0.45580 (.30)	0.25424 (.30)
7	0.59057 (.30)	0.52566 (.30)	0.16780 (.30)	0.37438 (.30)	0.38575 (.30)	0.39509 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.55077 (.30)	0.28042 (.30)	0.29617 (.30)
8	0.54170 (.30)	0.47319 (.30)	0.45239 (.30)	0.64273 (.30)	0.41380 (.30)	0.77853 (.30)	0.55077 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.45942 (.30)	0.45520 (.30)
9	0.31147 (.30)	0.10669 (.30)	0.00238 (.30)	0.30775 (.30)	0.13245 (.30)	0.45580 (.30)	0.28042 (.30)	0.45942 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)	0.21535 (.30)
10	0.30212 (.30)	0.57172 (.30)	0.11775 (.30)	0.29388 (.30)	0.26389 (.30)	0.25424 (.30)	0.29617 (.30)	0.45520 (.30)	0.21535 (.30)	1.00000 (.30)
11	0.29153 (.30)	0.26378 (.30)	0.30364 (.30)	0.51401 (.30)	0.58356 (.30)	0.63596 (.30)	0.31060 (.30)	0.62809 (.30)	0.35776 (.30)	0.36131 (.30)
12	0.51301 (.30)	0.31434 (.30)	0.54015 (.30)	0.65956 (.30)	0.42358 (.30)	0.75013 (.30)	0.22990 (.30)	0.69587 (.30)	0.31438 (.30)	0.40333 (.30)
13	0.42377 (.30)	0.49851 (.30)	0.50824 (.30)	0.48988 (.30)	0.31452 (.30)	0.52720 (.30)	0.39717 (.30)	0.84050 (.30)	0.38235 (.30)	0.55218 (.30)
14	0.57422 (.30)	0.41774 (.30)	0.37137 (.30)	0.70375 (.30)	0.53392 (.30)	0.86250 (.30)	0.58034 (.30)	0.95529 (.30)	0.47578 (.30)	0.42678 (.30)
15	0.70249 (.30)	0.27549 (.30)	0.50694 (.30)	0.31162 (.30)	0.40234 (.30)	0.50674 (.30)	0.47703 (.30)	0.52143 (.30)	0.31467 (.30)	0.20302 (.30)
16	0.44139 (.30)	0.26446 (.30)	0.34912 (.30)	0.35489 (.30)	0.38578 (.30)	0.54469 (.30)	0.42216 (.30)	0.68780 (.30)	0.34488 (.30)	0.22105 (.30)
17	0.24848 (.30)	0.13866 (.30)	0.41665 (.30)	0.57494 (.30)	0.33258 (.30)	0.54775 (.30)	0.39117 (.30)	0.66175 (.30)	0.31913 (.30)	0.48668 (.30)
18	0.13444 (.30)	0.41409 (.30)	0.54555 (.30)	-0.06352 (.30)	0.29552 (.30)	0.16893 (.30)	0.26790 (.30)	0.29241 (.30)	0.07612 (.30)	0.44931 (.30)
19	0.30958 (.30)	0.34461 (.30)	0.54414 (.30)	0.50723 (.30)	0.33437 (.30)	0.60436 (.30)	0.30593 (.30)	0.75554 (.30)	0.25737 (.30)	0.44239 (.30)
20	0.44395 (.30)	0.33916 (.30)	0.50323 (.30)	0.54495 (.30)	0.31476 (.30)	0.61641 (.30)	0.47066 (.30)	0.81239 (.30)	0.26242 (.30)	0.49761 (.30)

TABLE X (Continued)

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1 *	0.23143 (30)	0.53417 (30)	0.42377 (30)	0.57422 (30)	0.70288 (30)	0.46109 (30)	0.26848 (30)	0.13664 (30)	0.39968 (30)	0.46395 (30)
2 *	0.25373 (30)	0.31434 (30)	0.48651 (30)	0.41774 (30)	0.27549 (30)	0.26466 (30)	0.13596 (30)	0.41409 (30)	0.34461 (30)	0.33916 (30)
3 *	0.30364 (30)	0.53015 (30)	0.50924 (30)	0.37137 (30)	0.50694 (30)	0.34912 (30)	0.41665 (30)	0.04555 (30)	0.54414 (30)	0.56323 (30)
4 *	0.51401 (30)	0.45995 (30)	0.48689 (30)	0.79375 (30)	0.31152 (30)	0.35489 (30)	0.59484 (30)	-0.06352 (30)	0.50723 (30)	0.54495 (30)
5 *	0.54356 (30)	0.42353 (30)	0.31452 (30)	0.53392 (30)	0.40234 (30)	0.48598 (30)	0.33258 (30)	0.29452 (30)	0.33437 (30)	0.31476 (30)
6 *	0.43595 (30)	0.75013 (30)	0.52720 (30)	0.96250 (30)	0.50474 (30)	0.54469 (30)	0.54775 (30)	0.16493 (30)	0.60436 (30)	0.61641 (30)
7 *	0.31050 (30)	0.22990 (30)	0.39717 (30)	0.58034 (30)	0.47703 (30)	0.42216 (30)	0.38117 (30)	0.26790 (30)	0.30593 (30)	0.47066 (30)
8 *	0.62907 (30)	0.45567 (30)	0.94050 (30)	0.95429 (30)	0.52143 (30)	0.58750 (30)	0.55175 (30)	0.29241 (30)	0.75554 (30)	0.81239 (30)
9 *	0.35776 (30)	0.31438 (30)	0.36235 (30)	0.47578 (30)	0.31467 (30)	0.34488 (30)	0.31913 (30)	0.07612 (30)	0.25737 (30)	0.26242 (30)
10 *	0.36131 (30)	0.40333 (30)	0.55219 (30)	0.42678 (30)	0.20302 (30)	0.22105 (30)	0.48668 (30)	0.44931 (30)	0.44239 (30)	0.49761 (30)
11 *	1.00000 (30)	0.62927 (30)	0.61424 (30)	0.64570 (30)	0.44045 (30)	0.52630 (30)	0.71155 (30)	0.11569 (30)	0.59728 (30)	0.56432 (30)
12 *	0.52427 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.70887 (30)	0.75920 (30)	0.43409 (30)	0.42049 (30)	0.55003 (30)	0.13165 (30)	0.72091 (30)	0.65206 (30)
13 *	0.41424 (30)	0.70887 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.67509 (30)	0.47979 (30)	0.64713 (30)	0.75099 (30)	0.33462 (30)	0.84218 (30)	0.85286 (30)
14 *	0.54970 (30)	0.74927 (30)	0.57403 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.44202 (30)	0.52459 (30)	0.65723 (30)	0.22887 (30)	0.71499 (30)	0.68659 (30)
15 *	0.44045 (30)	0.43409 (30)	0.47879 (30)	0.44002 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.68740 (30)	0.42303 (30)	0.20234 (30)	0.43782 (30)	0.52939 (30)
16 *	0.52459 (30)	0.42049 (30)	0.64713 (30)	0.52459 (30)	0.68740 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.55589 (30)	0.27349 (30)	0.59880 (30)	0.61430 (30)
17 *	0.71155 (30)	0.55003 (30)	0.75099 (30)	0.65723 (30)	0.42303 (30)	0.55589 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.24253 (30)	0.74966 (30)	0.81897 (30)
18 *	0.11657 (30)	0.13165 (30)	0.33462 (30)	0.22887 (30)	0.20234 (30)	0.27349 (30)	0.24253 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.42346 (30)	0.48882 (30)
19 *	0.59728 (30)	0.72091 (30)	0.84218 (30)	0.71499 (30)	0.43782 (30)	0.59880 (30)	0.74966 (30)	0.42346 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.87704 (30)
20 *	0.56432 (30)	0.65206 (30)	0.85286 (30)	0.68659 (30)	0.52939 (30)	0.61430 (30)	0.81897 (30)	0.48882 (30)	0.87704 (30)	1.00000 (30)

TABLE XI
CORRELATION MATRIX:
BELIEF SCORES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 *	1.0000 (30)	0.04165 (30)	0.20573 (30)	0.24070 (30)	0.35712 (30)	0.17019 (30)	0.27321 (30)	0.18274 (30)	0.37311 (30)	0.15695 (30)
2 *	0.05145 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.09554 (30)	0.13970 (30)	-0.23058 (30)	0.02908 (30)	0.00927 (30)	0.25424 (30)	0.17303 (30)	0.13706 (30)
3 *	0.20573 (30)	0.09554 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.19356 (30)	-0.35750 (30)	-0.10360 (30)	0.20552 (30)	0.11098 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.09333 (30)
4 *	0.24070 (30)	0.13970 (30)	0.19356 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.12306 (30)	0.03591 (30)	0.30961 (30)	0.42854 (30)	0.35620 (30)	0.57597 (30)
5 *	0.35712 (30)	-0.23058 (30)	-0.35750 (30)	0.12306 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.14473 (30)	0.25067 (30)	-0.07876 (30)	0.47593 (30)	0.04118 (30)
6 *	0.17019 (30)	0.02908 (30)	-0.10360 (30)	0.03591 (30)	0.14473 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.19938 (30)	0.63544 (30)	0.12004 (30)	0.41739 (30)
7 *	0.27321 (30)	0.00927 (30)	0.20552 (30)	0.30961 (30)	0.25067 (30)	0.19938 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.22827 (30)	0.26790 (30)	0.29493 (30)
8 *	0.18274 (30)	0.25424 (30)	0.11098 (30)	0.42854 (30)	-0.07876 (30)	0.63544 (30)	0.22827 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.20128 (30)	0.79400 (30)
9 *	0.37311 (30)	0.17303 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.35620 (30)	0.47593 (30)	0.12004 (30)	0.26790 (30)	0.20128 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.40275 (30)
10 *	0.15695 (30)	0.13706 (30)	0.09333 (30)	0.57597 (30)	0.04118 (30)	0.41739 (30)	0.29493 (30)	0.79400 (30)	0.40275 (30)	1.00000 (30)
11 *	-0.19927 (30)	0.05774 (30)	0.36470 (30)	0.0 (30)	-0.26816 (30)	-0.02029 (30)	-0.13585 (30)	0.28919 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.12481 (30)
12 *	0.21590 (30)	0.10088 (30)	-0.01102 (30)	0.36744 (30)	0.28681 (30)	0.13242 (30)	-0.24217 (30)	0.19737 (30)	0.22982 (30)	0.26123 (30)
13 *	0.27549 (30)	0.22452 (30)	0.15766 (30)	0.18705 (30)	0.05187 (30)	0.29303 (30)	-0.23790 (30)	0.33392 (30)	0.16720 (30)	0.25415 (30)
14 *	0.23144 (30)	0.19302 (30)	0.02443 (30)	0.17743 (30)	0.17241 (30)	0.72158 (30)	-0.05369 (30)	0.57762 (30)	0.20377 (30)	0.33056 (30)
15 *	0.33203 (30)	0.70971 (30)	0.25492 (30)	0.37276 (30)	0.11247 (30)	0.21882 (30)	0.41375 (30)	0.44081 (30)	0.37978 (30)	0.43168 (30)
16 *	0.14347 (30)	0.23290 (30)	0.20801 (30)	0.39570 (30)	-0.21676 (30)	0.40045 (30)	0.18302 (30)	0.60272 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.46628 (30)
17 *	0.15384 (30)	0.44624 (30)	-0.00942 (30)	0.51916 (30)	-0.00415 (30)	0.45101 (30)	0.14379 (30)	0.50450 (30)	0.39274 (30)	0.51759 (30)
18 *	0.00155 (30)	0.25142 (30)	-0.10210 (30)	0.03769 (30)	0.03444 (30)	0.20449 (30)	-0.05264 (30)	0.26557 (30)	0.25052 (30)	0.18386 (30)
19 *	0.19176 (30)	0.26605 (30)	0.02190 (30)	0.40127 (30)	-0.05279 (30)	0.53177 (30)	0.09380 (30)	0.68790 (30)	0.22835 (30)	0.59984 (30)
20 *	0.34209 (30)	0.40260 (30)	0.10932 (30)	0.30264 (30)	-0.24855 (30)	0.40561 (30)	-0.00940 (30)	0.53069 (30)	0.05846 (30)	0.37123 (30)

TABLE XI (Continued)

