

**Master of Arts (Communication) Thesis**

An Analysis of Racial Bias in Newspaper Coverage of “Bloody Sunday” and the March for the  
Right to Vote

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## Abstract

This study analyzed newspaper coverage of Bloody Sunday and the Selma-to-Montgomery march for the right to vote for Black Americans. Through critical race theory, news framing theory, and the theory of Orientalism, I conducted a content analysis of two American newspapers (one published locally in Alabama and one major-city newspaper) to determine the similarities and differences with respect to representation of race in the news media. Results demonstrate that the Alabama newspaper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, reported on this event with more racial bias than did the major-city newspaper, *The New York Times*. The two newspapers also covered similar stories in different manners, with the major-city newspaper being predominantly supportive in tone and the Alabama newspaper being predominantly oppositional in tone. *The New York Times* reported significantly more slurs (all through quotes) while the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported significantly more stereotypes (primarily through journalistic prose). This finding showed bias in reporting as *The New York Times* quoted slurs to tell the story, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* stereotyped black people while telling the story. The findings point to more differences than similarities in how the two newspapers covered the events and inform the main conclusion that the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported the event with more bias. This conclusion is significant because the content of a news story and the tone through which a newspaper reports a story—specifically the marches for the right to vote—is the message the readers receive.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Dr. Tracy Moniz. She taught my final Public Relations writing class in my undergrad—in this class, I learned of my interest in writing creative non-fiction stories. In this class, I introduced her to my interest in civil rights when I wrote a story about my trip to Alabama. She taught me the importance in story-telling and detail in writing. Mostly, I thank her for her help throughout my thesis. I was nervous to write such a long paper. I was nervous about my topic. I wanted to contribute something important to the Communications field. Dr. Moniz met with me and helped me overcome the hesitations I had. Throughout my thesis, she has been most helpful. I learned so much from her edits and suggestions that will help me in law school and in my career. Thank you, Dr. Moniz. For everything! I would also like to thank the other member of my committee, Dr. Alla Kushniryk, for supporting my thesis. Dr. Kushniryk taught me research methods, which ultimately helped with my proposal. She also taught me to conduct chi-square tests to enhance the statistics in my thesis. Finally, I want to thank my parents, Michelle and Allan, and my little sister, Shannon, my family and friends, and Logan for their unconditional support.

## PREFACE

When I was 11 years old, my dad took me to Alabama, where we did a road trip throughout the southern region of the state. Along the way, we visited museums, memorials, and historic sites. I sat next to a statue of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, walked through a monument of angry police and leaping attack dogs in Birmingham, and watched the play “To Kill a Mockingbird” in the author’s (Harper Lee) hometown, Monroeville. In Selma, we visited the Edmond Pettus Bridge, where the event known as “Bloody Sunday” took place. My dad told me some of the history of the bridge as we looked out at the view. Afterwards, we went to the National Voting Rights Museum. There, we met Joanne Bland, the co-founder of that museum. Joanne marched on Bloody Sunday for the right for Black Americans to vote. She was 10-years-old on Bloody Sunday—almost the same age as I was when I met her. Her memory was vivid considering that more than 40 years had passed. Joanne shared details about the event—that police officers attacked protestors with clubs and sprayed tear gas into the air and that she was knocked unconscious as a result of the gas. I recalled the bridge Dad and I had just seen. To me, in 2005, it was a bridge to cross the Alabama River. To her, and the hundreds of other marchers, in 1965, it was a bridge to freedom. She walked us through the museum and talked about other events within the Civil Rights Movement, a major effort led primarily by black people in the 1950s and 1960s to abolish segregation in the United States. Another major event within the movement was Rosa Parks’s protest that resulted in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 (McGhee, 2015, p. 251). She told us about the inequality that was still present then, in 2005 (and is arguably still present now, in 2018). My trip to Alabama and my time with Joanne Bland sparked my passion for human rights and heightened my interest to learn more. Now, I turn that passion into research. In this master’s thesis, I analyze and compare the coverage of the Selma-

to-Montgomery marches in a major newspaper in Alabama with that of a major American newspaper to understand the similarities and differences in coverage in a newspaper within the state where the protests occurred and a newspaper with a national readership.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

In 1965, Black Americans still did not have the equal right to vote. They were not equal. They had overcome the segregation laws that separated them and white Americans on buses, at water fountains, in schools and washrooms, but Black Americans were still not free. The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited discrimination in voting based on race (Combs, 2013, p. 11); however, poll tax, the threat of violence and most significantly, literacy tests, were barriers that prevented black people from successfully registering to vote due to the Jim Crow laws that prohibited Black Americans from equal education (Davidson, 1992, p. 13). The Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC) and its president, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., began a voting campaign on January 2, 1965, in Selma (Davidson, 1992, p. 15).

On March 7, 1965, the SCLC’s Hosea Williams and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee’s (SNCC) John Lewis led a group of protestors from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital, Montgomery. Rev. Dr. King was in Atlanta to speak that day and did not return for the initial march (Davidson, 1992, p. 16). The protestors comprised more than 600 protestors, both black and white (but mostly black) to demand the right for Black Americans to vote. As they marched through Selma, they arrived at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, where State Highway Patrol stopped the marchers and ordered them to halt the protest. When the protestors refused to move, the police officers attacked the protestors with tear gas and clubs, injuring more than six dozen people (Krotoszynski, 1995, p. 1417). This historical event is known as “Bloody Sunday” (Edwards, 2015, p. 3). Jeong, Miller, and Sened (2009) explained that “film caught the violence against peaceful marchers, and television networks interrupted Judgment at Nuremburg to show the violence to the nation (p. 599). At the end of the day, 57 black people had to be treated for



injuries that ranged from “broken teeth and head gashes to broken limbs” (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 114). The protest was unable to continue and the marchers were turned around.

Two days later, on March 9, 1965, another march was set to take place. The Rev. Dr. King became aware that a federal judge issued a court order to disallow the march (Partridge, 2009, p. 32). Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson’s initial ruling was to prohibit the march from occurring because of the safety and convenience of those using the highway, with another hearing scheduled for March 11 (Krotoszynski, 1995, p. 1421). Judge Johnson had to decide whether it was within the constitutional right to protest when that protest would cause concern for public safety and convenience of traffic on a busy highway. Krotoszynski (1995) wrote that if Rev. Dr. King had led the march on March 9, he would have violated the court’s restraining order and would risk contempt charges against himself and other leaders; however, if he had “failed to proceed with the march, his credibility within the movement might be damaged” (p. 1419). Rev. Dr. King spoke to a group of 2,000 people, saying: “There may be beatings, jailings, tear gas. But I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my soul” (Partridge, p. 33). The protesters set out to march. When they approached the bridge, they were halted by 100 troopers who blocked the road; however, this time the police removed the barricades and stepped aside (Partridge, 34). King saw this act as a trap and urged the protestors to turn away, effectively ending the second march. This became known as “Turnaround Tuesday” (Combs, 2013, p. 7).

Judge Johnson permitted the final march to Selma on with the condition that the march last no more than five days and begin sometime between March 19 and 22, with police protection provided along the way (Rice, 1965, para. 2). This final march took place on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1965, with the protesters arriving in Montgomery on March 25<sup>th</sup>. After five days of

marching, the march concluded successfully as a nonviolent protest for the right to vote.

President Lyndon B. Johnson had worked with members of Congress to finalize the voting rights bill. He signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965 (Harada, 2012, p. 458), granting black people the right to vote (Jeong et al., 2009, p. 599).

In this study, I examined newspaper coverage in a local Alabama newspaper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, and a national newspaper, *The New York Times*, between March 8, 1965 and March 26, 1965, a period that encompassed the two unsuccessful marches and successful march from Selma to Montgomery. I coded for similarities and differences in reporting, using variables such as tone, presentation of fact versus opinion, individuals quoted and mentioned, subtopics of coverage, and whether or not the newspaper published racist or stereotypical language. These variables help to determine the main points of the event that the two newspapers focused on, as well as who they chose to quote and what aspects of the event the newspapers emphasized.

Initially, I intended to analyze newspaper coverage of Bloody Sunday for racial bias from an angle that had yet to be explored. Through preliminary research, I found that no one had actually studied the newspaper coverage of this event within the Civil Rights Movement. With a clean slate to work with, I decided to approach my research using critical race theory. I also applied news framing theory and the theory of Orientalism to determine and define my variables for analysis and interpret my findings.

While there are a number of books and scholarly articles that refer to the events of Bloody Sunday and explain the Selma-to-Montgomery marches, no researcher has analyzed the event through critical race theory, nor did any researcher analyze newspaper coverage for scholarly purposes. Some researchers referred to this historic march for other purposes, such as

to interpret the Voting Rights Act, discuss the work of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, and compare this event to a historical march in Ireland. These gaps in research create the opportunity to study this topic from my chosen angle—an analysis of newspaper coverage of the Selma-to-Montgomery marches using critical race theory as a theoretical lens.

My research explores racial bias in newspaper coverage of an important historical event that led Black Americans to achieve the right to vote. Historical human rights movements are important, even now, and understanding the history and impact of the Civil Rights Movement is critical. Events that occurred during the American Civil Rights Movement, like Bloody Sunday and the marches for the right to vote, are significant in history and in the progression of combatting racism. It is important to remember and research events such as the march for voting rights from Selma to Montgomery, and to teach this history to future generations. When I read about the white nationalist riots that took place in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017, I came across a few posts that my peers made on social media in which they referenced the cliché that we must ‘learn from the past so history doesn’t repeat itself.’ I think this quote is logical in theory and optimistic; however, current racist and discriminatory events prove that, while social acceptance has certainly progressed, the racist and prejudice ideologies that drove segregation in history linger in modern society.

