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THE SIMULMATICS CORPORATION
Cambridge/New York/Washington

News Media Coverage of the 1967 Urban Riots

a study prepared for the

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

by

The Simulmatics Corporation

FINAL REPORT
STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Submitted to:
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by

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Table 1 - Detroit

	<u>Riot Related Actions</u> <u>Network and Local TV</u>		
	<u>Number of Appearance in Sequence</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Aftermath, Normal Activity	159	19	140
Control or Containment	126	15	111
Interviews	117	3	114
Arrests	53	3	50
Conciliation	58	-	58
Demonstration	2	1	1
Rioting	28	6	22
Injured, Killed	6	1	5
	549	48	501

Table 2 - Newark

	<u>Riot Related Actions</u> <u>Network and Local TV</u>		
	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Aftermath, Normal Activity	101	80	21
Control or Containment	51	26	25
Interviews	67	38	29
Arrests	11	2	9
Conciliation	15	14	1
Demonstration	13	13	0
Rioting	1	1	0
Injured, Killed	2	-	2
	261	174	87

Table 3 - Cincinnati

<u>Riot Related Actions</u> <u>Network and Local TV</u>			
<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Aftermath, Normal Activity	34	8	26
Control or Containment	63	8	55
Interviews	36	2	34
Arrests	43	3	40
Conciliation	10	-	10
Demonstration	11	-	11
Rioting	6	-	6
Injured, Killed	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	212	23	189

Table 4 - Tampa

<u>Riot Related Actions</u> <u>Network and Local TV</u>			
<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Aftermath, Normal Activity	31	1	30
Control or Containment	47	4	43
Interviews	36	-	36
Arrests	6	-	6
Conciliation	9	-	9
Demonstration	3	2	1
Rioting	-	-	-
Injured, Killed	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	134	8	126

Table 5 - All Other Cities

<u>Riot Related Actions</u> <u>Network and Local TV</u>			
<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Aftermath, Normal Activity	275	10	265
Control or Containment	170	20	150
Interviews	149	17	132
Arrests	77	5	72
Conciliation	81	9	72
Demonstration	20	3	17
Rioting	14	2	12
Injured, Killed	<u>21</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>19</u>
	807	68	739

Table 6 - Detroit

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Aftermath, Normal

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	4	32
Negro Female Adults	2	18
Negro Teenagers	1	17
Negro Children	3	18
White Male Adults	1	21
White Female Adults	1	12
White Teenagers	1	6
White Children	1	3
Police	-	5
National Guard	-	1
Army	3	4
Public Officials	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	19	140

Table 7 - Detroit
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Control, Containment

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	2
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	1
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	4
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	4	46
National Guard	4	41
Army	7	14
Public Officials	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
	15	111

Table 8 - Detroit

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Interviews

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	13
Negro Female Adults	-	11
Negro Teenagers	-	3
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	-	12
White Female Adults	1	3
White Teenagers	-	1
White Children	-	-
Police	-	3
National Guard	-	4
Army	-	3
Public Officials	<u>2</u>	<u>60</u>
	3	114

Table 9 - Detroit

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Arrests

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	2	22
Negro Female Adults	-	7
Negro Teenagers	1	12
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	3
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	3
White Children	-	-
Police	-	3
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	3	50

Table 10 - Detroit

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Conciliatory Actions

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	9
Negro Female Adults	-	9
Negro Teenagers	-	6
Negro Children	-	5
White Male Adults	-	7
White Female Adults	-	7
White Teenagers	-	3
White Children	-	1
Police	-	1
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	1
Public Officials	-	<u>9</u>
	0	58

Table 11 - Detroit
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Demonstration

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	-
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	1	1
Public Officials	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	1	1

Table 12 - Detroit
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Rioting

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network,</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	10
Negro Female Adults	1	4
Negro Teenagers	4	6
Negro Children	-	2
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	6	22

Table 13 - Detroit

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Injured, Killed

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	2
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	1
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	1
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Police Officials	-	-
	1	5

Table 14 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Aftermath, Normal

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	16	4
Negro Female Adults	15	4
Negro Teenagers	15	4
Negro Children	14	3
White Male Adults	6	4
White Female Adults	1	-
White Teenagers	1	-
White Children	1	-
Police	2	-
National Guard	4	2
Army	-	-
Public Officials	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>
	80	21

Table 15 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Control, Containment

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	-
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	8
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	11	10
National Guard	14	7
Army	1	-
Public Officials	-	-
	26	25

Table 16 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Interviews

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	15	11
Negro Female Adults	5	2
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	5	10
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	1
National Guard	-	2
Army	-	-
Public Officials	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>
	38	29

Table 17 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Arrests

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	3
Negro Female Adults	1	1
Negro Teenagers	-	4
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	1	1
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	2	9

Table 18 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Conciliatory Actions

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	3	1
Negro Female Adults	2	-
Negro Teenagers	2	-
Negro Children	2	-
White Male Adults	1	-
White Female Adults	1	-
White Teenagers	1	-
White Children	1	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	1	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	14	1

Table 19 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Demonstration

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequences</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	4	-
Negro Female Adults	1	-
Negro Teenagers	3	-
Negro Children	2	-
White Male Adults	1	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	1	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	1	-
Public Officials	-	-
	13	0

Table 20 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Rioting

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	-
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	1	0

Table 21 - Newark

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Injured, Killed

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	1
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	-	2

Table 22 - Cincinnati
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Aftermath, Normal

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	4	9
Negro Female Adults	1	2
Negro Teenagers	-	4
Negro Children	-	3
White Male Adults	2	4
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	3
National Guard	-	1
Army	1	-
Public Officials	-	-
	8	26

Table 23 - Cincinnati
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences
Control, Containment

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	1
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	3	29
National Guard	3	25
Army	2	-
Public Officials	-	-
	8	55

Table 24 - Cincinnati
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Interviews

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	11
Negro Female Adults	-	2
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	4
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	1
Army	1	-
Public Officials	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>
	2	34

Table 25 - Cincinnati

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Arrests

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	3	14
Negro Female Adults	-	2
Negro Teenagers	-	3
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	2
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	15
National Guard	-	4
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	3	40

Table 26 - Cincinnati

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Conciliatory Actions

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	4
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	5
	0	10

Table 27 - Cincinnati
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Demonstration

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	7
Negro Female Adults	-	2
Negro Teenagers	-	1
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	0	11

Table 28 - Cincinnati

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Rioting

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	2
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	1
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	-	1
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	0	6

Table 29 - Cincinnati
Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Injured, Killed

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	2	2
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	3
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	2
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	2	7

Table 30 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Aftermath, Normal

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	7
Negro Female Adults	1	5
Negro Teenagers	-	6
Negro Children	-	3
White Male Adults	-	8
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	1
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	1	30

Table 31 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Control, Containment

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	2
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	4
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	1	1
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	2	23
National Guard	1	7
Army	-	1
Public Officials	-	5
	4	43

Table 32 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Interviews

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	8
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	4
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	3
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	<u>21</u>
	0	36

Table 33 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Arrests

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	2
Negro Female Adults	-	1
Negro Teenagers	-	1
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	1
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	-	-
	0	6

Table 34 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Conciliatory Actions</u> <u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	3
Negro Female Adults	-	-
Negro Teenagers	-	1
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	<u>-</u>	<u>5</u>
	0	9

Table 35 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Demonstration

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	1
Negro Female Adults	1	-
Negro Teenagers	-	-
Negro Children	-	-
White Male Adults	-	-
White Female Adults	-	-
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police		
National Guard		
Army		
Public Officials	—	—
	2	1

Table 36 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions,
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Rioting

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults		
Negro Female Adults		
Negro Teenagers		
Negro Children		
White Male Adults		
White Female Adults		
White Teenagers		
White Children		
Police		
National Guard		
Army		
Public Officials	—	—
	0	0

Table 37 - Tampa

Riot Related Actions,
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Injured, Killed

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	
Negro Female Adults		
Negro Teenagers		
Negro Children		
White Male Adults		1
White Female Adults		
White Teenagers		
White Children		
Police		
National Guard		
Army		
Public Officials	—	—
	1	1

Table 38 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Aftermath, Normal

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	3	48
Negro Female Adults	2	40
Negro Teenagers	2	54
Negro Children	2	37
White Male Adults	1	46
White Female Adults		8
White Teenagers		6
White Children		5
Police		18
National Guard		1
Army		-
Public Officials	<u> </u>	<u> 2 </u>
	10	265

Table 39 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Control, Containment

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	1	4
Negro Female Adults		1
Negro Teenagers		5
Negro Children		2
White Male Adults	3	16
White Female Adults		1
White Teenagers		-
White Children		-
Police	8	100
National Guard	8	4
Army		-
Public Officials	<u> </u>	<u>17</u>
	20	150

Table 40 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Interviews

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	5	42
Negro Female Adults	3	13
Negro Teenagers	-	6
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	6	13
White Female Adults	1	-
White Teenagers	-	1
White Children	-	-
Police	-	5
National Guard	1	1
Army	-	-
Public Officials	<u>1</u>	<u>50</u>
	17	132

Table 41 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions,
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Arrests

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	2	25
Negro Female Adults		5
Negro Teenagers		10
Negro Children		-
White Male Adults	3	5
White Female Adults		2
White Teenagers		6
White Children		-
Police		19
National Guard		-
Army		-
Public Officials	—	—
	5	72

Table 42 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions,
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Conciliatory Actions

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	3	22
Negro Female Adults	-	5
Negro Teenagers	-	3
Negro Children	-	0
White Male Adults	2	11
White Female Adults	1	4
White Teenagers	-	-
White Children	-	-
Police	-	-
National Guard	-	-
Army	-	-
Public Officials	<u>3</u>	<u>27</u>
	9	72

Table 43 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Demonstrations

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	8
Negro Female Adults	1	4
Negro Teenagers	-	3
Negro Children	-	1
White Male Adults	1	1
White Female Adults	1	-
White Teenagers		-
White Children		-
Police		-
National Guard		-
Army		-
Public Officials	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	3	17

Table 44 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions,
 Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Rioting

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults	-	6
Negro Female Adults		2
Negro Teenagers	2	3
Negro Children		-
White Male Adults		-
White Female Adults		-
White Teenagers		-
White Children		-
Police		1
National Guard		-
Army		-
Public Officials	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	2	12

Table 45 - All Other Cities

Riot Related Actions,
Network vs. Local TV
by Number of Sequences

Injured, Killed

<u>Persons Shown</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in Sequence</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Negro Male Adults		14
Negro Female Adults		-
Negro Teenagers		1
Negro Children		2
White Male Adults		-
White Female Adults		1
White Teenagers		-
White Children		-
Police	2	1
National Guard		-
Army		-
Public Officials	—	—
	2	19

Table 46 - Detroit

Predominant Action Sequence,
 Network vs. Local for Selected
Persons Appearing in Sequence

	Negro Males		White Males		Police		National Guard		Public Officials	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Interview	-	5	-	5	-	3	-	3	2	57
Conciliation	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	8
Demonstration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rioting	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Control	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	15	-	-
Clean up/ Normal	-	6	-	4	-	-	-	-	2	-
Injury, Killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrest	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	33	-	13	-	8	4	18	4	65

Table 47 - Newark

Predominant Action Sequence,
Network vs. Local for Selected
Persons Appearing in Sequence

	<u>Negro Males</u>		<u>White Males</u>		<u>Police</u>		<u>National Guard</u>		<u>Public Official</u>	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Interview	12	12	1	5	-	1	-	1	13	3
Conciliation	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Demonstration	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rioting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Control	-	-	-	-	7	7	5	3	-	-
Clean up/ Normal	7	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	-
Injury, Killed	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrest	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	25	14	1	7	8	8	7	5	14	3

Table 48 - Cincinnati

Predominant Action Sequence
 Network vs. Local for Selected
Persons Appearing in Sequence

	Negro Males		White Males		Police		National Guard		Public Officials	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Interview	-	10	-	4	-	1	-	1	1	13
Conciliation	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Demonstration	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rioting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Control	-	-	-	-	-	16	1	18	-	-
Clean up/ Normal	4	4	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	1
Injury, Killed	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrest	-	12	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	37	-	10	-	20	1	20	1	15

Table 49 - Tampa

Predominant Action Sequence,
Network vs. Local for Selected
Persons Appearing in Sequence

	Negro Males		White Males		Police		National Guard		Public Officials	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Interview	-	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	18
Conciliation	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Demonstration	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rioting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Control	-	-	-	-	1	12	-	1	-	4
Clean-up/ Normal	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Injury, Killed	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrest	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	14	-	2	1	12	-	2	-	25

Table 50 - All Other Cities

Predominant Action Sequence,
Network vs. Local for Selected
Persons Appearing in Sequence

	Negro Males		White Males		Police		National Guard		Public Officials	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Interview	1	26	3	6	-	5	1	1	-	45
Conciliation	2	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	23
Demonstration	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rioting	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Control	-	3	-	1	1	60	6	3	-	9
Clean-up/ Normal	-	9	-	11	-	7	-	1	-	2
Injury, Killed	-	6	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Arrest	1	14	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
	4	74	3	18	2	78	7	5	1	79

THE SIMULMATICS CORPORATION
Cambridge/New York/Washington

News Media Coverage of the 1967 Urban Riots

a study prepared for the

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

by

The Simulmatics Corporation

FINAL REPORT

Submitted to:

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by

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INTRODUCTION

Simulmatics undertook, at the request of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, a research project guided by a straightforward and precisely circumscribed mandate. The basic question to be answered was: "How did television newscasts and newspaper reports in a selected number of American cities present news coverage of the 1967 summer riots and the race relations background of these disorders?" As a secondary inquiry Simulmatics sought to examine the question: "What reaction did various audiences have to the media and what effect, if any, did these audiences believe the news media had on the riots?"

The major effort of this study was directed toward the first question. Simulmatics conducted a content analysis of television and newspaper coverage in 15 American cities where there were civil disturbances during the summer of 1967. Secondly, in an attempt to relate coverage to reactions, Simulmatics conducted a limited number of unstructured interviews in riot cities, mostly with Negroes, which probed attitudes toward the media. The results obtained from this survey go some of the way toward answering the second question.

I. CONTENT ANALYSIS

A. METHODOLOGY

At the request of the Commission, Simulmatics has undertaken and completed a systematic quantitative analysis of riot and racial news content of newspapers, local television and network television in 15 cities for a period from three days before to three days after the disorder in each city. The time period from three days before until three days after the riot was designed to encompass all riot coverage and give a sampling of the kind of coverage presented by the media in each city before and after the disturbances. Cities were chosen to give a broad spread of location, size, and time during the summer when riots occurred, and the list of cities was refined to 15 in consultation with the Commission's research staff. The cities are: Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Cincinnati, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; Tampa, Florida; Newark, New Jersey; Plainfield, New Jersey; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Jersey City, New Jersey; East Orange, New Jersey; Paterson, New Jersey; New Brunswick, New Jersey; Englewood, New Jersey; New Haven, Connecticut; Rochester, New York.