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1 *	-0.18220 (30)	0.21580 (30)	0.27588 (30)	0.29144 (30)	0.39203 (30)	0.14047 (30)	0.15386 (30)	0.00156 (30)	0.18176 (30)	0.36208 (30)
2 *	0.08774 (30)	0.19264 (30)	0.22952 (30)	0.19392 (30)	0.70971 (30)	0.29250 (30)	0.44624 (30)	0.25142 (30)	0.26605 (30)	0.40260 (30)
3 *	0.36470 (30)	-0.01102 (30)	0.15766 (30)	0.02443 (30)	0.25492 (30)	0.20801 (30)	-0.00942 (30)	-0.10210 (30)	0.02190 (30)	0.10932 (30)
4 *	0.0 (30)	0.30744 (30)	0.19705 (30)	0.17743 (30)	0.37276 (30)	0.30670 (30)	0.51916 (30)	0.03768 (30)	0.40127 (30)	0.30264 (30)
5 *	-0.25414 (30)	0.29681 (30)	0.05187 (30)	0.17241 (30)	0.11247 (30)	-0.21676 (30)	-0.00415 (30)	0.03444 (30)	-0.06279 (30)	-0.24855 (30)
6 *	-0.02322 (30)	0.13242 (30)	0.29303 (30)	0.72158 (30)	0.21992 (30)	0.40045 (30)	0.45101 (30)	0.20449 (30)	0.53177 (30)	0.40561 (30)
7 *	-0.13585 (30)	-0.24217 (30)	-0.23790 (30)	-0.06349 (30)	0.41375 (30)	0.18302 (30)	0.14379 (30)	-0.06264 (30)	0.09380 (30)	-0.00940 (30)
8 *	0.24310 (30)	0.13737 (30)	0.33372 (30)	0.57762 (30)	0.44031 (30)	0.60272 (30)	0.50460 (30)	0.26557 (30)	0.68790 (30)	0.53069 (30)
9 *	0.0 (30)	0.22962 (30)	0.16720 (30)	0.20377 (30)	0.37478 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.39274 (30)	0.25052 (30)	0.22835 (30)	0.05846 (30)
10 *	0.12441 (30)	0.26123 (30)	0.25415 (30)	0.13056 (30)	0.43168 (30)	0.46624 (30)	0.51759 (30)	0.18386 (30)	0.59984 (30)	0.37123 (30)
11 *	1.00000 (30)	0.03985 (30)	0.37847 (30)	0.15500 (30)	0.0 (30)	0.01244 (30)	-0.09958 (30)	0.38111 (30)	0.32165 (30)	0.22728 (30)
12 *	0.03344 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.51141 (30)	0.45769 (30)	0.08144 (30)	-0.08824 (30)	0.31290 (30)	0.25525 (30)	0.28689 (30)	0.27677 (30)
13 *	0.35887 (30)	0.51149 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.69466 (30)	0.31608 (30)	-0.02140 (30)	0.15249 (30)	0.30624 (30)	0.37926 (30)	0.43856 (30)
14 *	0.15500 (30)	0.45769 (30)	0.69466 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.32245 (30)	0.22609 (30)	0.39013 (30)	0.28928 (30)	0.48858 (30)	0.53011 (30)
15 *	0.0 (30)	0.08146 (30)	0.31608 (30)	0.32245 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.39391 (30)	0.35791 (30)	0.13637 (30)	0.30064 (30)	0.36855 (30)
16 *	-0.01244 (30)	-0.09958 (30)	-0.38111 (30)	0.22609 (30)	0.39391 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.46317 (30)	-0.07745 (30)	0.63653 (30)	0.42941 (30)
17 *	-0.09958 (30)	0.31250 (30)	0.15249 (30)	0.39013 (30)	0.36791 (30)	0.46317 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.17710 (30)	0.56898 (30)	0.45843 (30)
18 *	0.37926 (30)	0.25525 (30)	0.30624 (30)	0.28928 (30)	0.13637 (30)	-0.07745 (30)	0.17710 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.25552 (30)	0.30170 (30)
19 *	0.32165 (30)	0.28689 (30)	0.37926 (30)	0.49858 (30)	0.30064 (30)	0.63653 (30)	0.56898 (30)	0.25552 (30)	1.00000 (30)	0.65590 (30)
20 *	0.22728 (30)	0.27677 (30)	0.43856 (30)	0.53011 (30)	0.36855 (30)	0.42941 (30)	0.45843 (30)	0.30170 (30)	0.65590 (30)	1.00000 (30)

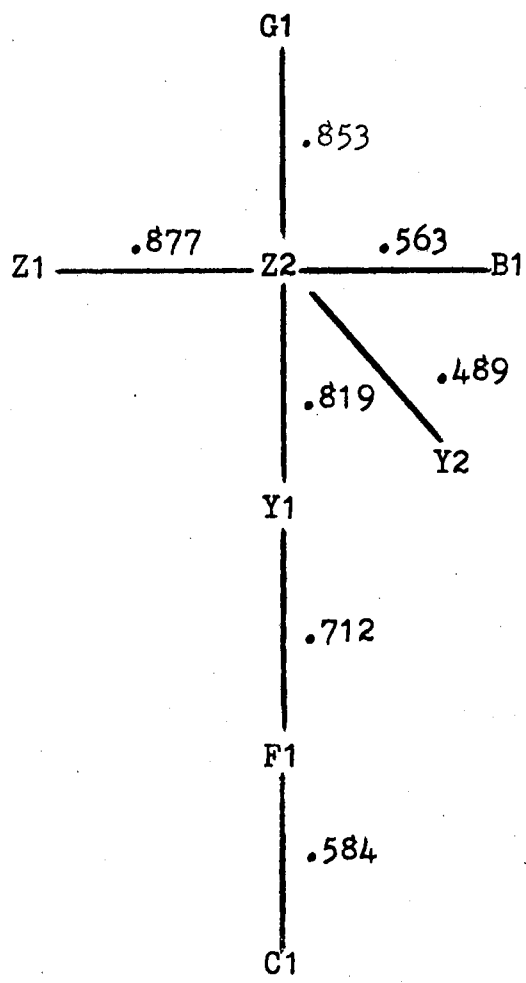


Figure 3. Prototype I
(Attitude)
Cluster

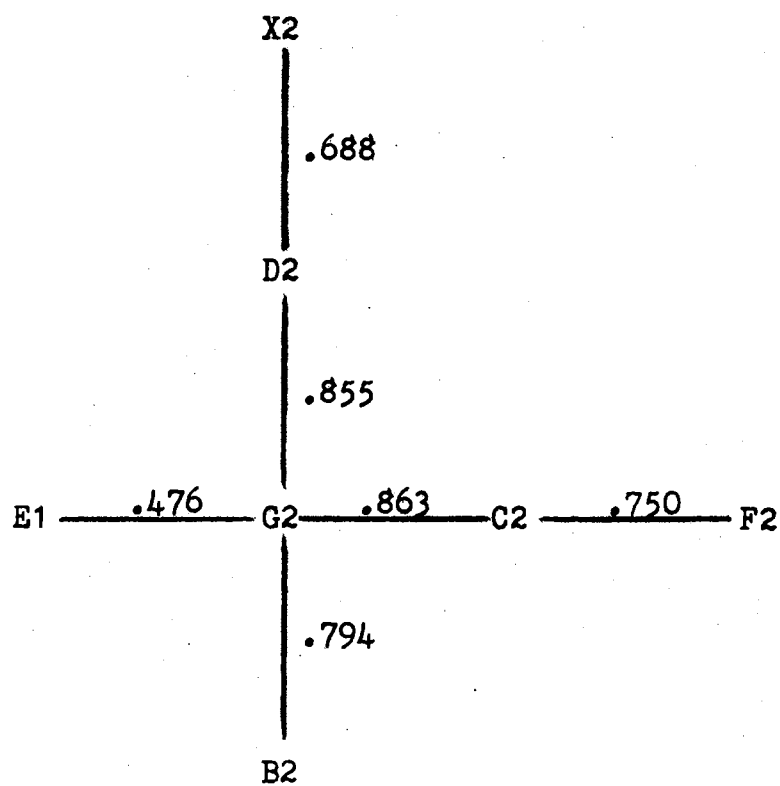


Figure 4. Prototype II (Attitude) Cluster

D1 — .591 — A1 — .703 — X1

Figure 5. Prototype III (Attitude) Cluster

A2 — .572 — E2

Figure 6. Prototype IV (Attitude) Cluster

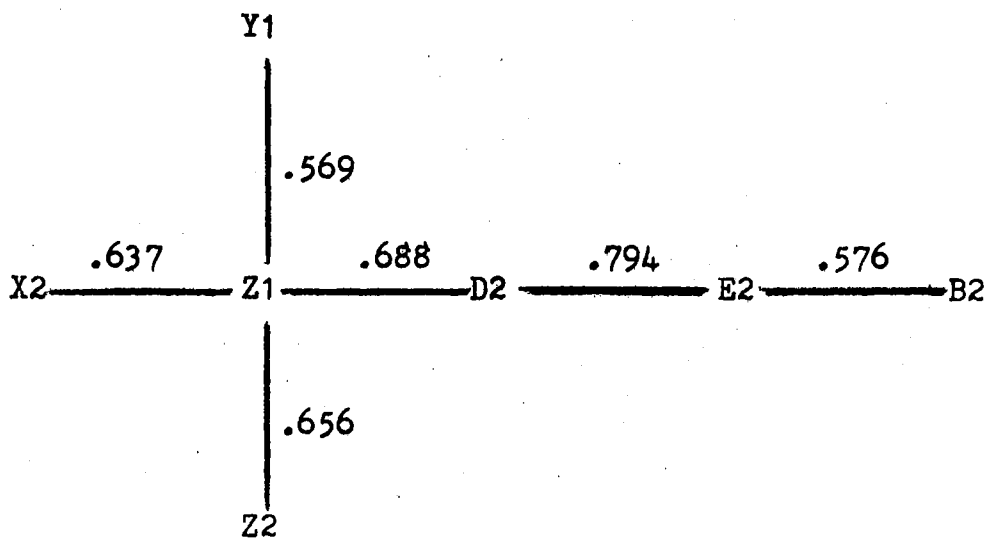


Figure 7. Prototype I (Belief) Cluster

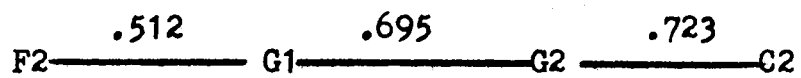


Figure 8. Prototype II (Belief) Cluster

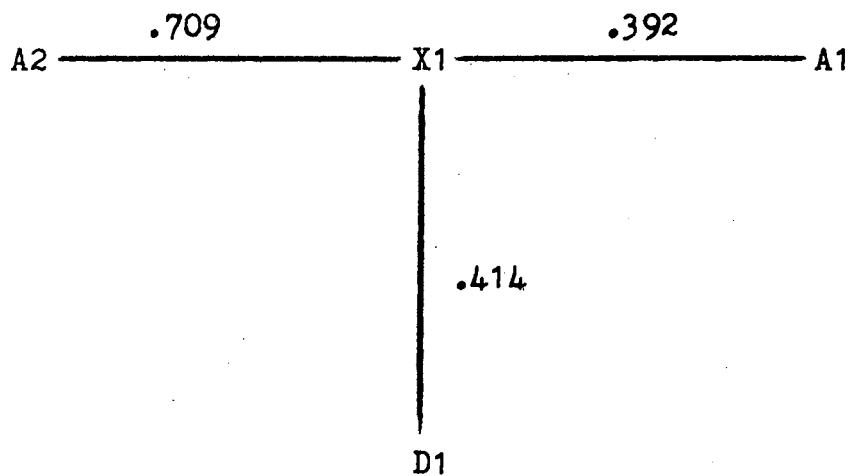


Figure 9. Prototype III (Belief) Cluster

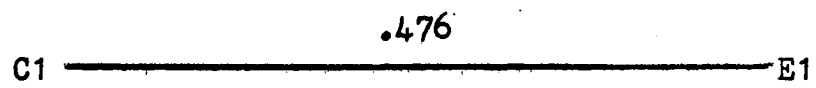


Figure 10. Prototype IV (Belief) Cluster

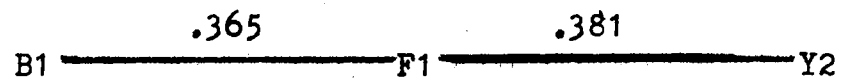


Figure 11. Prototype V (Belief) Cluster

with, and the correlation coefficient which represents the extent of the relationship.

A separate correlation matrix is constructed for each of the nine prototypes, as shown in Tables XII through XX, pages 79-84. The correlations in each column are added and, according to McQuitty's linkage analysis process, the largest total indicates the subject most representative of that particular prototype. That is, the column with the largest sum is said to have the most correlation with all other variables in that prototype.

Table XII, page 79, for example, indicates that subject Z2 is most representative of Prototype I (attitude) subjects. In Table XXI, page 85, each of the nine prototypes are listed alongside the subject most representative of that cluster.

Tables XXII and XXIII, pages 86 and 87, show the correlation of each subject with the representative subjects of each prototype. Table XXII, page 86, shows the correlation of each subject with the subjects identified as representing each of the attitude prototypes; Table XXIII, page 87, shows the correlation of each subject with the subjects identified as representing each of the belief prototypes. Actually, both tables are minus one representative: Table XXII, page 86, has only three prototypes, as opposed to four and Table

TABLE XII
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE I
 (ATTITUDE)

	Z1	Z2	G1	B1	Y1	Y2	F1	C1
Z1		.877	.842	.544	.750	.424	.597	.334
Z2	.877		.853	.563	.819	.489	.564	.315
G1	.842	.853		.508	.751	.335	.614	.315
B1	.544	.563	.508		.417	.046	.304	.093
Y1	.750	.819	.751	.417		.243	.712	.333
Y2	.424	.489	.335	.046	.243		.117	.295
F1	.597	.564	.614	.304	.712	.117		.584
C1	.334	.315	.315	.093	.333	.295	.584	
Total	4.368	4.480	4.218	2.475	4.025	1.949	3.492	2.269

TABLE XIII
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE II
 (ATTITUDE)

	E1	G2	C2	F2	B2	D2	X2
E1		.476	.456	.314	.308	.459	.345
G2	.476		.863	.758	.794	.855	.525
C2	.456	.863		.750	.697	.779	.545
F2	.314	.758	.750		.660	.696	.421
B2	.308	.794	.697	.660		.643	.355
D2	.459	.855	.779	.696	.643		.688
X2	.345	.525	.545	.421	.355	.688	
Total	2.358	4.271	4.090	3.599	3.457	4.120	2.879

TABLE XIV
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE III
 (ATTITUDE)

	D1	A1	X1
D1		.591	.477
A1	.591		.703
X1	.477	.703	
Total	1.068	1.294	1.180

TABLE XV
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE IV
 (ATTITUDE)

	A2	E2
A2		.572
E2	.572	
Total	.572	.572

TABLE XVI
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE I
 (BELIEF)

	B2	D2	E2	X2	Y1	Z1	Z2
B2		.429	.576	.307	.519	.401	.303
D2	.429		.794	.603	.505	.688	.531
E2	.576	.794		.466	.518	.600	.371
X2	.307	.603	.466		.463	.637	.429
Y1	.519	.505	.518	.463		.569	.458
Z1	.401	.688	.600	.637	.569		.656
Z2	.303	.531	.371	.429	.458	.656	
Total	2.535	3.550	3.325	2.905	3.032	3.551	2.748