The way the news media frame stories influences viewers. Beattie and Milojevich (2017) explained that “the media does not simply transmit factual information about current events, instead, it is packaged into ‘frames,’ or narratives that explain and contextualize such information” and “framing has the potential to manipulate public opinion by omission” (p. 4). The way news media frames and reports bigoted and progressive protests (whether peaceful or not) impacts how citizens receive such events and influences how the public views and

understands these protests and the ideologies behind them. In 2018, there are ongoing social movements, such as the Women’s March on Washington, that are covered in news media. The way the media portrays current events still has an effect on the public’s reception. So, it is important to ask: Do the social movements for human rights that have occurred in this century get covered the same way they did in the past? In a broader scope, the way the media covers any positive or negative event (such as the global Women’s March on Washington, the 2017 Las Vegas shootings, or acts of terrorism) has an impact on public reception and, therefore, perception, and if the media discusses race then that could influence the public’s perception of race. Park, Holody, and Zhang’s (2012) research on media coverage of the Virginia Tech shooting found that there was still racial bias in the media in 2007. The way the media covers civil rights events impacts the public’s perception of these events, and that can have negative or positive consequences. Much of the historical (and current) information we learn about is mediated; therefore, it is important to be aware of potential biases at a given time. There is importance in analyzing news articles about events to look for similarities and differences to determine what newspapers included and omitted. There is a possibility that media coverage of events that occurred as part of the American Civil Rights Movement in the past impacted Americans’ perceptions, and it is still possible that news media’s potential bias and continued influence would also impact people’s opinions of historic and current movements today. While my research does not set out to analyze or draw conclusions about public reception, I did consider this factor while formulating ideas and conducting research. This potential of public influence is why my research to analyze the media coverage of a historic event within the Civil Rights Movement is important.

My research questions are as follows:

RQ1: How was race represented in American newspaper coverage of the Selma-to-Montgomery marches between March 8 and March 26, 1965?

RQ2: What are the similarities and differences in coverage between a local Alabama newspaper and a major national newspaper in the United States?

To examine this, I conducted a content analysis of one local newspaper in Alabama, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, and one national newspaper, *The New York Times*. I collected all of the news articles and editorials that each of these papers published between March 8, 1965 (the day after the first march attempt, as newspapers back then were not published on the same day) and March 26, 1965 (the day after the final and successful march). I collected articles from any section of the newspaper that discussed this part of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as editorials. I excluded letters to the editor because these reflect the viewpoint and values of the public rather than that of the newspaper. The articles selected for inclusion in the data set discussed or made reference to the topic of the Selma-to-Montgomery march and the protests that occurred as a result of the police treatment of marchers. This included articles about court orders, federal meetings about voting legislation, and protests as a result of violence against marchers.

This research fills a critical gap in the literature on the Selma-to-Montgomery march specifically and the Civil Rights Movement generally. Prior research has not studied the march and the media coverage surrounding it. This research quantifies, qualifies and compares newspaper coverage about the marches and, in doing so, it contributes to the field of Communication by determining similarities and differences in the representation of race, as well

as the overall coverage of an important event in history between a national newspaper and a local Alabama newspaper.

This thesis is organized into the following chapters: Theoretical Frameworks and Review of Related Research, Methods, Results, Discussion, and Conclusion. The review of related research considers how other researchers have studied the marches for the right to vote, how other researchers used critical race theory to analyze media coverage, and how other researchers have analyzed race in media coverage. This literature has informed my approach to this study. The Methods chapter explains the content analysis methodology used in this research, including defining and explaining the variables analyzing. The Results chapter presents the findings of the content analysis. I then provide a discussion of these results and interpretation of these findings. Through examples and data from the results, I determine and discuss the similarities and differences in how race was represented in the newspapers as well as in the overall coverage of the marches for the right to vote. Finally, I summarize the main conclusions of my study and present my limitations and the possibility for future research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Theoretical Frameworks and Review of Related Research

In this chapter, I discuss three theoretical frameworks that are pertinent to my research—critical race theory, news framing theory, and Orientalism. The theoretical frameworks helped to define important concepts in my research, such as ‘race’ and ‘racism,’ which are key terms and issues in the Civil Rights Movement; othering, which explains the “us” (being white people) vs. “them” (being black people) mentality that is present in news coverage; and news framing, which helps understand the similarities and differences in how the newspapers covered the event. I then review related scholarly literature in three areas: literature on critical race theory in media coverage, how other researchers have analyzed race in media coverage, and how others have studied ‘Bloody Sunday’ and the march for the right to vote. Reviewing these bodies of work offered insight into how others have studied similar topics and how they defined and applied key terms to their respective studies. Research about the marches for the right to vote enhanced my understanding of the topic and purpose of the event and offered insight into variables to explore in the content analysis. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss the scholarly gaps that my research aims to fill.

### Theoretical Frameworks

**Critical race theory.** Omi and Winant (1994) defined race as “a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (p. 123). This is an important definition as the people who protested throughout the Civil Rights Movement, and specifically on Bloody Sunday, did so because the laws discriminated against them due to their race—because of something different about their body, because of the colour of their skin. Black people were not allowed to vote in the United States, which is why they

marched. This is a race-based issue; therefore, the theory that I will use to explore this topic is critical race theory. Bell, Freeman, and Delgado adopted critical race theory from critical legal studies in the 1970s (Crowley, 2012, pg. 706). Crowley explained that:

[The] ordinariness of racism prevents individuals of the dominant culture from seeing racism until it appears in blatant forms. (...) [R]acism permeates all political, economic, and social structures. [Critical race theory] identifies how the permanence and ordinariness of racism shape the daily realities of people of color while remaining largely unnoticed by whites. (p. 706).

Thomas (2016) argued that the objective of critical race theory is to show to an “often-unwilling majority” the tendency to “circumlocute, euphemize or render invisible” the means of racism, “which is, on the contrary, ubiquitous” (p. 234). He applied critical race theory to his study and discussed the meaning of white supremacy to help explain why racism and “othering” exist. Ainsley (1997) defined white supremacy as:

A political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings (p. 592).

Thomas used Ainsley’s definition of white supremacy to support his research. Clarke and Garner (2009) wrote that “whiteness as a form of ethnicity, is rarely acknowledged by its bearers, yet it has significant ramifications in terms of the construction of ‘other’ identities” (p. 1). The understanding of “whiteness” and how white supremacy is a reason for othering offered insight



into whether newspapers were racially-biased with respect to coverage of the marches for the right to vote.

Luther and Rightler-McDaniels (2013) used critical race theory to research interracial relationships. According to their explanation, the theory contains two main points:

[R]acism is a common, everyday lived experience for people of color and ... individuals and their specific roles in society are socially constructed based on a system of power relations that favors Whites. (And) it is a system designed to advance the interests of Whites over other racial groups. (p. 3).

Luther and Rightler-McDaniels explained that "the system is presented as ‘common sense,’ so that only transparent forms of discrimination can be addressed through laws and policies" (p. 3).

These researchers noted that racism and discrimination continue, even today, and the media plays a role in perpetuating this discrimination that "continue[s] to privilege White superiority" (p. 3). This point—that the media make an impact on the racism experienced today—is important to the scope of my research. The way the media (whether nationally or locally) portrayed the marches for the right to vote could have implications on how anyone (black or white) learned about and, therefore, perceived the event.

Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, and Freeman (2010) researched the black families in America to determine new knowledge on the growing population of ethnic and racial minorities. They analyzed scholarly research and used critical race theory as a frame to discuss the topics of interracial relationships, inequalities in family mobility, and the racial socialization of children (p. 440). To explain the concept of ‘race’, Burton et al. wrote that “race involves the assumption that individuals can be divided into groups based on phenotype or genotype and that

those groups have meaningful differences” (p. 440). This definition explains why race, a physical characteristic, of an individual has an impact on that person’s place in society.

Each of these explanations and applications of critical race theory were helpful in my research. These scholars defined race and demonstrated the socially-driven reasons behind segregation and why races are divided into groups (which contributes to the “us” vs. “them” mentality) as well as how race divides individuals and determines social class. The purpose behind the marches was the plea for black people to gain the right to vote by removing registration restrictions. The government denied black people of this right because of their race; therefore, it is important to understand why race was a factor. Furthermore, critical race theory helps explain why the newspaper editors covered race and racial events the way they did.

**News framing theory.** News framing theory enhanced my research and helped explain how and why the news articles are similar and different. De Vreese (2005) defined a news frame as “a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them” (p. 53). Some frames are “issue-specific,” meaning they are only relevant to specific topics, and “generic frames” can be related to different topics even throughout different time periods and cultures (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54). The marches for the right to vote is an issue-specific topic and will likely show frames that are pertinent to that specific event. However, the issue of racism in news is a generic topic. Over time and in different countries, cultures, and events, the issue is and has been present in the media (Thomas, 2016; Warren, 2012; Amazeen, 2014; Melancon, 2014; Park, Holody, & Zhang, 2012; Peterson, 2009; and Littlefield, 2008). In this research study, I look for generic and issue-specific frames in the news articles reviewed. The act of framing can be defined as “the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences”

(Reese, 2001, p. 7). The media can choose how to frame a story through the details they choose to include or exclude, the topics they choose to cover, and the angle they choose to center a story around. This use of framing has the potential to impact and change public opinion (Wendorf Muhamad & Yang, 2017, p. 191). Kim, Scheufele, and Shanahan (2002) explained that when mass media frames issues by emphasizing certain aspects within a topic, this, in turn, can affect the importance of those aspects when evaluating that topic overall (p. 20). Furthermore, frames lead the public to “make attributions of responsibility or other judgments, based on different frames or interpretations offered by mass media for the same factual content” (Kim et. al., p. 8). News media has the potential to decide what the public should know about an issue or story. Through framing, media have the ability to influence and persuade the public.

