Press Coverage of Women in the Civil Rights Movement:

A Media Portrayal Analysis

By

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Auburn University Montgomery

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Master of Liberal Arts

Montgomery, Alabama

4 August 2000

APPROVED

Thesis Director

Second Reader

Director of Graduate Studies

For Ethan Blake, who grew up while my back was turned.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend my most sincere gratitude to the many individuals who have supported and encouraged me and given graciously of their time throughout this project:

My family and friends,

Carol Goodson,

Caryllee Cheatham,

Dr. Nelya McKenzie,

and Dr. Mary Jane Curry.

A lifetime of thank you's will never be enough.

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ABSTRACT

Photographs show their faces and illustrate their constant participation, but the media does not tell the stories of the involvement of women in the civil rights movement. This study investigated whether the civil rights era local Alabama newspaper coverage of women civil rights workers is a product of standard treatment of blacks and women by the print media of the time or a result of a conscious editorial effort to dissuade public support of the issue. To study the portrayal of civil rights women in the news media, the most appropriate method was content analysis. An examination of actual news clippings from the civil rights era aided in the study of how the news media portrayed women during this time and challenged the popular image that the civil rights struggle was composed and orchestrated by men.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. Introduction 8

II. Literature Review 27

III. Methodology 39

IV. Results 45

V. Discussion 54

Appendix A 69

Appendix B 75

Appendix C 76

Appendix D 79

References 80

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. Total references to civil rights workers, by sex. 47
2. Representation of men women civil rights workers as main characters. 49

Table

1. Identifying factors of male and female civil rights workers. 51
2. Percentage of total references for thematic variables 53

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Chronology of the Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement in America was a long time forming and began in small steps long before it became part of the national agenda. The United States Supreme Court ruling in the 1896 case of Plessy v. Ferguson set the stage for the events to come. Plessy v. Ferguson ruled that separate facilities were not unconstitutional if they were equal for blacks and whites. With this declaration, the Supreme Court established segregation as an unsettling, uncomfortable American institution, a direct result of Homer Adolph Plessy's attempt to sit in the whites-only car of a Louisiana railroad train. Justice John Harlan, the only dissenting vote on the decision, wrote:

> The judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the Dred Scott case . . . The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. (Wexler, 1993, p. 6)

For 60 years, the doctrine of separate but equal held a nation in its sway–that is, until Oliver Brown petitioned the Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education for the right to send his daughter Linda to the white school near their home rather than cross the railroad tracks at a switching yard and ride a dilapidated school bus to the black school. By the time Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas reached the

United States Supreme Court, the case had been consolidated with four other school segregation cases. In 1956, the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine was inherently flawed and had no place in the nation's public schools. According to John A. Salmond (1997) in his history of the civil rights movement:

> Yet after Brown, nothing could ever be the same. Its implications, its very language, went far beyond the realm of public education, crucial as that was. It was a dual symbol. For blacks, it was a sure sign that the federal government had finally come down on the side of racial justice. For many whites, it was an urgent call to arms and a challenge to their way of life which had to be met. (p. 259-260)

The Movement Begins in Montgomery

In the years prior to the Brown decision, isolated acts of resistance toward the established segregation practices in the Montgomery area were largely ignored (Weisbrot, 1990). However, in 1955 a seamstress and former National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) secretary, Rosa Parks, took a stand by refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus. When asked by the driver of a city bus to vacate her seat for a white passenger, Parks refused and was arrested for violating a Montgomery municipal code segregating the races on city buses. This time the resistance attempt was not ignored. Parks had not planned her act, yet she did not withdraw from the ramifications. With Parks' permission, the Montgomery black community, led by Ralph David Abernathy and Martin Luther King, Jr., organized to protest the city ordinance with a boycott of bus transportation. For 381 days, Montgomery's black citizens walked, thumbed rides, drove, and car-pooled

rather than ride the segregated buses. The movement took its toll, as the city lost transportation revenue and downtown shopkeepers lost black sales. The white community began retaliation efforts. In February 1956, King and 24 other ministers were jailed in violation of an archaic Alabama law prohibiting boycotts. The arrests pushed the bus boycott to the forefront of national attention. In November of that same year, the United States Supreme Court ruled that Alabama's laws segregating city buses were unconstitutional. After the decision reached Montgomery, the city's first integrated-seating bus ride occurred on December 21, 1956.

Nine Desegregate Arkansas School

After the Supreme Court decision handed down in the Brown school segregation case, the school board of Little Rock, Arkansas, announced its intention to comply with the federal mandate. The school board's plan included phased integration and began with limited integration of Little Rock Central High School. In 1956, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, under intense political pressure from white supremacists and with his eye on re-election, made public his support of hard-line segregationists.

On the September, 1957, evening prior to the planned integration of Central High School, Governor Faubus made a televised statement that he expected disturbances and forcible integration and had ordered National Guardsmen to surround the school. For two mornings, nine black students were denied entrance and admission into the school by the guardsmen. Twenty days later, after United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower issued a cease-and-desist proclamation to the segregationists and mobilized more than 10,000 federal troops, the members of the Little Rock Nine were allowed to attend school at Central High. The situation at Little

Rock's Central High School served to focus the nation's attention on the enforcement of the Brown decision and influenced the growth of the civil rights movement.

Students Sit Down in Protest

Throughout the 1960s, eateries across the South were the scene for non-violent sit-ins by college students campaigning for equal treatment. Within two months of the first sit-in at a Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth's lunch counter, the student movement spread quickly to 54 cities in nine states. Students, both white and black, participated in the protest against segregated public facilities, including those in Northern cities. In April 1960, 55-year-old Ella Baker, the executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), led a three-day convention of students from southern black colleges. Concluding the meeting was the formation of a student group that would become the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The student sit-ins were a success. The actions taken by the students drew the attention and eventually the support of the Kennedy administration. By the end of 1960, more than 70,000 protesters had participated in the sit-ins, pickets, and rallies and had seen the desegregation of hundreds of stores and lunch counters.

Riding for Freedom

In the spring of 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), led by James Farmer, decided to test southern acceptance of integration of long-distance bus terminals with a series of interracial "freedom rides" on public buses. The group also sought to bring attention to southern racial violence and spur the federal government to more vigorously protect black rights.

Lucretia Collins remembers her thoughts at the time she joined in the freedom rides, "I felt certain that we were writing history, pages for a history book, some history book, I hope . . .We thought that some of us would be killed" (Evans, 1979, pg. 39).

The CORE travelers—seven black men, three white men and three white women, all social movement veterans—left Washington, D.C. in two buses on May 4, 1961. As the Freedom Riders wound their way through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, they encountered only isolated harassment and minor problems. However, the buses moved into Alabama on May 14. When the lead bus pulled into Anniston, it was attacked by a mob of 200 who smashed windows and slashed tires. With the mob in pursuit, the bus made it six miles outside of Anniston before the tires went flat. Immediately, the mob resumed their assault, tossing a firebomb through the bus' rear door. Luckily, all the passengers escaped before the explosion of flames.

The Freedom Riders received similar welcomes in Birmingham and Montgomery. The severe beating of James Seigenthaler, a representative from the president's office, escalated President Kennedy's intervention. Kennedy dispatched nearly 700 federal marshals and 800 National Guardsmen and forced Alabama Governor John Patterson to declare marital law before the riders left for Mississippi. Throughout the summer, more Freedom Riders arrived only to be arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, but the group had pushed the federal government into taking a clear stand.

Non-Violent Protest in Birmingham

The 1956 bus boycott in Montgomery set the stage for a non-violent resistance that continued throughout the civil rights movement. In 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) launched a campaign against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama. After a series of demonstrations, the SCLC decided to use teenagers, a segment of the population not burdened by a fear of losing employment, as protesters.

On May 2, 1963, over 1,000 children between the ages of six and eighteen marched out of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. By the end of the day, 959 children had been taken to jail. The next day, 1,000 black students assembled in the police-barricaded Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. When the students tried to leave, the police attacked with dogs and high-pressure fire hoses. The media coverage of the event shocked the American public and drew the attention of Washington lawmakers.

Wallace's Stand Threatens Integration

The struggle for integration in Alabama continued in 1963 at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. Two black students—Vivian Malone and James Hood—were to be admitted on May 21 by order of a federal district judge, Frank M. Johnson, Jr. Upon hearing of the order, Governor George Wallace threatened to defy the order and stop the entrance of blacks attempting to enter the university. On June 11, 1963, Wallace, in his now-famous but utterly choreographed "stand in the schoolhouse door," stepped aside and allowed Vivian Malone and James Hood to become the university's first black students.

Protesters March on Nation's Capitol

On August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 people congregated in Washington, D.C., to protest on the national stage against black inequality. Black and white protesters marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. Over the course of the afternoon, an array of speakers addressed the crowd. The day culminated in Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "I Have A Dream" speech.

Voter Education Becomes a Priority

Despite the success of the Washington march, civil rights workers quickly returned to their work. The summer of 1964, later known as Freedom Summer, found hundreds of student volunteers on their way to Mississippi to participate in voter registration drives. Approximately 700 students—mostly white, Northern, and middle class—participated. Through the efforts of the Freedom Summer project, nearly 50 Freedom Schools were established for remedial instruction and classes in black history for young blacks. Adults were instructed on voter registration at local community centers.

The Alabama Movement Draws to a Close

The last major event of the civil rights movement in Alabama was the push for black voter registration in Selma. King and his supporters planned a 54-mile march from Selma to the state's capitol in Montgomery to protest in the state legislature the denial of voting rights to blacks. In response, Alabama's governor George Wallace issued an order prohibiting the march. On March 7, 1965, six hundred people gathered outside Brown Chapel African Methodist Church in Selma to begin the four-day trek, crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge and continuing along Route 80 to

Montgomery. State troopers and local law enforcement personnel met the demonstrators just outside of Selma. The encounter was a violent and brutal one, with nearly 70 marchers requiring medical treatment in its aftermath.

The march resumed on March 9 with a crowd 1,500 strong. Feeling political pressure from Washington, D.C., not to march, King made a token display by marching to the end of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, praying, and returning the group to Brown Chapel. Amid public outcry over the fiasco of what became known as "Bloody Sunday," the prohibition against the march was lifted by Judge Johnson on March 17. The march began again on March 21. By the time the demonstrators reached Montgomery four days later, the crowd of supporters had grown to 25,000. By the time the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed, the civil rights movement in Alabama was virtually finished—ten turbulent years after Rosa Parks ignited a nation with her simple act.