TABLE XVII
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE II
 (BELIEF)

	C2	F2	G1	G2
C2		.132	.293	.722
F2	.132		.511	.453
G1	.293	.511		.695
G2	.722	.453	.695	
Total	1.147	1.096	1.499	1.870

TABLE XVIII
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE III
 (BELIEF)

	A1	A2	D1	X1
A1		.052	.273	.392
A2	.052		.009	.710
D1	.273	.009		.414
X1	.392	.710	.414	
Total	.717	.771	.696	1.516

TABLE XIX
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE IV
 (BELIEF)

	C1	E1
C1		.476
E1	.476	
Total	.476	.476

TABLE XX
 INTERCORRELATIONS
 OF PROTOTYPE V
 (BELIEF)

	B1	F1	Y2
B1		.365	-.102
F1	.365		.381
Y2	-.102	.381	
Total	.263	.746	.279

TABLE XXI
 SUBJECTS MOST REPRESENTATIVE
 OF THE NINE PROTOTYPES

Prototype	Subject
Prototype I (attitude)	Z2
Prototype II (attitude)	G2
Prototype III (attitude)	A1
Prototype IV (attitude)	(A2, E2)
Prototype I (belief)	Z1
Prototype II (belief)	G2
Prototype III (belief)	X1
Prototype IV (belief)	(C1, E1)
Prototype V (belief)	F1

TABLE XXII
CORRELATION OF SUBJECTS WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF EACH ATTITUDE PROTOTYPE

	Z2	G2	A1
A	1	<u>.464</u>	1.000
	2	.339	<u>.418</u>
B	1	<u>.563</u>	.371
	2	.545	<u>.794</u>
C	1	.315	<u>.534</u>
	2	.616	<u>.863</u>
D	1	.471	<u>.580</u>
	2	.812	<u>.855</u>
E	1	.262	<u>.476</u>
	2	<u>.498</u>	.427
F	1	.564	<u>.650</u>
	2	.652	<u>.758</u>
G	1	<u>.853</u>	.675
	2	<u>.687</u>	1.000
X	1	.529	<u>.440</u>
	2	<u>.614</u>	.525
Y	1	<u>.819</u>	.657
	2	<u>.489</u>	.229
Z	1	<u>.877</u>	.715
	2	1.000	<u>.687</u>

TABLE XXIII
CORRELATION OF SUBJECTS WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF EACH BELIEF PROTOTYPE

	Z1	G2	X1	F1	
A	1	.182	.291	<u>.392</u>	-.189
	2	.266	.194	<u>.710</u>	.088
B	1	.022	.024	.255	<u>.365</u>
	2	<u>.401</u>	.177	.373	.000
C	1	-.063	.172	.113	-.268
	2	.532	<u>.722</u>	.219	-.020
D	1	.094	-.064	.414	-.136
	2	<u>.688</u>	.578	.441	.289
E	1	.228	.204	<u>.380</u>	.000
	2	<u>.600</u>	.331	.432	.125
F	1	<u>.322</u>	.155	.000	1.000
	2	.287	<u>.453</u>	.082	.039
G	1	.379	<u>.695</u>	.316	.349
	2	<u>.489</u>	1.000	.323	.155
X	1	.301	<u>.323</u>	1.000	.000
	2	<u>.637</u>	.226	.394	.013
Y	1	<u>.569</u>	.380	.368	-.100
	2	.256	.289	.136	<u>.381</u>
Z	1	1.000	<u>.489</u>	.301	.322
	2	<u>.656</u>	.530	.369	.227

XXIII, page 87, has only four, rather than five. The reason for this is that Prototype IV (attitude) and Prototype IV (belief) each consist of only two subjects and, therefore, it was impossible to select one representative subject. The correlations between the omitted prototypes and the other subjects, however, can be located in Tables X and XI, pages 69 and 70.

Similarity Among Prototypes

Although McQuitty's linkage analysis provides for a way to identify those subjects who have similar attitude and belief scores, the procedure does not indicate the similarity among the various clusters or prototypes.

Four attitude prototypes and five belief prototypes have been identified; but such identification says very little about any variance that may exist between the prototypes. To discover the presence of this variance, both the attitude and belief prototypes are subjected to a Two-Way Analysis of Variance. Figure 12, page 89, shows the paradigm used in the analysis of the four attitude prototypes; Figure 13, page 90, shows the paradigm used in the analysis of the five belief prototypes. Each cell in the two paradigms contains the mean score of the subjects who comprise the particular prototype.

The results of the Two-Way Analysis of Variance

	Freak	Revolu- tionary	Straight	Insti- tution	Estab- lishment	Imper- ialism
Proto- type I	4.80	5.33	3.78	3.25	2.78	2.45
Proto- type II	4.97	5.17	4.14	3.86	2.83	1.77
Proto- type III	4.40	3.73	4.13	3.87	3.33	2.53
Proto- type IV	5.30	4.40	3.80	3.00	3.30	3.50

Figure 12. Paradigm Used in the Two-Way Analysis of Variance, Including the Mean Attitude Scores of the Four Prototypes Identified by Clustering Those Subjects Whose Scores Were Most Highly Related

	Freak	Revolu- tionary	Straight	Insti- tution	Estab- lishment	Imper- ialism
Proto- type I	5.14	5.69	5.09	5.37	5.31	5.80
Proto- type II	5.50	6.20	4.70	3.85	3.75	4.80
Proto- type III	4.80	3.85	3.80	4.35	3.75	4.35
Proto- type IV	4.50	4.10	3.90	4.00	4.00	3.70
Proto- type V	4.27	4.53	3.93	3.73	4.27	4.53

Figure 13. Paradigm Used in the Two-Way Analysis of Variance, Including the Mean Belief Scores of the Five Prototypes Identified by Clustering Those Subjects Whose Belief Scores Were Most Highly Related

are shown in Tables XXIV and XXV, page 92.

The F-ratios in Table XXIV, page 92, show there was no significant difference between the four attitude prototypes, but there did exist a significant difference between the six word-concepts. These results indicate that there was no significant difference between the way the four attitude prototypes responded to the six word-concepts (response is measured here in terms of attitude). The analysis of variance did, however, reveal a significant difference between the word-concepts. That is, for the four attitude prototypes, the six word-concepts provoked significantly different responses. The difference between the attitude scores for the six word-concepts was significant at the .01 level, indicating that in terms of statistical probability, a difference as large as that observed would occur by chance less than 1 time in 100.

The results shown in Table XXV, page 92, show that there was no significant difference between the six word-concepts, indicating that for the five belief prototypes, the six word-concepts did not elicit significantly different responses. However, there did exist a significant difference between the five belief prototypes. This difference indicates that there is significant variance between the belief scores of the five belief prototypes.

TABLE XXIV
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F-RATIOS:
ATTITUDE PROTOTYPES

Source	df	ss	ms	F	P
Between Prototypes	3	.15	.05	.17	n.s.
Between Concepts	5	16.27	3.25	11.21	.01
Residual Error	15	4.39	.29		
Total	23	20.81			

TABLE XXV
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F-RATIOS:
BELIEF PROTOTYPES

Source	df	ss	ms	F	P
Between Prototypes	4	7.94	1.99	9.05	.01
Between Concepts	5	2.29	0.46	2.09	n.s.
Residual Error	20	4.33	0.22		
Total	29	14.56			

The results of Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales are further discussed in Chapters IX and X.

FOOTNOTES

¹Categorizing the attitude responses as "favorable" or "unfavorable" is not an attempted value judgment. "Favorable" does not indicate a good attitude; "unfavorable" does not indicate a bad attitude. These terms simply refer to the subjects' responses to the six word-concepts.

²Harold J. Vetter, Language Behavior and Communication (Itasca, Illinois, 1969), p. 82.

³Charles E. Osgood, "An Exploration Into Semantic Space," The Science of Human Communication, ed. Wilbur Schramm (New York, 1963), p. 29.

⁴L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol. XVII (1957), pp. 207-229.

⁵Subjects in Tables X and XI are numbered consecutively; they are not identified by the letter-number code described in Table II. However, the subjects are listed in the same order.

CHAPTER VIII

FINDINGS: COGNITIVE RESPONSE

Extensional Agreement

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The Extensional Agreement Index is designed to express agreement among n persons in relating or applying a word as a label to actualities. The index may range from 0.0 to 1.0, the former indicating no agreement and the latter representing maximum possible agreement. The basic formula used in computing the index is x/y , in which x represents the number of obtained agreements and y represents the maximum number of agreements.

Johnson suggests that when computing the Extensional Agreement Index, the researcher may assume that "...both the application of a label and the refusal to apply it may involve agreement."¹ Since computations here are based on such reasoning, it is worth noting that the resulting indices may be considerably higher than if Johnson's suggestion was ignored.

The Extensional Agreement Index is used to measure the subjects' cognitive responses to only three of the six word-concepts. Only the three word-concepts used frequently as "labels" (FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY, and STRAIGHT) are evaluated

by this index. The remaining three word-concepts, it is believed, would be more appropriately examined by the Intensional Agreement Index.

In the equation used to compute the Extensional Agreement Index for each of the three word-concepts (Figure 14), n equals the number of total subjects, x indicates those who use the label and $n-x$ refers to those who do not use the label. The number of agreements among those who use the label is represented by $(x-1).5x$ and the number of agreements among those who do not use the label is represented by $(n-x-1).5(n-x)$. Maximum number of agreements is $(n-1).5n$.

$$EAI = \frac{(n-x-1)(n-x).5 - (x-1)x.5}{(n-1)n.5} = 2x-n/n$$

Figure 14. Equation Used to Compute the Extensional Agreement Index

The results of the Extensional Agreement Index indicate generally that there is 60 percent agreement as to which object the word-concept FREAK refers (Table XXVI, page 97). Similar results were obtained for the word-concept STRAIGHT (Table XXVIII, page 99). The word-concept REVOLUTIONARY, however, had a slightly higher index, nearly .62 (Table XXVII, page 98).

In relating certain words to certain objects, the indices in Tables XXVI, XXVII and XXVIII show that, for

TABLE XXVI

EXTENSIONAL AGREEMENT INDEX
FOR THE WORD-CONCEPT BREAK

	x	n-x	$2x-n/n$
Rubin	9	11	0.100
Nixon	3	17	0.700
Davis	0	20	1.000
Berrigan	1	19	0.900
Sinclair	10	10	0.000
Ellsberg	1	19	0.900
Average EAI			0.600

TABLE XXVII

EXTENSIONAL AGREEMENT INDEX FOR THE
WORD-CONCEPT REVOLUTIONARY

	x	n-x	$2x-n/n$
Rubin	5	15	0.500
Nixon	0	20	1.000
Davis	18	2	0.800
Berrigan	17	3	0.700
Sinclair	5	15	0.500
Ellsberg	8	12	0.200
Average EAI			0.617

TABLE XXVIII

EXTENSIONAL AGREEMENT INDEX FOR
THE WORD-CONCEPT STRAIGHT

	x	n-x	$2x-n/n$
Rubin	6	14	0.400
Nixon	17	3	0.700
Davis	2	18	0.800
Berrigan	2	18	0.800
Sinclair	5	15	0.500
Ellsberg	8	12	0.200
Average EAI			0.600

example, there is total agreement in using the word-concept FREAK to describe Angela Davis. Similarly, there is total agreement in defining Richard Nixon as a REVOLUTIONARY. In both instances, the subjects decided not to apply the label. Agreement here, therefore, is measured as the number of subjects who did not use the label.

In labeling John Sinclair a FREAK (that is, extensionally defining FREAK as John Sinclair), there appears to be absolutely no agreement among the subjects. As the results show, there was an even split: 10 subjects chose to label Sinclair a FREAK while 10 selected another label.

In extensionally applying the three word-concepts to Jerry Rubin, there was only .100 agreement on whether he should be categorized a FREAK. There was also some discrepancy in labeling Rubin STRAIGHT or REVOLUTIONARY: there was only .400 agreement on using (or not using) the word-concept STRAIGHT, and there was .500 agreement on labeling him REVOLUTIONARY. In deciding which of these labels would be most appropriate, there was only .333 agreement.

Intensional Agreement

The Intensional Agreement Index is administered by asking the subjects to give their verbal equivalent(s) of a word. In this study, subjects are asked to list the two most appropriate synonyms for each of the following word-concepts: INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM.

The range of the index is similar to that of the Ex-

tensional Agreement Index: 0.0 represents no agreement and 1.0 indicates maximum possible agreement. The same basic formula, x/y , is used in computing the index. In the expanded equation (Figure 15), n represents the total number of subjects, x indicates the number of times a synonym was repeated or agreed upon.² The equation $(x-1).5x$ refers to the total number of agreements and $(n-1).5n$ refers to the maximum possible number of agreements.

$$IAI = (x-1).5x / (n-1).5n$$

Figure 15. Equation Used
to Compute
the Inten-
sional
Agreement
Index

The obtained results, shown in Table XXIX, page 102, show that there was only .08 agreement as to the two most appropriate verbal equivalents of the word-concept IMPERIALISM. Similar agreement was found in the intensional index of the word-concept INSTITUTION. For the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT, however, there was less than .025 agreement on its intensional application.

The obtained extensional and intensional agreement indices are not to be quantitatively compared. The two indices were administered differently -- the extensional

TABLE XXIX

INTENSIONAL AGREEMENT INDICES FOR THE
WORD-CONCEPTS INSTITUTION, ESTAB-
LISHMENT, AND IMPERIALISM

Word-Concepts	n	x	$(n-1).5n$	$x-1.5x$	$\frac{(x-1).5x}{(n-1).5n}$	IAI
Institution	37	11	666	55	55/666	.083
Establishment	36	6	630	15	15/630	.024
Imperialism	38	11	703	55	55/703	.078

index was administered by giving subjects a "forced choice" (subjects were asked to select one of three labels), while for the intensional index such a "choice" was not imposed.

FOOTNOTES

¹Wendell Johnson, People In Quandries (New York, 1946), p. 509.