Entman (1993) explained that there are four functions of frames. Frames “define problems,” “diagnose causes,” “make moral judgments,” and “suggest remedies” (p. 52). News media has the ability to frame stories and provide answers to the root of the issue and, through that, manipulate public opinion. To determine whether frames are present in the news, Entman put forth the idea that researchers can analyze and identify frames by “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). Tankard (2001) provided a list of 11 framing tactics to help identify and measure news frames: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs (p. 101).

Overall, news framing theory is pertinent to my research and I used this theory to identify frames, as editors and reporters could have used frames to persuade the public and control the news circulated during the Selma-to-Montgomery marches within the Civil Rights Movement.

**Orientalism.** Edward Said (1978) developed the theory of Orientalism as "a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts" (p. 12). The theory asserts that the difference between the eastern and the western parts of the world is that the east is inferior and the west is superior, which is largely based on the racialization of religious distinctions, specifically Christianity and Islam (Chandrashekar, 2017, p. 368). Said's theory explains the “West's will to power over as well as the will to dominate” (Al-Zo'by, 2015, p. 222).

According to Williams and Korn (2016), othering occurs when a group that possesses a certain quality belittles the group that lacks that quality and the “dominant group members assign blame, unfairly and inaccurately, to the othered individual” (p. 24). Race is a specific trait that othering can be based on due to racialization, which “normalizes unfair treatment of the othered group using the social construction of racial difference built around certain clothing, skin colour, prominent accents, and other characteristics as cues for discrimination” (Williams & Korn, 2016, p. 24). As a result of othering, the "other" group members are susceptible to suffering "violence, [the] threat of violence, stereotyping, invisibility, distortion, isolation, and internalized oppression" (Joshi, 2006, p. 217).

My research focuses on how the news media portrayed race, which is a distinctive characteristic of Orientalism; therefore, it is important to understand and consider this theory when examining the newspaper articles. Are the newspapers showing dominance by taking an “‘us’ versus ‘them’” stance? To determine this, an important definition to note is racialization. As part of the Orientalism theory, Williams and Korn (2017) wrote that “racialization normalizes unfair treatment of the othered group, using the social construction of racial difference built around certain clothing, skin color, prominent accents, and other characteristics as cues for

discrimination” (p. 24). The marches for the right for Black Americans to vote occurred during the fight to end segregation in Alabama, specifically. In 1965, when this event within the Civil Rights Movement happened, racism was prevalent, which explains why newspapers, especially the newspapers in Alabama, would potentially show an “‘us’ versus ‘them’” and racist mentality, especially if the articles were published in a ‘white newspaper’ versus a ‘black newspaper’ (which predominantly served the black community) (Wang & Armstrong, 2012), as the articles under study indeed were. Wang and Armstrong’s (2012) research relied on the definition that white newspapers were mainstream and black newspapers were primarily read by black people (p. 78).

Orientalism is an important theory to consider as a lens through which to analyze the news articles because it can explain why news media would group the two races into groups, where references to white people are “us” and references to black people are “them” in order to dominate and have authority over “them” (Al-Zo’by, 2015, p. 222).

### **Review of Related Research**

While scholarly articles refer to the events of Bloody Sunday and the Selma-to-Montgomery marches, researchers have not used critical race theory as a lens to analyze the media coverage of this historic event. However, researchers have applied critical race theory to discuss the marches, the Voting Rights Act, and other aspects of the American Civil Rights Movement as well as racism in historic events. Some articles (Amazeen 2014, Thomas 2016, & Warren 2012) used critical race theory as a lens to study the media’s use of racial bias. Others (Crowley 2012, Prince 2006, Saffron 2009, Harding 1996, Pauley 1998) referred to this march for different research purposes, such as to compare the marches to other protests, to discuss King’s work, and to provide background to analyze speeches about other movements for Black

Americans’ rights as well as to analyze passages from the Voting Rights Act. The gaps in the literature will allow me to study this topic from my chosen angle of critical race theory and with my chosen sources, newspapers articles. Previous studies have not discussed this specific event within the American Civil Rights Movement using media coverage and applying critical race theory collectively.

Three areas of research are pertinent to this study: scholarly research of media coverage through the lens of critical race theory, scholarly analyses of race in media coverage, and research that discusses this particular event within the American Civil Rights Movement.

**Literature on critical race theory in media coverage.** Thomas (2016) analyzed 4,174 articles from 30 newspapers to study how black people were portrayed in the media in Norway between 1970 and 2014 (p. 233). Thomas looked at the word “Negro” and used critical race theory to apply the idea that ‘racism is normal’. He found that, even though some academics claimed that the word is a “neutral biological descriptor”, it stereotypes black people (p. 232). He defined this term as a racial slur. His research, however, was conducted in 1970—which is after the marches for the right to vote in 1965—when “black” was preferred over that N-word. Since that word was commonly used at the time of the marches, I did not consider it to be a racial slur as even black civil rights advocates (such as Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) used it.

Warren (2012) analyzed the *Houston Chronicle*’s portrayal of the people who evacuated New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina hit. The researcher applied critical race theory, explaining that “this theory and ‘color-blind’ racism have been used to examine crime and justice topics, including the overrepresentation of Black women under correctional control (Alfred & Chlup, 2009) and police officers’ explanation of racial profiling (Glover, 2007)” (p. 96). Warren found that coverage of evacuees was racially biased in that it discussed race and class issues. The

researcher also argued that the newspaper emphasized the threats to the community’s safety and burden to the community’s resources. Warren explained how the news media has the potential to influence the views and cultural understanding of readers:

[T]he media have potential to inform American’s views. One means of doing this is through framing, the process by which issues are selectively presented in order to create a specific image in the mind of the receiver (Entman, 1993). In terms of race, it is not only important what images are present, but what images are absent as well in this manner, the selected images can confirm and reinforce existing cultural understandings of race (Deo, Lee, Chin, Milman, & Yuen, 2008). It is important, then, to examine media framing of this racial event as well as the extent to which color-blind racial ideology manifested in those frames. (p. 96)

The researcher showed how media plays a major role in determining how readers will receive and react to events. This explanation is important for my research, as it further explains the role of the media in informing the public. This finding emphasizes the importance of analyzing media coverage to identify racial bias in the current and historic news.

Amazeen (2014) used critical race theory to analyze an advertisement that aired during the 2008 presidential election in the United States. The advertisement made reference to Martin Luther King Jr. when honouring Barack Obama on ‘Convention Night.’ Critical race theory "calls for greater contextualization as necessitated by a desire to understand racial dynamics particularly as they relate to more overt racial practices of earlier eras. It challenges white perspectives and experiences as normative standards" (Amazeen, 2014, p. 682). Even in 2008, several years after King's death and the Civil Rights Movement, people are still racially-biased. Amazeen stated that "with the exception of Obama's Philadelphia speech, his campaign

consistently avoided the issue of race" (p. 684), which is why the advertisement was of interest to Amazeen, as Senator John McCain (Obama's opponent) brought up the issue of race.

Analyzing media coverage through critical race theory is important in determining when and how the news coverage makes references to race, especially in negative ways.

**How other researchers have analyzed race in media coverage.** Melancon (2014) wrote about 9/11 and the way that popular culture (including a Lupe Fiasco song) covered racial representations during that historic event. Melancon looked at the media published after 9/11, just as I will look at the newspapers published over the duration of the three marches (two attempted and one successful). Melancon identified what interventions that "black performance, vis-a-vis racialized embodiment, enactment, and physicality, offer in not only challenging but also reconstituting racial politics and concepts of American-ness specifically and US identity generally" (p. 490). There is an imperative, under the scope of critical race theory, to understand how the mediated words or presentation of the story (especially on a sensitive topic) can impact the overall representation of specific people and a specific topic.

Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012) studied how news media coverage portrayed the race of the Virginia Tech shooter who was of Asian descent. They then compared these findings to those of the coverage of the shooting at Columbine High School in Colorado in 1999, where the shooters were white. They noted that race was not discussed at all during this attack. In April 2007, a man opened fire at Virginia Tech and killed 32 people (p. 475). To their study, Park, Holody, and Zhang applied agenda-setting theory and found that more than a third of the newspapers contained racial information. They investigated major U.S. newspapers to see what type of racial bias they could find in both the Virginia Tech shooting and the Columbine



shooting. These researchers used a similar approach to what I use in this research study; however, they did not use critical race study, which they arguably could have used.

Peterson (2009) studied the protest at the 1968 Olympic Games. During the medal ceremony, Tommy Smith and John Carlos (who won gold and bronze in the 200-meter dash) each raised a fist into the air to liberate black people. Their protest became controversial, with some viewing the protests as liberating, while others saw it as inappropriate. Peterson studied the media coverage of this protest. Peterson references a 1970 book by Harry Edwards titled *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, in which Edwards claimed that a “majority of white sports media in the United States were apathetic towards racial injustice, and that writers seemed to care more about pleasing editors and publishers than reporting the truth” (p. 115). Peterson studied major city newspapers and found that “most news accounts of the protest portrayed Smith and Carlos in a negative light and offered little support for their efforts to advance equal rights for blacks” (p. 106). This protest occurred three years after the Selma to Montgomery marches. I anticipated that the newspaper coverage of the marches may negatively portray the Selma-to-Montgomery marches as well.