Women of the Civil Rights Movement

Roles of Women in the Movement's Organization

Women were an integral part of the civil rights movement. Names such as Mary McLeod Bethune, Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, Viola Liuzzo, and Fannie Lou Hamer quickly jump to mind. Yet women, from the domestics who walked to work for more than a year during the Montgomery bus boycott to the voter registration workers who were treated more cruelly than the men, were active throughout the civil rights movement. However, these women were an unnamed sea of female faces, ignored by the press and discounted by the male activists in the movement.

The history, which is considered common knowledge of society, covers only a

small portion of the actions of women in the civil rights movement. The contributions of Rosa Parks, the Montgomery, Alabama, seamstress whose actions served as the catalyst for the Montgomery bus boycott, are widely known. In addition, history recognizes the bus boycott involvement of JoAnn Robinson, president of the Women's Political Council, who was instrumental in forming the protest method of a bus boycott. These are among the few women civil rights activists represented by the media of the period.

When the push for desegregation began in Little Rock, Arkansas, the movement was led by Daisy Bates, president of the NAACP Arkansas chapter. Daisy Bates orchestrated every step of the movement from enlisting the assistance of local white and black ministers to transporting the students to the school. Her actions marked the first time a black woman chose to publicly attack the ills of society with the strength of her intelligence and organizational skills (Calloway-Thomas & Garner, 1996).

In addition, though rarely specifically noted by the press, six of the Little Rock Nine were female. The first black student to take a stand and attempt to enter Central High School was 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford.

The 1960s saw the effort to desegregate lunch counters and restaurants throughout the South led by Ella Baker, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Baker believed in the power of the people. By resisting male-dominated leadership of the SCLC, she encouraged students to analyze society and the civil rights organization (Elliott, 1996).

Women activists, both black and white, equally participated in the sit-ins. The Nashville campaign was led by Diane Nash, a black college student who also worked to organize the Freedom Rides.

Women were everywhere in the civil rights movement. Activists worked to educate poor Mississippians in Freedom Schools during the voter registration campaign. Fannie Lou Hamer was also active in the push for voter registration in Mississippi, in addition to her other responsibilities with political representation.

Women such as Viola Liuzzo sacrificed all for the cause in which they believed. Liuzzo, a 39-year-old housewife from Detroit, Michigan, was stalked and murdered by Klansmen while ferrying civil rights workers between Selma and Montgomery on March 25, 1965, a few short hours after the end of the march. Despite being crucified in the media by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's malicious public relations campaign, Liuzzo's devotion earned her a place as the only white woman honored at Montgomery, Alabama's Civil Rights Memorial (Stanton, 1998).

Daisy Bates summarized the dedication of women activists during the 1963 rally at the Lincoln Memorial:

> We will kneel-in, we will sit-in, until we can eat in any counter in the United States. We will walk until we are free, until we can walk to any school and take our children to any school in the United States. And we will sit-in and we will kneel-in and we will lie-in if necessary until every Negro in America can vote. This we pledge you, the women of America. (Wexler, 1996, p. 186)

Photographs show their faces and illustrate their constant participation, but the media does not tell the stories of the involvement of women in the civil rights movement. Aside from a few notable exceptions, the women activists of the civil rights movement remain a silent portion of the movement.

"Mama" Takes Care of the Workers

Nance's 1996 article, "Hearing the Missing Voices," in the Journal of Black

Studies highlights the different roles of civil rights women. Initially, Nance notes that many of the roles played by black women in the civil rights movement were a continuation of historical roles played out during the slavery and Reconstruction periods. Nance defines three overlapping roles in her analysis. The first role was that of the nurturing "mama," a community member who provided civil rights volunteers with food and shelter.

> Thus the term itself, rather than calling forth images of weakness, softness, or ineffectualness, within the black community connotes quite the opposite. The mama is the center of the community and, as such, embodies the strength of its collective past and the hope of its uncertain future. (Nance, 1996, p. 546)

This kind of comfort and support was significant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as well, reinforcing the concept of a beloved community and generating an empowering political environment. Yet, these "safe" and simple acts earned the community women swift repercussions: physical or verbal threats, harassment, lost jobs, and assault on family members. Many of the mamas had confronted racist oppressors before the start of the civil rights movement and were simply continuing the fight for freedom with the student volunteers.

Leading the Effort

The second role assumed by women in the civil rights movement is that of the activist, serving in the position of a major leader, organizer, and strategist. Rosa Parks, JoAnn Robinson, Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker and many others filled the position of activist and leader. Civil rights women used their past experience as a socially oppressed group to challenge racist and sexist traditions. The activist women did serve as catalysts for the movement throughout the country. However, the

activities of the women involved in the grassroots effort did not generate the kind of policy statements and speeches that would place their names or words in print.

The Supportive Friend

The final role identified by Nance is the role of the friend. Black women in the movement not only nurtured and supported others, they also nurtured and supported each other. They took turns caring for each other's children and offered needed financial support. Nance observes that by taking on these acts of community survival black women recognized that for any of the jobs to be done well, all of the jobs had to be done. This kind of holistic self-sacrifice led to the women taking more of the lower-profile positions for the betterment of the movement.

JoAnn Robinson stated in a 1956 Baltimore Afro-American article, "The amazing thing about our movement is that it is a protest of the people. It is not a one-man show. It's the people. The masses of this town who are tired of being trampled on are responsible" (Wexler, 1996, p. 83).

White Women Challenge Cultural Mores

As Evans points out in her 1979 book, Personal Politics, the white women's support of the civil rights movement grew out of the egalitarian and idealistic beliefs of the Southern Protestant church, where members were taught that all men are one. Though church services were as segregated and racist as all other southern society, the church itself was a far-reaching influence on the sheltered young southern white women. The majority of the white women participating in the early years of the civil rights movement were southerners and had come to the movement originally through the church.

Evans (1979) also notes that southern white women were among the first voices to link sexual and racial oppression. The powerful cultural symbol of pure white womanhood was a dramatic foil for the animalistic black man. The "ladies" in their proper role and domestic position represented the domination of the white men, guaranteed the sanctity of the home and purity of the race. Therefore, a sexual liaison between a black man and white women–defined as rape regardless of consent–became the most brutal affront to white male authority. Segregationists were terrified by the thought that one of their own daughters might actually marry a black man.

Within this cultural environment, any semblance of racial equality between white women and black men represented a breakdown of the social order. Hence, the rebellion of either group would be felt by the other.

One for All; All for One Cause

Motivation for participation in the movement was a deciding factor in the roles accepted by women in the civil rights movement. Gyant (1996) quotes an anonymous civil rights woman:

> Women were involved I think because basically they were free. A black woman was just a freer person anyway in the community, in the whole society . . .but when you talk about free in a comparative sense, in comparison to total freedom that white women had, we were not free. But a black woman could say more, her man could not . . .so I think all of that combined helped to make women more involved because of their inner and outer freedom. In their spirit they were freer . . . so if your spirit is free, then you feel compelled to do some things . . .We had the energy . . . [A woman] got involved, I think, because, number one, she didn't like her husband or her sons and uncles

> being humiliated and intimidated . . . And women wanted a better day for their children. (p. 632)

Black women saw the civil rights movement as a continuance of their fight to promote civil rights and equal opportunity. Women who participated in the civil rights movement had long understood the injustices of racism and sought to end them for others. In addition, poor living conditions, lack of participation in the system, a high rate of illiteracy and a low ratio of black voter registrations pushed women into the civil rights movement. These women did what they had to do to make things better in their communities, and thus, did not see themselves as leaders.

A Leadership of Men

The position of women in the civil rights movement was not helped by the men involved. The attitudes of powerful male leaders often kept women out of visible leadership roles in the movement. Robnett's 1996 study focuses on the exclusion of women from formal leadership positions. Robnett used life histories, archival materials, secondary sources, and 50 personal interviews for the study. She determined that although restrictions involved gender-based assumptions, the general belief was that women were capable of doing the job, but that they should not do it. Women were not allowed to hold titled positions with an undue amount of power. They were allowed grassroots leadership responsibilities such as bridge leaders who worked with community outreach to enlist additional volunteers. When women were permitted to have leadership roles, their participation was often unintentionally patronized. Their activities would be acknowledged with anecdotal stories that portrayed their courage. Also, women leaders, despite being admitted into executive staff meetings, were left out of any decision-making processes related to

organization, structure, and strategy.

As noted in Evans' 1979 book, the male members of the SNCC tended to hold positions of public leaders and spokesmen and were more widely known. Though men were placed in more visible roles, the men and women of the SNCC divided portions of the work equally. Direct action teams were often composed of equal numbers of men and women. In addition, women were given no special consideration in demonstrations or jails. While women handled virtually all the clerical work, both black and white women assumed the administrative tasks of the SNCC.

A November 1964 position paper, "Women in the Movement," prepared by the SNCC documented the issue of sexual discrimination in the organization. Specific examples, as reported by Evans (1979), included relegation of women to clerical work, exclusion of women from decision-making and leading, and a tendency to note men as people and women as "girls." The authors found widespread and deep-rooted assumption of male superiority as the source of the problem. The paper writers addressed the heart of the issue as a double standard:

> It needs to be known that just as Negroes were the crucial factor in the economy of the cotton South, so too in the SNCC, women are the crucial factor that keeps the movement running on a day-to-day basis. Yet they are given equal say-so when it comes to day-to-day decision-making. What can be done? (Evans, 1979, pg. 83)

Despite that fact, the women themselves did not regard these attitudes and behaviors as particularly sexist. Robnett notes, "It is only in hindsight that we may observe their positionality as limited by their gender. Ironically, it is this very limitation that served to catapult and sustain the identity, collective consciousness, and solidarity of the movement" (p. 1689). Black women did not perceive sexism as a

factor in their relationships with the men of the movement. Nance (1996) mentions that black women were aware that the work they did was both necessary and valuable and resisted the socialization that taught them to become each other's enemies. Nance believes these factors are the reasons black women did not demand the kind of leadership visibility that would have earned them a place on the front lines of the civil rights movement.

The Role of the Media

Media Continues Subtle Discrimination

The media's treatment and portrayal of women in the civil rights movement can be explained through the use of several mass communication theories. The mass communication theories of agenda setting and cultivation can be combined to analyze media's treatment of this select group of women.

Agenda Setting–One Theory

Under the theory of agenda setting, media practitioners must act as gatekeepers of information, deciding what to include in media content and how it should be included. The drawback to the theory of agenda setting is its assumption that media practitioners are members of the dominant social class that essentially controls media. If this can be accepted as truth, then the researcher assumes that only members of the dominant social class are allowed to make decisions about the content of media messages. The news outlet gatekeepers choose what news to report and how to portray it (Littlejohn, 1996). Agenda setting allows mass communications theorists to predict a certain level of distortion of presentation in

favor of the dominant ideology. Women, minorities, and children have been the subject of symbolic annihilation by media's rejection of realistic portrayals of these groups. This leads to monotonous and homogenized media content.