²The various synonyms chosen by the subjects are listed in Appendix B. Interestingly enough, a number of the words were used as synonyms for two and sometimes for all three of the word-concepts.

CHAPTER IX
INTERPRETATIONS

The Word-Concepts

Although the obtained attitude and belief scores provided a way to compare the subjects' perceptions of the six word-concepts, such results also allow for an examination of the word-concepts themselves.

Based on the sample of 20 underground press workers used in this study, a number of observations can be made concerning the nature of the responses each word-concept received. These observations include (1) the mean score for each of the ten scales used to measure attitude and belief; (2) the obtained Extensional/Intensional Agreement Indices; and (3) the subjects' candid rationales for their responses.

The average of the mean scores for the six word-concepts are shown in Table XXX, page 106, indicating in very general terms the aggregate direction and intensity of the subjects' attitudes and beliefs toward each of the word-concepts. These same scores were used as the coordinates in the Semantic Profile Graph in Figure 2, page 65.

TABLE XXX
AVERAGE MEAN ATTITUDE AND BE-
LIEF SCORES FOR EACH OF THE
SIX WORD-CONCEPTS

Word-Concept	Attitude	Belief
Freak	4.85	4.95
Revolutionary	4.94	5.36
Straight	3.96	4.46
Institution	3.54	4.48
Establishment	2.90	4.40
Imperialism	2.42	4.91

As explained in Chapter VII, page 60, these very generalized attitude and belief scores enable a comparison between the meaningful similarity of the word-concept, as defined by the five attitude scales and the five belief scales. Note the similarity, for example, between the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY -- the direction and intensity of the subjects' attitude and belief scores toward these two word-concepts suggest similar semantic composition. More clearly explained by Osgood, the graph in Figure 2, page 65, shows a comparatively short distance between the two word-concepts' vectors.

The intensity of the subjects' emotive responses represents what Osgood calls the "meaningfulness" of the word-concepts. The scores in Table XXX, page 106, show that the word-concepts REVOLUTIONARY and IMPERIALISM received the most intense responses. This is further supported by the length of their respective vectors in Figure 2, page 65. The Semantic Profile Graph also illustrates that a similarity in intensity is not necessarily reflected in the direction of a response. Although the word-concepts REVOLUTIONARY and IMPERIALISM received the most intense responses, the direction of the attitude scores was opposite.

The results shown in Table XXX, page 106, do, however, reveal a similarity between the intensity of attitude and the intensity of belief. The three word-concepts with the most intense attitude scores -- FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY

and IMPERIALISM -- are also the three word-concepts with the most intense mean belief scores. The attitude scores, it should be emphasized, do not all go in the same direction.

In examining the word-concepts in greater detail, the following scale interpretations will be used: 1.0 -- very unfavorable/improbable (attitude/belief); 2.0 -- unfavorable/improbable; 3.0 -- somewhat unfavorable/improbable; 4.0 -- neutral (no intensity, no direction); 5.0 -- somewhat favorable/probable; 6.0 -- favorable/probable; 7.0 -- very favorable/probable.

On the following pages -- in Tables XXXI through XXXVI -- the mean scores are given for each of the five scales used to measure attitude and for each of the five scales used to measure belief. Each table is devoted to one of the six word-concepts.

For those who wish further to explore the subjects' individual responses to the 10 scales, the raw data in Appendix A will be useful. The obtained individual attitude and belief scores in Appendix A are arranged in a consistent manner. In Table XXXIX, page 159, the first five rows represent the five attitude scales used to measure the subjects' evaluative response to the word-concept FREAK. The scales are presented in the same order as in Figure 1, page 45. The word-concepts are listed in the same order as in the sample questionnaire on page 172

TABLE XXXI
 FREAK: MEAN SCORES FOR THE
 FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES AND
 FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	4.85
wise - good	4.45
dirty - clean	4.45
bad - good	5.30
sick - healthy	5.10
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	5.00
false - true	5.25
existent - nonexistent	5.60
probable - improbable	4.55
unlikely - likely	4.40

TABLE XXXII
 REVOLUTIONARY: MEAN SCORES FOR
 THE FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES
 AND FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	5.35
wise - foolish	4.70
dirty - clean	4.45
bad - good	5.20
sick - healthy	5.00
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	4.90
false - true	5.10
existent - nonexistent	5.35
probable - improbable	5.10
unlikely - likely	5.00

TABLE XXXIII
STRAIGHT: MEAN SCORES FOR THE
FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES AND
FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	3.60
wise - foolish	3.60
dirty - clean	4.70
bad - good	3.80
sick - healthy	3.95
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	4.50
false - true	3.35
existent - nonexistent	4.70
probable - improbable	4.65
unlikely - likely	4.60

TABLE XXXIV

INSTITUTION: MEAN SCORES FOR THE
FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES AND
THE FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	2.95
wise - foolish	3.75
dirty - clean	4.70
bad - good	3.10
sick - healthy	3.20
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	4.60
false - true	3.10
existent - nonexistent	5.25
probable - improbable	4.90
unlikely - likely	4.55

TABLE XXXV
ESTABLISHMENT: MEAN SCORES FOR THE
FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES AND
THE FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	2.25
wise - foolish	2.80
dirty - clean	3.80
bad - good	2.75
sick - healthy	2.90
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	4.60
false - true	2.90
existent - nonexistent	5.25
probable - improbable	4.90
unlikely - likely	4.60

(Appendix D). The same procedure is followed in Table XXXX, page 160, except that the first five rows represent the subjects' scores for the five belief scales (also, see Figure 1, page 45).

Word-Concept FREAK

The average of the mean scores for the word-concept FREAK was 4.80, indicating that the subjects tend to regard the term as somewhat favorable. Only two subjects -- B1 and F2 -- had mean scores below 4.0, thus categorizing the word-concept as unfavorable.

As shown in Table XXXI, page 109, the mean scores for the five attitude scales were all above 4.40. The "bad-good" scale had the highest mean (5.30); with only one exception (subject F1) the word-concept FREAK was rated as good, often with a 6.0 or 7.0 on the scale.

The "sick-healthy" scale received the second highest mean score, 5.10. Three subjects (F2, A1 and B1) rated this scale 3.0, indicating that they considered the word-concept to be somewhat sick.

The average of the mean belief scores was 4.95. The mean score for the "existent-nonexistent" scale was 5.60, representing the subjects' response to the word-concept FREAK as existent. With only three scores of 4.0, none of the subjects rated the word-concept as nonexistent.

Half the subjects rated the "false-true" scale 6.0

or higher. Again, none of the subjects categorized the word-concept as false.

Subject F2 was the lone exception in rating the word-concept as somewhat impossible. For the "probable-improbable" scale, subjects F2 and Y1 dissented. Four subjects rated the word-concept FREAK unlikely in the fifth belief scale ("unlikely-likely"), with subject Z2 rating the word concept 1.0, the lowest possible score.

Although the Extensional Agreement Index for the word-concept FREAK was .600 (see Table XXVI, page 97), it is important to note that the obtained index is unjustifiably high since it reflects agreement as both the application and non-application of a label. Furthermore, the index may be inaccurate because subjects were asked to label such extremes as Richard Nixon and Angela Davis. Agreement decreased markedly, for example, when subjects were asked to label Jerry Rubin.

It was obvious to most subjects that Richard Nixon was not a FREAK. However, for Jerry Rubin, the choice was not obvious and discrepancy prevailed.

Of particular interest was the subjects' inability to qualify the application of the word-concept FREAK. A number of subjects were simply unable to explain why they had chosen to use the label.

Subject B1, who was one of only three subjects who rated the word-concept FREAK as somewhat sick, described

the word as referring to an individual with an "abnormality." A FREAK, he said, "is someone with poor judgment... suppression of vital faculties." Subject B1, incidentally, was one of only three subjects who labeled Richard Nixon a FREAK, referring, perhaps, to the subject's perception of Nixon as an individual with poor judgment. Subject A2 also labeled Nixon a FREAK, with no further explanation, other than: "And I don't mean 'hippie.'"

Subject B2, a co-worker with subject B1 at Iconoclast, Dallas, Texas, explained that a FREAK is primarily concerned with music, drugs and, in general, a peaceful culture.

A worker at Liberation News Service, subject Z2, described FREAK as one who is culturally disenchanting. A FREAK isn't necessarily interested in change, she explained; he may just want to go off into a corner and smoke some dope.

Subject E2 defined FREAK as "passive," contrasting the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY, which she defined as militant or violent.

Subject C1 stated simply that there was no such thing as a FREAK. The word does not, she said, refer to a person, but rather constitutes an "enthusiast" or a "fan." A person can be a "Jesus Freak" or a "Music Freak," she implied, but to label a person simply a FREAK would be pointless.

Word-Concept REVOLUTIONARY

The word-concept REVOLUTIONARY had the highest mean attitude scores, averaging out to 4.94. Subjects responded most favorably to this word-concept, especially to the "harmful-beneficial" scale (mean score: 5.35). The mean scores in Table XXXII, page 110, show a rather intense response to the "bad-good" scale -- only subjects D1 and X1 rated the word-concept somewhat bad.

With only one exception (subject Y2), the word-concept was categorized as somewhat healthy, receiving a mean score of 5.00. Three subjects rated the word-concept somewhat foolish; the "dirty-clean" scale received mostly neutral scores.

Response, measured as the probability dimension (belief), was the highest among the six word-concepts. With the average of the mean scores at 5.36, subjects generally indicated a strong probability of existence for the word-concept, as supported by the 5.35 mean score for the "existent-nonexistent" scale (see Table XXXII, page 110).

The lowest mean of the five belief scales was 4.90, the subjects' average response to the "impossible-possible" scale. Three subjects -- B1, D1 and X1 -- rated the word-concept as somewhat impossible and subject A1 rated it as impossible.

The word-concept REVOLUTIONARY had a slightly higher Extensional Agreement Index (.617) than either of the two

previously discussed word-concepts. Agreement was at its highest (1.000) when measured as the non-application of the word-concept to Richard Nixon. Again, the two extremes (Nixon-Davis) account for the high index. If, for example, the average Extensional Agreement Index was computed only on the application and non-application of the label to Rubin, Berrigan, Sinclair and Ellsberg, the obtained index would have been .475.

Although the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY received the most intense belief scores, inferring a high probability of existence, this was not reflected in the subjects' informal discussions of the word-concept. As in the case of the word-concept FREAK, subjects were often unable to justify their usage of the term.

Subject Z2 explained that the word-concept referred to someone who was "politically disenchanting" (as opposed to her description of the word-concept FREAK, as one who was "culturally disenchanting"). Subject E2 described the word-concept as "violent;" and subject B2 said a REVOLUTIONARY was one who was concerned with changes in society and life.

None of the subjects made mention of political ideologies as criteria for the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY.

The Word-Concept STRAIGHT

The subjects' over-all attitude toward the word-

concept STRAIGHT was 3.96, virtually a neutral score -- with very slight intensity and direction.

As shown in Table XXXIII, page 111, the mean score for the most intense attitude scale ("dirty-clean") was only .70 from neutrality (4.0). Three subjects rated the word-concept as very clean and six subjects categorized it as somewhat clean.

The "harmful-beneficial" scale received mostly neutral scores, except for subject Y2 who rated it 2.0 (harmful). Nine subjects considered the word-concept to be foolish (3.0) -- only subject E2 rated it wise (5.0).

The "bad-good" scale also received mostly neutral scores, with the noted exception of subject Y1, who rated the word-concept very bad (1.0). There was very little consistency in the fifth attitude scale ("sick-healthy"), with individual scores ranging from 2.0 to 6.0.

The average of the mean belief scores for the word-concept STRAIGHT was 4.46, somewhere between neutrality and somewhat probable. The belief scale with the most intense mean score ("existent-nonexistent," 4.70) -- not unlike the most intense attitude scale -- was only .70 from neutrality.

In general, the word-concept STRAIGHT was the least "meaningful" of the six word-concepts, as measured by the length of its vector in the graph in Figure 2, page 65. (The term "meaningful" reflects the intensity of both the attitude and belief responses.)

The "impossible-possible" scale received scores ranging from 2.0 to 7.0, thus allowing for little in the way of generalization. With the exception of subjects C2 and X2, the "false-true" scale received neutral or somewhat false ratings.

With only two exceptions -- subjects G1 and Z2 -- the subjects categorized the word-concept as somewhat probable. Similarly, with two subjects dissenting, the word-concept STRAIGHT was perceived as somewhat likely.

The Extensional Agreement Index for the word-concept was .600. The smallest agreement index was computed for Ellsberg (.200), for whom eight subjects applied the label and 12 did not. For Rubin, agreement was also low (.400). Six subjects applied the label to Rubin, 14 did not.

According to subject B2, the word-concept STRAIGHT refers to an individual whose life style is associated with the status quo. Subject D1 considered all three word-concepts (FREAK, REVOLUTIONARY and STRAIGHT) irrelevant and subsequently labeled everyone STRAIGHT.

None of the other subjects discussed their reasons for the application or non-application of the word-concept.

The Word-Concept INSTITUTION

Not unlike the word-concept STRAIGHT, the word-concept INSTITUTION received mean attitude and belief scores very close to neutrality.

The mean score for the most intense of the five attitude scales ("harmful-beneficial") was 2.95, indicating that the subjects regarded the word-concept as somewhat harmful. Only one subject -- C2 -- rated the word-concept as somewhat beneficial.

The "wise-foolish" scale received a mean score of 3.75; most subjects rated the scale with a score of 3.0 or 4.0. Subject C2 and Y2 rated the word-concept somewhat wise (5.0) and wise (6.0), respectively.

The "dirty-clean" scale was the only one of the five attitude scales to receive a mean score of above 4.0 as shown in Table XXXIV, page 112. Four subjects, in fact, rated the word-concept very clean (7.0).