Littlefield (2008) wrote an article about the historical and current portrayal of black people in the media, with a focus on women. She wrote that “the media have historically perpetuated ideas about race and ethnicity that place African American women at a clear disadvantage” (p. 677). Littlefield explained that black women in the media are often seen as “sexual animals whose purpose was to satisfy the needs of the oppressor” and, further, that they are “lazy, unintelligent, sexual, and sinister” and that men were viewed that way as well (p. 679). The media portrays women as sexual objects and Jezebels and “perpetuate this image, popularize it, and present it as the defining characteristic of African American women, thus leaving our

communities with images that are damaging, demeaning, and injurious to race relations” (Littlefield, 2008, p. 677). Littlefield explained that the negative portrayal of black people in the media reinforced the Southern ideology that black people were “inferior beings who did not warrant any social justice and were deserving of their ill-treatment” (p. 680).

The historic portrayal of black people in news media in general as well as during specific movements and protests was important to my research which also considers how black people were portrayed in the media, specifically at the time of the marches.

**How others have studied “Bloody Sunday” and the march for the right to vote.** I was unable to locate much literature that addressed all three components of my topic: the marches for the right to vote in 1965, critical race theory, and media coverage of that event. Therefore, I have summarized a few examples to show what other researchers have studied on the topic of “Bloody Sunday” and the march from Selma to Montgomery.

Pauley (1998) analyzed President Lyndon B. Johnson’s speech, and specifically the timing of the speech, to prove that the speech was “unusual” after the voting rights crisis and march that occurred in March 1965. The researcher claimed that scholarship on President Johnson’s speech needs to be updated because of the timing of the speech. According to Pauley, President Johnson had been ready to speak on this issue of voting rights and had already developed the “understanding of voting rights as a moral and historical issue” (p. 27). The researcher explained that the speech was both “timely and too late,” leading Pauley to question whether President Johnson “had been working on the legislation for some time and was ready when the crisis came” (p. 27). Pauley addressed the media attention that the marches for the right to vote received, as well as the media attention to the speech. He found that the bill and speech were too late but also on-time because “Americans only now were ready to support it” (p. 48).

Harding’s (1996) article discussed Martin Luther King’s life and career as a civil rights leader. Part of this article focuses on the march from Selma to Montgomery, which happened 10 years into King’s career and played a major part in his life and career (p. 309). After “Bloody Sunday,” Rev. Dr. King led a successful 50-mile march that lasted for five days. When the march ended, King did not say, “Now I am ready to hang it up, and now we can rest.” Rather, he said: “You rest, but rest for just a minute because we have got to keep going. Now we have got to face the Northern cities. Now, we have got to face the tremendous exploitation of poor people in the urban (308) centers of our nation” (p. 308-309). Rev. Dr. King was not ready to give up after the march; he was ready to continue the fight for total equality and integration. This article explains who Rev. Dr. King was as a leader. This will be important to know and understand as I read newspaper articles that reflect King's character and actions.

Prince (2006) analyzed the year 1968 and the global revolt against imperialism, capitalism, and bureaucracy, with a focus on Northern Ireland. Prince referred to a ‘leftist’ named Farrell who wanted to initiate a march across Northern Ireland (p. 873). Prince explained that Farrell compared this to the march that Rev. Dr. King led in Selma three years earlier. Prince discussed how Farrell compared the case of Ireland to the case of the “Bloody Sunday” marches in hopes that they could have a similar outcome.

Crowley (2012) analyzed the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act using critical race theory. The researcher explained "Bloody Sunday" and the march from Selma to Montgomery, as well as the overall struggle that black people faced gaining the right to vote in order to analyze the operation of race and racism more critically (p. 697). Interestingly, Crowley referred to media coverage and potential bias by stating: “King and the SCLC also knew that Sheriff Clark would likely overreact to the peaceful demonstrations, providing favorable media coverage for

the voting rights protestors” (p. 715). Crowley also stated that “the media coverage surrounding the event forced Johnson to act, both to prevent further violence and to use the images from Selma as momentum in a push for tougher voting legislation” (p. 715).

In the course of my research, I found a 2015 news article in the *Montgomery Advertiser* that addressed the newspaper’s coverage of the marches for the right to vote as biased. A journalist for the newspaper wrote the article, and although a journalistic piece does not constitute scholarly research, the article is relevant to my research in that it criticizes the *Montgomery Advertiser*’s negative coverage of the march. Lyman (2015) found that the newspaper almost never quoted civil rights leaders; that editorials ridiculed the event and did not take the event seriously (para. 6); and that articles about Rev. James Reeb, the Minister who died as a result of a beating during the marches, brought it upon himself (para 16). The article is similar to my research in looking for bias; however, my study takes a scholarly approach to analyzing bias in the news, is based on a systematic analysis of all media coverage published during the period of the marches, and applies relevant theoretical frameworks to analyze news coverage.

### **Filling the Gap**

Searching for related scholarly research presented a difficult task, as researchers have not yet analyzed the historic newspaper coverage of the marches from Selma to Montgomery. The lack of research presented a challenge and an opportunity. Because much of the existing literature is peripherally related to my topic, I did not have a base to build from, nor did I have a foundation to contribute to by looking from another angle or a different scope. I had the potential to choose any direction to go with this topic. While this presents an opportunity to start a new area of inquiry for future researchers to build on, it also leaves me with minimal initial research

to work from. However, the existing research that explained and provided examples of frameworks, as well as the research on race in the media, provided a solid foundation from which to begin my research.

My research creates a new area of scholarly inquiry. I consider racial bias in newspaper coverage of an important historical event that led black people to achieve the right to vote in the United States. Historic human rights movements are important, even now, and understanding the history and impact of events within the Civil Rights Movement and how the media covered them is critical. The tone, topic, and detail that the news media used to report on the Civil Rights Movement in the past could have impacted the views of readers. This could hold true about coverage of current social movements. Alternatively, the coverage of anti-human rights protests—such as the Unite the Right protest where white supremacists protested the removal of a Confederate statue in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017—could also impact readers’ views. In fact, Park, Holody, and Zhang’s (2012) research on media coverage of the Virginia Tech shooting indicates that there was still racial bias in the media in 2007. The way news media cover civil rights events impacts the public’s perception of these events, which can have negative or positive consequences. Much of the historical information we learn about is mediated; therefore, it is important to know what tone and what potential biases existed during the time of the event that is being covered.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Method

The purpose of my study was to answer the following questions: How was race represented in coverage of Bloody Sunday and the following marches for the right to vote in American newspapers? What are the similarities and differences in coverage between a local Alabama newspaper and a major national newspaper throughout the United States? To answer these questions, I conducted a qualitative content analysis of two newspapers—the *Montgomery Advertiser* and *The New York Times*. This method allowed me to address my research questions and compare the representation of race in two newspapers as well as address similarities and differences in coverage of a specific event within the Civil Rights Movement. This chapter provides an overview of my sample and data collection procedures, including an explanation of the variables coded for and the pilot study conducted.

### Sample

I collected articles from *The New York Times* and articles from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. I chose *The New York Times* because it is (and was) a respected newspaper published in the northern United States. I chose the *Montgomery Advertiser* because it is (and was) published in the state’s capital, Montgomery, which was the final destination of the march where the marchers brought the petition to Governor Wallace’s office.

**Sample collection procedures.** I used two different databases—Newspapers.com for the *Montgomery Advertiser* and ProQuest Historical Newspapers for *The New York Times*—to collect clippings because neither of these online resources contained archives of both newspapers.

To collect my sample, I used the date range filter on both online resources to yield articles from the dates between March 8 to March 26, 1965. I chose these dates because this covers the period beginning the day after the first march attempt (Bloody Sunday) and the final and successful march to Montgomery.

For both databases, I used a Boolean search to find the articles. I entered all keywords at once. I also entered some words individually and coupled others after to ensure I retrieved as many sources as possible. For example, the word “march” was too generic to enter alone because it is a homophone with the month, March. Some of the search terms I used are two words or key phrases. I put quotations around them in order to generate results with those specific words in that specific order (for example, “Selma to Montgomery”). For each of the combinations, I used the conjunction “AND”. Additionally, both databases provided drop boxes beside each word to choose where I wanted the word to be present (i.e., title, author, subject terms, etc.). I left the drop box blank (as it is optional) so the words would be present anywhere in the article. The following are the keywords and combinations used:

- “Selma” + “Police”
- “Selma”
- “Selma to Montgomery”
- “Martin Luther King”
- “Selma” + “Martin Luther King”
- “Selma to Montgomery” + “Vot\*”
- “Vot\*”
- “Voting Rights”
- “Civil Rights”

- “Selma” + “Montgomery
- “Civil Rights” + “Selma”
- “Selma” + “Martin Luther King” + “Vot\*”

*Note: when you enter a \* at the end of a partial word, for example vote, or vot, the search will yield results with different suffixes of that word, such as vote, votes, voting, voter.*

These words and various combinations were especially helpful in *The New York Times* search because, since that paper is not published in Alabama, the word “Selma” alone yielded all the results I needed. Words like “Martin Luther King” and “Voting Rights” and combinations like “Selma” + “Montgomery” were also helpful in *The New York Times* search because, based on the results of the search for articles, I found that the newspaper published various articles that referenced those words but were not related to my topic. The word “vot\*” was not helpful individually because it produced articles where the subject was an election that was irrelevant to my research.

I collected as many articles as possible, with the potential limitation being that I cannot be completely confident that I did in fact collect every pertinent article. To improve my accuracy for both of the newspapers—since I was able to see the full newspapers online—I skimmed through the snapshots of each page of each paper to see if I missed any articles.