Within each city, for the period specified, every major, daily newspaper and all network and local television news film were examined. Simulmatics broke down and coded the content and tone of each item according to a system contain-

ing about 20 categories. Simulmatics hired experienced social science researchers and trained them to use the coding and analyzing procedures on the material. All newspapers were gathered at a central research facility in New York. Some television film was analyzed at research facilities in New York; the rest was viewed at TV stations in the city where the riot occurred.

Each film segment was viewed by at least three researchers, so we could cross-check such matters of opinion as tone and atmosphere.

Each separate item that had been coded was entered on a punch card and the cards were cross-tabulated by computer to provide results and comparisons desired by the Commission. Results of the computer-runs on the people and actions presented in various television news sequences and newspaper articles as well as details of the methodological procedures are set forth below.

At the request of the Commission, cross-tabulations were developed to provide an in-depth breakdown of similarities and differences in media content for four cities: Detroit, Newark, Cincinnati and Tampa. Where relevant, such information has been included in the text, and tables setting forth the details of the four city analyses are included in the Appendix.

The Commission's questions about media content are objectively answered in this report. There are, of course, many other questions which researchers might want to examine in the future, e.g. was the news media coverage of the 1967 riots different from coverage of significant disturbances in previous years? What are the relevant differences between media coverage of racial problems in the South and of racial problems in the North? What effects do the news media have on the overall attitudes and behavioral responses of urban populations? These questions were outside the scope of the Commission's request and thus of the time and budgetary limitations within which Simulmatics conducted this study. All of the data developed for this study have been preserved and will be available to qualified researchers who wish to probe these and other areas of concern.

Procedures for television analysis

The television analysis had to be carried out in three stages, because not all television content is available for analysis exactly as it was broadcast. First, Simulmatics' researchers viewed, analyzed and coded all television news film broadcast by the three major networks and all local stations in each of the 15 cities for the prescribed time period.

They then took complete scripts and studied them for missing audio portions. Finally, they analyzed network and station logs to reconstruct entire news programs and determine the amount and position of time allotted to riot news. In the course of viewing and analyzing film, the researchers separated out 955 television sequences of riot and race relations news shown to the public during the prescribed period in the 15 cities during the summer of 1967. Of the total, 153 sequences were from network telecasts and 802 sequences were from local stations. Table I shows the frequency distribution of television sequences analyzed. The Table is broken down to show network versus local television in Detroit, Newark, Cincinnati, Tampa and "All Other Cities".

TABLE I

Television Sequences Analyzed, Network vs. Local TV, by Selected Cities

	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Detroit	25	212
Newark	77	45
Cincinnati	9	142
Tampa	6	65
All Other Cities	<u>36</u>	<u>338</u>
Total	153	802

In viewing the films, researchers analyzed and coded what they actually saw on the screen, and coded the audio portion when audio was included on news film. The researchers recorded which types of people appeared on the screen, how often, and in what kind of activity. The various categories of people and activities are set forth and explained in the body of the report. Each sequence was studied by at least three researchers for its predominant tone and atmosphere.

In describing film content, we use certain words which have specific meanings in this analysis. A "sequence" is an entire unbroken span of film time devoted to riot or racial news. A sequence has one or more "scenes" within it. Each scene, in turn, contains "appearances", either by "actors" (the people most frequently seen in television coverage of riots) or of "riot-related action" (the action most frequently seen). We have recorded appearance of 12 different types of actors:⁽¹⁾ We have recorded appearances of 8 different types of riot-related actions:

(1) Media personnel, firemen, and medical personnel are not included in this breakdown but are accounted for in a separate analysis.

1. Aftermath, including scenes showing property damage and Normal Activity
2. Control and Containment
3. Interviews
4. Arrests
5. Conciliation
6. Peaceful Demonstrations
7. Riot Actions
mob action, looting, sniping, hurling fire bombs, setting fires, use of weapons
8. Injured, Killed

Thus the phrase "riot-related action" means any of eight separate kinds of action recorded with any frequency by television during last summer's disturbances. All of the eight are set forth and described in the television analysis section. There are two caveats. 1. The word "riot" is used in the phrase "riot-related action" to describe, generically, every kind of civil disorder. 2. The phrase, "riot action" describes only one among the eight types of "riot-related actions". We have defined "riot action" to include actual shots of mob action, people sniping, hurling firebombs, looting, and setting fires, and views of people being injured or killed. For the purpose of this analysis, a picture of a suspect being arrested by the police is classified not as "riot action", but as "control or containment".

While this comprehensive analysis of the film itself was underway, Simulmatics gathered all network and station transcripts and logs. The transcripts were checked for, (1) What announcers at the studio were saying when there was no film on the air, and, (2) audio-portions for film-clips which had inaudible voices or lacked sound tracks. We used the logs to reconstruct each total news broadcast, to determine at what point and for how much of the broadcast riot-related news was presented, and to ensure that we had analyzed all riot-related output. The results of this reconstruction have convinced us that we have examined both visual and audio parts of all riot-related coverage presented on network and local television in the 15 cities during the predetermined period.

Procedures for Newspaper Analysis

Simulmatics gathered all the major daily newspapers from the subject cities, including out-of-town newspapers with heavy circulation in the subject cities, at a central research facility in New York City.

Most of the newspapers were on microfilm, so Simulmatics reproduced enlarged, positive copies for analysis. In total, researchers analyzed 3779 newspaper articles.⁽¹⁾ Articles were measured for "play" compared to the other

⁽¹⁾ Although not all articles were amenable to analysis for every research task.

news in the paper, and were studied for subject matter, content, and characterization of people and events described.

Researchers also attempted to determine: (1) The source of stories (local reporting versus wire service; and (2) The prominence of the riot itself in the story (i.e. whether rioting was the focal point of the story, merely mentioned in the background, or disregarded entirely in favor of discussions of more general racial problems); (3) What kind of linkage was made between riot behavior and the conditions that produced it?

B. ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE

Significant General Conclusions

1. Content analysis of television film footage shows that the tone of coverage was predominantly calm and "factual" as opposed to "emotional" and excitive. At least three researchers viewed every one of the 955 television sequences and found that twice as many "calm" sequences as "emotional" ones were shown. The amount and location of coverage was relatively limited considering the magnitude of the events. The analysis reveals a dominant, emphasis on the aftermath activities rather than on actual scenes of mob action, people looting, sniping, setting fires, or being injured or killed. Overall, both network and local television coverage suggests the operation of a conscious editorial policy of caution

and restraint. Of the total amount of footage, about 75 per cent is devoted to aftermath and normal activity, control and containment actions and interviews; only 4.8 per cent of all footage shows actual "riot action".

2. Television newscasts of the actual disorder periods in 1967 tended to depict disorders as events calling for law enforcement rather than as expressions of underlying grievances and tensions. This conclusion is based on the relatively high frequency with which television showed and described law enforcement agents, police, national guardsmen and army troops performing control functions. Television coverage tended to give the impression that the riots were confrontations between Negroes and whites rather than responses by Negroes to underlying slum problems. The control agents were predominantly white. The ratio of White Male Adults⁽¹⁾ to Negro Male Adults shown on television is high (1:2) considering the fact that the riots took place in predominantly Negro neighborhoods, and some interviews with whites involved landlords or proprietors who had suffered property or business losses because of the disturbances and thus held strongly antagonistic attitudes. The content analysis shows that by far the four most frequent "actor" appearances on tele-

⁽¹⁾The white male adult category does not include control agents or public officials.

vision were Negro Male Adults, White Male Adults, law enforcement agents and public officials. The content analysis does not imply that there was any preconceived editorial policy of portraying the riots as racial confrontations requiring the intervention of enforcement agents. But the content analysis does make clear the visual three-way alignment of Negroes versus white bystanders versus enforcement agents and public officials. This alignment tends to create the impression that the riots were racial confrontations requiring public control.

3. About one third of all riot-related sequences on network and local television were shown on the first newscast day following the outbreak of rioting regardless of the course of developments of the riot itself. After the first day there is, except in Detroit, a very sharp decline in the amount of television time devoted to the disturbance. These findings tend to controvert the popular belief that the riot intensifies television coverage thus in turn intensifying the riot. The content analysis makes it clear that whether or not the riot was getting worse, television coverage of the riot decreased sharply after the first day.

Analysis of content conclusions

1. Position of riot sequence in newscasts--To determine

the position of riot coverage relative to other types of news, we gathered scripts and logs and matched them with riot news film clips. We sought to determine whether riot coverage appeared at the beginning, around the middle, or at the end of the newscast. When riot-related and racial news did not appear at the beginning, end, or at a relatively obvious mid-point, we classified it as appearing in "other positions". Table II shows the distribution of sequences by position relative to other news. With the exception of network and local riot coverage in Newark, about half of all riot news was shown first on the relevant news program. Only 13.6 per cent of all riot-related sequences were shown at the end of the newscasts. When network news programs preceded riot-related coverage with other news, the emphasis, about 50 per cent of the time, was international news, particularly in the Middle East and Viet Nam.

TABLE II
Television Sequences by Position

	<u>Beginning</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>End</u>		<u>Other Positions</u>	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Lcl</u>
Detroit	-	106	-	22	1	13	24	71
Newark	11	3	15	4	2	-	49	38
Cincinnati	-	77	-	38	1	7	8	20
Tampa	-	42	6	8	-	2	-	13
All Other Cities	13	93	4	25	2	10	17	210
Total	24	321	25	97	6	32	98	352

2. Amount of Coverage in relation to stage of riot--As noted in the general conclusions, about one third of all riot-related sequences on both network and local television were shown on the first newscast day after the outbreak of rioting. In every city except Detroit the frequency of riot-related sequences on news programs declines almost 50 per cent on the second newscast day and then tapers off gradually for the remainder of the riot dates, and for a brief period following the "end" of the riot.

TABLE III

Television Sequences by Day of Newscast for Detroit, Newark, Cincinnati and Tampa, Network vs. Local Television

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
1st Newscast Day	199 (34.3%)	26 (22.2%)	173 (37.2%)
2nd Newscast Day	109 (18.8%)	30 (25.6%)	79 (17.1%)
3rd Newscast Day	59 (10.1%)	11 (9.4%)	48 (10.6%)
4th Newscast Day & Subsequent Days	<u>214 (36.8%)</u>	<u>50 (42.8%)</u>	<u>164 (35.1%)</u>
	581 (100%)	117 (100%)	464 (100%)

TABLE III-A

Number of Television Sequences Shown by Date of Newscast:
Detroit

	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
July 23	3	18
July 24	6	36
July 25	-	34
July 26	10	40
July 27	5	31
July 28	-	22
July 29	1	15
July 30	-	8
July 31	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>
	25	212

TABLE III-B

Number of Television Sequences Shown by Date of Newscast:
Newark

	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
July 13	23	33
July 14	13	7
July 15	8	-
July 16	5	-
July 17	14	1
July 18	2	2
July 19	1	2
July 20	7	-
July 21	2	-
July 28	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>
	77	45

TABLE III-C

Number of Television Sequences Shown by Date of Newscast:
Cincinnati

	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
June 13	-	120
June 14	6	3
June 15	3	1
June 16	-	5
June 17	-	8
June 18	<u> </u>	<u>5</u>
	9	142

TABLE III-D

Number of Television Sequences Shown by Date of Newscast:
Tampa

	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
June 11	-	2
June 12	5	33
June 13	-	13
June 14	-	6
June 15	-	6
June 16	-	3
June 17	-	-
June 18	1	-
June 19	<u> </u>	<u>2</u>
	6	65

In Detroit, where the riot started slowly and did not flare out of control until the evening of July 24, the number of riot-related sequences shown increases until July 26, and then shows the same sharp drop-off as noted after the first day of rioting in the other cities.

3. Major actions shown--in reviewing all sequences devoted to riot-related coverage in the time period, we found eight significant riot related categories. These are listed in Table IV according to the number of times (and percentage of the total) that each action appears in all of the 955 sequences. We found a grand total of 1963 "actions" in television news coverage of the riots.

TABLE IV

Major Riot-Related Actions

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
1. Aftermath, including scenes showing property damage, and Normal Activity	601 (30.6%)	118 (36.8%)	483 (29.4%)
2. Control or Containment	457 (23.3%)	73 (22.7%)	384 (23.4%)
3. Interviews	405 (20.6%)	60 (18.7%)	345 (21.0%)
4. Arrests	190 (9.7%)	13 (4.1%)	177 (10.8%)
5. Conciliation	173 (8.8%)	23 (7.2%)	150 (9.2%)
6. Peaceful Demonstrations	49 (2.5%)	19 (5.9%)	30 (1.8%)
7. Riot Actions: mob action, looting, sniping, hurling fire bombs, setting fires, use of weapons	49 (2.5%)	9 (2.8%)	40 (2.4%)
8. Injured, Killed	<u>39 (2.0%)</u>	<u>6 (1.9%)</u>	<u>33 (2.0%)</u>
	1963 (100.0%)	321 (100.0%)	1642 (100.0%)

We found that by far the greatest emphasis on both network and local television was in the category we have labeled "aftermath (clean-up) and normal activity". The two categories appearing in second and third positions of frequency in the sequences we reviewed were the same, again, for both network and local television. They were: (1) action involving control and containment by law enforcement

TABLE V

Scenes of mob action, use of weapons, looting, people injured of killed, property damage, fires, arrests

	<u>Network</u>		<u>Local</u>	
	<u>N</u>	Percent total <u>Network Scen s</u>	<u>N</u>	Percent Total <u>Local Scenes</u>
Looting	1	(0.3%)	8	(0.5%)
Use of Non-firearm Weapons	3	(0.9%)	16	(0.9%)
Use of firearms	5	(1.5%)	16	(0.9%)
Property Damage	40	(12.4%)	182	(11.1%)
Fires shown	21	(6.5%)	89	(5.4%)
Injured-Killed	6	(1.9%)	33	(2.0%)
Arrests	<u>13</u>	<u>(4.0%)</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>(10.7%)</u>
	89	(27.5%)	521	(31.5%)

4. Frequency of depiction of actors--we have broken down the "actors" in riot-related sequences into 12 categories and measured similarities and differences in the number of times each category appears in both network and local television. The results are shown in Table VI. (Note: The phrase white male adults in this table means only white male adults not included in police, national guard, army, and public official categories.)