With only one exception (subject C2), most subjects rated the word-concept INSTITUTION somewhat bad -- three subjects rated it very bad (1.0).

Although subjects C2 and X2 rated the word-concept healthy, the other subjects' scores fell below 4.0; the mean score for the "sick-healthy" scale was 3.20.

The subjects' scores for the five belief scales revealed a somewhat existent and somewhat probable response to the word-concept INSTITUTION.

Table XXXIV, page 112, shows the most intense mean belief score (5.25) was for the "existent-nonexistent" scale. Only the "false-true" scale had a mean score below 4.0. Moreover, only two subjects -- A1 and C2 --

rated the word-concept somewhat true (5.0) and true (6.0), respectively.

The Intensional Agreement Index for the word-concept INSTITUTION was .083, indicating very low agreement. The various synonyms selected by the subjects are listed in Appendix B.

These synonyms ran the gamut, from "room" to "capitalism." Even the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT was used as synonym.

A total of 37 synonyms was selected by the 20 subjects.

The Word-Concept ESTABLISHMENT

The evaluative response to the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT was 2.90, as shown in Table XXX, page 106.

Table XXXV, page 113, shows the most intense attitude scale to be "harmful-beneficial," receiving a mean score of 2.25. All but two scores were below 4.0.

Four subjects rated the word-concept very foolish (1.0) -- only two subjects (Y2 and Z1) categorized ESTABLISHMENT as somewhat wise (5.0).

There were mostly 4.0 scores for the "dirty-clean" scale. With a mean score of 3.80, only two subjects swayed very far from neutral: subject E1 rated the word-concept 1.0 (very dirty); subject A1 rated it clean (6.0).

Five subjects rated the word-concept very bad, while

only one subject (Y2) rated it with a score above 4.0.

Two subjects (A1 and C2) rated the word-concept somewhat healthy; the remaining subjects rated it with a score of 4.0 or below. Four subjects judged the word-concept very sick (1.0).

The word-concept ESTABLISHMENT received the least intense belief scores, averaging out to only 4.40. The "existent-nonexistent" scale received the most intense scores; its mean score was 5.25. Seven subjects rated the word-concept very existent, while only one subject (Y2) rated it with a score of 3.0 (somewhat nonexistent).

The "improbable-probable" scale, with a mean score of 4.90, received five 7.0 responses and only one 1.0 score (from subject G1).

Most subjects perceived the word-concept as likely, although subjects A1 and F2 rated the "unlikely-likely" scale 3.0, and subject Y1 rated it 2.0.

With only two subjects dissenting, the "impossible-possible" scale received scores of 4.0 or above.

As in the response to the word-concept INSTITUTION, the "false-true" scale was the only one of the five belief scales to receive a mean score below 4.0. Seven subjects rated the scale 4.0, but none of the subjects rated it above 4.0.

The Intensional Agreement Index for the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT was .024, the lowest of the three intensional indices. Subjects listed a total of 36 synonyms for the

word-concept, including the word-concept INSTITUTION. The synonyms "system" and "structure" were selected for both the word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and INSTITUTION.

The Word-Concept IMPERIALISM

The evaluative response from the 20 subjects was most unfavorable for the word-concept IMPERIALISM. Receiving the most intense mean attitude scores, the word-concept was not categorized as beneficial by any of the subjects. Similarly, none of the subjects rated the word-concept good.

The mean scores in Table XXXVI, page 125, show that all five mean scores fall below 3.00, indicating that -- in general terms -- the subjects rated the word-concept IMPERIALISM as somewhat sick, bad, somewhat dirty, somewhat foolish, and harmful.

Only subject Y2 rated the word-concept somewhat good (5.0) on the "bad-good" scale. Subject F1 was the only exception in rating the word-concept healthy on the "sick-healthy" scale. Three subjects (G1, X2 and Y2) rated the word-concept somewhat wise on the "wise-foolish" scale.

With the exception of the "false-true" scale, Table XXXVI, page 124, shows all the mean belief scores to be above 5.00. None of the subjects rated the word-concept as nonexistent, although there were some neutral scores (4.0). The subjects' over-all belief response to the

TABLE XXXVI
 IMPERIALISM: MEAN SCORES FOR THE
 FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES AND
 THE FIVE BELIEF SCALES

Scale	Mean Score
<u>Attitude</u>	
harmful - beneficial	1.80
wise - foolish	2.95
dirty - clean	2.85
bad - good	1.95
sick - healthy	2.55
<u>Belief</u>	
impossible - possible	5.40
false - true	3.15
existent - nonexistent	5.75
probable - improbable	5.15
unlikely - likely	5.10

word-concept IMPERIALISM indicates a strong probability of existence.

The Intensional Agreement Index for the word-concept was .078, slightly lower than the obtained index for the word-concept INSTITUTION. Subjects listed a total of 38 synonyms for the word-concept, the highest total for any of the three word-concepts (INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHMENT, and IMPERIALISM). The word "capitalism" was selected as a synonym for all three word-concepts and the word "control" was used to intensionally define both the word-concepts IMPERIALISM and ESTABLISHMENT.

Attitude Prototypes

In Chapter VII, McQuitty's Linkage Analysis procedure provided a way for isolating four attitudinal prototypes. Each of these prototypes consists of subjects whose attitude scores are most highly related.

In this chapter the four prototypes are further studied in an attempt to discover any apparent commonality to which the cluster may be attributed.

Prototype I (Attitude)

Prototype I consists of subjects Z1, Z2, Y1, Y2, G1, B1, F1 and C1. From these eight subjects, subject Z2 was identified as being most representative of the prototype. In other words, subject Z2 is said to have the most corre-

lation with all other subjects in that particular cluster.

Using the demographic data presented in Chapter VI, subject Z2 can be further described as female, age 25, college graduate, has worked three years with the underground press and has had no formal training in journalism.

There are three other females in Prototype I: subjects Z1, C1 and F1. Subject Z1 is a co-worker with subject Z2 at Liberation News Service in New York City. She is 22 years old, has an educational level of a college sophomore and has worked with the underground press for two and a half years. She has had no formal training in journalism. Subject C1 is a college graduate with two years of experience with the underground press and no formal training in journalism. Also without such training, subject F1 -- the youngest of the 20 subjects -- is a 17-year-old high school junior with only three months of work with the underground press.

The remaining four subjects, all males, include subject Y1, a 23-year-old college graduate with one year of work with the underground press and one of only four subjects that had formal training in journalism. Subject Y2, who works with subject Y1 at the Underground Press Syndicate, has had one year of graduate study, is 29 years old, has worked with the underground press for two years and has had no formal training in journalism. Subject G1 is a 24-year-old college graduate with three months of work with the underground press and no formal training in journalism.

Subject B1 is a 27-year-old college junior with six years of experience with the underground press.

Age does not appear to be significant in Prototype I, since it ranges from 17 to 29, almost the extremes among the 20 subjects. Similarly, the number of years of experience with the underground press does not seem to a particularly significant factor: subject F1 has logged only three months, while subject B1 has put in six years.

There are four females in Prototype I, which is unusually high considering there are only six females in the sample. Particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the two subjects from both major news services -- Liberation News Service and the Underground Press Syndicate -- fell into Prototype I. Subjects Y1, Y2, Z1 and Z2, representing the two organizations largely responsible for disseminating international and national news to the underground press, have attitudes more highly correlated with each other than with the attitudes of many of the other subjects.

Subject Z2, the subject most representative of the cluster, is most intense in her attitude toward the word-concepts REVOLUTIONARY and IMPERIALISM, although the intensity is in opposite directions.

Generally, the responses from the subjects in Prototype I are, as shown in the paradigm in Figure 12, page 89, most intense for the word-concepts REVOLUTIONARY and IMPERIALISM. The mean attitude score for the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY is 5.33, the highest among the four attitude

prototypes; for the word-concept IMPERIALISM, the mean score is 2.45, the second highest among the four clusters. The mean scores in Figure 12, page 89, indicate that Prototype I had the most intense attitude scores for the word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and STRAIGHT.

Prototype I, it follows, is best categorized by the intensity of its mean attitude scores toward four of the six word-concepts and it would be most appropriately called a "high intensity" attitude cluster.

Prototype II (Attitude)

Prototype II consists of subjects E1, G2, C2, F2, B2, D2 and X2. Subject G2 was identified as most representative of the cluster.

Again, using the demographic data presented Chapter VI, subject G2 is further identified as male, age 28, one year of graduate study, no formal training in journalism and has worked with the underground press for three years.

Subject G2 can be further described by the intensity of his attitude toward certain of the six word-concepts. His mean attitude score for the word-concept FREAK was 6.0, the highest among the 20 subjects. His score for the word-concept IMPERIALISM was 1.0, the lowest of the mean attitude scores. Subject C2 also displayed such intensity in his response to the word-concepts FREAK and IMPERIALISM. His mean attitude scores were 6.0 and 1.2, respectively. His mean score for the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY was 6.6, the

highest among the 20 subjects. Similarly, subject D2's attitude score for the word-concepts FREAK and IMPERIALISM indicate relative intensity. Subject E1 responded to the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT with the lowest mean score, 1.6.

Prototype II, as shown by the mean scores in Figure 12, page 89, can be characterized by the intensity of the subjects' attitude scores, particularly toward the word-concept IMPERIALISM. Although the demographic data did not reveal any trend or commonality among the subjects in the prototype, many of the subjects mean attitude scores display relative intensity, especially when compared to the remaining two prototypes. Prototype II, it follows, can be called a "somewhat high intensity -- with extremes" cluster, referring to the fact that some of the subjects (particularly subject G2, identified as most representative of the cluster) had the most intense responses to certain of the word-concepts. It should be noted, however, that the mean attitude scores for Prototype II were not generally as intense as those of Prototype I.

Prototype III (Attitude)

Subjects D1, A1 and X1 comprise Prototype III. Subject A1, identified as most representative of the cluster, is a 20-year-old high school graduate with no formal training in journalism. He has worked with the Westport Trucker in Kansas City for eight months.

Unlike Prototype II, Prototype III can be categorized

as "low intensity" since most of the subjects' mean attitude scores do not fall very far from neutrality (4.0). The only exception here was the word-concept IMPERIALISM, to which all three subjects responded with a somewhat unfavorable attitude.

It is also interesting to note that Prototype III is the only one of the four attitude prototypes to have a mean attitude score toward the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY of below 4.0. As shown in the paradigm in Figure 12, the subjects in Prototype III rated the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY 3.73, sharply contrasting the favorable attitudes expressed by the subjects in the two previously discussed prototypes.

Age, sex, journalism training and underground press experience do not appear to be contributing factors. Subject D1, almost the antithesis of subject A1, is a 31-year-old doctoral candidate at the University of Texas.

Prototype IV (Attitude)

There are only two subjects in Prototype IV: A2 and E2. Both about the same age, subject E2 is a female, college freshman, has worked with the underground press for one year and has had some formal training in journalism. Subject A2 has completed his second year of high school and has worked with the underground press for the past six years.

The mean attitude scores in the paradigm in Figure 12,

page 89, show that Prototype IV had the most intense scores for the word-concepts FREAK and INSTITUTION. Prototype IV also had the least intense scores for the word-concept IMPERIALISM. This cluster may be categorized as a "high/low intensity" prototype, since the mean scores represent both the most and least intense responses to some of the word-concepts.

Belief Prototypes

Through Linkage Analysis, five belief prototypes were identified, each consisting of subjects whose belief scores were most highly related.

Prototype I (Belief)

Prototype I consists of subjects B2, D2, E2, X2, Y1, Z1 and Z2. Subject Z1 -- female, age 22, college graduate, two and a half years of work with the underground press and no formal training in journalism -- was identified as most representative of the cluster.

Subject Z1, whose mean belief scores were all above 4.5, had indicated a high probability of existence for three of the word-concepts: REVOLUTIONARY, ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM. This particular characteristic seemed prevalent among the other subjects in this prototype. Especially for the word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM, the subjects in this group have generally responded with mean belief scores between 5.2 and 6.4. Subject D2

had indicated that there was a strong probability of existence for all six word-concepts. Her mean scores, with only one exception, were between 6.0 and 6.6. Similarly, subject E2 had rated each of the word-concepts with a mean belief score of 5.8 or higher. For five of the six word-concepts, subject X2 and Y1 had mean scores of above 5.0.

Prototype I, it seems, has indicated a high probability of existence for most of the word-concepts, but in particular the word-concepts STRAIGHT, INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM. For these four word-concepts, the average of the belief scores of the subjects in Prototype I represents the highest among the five belief prototypes.

Prototype I is a "high intensity" cluster; its subjects perceive at least four of the six word-concepts as highly probable in terms of existence.

Prototype II (Belief)

Subjects C2, F2, G1 and G2 comprise Prototype II. Subject G2, who was identified as most representative of the four subjects, was also most representative of Prototype II (Attitude). Subject G2 had mean belief scores of 4.0 and above for the six word-concepts; the intensity of belief was greatest for the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY.

High belief scores for the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY appear to be the only commonality among the subjects in this prototype. Subject G1, for example, rated the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY with a mean belief score of

7.0, the highest possible mean score. Subject C2 had a 6.6 mean score for the word-concept FREAK, the highest mean belief score among the 20 subjects.

As the scores in the paradigm in Figure 13, page 90 show, the subjects in Prototype II had the most intense belief scores for the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY -- 4.5 and 6.2, respectively.

This cluster can be called "high intensity -- limited," since the highly intense responses are limited to only two of the six word-concepts.

Prototype III (Belief)

Prototype III consists of subjects A1, A2, D1 and X1. Subject X1, a 20-year-old male from the Amerikan Press Syndicate, is most representative of the cluster.

The mean belief scores for subject X1 are very close to neutrality (4.0). The most intense score is only 4.8, while half the scores fall only 0.2 from neutrality. The other three subjects also display a lack of intensity in their belief scores.