Although Bloody Sunday took place on March 7, 1965, newspapers did not publish until the next day. News in the present day is reported in real-time through social media, while newspapers in 1965 were printed and distributed daily. Therefore, I decided not to analyze articles published on March 7 because, as the pilot study that I conducted revealed, they discussed the march in a speculative way rather than reporting events as they happened. Newspapers provided coverage of the voting rights movement that started in January, which led



to the first march on March 7, as well as in the weeks following the arrival of the demonstrators in Montgomery on March 25, and to when President Johnson signed the Act in August 1965; however, I only focused on the coverage of the marches specifically, as the entire protest would have yielded too many articles and would exceed the requirements of this project. This is why my sample ended with coverage on the day after the third and final march. Within the 18 days of coverage, I had a robust sample for analysis to explore my research questions.

My initial search yielded 454 articles—271 from *The New York Times* and 183 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. After reviewing these articles, I eliminated 82 articles from the *The New York Times* list and 63 from the *Montgomery Advertiser* list. I eliminated articles that were off topic. For example, my search generated an article about a band in Selma but did not refer to the protests or marches in any way. I also eliminated articles about government meetings on voting rights that did not discuss the marches. Though this topic originally seemed pertinent to my research (and, hence, made the initial cut for articles), it was outside the scope of my focus on the marches. To include this one article, I would have had to analyze all of the voting rights discussions from the initial one to the final that led to the signing of the Act. I also eliminated other articles that fell outside my scope of research, such as those about other protests for the right to vote. After I omitted articles that were not pertinent to my research, my search generated 301 articles in total—189 articles from *The New York Times* and 112 articles from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. Appendix A lists the articles analyzed for each newspaper.

### **Coding Sheet**

I used Microsoft Excel to prepare the coding sheet. I used two separate sheets in the same document and copied and pasted my initial coding sheet onto each sheet. I called one sheet “New York Times” and the other “Montgomery Advertiser.” I organized the articles in chronological

order so I could easily see how many relevant stories the newspapers published on each day.

This method also made it easier to find specific articles. I then organized any articles published on the same day in alphabetical order, and I numbered each article. For example, the first article in the list, dated March 7, is number “1” and each article that follows is numbered consecutively. I chose to number the articles because I used a random number generator to determine which articles would be part of the pilot study. Once generated, I filtered my Excel sheet to show only the articles that matched the random numbers for my pilot study. I did this for both newspapers’ coding sheets.

### **Categories and Definitions.**

**Article and headline (respectively).** When I clipped and downloaded the *Montgomery Advertiser* articles, I saved each article under a name that summarized the headline and included the date and page number (e.g. Tuscaloosa Parade...March 13 pg. 5) rather than typing out the entire headline. I inserted these titles under the “Article” column. As I coded the articles, I typed out the articles’ actual titles into the “Headline” section. This way, I had the real titles recorded with the corresponding titles that matched the titles I had saved on my computer. This way, if I misplaced or needed to find an article, I would have both the title of the article but also the name that the file was saved as.

When I saved *The New York Times* articles from ProQuest, the articles automatically saved under specific names that did not necessarily match the actual headline. With these, I followed the same process as I did for the *Montgomery Advertiser* articles.

**Date.** I inserted the date that each article was published (found on the clipping) into this column. I grouped the dates together. This way, I could easily see how many articles were published on each date. The only exception for this was when I found that the *Montgomery*

*Advertiser* had published the same article on three separate dates, which I noted on the coding sheet.

**Page.** I found the page numbers on the clippings and inserted them into this column. For the articles that began on the front page and continued on another, I inserted both page numbers into this column (e.g.: 1, 2).

The newspapers published articles on a range of pages. To compare page numbers between each newspaper more efficiently, I added another column titled “Number of Pages” and inserted the total number of pages in the newspaper on each day. Then, I added a “Quarters” column. Here, I divided the number of pages on each date by four. Based on the page number in the first column, I determined which quarter of the newspaper the article fell into. I considered articles in quarters one and two to be at the beginning and middle, while quarters three and four were closer to the end of the newspaper. The placement of articles in the newspapers shows the importance the newspaper put on those articles, which is why I chose to include this information.

**Length.** Through both databases, I had access to the entire newspaper of each daily publication that covered the events from March 8, 1965 to March 26, 1965. The full pages from the *Montgomery Advertiser* each measure to 8 cm x 13.5 cm for a total area of 108 cm<sup>2</sup>. *The New York Times* pages measure to 10 cm x 15.5 cm. Because these measurements are similar, I used the same measurements to determine the dimensions of short, medium, and long articles. To do this, I looked at the sample of articles used in the pilot study, located them on the newspaper page, and measured them. The smallest story was 1 cm<sup>2</sup> and the largest was two full pages (a rare occurrence). Based on the sizes, I deemed that a short article would be between one and four centimeters squared, a medium article was between five and nine centimeters squared, and large was anything 10 centimeters squared and more. This is relative to the other, unrelated articles

published in the newspaper, of which the majority were of similar lengths. For articles that began on the front-page and continued on another page, I added the area of the front-page column to the area of the continued text and used the sum to determine the total size of the article. The length of the articles is important to note because it quantifies the physical space allocated to a specific topic.

With respect to photos, in the *Montgomery Advertiser* and in *The New York Times*, I coded a picture as ‘small’ if it spread over one column, ‘medium’ if it spread over two or three columns, and ‘large’ if it covered four or more columns. Photos are important to note because they provide visual perspective of the topic.

**Article Type.** I looked at news stories and editorials, where the definition of a news story is “a news report of any length, usually presented in a straightforward style without editorial comment” and an editorial is “an article in a newspaper (...) presenting the opinion of the publisher, writer, or editor” (Dictionary.com). The *Montgomery Advertiser* published editorials on page four (according to each subsection clipping I retrieved). ProQuest Historical Newspapers specifically stated whether a clipping was a news article or an editorial (or something else), which is how I determined what type of article *The New York Times* published. Editorials are important to note because they reflect the views of the editors and, more broadly, the newspapers.

**Topic.** I coded for various topics within the broader newspaper coverage of the marches. Many articles discussed more than one topic (e.g., different levels of government and their view about police action), and I coded for all relevant topics that appeared in a given article; therefore, number of topics is not equal to the number of articles. I coded for the presence of the following topics: Marches (with subsections: police action, violence, future plans, church involvement,

protests, voting legislation, and other), Government (with subsections: federal, state, and municipal), Civil Rights (with subsections: demonstrations and civil rights movement). The category ‘other’ generated topics such as court hearings/orders/appeals and the murder of Rev. James Reeb (a white marcher).

*Marches.* While all the articles were related to the overall topic of the marches for the right to vote, I looked at subtopics pertinent to the marches themselves. Some articles did not actually mention the ‘march,’ but referred to the civil rights ‘demonstrations’ in Selma or the ‘crisis’ in Selma, for example. These references, along with others, still referred to the marches for the right to vote even though they did not reference the term ‘march.’ I, therefore, included them. If articles referred to multiple subcategories of the demonstration, I coded for them accordingly. The following paragraphs define these subcategories. I eliminated articles that did not mention the march or were out of scope.

The subcategory “police action” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to the police (including state troopers, local police, and the FBI). Police action was important to understand because of the police brutality during the first march and the continued opposition put forth by the police.

The subcategory “violence” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to violence such as the use of tear gas, clubs, beatings, stabbings, attacks, or murder. Violence is an important subtopic because, throughout the time frame, there were threats of violence and calls for action to protect marchers from violence. Additionally, violence (and subsequently safety) was an important factor during the court hearings to determine whether the march could proceed.

The subcategory “future plans” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to future plans to reattempt the march.

The subcategory “church involvement” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to the church’s involvement in, or opinion of, the marches for the right to vote. This category arose in the pilot study where some articles mentioned members of the church (i.e., nuns, ministers) either participating in and/or positively speaking out about the marches or being opposed to the march.

The subcategory “protests” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to a protest (in other cities or in Selma) that people took part in as a result of the events in Selma. This can include marches in other places or sit-ins, for example. These protests are relevant to the topic because whether the protests are in support or opposition of the marches for the right to vote determines whether the newspaper’s tone toward this event within the Civil Rights Movement. Additionally, as I stated above, some articles discussed the death of a white minister, Rev. Reeb, who was killed by four white men the night of the second march in Selma. Any protest or demonstration that honoured him as a marcher are considered applicable to this category. However, articles about Rev. Reeb became out of scope when they focused on his family and work life without mentioning or honouring him as a marcher.

I coded for coverage about voting legislation (or any mention of the right to vote) as it related to the marches. This category includes any reference (statements and quotes) to the current (at the time) or proposed voting legislation within the United States. This category is important, as voting rights were the impetus for this event within the civil rights movement.

I tracked ‘other’ topics that emerged as I read the articles. Other topics can be found in Appendix B, Table B1.

*Government.* I made ‘government’ a subtopic under ‘marches’ rather than a category of its own because, often when the government was mentioned, it was the main topic and the march

was the subtopic. For example, the government officials met to discuss voting legislation and the crisis in Selma, with the marches as a subtopic that those meetings reflected on.

The subcategory “municipal” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to a local government (of any city). This subcategory includes any mention of or quote from mayors, or any mention of laws and legislation within cities, or any mention of city councils and boards.

The subcategory “state” includes to any reference (statements and quotes) to the state government. This subcategory includes any mention of or quote from Governor George Wallace of Alabama—who the marchers planned to bring the petition to in Montgomery—or any member of the state government, any mention of laws and legislation within Alabama or any other state, or any mention of state departments, legislature, or members within them.

The subcategory “federal” includes to any reference (statements and quotes) to the federal government. This subcategory includes any mention of or quote from President Lyndon B. Johnson, or any member of the White House, congress, or a federal organization, or any mention of laws and legislation within the United States.

To be completely confident about the levels of government in the United States, I did an online search of each Senator and Representative mentioned or quoted to determine whether they belonged to the federal government or state government.