Press coverage of women in the civil rights movement is an excellent example of the effects of agenda setting. During the period of the civil rights movement, print and broadcast media were the dominant carriers of news and information. With few other outlets available, media practitioners were more able to control the dissemination of news regarding the civil rights movement. News editors were able to skew the stories to paint the picture they wanted the audience to remember.

By this same token, women civil rights workers, both black and white, were granted a lower rank in media presence. Therefore, we can conclude that the effect on news about women was prompted by the ideologies of the dominant social class, in this case white middle- and upper class men.

Cultivation Theory and the Spiral of Silence

Though agenda setting is appropriate for predicting and explaining the type of coverage given to women active in the civil rights movement, cultivation theory may be the most appropriate given the circumstances of the movement and the times. Cultivation theory purports that a pattern of media exposure serves to shape images of reality for the audience and also supports the continuation of stereotypes. Should the audience not be members of the dominant social class, the effect is the phenomenon of the spiral of silence—something infinitely more destructive than ruling class control of content. As explained by Littlejohn, "The media publicize public opinion, making evident which opinions predominate. Individuals express their opinions or not, depending on the predominant points of view; the media, in turn,

attend to the expressed opinion, and the spiral continues" (p. 344).

Theory developer Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann attributes the muting of the minority group in media to the spiral of silence. Yet, she refutes the idea that media reinforce existing beliefs (Griffin, 1991). In a 1992 essay, Noelle-Neumann explains that the idea of the spiral of silence is based on the assumption that society threatens deviant individuals with isolation and exclusion. As a result of a subconscious, genetically determined fear of isolation, individual people constantly check their opinions and behavior against their environment. The outcome of these assessments affects a person's willingness to speak out. Consequently, Noelle-Neumann says that people in the consensus of public opinion have the confidence to express themselves, while individuals in the minority become increasingly silent, cautious, and seemingly weak. She states:

> The population relies on two sources to obtain information on the strength and weakness of the different sides in a controversial issue: direct observation within the individual's own realm of experience and indirect observation through the eyes of the mass media.. . When supported by the media, the minority is more willing to speak out than the majority, because it is strengthened by the public authority of influential media; it overestimates the climate of opinion in its own favor, and shows self-assurance; it is supplied by the media with expressions and arguments for speaking in public situations, explaining and defending is own point of view (p. 80).

Cultivation theory states that media exposure can shape the audience's vision of reality. Cultivation theory helps to explain why unfair news coverage has been allowed to continue for so long. After continued exposure, the audience's view of reality comes to parallel the media content produced. The audience comes to accept

the information as true rather than a distortion. At this point, those groups not represented in the media give up hope of gaining news coverage and even thinking they are worthy of coverage. However, this theory is not the result of gatekeeper control of media content. The spiral of silence is perpetuated by the audience's interpretation of their equal or unequal representation in the media.

Cultivation theory assumes an attitude of oppression that would have been present for blacks and especially black women of this period. When the few women allowed a media presence were denied equal treatment and coverage, other women would see less and less opportunity for they themselves to take an activist stand. As fewer and fewer women were allowed equal and unbiased press coverage, fewer women attempted to change the images promoted in the media.

The combined ideologies explained by these theories of mass communication and the patterns of behavior they suggest have been helped along by the actual position women assumed in the operations of the civil rights movement. Women activists in the civil rights movement did not seek out the media as a forum for the ideologies they were promoting. They understood the effects and consequences of trying to speak out in the white-run media machine. Movement leaders did not give them the same opportunities. Therefore, the women remained, for the most part, behind the scenes. They ran schools, organized voter registration initiatives, and fed and sheltered civil rights volunteers, never seeking the limelight in the efforts for the greater good.

Chapter II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Photographs show their faces and illustrate their constant participation, but the media does not tell the stories of the involvement of women in the civil rights movement. Aside from a few notable exceptions, the women activists of the civil rights movement remain a silent, nameless portion of the movement. The lack of press coverage of women in the civil rights movement is a major contributing factor to the silence of this group.

The Media Influences Perception

Effect on Public Opinion

The media has the power to affect an individual's perceptions of a social group. With respect to the portrayal of blacks in the media, newspapers have the ability to influence public opinion of blacks and their causes. Domke (1996) notes that the press's use and choice of language, news, and opinion contributes to the dominant social ideologies of the white majority. Domke's study of press coverage surrounding the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments reveals diminishing support for black civil rights in the Reconstruction period. He concludes that the attitudes presented in the news likely affected formation of the public's opinion of the situation and could have halted egalitarian attitudes of whites.

Treatment of Blacks

The tendency toward inattention or non-supportive attitudes can be traced through press coverage of blacks throughout the Twentieth Century. The most notable studies of such press coverage appear after the start of the civil rights movement. In a 1957 study, Carter selected two 1955 time periods when desegregation should have been a topic of heavy debate in the South, as evidenced by North Carolina press coverage. He hypothesized that the social pressure in favor of segregation represented by the media would silence public school teachers and black citizens. Carter found that rarely were representatives from either group used as news sources, despite the fact that these groups stood to be the greatest affected. He also noted a tendency for newspapers to downplay news from these sources, to the extent of placing stories from black sources only half as frequently as stories from white sources. In addition, Carter found a proliferation of negative stereotypes of blacks, such as the idea that blacks are less intelligent than whites.

Research of the civil rights period paints a predominantly male picture. But this is not to say that male activists in the civil rights movement necessarily received fair media treatment. Blacks have tended to be invisible or portrayed stereotypically in the mainstream press. This trend becomes most evident in coverage of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

For example, Martindale (1985) tackled the hypothesis that the white majority press had been largely ignoring blacks. Martindale studied the coverage of blacks in five American newspapers during the years 1950 to 1980. Four leading newspapers—the New York *Times*, the Atlanta *Constitution*, the Boston *Globe* and the Chicago *Tribune*—were selected based on geographic distribution and quality of writing. A fifth paper—*The Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator,* an average American

newspaper —was selected as a control subject. Items concerning blacks in 66 issues of each of the five newspapers were examined. A total of nearly 1,500 items was coded. During the civil rights period of the 1960s, Martindale noted that the papers failed to provide readers with the necessary background information to fully understand the causes of the civil rights movement.

As stated by Shepard Stone, former director of the Ford Foundation's International Affairs Program, "A race riot is news. But there was news, significant news, in the city before the riot, news of the conditions and forces that led to it. The U.S. Press generally . . . has not seen the story, it has not reported the underlying facts" (Ryan & Owen, 1976, p. 634). With regard to black protests of the period, only a small portion of the newspapers' coverage of black protest activities provided readers with an explanation of underlying causes. Even when giving large amounts of coverage to black protests, explanation of the causes of the protest were given the smallest amounts of space. Martindale's study seems to indicate that five newspapers in this period failed to provide readers with the background they needed to understand the causes of the civil rights movement, and as a result the black side of the story did not clearly emerge.

The attitude and environment toward blacks created by press coverage can be seen in press coverage of specific protests and demonstrations. Martindale's 1989 study focused on four daily newspapers' coverage of causes of black protest during the 1960s. During this period, the newspapers gave explanation of the causes of the protests the smallest amount of coverage, focusing on the facts about the protest event and ignoring the underlying conditions. The study found that during this period approximately five percent of total protest coverage included explanations of the protest events. Without extensive explanation, the press coverage of those events

gave readers a picture of black demonstrators as unreasonable and demanding.

Martindale's research supports Paletz and Dunn's (1969) study of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina riot in 1967. When analyzing coverage by the *Winston-Salem Journal*, the authors determined that the paper was motivated to reduce violence and racial tensions. The staff attempted to meet this objective by using precise information, limited coverage, only necessary detail, and no late-breaking news. In its phrasing, the *Journal* was careful to avoid words that might inflame the situation or increase community fears. In addition, the *Journal* attempted to reduce the racial issue by not mentioning in headlines, and rarely in the accounts, that blacks were doing the rioting. The *Journal* used almost exclusively law enforcement and city officials as news sources. This type of coverage misrepresents the conditions and grievances of blacks. According to Paletz and Dunn, "Blacks lose because their self-assertion is not fully represented; whites are deceived as to the extent and nature of black discontent and, therefore, of the potential or actual danger their city faces" (p.345).

Photos Confirm Stereotypes

Lester (1994) focused specifically on photographic treatment of blacks in four daily newspapers from 1937 to 1990. Lester's study of photo coverage of blacks in four newspapers from 1937 to 1990 confirms the use of extensive stereotypes for blacks. On the premise that population percentages should mimic the diversity of media images, Lester analyzed more than 250,000 newspaper photographs of four newspapers. During the civil rights movement, photographs of blacks were most often related to criminal activities and social problems resulting from protests and riots. In addition, social news, politics, business, educational and health issues for

blacks began to appear. He charted a trend from stereotypical human interest pictures in the pre-civil rights era to criminal and social news in the civil rights era to increased, non-biased coverage in the modern era. Black photo coverage did rise over the years studied. Yet, the percentages remained lower than the population percentages.

Invisibility Increases as a Tactic

Lester's (1994) findings support an earlier study by Johnson, Sears, and McConahay (1971) on the role of the press in black invisibility in Los Angeles. Data from two daily Los Angeles metropolitan newspapers were analyzed to investigate press attention to blacks throughout the city. References to blacks in the two newspapers were examined for the period 1892 to 1968, with extra concentration on the years between 1964 through 1968.

Press coverage of the period after the Los Angeles riot showed no greater attention to black grievances than before the riot. Post-riot coverage tended to include more attention to interracial violence, largely resulting from discussions of the riots. Johnson et al. maintains that press coverage of blacks merely paralleled the population distribution. Blacks received only about 20 percent of the news space normally allocated to a demographic group the size of the black population in Los Angeles.

Despite the fact that the black population viewed the Los Angeles riots as an effort to overcome black invisibility, visibility did not increase after the riot. The press merely reflected the views expressed by white public officials and white public opinion—treating the riot as a threat to public safety, rather than a symptom of serious undercurrents demanding attention.

Media Scholars Overlook Participants

Movement's Women Receive Little Scholarly Attention

Though media scholars have tended to overlook the images of black females in the civil rights movement, studies of media coverage of women in general can be applied to the portrayal of civil rights women. Whitlow's (1977) study notes the influence of news practitioners on the actual end content of news; that is, gatekeepers are unable to make decisions with scientific objectivity; rather, they are affected by situational and personal factors. Whitlow questioned whether either the sex or role of the news principal influenced selection and play of an item. One of his findings asserts that an element of conflict in a news story elicits an almost universal response from gatekeepers and possibly contributes to a low volume of coverage of women because males are in more positions and events where conflict might occur.