TABLE VI

Frequency distribution of Persons Appearing on Network and
Local Television

	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>%</u>
Negro Male Adults	424	21.6	72	22.4	352	21.4
Negro Female Adults	180	9.2	36	11.2	144	8.8
Negro Teenagers	193	9.8	30	9.3	163	9.9
Negro Children	104	5.3	23	7.2	81	4.9
White Male Adults	224	11.4	34	10.6	190	11.6
White Female Adults	46	2.3	7	2.2	39	2.4
White Teenagers	31	1.6	3	.9	28	1.7
White Children	12	.6	3	.9	9	.5
Police	317	16.2	33	10.3	284	17.3
National Guard	138	7.0	36	11.2	102	6.2
Army	41	2.1	17	5.3	24	1.5
Public Officials	<u>253</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>13.8</u>
	1963	100	321	100	1642	100

The table shows similarities between network and local coverage. We find that the proportion of appearances of Negro male adults on network television (22.4 per cent) is about the same as on local television (21.4 per cent). The proportion of appearance of white male adults on network television (10.6 per cent) is about the same as on local television (11.6 per cent). The proportion of appearance of Negro teenagers on both network and local television is slightly under 10 per cent.

Table VI also shows substantial differences between network and local television coverage. There is a stronger tendency for network television to show national guard action (13.1 per cent compared with 6.2 per cent for local television). By contrast local television stations showed public officials more often than the networks did (13.6 per cent compared to 8.4 per cent). Local television stations also showed the local police more often than did the networks (17.1 per cent compared to 10.3 per cent). Interesting, if not significant, is the fact that the networks displayed Negro female adults more often than did the local stations (13.1 per cent compared with 8.8 per cent).

We made a special effort to analyze television coverage of Negro leaders. To do this we divided all Negro leaders into three categories: (1) celebrities or public figures, who did not claim any following (e.g. Kenneth Clark, the psychologist, Dick Gregory, the comedian); (2) moderate Negro leaders, who claim a following and (3) radical Negro leaders who claim a following. Negro leadership is depicted very infrequently on network television and is about equally divided between celebrity or public figures with no following, moderate leaders with a claimed following and radical leaders with a claimed following. On local television "moderate" Negro leaders with a claimed following are shown three times

more frequently than radical leaders with a claimed following and two and a half times more frequently than Negro leaders who are identified primarily as celebrities or public figures.

TABLE VII

Negro Leadership - Network vs. Local TV

	<u>Celebrity or Public Figure</u>		<u>Moderate Leader</u>		<u>Radical Leader</u>	
	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Local</u>
Detroit	-	6	-	5	-	1
Newark	3	-	2	3	1	1
Cincinnati	-	4	-	4	-	9
Tampa	-	5	-	9	-	-
All Other Cities	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
	4	24	3	60	3	21

We also noted the frequency of appearances in riot coverage of certain civilians with professional responsibilities.

TABLE VIIIAppearance of Civilians with Professional Responsibilities

	<u>Medical Personnel</u>	<u>Media Personnel</u>	<u>Firemen</u>
<u>Detroit</u>			
Network	-	3	6
Local	6	82	34
<u>Newark</u>			
Network	3	24	8
Local	2	19	2
<u>Cincinnati</u>			
Network	-	-	1
Local	2	30	6
<u>All Other Cities</u>			
Network	1	8	4
Local	13	80	28
<u>Total all Cities</u>			
Network	4	37	19
Local	29	216	86

Three types of such people appeared: media personnel (primarily on camera interviewers), medical personnel, and firemen. Media personnel appear with the highest frequency. For network and local television the number of appearances by media personnel totalled 253 (about 13 per cent of all appearances of all persons) and equaled appearances by local public officials. If a separate category on media personnel were to be fitted into the rank order of appearances of all actors shown on both network and local television (see Table VI) the total number of such appearances would be exceeded only by Negro male adults and police.

5. Correlation of actors with actions

We made a cross-analysis of the 12 categories of actors (Table VI) with the eight categories of significant riot-related actions (Table IV).

TABLE IX

Correlation of Selected Actors with Actions

	<u>Negro Male Adults</u>	<u>Frequency of Appearance</u>		
		<u>White Male Adults</u>	<u>Police</u>	<u>Public Officials</u>
1. Aftermath, including scenes showing property damage, and Normal Activity	127 (29.9%)	93 (41.6%)	28 (8.8%)	12 (4.8%)
2. Control, or Containment	10 (2.3%)	33 (14.9%)	236 (74.5%)	24 (9.5%)
3. Interviews	105 (24.7%)	53 (23.7%)	9 (2.8%)	167 (66.0%)
4. Arrests	73 (17.3%)	15 (6.6%)	37 (11.7%)	- -
5. Conciliation	45 (10.7%)	21 (9.3%)	1 (0.3%)	49 (19.3%)
6. Peaceful Demon- strations	21 (4.9%)	3 (1.3%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.4%)
7. Riot Actions: mob action, loot- ing, sniping, hurling fire bombs, use of weapons	20 (4.8%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.3%)	- -
8. Injured, killed	23 (5.4%)	5 (2.2%)	4 (1.3%)	- -
	424 (100%)	224 (100%)	317 (100%)	253 (100%)

Most scenes of arrests, looting and use of fire arms, and injury or death showed Negro male adults.

Scenes depicting "aftermath" (clean-up) and "normal activity" most frequently showed Negro Male Adults and White Male Adults.

Although most riot control and containment activity, is, of course, carried out by the police, national guard and army troops, white male adults are occasionally shown participating in control activities. But, only 10 times (and only once in network television) are Negro male adults shown participating in riot control and containment activity. However, scenes of conciliation tended to emphasize action by Negro male adults as well as public officials.

Interview scenes most frequently show public officials, Negro male adults and white male adults.

6. Analysis of sequences for predominant action and predominant actor--Although most of our in-depth analysis was directed toward analyzing characteristics of actions and actors within each sequence, we used the information thus obtained to attempt to answer the question: Within each sequence, what is the predominant action and who is the predominant actor?

TABLE X

<u>Rank Order of Predominant Action Sequence, Network vs. Local</u>				
	<u>Network</u>			
	<u>Rank</u>	<u>% of Total Sequences</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>% of Total Sequences</u>
Interviews with Public Officials	1	10.5%	1	16.9%
Control & Containment National Guard	1	10.5%	5	4.9%
Interviews with Negro Male Adults	3	8.4%	3	7.6%
Aftermath, Normal Activity, Negro Male Adults	4	7.1%	6	2.9%
Control and Containment Police	5	5.8%	2	12.4%
Arrests of Negro Male Adults	6	<u>2.6%</u>	4	<u>5.2%</u>
		44.9%		49.9%

To obtain Table X, we cross tabulated each of 12 types of actors with each of 8 types of action. The result from a table with 96 possible data cells is that the 6 cells with the highest frequencies within a sequence are the same for both network and local television, although the rank order differs.

An interesting discrepancy is that network sequences focus on control and containment activities by the national guard, while local sequences focus on control and containment activities by the locality's own police.

7. Predominant atmosphere of sequences--We instructed re-searchers analyzing the atmosphere of television sequences to specify the predominant mood of each sequence. Five such categories were developed. All except 7 per cent of the sequences turned out to be classifiable in these 5 categories.

TABLE XI

Predominant Atmosphere of Sequences, Network and Local Television

<u>Predominant Atmosphere</u>	<u>Total</u>
Emotional	262 (27.4%)
Calm	494 (51.7%)
Normal	81 (8.5%)
Carnival	6 (0.6%)
Combination	44 (4.7%)
Other	68 (7.1%)
	955 (100%)

Slightly more than half (51.7 per cent) of all television sequences had a predominant atmosphere characterized as "calm". If the "calm" sequences are combined with sequences of a "normal" atmosphere, the total accounts for 60 per cent of television sequences. Fewer than 30 per cent of all sequences had a predominant atmosphere characterized as "emotional". Fewer than 1 per cent of all sequences had a "carnival" atmosphere. No "carnival" sequences were found on network television. This "carnival" atmosphere category was developed to measure the accuracy of the statement that television made

the riots look like a "carnival".

We found the predominant atmosphere of network television coverage of Newark far "calmer" than network television coverage of Detroit, though there were still more "calm" and "normal" sequences in Detroit than "emotional" sequences.

TABLE XII

Predominant Atmosphere of Sequences, Network Television

Predominant Atmosphere

	<u>All Cities*</u>	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Newark</u>	<u>All Other Cities**</u>
Emotional	38 (25%)	9 (36%)	8 (10%)	15 (42%)
Calm	83 (54%)	11 (44%)	49 (64%)	17 (47%)
Normal	8 (5%)	1 (4%)	7 (9%)	-
Carnival	-	-	-	-
Combination	11 (7%)	2 (8%)	9 (12%)	-
Other	<u>13 (9%)</u>	<u>2 (8%)</u>	<u>4 (5%)</u>	<u>4 (11%)</u>
	153 (100%)	25 (100%)	77 (100%)	36 (100%)

*including Cincinnati and Tampa

**including Cincinnati and Tampa

C. ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

Significant General Conclusions

1. Like television coverage, newspaper coverage of civil disturbances in the summer of 1967 was generally calm, factual and restrained, not emotional or inflammatory. Considering the magnitude of the events, the amount of coverage was limited. Most stories were played down or put on inside pages.

Of a total of 3045 riot-related articles 502 (16.5%) focused primarily on legislation which should be sought and planning which could be done to prevent or control future riots. Four hundred seventy-one (15.5%) focused on containment or control of riot action. During the period of the riot there was a surprising number of stories dealing with non-riot racial news. Newspaper coverage of the disorders suggests the operation of a planful editorial policy of caution, restraint and balance. Our newspaper analysts got less of an impression than did our television analysts of the riots as a confrontation between Negroes and whites.

2. Newspapers tended to characterize and portray last summer's riots as national rather than local phenomena and problems, especially when rioting was taking place in the newspaper's own home town. During the actual disorders, the newspapers in each city studied tended to print many stories dealing with disorders or other racial troubles which were taking place, or had occurred previously, in other cities. A large number of the stories in each local newspaper during rioting in that city did not originate locally, and 60% of newspaper articles were from wire services. Furthermore, most newspaper editors appear to reserve a larger amount of total display space and attention for riots occurring in other cities than for the disturbances which took place in their own cities.

Analysis of content conclusions

1. Source of newspaper stories--About 40 per cent of all stories that appear in newspapers of the cities studied during the predetermined time period were originated by un-bylined local staff members of the newspapers. The second major source of newspaper stories was the Associated Press.

TABLE XIII

Source of Newspaper Articles

<u>Source</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Local News	1366 (40.1%)
Associated Press	784 (23.0%)
By Line	551 (16.2%)
United Press	502 (14.8%)
Other Wire Services	33 (1.0%)
Other	<u>168 (4.9%)</u>
Total	3404 (100%)

Table XIII shows that at least 40 per cent of all the stories during the analysis period in each city were originated by other than local sources. Many dealt with other than local events.

2. Position and Play of stories--Three position classifications were developed for newspaper articles dealing with riot news and racial problems: (1) "headline--front page", when the article was the lead story in the newspaper; (2) "front page" when the story appears on the front page of the newspaper but not in the lead position; and (3) "other pages" when the story appeared on an inside page.

TABLE XIV

Position or Play of Newspaper Articles by Cities Covering their Own Riots.

	<u>Headline Front Page</u>	<u>Other Front Page</u>	<u>Other Pages</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Detroit	9 (2.6%)	42 (12.0%)	298 (85.4%)	349	(100%)
Newark	7 (2.5%)	64 (23.2%)	205 (74.3%)	276	(100%)
Cincinnati	31 (7.5%)	70 (17.1%)	310 (75.4%)	411	(100%)
Tampa	11 (6.7%)	32 (19.4%)	122 (73.9%)	165	(100%)
ALL Other Cities	145 (8.0%)	308 (17.0%)	1356 (75.0%)	1809	(100%)
Total	203 (6.7%)	516 (17.1%)	2291 (76.1%)	3010	(100%)

TABLE XV

Position or Play of Newspaper Articles by Cities covering Riots in Other Cities.

	<u>Headline Front Page</u>	<u>Other Front Page</u>	<u>Other Pages</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Detroit	37 (9.7%)	71 (18.6%)	274 (71.7%)	382	(100%)
Newark	14 (4.0%)	82 (23.4%)	254 (72.6%)	350	(100%)
Cincinnati	26 (12.7%)	29 (14.1%)	150 (73.2%)	205	(100%)
Tampa	16 (13.3%)	29 (24.2%)	75 (62.5%)	120	(100%)
All Other Cities	96 (8.4%)	178 (15.6%)	864 (76.0%)	1138	(100%)
Total	189 (8.6%)	389 (17.7%)	1617 (73.7%)	2195	(100%)

Table XIV measures the play each city's newspapers gave to its own riot. Table XV attempts to measure the play given to each city's disturbance in newspapers of all the other cities during the time each city was about to have or was in the throes of its own riot. Comparison shows that each city tended to give almost as much headline coverage (lead story) to riots in other cities than it did to the riot in its own city at the time of its own riots.

3. Subject Matter and Focus of Articles --We analyzed all of the newspaper stories to determine subject matter and focus, specifically, which actions were mentioned and described most frequently.

Although many stories analyzed tended to deal with several topics, we could characterize the major theme, or focus, in each story. We established 16 separate categories to measure the focus of every article we analyzed. Of all articles analyzed for this purpose, 16.5 per cent of them focused on legislation which should be sought and planning which could be done to control on-going riots or prevent future riots. This was the largest of the 16 focus categories. In second place were stories which focused on containment and control of the riot. We had 8 categories covering acts of disorder: (1) general disorder; (2) harm to persons; (3) harm to property; (4) looting, vandalism; (5) sniping; (6) Negro attack against enforcement agents; (7) firebombing, arson; (8) defiance and mob action.

TABLE XVI

NEWSPAPER STORIES BY FOCUS

	<u>Number of Stories</u>	
Legislative or Planning Level Actions	502	(16.5%)
Enforcement, Containment, Control	471	(15.5%)
Leadership, Personalities	446	(14.6%)
General Disorder	356	(11.7%)
General Social Conditions	225	(7.4%)
Normal Political Pressure Activity	189	(6.2%)
State of Race Relations	172	(5.6%)
Harm to Persons	134	(4.4%)
Judicial Actions	115	(3.8%)
Harm to Property	75	(2.5%)
Looting, Vandalism	71	(2.3%)
Sniping	65	(2.1%)
Negro Attack Against Enforcement Agents	64	(2.1%)
Firebombing, Arson	61	(2.0%)
Police Brutality	57	(1.9%)
Defiance and Mob Action	42	(1.4%)
	<u>3,045</u>	<u>(100%)</u>

4. Predictions about future riot behavior -- As part of the analysis of newspaper content we attempted to evaluate predictions in newspaper stories about whether rioting would increase or decrease. A total of 15 per cent of 3261 stories we analyzed for this purpose made specific predictions or prognoses about potential for future riots. About two thirds of all stories which make explicit prognoses predict that the potential for future riots is high, and that riots will increase. Fewer than one quarter (22.8 per cent) of all stories which make prognoses predicted that the potential for future riots is low. Only 10.7 per cent of the stories predict no change.

TABLE XVII

Predictions About Riot Potential (In General) By Stage of Riot.