*Civil rights.* The category “civil rights” includes any reference (statements and quotes) to civil rights struggles. References to civil rights provided background information about the marches, protests, and overall Civil Rights Movement to explain to readers why the marches occurred. I felt it was important to compare whether the newspapers acknowledged civil rights struggles.

***Tone.*** This category is broken down into four subcategories: supportive, oppositional, mixed (supportive and oppositional), and neutral. I included quotes in determining the tone of the stories because “journalists make decisions about use of quotes just as they would other information in news articles” (Park et. al., 2012, p. 482) and the author and newspaper chose to publish that content.

Articles were coded as “supportive” if they included words (statements and quotes) of affirmation and support for the marchers or the motives for the marches. This also included optimism for future marches and the future of civil rights. Articles that referenced other protests where people supported the marchers in any way were considered supportive. Articles that included quotes that were against police violence, for example, were considered supportive (since police violence was directed at those marching for the right to vote).

In contrast, the subcategory “oppositional” includes words (statements and quotes) that demean, discourage, or put down marchers, or condemn or denounce the march in any way. This includes oppositional views to the proposed voting legislation. Articles with positive quotes or statements about police violence, for example, are considered oppositional toward the march for the right to vote since police violence was directed toward those marching.

Articles with both supportive and oppositional quotes and/or statements were coded as “mixed.”

Articles were coded as “neutral” when they merely reported an event as it occurred without adding adjectives or other words that support or denounce that event. Neutral articles are generally factual and do not offer solutions or opinions.

***Factual versus opinion.*** News stories tend to be neutral and factual and editorials are argumentative and take a position on a topic. Based on my preliminary research, however, some



newspaper stories did appear to express supportive or oppositional opinions toward the march and/or the overall subject, some with quotes either supporting or denouncing the subject. I added the category ‘Factual vs. Opinion’ to analyze the extent to which news stories did not report straight fact. Editorials were excluded from this category of analysis since editorials are, by definition, opinion pieces. The category ‘factual versus opinion’ differs from the category ‘tone’ because, rather than focusing on the supportive or oppositional stance of the article, I focused on whether the reporters offered solutions or opinions about the marches. Some articles were factual with opinionated quotes. I included a “mixed” category for articles that included both factual and opinionated statements and/or quotes.

I defined “factual” as an article that lists the details of events as they occur (in a neutral way) and that tells the story and does not offer a solution. This category is similar to the “neutral” category coded for within “tone,” but I felt it was important to define and look for factual and informative articles to easily compare them to and define what an opinionated article looks like.

I defined “opinion” as any article that takes a position on or offers an opinion about or solution to the marches or offers an opinion on future occurrences. For example, if the author used words such as “should,” “could,” “would,” “potentially,” or “possibly,” for instance, this shows that they are offering an opinion and speculating rather than telling the story as it is.

***Quotes and mentions.*** I differentiated between individuals quoted and individuals mentioned in an article. For each, I coded for the following subcategories of individuals: Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Governor George Wallace, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Sheriff James G. “Jim” Clark, Rev. Hosea Williams, John Lewis, and ‘other.’

*Significant individuals.* In this category, I kept track of mentions of individuals who were significant to the events under study: Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Governor George Wallace, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Sheriff James G. “Jim” Clark, Rev. Hosea Williams, and John Lewis.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was a leader within the civil rights movement and, more specifically, he led the marches for the right to vote under study in this research.

Governor George Wallace was elected Governor of Alabama in 1962. On January 14, 1963, he gave his inaugural address, written by known Ku Klux Klansman Asa Carter (Raines, 1998). This speech included a line that said: “Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever” (Official address 1963, Alabama Dept. of Archives). Also in 1963, Wallace blocked two black students from enrolling in the University of Alabama (Raines, 1998). In 1965, Wallace “became the foil for the huge protests in which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. destroyed segregation in public accommodations in 1963 and secured voting rights for blacks” (Raines, 1998). Gov. Wallace’s stance on segregation and role in the civil rights movement is important to my research because he was a person of power and had an influence in the future of civil rights.

President Lyndon B. Johnson was the president of the United States at the time of the marches. According to the official website of the White House, Johnson was “elected Vice President as President John F. Kennedy’s running mate” and became president when Kennedy was assassinated. According to a 2015 blog post archived on the website of White House President Barack Obama blog post that I retrieved, on June 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, which “prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, in public places, provided for the integration of schools and other public

facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal” (Bowen, 2015). In 1965, President Johnson was committed to a progressive agenda for Congress, with a list of goals including the “removal of obstacles to the right to vote” (Bowen, 2015). President Johnson was on the side of civil rights and integration and as the president, he had an important role in the civil rights movement.

Sheriff James G. “Jim” Clark was the Sheriff of Dallas County (which includes Selma) between 1955 and 1966 (Fox, 2007). Sheriff Clark was known for being controversial. According to Fox (2007), “Staunch segregationists adored him. Blacks reviled him, and even many moderate segregationists were unsettled by the level of violence he regularly used”. He is best known for the violence that he implemented on Bloody Sunday.

Rev. Hosea Williams (a black man) was a civil rights activist who led the march on Bloody Sunday alongside John Lewis (Lewis, 2000). Williams was an aide to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and spent his life advocating for civil rights (Lewis, 2000).

John Lewis, in 1963, became known as one of the Big Six leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, according to his biography on the Congressman John Lewis government website. The biography explains his involvement in various civil rights demonstrations and specifically references his leadership in the march for the right to vote. A trooper beat John Lewis unconscious on Bloody Sunday, from which he suffered a skull fracture (Lewis, 2000).

Other people quoted can be found in Appendix D and other people mentioned can be found in Appendix E.

**Racist language.** Racist language is an important aspect of my research as I use critical race theory to analyze newspaper coverage of a racially-driven event. Whether or not the newspapers incorporated racist language into the articles plays a major role in public reception.

Racist language negates the major reason behind the civil rights movement—that is, to do away with segregation due to skin colour. Under this category, I included two subcategories: “Slur” and “Stereotype.”

**Racial slur.** The N-word that ends in ‘r’ has been referred to as the “filthiest, dirtiest, nastiest word in the English language” (Kennedy, 2002, p. 23; O’Dea & Saucier, 2016, p. 814). I looked for this racial slur when coding articles. I did not deem the word “Negro” racist. This word was widely used in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and did not become less acceptable until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Agyemang, Bhopal, & Bruijnzeels, 2005, p. 1016). The word was standard and black organizations as well as black and white media used and accepted the term (Smith, 1992, p. 497). Additionally, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used the word in his “I Have a Dream” speech in 1963 (Smith, 1992, p. 501). The word was not protested until 1967 (Smith, 1992, p. 503). I swallowed my bias from my 21<sup>st</sup> century perspective and did not recognize this word as racist when coding articles. However, I chose to only state that word once to make it clear and, when necessary, it will only be referred to as “the N-o word” (so as not to be confused with the N-r word).

Before the [N-o] word, the word “colored” was widely accepted in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Smith, 1992, p. 497) but “took on a somewhat dated or antiquated connotation” by the 1930s (Smith, 1992, p. 498). I did not include the word “colored” as a racial slur because even though it was not the accepted term anymore. I did not find any source that gave me reason to believe it was a racist term at the time either.

**Stereotypes.** Cultural stereotypes of the black population include criminality, aggression, poverty, low intelligence, and laziness (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007, p. 628). I coded words that referred to black people as lazy, unintelligent, criminal, aggressive, poor and wrote

the specific word under the applicable column. I used discretion when coding this category. At the time of the marches, black people (as a result of segregation) typically did not have access to decent housing or access to an adequate level of education (as cited in Rev. Dr. King’s “Civil Rights No. 1” article in *The New York Times*). I took this fact into consideration that references to black peoples’ lack of jobs, education, and the issue of poverty were not stereotypes but the repercussions of segregation. Therefore, I mainly coded stereotyping as the shift of focus from the violence of police, for example, to the violence of protestors who fought back.

Under both the “Slur” and “Stereotypes” columns, I added subcategories titled “Quote” and “Journalistic Prose.” This way, I could differentiate whether the journalist wrote the racist language or whether it was said in a quote.

**Othering.** In the literature review, I discussed Said’s theory of Orientalism, which encompasses an “us vs. them” mentality. I looked for statements or quotes that refer to “the [black people]” versus white people as an entire group. Words like “they” or “[black people]” show a ‘them’ positioning, and words like “the white people” show an ‘us’ positioning. I coded for ‘othering’ to show that white people were differentiating and distancing themselves from the march, the marchers, and black people.

**Keywords.** The keywords section tracked specific words used to describe the marches for the right to vote. This column was intended to potentially compare the negative and positive words that both newspapers used and to see if any outstanding words recurred. Words like “courage,” “peaceful,” and “proud” are strong supportive words, while words like “shame,” “disregard,” and “destroy” are oppositional words to describe this event within the civil rights movement.

I designed these categories to help answer my research questions. The topics, quotes, people, and specific aspects of the overall event that the newspapers focused on; the tone expressed through the articles; and whether othering was used would help determine the similarities and differences in the newspaper coverage between the Alabama newspaper and the national newspaper analyzed.

### **Pilot Study**

I conducted a pilot study to test the sampling choices including the time frame, categories of analysis, coding scheme and clarity of coding guidelines. The pilot study comprised 20 per cent of the total articles to be analyzed in the study. Because I had an unequal number of articles from each newspaper, I collected 20 per cent of articles from *The New York Times* and 20 per cent of articles from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. From 249 *New York Times* articles, I coded 50 articles and from 164 *Montgomery Advertiser* articles, I coded 33 articles in the pilot study. To decide which articles to use in the pilot study, I used a random number generator and used a different list of numbers for each newspaper. The pilot study helped to refine and justify the sampling choices. The pilot study used two coders to test the clarity of coding guidelines, with the secondary coder serving as a check on coding decisions. This step was intended to ensure that the study could be replicated and results validated.