Gender Bias Apparent in Media Coverage

Sex Bias Rampant in Media Portrayals

Davis' (1982) study focused on newspapers' portrayal of women. She analyzed sex bias in eight newspapers. A distinct pattern of bias was discovered with news about women getting shorter stories and smaller headlines than news stories with men as the central figure. The pervasiveness of the bias indicates that newspaper editors, be they male or female, do not demonstrate sensitivity to women or women's issues.

In 1982, Davis completed an extensive analysis of sexist bias in four

Oklahoma metropolitan newspapers, two West Coast newspapers, and two East Coast newspapers. She coded 5,500 news articles during October 1979. Stories and headlines were measured in inches to accommodate varying column widths. Coding identified presence of art, story position, sex of writer, hard or soft news, and description of main character. Items such as mention of attire, physical appearance, occupation, marital or parental status, education, religion, identifying descriptions, general portrayal and background were especially important to Davis' analysis.

Of the 5,500 total stories analyzed for Davis' study, only 8.6 percent featured women as the lead character. In the instances where women were featured as the main character, the stories were shorter with smaller headlines. Women were more likely to be identified by personal information or education. Even in 1979, following the feminist movement, nearly 20 percent of the stories featured women identified by their spouses. Davis concluded evidence of pervasive bias, with editors having little sensitivity to women and women's issues.

Potter's post-feminism 1985 study highlighted equal gender representation in elite American newspapers. Potter sought to extend the work completed by Davis. He took it further by charting the representation of women over time in the New York *Times*, Chicago *Tribune*, Atlanta *Constitution*, Miami *Herald* and *Christian Science Monitor*. Actual front-page stories were gathered from the various newspapers for one week in April and one week in October of 1913, 1933, 1963 and 1983. Of the 2,224 total stories identified and analyzed, 162 or 7.3 percent featured women as the main character. When this data is compared to Davis' results, it appears that women have lower representation in more-prestigious newspapers. Yet the newspapers did not present an equal distribution of female-oriented news coverage. The Atlanta *Constitution* featured women on the front page 11 percent of the time. Based on

examination of the 162 front-page stories, women were depicted in people-oriented features, crime stories, or accident stories.

Even news obtained from wire services was not immune to sex bias as examined by Luebke (1985). Wire services serve to provide a significant amount of daily news as well as inadvertently suggesting proper news mix. Luebke gathered news stories from eight morning newspapers that subscribe to the United Press International A wire for one week in October 1983. Of the 497 stories collected, 16.5 percent could be considered as news about women. The nature of wire services can explain the high—89 percent—proportion of hard news. Luebke states one premise of completing this research is an explanation of the narrow selection offered to newspaper editors for possible publication.

News Photos Continue to Illustrate Bias

Miller (1975) generated a series of studies on the content of news photographs involving women. She examined a year's worth of news photos in the Washington *Post* and Los Angeles *Times* from July 2, 1973, to June 27, 1974. Of the 46 issues examined, photos of men outnumbered photos of women by 3 to 1 in the *Post* and 2 to 1 in the *Times*. Miller's study categorized representations into role categories. She found that almost half of all photos of women were located in the lifestyle section and women were most often depicted as spouses, socialites, or entertainers.

Blackwood's 1983 study continued Miller's previous research. He replicated her study with data taken from July 1, 1980, to June 26, 1981. However, Blackwood chose to count representations rather than photos. He sampled 92 papers for a total of 3,248 photographs and 4,841 representations. Seven years after Miller's study,

men continued to outnumber women in news photographs. Women still found their home in the lifestyle section and they were still illustrated as socialites or spouses. Blackwood noted the largest difference was increased representation of men in the lifestyle sections of the newspapers.

Luebke (1989) adapted Miller's and Blackwood's methods to analyze news photographs in four daily Connecticut newspapers from July 1, 1984, to June 25, 1985. The photographs in the 184 newspapers yielded 8960 representations with women accounting for 31.6 percent of those. Once again, photos of men outnumbered those of women on all pages except the lifestyle section. Luebke found it interesting to note that 10 percent of the time, women receive front-page portrayal as spouses, while men only receive that treatment 1 percent of the time.

Hamer is Lone Female Activist Studied

One particular study that yielded interesting insight focused on the whole of press coverage surrounding one civil rights figure—voting rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer (Bramlett-Solomon, 1991). Bramlett-Solomon's study analyzed every reference related to Hamer in five daily U.S. newspapers between August 1964 and December 1977. This study examined 31 articles on Hamer from five U.S. newspapers between the years of 1964-1977. Not surprisingly, coverage of Hamer was not very extensive or complete, despite the size and importance of her role in the movement. Most interesting was the pattern of sex bias found by Bramlett-Solomon, with references related to Hamer's clothing, physical appearance, and mannerisms. References to Hamer contained a pattern of sexist bias and mentions of attire, physical appearance, and mannerisms. In addition, the majority of coverage of Fannie Lou Hamer came at the end of her life in 1977. The author attributes the press' treatment of Fannie Lou

Hamer to a combination of factors such as sexism, journalism practices, business, racism, and regionalism.

Black Out Could Explain Lack of Women's Coverage

In 1973, Morris suggested that black out could have affected media coverage of the feminist movement. She explains the tactic as withholding information from the public about a social movement to minimize its impact. She examined coverage from national English-speaking newspapers and local Los Angeles County newspapers for references about the early stages of the feminist movement. Though she could not conclusively prove any intentional black out of news coverage, citing factors such as lack of news value, Morris is able to cast doubt on the subject. Though not a factor of Morris' study, this idea could explain in part the lack of visibility of women of the civil rights movement.

Agenda Setting is Motivating Factor

The treatment of women, blacks, and especially black women in the media can be attributed in part to agenda setting. Barker-Plummer (1995) notes that the media, fueled by the capitalist profit margin, will frame social movements in a manner that will be counter-productive to social change. Mutz and Soss (1997) examined the effects of a purposefully chosen news agenda on readers' opinions. The authors found that although the attention did not affect an individual's opinion of an issue, it did, however, affect that individual's impression of the opinions of others. Barker-Plummer emphasized the importance of news media to social movements. Specifically, news media create an image of a social movement that can affect group mobilization, public identity, and public agenda. These ideas are crucial to the support

of equal coverage of men and women in the civil rights movement.

Rationale & Research Questions

Scholars have tended to ignore a very prominent segment of the civil rights movement population—women activists. By doing so, an important population of the civil rights movement has been overlooked. The trend of down playing the role of the black and white women activists of the civil rights movement has led to a loss of information about their contribution, resulting in an inaccurate and incomplete record of this piece of American and Southern history. In addition, downplaying the contribution of certain participants has created a population long overdue for scholastic study.

This study sought to probe the idea that just as many women as men were just as active as men in the civil rights movement, despite a perception that fewer women than men participated or that the women who participated were anomalies. In addition, this study sought to answer the question of whether this erroneous perception of female participation in the movement can be partially attributed to a media, i.e. newspapers, that painted such a picture for its readers.

Previous research studies of portrayals of blacks in newspapers tend to cover an extended period of time (e.g. Martindale, 1985), while the studies of coverage of black protests have a tendency to be incident-specific (e.g. Martindale, 1989), focusing on coverage of one event. This study focused on the civil rights movement in a series of interconnected events within the boundaries of one Southern state, Alabama, at that time known as the "cradle of the confederacy" and the center of several crucial moments in the struggle for civil rights.

In an effort to fill the holes of historical record, this study compared images of

civil rights era local Alabama newspaper coverage of women and men civil rights workers in seven major events of the movement. The first step in investigating this idea is to analyze what the newspapers actually reported in their coverage of these events known to benefit from the participation of women activists. To analyze these images and compare the portrayals of men and women, the following research questions are posed:

1) How often were men activists depicted as main characters in coverage of the civil rights movement?
2) How often were women activists depicted as main characters in coverage of the civil rights movement?
3) How were women activists described differently than men activists in terms of the identifying factors of courtesy titles, attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience, and background?
4) What kinds of stereotypes of men and women do the news items contain?

Chapter III

METHOD

Content analysis was used to study the portrayal of civil rights women and men in the news media. An examination of actual news clippings covering seven major civil rights events aided in the study of how news media in Alabama portrayed men and particularly women during this time.

Sample

Montgomery, Alabama's two daily newspapers—the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal*—were selected for study. Montgomery, as the state capital and primary political arena of Alabama, was at the center of the controversy and ushered in both the beginning and the ending of the civil rights movement. The morning paper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, in operation since 1829, and the evening edition, *The Alabama Journal*, which began publication in 1889, were under common ownership by the years of the civil rights movement ("History of the *Montgomery Advertiser*," 1999). The papers' corporate structure created a unique opportunity to view the entire movement from a single source with continuity of tone and coverage.

The selection of news articles used by Burt's 1996 study of suffrage news in Wisconsin served as a model for this work. Burt began her examination with "six week-long periods of study each consisting of the day on which a prominent suffrage event occurred as well as the three days before and after the event" (p. 622). Her method was adapted to the study of civil rights news in Alabama as reported by two

newspapers. Seven week-long periods surrounding five major civil rights events were chosen for this study. The Montgomery bus boycott, the Freedom Rides, the Birmingham children's march, the integration of the University of Alabama and the Selma-to-Montgomery march were chosen for study because of the apparent equal participation of both men and women in these events, as documented by photographs of historical record (see Appendix A for a sample). The seven week-long periods of study for the civil rights movement in Alabama were:

1. December 2 - 8, 1955—the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott.
2. December 18 - 24, 1956—the end of the Montgomery bus boycott.
3. May 14 – 20, 1961—the Freedom Riders pass through Alabama.
4. April 29 - May 5, 1963—the children's crusade march out of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
5. June 8 – 14, 1963—the integration of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa and Gov. George Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door."
6. March 4 - 10, 1965—"Bloody Sunday," the marchers' first attempt in Selma.
7. March 22 - 28, 1965—the beginning of the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

Procedures

Both the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal* were examined and the pertinent materials photocopied during a series of trips to the Alabama Department of Archives and History, 624 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama. As per Burt's (1996) Wisconsin study, the newspapers were examined in their entirety for all occurrences of news coverage of the specified events of the civil rights movement during the selected week-long periods. All relevant news items were

photocopied. All photocopied material, including photographs and text, were logged on a data collection form for ease of reference and organization (See Appendix B for sample form). News item was operationalized as a stand-alone article, a news article with no photo/art; article with accompanying photo/art; editorial; and/or stand-alone photo. Each news item was coded later by trained coders for an analysis of men's and women's portrayals in coverage of these civil rights events.