With the exception of the word-concept FREAK, the score for each of the remaining five word-concepts -- as shown in Figure 13 -- is within .35 of neutrality. Prototype III, it follows, is a "low intensity" cluster.

Prototype IV (Belief)

There are only two subjects in Prototype IV: C1 and E1.

Subject E1 had four mean belief scores of 4.0 and subject C1 had three scores of 4.0, indicating an absence of belief toward certain of the word-concepts. Only the word-concept FREAK received a mean score above 4.0 from both subjects. The scores in Figure 13, page 90 show, however, that of the five belief prototypes, Prototype IV had the least intense response to the word-concept FREAK.

Prototype IV, therefore, can be also described as a "low intensity" cluster.

Prototype V (Belief)

Subject F1 is most representative of Prototype V, which also consists of subjects B1 and Y2. The only apparent commonality among the subjects in Prototype V is the direction and slight intensity of the subjects' mean belief scores for the word-concept IMPERIALISM. The mean scores for the word-concept IMPERIALISM were 4.4 or higher.

For the word-concepts FREAK and STRAIGHT, the scores in Figure 13 indicate that Prototype V had the least intense response. Another "low intensity" cluster, Prototype V consists of too few subjects to allow any further generalization.

Significance of Subjects'

Attitudes and Beliefs

McQuitty's Linkage Analysis procedure identified five belief prototypes and four attitude prototypes from a sample

of 20 subjects -- a rather large number of clusters for a sample of this size. Even the correlations within the various prototypes were not very high. In Prototype I (Attitude), for example, Table XII, page 79 shows that of the 56 inter-correlations, 26 were below .500. In Prototype II (Attitude), 16 of the 42 inter-correlations were below .500 (Table XIII, page 80). The belief prototypes also had strikingly low correlations, as indicated in Table XVI, page 82, where 17 of the 42 inter-correlations were below .500.

Further analysis revealed a significant difference between the mean attitude scores toward the six word-concepts. The paradigm in Figure 12, page 89, shows the six mean scores for each of the four attitude clusters. Since the treatments-by-subjects analysis is predicated on pairing prototypes with themselves (based on the assumption that the prototypes will correlate most highly with themselves), the significant F-ratio in Table XXIV, page 92 -- showing a significant difference between the six word-concepts -- infers ambiguity. When response was measured as the evaluative component -- attitude -- the subjects' responses were not more correlated with themselves than with other subjects. In terms of attitude, therefore, the word-concepts appear ambiguous.

A similar analysis was conducted using the five belief prototypes (Figure 13, page 90). The F-Ratios in Table XXV, page 92, show a significant ratio between the five prototypes, but not between the six word-concepts. Such results

indicate that the word-concepts tend to separate the prototypes; the word-concepts, therefore, as independent variables, seem to solicit similar belief responses.¹ The six word-concepts, when examined by their belief dimension, do not appear ambiguous.

These results seem to confirm Fishbein's observation that the direction of an individual's attitude is not necessarily reflected in the direction of an individual's belief toward a given object or, as in the case of this study, a word-concept.

When defined as the probability dimension, belief can change independently of an attitude. Further, two individuals may differ in belief but have similar attitudes, or vice versa.²

These findings are partially reinforced by the results obtained by computing two additional analyses of variance. These treatment-by-subjects analyses were computed using the belief and attitude scores of all 20 subjects, as opposed to the previous analyses which used the mean belief and attitude scores for each of the nine various prototypes.

The significant F-ratio in Table XXXVII, page 138, shows a significant difference between the attitude scores of the six word-concepts. The .01 level of probability indicates that obtained results would occur by chance at least 99 times out of a 100. This significant difference -- and the high degree of probability -- confirms earlier observations that, in terms of attitude, the word-concepts are ambiguous.

TABLE XXXVII
 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F-RATIOS:
 SUBJECTS' ATTITUDE SCORES

Source	df	ss	ms	F	P
Between Subjects	19	14.4	.76	1.25	n.s
Between Concepts	5	104.1	20.82	34.13	.01
Residual Error	95	58.3	.61		
Total	119	176.8			

TABLE XXXVIII
 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE F-RATIOS:
 SUBJECTS' BELIEF SCORES

Source	df	ss	ms	F	P
Between Subjects	19	15.7	.83	1.98	.05
Between Concepts	5	14.3	2.86	6.81	.01
Residual Error	95	39.7	.42		
Total	119	69.7			

The F-Ratios in Table XXXVIII, page 138, however, do not reinforce earlier findings. In the treatments-by-subjects analysis of the five belief prototypes, there was a greater F-Ratio between the prototypes than between the word-concepts. The former was significant at the .01 level of probability; the latter was not significant. In the analysis of each of the 20 subjects' belief scores, the between word-concepts F-Ratio was the larger.

FOOTNOTES

¹Fishbein's belief scales measure belief in an object, as opposed to belief about the object and its relationship with another object. Belief in refers to the existence of an object; belief about deals with the nature of that object, the manner in which it exists.

²Martin Fishbein and Bertram H. Raven, "The AB Scales," Human Relations (1962, No. 15), p. 40.

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CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

"The catch words and phrases of a social group are the expression of its values," observes Robert Hipkiss, an English instructor at California State College.¹ Those who exist outside this social group, Hipkiss infers, have trouble translating such vocabulary. Only when the values are shared will the words be deciphered in a meaningful way.

In an exploratory voyage, this study has attempted to discover the linguistic behavior of a particular social group -- the underground journalist -- and the function of certain catch words, heretofore called word-concepts. Hipkiss' statement seems especially relevant to this thesis, for the basic conclusion to be drawn from the data presented in previous chapters is that the six tested word-concepts are difficult to translate even among members of the given social group.

The assumption, then, is that if such difficulties exist within a particular group, it will become even greater for those outside it.

The language of the underground press is, at times, of a hybrid nature: it's a combination of conventional words with unconventional definitions. This, in itself, is not

necessarily bad. Unfortunately, however, the creators and practitioners of the underground language seldom announce such hybridity and, consequently, many people have little choice but to interpret the language and its words in a way that reflects their experiences -- as conventional as they may be.

Summary: Methodology and Findings

The emotive response to the six word-concepts was defined and measured as the subjects' attitudes and beliefs toward the word-concepts. Martin Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, a modification of Charles Osgood's Semantic Differential, were used to evaluate the two emotive dimensions.

A correlation matrix was constructed for both the subjects' attitude and belief scores. Each matrix revealed the relationship between the 20 subjects as indicated by their individual attitude and belief scores. The correlations were further examined by administering a linkage analysis, thus providing a way to "cluster" subjects into various attitude and belief prototypes. These prototypes and their responses to the six word-concepts were subjected to a treatments-by-subjects variance analysis.

Nine prototypes were identified, five within the belief matrix and four within the attitude matrix. In Chapter IX an attempt was made to isolate any commonality to which the various prototypes could be attributed.

Results of the variance analysis indicated that, in terms of attitude, the word-concepts appear to be ambiguous. As measured by belief, the word-concepts did not appear ambiguous.

The cognitive response, defined and measured as extensional and intensional agreement, was examined by administering Wendell Johnson's Extensional and Intensional Agreement Indices. The results discussed in Chapters VIII and IX showed low agreement among the subjects' extensional and intensional application of the six word-concepts.

Proposed Hypotheses

The first of the two proposed hypotheses in Chapter V -- predicting a significant difference between the subjects' emotive response to the six word-concepts -- was partially supported. Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales revealed a different pattern for the emotive responses: attitude scores were not necessarily reflected in the belief scores.

The results discussed in Chapter VII and IX also indicated a greater difference between the mean attitude scores than between the mean belief scores.

The 20 subjects did not have highly correlated attitude and belief scores; there did exist an unusually high number of attitude and belief clusters for a sample of this size. But despite the low correlations and the large number of prototypes, there did appear to be some over-all agreement, especially in the direction of the mean attitude

scores. Generally, the subjects responded favorably to the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY and unfavorably to the word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM. The intensity of the mean attitude toward the four word-concepts account for much of the variance between the subjects' evaluative responses. Although all the subjects responded to the word-concept IMPERIALISM with an unfavorable mean attitude score, the intensity of these responses ranged from 1.0 to 3.8.

The second hypothesis -- predicting a significant difference between the subjects cognitive response to the six word-concepts -- was supported by the findings, with more certainty than the first hypothesis.

The three Intensional Agreement Indices, the highest of which was only .083, showed very low agreement among the 20 subjects. Although the three Extensional Agreement Indices were considerably higher, the inclusion of Richard Nixon and Angela Davis in the testing mechanism contributed greatly to the unusually high indices.

The Dysfunctions of the Underground Language

Results discussed earlier in Chapters VII, VIII and IX show an inability on the part of the subjects to distinguish between words and the objects to which the words might refer. Many subjects responded with similar evaluative direction to a given word-concept, but these same subjects were unable to agree on the application of the word-concept. For example,

practically every subject registered at least a somewhat unfavorable response to the word-concept IMPERIALISM. Nonetheless, the average Intensional Agreement Index for the word-concept IMPERIALISM was only .078, indicating that the subjects had virtually no agreement on the intensional application of the word-concept. The word-concepts themselves, perhaps, had become objects -- entities to which the subjects could respond without having to consider any symbol-object relationship.

Vague and Ambiguous Words

Studies have shown that when words are vague and/or ambiguous they tend to affect and, in fact, inhibit information processing mechanisms. In a recent study conducted by Blaine Goss, assistant professor of speech communication at the University of Oklahoma, a comparison between clear, vague and ambiguous nouns indicated that clear nouns had fewer associates (objects to which the noun refers) than vague and/or ambiguous nouns. Using a Response Variation Index (RVI), which is analogous to a type-token ratio used in content analysis, Goss determined that clear nouns generated significantly smaller RVI scores than did vague and/or ambiguous nouns.²

Goss defines "vague" and "ambiguous" nouns as follows:

A vague noun is one which refers to one class that has many members. In a dictionary definition it would be a term with essentially one definition

followed by many examples.

An ambiguous noun is one that refers to more than one class, and where the classes have a limited number of members. In a dictionary it would be a term with at least two unrelated definitions, with each definition most often referring to a single object.³

Three of the six word-concepts -- INSTITUTION, ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM -- appear to be vague nouns as defined by Goss. Categorizing these word-concepts as "vague" seems to be further reinforced by their low intensional agreement indices. The low indices show that, as in the case of Goss' reasoning, each of the word-concepts had many members in its class. Similarly, the word-concept REVOLUTIONARY may be considered a vague noun.

The word-concepts STRAIGHT and FREAK, however, seem to be both vague and ambiguous. Both word-concepts have at least two unrelated definitions -- one given by the dictionary and the other by those who use the underground language. Since the word-concepts also refer to more than one class, Goss' definition of "ambiguous" seems to fit.

The fact that the word-concepts may be vague and/or ambiguous does not imply that the subjects' responses were less "real" or that such responses should be slighted. As Johnson observes:

We classify largely by naming. Having named something, we tend to evaluate it and so to react to it in terms of the name we have given it. We learn in our culture to evaluate names, or labels, or words, quite independently of the actualities to which they might be applied. This is a more specific way of saying that the levels of abstraction are potentially -- and very often

actually -- independent.

So common is this tendency to evaluate names as names, that psychologists have been able to demonstrate that practically anyone in our culture reacts more or less profoundly to isolated words.⁴

The tendency to respond strongly to words alone is what Johnson implies is symptomatic of "evaluational rigidity," one of the three language maladjustments discussed in Chapter IV.

Snarl-Utterances and Purr-Utterances

When words by themselves solicit such a strong reaction and when words are used to express intensely favorable or unfavorable emotions, S.I. Hayakawa suggests they are "snarl" or "purr" words.⁵

The obtained attitude scores show that the word-concepts FREAK and REVOLUTIONARY may be considered purr words. The word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM could be categorized as snarl words. The mean attitude for the word-concepts STRAIGHT (3.96) and INSTITUTION (3.54) fall too close to neutrality to justify any speculation.

An intense attitude alone -- either favorable or unfavorable -- is not reason enough to consider a word a direct expression of approval or disapproval. But an intense attitude combined with low extensional/intensional agreement indices and an inability of the subjects to qualify the application of a word-concept, suggests that at least four of the six word-concepts may function as judgments in their simplest forms.

It is believed, therefore, that the word-concepts ESTABLISHMENT and IMPERIALISM symbolize condemnation -- a judgment, not an object. These two word-concepts are more likely to be used as an expression of disapproval, rather than as a direct reference to an extensional object.

Conversely, the word-concepts REVOLUTIONARY and FREAK represent an expression of approval, not necessarily symbols for a particular type (or types) of person.

Snarl-utterances and purr-utterances -- which Hayakawa explains are the human equivalents of snarling and purring -- do not describe conditions in the extensional world. But merely because a word-concept is a snarl word or a purr word does not mean "...that we should simply shrug them off."⁶ Hayakawa suggests that such words be accompanied by verifiable reports. If, for example, the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT was accompanied by a verifiable report, it would be possible for others to understand why the judgment was made. But when snarl words and purr words are unaccompanied by such reports, there is nothing left to discuss, except possibly the question, "Why do you feel as you do?"⁷

For Further Study

In administering Fishbein's Attitude-Belief Scales, it was discovered that the subjects tended to regard the "true-false" scale as more of an evaluative dimension than a probability dimension. The subjects' responses to the that scale seemed to be more in line with the attitude scales

than with the remaining four belief scales. It is suggested this scale be further investigated. The findings in this study may indicate that the scale validity was far below Fishbein's expectations.

Further exploration of the underground press is virtually boundless. Since researchers to date have ignored much of the alternative media's content, style, structure and purpose, almost any area is worthy of study. Content analyses would be useful, as would more basic rhetorical studies of the underground language.

This thesis may lend itself to further investigation of language behavior; specifically, to what extent do verifiable reports reduce the variance between subjects' responses to certain word-concepts?

Of particular interest would be gatekeeper studies to explore the news-gathering/news-disseminating process of the underground press. Moreover, it would be useful to discover what types of articles are more likely to receive prominent exposure in the underground press.