	Actual Violence Will Decrease; Potential Violence Low		Actual Violence Will Increase; Potential Violence High		No Change		Total	
PRE RIOT	24	(4.75%)	90	(17.8%)	12	(2.38%)	126	(25.0%)
RIOT DAYS	43	(8.51%)	144	(28.5%)	32	(6.34%)	219	(43.4%)
POST RIOT	48	(9.50%)	102	(20.2%)	10	(1.98%)	160	(31.6%)
TOTAL	115	(22.8%)	336	(66.5%)	54	(10.7%)	505	(100%)

After we obtained these figures, we broke them down to measure explicit prognoses with regard to future riot potential by cities.

TABLE XVIII

Predictions About Riot Potential (By Cities)

	Actual Violence Will Decrease		Potential Violence Low		Actual Violence Will Increase		Potential Violence High		No Change		No Prognosis		Total	
DETROIT	5	(0.2%)	6	(0.2%)	9	(0.3%)	17	(0.5%)	1	(-)	292	(9.0%)	330	(10.2%)
NEWARK	2	(0.1%)	5	(0.2%)	2	(0.1%)	22	(0.6%)	7	(0.2%)	291	(8.9%)	329	(10.0%)
CINCINNATI	4	(0.1%)	3	(0.1%)	20	(0.6%)	27	(0.8%)	6	(0.2%)	388	(11.9%)	448	(13.8%)
TAMPA	1	(-)	7	(0.2%)	4	(0.1%)	5	(0.2%)	0	(0%)	183	(5.6%)	200	(6.1%)
OTHER ALL/CITIES	40	(1.2%)	35	(1.0%)	64	(2.0%)	163	(5.0%)	35	(1.0%)	1617	(49.6%)	1954	(59.9%)
TOTAL	52	(1.6%)	56	(1.7%)	99	(3.0%)	234	(7.2%)	49	(1.5%)	2771	(85.0%)	3261	(100%)

Since 85% of the stories we analyzed contained no prognoses, we redid Table XVIII to eliminate the "no prognosis" column, and reproduced the results thus obtained in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Predictions About Riot Potential (By Cities, "No Prognosis" Eliminated)

	Actual Violence will Decrease		Potential Violence Low		Actual Violence Will Increase		Potential Violence High		No Change		Total	
DETROIT	5	(13.2%)	6	(15.8%)	9	(23.7%)	17	(44.7%)	1	(2.6%)	38	(100%)
NEWARK	2	(5.3%)	5	(13.2%)	2	(5.3%)	22	(57.8%)	7	(18.4%)	38	(100%)
CINCINNATI	4	(6.7%)	3	(5.0%)	20	(33.3%)	27	(45.0%)	6	(10.0%)	60	(100%)
TAMPA	1	(5.9%)	7	(41.2%)	4	(23.5%)	5	(29.4%)	0	(0%)	17	(100%)
ALL OTHER Cities	40	(11.9%)	35	(10.4%)	64	(19.0%)	163	(48.3%)	35	(10.4%)	337	(100%)
TOTAL	52	(10.6%)	56	(11.4%)	99	(20.2%)	234	(47.8%)	49	(10.0%)	490	(100%)

The results of this redistribution are striking:

(1) The prediction that actual violence will decrease was seldom made in any city: the highest was Detroit (13.2%) (2) a prediction that the chances for renewed violence were minimal ranged from 5% to 15% for all cities studied except Tampa; in Tampa 41% of the predictions were that the potential for further violence was low. (3) From 19% to 33% of the prognoses are predictions that actual violence will increase. This percentage is high for all cities except Newark where the percentage is only 5.3%. (4) Few prognoses suggested that there would be no change in conditions, except in Newark where the overall attitude in the newspaper stories is one of futility and pessimism.

We also analyzed newspaper coverage on race relations to measure the frequency of predictions about whether race relations problems in the city would worsen or improve in the immediate future. We found 279 stories which made explicit comparative statements about race relations and we sought to group them in eight categories. The first four encompass stories that suggest race relations are going to stay bad or get worse: (1) the situation is bad but no change is anticipated; (2) the situation is bad and is worse than in most cities; (3) the situation is bad and deteriorating; (4) the situation is bad and no remedial actions are likely to work.

The second four seek to encompass stories which suggest the situation is going to improve: (1) the situation is good and no change is anticipated; (2) the situation is good and better than in most cities; (3) the situation is good and improving, but not fast enough; (4) good improvements are anticipated.

Table XX summarizes for all cities studied a prediction of a total number of "bad" versus "good" implicatory stories about race relations. It is clear from the table that most commentators thought things were bad and getting worse.

TABLE XX

Explicit "Good" vs. Explicit "Bad" Implications About Race Relations

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
"Bad" Implications	1044	85.3%
"Good" Implications	180	14.7%
Total	1224	100%

5. Identification of Locale of Story as Negro Community.

Newspapers, when describing the locale (or place) where a riot was happening, seldom identified it as a Negro neighborhood, or made any statement which would explicitly link the place of rioting with racial considerations.

TABLE XXI

Specific Identifications of Riot Area

	Riot Area		Negro Comm. in City of Story		Negro Comm. in General		White Comm. in City of Story		White Comm. in general		City of Story		Other City		Region		Foreign		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
DETROIT	165	49.7	8	2.4	2	0.6	3	0.9	1	0.3	99	29.8	13	3.9	41	12.3	0	-	332	100
NEWARK	104	31.5	5	1.5	2	3.3	0	-	0	-	161	48.8	13	3.9	44	13.3	1	0.3	330	100
CINCINNATI	106	23.5	25	5.6	2	0.4	0	-	0	-	215	47.8	33	7.3	62	13.8	7	1.6	450	100
TAMPA	86	42.8	17	8.5	0	-	1	0.5	0	-	56	27.8	14	7.0	25	0.4	2	1.0	201	100
ALL OTHER CITIES	579	29.8	157	8.1	76	3.9	9	0.5	3	0.2	838	43.2	143	7.4	127	6.5	10	0.5	1942	100
TOTAL	1040	32.0	212	6.5	82	2.5	13	0.4	4	-	1369	42.1	216	6.6	299	9.2	20	0.6	3255	100

SIMULMATICS SUBSTUDY ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MEDIA

1. Methodology

This substudy was conducted by three-member teams chosen by Simulmatics for their knowledge of ghetto communications, city life, and experience in dealing with and understanding social problems. Each team consisted of three members, two Negro and one white. Each team visited one of the seven riot cities studied. Each team member, individually or as a group, conducted both short and in-depth interviews in the ghetto and downtown areas. Information was developed in the course of brief encounters with ghetto residents of the riot city, residents from the adjacent riot areas, and non-ghetto residents of the city. Interviews were conducted on public transportation vehicles, in restaurants, taxi cabs, pool halls, grocery stores, dance halls, street corners, barber shops, subway, bus and train terminals, hotel lobbies and various stores and businesses located in the main downtown area.

Lengthy and in-depth interviews were also conducted in homes of residents from the riot area, and on occasion in churches of the riot areas. Several professionals, such as doctors, lawyers and community leaders from the riot areas were interviewed at length.

Interviews were not structured but were entirely open-ended and informal. Questions sought to probe what the residents thought about: reporters in the area; the fairness of media coverage; which media gave the best and most extensive coverage, and why; which media gave least adequate coverage and why; did media coverage help to spread riots; did they think there was too much or not enough coverage; did their own observations coincide or disagree with media reports?

No set question order was enforced by team members, nor was a pattern set for conducting interviews. Teams together or individually interviewed employed adults, unemployed adults, teenagers in school, teenage drop outs, church leaders, merchants, members of community action groups, members of political groups. Altogether we interviewed 567 Negroes and 191 whites.

The seven cities studied were: Detroit, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Tampa, Newark, Atlanta and New Haven.

TABLE XXII

Number of Persons Interviewed In Riot Cities

<u>City</u>	<u>Number of Negroes</u>	<u>Number of Whites</u>
Atlanta	108	27
Tampa	17	5
Cincinnati	53	14
Detroit	114	43
Milwaukee	151	58
New Haven	63	19
Newark	61	25
	<hr/> 567	<hr/> 191

The cities were chosen to give proportional and geographic cross sections as well as a range of intensity of riot activity.

2. CONCLUSIONS

Reactions to Media Coverage

Of the 567 Negroes interviewed, 79 percent heard of the riots by word-of-mouth. The remaining 21 percent learned of the riots through television and radio. It is a significant fact that this large percentage of news dissemination in the ghetto was by rumor or word-of-mouth instead of the conventional mass media. For example, researchers report in Newark's Central Ward, within a walking distance of twenty-two blocks, only one news stand was discovered and none in the Negro areas of either Tampa or Atlanta.

Team members observed a consistent feeling among Negroes, that local and national news media greatly exaggerated rioting in the cities. Those interviewed thought that news media focus rested upon: (1) the amount of damage done by rioters; (2) how rampant damage was; (3) the amount of looting done; (4) how many persons were arrested; (5) the presence of guns or other weapons used by rioters.

However, other crucial and widely spread incidents were either never reported, or if reported, not adequately. Sensationalism, the result of quoting uninformed sources rather than seeking out reliable information, was geared to widen misunderstanding between Negroes and whites, Negro interviewees said.

No emphasis was placed by news media in reporting the amount of police brutality or deaths inflicted by police, State Troopers and Federal Troopers, ghetto residents said.

Nor was there coverage of attempts at riot control by members of the Negro community or outsiders, or reports that such attempts were discouraged by the authorities.

Negroes contend that local news media were sympathetic to and in complete accord with city officials and police action in controlling the rioting.

Persons interviewed for this report in ghetto areas suggested that network television was "overplayed," and exaggerated, and that local television newscasts were by far more balanced and accurate. Our field researchers reported a high degree of hostility toward television among ghetto residents -- particularly Negro teenagers -- based on what they feel is a pronounced discrepancy between what they saw happening in the riots and what television showed. The interviewees allege "acts of omission" by network and local television stations. Negroes interviewed report witnessing the following actions during the riot, but not seeing them on television: (1) false arrests; (2) mistreatment of innocent people; (3) use of excessive force, especially by the National Guard in Detroit; (4) police brutality; (5) attempts by individual Negroes to assist the injured and aid law enforcement officials in controlling

the disturbances; (6) the involvement of white "vigilantes".

All media sensationalized the riots, deliberately distorting and biasing the reports, according to ghetto residents we interviewed.

Television viewers in the riot areas believe that this medium especially exaggerated the situation. A distorted coverage was said to be broadcast by news commentary saying one thing while the screen projected an entirely different and opposing picture. This device, was said to reinforce the anti-Negro slant of the news.

Ghetto residents were conscious that news media reporters were the only people beside the law enforcement groups that had permission to roam the riot streets. Complete freedom was accorded to them while community efforts at riot control were discouraged by the authorities.

We got a strikingly different reaction from the 141 whites we interviewed. A majority expressed an opinion that the news media were comprehensive during the riots. Newspaper, radio, and television reports were both fair and accurate. If certain reports were untold, the whites felt, it was done so for public and political concern.

Local news coverage was preferred by whites to the national coverage. White residents charged a distorted image of their city as reported by the national press. Local media suppressed news only for public concern, while the national press played upon rumors.

Impressions of the Media as a Riot Catalyst

567 Negroes and 191 whites were interviewed and are accounted for in the reports written by team members. The overwhelming majority of Negroes in the riot cities felt that the news media -- television, radio and newspapers -- prolonged and intensified rioting.

Milwaukee, Detroit, Atlanta and New Haven ghetto residents answered in the affirmative to the question: "Did the media help to spread the riots?" "Watching the riots on television in other cities let us all know what we were going to do when it came here." This quotation is taken from a Milwaukee ghetto resident.

There were ghetto residents in three cities who felt that media did not cause people to riot but created a "great deal of fear and tension in the white areas."

Some ghetto residents complained of the frequent use of the word "riot." Newspapers, radio and television loosely employed the word "riot" in reference to any disturbance within a Negro community.

"When it got hot in this town last summer, the people on the television were talking about riots and the kids in this town let go."

David Ginsburg

November 16, 1967

Alvin A. Spivak

Simulmatics

In connection with our conversation of earlier today with respect to the Simulmatics Corp., I am attaching the item that McKenzie sent me which lists me as "Project Officer" for the contract.

If I am to have this responsibility, I feel that I must be clued in on any significant aspects of this operation. That is why I went to New York on November 15, to visit the Simulmatics facilities. And that is why I must insist on receiving any copies of reports or other major material which may indicate the contractor's progress.

I have not talked to Abe Chayes about this because I assumed, when Vic Palmieri designated me for this role, there would be no question about it. If there is any question about whether I am to receive pertinent information, I want to be on record now as disclaiming any responsibility for this contract.

AAS:glu

cc: Mr. Palmieri

AL SPIVAK

October 11, 1967

G. Phillips Hanna
Assistant Division Chief
Human Resources Programs Division
Bureau of the Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hanna:

It is requested that the enclosed contracts be negotiated by a Federal Government agency to be determined by your office for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The following individuals are designated as Commission Project Officers for these contracts:

<u>Contractor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Project Officer</u>
Simulmatics Corp.	10/7/67	Alvin Spivak ✓ Tel: 128-28711
Columbia University	10/67	Dr. Robert Shellow Tel: 128-28711

In view of the urgency of the work of the Commission it is requested that these contracts receive expeditious handling and that the Project Officers be kept informed of the status of contract negotiation.

Sincerely yours,

Norman J. McKenzie
Executive Officer

NJMcK/mb

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 15, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Media Conference in Poughkeepsie;
Simulmatics Contract

1. As reported at the dinner meeting on October 5, we are proceeding with our study of the media. This is being coordinated by Professor Abram Chayes of the Harvard Law School, who has taken steps to organize: (a) an analysis of media content and other aspects of coverage, and (b) an informal conference of Commissioners, media representatives and other interested parties at The Homestead, Poughkeepsie, New York on November 10-12.

2. This is the status of the content analysis study:

We are negotiating with the Simulmatics Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts and New York to conduct a study of the treatment of racial and riot news by television, radio, newspapers and magazines in 22 specific cities as well as on network or other national bases. This effort will include examination and analysis of television film clips and video tapes, radio broadcast tapes and transcripts, and newspapers and magazines. Quantity and positioning of coverage will be measured and recorded, and key words and phrases (and other data) programmed for computer analysis. The statistical result will form a basis for analysis by social scientists and recommendations to the Commission.

At the Commission's dinner meeting on October 23, Professor Chayes will be present to discuss the background and details of the proposed contract and other phases of the media study.

3. The enclosed memorandum which Professor Chayes sent me explains in detail the suggested participants, agenda and topics for the media conference in Poughkeepsie. These are tentative -- invitations are only now being extended -- and the final form of the sessions is open to revision.