Coding

The news items were coded for two thematic variables. The variables were sex of the main and minor characters and identifying factors of male and female characters. Nine identifying factors of male and female characters were used. Identifiers were attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience and background.

Operationalizations

Though the coders were instructed to rely on first impressions and natural reading habits and inferences, a civil rights worker was coded as the "main character" when the news item centered on the particular worker. For example, in news items that featured Martin Luther King, Jr. as the protagonist, he was coded as the main character. Civil rights workers mentioned by name other than the main character(s), were characterized as "minor characters." "Attire" was operationalized as any description of a character's clothing, such as "Miss Malone [wore] a green skirt and white blouse."

"Physical description" was coded as references to a character's mood and state of mind, and included any stereotypical descriptive phrases. "Hymn-singing

Negroes," "two happy Negro students," and "hooky-playing juveniles" were among those references coded as "physical description." Any references to "marital status," "parental status," "education," "occupation" and "religion" were coded on direct reference or inference. Examples of the marital and parental status and education identifying factors included descriptions of Viola Liuzzo as "the wife of Anthony J. Liuzzo," a "39-year-old mother of five," and "a student at Wayne State University in Detroit." Descriptions of Rosa Parks as a "Negro seamstress" and Fred Gray as a "Negro attorney" were coded in the "occupation" category, while descriptions of James Reeb as a "white Unitarian minister" were coded into both the "occupation" and "religion" categories.

"Experience" was operationalized as any reference to a character's previous civil rights activity or involvement. For example, Dick Gregory was described as "active in recent voter registration." References to group affiliation, particularly leadership roles assumed, such as a reference to E. D. Nixon as "a former state NAACP president," and a character's hometown or nationality other than American were coded into the "background" category.

Also determined was the use of "courtesy titles" for men and women newsmakers. A courtesy title was coded if women were referred to by their own names or their spouses' names on first references and whether women were mentioned on second references by their last names alone or with titles such as Miss, Mrs. or Ms. "Coverage of male versus female civil rights workers" was computed as the percentage of total news references coded (275), which featured any references to male and female characters.

Coder Training

Three independent coders were initially enlisted to review and code the sample. Coders were supplied with the collected materials, coding instructions and coding sheets (See Appendix C for coding package). The coding instructions were briefly explained. Training was not intended to be intensive, as the coders were instructed to rely on their first impressions and natural reading habits. Individually and separately, they coded a pilot sample of three articles regarding civil rights movement events not contained in the sample.

After the three pilot sample coding packages were completed and collected, the agreement and consistency between coders was calculated to ensure intercoder reliability. The agreement and reliability between the three coders was calculated at 92%. In the event of disagreement, the coders were instructed to meet and come to a consensus in each case. The pilot sample study assured that the coders had trained properly, understood the coding categories, and offered adequate reliability. A few minor adjustments were made to the coding instructions after the initial pilot study. For example, the instruction to code only references to civil rights workers or activists was clarified to make it more explicit.

Once the training and understanding of the coders had been tested and adequate reliability obtained, the coders were given the collected materials to review, categorize, and count individually and separately. During the coding of the primary sample of actual news items, one of the coders was forced by unforeseen circumstances to resign from the project. According to Frey, Botan, Friedman, and Kreps (1991), the use of two coders to classify the material is standard, though more coders is preferred. Frey et al. also notes that observations recorded by two or more individuals and showing 80% agreement or better is considered free of individual bias

and reliable. Thus, intercoder reliability tests were recalculated for agreement between the results of the two remaining coders' pilot sample tests. The agreement and reliability between the two remaining coders was calculated at 92%. At that point, coding on the primary sample was continued to completion.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

The primary sample consisted of news items collected from seven week-long periods surrounding five major civil rights events as covered by the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal*. The seven week-long periods of study for the civil rights movement in Alabama were:

1. December 2 - 8, 1955—the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott.
2. December 18 - 24, 1956—the end of the Montgomery bus boycott.
3. May 14 – 20, 1961—the Freedom Riders pass through Alabama.
4. April 29 - May 5, 1963—the children's crusade march out of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
5. June 8 – 14, 1963—the integration of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa and Gov. George Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door."
6. March 4 - 10, 1965—"Bloody Sunday," the marchers' first attempt in Selma.
7. March 22 - 28, 1965—the beginning of the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

All occurrences of news coverage of the specified events during the selected week-long periods were photocopied by the researcher.

Sample

The collected items included 32 stand-alone photographs, 265 stand-alone news articles, 50 news articles accompanied by photographs or art, and 62 editorials. Fifteen stand-alone news articles and all photographs were removed from the sample by the researcher as a result of copy illegibility. All editorials and 223

articles (stand-alone and accompanied by photographs or art) were eliminated by the coders for not containing references to specific civil rights workers by name. Coding of the remaining 92 articles in the sample produced 275 references to civil rights workers.

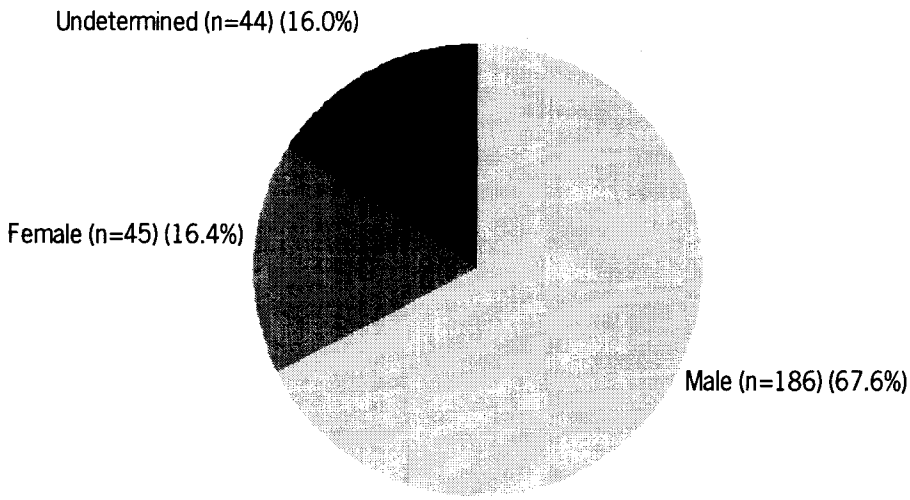
Two coders reviewed the collected materials for sex of the main and minor characters, identifying factors (attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience, and background), and the use of courtesy titles (Miss, Mrs., or Ms.) to aid in the comparison of the coverage of male and female civil rights workers. When both coders had completed coding the sample, agreement and reliability were calculated. The reliability between the two coders for the sample was calculated at 87 percent. As with the test sample, coders were instructed to meet and reach a consensus on any disagreements, bringing the final agreement between coders to 100 percent. When the coding was complete, the quantitative results were tabulated and entered onto a table. Then, the results were analyzed for a comparison of portrayals of men and women civil rights activists.

Coding Results

Of the 275 total references to civil rights workers, 186 were references to male workers, 45 referred to female workers, and 44 referred to groups of undetermined sex such as "5,000 Negroes," "Negro worshippers," "freedom marchers," and "Negro demonstrators" (See Figure 1.).

FIGURE 1

Total References to Civil Rights Workers, by Sex.



Research Question 1

Research Question 1 asks, "How often were men activists depicted as main characters in coverage of the civil rights movement?" Of the 275 total references, 97 references, or 35%of the total, referred to persons who could be identified as main characters of the news items. References to male civil rights workers as protagonists–including Martin Luther King, Jr., James A. Hood, Ralph D. Abernathy, and Fred L. Shuttlesworth–totaled 53, or 55%of all main character references.

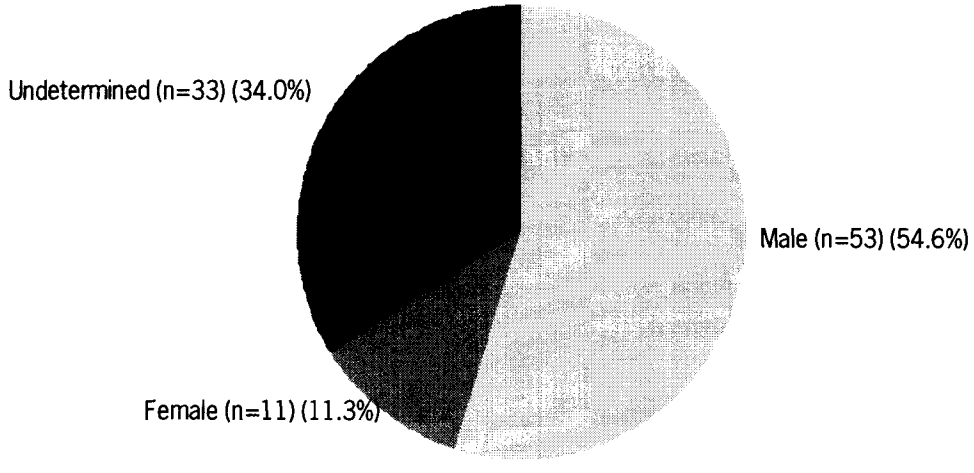
Research Question 2

Research Question 2 asks, "How often were women activists depicted as main characters in coverage of the civil rights movement?" Women activists were noted as news item main characters in 11, or 11%, of the 97 main character references. Female civil rights activists who earned a main character notation included Rosa Parks, Vivian Malone, and Viola Liuzzo.

In summary, men were depicted as main characters in 54.6% of the identified "main character" articles; while women were depicted as main characters in 11.3% of the articles. The remaining 34.0% of the identified articles contained references to persons of undertermined gender. For example, a comparison of the representation of men and women as main characters in newspaper coverage of the civil rights movement is depicted in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Representation of Men and Women Civil Rights Workers as Main Characters.



Research Question 3

Coding also noted the identifying factors of attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience and background. Also determined was the use of courtesy titles for women and men newsmakers.

Research Question 3 asks, "How were women activists described differently than men activists in terms of the identifying factors of courtesy titles, attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience, and background?" Of the 275 total references to civil rights workers

coded, 79 (28% of total references) contained courtesy titles. Courtesy titles were used 64/79 times (81%) for male workers and 15/79 times (19%) for female workers. Thirteen references to attire were counted for 5% of total references. Of these, 4/13 references (31%) belonged to male characters, while 3/13 references (23%) were to female characters, and 6/13 references (46%) were to groups of undetermined sex.