### **Chi-Square Tests**

I used the chi-square test calculator on the Social Statistics Science website to determine whether there were significant differences between the coverage between each of the following categories: topic, tone, fact vs. opinion, quotes, mentions, racist language, othering, and black and white. This calculator generates the chi-square and p-value. If the p-value is less than 0.05, then the difference in coverage is significant. If the p-value is higher than 0.05, then

the difference in coverage is not significant. Rather than only comparing percentage differences between the two newspapers, this method proves whether those differences are statistically significant or not. For each category, with the exception of Topics and Factual vs. Opinion, I used the respective total number of articles (189 from *The New York Times* and 112 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*) to conduct the chi-square tests. This method helped strengthen my findings. Chi-square test results can be found in Appendix C, Table C1.

**Topic.** To conduct chi-square tests for the Topic category, I used the total number of instances from each newspaper: 703 from *The New York Times* and 358 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. I used these numbers because the number of instances of each category, respectively (marches, government, civil rights, and other), exceeded the total number of articles collected from each newspaper. Chi-square tests cannot be conducted with a negative number.

**Factual versus opinion.** To conduct the chi-square test for this category, I subtracted the number of editorials from each newspaper. Thus, the numbers used for the chi-square test were 188 for *The New York Times* and 101 for the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Results

I examined a total of 189 articles from *The New York Times* and 112 articles the *Montgomery Advertiser*. In this chapter, I present the results of the content analysis, organized into the following sections: Article Length, Format, Topic, Tone, Fact/Opinion, Racist Language, Othering, Black and White, People Quoted, and People Mentioned. As explained in the Methods chapter, each of these categories further divides into subcategories, the results of which are also included in this chapter.

#### Article Length

*The New York Times* published predominantly long articles about the marches for the right to vote (n=112 articles or 59.26 per cent of total articles published on this historic event), followed by short articles (n=52 or 27.51 per cent), and then medium-length articles (n=25 or 13.23 per cent).

Articles in the *Montgomery Advertiser* were predominantly long (n=42 or 37.5 per cent) and medium (n=41 or 36.61 per cent), and the remaining 29 articles (or 25.89 per cent) were short.

#### Format

**News article.** Coverage in both newspapers comprised predominantly news articles. *The New York Times* published 188 news articles, which accounts for 99.47 per cent of the total articles published about the marches in that newspaper. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published 101 articles, which accounts for 90.18 per cent of the total articles published in that newspaper.

**Editorial.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* contained more editorial coverage of the marches for the right to vote than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published 11



editorials, which accounts for 9.82 per cent of the total articles published on this topic in that newspaper. *The New York Times* published one editorial, which accounts for 0.53 per cent of the total articles published in that newspaper.

**Pictures.** *The New York Times* published predominantly medium (n=20 or 10.58 per cent) and large photos (n=20 or 10.58 per cent), followed by small photos (n=3 or 1.59 per cent). The *Montgomery Advertiser* published predominantly medium photos (n=7, or 6.25 per cent), followed by small photos (n=4 or 3.57 per cent) and large (n=1 or 0.89 per cent).

**Page number.**

**Front page.** Neither of the papers predominantly published articles on the first page. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more articles on the first page (n=45 or 40.18 per cent) than did *The New York Times* (n=45 or 23.81 per cent). Note that both newspapers published articles on the front page that were continued on different pages.

**Quarters.** Sometimes the newspapers published articles on the first page and continued them on other pages. Therefore, the number of quarters do not add up to the total number of articles because one article could have been published in two different quarters.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more articles within the first quarter of the newspaper (n=89 or 79.46 per cent) than did *The New York Times* (n=93 or 49.21 per cent). *The New York Times* predominantly published articles within the second quarter (n=120 or 63.49 per cent) of the newspaper. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published 17 articles within the second quarter of the newspapers, which accounts for 15.18 per cent of the total articles published in that newspaper.

Both newspapers published the fewest articles in the third and fourth quarters. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more in the third quarter (n=6 or 5.36 per cent) than did *The*

*New York Times* (n=1 or 0.53 per cent). The *Montgomery Advertiser* also published more in the fourth quarter (n=4 or 3.57 per cent) than did *The New York Times* (n=2 or 1.06 per cent).

### **Topic**

The following section reports on the prevalence of specific topics—the marches, government, and civil rights—covered in the news, followed by their respective subtopics. Both newspapers predominantly reported about the marches, then the government, and civil rights. I conducted chi-square tests for each of the topics: marches, government, and civil rights. To conduct the chi-square tests, I used the total instances of all topics coded (703 from *The New York Times* and 358 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*).

The prevalence of the subtopics for each respective topic is expressed as a percentage of the total number of news articles and editorials (referred to as “total coverage”) analyzed from each newspaper: 189 from *The New York Times* and 112 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

### **Marches.**

There was a statistically significant difference in the coverage of this topic between both newspapers. The results of the chi-square tests are reported in Appendix C, Table C1. *The New York Times* reported the marches more (n=398 or 56.61 per cent of total instances of all topics;  $\chi^2=5.31$ , df=1,  $p < .02$ ) than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=176 or 48.09 per cent).

Regarding the subtopics analyzed with respect to coverage of the marches, *The New York Times* predominantly reported on voting legislation (n=94 or 49.74 per cent of total coverage), followed by police action in (n=92 or 48.68 per cent), violence (n=89 or 47.09 per cent), other topics (n=72 or 38.1 per cent), church involvement (n= 56 or 29.63 per cent), protests (n=54 or 28.57 per cent), and future plans (n=13 or 6.88 per cent). The *Montgomery Advertiser* predominantly reported on violence (n=50 or 44.64 per cent), ‘other’ topics (n=43 or 38.39 per

cent), police action (n=44 or 39.39 per cent), and voting legislation (n=40 or 35.71 per cent), followed by church involvement (n=26 or 23.21 per cent), protests (n=9 or 8.04 per cent), and future plans (n=7 or 6.25 per cent).

**Government.** There was a statistically significant difference in the coverage of this topic between both newspapers ( $\chi^2=5.42$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.02$ ). *The New York Times* reported about the government 204 times or in 29.02 per cent of total instances of topics covered, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* 129 times or 35.25 per cent.

*The New York Times* predominantly reported about the Federal government (n=89 or 47.1 per cent), followed by the State government (84 or 44.44 per cent) and the Municipal government (n=31 or 16.4 per cent). The *Montgomery Advertiser* also predominantly reported about the Federal government (n=60 or 53.57 per cent) followed by the State government (n=55 or 49.11 per cent) and the Municipal government (n=14 or 12.5 per cent).

**Civil Rights.** I conducted one chi-square test for the topic “civil rights.” The results ( $\chi^2=1.19$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.28$ ) revealed that there was no statistically significant difference between the coverage of this topic between the newspapers.

*The New York Times* reported about civil rights in 29 articles, or 15.34 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper. The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported about civil rights in 10 articles, or 8.93 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper. Examples of civil rights include coverage of other historic events such as the March on Washington and Rosa Parks’s Bus Boycott, as well as references to the history and explanations of civil rights struggles.

## Tone

There were statistically significant differences in the tone (supportive, oppositional, mixed, and neutral) of coverage between both newspapers. *The New York Times* reported in a predominantly supportive tone (n=122 or 64.55 per cent of total coverage;  $\chi^2 = 50.19$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), while the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported in a predominantly neutral tone (n=44 or 39.29 per cent;  $\chi^2 = 19.68$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). See in Appendix C, Table C for details.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported in an oppositional tone (n=31 or 27.68 per cent) twice as much as *The New York Times* (n=13 or 6.88 per cent). The chi-square test revealed that this finding was statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 24.38$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported in a supportive tone in 19.64 per cent of articles analyzed (n=25), where *The New York Times* reported in a supportive tone in 64.55 per cent of its coverage (n=122). The chi-square test also deemed this as statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 50.19$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

*The New York Times* reported in a mixed tone in 23 articles or 12.17 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, which is similar to that of the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=12 or 10.71 per cent). This chi-square test determined that this finding was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 0.14$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p = 0.7$ ).

*The New York Times* reported in a neutral tone in 31 articles or 16.4 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, which more than half than that of the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=44 or 39.29 per cent). This chi-square test determined that this finding was statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 19.68$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

### **Factual versus Opinion**

Even though both newspapers predominantly published news articles (n=101 news articles in the *Montgomery Advertiser* and n=188 news articles in *The New York Times*), rather than editorials (n=11 editorials in the *Montgomery Advertiser* and n=1 editorial in *The New York Times*), both incorporated quotes or statements in the news articles that offered opinions and arguments rather than just straight facts. There were statistically significant differences in the factual and opinionated coverage in news articles between both newspapers.

Both newspapers published predominantly factual articles. *The New York Times* published factual/informative information in 51.06 per cent of coverage (n=96) and the *Montgomery Advertiser* published factual articles in 40.59 per cent of coverage (n=41). The difference in the number of factual articles is not statistically insignificant ( $\chi^2=2.89$ , df=1, p=0.89).

The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported opinionated information in 35 articles or 34.65 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* reported opinionated information in 36 articles or 19.15 per cent of the articles. The chi-square test determined that this difference is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=8.52$ , df=1, p=0.004).