IBM is making available to us its facilities at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie, and we're much indebted to the company. Because of the nature of the conference and the limited facilities, we're trying to hold the total number of participants to about 40. The invitees were selected with the advice of several persons with expert knowledge of the media and after consultation with Governor Kerner. We've managed to fit in a pretty good cross section of editorial viewpoint interests, geographic areas and publication sizes.

The conference will begin with a dinner meeting Friday, November 10 and extend into Sunday afternoon, November 12. Our hope is that some of the Commissioners, after attending the Friday hearings in Washington, will fly to Poughkeepsie for the opening of the conference. The others can remain for the final hearings on Saturday and then, if possible, fly to Poughkeepsie for the dinner Saturday night and the Sunday sessions.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

October 13, 1967

Following is our proposal for a conference of media representatives, Commissioners and staff to be held at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie from November 10-12, 1967.

The proposal includes:

- 1) Suggested participants.
- 2) Draft agenda and topics to be discussed.
- 3) Suggested procedure for each roundtable conference.

IBM's staff at The Homestead is now moving ahead with arrangements for the conference. They seem competent and are prepared to do just about everything we ask them to - provided we give them enough time. Bruce Paisner went to Poughkeepsie yesterday to meet with them and look over the facilities.

We are shooting for a final go ahead on the conference today, so that we can get the mechanics of inviting speakers and participants completed this weekend. This is really all the time we have got. Early next week, you may want to supplement the invitations with telephone calls or another letter.

The conference will serve at least two primary purposes:

First, it will enable representatives of the media from all parts of the country and different types of cities and publications to get together in relaxed, informal setting where they can discuss the inter-relationship of the press and race relations, and perhaps begin to articulate some of their concerns and their approaches to the problems in this area.

Second, it will permit media representatives to meet with members of the Commission in an atmosphere, hopefully free of the suspicion and hostility that might otherwise surround this kind of inquiry.

In this way, we think a free and more candid exchange can take place. The Commissioners and staff, for their part,

will have a chance to appraise the outlook and problems of the media in race relations and riot coverage with the men who do the reporting and make the editorial decisions.

The following information will be available to the Commissioners before the conference starts. If it should prove desirable, some or all of it can be given to the other participants.

- 1) A preliminary report from Simulmatics, Inc. on the statistical information they have developed to that point. We have been assured that they will have some returns on at least a few cities.
- 2) The complete report of Mr. Robert E. Smith, a members of the Newsday staff, who is now interviewing editors in various cities, reporters and television management people on the general subject of the decisions they make in covering riot news and civil disturbances, and why they make them. Mr. Smith can attend the conference if we wish.
- 3) Information from the City Reports on special incidents of media misconduct or exemplary conduct.
- 4) A preliminary survey of the existing literature in this general field. The survey is now being undertaken by a research assistant at the Harvard Law School.

In addition, relying on this information, and our general knowledge, we will prepare a list of questions, keyed to each of the conference sessions. These questions will be given to the Commissioners in advance for use in probing subject areas in which they are interested.

Abram Chayes

LIST OF SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS
IN ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE

I. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- 1) Hedley Donovan - Editor-in-Chief - Time, Inc.

He exercises a more or less direct supervisory role over the editorial content of all Time, Inc. magazines.

- 2) Wes Gallagher - General Manager - Associated Press

- 3) Roger Tatarian - Editor - United Press International

Al Spivak suggested he would be the best representative of U.P.I.

- 4) John Sengstacke - Editor and Publisher - Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspapers.

He is reputed to be among the most successful and influential Negro publishers in the country.

- 5) Neil Shine - City Editor - Detroit Free Press

A central figure in the coverage of that city's riots.

- 6) Gene Roberts - Reporter - New York Times

Has racial experience in the South and northern cities. He headed up The Times riot coverage in Detroit this summer and was involved in the coverage of many other disturbances. He is a former City Editor of the Detroit Free Press.

OR/

Karl Fleming - L.A. Bureau Chief - Newsweek

Before coming to Los Angeles he had wide experience reporting racial affairs in the South. He directed Newsweek's coverage of the Watts riot in 1965.

- 7) Hodding Carter, Jr. - Editor - Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Miss.

He is well known for his moderate views on racial questions, and his attempts to influence for the

good thinking in the Mississippi Delta region. When his father, Hodding Carter, Sr., was Editor of the Democrat-Times, Mr. Carter, Jr. was a general assignment reporter for that newspaper.

- 8) Ed Guthman - National News Editor - L.A. Times

He has considerable experience as a reporter and editor, and from 1961-64 was Chief of Public Information for Robert Kennedy at the Justice Department.

- 9) Ben Bradlee - Managing Editor - Washington Post

He is a former Washington Bureau Chief of Newsweek.

- 10) Bob Maynard - Reporter - Washington Post

Mr. Maynard is a Negro, a former Nieman Fellow and has close ties to the Negro ghetto and the Black Power movement.

OR/

Joel Strickland - Reporter - Detroit News

He reported extensively on the riots this summer. He is a Negro.

- 11) Paul Miller - Editor and Publisher - Rochester Times-Union

His name was suggested to us as an outstanding representative of a small city newspaper by Dwight Sargent (Curator of the Nieman Foundation).

OR/

Joseph Shoquist - Managing Editor - Milwaukee Journal

- 12) Thomas Eastham - Executive Editor - San Francisco Examiner

This is the top editorial position. He is on the list as a representative of the Hearst newspapers.

II. TELEVISION AND RADIO

- 1) Frank Stanton - President - CBS

He was involved in an interchange of rather tough letters on television codes with Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania this summer.

- 2) Julian Goodman - President - NBC

- 3) James C. Hagerty - Executive Vice President - ABC

- 4) Bill Matney - Reporter - NBC

Mr. Matney is a Negro and was heavily involved in riot coverage this summer.

- 5) Ike Pappas - Reporter - CBS

Was one of top CBS reporters in the field during this summer's riots.

- 6) Tom Jarriel - Reporter - ABC

Considerable experience with racial news.

- 7) Stanhope Gould - National Field Producer - CBS

He was the executive most responsible for coordinating the work of CBS reporters and deciding what went on the air during the Detroit and Newark riots.

- 8) Fred Freed - Producer - NBC

He put together NBC's controversial program "What We Learned From the Riots". He did extensive investigating in Detroit for the program.

- 9) Edward P. Morgan - News Director - Public Broadcasting
Laboratories

Former Correspondent for ABC.

- 10) John Esther - TV News Director of Station WISN-TV -
Milwaukee

His name was suggested as a representative of the point of view of a local television station manager.

PROPOSED CHAIRMEN AND SPEAKERS

CHAIRMEN:

Dean Richard T. Baker - Columbia School of Journalism

Louis Lyons - Former Curator - Nieman Fellows

SPEAKERS:

Governor Kerner or Mayor Lindsay

John Spiegel - Dr. Spiegel is director of the
Lemberg Center for the Study of
Violence at Brandeis

Roger Wilkins - Department of Justice

Herbert Gans - Sociologist - Author of "The Urban
Villagers."

Jack Rosenthal - Kennedy Fellow - Harvard

former chief public information
officer at Department of Justice.
He served as a Special Assistant
to Under Secretary of State Nicholas
Katzenbach, and is spending this
year as a Kennedy Fellow at Harvard.

Stanhope Gould - CBS

Ed Guthman - Los Angeles Times

Pen Kimball - Professor - Columbia School of
Journalism

Lerone Bennett, Jr. - Senior Editor - Ebony

Bayard Rustin

Ben Bagdikian

Curtis MacDougall - Professor - Northwestern
Department of Journalism

PROPOSED AGENDA AND TOPICS

Roundtable Conference, November 10-12,
The Homestead, Poughkeepsie

Friday, November 10:

- 4:00-6:00 p.m. Conference participants arrive at
The Homestead - housing arrangements
handled by Homestead staff.
- 6:00 Limousines available for transportation
to cocktail party.
- 6:15-7:30 p.m. Reception
- 8:00 Dinner
- (1) Speaker - Gov. Kerner or Mayor Lindsay
Topic - "What the Commission is
Trying to Do".
- (2) Informal questioning and discussion
after speech.

Saturday, November 11 (first working day):

General Topic: "The Responsibilities of the Media in
a Riot City"

- 9:30-12:00 a.m. First Session: "The Incipient Riot"
Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)
- (1) The problems presented by rumors,
false reports, and agitators who
rely on media reports of their
speeches and press conference state-
ments to foment disturbances. Can
we report the news, yet avoid
creating public figures out of fringe
agitators?
- Paper by: John Spiegel

- (2) Embargoes: delayed reports of actual events; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Roger Wilkins

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) The problems presented by rumors, false reports, and agitators who rely on media reports of their speeches and press conference statements to foment disturbances. Can we report the news, yet avoid creating public figures out of fringe agitators?

Paper by: Herbert Gans

- (2) Embargoes: downplay of stories; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Jack Rosenthal

12:30

L U N C H

2:00-4:30

Second Session: "The Actual Riot"

Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage of civil disturbances; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and putting the reporters' work on the air; what gets on the air and why.

Paper by: William Monroe

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and camera equipment as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; possibilities and difficulties of pooling techniques; a proposal for pooling.

Paper by: Stanhope Gould

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and printing the reporters' work; decisions as to amount of space, display, and headlines on local and national "disturbance" stories.

Paper by: Edward Guthman

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and equipment - particularly photographers - as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; the dilemma of the reporters in publicizing and inadvertently glorifying snipers, fringe agitators, and others who contribute to the exacerbation of a riot; problems presented by displaying law enforcement officials as ineffectual or unable to control the situation; necessity and techniques of pooling arrangements.

Paper by: Pen Kimball

4:30-6:30	Open [Could be used for continuation of afternoon discussion].
6:30	Reception
8:00	Dinner
9:30	<u>Informal Session:</u> perhaps films of Detroit or Newark riots, followed by discussion. Perhaps we could get films of journalists in action at these riots.

Sunday, November 12 (Second Working day):

General Topic: Effective Continuing Coverage of Urban and Racial News

10:00-12:00 a.m.	<u>Third Session:</u> "A Constructive Role for the Press in Race Relations"
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Chairman: Louis Lyons

(Speakers to be rotated - address television roundtable in morning, newspaper roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) Hiring, training and using Negro reporters - a discussion of the role of the Negro reporter in covering racial riots, Black Power and the self-organization of Negroes, and actual civil disturbances.

Paper by: Lerone Bennett, Jr.

- (2) The problems of a constructive role for the media beyond reportage and editorial comment. Can the media, by special articles, programs and projects, help to improve race relations and stifle riots? Is such a role a legitimate one for the media?

Paper by: Ben Bagdikian

2:00-4:00

Fourth Session: "Getting Into the Ghetto and Getting the News Out"

Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker

(Rotation: Address newspapers in the morning, television roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) The ghetto as part of the city; conveying to the rest of the city an understanding of conditions and life inside the ghetto; where the media falls down now; how to improve coverage; what to report on besides crime, violence and civil disturbances?

Paper by: Bayard Rustin

- (2) Coverage by the white press of run-of-mill Negro news (e.g., social news: weddings, deaths, reports of PTA and community club meetings in Negro neighborhoods). Does the failure of newspapers to report fully on routine news of the Negro community contribute to a sense of alienation among Negroes and aloofness or disinterestedness among whites? What can be done?

Paper by: Curtis MacDougall

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE FOR ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

Each topic will be discussed in two simultaneous sessions, one for television and radio; one for newspapers and periodicals. For the first day, the present schedule suggests two speakers at each of two 2-1/2 hour conferences. The afternoon conference on "The Actual Riot" could run longer, if necessary. It is assumed that each of the designated "speakers" will be asked in advance to prepare a paper (10-15 minutes long) which he can present to focus discussion. Since each of the topics on the first day can be conveniently divided into two sub-topics, it might be useful to have the first paper presented at the beginning of the session, then follow it with an hour of discussion. Then the chairman could end the discussion and call for the second paper. The chairman will have an outline of the various subjects for the discussion to focus on, and it will presumably be his job to keep the meeting going and make sure each item is covered.

Sunday's sessions are shorter and, if we can get the suggested "speakers," a slightly longer, more focused presentation by each of them might be in order. It is possible we will want to rotate the Sunday sessions, so each speaker can make a presentation to each group.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

File

December 23, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO: David Ginsburg

FROM: Al Spivak

SUBJECT: Simulmatics

I will start with a brief personal reference which will anger and dismay you -- and bring upon me another accusation of acting like a bureaucrat -- but which I've got to get off my chest. This refers (1) to my technical, but obviously not actual, designation as "project officer" for the Simulmatics contract, connoting responsibility for its negotiation and performance, and (2) your own verbal request of me, at the outset of this project, to ride herd on the contractor's activities.

As events have developed, I have been drawn into the Simulmatics matters usually as an afterthought and usually after the fact of someone else's decisions on what should be done. I feel that mistakes were made in (1) designating someone as "project officer" who was not really expected to fulfill that role, and (2) expecting effective supervision of a project by someone who is not privy to all of the information about it.

Now, on the basis of what I have seen, finally, I have these comments:

1. The interim report of Simulmatics is fine as far as it goes, but it leaves out some vital points that could change the complexion of some of its findings. At the risk of seeming like a meddler, I called Sol Chaneles in New York on Friday, and he told me that some of the points I raised would be cleared up in their final report, targeted for between January 1 and 3. My basic point was that the interim analysis was based only on television newsreel footage, and that this tells only a partial -- and perhaps in some cases -- a misleading story. The analysis also must take into account the audio material which accompanies this footage, and not only the sound portion of the newsreel itself but also the commentator's remarks before and after the film is shown. Chaneles indicated that this would be done for their final report, so I am raising this point only to caution against putting too much stock in the interim findings. Those findings may -- and, I hope, probably will -- be borne out. But not yet.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

2. In Table I of the interim report, which is on page 2 of the analysis section, a claim is made that only one actual "rioting" action was found in the network footage, contrasted with 21 such appearances in local footage. Chaneles insisted to me that this was the case, and that all three major networks were included, in all 15 cities. Since this one scene, according to my recollection, was in Newark, the report would indicate that in all of the network coverage of Detroit, Milwaukee and other cities there was not one actual scene of rioting. As I told Dr. Chaneles, I just don't believe it. I think the problem lies here in two directions:

a. Definitions. For purposes of the Simulmatics measurement a fire is not a rioting scene; only a shot of a man setting the fire would be considered one. A policeman firing at a building is not a riot scene, it is a control or containment scene. Running is not "rioting," etc. But suppose the voice that accompanies the pictures says that the fire was set by a rioting arsonist, or that the policeman is returning heavy sniper fire, or that the people running were fleeing from police who spotted them looting.; That is the true context of the sequence, usually, or something like it. I sincerely laud the good motives of Simulmatics in striving for accuracy by holding to narrow definitions. But without the verbal material that goes with the picture, they cannot really do so.

b. Inadequate frame of reference. Here again, I'll be repeating something I said before. But the newsreel footage is only a partial indicator of total coverage. Aside from the commentaries of the newscasters -- who often have no film at hand -- on a local basis there is another important factor, the use of still pictures to illustrate stories. In a fast-breaking situation like a riot, stations often must use no film at all or still photographs. I don't know whether consideration of this would change the analysis; I do know that we should be wary of making too firm a judgment without taking those other matters into account.