References to marital status were coded 19 times (7%of total references) in the sample. Four of the 19 instances (21%) of marital status were for male characters and 15/19 (79%) were for female characters. The coders noted eleven references to education (4% of total references), including college affiliation for students–8/11 male (73%) and 3/11 female (27%).

Identifiers of occupation, particularly "Reverend," "attorney," and "seamstress," were included in 46% of the total references. Of the 126 references to occupation, 110 references (87%) were included in descriptions of male workers, and 16/126 references (13%) were included in descriptions of female workers. The 12 noted references to religion (4% of total references) were strictly male, noting religious affiliation for ministers.

Experience of the characters—such as arrests, convictions, previous boycott or march participation—was noted in 133 (48%) of the total references. Male characters' experience was noted 110/133 times (83%), while female characters' experience was noted 23/133 times, or 17%. Finally, references to background, hometown and activist group affiliation were counted in 84 (31%) of the total references, with 70 (83%) of the 84 references being male and 14 (67%) of the 84 references being female (See Table 1).

TABLE 1

Identifying Factors of Male and Female Civil Rights Workers

Factor	Male	Female	Undetermined	Total*
Courtesy titles	64 (81%)	15 (19%)	0 (0%)	79
Attire	4 (31%)	3 (23%)	6 (46%)	13
Physical description	52 (42%)	26 (21%)	45 (37%)	123
Marital status	4 (21%)	15 (79%)	0 (0%)	19
Parental status	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
Education	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	0 (0%)	11
Occupation	110 (87%)	16 (13%)	0 (0%)	126
Religion	12 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12
Experience	110 (83%)	23 (17%)	0 (0%)	133
Background	70 (83%)	14 (67%)	0 (0%)	84

*Note: N exceeds 275 as "Total" includes instances of dual coding. For example, "white Unitarian minister" was coded into both the "occupation" and "religion" categories.

Research Question 4

Research Question 4 asks, "What kinds of stereotypes of men and women do the news items contain?" The coding category of "physical description" generated an assortment of stereotypical references, including "silent people performing ritual," and "taunting crowd." Physical descriptions were noted in 123 (45%) of the 275 total

references. Fifty-two of the 123 physcial description references (42%) included physical descriptions of male workers such as Leslie Booth Johnson's "long red hair." Twenty-six of the 123 references (21%), including one reference to Vivian Lowe's "nose bleeding," described female workers. The remaining 45 references, 37% of the physical description references, containing physical descriptions were of groups of undetermined sex. (See Table 2 for percentages of total references for thematic variables and Appendix D for a chart illustrating identifying factors.)

TABLE 2

Percentage of Total References for Thematic Variables.

Factor	Number of References*	% of Total References*
Male Main Character	53	54.6%
Female Main Character	11	11.3%
Courtesy Titles	79	28%
Attire	13	5%
Physical Description	123	45%
Marital Status	19	7%
Parental Status	2	.7%
Education	11	4%
Occupation	126	46%
Religion	12	4%
Experience	133	48%
Background	84	31%

*Note: "Number of References" will exceed N of 275 and "% of Total References" will exceed 100% as both include instances of dual coding. For example, "white Unitarian minister" was coded into both the "occupation" and "religion" categories.

Chapter V
DISCUSSION

For some people, the civil rights movement occurred in a not-too-distant past. Those people still have memories of the events. And yet, for those who grew up in an integrated world, the causes and depth of the civil rights movement existed lifetimes ago. We rely on perceptions created from history, the media and our own experiences to color our beliefs and impressions of this crucial period of American and Southern culture.

In order to challenge erroneous perceptions fostered by faith in the media, this study focused on media coverage of women during the civil rights movement in Alabama. What if the newspapers were from a small southern state known for its racist beliefs? Would the newspapers produce objective accounts of black protests? What kind of historical images would be recorded? What events would be ignored? And further, what if the subjects of interest were women, a segment of society that is notoriously underrepresented?

Women, from the domestics who walked to work for more than a year during the Montgomery bus boycott to the voter registration workers who were treated more cruelly than the men, were an integral part of the civil rights movement. Other than a few notable exceptions, these women were a nameless sea of female faces, ignored by the press and discounted by the male activists in the movement.

The contributions of Rosa Parks, the Montgomery, Alabama, seamstress, whose actions served as the catalyst for the Montgomery bus boycott, are widely

known. In addition, history recognizes the bus boycott involvement of JoAnn Robinson, president of the Women's Political Council, who was instrumental in forming the protest method of a bus boycott.

When the push for desegregation began in Little Rock, Arkansas, the movement was led by Daisy Bates, president of the NAACP Arkansas chapter. She orchestrated the movement from enlisting the assistance of local white and black ministers to transporting the students to the school. Her actions marked the first time a black woman chose to publicly attack the ills of society with the strength of her intelligence and organizational skills (Calloway-Thomas & Garner, 1996). In addition, though never specifically noted by the press, six of the Little Rock Nine were female and led by 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford.

The 1960s saw the effort to desegregate lunch counters and restaurants throughout the South led by Ella Baker, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Baker believed in the power of the people. Through her resistance of male-dominated leadership of the SCLC, she encouraged students to analyze society and the civil rights organization (Elliott, 1996).

Women activists, both black and white, had equal participation in sit-ins. In fact, the Nashville campaign to desegregate lunch counters was led by Diane Nash, a college student who also worked to organize the Freedom Rides.

In Mississippi, women activists worked to educate poor blacks in Freedom Schools during voter registration. The Freedom Schools provided a rare opportunity for poor black children to gain remedial academic instruction on history, race relations, foreign languages, arithmetic, art, and drama. Fannie Lou Hamer was extremely active in the Mississippi campaign for voter registration, despite her other responsibilities with political representation.

The mass communication theories of agenda setting and cultivation can be combined to analyze media's treatment of this select group. Under the theory of agenda setting, media practitioners act as gatekeepers of information, deciding what to include in media content and how it should be included. Furthermore, the theory of agenda setting is based on the assumption that media practitioners are members of the dominant social class that essentially controls media. If this is true, then only members of the dominant social class are allowed to make decisions about the content of media messages. The news outlet gatekeepers choose what news to report and how to portray it (Littlejohn, 1996). Agenda setting allows us to predict a certain level of distortion of presentation in favor of the dominant ideology. Women, minorities, and children have historically been the subject of symbolic annihilation by media's unrealistic portrayals of these groups. Such persistent distortion leads to monotonous and homogenized media content.

Press coverage of women in the civil rights movement is an excellent example of the effects of agenda setting. During the period of the civil rights movement, print media was the dominant carrier of news and information. With few other outlets available, media practitioners were more able to control the dissemination of news regarding the civil rights movement. News editors were able to paint the picture they wanted the audience to remember.

Though agenda setting is appropriate for predicting and explaining the type of coverage given to women active in the civil rights movement, the cultivation theory may be the most appropriate given the circumstances of the movement and the times.

Cultivation theory states that media exposure can shape the audience's vision of reality and helps to explain why unfair news coverage has been allowed to continue

for so long. After continued exposure, the audience's view of reality begins to parallel the type of media content produced. The audience comes to accept the information as true reality rather than a distortion. At this point, those groups not represented in the media give up hope of gaining news coverage and decide they are unworthy of coverage. Rather gatekeeper control of media content, the spiral of silence is perpetrated by audiences' interpretation of their equal or unequal representation in the media as an indication of their worth in society.

Cultivation theory assumes an attitude of oppression that would have been present for blacks, and especially black women, of this period. When the few women allowed a media presence were denied equal treatment and coverage, other women would see less and less opportunity for themselves to take an activist stand. As fewer women were allowed equal and unbiased press coverage, fewer women attempted to change the images promoted in the media.

The combined ideologies of these theories of mass communication and the patterns of behavior they suggest have been helped along by the positions women assumed in the operations of the civil rights movement. The women activists of the civil rights movement did not choose to seek out the media as a forum for the ideologies they were promoting. They understood the effects and consequences of attempting to speak out in the white-run media. Also, male movement leaders did not give women the same opportunities as were given men. Therefore, the women remained, for the most part, behind the scenes.

Scholars have studied the media's portrayal of black males in the civil rights movement. Blacks have tended to be invisible or portrayed stereotypically in the white establishment press. This trend becomes most evident in coverage of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

Martindale (1985) tackled the idea that the white majority press had been largely ignoring blacks. Martindale studied the coverage of blacks in five American newspapers during the years of 1950 to 1980. With regard to black protests of the period, only a small portion of the newspapers' coverage of black protest activities provided readers with an explanation of underlying causes. Even when giving large amounts of coverage to black protests, explanation of the causes of the protest were given the smallest amounts of space. This study seems to indicate that five newspapers in this period failed to provide readers with the background they needed to understand the causes of the civil rights movement, and as a result the black side of the story did not emerge clearly.

The attitude and environment toward blacks created by press coverage can be seen in press coverage of specific protests and demonstrations. A 1989 study by Martindale focused on four daily newspapers' coverage of causes of black protest during the 1960s. The study found that during this period, the newspapers gave explanation of the causes of the protests the smallest amount of coverage, focusing on the facts about the protest event and ignoring the underlying conditions. Without extensive explanation, the press coverage of those events gave readers a picture of black demonstrators as unreasonable and demanding.

Lester's 1994 study of photo coverage of blacks in four newspapers from 1937 to 1990 confirms the use of extensive stereotypes for blacks. Lester analyzed more than 250,000 newspaper photographs of four newspapers. During the civil rights movement, photographs of blacks were most often related to criminal activities and social problems resulting from protests and riots. Also, social news, politics, business, educational and health issues for blacks began to appear. He charted a trend from stereotypical human interest pictures in the pre-civil rights era to criminal

and social news in the civil rights era to increased, non-biased coverage in the modern era.

Though media scholars have tended to overlook the images of black females in the civil rights movement, studies of media coverage of women in general can be applied to the situation. One particular study that yielded interesting insight focused on the whole of press coverage surrounding one civil rights figure, voting rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer (Bramlett-Solomon, 1991). Bramlett-Solomon's study analyzed every reference related to Hamer in five daily U.S. newspapers between August 1964 and December 1977. Not surprisingly, coverage of Hamer was not very extensive or complete, despite the size and importance of her role in the movement. Most interesting was the pattern of sex bias found by Bramlett-Solomon, with references related to Hamer's clothing, physical appearance, and mannerisms. References to Hamer contained a pattern of sexist bias and mentions of attire, physical appearance, and mannerisms.

Davis' (1982) study focused on newspapers' portrayal of women by analyzing sex bias in eight newspapers. A distinct pattern of bias was discovered with news about women getting shorter stories and smaller headlines than news stories with men as the central figure. The pervasiveness of the bias indicates that newspaper editors, be they male or female, do not demonstrate sensitivity to women or women's issues.