Historical studies should be avoided. Two books have been published on the topic and, as this thesis nears completion, a third book has just been released. Tracing the growth of the underground press is hardly a systematic approach to the subject. Besides, it's much too early to put the medium in any historical perspective.

For the Underground Press

The primary symbols of the underground language suggest two probable categories: 1. New words, those which have been designed to express experiences for which words did not exist and, 2. Conventional words dressed in unconventional definitions.

By their very nature the "new" words create annoying dissonance: people are thrown off balance, they are not certain how to react to these words. Similarly, the hybridity of the underground language -- the coupling of conventional words with unconventional definitions -- has also created a rather precarious situation, one which prevents underground journalists from anticipating the effect of their message. (It's difficult, no doubt, to predict -- with any degree of certainty -- whether a reader's response will be guided by an awareness of the hybrid words, particularly since the nature of these words are seldom announced.)

Yet, as trying as it may be to adjust to the dysfunctions of new and hybrid words, the overriding defect in the underground language seems to be based in the application of snarl-purr words. These words, it seems, are most often used to express condemnation or praise, to indicate approval of disapproval or to label a situation good or bad. Such words are, simply, a very generalized evaluative statement and they not necessarily refer to anything other than

the source's disposition.

Eventually, the narcotizing repetition of snarl-purr words will stifle the uninhibited flow of information and allow for little more than a profound dullness of thought. If underground journalists hope to establish an effective medium, they must invoke more rigid controls on their language. They must assemble the proper credentials for logical reasoning and credible reporting. The underground press must overcome its use of sweeping generalizations.

The language of the underground press should be constructed to insure a consistent interpretation by its readers. Presumably, the language should accommodate -- not restrict -- its audience. The language of the underground press, unfortunately, seems to function as a discriminator, allowing intelligible information to flow only to a select few. As a reinforcement, this limited-audience approach may suffice. But if the underground press is to achieve mass reception, its language must become more compatible with those who seek its message.

Specifically, the findings herein suggest that underground journalists should make a concerted effort to avoid snarl and purr words. At the very least, such words should be accompanied by qualifying statements or what Hayakawa calls verifiable reports.

"As the quality of language degenerates," argues a recent editorial in the New York Times, "so does the quality of communication -- and the quality of thought."⁸

Perhaps the most appropriate suggestion for the under-
ground press -- and a fitting conclusion for this study --
is the not-so-subtle message in a poem called "Meaning?"

The problem we spoke of
Remains
Clamped by obscurities
Like a fishhook
Snagged on weeds.
We should have used
A net.
But that would have
Required
Synchronized exertion and
Willingness
To share the catch.⁹

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert A. Hipkiss, "The Semantics of the Generation Gap," ETC., Vol. 27 (1970), p. 327.

²Blaine Goss, "The Effect of Sentence Context On Associations To Ambiguous, Vague and Clear Nouns," Speech Monographs, Vol. 39 (1972), p. 287.

³Ibid., pp. 287-89.

⁴Wendell Johnson, People In Quandries (New York, 1946), p. 261.

⁵S.I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York, 1939), p. 44.

⁶Ibid., p. 45.

⁷Ibid., p. 46.

⁸The New York Times (July 10, 1972).

⁹Virginia Bailey, "Meaning?," ETC., Vol. 27 (1970), p. 318.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ATTITUDE AND BELIEF SCORES

TABLE XXXIX
OBTAINED ATTITUDE SCORES*

A		B		C		D		E		F		G		X		Y		Z	
1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
6	6	2	3	6	6	4	6	4	7	5	4	6	6	4	5	1	7	5	4
5	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	3	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5
4	5	4	6	4	5	4	4	4	7	4	4	4	7	3	3	4	5	4	4
6	4	4	4	4	7	4	6	5	6	6	3	6	6	5	6	7	5	6	6
3	4	3	5	5	6	5	6	4	5	6	3	6	6	4	7	7	6	4	7
3	3	5	5	5	7	3	6	4	6	7	5	7	6	4	5	7	5	7	7
3	3	4	4	4	6	3	5	4	4	5	5	7	6	4	4	6	5	6	6
5	4	4	4	4	6	4	4	4	6	5	4	4	6	4	4	4	4	5	4
4	4	4	6	4	7	3	6	4	6	6	6	7	6	3	4	6	4	7	7
5	4	4	5	4	7	4	6	4	4	6	4	7	6	4	6	7	2	5	6
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	2	3	3	3
3	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	5	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	3
7	4	5	4	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	7	4	5	5	4	5	5	7
4	4	4	5	4	6	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	1	4	3	4
6	3	3	5	4	6	4	4	4	2	4	4	3	6	4	5	2	3	4	3
3	3	3	4	3	5	3	3	4	1	4	3	2	4	3	2	1	4	2	2
3	4	4	3	4	5	4	4	4	2	4	3	3	4	4	4	2	6	4	4
7	4	4	3	4	6	4	4	4	7	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	7	4	7
4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	2	4	3	2	4	3	1	1	2	1	2
4	2	3	3	4	6	3	4	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	6	1	3	2	2
2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	4	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2
2	3	4	3	4	3	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	3	3	5	5	4
6	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	4	4
2	4	4	3	4	4	3	2	1	4	4	3	1	2	3	3	1	5	1	1
5	3	3	4	4	5	3	2	4	3	2	3	1	2	4	4	1	3	1	1
1	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	4	4	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1
1	4	4	2	1	1	3	4	3	4	2	2	5	1	3	5	1	5	4	4
3	4	4	2	4	2	3	1	4	3	4	3	4	1	4	4	1	3	2	1
2	3	1	2	4	1	3	1	3	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1
2	3	2	3	4	1	3	1	3	4	6	2	1	1	4	3	3	3	1	1

*The above table lists the subjects' attitude scores for each of the six word-concepts. The scores represent each subject's response to each of the five scales used to measure attitude.

TABLE XXXX
OBTAINED BELIEF SCORES*

A		B		C		D		E		F		G		X		Y		Z	
1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
6	4	4	4	4	7	4	7	4	7	4	3	6	6	5	6	4	4	4	7
6	7	4	4	4	6	4	6	4	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	4	4	5	7
7	4	4	6	7	7	5	6	5	7	4	5	6	5	5	5	7	5	5	7
4	4	4	4	4	7	4	7	4	4	5	3	4	6	4	6	2	5	4	6
5	4	4	3	5	6	4	7	4	7	5	5	5	5	4	3	2	4	4	1
2	4	3	4	4	7	3	6	4	7	4	6	7	6	3	4	6	5	7	6
5	4	4	5	4	6	3	7	4	4	6	5	6	6	3	5	6	6	6	6
7	4	4	6	4	6	3	6	4	7	4	6	7	6	4	6	6	4	6	7
3	4	4	6	4	6	4	7	4	7	6	5	6	6	4	2	6	5	6	6
6	3	5	6	5	6	4	6	4	7	5	6	7	6	4	5	4	3	4	4
3	4	4	5	4	7	4	7	4	7	4	3	3	4	4	7	7	2	5	2
3	3	4	3	4	6	4	4	3	1	4	3	2	4	3	5	1	3	4	3
3	4	4	5	4	7	4	7	4	7	4	3	2	6	4	6	7	4	5	4
4	4	4	5	4	6	4	7	4	7	4	4	2	6	4	7	5	4	5	3
5	4	4	4	4	7	4	6	4	7	4	3	2	4	4	4	6	6	4	6
4	4	4	6	4	6	5	6	4	7	4	3	3	4	4	6	7	3	4	4
5	3	4	3	4	6	4	3	4	1	4	3	2	4	3	1	2	3	2	1
7	4	4	6	4	6	5	7	4	7	4	4	2	4	4	7	7	5	7	7
6	4	4	6	4	6	4	7	4	7	4	4	2	4	4	7	5	2	7	7
5	4	4	5	4	6	4	7	4	7	4	3	1	4	4	7	5	3	6	4
3	4	4	5	4	7	4	7	4	7	4	5	1	4	4	7	7	5	5	1
3	4	4	3	4	3	3	2	4	1	4	3	1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1
4	4	4	6	4	7	4	7	4	7	4	5	4	6	4	7	7	3	7	7
4	4	4	4	4	6	4	7	4	7	6	4	1	4	4	7	6	4	7	7
3	4	4	4	4	6	4	6	4	7	6	3	4	4	4	7	2	5	7	4
3	6	4	5	2	6	4	7	4	7	6	4	5	5	5	7	7	5	7	7
3	4	4	6	4	2	4	4	4	5	4	4	1	1	4	2	1	4	1	1
5	5	4	6	5	7	4	7	4	7	4	6	7	6	5	7	7	5	7	7
5	4	5	4	2	6	4	7	4	7	5	4	7	5	4	7	5	4	7	7
5	4	4	6	4	6	4	7	4	7	5	2	7	5	5	7	5	4	7	4

*The above table lists the subjects' belief scores for each of the six word-concepts. The scores represent each subject's response to each of the five scales used to measure belief.

APPENDIX B

SYNONYMS FOR THE WORD-CONCEPTS
IMPERIALISM, ESTABLISHMENT
AND INSTITUTION

Obtained synonyms for the word-concept IMPERIALISM:

colonial
exploiter
capitalism
superior-inferior relationships
expansion
control
arcahic order*
kingdom
greed
chauvinism
aggression
suppression
robbery
mighty
foreign
fat
orgy
oppression
United States
conquest
Facism*
wealth
force
neo-colonialism
mulinational corporatism*
capitalist expansion

*Subject's spelling

Obtained synonyms for the word-concept ESTABLISHMENT:

method
whatever is
given authorities
conservative
control
order
system
there
power elite
them
structured
stationary
half-sighted
burarracy*
religion
mass delusion
material
government
corporation
oppressive
capitalist
institution
society
secure
fixed
powers that be
military-industrial complex

*Subject's spelling

Obtained synonyms for the word-concept INSTITUTION:

organization
tradition
status
capitalism
regulatory agency
money
structure
school
facility
red tape
ineffectual
rigid
greedy
omnipresent
false security
box
crowded
church
state
indifferent
system
tool
establishment
building
room
status quo
neutral

APPENDIX C

LIST OF UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS

The following list of underground newspapers was compiled from the most recent membership listings (1972) of the Underground Press Syndicate, the Amerikan Press Syndicate and Liberation News Service. This list should not be considered all inclusive, since many smaller organizations' lists were not used; for example, none of the high school underground news services were used as sources for additional listings.

Ain't I A Woman - Iowa City, Iowa
 Akwesasne Notes - Rooseveltown, New York
 All American Rag - Carbondale, Illinois
 The Alternative - Beverly Shores, California
 Alternatives Journal - Los Angeles, California
 Amazing Grace - Tallahassee, Florida
 Andromeda - Stillwater, Oklahoma
 Ann Arbor Sun - Ann Arbor, Michigan
 Astral Projections - Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Atlantis - Miamisburg, Ohio
 Augur - Eugene, Oregon
 Argo - Pomona, New Jersey
 All You Can Eat - New Brunswick, New Jersey

Bars and Gripes - Shelton, Washington
 Berkeley Barb - Berkeley, California
 Berkeley Tribe - Berkeley, California
 Better World News - West Point, California
 Big Muddy Gazette - Carbondale, Illinois
 Black News - Camden, New Jersey
 Black Resistance Magazine - St. Louis, Missouri
 Black Vanguard - Champaign, Illinois
 Black Voice - Newark, New Jersey
 Black Voice - Syracuse, New York
 Boise City Heralds Tribune - Boise, Idaho
 Borealis Communications - Clio, Michigan
 Boston Phoenix - Boston, Massachusetts
 Both Sides Now - Jacksonville, Florida
 Bugle American - Milwaukee, Wisconsin
 Bragg Briefs - Spring Lake, North Carolina
 Burning Spear - Ann Arbor, Michigan

Cahoots - Joplin, Missouri
 Charlotte Media - Charlotte, North Carolina
 Challenge- Davenport, Iowa

Chicago Seed - Chicago, Illinois
 Civil Defense - Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
 Columbus Free Press - Columbus, Ohio
 Come Together - Encino, California
 Come Unity - St. Petersburg, Florida
 Common Sense - Bloomington, Indiana
 Common Sense - Chattanooga, Tennessee
 Creem - Walled Lake, Michigan
 Crystal City News - Bowling Green, Ohio
 Cuyahoga Current - Cleveland, Ohio

Daily Planet - Miami, Florida
 D. C. Gazette - Washington, D. C.
 Deadringer - Forth Wayne, Indiana
 The Destroyer - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Door - San Diego, California
 Dragonseed - Baltimore, Maryland
 Drummer - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

EdCentric - Washington, D. C.
 El Papel - Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Elyaqi Compass - Houston, Texas
 Equinox - Troutdale, Oregon
 Ethos - Little Rock, Arkansas
 Envelope Freeway - Wickliffe, Ohio
 The Express - Hicksville, New York
 Eyewitness - San Francisco, California
 Everywoman - Los Angeles, California

Face to Face - Gardner, Massachusetts
 Family Voice - Elmhurst, New York
 Feast of Fools - Des Moines, Iowa
 Fifth Estate - Detroit, Michigan
 The First Casualty - New York, New York
 Fits - San Francisco, California
 Fly By Night - Washington, D. C.
 The Folk Tack - Kansas City, Missouri
 Fort Carson Racial Harmony Council - Fort Carson,
 Colorado

The For Real Purdy - Gig Harbor, Washington
 For The People - Fall River, Massachusetts
 Fourth Estate - Palo Alto, California
 Free Akron - Akron, Ohio
 Free Aquarian - Passaic, New Jersey
 Free Forum - Sutherland, Oregon
 Free News - Richmond, California
 The Free Press - Coconut Grove, Florida
 From Scratch - Walla Walla, Washington
 FTA - Louisville, Kentucky
 Fuse - Oneonta, Alabama
 Fusion - Boston, Massachusetts