3. It would be helpful for the sake of history and tomorrow's scholars to list not only the cities involved (which are not listed in the interim report) but also the stations which were surveyed; also, along that line, the newspapers whose content was measured. Were both papers in Detroit looked at, for example, or only one? I am not challenging anything here. I simply feel that we should lay things on the line so that we won't be challenged later.

4. The interim report looks at television and newspapers. I failed to ask Dr. Chaneles whether his forthcoming material will include radio -- which, according to our field reports and theirs, played a significant media role. I hope this will be taken into proper account.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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5. The Simulmatics field team reports, several of which I have seen, are interesting, well done, and sometimes even fascinating. They also don't add very much more to our store of knowledge than our own teams brought back. There is a bit more emphasis on the citizenry's recollections (usually fuzzy) about the role of media (including the opinions of 12-year-olds and such about the local press); but this material also roams far afield and brings me back to my prior suspicion that the real effort here was to hold a Little Riot Commission investigation.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

2/5/68

DG:

Here is an excellent commentary
about the Commission which
Richard Valeriani of NBC did
on the Monitor radio show on
January 7. He just sent me
the script.

Al Spivak

The Flames of the worst Negro rebellion in U.S. history were still burning when President Johnson appeared on nationwide television last July.

The President condemned the violence, demanded it be stopped....and announced he was appointing a Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to investigate it.

Two days later, he charged the Commission with answering three basic questions:

1. What Happened?
2. Why did it happen?
3. What can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?

In essence, the President already knew the answers.

In his television address, the President had said "The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an Attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know -- he said -- what those conditions are: Ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs."

In the past five months, ~~the~~ Commission ~~members~~ and staff members have heard in depth about those conditions from a long list of witnesses--in Washington and in the burned-out ghettos, *Memphis*.

(Most of the Research has now been completed, and the Commission will meet several days this month to produce its report.

(The President had originally called for an interim report by March First, with a final report by the end of July.

(But the Commission ~~declined~~ announced it could not afford ~~an interim~~ to take an Interim approach when a total approach ^{was} needed. ~~It also said~~ I, + also said

(In a joint statement, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, the Commission chairman, and Mayor John Lindsay of New York, vice chairman, said the Commission has found there is Urgent Need for Public Awareness and Widespread action Much sooner than next summer.

Clearly, the Commission is hoping its report will have a psychological impact on would-be rioters, convincing them a serious search for solutions is under way and defusing next summer's urban bombs before they go off.

(What the Commission members heard in their closed sessions was not essentially new--familiar statistics, familiar grievances....a familiar lack of serious efforts to solve familiar problems.

(And they heard over and over again ^{now} ~~what has become~~ a familiar mood in the ghettos: As author Piri Thomas put it so simply: "You cannot expect our young people to accept what our fathers and forefathers have accepted before."

~~The Commission~~

(Negro Historian Lerone Bennett Junior suggested what the Commission's historical approach ^{might} ~~will~~ be when he testified: "Hate and horror and resistance did NOT appear from Nowhere in this country in the summer of 1967. They were seeded hundreds of years ago -- he said -- in the Slavery Era and the Reconstruction Era...and were fertilized by Decades of National Compromises."

(Columbia University ~~sociologist~~ ^{Herbert Gans} Professor outlined what may be the sociological attitude of the report:

(^{he said} "These spontaneous rebellions are carried out impulsively by people who are fed up with American white society and the way that society has treated them.

"The ghetto residents who rebel have been angry for many years about many things, and one day, through a

an incident, and more and more often now, the incident leads to a larger rebellion."

Gans went on: "The first participants are probably most often adolescents and young adults, who are either students at (or dropouts from) poor schools which have been unable to make them learn, or are UN-employed or under-employed...stuck in a poorly paying, dirty, insecure or dead-end job). Being young, and having few or (NO) family responsibilities or community obligations, they have the least to lose from rebellious behavior than can land them in jail or in the cemetery. But soon they are joined by others; the Unemployed and under-employed of all ages, and even people who have decent jobs, but who, because they are Negroes, are cut off by segregation from achieving the American dream;

~~for example, getting the kind of house or neighborhood they want, obtaining a proper education for their children, receiving the promotion on the job to which they are entitled, being free from police harassment, and obtaining equal treatment from the courts, the municipal bureaucracies and the elected officials."~~

(The questions of what happened and why were easier to answer than the third---what to do to prevent it from happening again.

(The Commission members are still wrestling with the ^{basic} problem of what approach they should take, whether to recommend what they think can be done... or whether to recommend what they feel ~~may~~ should be done. -> *the current political climate* *TV in the*

(The only recommendations that are definite are the two already announced, one calling for better training for the National Guard and more Negro ~~men~~ members in the Guard, the other suggesting a federally-sponsored series of seminars for local officials on law enforcement and police-community relations.

The report will include both short-term measures ~~but Congressional members of the Commission have~~ for immediate impact... and long-range projects designed ~~indicated that they will recommend the short-term measures with long-range~~ ~~recommendations in their report~~ to go to the root of the problem. ~~indicated that while they have abandoned the so-called~~ interim approach, they will recommend both short-term ~~programs for immediate impact as well as long-range~~ projects designed to go to the root of the problem.

(The Heaviest emphasis will no doubt ~~may~~ be placed on Jobs, Housing and Education.

(The President himself ^{recently} indicated the future direction of ~~the~~ government attitudes toward the problem of employment

enough jobs to go around, then the Government will.

(The Commission's report will go into the subject of job training in depth, not only ~~recommending~~ recommending new programs, but urging better coordination among the programs currently in existence.

(The report can be expected to stress the need for Open Housing legislation...and call for massive low-cost housing projects on a scale far out-stripping current programs.

(The need for quality education will also be stressed.

(Major recommendations can be expected ~~on engaging~~ on engaging the resources of the private sector of the economy in solving the enormous range of problems involved.

~~The report will also~~ can also be expected to call for more involvement by state and city governments ~~in making~~ in making treatment for the ~~problem~~ root causes of violence, with improving local police forces, ~~for~~ for improving welfare programs, ~~with~~ stemming the flow of poor people from rural areas to urban areas, and with what may be the most difficult problem of All----

The report is also likely to call for more involvement by state and city governments in treating the root causes of violence.

and It will no doubt have much to say about improving local police forces, making welfare/programs more effective, AND

the cities.

And the Commission may even tackle what is the most difficult subject of all---individual prejudice and racism in America.

On such controversial issues as the negative ~~income tax or guaranteed annual income for the poor...~~ income tax or guaranteed annual income for the poor... and family allowances...the Commission is likely to bring them up...but recommend further study.

(Reaction to the Commission's report is also predictable to some degree. It will no doubt draw heavy fire from ^{white} Segregationists and Black militants alike.

(But the big question will be, once the report is issued, So What?

(Will the ~~new~~ rhetoric go Un-heeded, as it has so often in the past?

(The failure to implement the recommendations of the McCone Report following the Watts Riots serve as an Un-promising precedent.

6:40

If the Commission does decide on a total approach, the cost of its recommendations will be staggering.

(One witness suggested an adequate program ~~would~~ for job training alone would require the ~~the~~ equivalent of one year's defense budget--or ^{more than} ~~about~~ Seventy Billion dollars--spread over the next five years.

(The mood on Capitol Hill does not appear to be receptive to that kind of spending.

(But if the Commission answers the President's questions honestly, ~~and~~ it will ask America to decide--in the words of an anti-poverty worker--whether it's cheaper to kill Negroes for burning and looting than it is to spend the money which might create a life that ~~exceeds the average~~ makes those responses Un-necessary.

(Or as historian Lerone Bennett told the Commission: "I think that/with the will, in America, we can do anything we want to do. We have vast resources and facilities. We have all the technical skills. The only thing lacking at this point, I think, is the will."

The Commission report ~~will~~ ^{make} a probing test of America's Will.

This is Richard Valeriani, NBC News, Washington

File

P R E S S B R I E F I N G

PARTICIPANTS:

THE HONORABLE OTTO KERNER, Governor of
the State of Illinois, THE HONORABLE
JOHN V. LINDSAY, Mayor of New York City,
of the National Advisory Commission on
Civil Disorders, and

MEMBERS OF THE PRESS

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Executive Dining Room,
Federal Office Building No. 7,
Washington, D. C.
Wednesday, January 10, 1968
12:37 p.m.

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GOVERNOR KERNER: We presume that since we are here
in Washington again with a hearing that we would appear before
you and let you know we are progressing on schedule. We pre-
sume that the report will be ready by the 1st of March.

QUESTION: You mean public distribution by March
1st?

GOVERNOR KERNER: I said the report will be ready.
Whether it will actually be distributed on the 1st of March
is something we can't determine at this point, but our staff
is working. We have substantial staff who is doing all the
leg work. We are meeting here, of course, through tomorrow
and we are back again next week. Obviously we will have to
have additional meetings with the entire Commission before the

1 1st of March.

2 We are presently going over much of the manuscript
3 that has been put together. This has been going on for now
4 about a month and a half and we have revamping it semantically,
5 trying to put the language in the form which is acceptable to
6 all of us.

7 It will still be a report that we believe is going
8 to be uncomfortable for the people of the United States since
9 it is going to cover the facts of why it happened, how it hap-
10 pened.

11 We are presently engaged in looking over the recom-
12 mendations. This is the first meeting or series of meetings
13 that we have had concerning the recommendations that have been
14 prepared by staff and also have come to our attention through
15 the many witnesses that have appeared before us. So that we
16 have not yet taken the specific suggestions and accepted or
17 rejected them. We are still discussing them as we are today.
18 And I thought that we ought to appear before you and let you
19 know we are progressing.

20 We will have adequate funds to see us through this
21 and the report, as I say, will be prepared but not probably
22 ready for distribution on the 1st of March.

23 QUESTION: Governor, when you say we are meeting,
24 how many of the members of the Commission are here?

25 GOVERNOR KERNER: One hundred percent.

1 QUESTION: Oh, really?

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: One hundred percent, yes.

3 QUESTION: Do you think the report will be uncomfort-
4 able for the Johnson Administration?

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: I don't think it will be comfortable
6 for anybody. Let me put it that way.

7 QUESTION: Why, Governor?

8 GOVERNOR KERNER: Because the facts that are -- that
9 will be set forth in there as reports of the civil disorders.

10 QUESTION: Is "uncomfortable" the strongest word you
11 can find for the report, Governor?

12 GOVERNOR KERNER: Let me say in some places it may
13 even appear to be abrasive, but I think generally we do want
14 to be uncomfortable so people won't sit back. As we know, we
15 are in a winter season now, but that does not mean to any of
16 us that there could not be some further disorders. This thing
17 is not just a summer matter.

18 QUESTION: Governor Kerner, do you think the recom-
19 mendations will be uncomfortable, too?

20 GOVERNOR KERNER: Oh, I think to some people obviously.
21 To some people we won't go far enough and others obviously will
22 think we go too far. I think I can say generally, therefore,
23 but I will not cover the specifics at this time since we have
24 not determined them.

25 QUESTION: Have you been under any pressure from the

1 White House to tone the report back?

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: I have not. I don't know how the
3 White House could ask us to tone it down or up. They haven't
4 seen it nor has it been discussed with them.

5 QUESTION: Weren't some of the staff recommendations
6 discussed with the President in the middle of November?

7 GOVERNOR KERNER: Not to my knowledge they weren't,
8 and I am sure that I know of all discussions that have been
9 going on.

10 QUESTION: Governor, if the report is going to be
11 ready on March 1st, what will hold up the distribution?

12 GOVERNOR KERNER: Printing. Only the printing. Only
13 the printing. The mechanical work.

14 QUESTION: Governor, is the main emphasis of the main
15 recommendations going to be on jobs?

16 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, I wouldn't say any -- you
17 couldn't point out that any has a priority at this time. It
18 will cover jobs. It will cover education. It will cover
19 housing.

20 QUESTION: In that order of priority?

21 GOVERNOR KERNER: No. I said there is no priority.
22 We are discussing this and I don't know that any priority will
23 be determined. It has been no such determination made at this
24 point, let me put it that way.

25 QUESTION: How are conditions for this forthcoming

1 summer different from what they were last summer?

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, I think one of the reasons
3 that we accelerated our report is realizing that conditions
4 might be the same. If the report were not immediately forth-
5 coming, that it would help and assist and perhaps remove some
6 of the causes.

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QUESTION: You aren't --

Governor, some of the causes, of course, will take a long time to remedy.

QUESTION: At the present time the conditions are the same, are they?

GOVERNOR KERNER: No. I would say the end of last summer, from my own experience, that there were people certainly in the poverty areas who took the part of cooling it, and were not a part of any civil disorder. But they were from those areas. I think that was true in New York, it was true in Chicago, certainly it was true in many of the cities throughout the United States.

QUESTION: Do you expect this cooling it to carry over to the summer of 1968?

GOVERNOR KERNER: I can't guarantee you anything on that score. We are working with the people. We hope the report will have that effect.

QUESTION: Governor --

GOVERNOR KERNER: John, why don't you come up here.

MAYOR LINDSAY: You are doing fine.

QUESTION: Some of the ex-staff members of the Commission have been all over the Hill complaining to Congressmen that the President or some of the White House people are torpedoing the work of the Commission. Now --

GOVERNOR KERNER: Let me say there is absolutely not

osp-2 1 an iota of truth in that. Some of the people, may I say, who
2 had to leave their positions had notice long in advance that
3 they would finish their work. They were the staff people
4 actually that went into the various cities. They were
5 scheduled to leave the last part of December.

6 QUESTION: One ex-Commission member or staff member
7 said he called -- said the report was going to be the biggest
8 sanitary job on earth.

9 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, that is his personal opinion
10 and since we haven't finalized the report, just discussing the
11 matters, I think that it is very presumptuous of the
12 individual who said it.

13 QUESTION: Why would they be spreading these stories?

14 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, they may be upset that per-
15 haps they are not still on the staff. I have seen that thing
16 happen in government before and in business, may I say.

17 QUESTION: You don't believe the report in any way
18 will be toned down due to pressure from the White House?

19 GOVERNOR KERNER: No, sir, no, sir.

20 QUESTION: Governor, do you have any kind of --

21 GOVERNOR KERNER: May I say again the White House
22 hasn't seen this report. As a matter of fact, the things they
23 have been going over now are just introduced. Impossible for
24 anybody to see them before.

25 QUESTION: Governor, do you have any kind of a price

1 tag on the recommendations?

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: No, not yet, because we haven't come
3 up with the series of recommendations yet. We are just con-
4 sidering those.