Of the 5,500 total stories analyzed for Davis' study, only 8.6 percent featured women as the lead character. In the instances where women were featured as the main character, the stories were shorter with smaller headlines. Women were more likely to be identified by personal information or education. Even in 1979, following the feminist movement, nearly 20 percent of the stories featured women identified by

their spouses. Davis concluded evidence of pervasive bias, with editors having little sensitivity to women and women's issues.

Potter's post-feminism 1985 study highlighted equal gender representation in elite American newspapers. Potter sought to extend the work completed by Davis by charting the representation of women over time in the New York *Times*, Chicago *Tribune*, Atlanta *Constitution*, Miami *Herald* and *Christian Science Monitor*. Actual front page stories were gathered from the various newspapers for one week in April and one week in October of 1913, 1933, 1963 and 1983. Of the 2,224 total stories identified and analyzed, 7 .3 percent featured women as the main character.

In 1975, Miller generated a series of studies on the content of news photographs involving women. She examined a year's worth of news photos in the Washington *Post* and Los Angeles *Times* from July 2, 1973, to June 27, 1974. Of the 46 issues examined, photos of men outnumbered photos of women by 3 to 1 in the *Post* and 2 to 1 in the *Times*. Miller's study categorized representations into role categories. She found that almost half of all photos of women were located in the lifestyle section and women were most often depicted as spouses, socialites, or entertainers.

Blackwood's 1983 study continued Miller's previous research. He replicated her study with data taken from July 1, 1980, to June 26, 1981. Seven years after Miller's study, men continued to outnumber women in news photographs. Women still found their home in the lifestyle section and they were still illustrated as socialites or spouses. Blackwood noted the largest difference was increased representation of men in the lifestyle sections of the newspapers.

In 1973, Morris suggested that black out could have affected media coverage of feminist movement. She explains the tactic as withholding information from the

public about a social movement to minimize its impact. She examined coverage from national English newspapers and local Los Angeles County newspapers for references about the early stages of the feminist movement. Though she could not conclusively prove any intentional black out of news coverage, citing factors such as lack of news value, Morris is able to cast doubt on the subject. Though not a factor of Morris's study, this idea could explain in part the lack of visibility of women of the civil rights movement.

Media scholars have tended to ignore a prominent segment of the civil rights movement population—the women activists. By doing so, an important population of the civil rights movement has been overlooked. Previous research studies of portrayals of blacks in newspapers cover an extended period of time, while the studies of coverage of black protest have a tendency to be incident-specific, focusing on coverage of one event. Previous research has not, however, attempted to trace coverage of blacks in the media during the whole of one political, social movement. This study focused on the civil rights movement in a series of interconnected events within the boundaries of one Southern state, Alabama, at that time known as the "cradle of the Confederacy" and the center of several crucial moments in the struggle for civil rights.

In the study presented here, content analysis was used to study the portrayal of civil rights women and men in the news media. An examination of actual news clippings from the civil rights era aided in the study of how the news media portrayed women during this time.

Montgomery, Alabama's two daily newspapers—the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal*—were selected for study. Montgomery, as the state capital and political center of Alabama, was at the center of the controversy and ushered in

both the beginning and the ending of the civil rights movement. The morning paper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, in operation since 1829, and the evening edition, *The Alabama Journal*, which began publication in 1889, were under common ownership by the years of the civil rights movement ("History of the *Montgomery Advertiser*," 1999). The papers' corporate structure provided a unique opportunity to view the entire movement from a constant of tone and coverage.

The selection of news articles used by Burt's 1996 study of suffrage news in Wisconsin served as a model for this work. Burt began her examination with "six week-long periods of study each consisting of the day on which a prominent suffrage event occurred as well as the three days before and after the event" (p. 622). Her method was adapted to the study of civil rights news in Alabama as reported by two newspapers. Seven week-long periods surrounding five major civil rights events were chosen for this study. The Montgomery bus boycott, the Freedom Rides, the Birmingham children's march, the integration of the University of Alabama and the Selma-to-Montgomery march were chosen for study because of the equal participation of both men and women in these events, as documented by photographs of historical record. The seven week-long periods of study for the civil rights movement in Alabama were:

1. December 2 - 8, 1955—the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott.
2. December 18 - 24, 1956—the end of the Montgomery bus boycott.
3. May 14 – 20, 1961—the Freedom Riders pass through Alabama.
4. April 29 - May 5, 1963—the children's crusade march out of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.
5. June 8 – 14, 1963—the integration of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa and Gov. George Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door."

6. March 4 - 10, 1965—"Bloody Sunday," the marchers' first attempt in Selma.
7. March 22 - 28, 1965—the beginning of the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

Both the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal* were examined and the pertinent materials photocopied. As per Burt's (1996) Wisconsin study, the newspapers were examined in their entirety for all occurrences of news coverage of the specified events of the civil rights movement during the selected week-long periods. News item was operationalized as a stand-alone article, a news article with no photo/art; an article with accompanying photo/art; editorial; and/or a stand-alone photo. Each news item was coded for an analysis of men and women's portrayals in coverage of these civil rights events.

The news items were coded for thematic units. The units were sex of the main and minor characters and identifying factors of male and female characters. Identifiers were attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience and background. Also determined was the use of courtesy titles for women newsmakers. A courtesy title was coded if women were referred to by their own names or their spouses' names on first references and whether women were mentioned on second references by their last names alone or with titles such as Miss, Mrs. or Ms. Coverage of male versus female civil rights workers was operationalized as the percentage of total news articles coded.

Coding of the seven week-long periods from the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Alabama Journal* produced 275 references to civil rights workers in 92 news items. Of the 275 total references, 186 were references to male workers, 45 referred to female workers, and 44 referred to groups of undetermined gender.

Research Questions 1 and 2 addressed equal coverage of men and women in these articles. Of the 275 total references, 97 references, or 35%of the total,

referred to leading characters of the news items. References to male civil rights workers totaled 53 (55% of the leading character references), while 11 references (11%) were to women workers and 33 references (34%) were to groups of undetermined gender. The results indicate that despite other evidence to the contrary such as photographs and documented proof of the contributions of women, men are overwhelmingly shown as leaders and most engaged in civil rights work, almost to the exclusion of women. Such a finding supports previous work by Robnett (1996) who found that women were kept out of visible leadership roles by powerful male leaders. In addition, such a finding is predicted by cultivation theory, which asserts that a group forced out of the limelight will cease to seek it.

The answer to Research Question 3 was compiled through analysis of several different aspects of the coded references: courtesy titles, marital status, attire, occupation, parental status, education, religion, experience and background. Of the 275 total references coded, 79 references, or 29% of the total, contained courtesy titles. Courtesy titles for male workers totaled 64 (81% of courtesy title references), while 15 courtesy titles (19%) were for women workers. Men were most often acknowledged with a professional title such as Reverend or Doctor, while women most often were referred to as Miss, Mrs., and, even in the case of three recurring characters (Mrs. Paul Douglas, Mrs. Charles Tobey, and Mrs. Harold Ickes), their husbands' names.

References to marital status were coded 19 times (7%) in the primary sample. Four of the instances of marital status (21% of the marital status references) were for male characters and 15 (79%) were for female characters. The most striking of these comparisons was that Vivian Malone was noted as single on several occasions, while in the same articles the marital status of Malone's integration partner James Hood

was not mentioned. Thirteen references (5% of total references) to attire were counted, with 4 of those (31%) references being to male characters, 3 references (23%) being to female characters, and 6 references (46%) being to groups of undetermined gender. Descriptions of clothing were regularly noted in the references to University of Alabama students Vivian Malone and James Hood.

Identifiers of occupation were included in 46%of the total references. Of the 126 references to occupation, 110 references (87%) were included in descriptions of male workers, and 16 references (13%) were included in descriptions of female workers. Mentions of parental status were noted only twice (.7% of the total) in descriptions of Viola Gregg Liuzzo. The coders noted 11 references to education (4% of the total references)—8 (73%) male and 3 (27%) female. The 12 noted references to religion (4% of the total references) were strictly male. These numbers were affected by the proliferation of clergymen involved in the civil rights movement.

In the time period of the civil rights movement, all women, not just civil rights workers, were likely to be referred to in a manner that indicated marital rather than professional or occupational status. However, Wood (1999) as suggested that such references tend not only to hide women's individual identities, but also serve to diminish the importance of their accomplishments. Based on the cultivation theory, marginalized groups will come to see themselves as others see them. As a result, members of these groups will minimize the value of their contributions as do members of the dominant culture/group. Thus, the spiral of silence begins and is perpetuated.

Experience of the characters was noted in 133 (48%) of the total references. Male characters' experience was noted 110 times (83% of experience references), while female characters' experience was noted 23 times (17%). This finding clearly

supports Robnett's (1996) findings. The "invisible" women of the civil rights movement continued to be made invisible by depictions in media.

Finally, references to background were counted in 84 (31%) of the total references, with 70 (83%) of the references being male and 14 (67%) of the references being female. In the male-dominated categories of experience and background, the men were frequently identified, specifically, as leaders or their leadership roles were indirectly emphasized with mention of their positions as high-ranking members of different civil rights organizations.

The coding category of physical description became the place for stereotypical descriptions of the characters and the answer to Research Question 4. Physical descriptions were noted in 123 (45%) of the 275 total references. Fifty-two references (42% of physical descriptions and 28% of total male references) included physical descriptions of male workers, with 26 (21%) of the references, 58% of total female references, describing female workers. The remaining 45 references (37%) containing physical descriptions were of groups of undetermined gender.

Wood's (1999) assertion that "women are defined by appearance and relationships" (p. 109), is supported by the finding that women were described physically nearly 30% more often than men. "The sexist bias in descriptions of women reinforces the cultural view of women as decorative objects whose identity hinges on physical appeal" (Wood, 1999, p. 109) as opposed to their identity as significant contributors to the revamping of cultural and social norms.

Physical descriptions included mentions of Rosa Parks as "the Parks woman" or the "Negro seamstress." James Hood and Vivian Malone were described as "happy Negro students," while Malone herself was described as a "Negro co-ed" and her white friends were described as "pretty white co-eds." Martin Luther King, Jr. was

noted on several occasions as the "Negro minister" or "Negro pastor." Descriptions of groups of civil rights workers and activists included stereotypes such as "chanting," "singing," "gyrating," "jeering," and "taunting."