The Gar - Austin, Texas
 Gay Sunshine - Berkeley, California
 Gimme Shelter Collective - Kansas City, Missouri
 Golden City Gazette - Topeka, Kansas
 Goodbye To All That - San Diego, California
 Good-News Acid - New Orleans, Louisiana
 Good Times - San Francisco, California
 Great Speckled Bird - Atlanta, Georgia
 Great Swamp Erie, Da, Da, Boom - Cleveland, Ohio
 El Grito del Norte - Espanola, New Mexico
 Gulf Coast Fish Cheer - Pennsecola, Florida
 Gutz - Portland, Oregon
 The Guardian - New York, New York

Henderson Station - State College, Pennsylvania
 Hemo Da Skool - Honolulu, Hawaii
 High School Rising - New York, New York
 Home Cookin' - Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
 Homefront - Brooklyn, New York
 Honky Times - San Antonio, Texas
 Hooka - Dallas, Texas
 Hundred Flowers - Minneapolis, Minnesota

Iconoclast - Dallas, Texas
 Independent Eye - Cincinnati, Ohio
 Indianapolis Free Press - Indianapolis, Indiana
 Industrial Worker - Chicago, Illinois
 In The Heart of the Beast - Leominster, Massachusetts
 The Issue - Columbia, Missouri
 I Wor Kuen - New York, New York

Jailbreak - Corvallis, Oregon
 The Journal - Rochester, New York

Kaleidoscope - Hazelton, Pennsylvania
 Kaleidoscope - West Hempstead, New York
 Kaleidoscope Publishing Company - Milwaukee, Wisconsin
 Kensington Free Press - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 King Street Trolley - Madison, Wisconsin
 The Kudzu - Jackson, Mississippi

Lancaster Independent Press - Lancaster, Pennsylvania
 Last Harass - Augusta, Georgia
 Las Vegas Free Press - Las Vegas, New Mexico
 Left Face - Anniston, Alabama
 The Lesbian Tide - Los Angeles, California
 Liberated Guardian - New York, New York
 Lightning - Storrs, Connecticut
 Local Rocks - Los Angeles, California
 Long Beach Free Press - Long Beach, California
 Long Island Free Press - Westbury, New York

The Looking Glass - Cleveland, Ohio
 Los Angeles Free Press - Los Angeles, California
 Los Angeles News Advocate - Los Angeles, California
 Lost In Space - Binghamton, New York
 Lincoln Park Publishing Company - Fort Pierce, Florida

Maggie's Farm - Dayton, Ohio
 Marijuana Review - San Francisco, California
 Market Place - Kinsville, Texas
 The Match - Tucson, Arizona
 The Metro - Detroit, Michigan
 Milestones - West Union, Iowa
 Moniebague Press - Westhampton Beach, New York
 Moscow Idaho News, Moscow, Idaho
 Mother Earth News - Madison, Ohio
 Muhammad Speaks - Chicago, Illinois

Navy Times Are Changin' - North Chicago, Illinois
 New Community Journal - Bowling Green, Ohio
 New Dawn - San Francisco, California
 New Improved Tide - Los Angeles, California
 New Morning - Columbia, Missouri
 New Morning - East Cleveland, Ohio
 New Morning Community - New York, New York
 New Morning News - Bangor, Maine
 News and Letters - Detroit, Michigan
 New Times - Tempe, Arizona
 New Unity - Springfield, Massachusetts
 Norfolk Gorilla - Norfolk, Virginia
 The News - Cambridge, Massachusetts
 Nola Express - New Orleans, Louisiana
 North Carolina Anvil - Durham, North Carolina
 Northwest Passage, Bellingham, Washington
 The New Liberator - Chicago, Illinois

The O.B. People's Rag - Ocean Beach, California
 The Oleo Strut - Killeen, Texas
 Omaha Suitcase - Akron, Ohio
 Off Our Backs - Washington, D.C.
 The Only Alternative - Muncie, Indiana
 The Orphan - Lansing, Illinois
 Osmosis - Tulsa, Oklahoma
 Other Voice - New Orleans, Louisiana
 Outlaw - Miami, Florida
 Outlaw - St. Louis, Missouri
 The Outlaw Times Tribe - Forth Worth, Texas
 Our Choking Times - Columbus, Ohio

The Paper - Bakersfield, California
 The Paper - Kansas City, Missouri
 Patriot - Kalamazoo, Michigan

Peace Press - Los Angeles, California
 People's Press - Clovis, New Mexico
 People's Press - Fort Dodge, Iowa
 The People's Record - Springfield, Ohio
 People's Weekly - Waterbury, Connecticut
 Philadelphia Free Press - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Pittsburg Fair Witness - Pittsburg, Pennsylvania
 Poiuyt - Marietta, Ohio
 The Primer - Lakeland, Florida
 Providence Free Press - Pawtucket, Rhode Island
 Provincial Press - Spokane, Washington
 Pure Corn - Evansville, Indiana

Quack - Terre Haute, Indiana
 Quicksilver Times, Washington, D.C.

The Rag - Austin, Texas
 The Rag - Portland, Maine
 Rage - Hubert, North Carolina
 Rainbow - Miami, Florida
 Rama Pipien - Newcastle, California
 The Rat - New York, New York
 Reality Sandwich, Springfield, Illinois
 Realities - Geneva, Illinois
 Rearguard - Mobile, Alabama
 Red Brick - Lafayette, Indiana
 Red Clover Collective - Putney, Vermont
 Red Times - Detroit, Michigan
 The Rest of the News - Ithaca, New York
 Razzberry Radicle - Dayton, Ohio
 Rising Up Angry - Chicago, Illinois
 River City Review - South Bend, Indiana
 The Root - Grand Rapids, Michigan

San Jose Red Eye - San Jose, California
 Schuylkill River Express - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Second City - Chicago, Illinois
 Second Coming - Ypsilanti, Michigan
 The Seed - Hays, Kansas
 Seer's Catalogue - Albuquerque, New Mexico
 St. Louis New Times - St. Louis, Missouri
 Shelter Half - Tacoma, Washington
 Skate - El Paso, Texas
 The Skweeker - Great Falls, Montana
 The South Baltimore Voice - Baltimore, Maryland
 Southern Comfort - Jonesboro, Arkansas
 Space - Binghamton, New York
 Space City News - Houston, Texas
 Spark - Amherst, Massachusetts
 Spark - Takoma Park, Maryland
 The Spokesman - New Lennox, Illinois
 Spuff - Beverly Hills, California
 The Staff - Los Angeles, California

Stockton Community Newspaper - Atlantic City, New Jersey
 Straight Creek Journal - Denver, Colorado
 Stump - Kent, Ohio
 Sunburst - Tucson, Arizona
 Sundance Magazine - San Francisco, California
 Sundaze - Santa Cruz, California
 Sunshine Aura - Erie, Pennsylvania
 Submarine Church Press - Florence, Massachusetts
 Sweetfire - Albany, New York
 Synergy - Westfield, New Jersey

Take Over - Madison, Wisconsin
 Third World Edition - Brooklyn, New York
 The Threepenny Paper - Middleton, Connecticut
 Thursday - Cambridge, Massachusetts
 Touch - Corte Madera, California
 Tree Frog Report - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Tribal Council - Woodbury, Illinois
 Tribal Messenger - Albuquerque, New Mexico
 True Free Press - Indio, California
 The Trumpet - Goleta, California

UFO - Columbia, South Carolina
 Undercurrent - Buffalo, New York
 University Review - New York, New York
 Up Against The Wall - Ann Arbor, Michigan

Vets Stars & Stripes - Chicago, Illinois
 The Village Sun - Laguna Beach, California
 Virginia Weekly, Charlottesville, Virginia
 Vodka - Los Angeles, California
 Voice of Hope - Houston, Texas
 Vortex - Lawrence, Kansas

Walrus - Champaign, Illinois
 The Watcher - Winter Park, Florida
 The Watcher - Apopka, Florida
 Washington Park Spirit - Albany, New York
 Weather Report - San Marcos, Texas
 Westport Trucker - Kansas City, Missouri
 West Side of the Tracks - Daytona Beach, Florida
 We The People - Madison, Wisconsin
 Whippersnapper - McConnellsburg, Pennsylvania
 Wild Currents - Duluth, Minnesota
 Willamette Rising - Portland, Oregon
 Winter Soldier - Tulsa, Oklahoma
 Woodstock Aquarian - Woodstock, New York
 Worcester Spy - Worcester, Massachusetts
 Word Power - Salt Lake City, Utah
 Work Force - Canyon, California
 The Worst Orange Gazette - West Orange, New Jersey

Zebra - Pueblo, Colorado

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

AGE.....

SEX.....

PLEASE INDICATE THE NUMBER OF YEARS YOU'VE WORKED WITH THE UNDERGROUND PRESS.....

PLEASE CIRCLE THE LAST YEAR OF FORMAL EDUCATION YOU HAVE COMPLETED:

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

HAVE YOU HAD ANY FORMAL TRAINING IN JOURNALISM?YESNO

*Please read the directions on the next page very
carefully. Thank you for your cooperation!*

DIRECTIONS:


The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain persons or things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test, please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean *to you*. On the following pages you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. Please rate the concept on each of these scales. If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your checkmark as follows:

GOOD  BAD

OR

GOOD  BAD

If you feel the concept is quite closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check mark as follows:

GOOD  BAD

OR

GOOD  BAD


If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:

GOOD  BAD

OR

GOOD  BAD

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the thing you're judging. If the concept is related to neither end of the scale or if the concept is equally related to both ends of the scale, you should place your check mark as follows:

GOOD  BAD

F R E A K

RATIONAL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	INTUITIVE
HARMFUL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	BENEFICIAL
WISE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	FOOLISH
DIRTY	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	CLEAN
SUCCESSFUL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	UNSUCCESSFUL
IMPOSSIBLE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	POSSIBLE
EDUCATED	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	IGNORANT
CRUEL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	KIND
GRACEFUL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	AWKWARD
POTENT	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	IMPOTENT
FALSE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	TRUE
ACTIVE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	PASSIVE
EXISTENT	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	NONEXISTENT
BAD	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	GOOD
PROBABLE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	IMPROBABLE
SKEPTICAL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	BELIEVING
UNLIKELY	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	LIKELY
HONEST	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	DISHONEST
SICK	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	HEALTHY
STRONG	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	WEAK

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R E V O L U T I O N A R Y

RATIONAL	INTUITIVE
HARMFUL	BENEFICIAL
WISE	FOOLISH
DIRTY	CLEAN
SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL
IMPOSSIBLE	POSSIBLE
EDUCATED	IGNORANT
CRUEL	KIND
GRACEFUL	AWKWARD
POTENT	IMPOTENT
FALSE	TRUE
ACTIVE	PASSIVE
EXISTENT	NONEXISTENT
BAD	GOOD
PROBABLE	IMPROBABLE
SKEPTICAL	BELIEVING
UNLIKELY	LIKELY
HONEST	DISHONEST
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STRONG	WEAK

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S T R A I G H T

RATIONAL	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	INTUITIVE
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WISE	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	FOOLISH
DIRTY	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	CLEAN
SUCCESSFUL	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	UNSUCCESSFUL
IMPOSSIBLE	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	POSSIBLE
EDUCATED	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	IGNORANT
CRUEL	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	KIND
GRACEFUL	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	AWKWARD
POTENT	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	IMPOTENT
FALSE	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	TRUE
ACTIVE	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	PASSIVE
EXISTENT	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	NONEXISTENT
BAD	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	GOOD
PROBABLE	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	IMPROBABLE
SKEPTICAL	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	BELIEVING
UNLIKELY	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	LIKELY
HONEST	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	DISHONEST
SICK	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	HEALTHY
STRONG	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	WEAK

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I N S T I T U T I O N

RATIONAL	INTUITIVE
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DIRTY	CLEAN
SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL
IMPOSSIBLE	POSSIBLE
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E S T A B L I S H M E N T

RATIONAL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	INTUITIVE
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DIRTY	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	CLEAN
SUCCESSFUL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	UNSUCCESSFUL
IMPOSSIBLE	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	POSSIBLE
EDUCATED	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	IGNORANT
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SKEPTICAL	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	BELIEVING
UNLIKELY	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	LIKELY
HONEST	————— ————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————	DISHONEST
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SICK	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	HEALTHY
STRONG	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	WEAK

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DIRECTIONS:

In this part you will be asked to indicate the two most appropriate synonyms for each of three words. If, for example, the word was "mighty" you may be inclined to choose strong and powerful as the two most appropriate synonyms.

Please list the two most appropriate synonyms for each of the following words:

Institution: (1) _____ (2) _____
 Establishment: (1) _____ (2) _____
 Imperialism: (1) _____ (2) _____

DIRECTIONS:

For each of the following personalities, please indicate which label is the most appropriate. Choose from the following "labels."

Freak
 Revolutionary
 Straight

Jerry Rubin is (a) _____
 Richard Nixon is (a) _____
 Angela Davis is (a) _____
 Philip Berrigan is (a) _____
 John Sinclair is (a) _____
 Daniel Ellsberg is (a) _____

VITA

Theodore Lewis Glasser

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR IN THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

Major Field: Mass Communication

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in New York City, New York, December 17, 1948. The son of Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Sokolowsky.

Education: Graduated from Mineola High School, Garden City Park, New York, June, 1966; attended Nassau Community College during the summers of 1967 and 1968; received the Associate of Arts degree from Sullivan County Community College in 1969; attended Long Island University, 1969; attended C. W. Post College during the summer of 1970; received the Bachelor of Science degree in journalism -- political science/history from Baker University in 1970; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State University in July, 1973.

Professional Experience: Assistant in the public relations office, Baker University, 1970; editor, CSM Communications, 1972-73; member of Association for Education in Journalism, Speech Communication Association, International Communication Association, Sigma Delta Chi, International Society for General Semantics and Broadcast Education Association.