5 QUESTION: But at this time of budget hold down, are
6 you considering the practical matter, in making recommendations,
7 how they are going to be paid for, how --

8 GOVERNOR KERNER: As a matter of fact, there has not
9 been a determination made by the Commission as yet as to whether
10 there will be a price tag on it. It may just indicate the
11 number of functions that are necessary. We don't want to get
12 in the position of trying to take over the power of Congress.

13 QUESTION: Governor, rather than cooling it there has
14 been more and more talk about racial warfare in the planning
15 stage, not racial riots but racial warfare. Anything mentioned --

16 GOVERNOR KERNER: I think there has been that talk,
17 certainly there has been that talk, but on the other hand there
18 has been activity in those areas by individuals who plan to
19 cool it. I am talking about the youth groups particularly.

20 QUESTION: Governor --

21 QUESTION: How has the talk about racial warfare
22 affected your consideration?

23 GOVERNOR KERNER: It hasn't affected our considerations
24 at all. If the causes are there, we must come up with the same
25 recommendations whether there is talk of it or not.

QUESTION: Do you discount this talk?

GOVERNOR KERNER: I didn't say we counted it or discounted it. I said the causes are there. We must try to come up with remedies and plans that we hope will overcome the problem.

QUESTION: Governor --

QUESTION: Governor, now that you are at the point of preparing the report, looking back over the six months, were the riots planned? Were the riots, those that occurred --

GOVERNOR KERNER: There is no intelligence, no indication, no fact to indicate that any of them were planned.

QUESTION: All right.

The other part --

GOVERNOR KERNER: Today, as a matter of fact, I think we can say this generally, something I think is known to all of us, that the elements were there and that some fuse, an unpredictable fuse, set them off, but at this point there is still no evidence of any planning for the civil disorders within the cities.

QUESTION: Can we have Mayor Lindsay up to ask him a question?

GOVERNOR KERNER: Yes. Sure. I wanted him to come up here and have him join us.

QUESTION: Mr. Mayor, there have been a lot of Commission Reports that have ended up on book shelves in govern-

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ment offices. Do you feel this will be an exception or do you think Congress is going to change its mind next year on what they are going to do about appropriating funds? How do you assess these prospects? What do you do if they don't come through with the funds?

MAYOR LINDSAY: Well, I should think it would be very difficult for any member of the Commission to try to predict how this report will be received. As Governor Kerner said, we can't give you any details as to the recommendations that this report will make at this time because we have not completed our work on that point, but when we do, and when the report is offered publicly on March 1 or as soon as the mechanical work can be completed, printing, then I would have impact, that as the Governor said, that it would be honest, realistic, cause discomfort if necessary, and that it would be debated and considered.

QUESTION: Are you anxious to cause Democrats some discomfort in this election year through the report?

MAYOR LINDSAY: No, sir. We can't afford that under these conditions in the country.

QUESTION: Will it be a completely bipartisan product or nonpartisan product?

MAYOR LINDSAY: I would expect so.

QUESTION: Mr. Mayor, does the President expect to be caused more discomfort by those that Governor Kerner referred

1st, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001

1 to who feel that the report goes too far or those who feel that
2 it doesn't go far enough?

3 MAYOR LINDSAY: Well, I trust the report will be
4 thoroughly readable and expect that it will be completely
5 honest. That being the case, it will describe undoubtedly a
6 very serious condition in the country and the Commission's view
7 undoubtedly would be that no one can turn their back on this.
8 It is too serious. And any time you are faced with a problem
9 of these dimensions, proportions, you have got a situation that
10 demands remedy, and that can be very difficult and even painful.

11 QUESTION: Will a preview of the report be given to
12 the White House in time for the President to make some plans
13 for his budget message for it or will it just be omitted?

14 MAYOR LINDSAY: Working right up to the last minute.

15 GOVERNOR KERNER: I would have doubts there would be
16 any complete report or even a partial completion --

17 MAYOR LINDSAY: I expect --

18 GOVERNOR KERNER: -- for the White House before --

19 MAYOR LINDSAY: I expect the Commission will be --
20 this March 1 deadline is a self-imposed deadline by the
21 Commission, one that the Commission at the time felt and still
22 feels would have to be imposed upon itself in advance. It is
23 an advance of the timetable set forth in the President's
24 Executive Order. And the reason the Commission came to that
25 conclusion was because of the urgency of the problem. But it

1 is a very difficult timetable to live with because of the
2 mountains of material that we are working with, and my own guess
3 would be that the Commission will be working up to the last
4 moment before it is completed.

5 QUESTION: Sir, is there -- has any consideration
6 been given at Commission meetings to the possibility of asking
7 President Johnson to put into his budget a contingency item so
8 that there will be money in his budget to get a start on what
9 you recommend?

10 GOVERNOR KERNER: We had not planned anything of that
11 nature, no.

12 QUESTION: That means it will be excluded from the
13 budget, obviously.

14 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, of course, I don't know what
15 is in the budget.

16 QUESTION: If the President doesn't --

17 GOVERNOR KERNER: As I say, I see a budget has been
18 put together by reading the press, but I don't know what is in
19 it. So I really don't know. But we have no intention of re-
20 questing any X dollars or anything of that nature for the pro-
21 gram.

22 QUESTION: Are you saying the President has no know-
23 ledge of the things you have been discussing or just doesn't
24 have the final report?

25 GOVERNOR KERNER: Not to my knowledge, I don't think

1 he has any specific --

2 QUESTION: Staff members have not been --

3 GOVERNOR KERNER: Staff members have been talking I
4 think to people in the White House but that is on the basis of
5 the factual things that have already been put together. This
6 is not a program. This is the first week that we have really
7 been discussing program, so I think I can guarantee you on that
8 basis that there has been no conversation between the White
9 House as to program. And this is the area of cost and areas of
10 budget that you are referring to.

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1 QUESTION: Governor Kerner, if we can take a different
2 approach to this, how much of these recommendations are going
3 to require action by the Congress and what are the prospects
4 for that?

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, I think you would have to
6 divide the report up into different categories. Certain of,
7 let's say, moneys that are presently appropriated for a program
8 we are suggesting be used in a little different way. Certain
9 functions that have been suggested are already functions of
10 government but probably ought to be upgraded, made more
11 efficient, and then there are other areas that would be in a
12 new category. So there are really three categories of recom-
13 mendations.

14 QUESTION: Do you have any --

15 QUESTION: What are the prospects for Congress acting
16 on this in a favorable manner?

17 GOVERNOR KERNER: Gentlemen, I wish I could give you
18 that answer. I wish I could give the answer to how my own
19 legislature would react to certain things.

20 QUESTION: You do have an idea of what the recom-
21 mendations are going to say already.

22 GOVERNOR KERNER: We have many of them before us.
23 We are considering them.

24 QUESTION: The three areas you mention will be three
25 you are concentrating on.

1 GOVERNOR KERNER: These are three we are reviewing,
2 let us say, but we have not yet made a decision concerning any
3 of them in any of these three categories.

4 QUESTION: Mayor Lindsay, is the fact that this is a
5 Presidential election year making the writing of the report
6 politically sensitive?

7 MAYOR LINDSAY: No, I don't believe so. I think the
8 Commission has been guided by its increasing understanding of
9 the nature of the urban problem and the threat that it poses
10 to the country, and what we have to do in describing the con-
11 dition of the cities of the Nation and possibly suggesting
12 points of focus, looking towards remedies, we would have to do
13 under any circumstances, whether it was an election year.

14 QUESTION: May I put the same question to you, sir.
15 Has there been pressure to tone down the report?

16 MAYOR LINDSAY: No, sir.

17 QUESTION: Governor, are there any measures that
18 won't cost any money?

19 GOVERNOR KERNER: Yes. There are recommendations
20 in there that would not cost any money and they are the measures
21 that would do away with racism we believe by actually setting
22 forth to the American people that there is this problem. Let's
23 not sweep it under the rug, that there is segregation, and if
24 we can change people's attitudes, this will not cost a penny,
25 and certainly would be the best antidote that I could think of

1 because of the other areas of the problem.

2 QUESTION: Do you think the discomfort you are
3 going to cause is in effect criticism that this problem has
4 either been neglected --

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: Not criticism. Statement of fact.

6 QUESTION: But the discomfort might be caused because
7 people are being told they haven't done what they should have
8 done years ago.

9 GOVERNOR KERNER: That I think might be a reasonable
10 conclusion, yes.

11 QUESTION: Sins of omission, rather than --

12 GOVERNOR KERNER: That is right. Well, some are
13 really of commission, too, believe me.

14 QUESTION: Governor, how are you going to answer the
15 criticism in any of these recommendations that you may be re-
16 warding rioters?

17 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, I don't know that any such
18 criticism has been made yet, and I wouldn't be surprised if it
19 did come from some segments of the population, but it becomes
20 really a question of trying to overcome the problem or having
21 the problem increase.

22 QUESTION: Do you expect the sum of your recommenda-
23 tions to amount to rather sizable increase in government
24 programs?

25 GOVERNOR KERNER: We have not really got to the point

1 where we could add anything up. As I say, some of the pro-
2 grams suggested, there is money presently being appropriated
3 for them. It is a question in our minds whether we are going
4 to recommend that they be used for another purpose and what we
5 may consider or recommend a more efficient use of those funds
6 because of past experience.

7 QUESTION: I realize that you said earlier you may
8 not have a figure, but do you expect that when translated into
9 figures, that your recommendations may amount to a rather
10 sizable total effort?

11 GOVERNOR KERNER: Obviously they will be recommenda-
12 tions that are going to cost money. There is no doubt of
13 that. But some of them are short-range and some may range over
14 a long period of time. If you want to buy one automobile you
15 know it costs that much money. If you want to relieve one
16 case, it costs that much money. If it becomes a question of
17 how far Congress wants to go in expanding the program to be
18 effective and what they think will be effective, ten thousand,
19 one hundred thousand, or a million --
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1 QUESTION: Governor, will your recommendations be en-
2 tirely on a Federal level or will you be making some recommenda-
3 tions that States and local governments --

4 GOVERNOR KERNER: Oh, no. Some will affect school
5 districts, school boards, local government, county government,
6 State government.

7 QUESTION: Governor, a few minutes ago you said that
8 there were several reasons for accelerating your schedule of the
9 March 1 deadline. What are some of the other reasons? Was it
10 your lack, your own lack of funds for the Commission's work?

11 GOVERNOR KERNER: No, no. As a matter of fact, we
12 determined some time ago among ourselves, there has been a
13 general discussion as to whether we ought to follow the schedule
14 really set up with that interim report and the final report. We
15 have been discussing this I think as far back as August, John,
16 as I recall. We finally determined that actually we would be
17 making a mistake to separate the reports. If it is going to be
18 an effective report, we should have the causes, what caused it,
19 how did it happen, and so forth and so on, with a recommendation.

20 QUESTION: And you are satisfied with the funding that
21 you have gotten.

22 GOVERNOR KERNER: We have adequate funding to see us
23 through our period so far as we can see at the present time.

24 QUESTION: Is it still your plan that the Commission
25 will go out of business after the final report is published?

1 GOVERNOR KERNER: I think certainly the Commission
2 will probably stay together after the report is already
3 published.

4 QUESTION: You mean there will be some --

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: There is housekeeping work to do,
6 filing, the distribution of reports, all this type of thing.
7 I am putting it under the heading of housekeeping.

8 QUESTION: Is this a point for permanent or semi-
9 permanent --

10 GOVERNOR KERNER: No. No, no. Certainly this
11 Commission cannot exist any longer than one year from its
12 appointment unless something else occurs to cause us to be
13 further extended, but we are not planning on extension beyond
14 the one year.

15 QUESTION: Governor, if you can't give a price tag
16 at this time, as you read the Commission at this time, how
17 would you characterize the feeling of the need? Would you say
18 it is a massive -- it will be a massive expenditure or it will
19 be more limited than you had thought earlier, or just what?

20 GOVERNOR KERNER: Well, not having any preconceived
21 notions, obviously I cannot make a comparison. It is again a
22 question of how far the people in the United States, their
23 legislatures, the Congress, want to go in trying to meet the
24 problem.

25 QUESTION: Yes, but you are making recommendations,

1 sir.

2 GOVERNOR KERNER: But there will be many recommenda-
3 tions. We are not going to say this is the answer. No.

4 QUESTION: How far --

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: So that any figure I would give you
6 now would even be without any basis. It would be a broad-based
7 thing. We may eliminate some of these things in our final con-
8 sideration, but there may be certain programs that are rather
9 similar, but I think certainly the legislatures and Congress
10 ought to be given a choice and they may select only one of four
11 similar type recommendations, so instead of quadrupling the
12 cost, actually it would be minimizing to a single program.

13 QUESTION: Governor, do you see the prospect of any
14 recommendation the Commission might make being implemented in
15 time to have any appreciable impact on next summer's --

16 GOVERNOR KERNER: Again, you are asking me what the
17 reaction of Congress will be primarily. I can't answer that.
18 I don't know.

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1 QUESTION: As a practical matter, Governor, wouldn't
2 it be impossible for Congress to act if you don't get this
3 report out until, say, March 15, before the summer riot season
4 starts?

5 GOVERNOR KERNER: No. I don't think it is impossible.

6 QUESTION: Unlikely?

7 QUESTION: Three months, two and a half months.

8 GOVERNOR KERNER: I realize that, but this is an un-
9 usual situation. I don't think we can put this into normal
10 time category of usual Federal legislation.

11 QUESTION: Governor, a question about the potential
12 effectiveness of the report. If the report comes out March
13 1st and if all of the recommendations were to be put into
14 effect and followed, would this create an impact on minimizing
15 a summer of trouble this year?

16 GOVERNOR KERNER: We believe it would have an impact,
17 yes, but how great or how small I cannot answer. It would
18 depend again upon what Congress wanted to do about it.

19 QUESTION: But assuming that Congress accepted the
20 whole thing, do you believe the recommendations --

21 GOVERNOR KERNER: I think it would have an impact,
22 yes. I do.

23 QUESTION: Mayor Lindsay --

24 GOVERNOR KERNER: If all of them were adopted. We
25 are probably not going to recommend all that we presently have.

1 QUESTION: Mayor Lindsay, what did you learn from the
2 Commission's deliberations that you didn't know before about
3 the causes for racial strife?

4 MAYOR LINDSAY: Well, I think all the Commission,
5 myself included, have a far greater understanding of the di-
6 mensions of the problem country-wide and the commonness of
7 the conditions that exist city-to-city. Also the common
8 threads that seem to run through the profile of a riot. These
9 are matters of great interest and one only discovers this
10 through a very sharp bird's-eye look rather than any one local
11 experience.

12 QUESTION: Mayor Lindsay, when you go walking through
13 the streets of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant next summer, what
14 if some of the people suggest that you might have been wasting
15 your time on this Commission? How do you think you will
16 answer?

17 MAYOR LINDSAY: Well, I am so used to people sug-
18 gesting to me that I waste most of my time on so many occasions
19 that I don't find it difficult to respond.