The results generated by the coding of identifying factors indicate a double standard for references to men and women in news reports of the civil rights movement. As predicted by agenda-setting theory, the news report not only told readers what to think about, but also told them how to think about the movement to the patronization of the women involved. In a practice started by movement leaders and reinforced by the media, women were not considered worthy of leadership roles and, therefore, were not worthy of media coverage equal to that afforded men.

This study's findings support the expectation of fewer and more trivial references to the participation of female civil rights workers. Previous research has chosen to ignore this segment of the activist population, not for a lack of interest, but for a lack of material to study. The findings also challenge the erroneous perception that women were less active in the civil rights movement than men, and supports the agenda-setting expectation that the perception is a result of a media that created the image of fewer women participants in general and few, if any, women leaders.

Future research could expound on the findings presented in this study. Use of newspapers outside Montgomery and outside Alabama as well as expansion of the time periods analyzed could lessen the limitations of the measurement technique and sample size. In addition, comparison of surveys of reader recollection to the actual coding results could further challenge public perception of female involvement in the civil rights movement.

Though it could be argued that pre-feminist movement ideals of the time affected the news coverage of women, this study is one of a few to investigate the

topic in the civil rights era. Previous research has limited itself to studies of blacks, particularly men, or women of a different time. The impression, drawn from a biased media, persists that women were not equal participants in the civil rights movement though a careful analysis of history tells us differently.

APPENDIX A

NEWSPAPER PHOTOS OF SELECTED CIVIL RIGHTS EVENTS

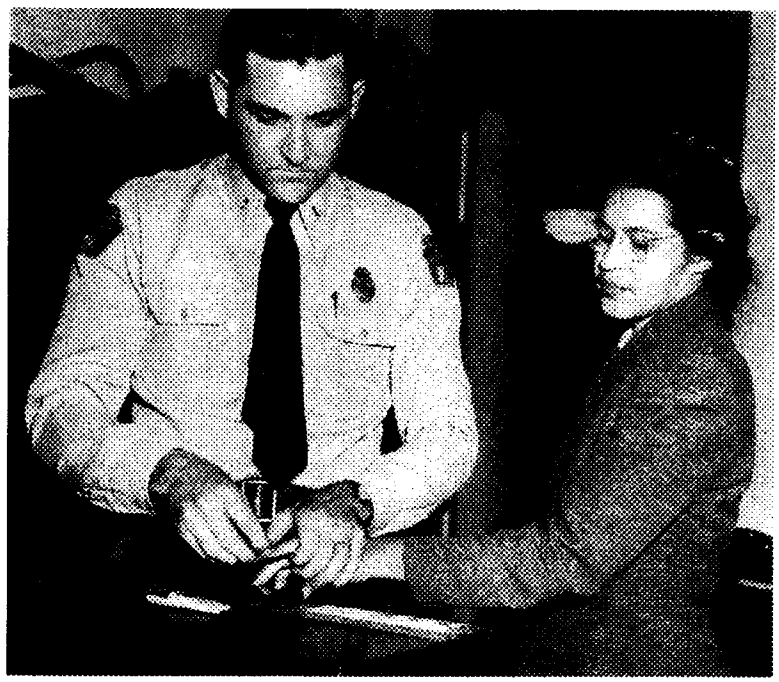


Figure 1. Rosa Parks is fingerprinted by a Montgomery police officer following her arrest for violating a Montgomery municipal code segregating city buses. From The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History (p. 68), by S. Wexler, 1993, New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Figure 2. Freedom riders following the May 1961 attack on their bus near Anniston, Alabama. From Marching Toward Freedom (p. 46), by R. Weisbrot, 1994, New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

Figure 3. A police water cannon slams protesters into a wall in Birmingham, Alabama, in May 1963. From Marching Toward Freedom (p. 62), by R. Weisbrot, 1994, New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

Figure 4. Birmingham firefighters flatten demonstrators with a water hose in 1963. From Marching Toward Freedom (p. 69), by R. Weisbrot, 1994, New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

Figure 6. Children's marchers are directed toward a waiting paddy wagon on May 2, 1963. From Marching Toward Freedom (p. 71), by R. Weisbrot, 1994, New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

Figure 7. A female marcher lies injured on the curb in the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday" in Selma on March 7, 1965. From The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History (p. 68), by S. Wexler, 1993, New York: Facts on File, Inc.

APPENDIX B

DATA COLLECTION FORM

Event: _____

Newspaper, City: _____

Event Date -3	*Event Date -2*	*Event Date -1*	*Event Date*	*Event Date +1*	*Event Date +2*	*Event Date +3*

APPENDIX C

CODER PACKAGE

Coding Instructions

1. Please review each marked news item (stand-alone article, article with accompanying photo/art, or stand-alone photo/art). Newspaper issues may contain more than one news item. Separate news items should be coded on separate coding sheets.

2. Examine each news item for portrayals/references of men and women civil rights activists. Read articles as you would normally read any newspaper. Record your initial reactions to the materials. Do not spend too much time on any one item.

3. Note each portrayal/reference to men and/or women separately on the coding sheet. Numbering the entries might prove helpful.

4. For each coding entry to men and/or women civil rights activists note gender, race, main character and stereotypes. Identifiers such as attire, physical description, marital status, parental status, education, occupation, religion, experience and background should be noted. Determine the use of courtesy titles for women newsmakers. Coding should note if women are referred to by their own names or their spouses' names on first references and whether women are mentioned on second references by their last names alone or with courtesy titles such as Miss, Mrs. or Ms. Feel free to quote phrases from news articles.

   (Each coding entry should include the portrayal or reference and quotes of any stereotypical descriptions.)

Sample Coding Sheet

Coder Initials: SAMPLE

Newspaper Title: _____

Date of Publication: _____ Type of News Item: _____

News Item Headline: _____

Reference	Gender (male/ female)	Race (white/ black)	Main Character (yes/no)	Courtesy Titles	Attire	Physical Description	Martial Status	Parental Status	Education	Occupation	Religion	Experience	Background
1. Bubba "the pickup-truck driving, shotgun-toting redneck was. . ."	M	W	Yes	N/A	Overalls, ball cap	Fat, lazy	M	N/A	N/A	Gas station attendent	N/A	Previously convicted of DUI	N/A
2. Sissy "his wife, a redneck mother of six,. . ."	F	W	No	Mrs. Bubba (on second ref.)	Tank top, spandex pants	Big hair	M	Mother of six	Completed 3rd grade	N/A	Baptist	N/A	N/A

Coding Sheet

Coder Initials: _____

Newspaper Title: _____

Date of Publication: _____ Type of News Item: _____

News Item Headline: _____

Reference	Gender (male/ female)	Race (white/ black)	Main Character (yes/no)	Courtesy Titles	Attire	Physical Description	Martial Status	Parental Status	Education	Occupation	Religion	Experience	Background

Appendix D

Coding Results

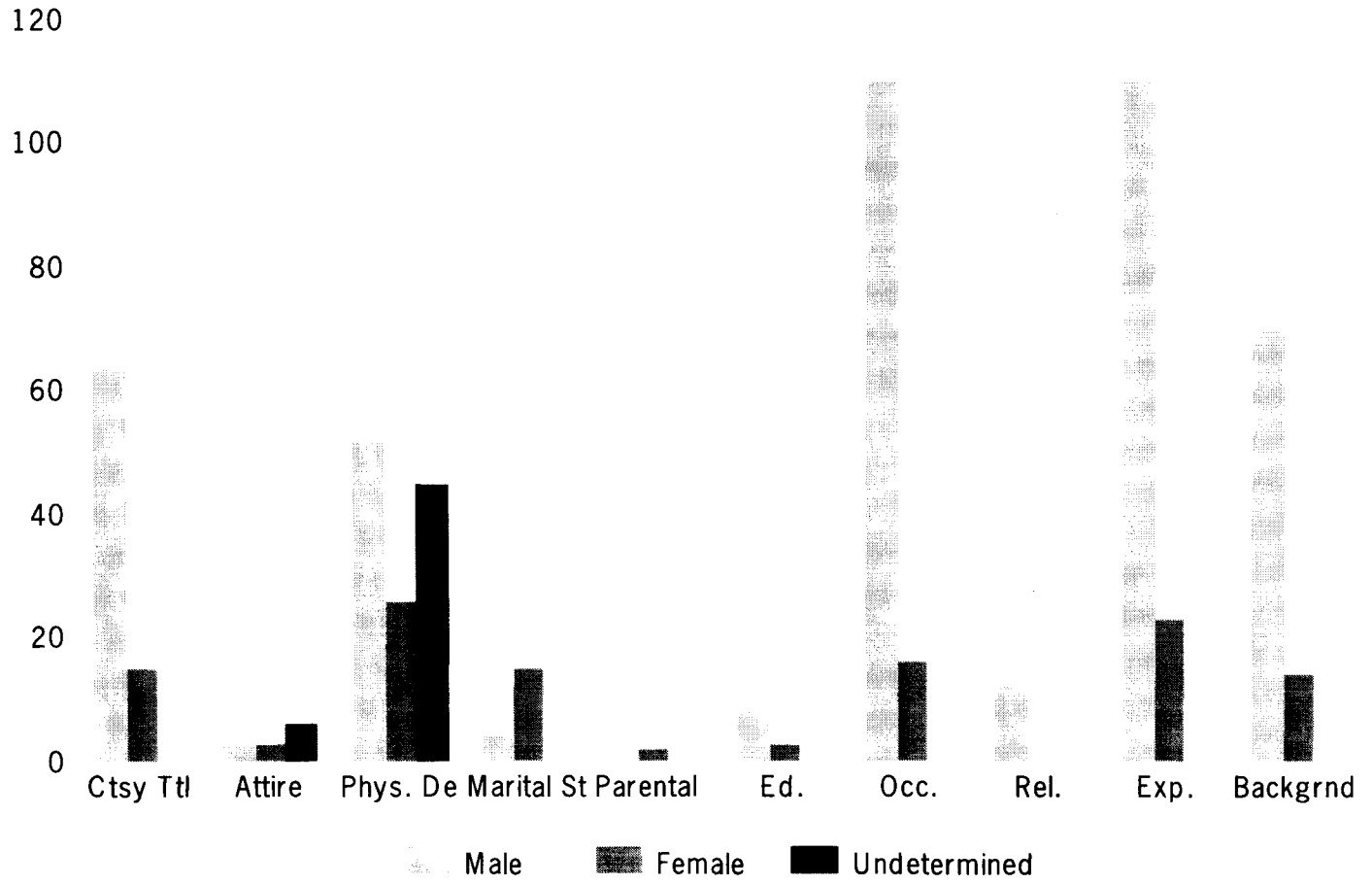


Figure 1. Identifying factors coded from news items, by sex.

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