20 QUESTION: What would you say?

21 MAYOR LINDSAY: Just toss it off. This has not been
22 a waste of time. The work of this Commission has been an
23 enormous investment of time and a very important investment of
24 time. I have been associated with many groups in 11 or 12 years
25 of public service, in three different levels of government. I

3 1 have never been associated with one that was as thoroughly
2 conscientious or as concerned, with good reason, as this one
3 here. The time that we have all spent has been necessary and
4 important time.

5 QUESTION: Thank you.

6 GOVERNOR KERNER: Thank you.

7 (Whereupon, at 1:00 p.m. the Press Briefing was
8 concluded.)
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October 11, 1967

G. Phillips Hanna
Assistant Division Chief
Human Resources Programs Division
Bureau of the Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hanna:

It is requested that the enclosed contracts be negotiated by a Federal Government agency to be determined by your office for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The following individuals are designated as Commission Project Officers for these contracts:

<u>Contractor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Project Officer</u>
Simulmatics Corp.	10/7/67	Alvin Spivak ✓ Tel: 128-28711
Columbia University	10/67	Dr. Robert Shellow Tel: 128-28711

In view of the urgency of the work of the Commission it is requested that these contracts receive expeditious handling and that the Project Officers be kept informed of the status of contract negotiation.

Sincerely yours,

Norman J. McKenzie
Executive Officer

NJMCK/bb

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 15, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Media Conference in Poughkeepsie;
Simulmatics Contract

1. As reported at the dinner meeting on October 5, we are proceeding with our study of the media. This is being coordinated by Professor Abram Chayes of the Harvard Law School, who has taken steps to organize: (a) an analysis of media content and other aspects of coverage, and (b) an informal conference of Commissioners, media representatives and other interested parties at The Homestead, Poughkeepsie, New York on November 10-12.

2. This is the status of the content analysis study:

We are negotiating with the Simulmatics Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts and New York to conduct a study of the treatment of racial and riot news by television, radio, newspapers and magazines in 22 specific cities as well as on network or other national bases. This effort will include examination and analysis of television film clips and video tapes, radio broadcast tapes and transcripts, and newspapers and magazines. Quantity and positioning of coverage will be measured and recorded, and key words and phrases (and other data) programmed for computer analysis. The statistical result will form a basis for analysis by social scientists and recommendations to the Commission.

At the Commission's dinner meeting on October 23, Professor Chayes will be present to discuss the background and details of the proposed contract and other phases of the media study.

3. The enclosed memorandum which Professor Chayes sent me explains in detail the suggested participants, agenda and topics for the media conference in Poughkeepsie. These are tentative -- invitations are only now being extended -- and the final form of the sessions is open to revision.

IBM is making available to us its facilities at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie, and we're much indebted to the company. Because of the nature of the conference and the limited facilities, we're trying to hold the total number of participants to about 40. The invitees were selected with the advice of several persons with expert knowledge of the media and after consultation with Governor Kerner. We've managed to fit in a pretty good cross section of editorial viewpoint interests, geographic areas and publication sizes.

The conference will begin with a dinner meeting Friday, November 10 and extend into Sunday afternoon, November 12. Our hope is that some of the Commissioners, after attending the Friday hearings in Washington, will fly to Poughkeepsie for the opening of the conference. The others can remain for the final hearings on Saturday and then, if possible, fly to Poughkeepsie for the dinner Saturday night and the Sunday sessions.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

October 13, 1967

Following is our proposal for a conference of media representatives, Commissioners and staff to be held at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie from November 10-12, 1967.

The proposal includes:

- 1) Suggested participants.
- 2) Draft agenda and topics to be discussed.
- 3) Suggested procedure for each roundtable conference.

IBM's staff at The Homestead is now moving ahead with arrangements for the conference. They seem competent and are prepared to do just about everything we ask them to - provided we give them enough time. Bruce Paisner went to Poughkeepsie yesterday to meet with them and look over the facilities.

We are shooting for a final go ahead on the conference today, so that we can get the mechanics of inviting speakers and participants completed this weekend. This is really all the time we have got. Early next week, you may want to supplement the invitations with telephone calls or another letter.

The conference will serve at least two primary purposes:

First, it will enable representatives of the media from all parts of the country and different types of cities and publications to get together in relaxed, informal setting where they can discuss the inter-relationship of the press and race relations, and perhaps begin to articulate some of their concerns and their approaches to the problems in this area.

Second, it will permit media representatives to meet with members of the Commission in an atmosphere, hopefully free of the suspicion and hostility that might otherwise surround this kind of inquiry.

In this way, we think a free and more candid exchange can take place. The Commissioners and staff, for their part,

will have a chance to appraise the outlook and problems of the media in race relations and riot coverage with the men who do the reporting and make the editorial decisions.

The following information will be available to the Commissioners before the conference starts. If it should prove desirable, some or all of it can be given to the other participants.

- 1) A preliminary report from Simulmatics, Inc. on the statistical information they have developed to that point. We have been assured that they will have some returns on at least a few cities.
- 2) The complete report of Mr. Robert E. Smith, a members of the Newsday staff, who is now interviewing editors in various cities, reporters and television management people on the general subject of the decisions they make in covering riot news and civil disturbances, and why they make them. Mr. Smith can attend the conference if we wish.
- 3) Information from the City Reports on special incidents of media misconduct or exemplary conduct.
- 4) A preliminary survey of the existing literature in this general field. The survey is now being undertaken by a research assistant at the Harvard Law School.

In addition, relying on this information, and our general knowledge, we will prepare a list of questions, keyed to each of the conference sessions. These questions will be given to the Commissioners in advance for use in probing subject areas in which they are interested.

Abram Chayes

LIST OF SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS
IN ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE

I. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- 1) Hedley Donovan - Editor-in-Chief - Time, Inc.

He exercises a more or less direct supervisory role over the editorial content of all Time, Inc. magazines.

- 2) Wes Gallagher - General Manager - Associated Press

- 3) Roger Tatarian - Editor - United Press International

Al Spivak suggested he would be the best representative of U.P.I.

- 4) John Sengstacke - Editor and Publisher - Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspapers.

He is reputed to be among the most successful and influential Negro publishers in the country.

- 5) Neil Shine - City Editor - Detroit Free Press

A central figure in the coverage of that city's riots.

- 6) Gene Roberts - Reporter - New York Times

Has racial experience in the South and northern cities. He headed up The Times riot coverage in Detroit this summer and was involved in the coverage of many other disturbances. He is a former City Editor of the Detroit Free Press.

OR/

Karl Fleming - L.A. Bureau Chief - Newsweek

Before coming to Los Angeles he had wide experience reporting racial affairs in the South. He directed Newsweek's coverage of the Watts riot in 1965.

- 7) Hodding Carter, Jr. - Editor - Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Miss.

He is well known for his moderate views on racial questions, and his attempts to influence for the

good thinking in the Mississippi Delta region. When his father, Hodding Carter, Sr., was Editor of the Democrat-Times, Mr. Carter, Jr. was a general assignment reporter for that newspaper.

- 8) Ed Guthman - National News Editor - L.A. Times

He has considerable experience as a reporter and editor, and from 1961-64 was Chief of Public Information for Robert Kennedy at the Justice Department.

- 9) Ben Bradlee - Managing Editor - Washington Post

He is a former Washington Bureau Chief of Newsweek.

- 10) Bob Maynard - Reporter - Washington Post

Mr. Maynard is a Negro, a former Nieman Fellow and has close ties to the Negro ghetto and the Black Power movement.

OR/

Joel Strickland - Reporter - Detroit News

He reported extensively on the riots this summer. He is a Negro.

- 11) Paul Miller - Editor and Publisher - Rochester Times-Union

His name was suggested to us as an outstanding representative of a small city newspaper by Dwight Sargent (Curator of the Nieman Foundation).

OR/

Joseph Shoquist - Managing Editor - Milwaukee Journal

- 12) Thomas Eastham - Executive Editor - San Francisco Examiner

This is the top editorial position. He is on the list as a representative of the Hearst newspapers.

II. TELEVISION AND RADIO

- 1) Frank Stanton - President - CBS

He was involved in an interchange of rather tough letters on television codes with Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania this summer.

- 2) Julian Goodman - President - NBC

- 3) James C. Hagerty - Executive Vice President - ABC

- 4) Bill Matney - Reporter - NBC

Mr. Matney is a Negro and was heavily involved in riot coverage this summer.

- 5) Ike Pappas - Reporter - CBS

Was one of top CBS reporters in the field during this summer's riots.

- 6) Tom Jarriel - Reporter - ABC

Considerable experience with racial news.

- 7) Stanhope Gould - National Field Producer - CBS

He was the executive most responsible for coordinating the work of CBS reporters and deciding what went on the air during the Detroit and Newark riots.

- 8) Fred Freed - Producer - NBC

He put together NBC's controversial program "What We Learned From the Riots". He did extensive investigating in Detroit for the program.

- 9) Edward P. Morgan - News Director - Public Broadcasting
Laboratories

Former Correspondent for ABC.

- 10) John Esther - TV News Director of Station WISN-TV -
Milwaukee

His name was suggested as a representative of the point of view of a local television station manager.

PROPOSED CHAIRMEN AND SPEAKERS

CHAIRMEN:

Dean Richard T. Baker - Columbia School of Journalism

Louis Lyons - Former Curator - Nieman Fellows

SPEAKERS:

Governor Kerner or Mayor Lindsay

John Spiegel - Dr. Spiegel is director of the
Lemberg Center for the Study of
Violence at Brandeis

Roger Wilkins - Department of Justice

Herbert Gans - Sociologist - Author of "The Urban
Villagers."

Jack Rosenthal - Kennedy Fellow - Harvard

former chief public information
officer at Department of Justice.
He served as a Special Assistant
to Under Secretary of State Nicholas
Katzenbach, and is spending this
year as a Kennedy Fellow at Harvard.

Stanhope Gould - CBS

Ed Guthman - Los Angeles Times

Pen Kimball - Professor - Columbia School of
Journalism

Lerone Bennett, Jr. - Senior Editor - Ebony

Bayard Rustin

Ben Bagdikian

Curtis MacDougall - Professor - Northwestern
Department of Journalism

PROPOSED AGENDA AND TOPICS

Roundtable Conference, November 10-12,
The Homestead, Poughkeepsie

Friday, November 10:

- 4:00-6:00 p.m. Conference participants arrive at
The Homestead - housing arrangements
handled by Homestead staff.
- 6:00 Limousines available for transportation
to cocktail party.
- 6:15-7:30 p.m. Reception
- 8:00 Dinner
- (1) Speaker - Gov. Kerner or Mayor Lindsay
Topic - "What the Commission is
Trying to Do".
- (2) Informal questioning and discussion
after speech.

Saturday, November 11 (first working day):

General Topic: "The Responsibilities of the Media in
a Riot City"

- 9:30-12:00 a.m. First Session: "The Incipient Riot"
- Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)
- (1) The problems presented by rumors,
false reports, and agitators who
rely on media reports of their
speeches and press conference state-
ments to foment disturbances. Can
we report the news, yet avoid
creating public figures out of fringe
agitators?
- Paper by: John Spiegel

- (2) Embargoes: delayed reports of actual events; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Roger Wilkins

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) The problems presented by rumors, false reports, and agitators who rely on media reports of their speeches and press conference statements to foment disturbances. Can we report the news, yet avoid creating public figures out of fringe agitators?

Paper by: Herbert Gans

- (2) Embargoes: downplay of stories; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Jack Rosenthal

12:30

L U N C H

2:00-4:30

Second Session: "The Actual Riot"

Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage of civil disturbances; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and putting the reporters' work on the air; what gets on the air and why.

Paper by: William Monroe

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and camera equipment as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; possibilities and difficulties of pooling techniques; a proposal for pooling.

Paper by: Stanhope Gould

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and printing the reporters' work; decisions as to amount of space, display, and headlines on local and national "disturbance" stories.

Paper by: Edward Guthman

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and equipment - particularly photographers - as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; the dilemma of the reporters in publicizing and inadvertently glorifying snipers, fringe agitators, and others who contribute to the exacerbation of a riot; problems presented by displaying law enforcement officials as ineffectual or unable to control the situation; necessity and techniques of pooling arrangements.

Paper by: Pen Kimball

4:30-6:30	Open [Could be used for continuation of afternoon discussion].
6:30	Reception
8:00	Dinner
9:30	Informal Session: perhaps films of Detroit or Newark riots, followed by discussion. Perhaps we could get films of journalists in action at these riots.

Sunday, November 12 (Second Working day):

General Topic: Effective Continuing Coverage of Urban and Racial News

10:00-12:00 a.m. Third Session: "A Constructive Role for the Press in Race Relations"

Chairman: Louis Lyons

(Speakers to be rotated - address television roundtable in morning, newspaper roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) Hiring, training and using Negro reporters - a discussion of the role of the Negro reporter in covering racial riots, Black Power and the self-organization of Negroes, and actual civil disturbances.

Paper by: Lerone Bennett, Jr.

- (2) The problems of a constructive role for the media beyond reportage and editorial comment. Can the media, by special articles, programs and projects, help to improve race relations and stifle riots? Is such a role a legitimate one for the media?

Paper by: Ben Bagdikian

2:00-4:00

Fourth Session: "Getting Into the Ghetto and Getting the News Out"

Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker

(Rotation: Address newspapers in the morning, television roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) The ghetto as part of the city; conveying to the rest of the city an understanding of conditions and life inside the ghetto; where the media falls down now; how to improve coverage; what to report on besides crime, violence and civil disturbances?

Paper by: Bayard Rustin

- (2) Coverage by the white press of run-of-mill Negro news (e.g., social news: weddings, deaths, reports of PTA and community club meetings in Negro neighborhoods). Does the failure of newspapers to report fully on routine news of the Negro community contribute to a sense of alienation among Negroes and aloofness or disinterestedness among whites? What can be done?

Paper by: Curtis MacDougall

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE FOR ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

Each topic will be discussed in two simultaneous sessions, one for television and radio; one for newspapers and periodicals. For the first day, the present schedule suggests two speakers at each of two 2-1/2 hour conferences. The afternoon conference on "The Actual Riot" could run longer, if necessary. It is assumed that each of the designated "speakers" will be asked in advance to prepare a paper (10-15 minutes long) which he can present to focus discussion. Since each of the topics on the first day can be conveniently divided into two sub-topics, it might be useful to have the first paper presented at the beginning of the session, then follow it with an hour of discussion. Then the chairman could end the discussion and call for the second paper. The chairman will have an outline of the various subjects for the discussion to focus on, and it will presumably be his job to keep the meeting going and make sure each item is covered.

Sunday's sessions are shorter and, if we can get the suggested "speakers," a slightly longer, more focused presentation by each of them might be in order. It is possible we will want to rotate the Sunday sessions, so each speaker can make a presentation to each group.