The newspapers published mixed articles in a similar percentage of coverage. *The New York Times* reported both factually and argumentatively in 56 articles or 29.79 per cent of the articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published mixed coverage in 25 articles or 24.75 per cent of articles. The chi-square test determined that the difference is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=0.83$ , df=1, p=0.36).

## Racist Language

I divided this section into two subsections: racial slur and stereotypes. These subsections were then broken down further into ‘quote’ and ‘journalistic prose.’ Racial slur refers to the “N word” that ends in ‘r.’ Stereotypes includes words that made black people look lazy, criminal, and impoverished.

There were statistically significant differences in the coverage of racist language between both newspapers. *The New York Times* reported the racial slur three times more than the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=17 articles or 8.99 per cent;  $\chi^2=4.52$ , df=1, p=.03, vs. n=3 or 2.68 per cent). Subsequently, the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported stereotypes 10 times more than did *The New York Times* (n=19 or 16.96 per cent;  $\chi^2=15.67$ , df=1, p<.0001, vs. n=7 or 3.70 per cent).

Every slur that *The New York Times* published appeared in a quote (n=17 articles or 8.99 per cent). Every slur that the *Montgomery Advertiser* published was also quoted (n=3 or 2.68 per cent). None were journalistic prose in either newspaper.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported stereotypes in 19 articles or 16.96 per cent of its coverage, predominantly in journalistic prose (n=10 or 52.63 per cent), followed by quoted stereotypes (n=9 or 47.37 per cent). *The New York Times* depicted stereotypes in seven articles or 3.7 per cent, all of which were quoted.

## Othering

There was a statistically significant difference in coverage of othering between the newspapers. News coverage of the marches in the *Montgomery Advertiser* included an ‘us vs. them’ mentality twice as much as (n=35 articles or 31.25 per cent;  $\chi^2=11.48$ , df=1, p<.0001) as *The New York Times* (n=28 articles, or 14.81).

## Black and White

I conducted two chi-square tests for this category. The results for the test regarding “white” ( $\chi^2=1.18$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.28$ ) revealed that there was no statistically significant difference between the coverage of the term “white” between the newspapers. The results of the chi-square test for “black” determined a statistically significant difference in coverage of this subcategory. *The New York Times* mentioned that someone was black more (n=120 articles or 63.49 per cent;  $\chi^2=4.61$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.03$ ) than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=57 or 50.89 per cent).

*The New York Times* mentioned that someone was black (n=120 articles or 63.49 per cent) more often than mentioning that someone was white (n=69 or 36.51) in its overall coverage.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* also reported that someone was black (n=57 or 50.89 per cent) more than that someone was white (n=34 or 30.36 per cent).

## Individuals Quoted

*The New York Times* predominantly quoted federal government officials (n=83 or 43.92 per cent of total coverage), followed by civil rights advocates (n=80 or 42.32 per cent), religious representatives (n=56 or 29.63 per cent), ‘others’ (n=44 or 23.28 per cent), demonstrators and marchers (n=36 or 19.05 per cent), law enforcement officials (n=12 or 12.17 per cent), court officials (n=18 or 9.52 per cent), news outlets (n=15 or 7.94 per cent), the municipal government (n=15 or 7.94 per cent), specific black people (n=6 or 3.17 per cent) and entertainers (n=3 or 1.59 per cent).

The *Montgomery Advertiser* predominantly quoted the federal government (n=66 or 58.93 per cent of total coverage), followed by the state government (n=65 or 58.04 per cent), others (n=20 or 17.86 per cent), religious representatives (n=20 or 17.86 per cent), court officials

(n=19 or 16.96 per cent), law enforcement officials (n=12 or 10.71 per cent), civil rights advocates (n=14 or 12.5 per cent), the municipal government (n=11 or 9.82 per cent), marchers and demonstrators (n=8 or 7.14 per cent), news outlets (n=7 or 6.25 per cent) and specific black people (n=7 or 6.25 per cent).

For a list of individuals quoted in the ‘other’ category for both newspapers, refer to Appendix D, Table D13 (*The New York Times*) and Table D24 (the *Montgomery Advertiser*).

I conducted chi-square tests for each of the groups quoted that are noted above. To conduct the chi-tests, I used the total number of articles from each newspaper—189 from *The New York Times* and 112 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

**Government.** Both newspapers predominantly quoted federal government officials, followed by the state and then municipal government.

**Federal.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted federal government officials significantly more than did *The New York Times* ( $\chi^2=5.61$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.02$ ). The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted federal government officials in 65 articles or 58.04 per cent of total coverage, while *The New York Times* quoted officials of the federal government in 83 articles or 43.92 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

*President Lyndon B. Johnson.* *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted President Johnson in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* quoted President Johnson in 21 articles or 11.11 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper, while The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted President Johnson in 11 articles or 9.82 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper.

*Attorney General Nicholas deB Katzenbach.* The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Atty. Gen. Katzenbach more than did *The New York Times*; however, neither of the newspapers



covered this individual very often. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in seven articles or 6.25 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in six articles or 3.17 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

*Other.* The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other federal officials more than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other federal officials in 47 articles respectively or 41.96 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted other federal officials in 56 articles respectively or 29.63 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

*State.* The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted state government officials significantly more than did *The New York Times* ( $\chi^2=15.71$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.0001$ ). The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted state government officials in 38 articles or 33.93 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted state government officials in a total of 47 articles, respectively, or 24.87 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

*Governor George Wallace.* The *New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Gov. Wallace in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* quoted Gov. Wallace in 23 articles or 12.17 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Gov. Wallace in 11 articles, or 9.82 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

*Other.* The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other state officials more than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other state officials in 27 articles, respectively, or 25.89 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted

other state officials in 24 articles, respectively, or 12.7 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Municipal.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted municipal government officials slightly more so than did *The New York Times*; however, neither newspaper contained much coverage of municipal government officials. This difference was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=0.57$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.57$ ) The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted municipal government officials in 11 articles, respectively, or 9.82 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted municipal government officials in 15 articles, respectively, or 7.94 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Civil Rights Advocates.** There was a statistically significant difference in the quotes from civil rights advocates between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=29.13$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.0001$ ). *The New York Times* quoted civil rights advocates more often ( $n=80$  or 42.32 per cent) than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* ( $n=14$  or 12.5 per cent).

**Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.** *The New York Times* quoted Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 24 articles, or 12.7 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in eight articles, or 7.14 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Rev. Hosea Williams.** Neither of the newspapers quoted this individual very frequently. *The New York Times* quoted Rev. Hosea Williams in two articles, or 1.06 per cent of the total quotes from that newspaper, while *The Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Rev. Hosea Williams in one article or 0.89 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**John Lewis.** John Lewis was an organizer of this march. A policeman beat him unconscious with a club on Bloody Sunday. Neither of the newspapers quoted this individual

very frequently. *The New York Times* quoted John Lewis in two articles, or 1.06 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* did not quote John Lewis.

**Other.** *The New York Times* quoted ‘other’ civil rights advocates six times more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* quoted other civil rights advocates in 52 articles or 28.04 per cent of coverage. Examples of other civil rights advocate include Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, an aide to Rev. Dr. King and member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Miss Elizabeth Sutherland, who worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other civil rights advocates in five articles or 5.36 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper. Examples of other civil rights advocates include James Farmer, the Executive Secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Roy E. Wilkins, the Executive Director for the National Advancement of Colored People.

**Demonstrators.** There was a statistically significant difference in the quotes from demonstrators ( $\chi^2=7.99$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.005$ ). *The New York Times* quoted demonstrators more ( $n=36$  or 19.05 per cent) than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* ( $n=9$  or 8.04 per cent).

**Court Officials.** There was a statistically significant difference in the quotes of court officials ( $\chi^2=4.24$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.04$ ). The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted court officials more than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted court officials in a total of 19 articles, respectively, or 16.96 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted court officials in a total of 17 articles, respectively, or 8.99 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Judge Frank M. Johnson.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Judge Johnson more than did *The New York Times*; however, neither of the newspapers quoted this individual very often.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Judge Johnson in eight articles or 7.14 per cent of the articles collected from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted Judge Johnson in six articles, or 3.17 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Other.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other court officials more than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other court officials in 11 articles, respectively, or 9.82 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted other court officials in 11 articles, respectively, or 5.82 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Law enforcement.** The newspapers quoted law enforcement officials in a similar percentage of articles. The chi-square test results ( $\chi^2=0.01$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.93$ ) revealed that there was not a statistically significant difference between the quotes of law enforcement officials between the newspapers. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted law enforcement officials in a total of 14 articles, respectively, or 12.5 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted law enforcement officials in a total of 23 articles, respectively, or 12.17 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Sheriff James Clark.** Sheriff James “Jim” Clark was the Dallas County Sheriff and a segregationist at the time of the march. The newspapers quoted Sheriff Clark in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* quoted Sheriff Clark in six articles, or 3.17 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Sheriff Clark in two articles or 1.79 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Other.** The newspapers quoted other law enforcement officials in a similar percentage of articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other law enforcement officials in 12 articles, respectively, or 10.71 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper, while *The New York*

*Times* quoted other law enforcement officials in 17 articles, respectively, or 8.99 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Religious representatives.** *The New York Times* quoted religious representatives significantly more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* ( $\chi^2=5.16$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.02$ ). *The New York Times* quoted religious representatives in 56 articles, respectively, or 29.63 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted religious representatives in 20 articles, respectively, or 17.86 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Black individuals.** The newspapers referred to people as either black or white. Black individuals included bystanders, residents, land owners, etc. who were not named but identified as being black. Both newspapers quoted black individuals in a similar percentage of articles. There was not a statistically significant difference in the quotes of black individuals between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=1.61$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.2$ ). The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted black individuals in seven articles, respectively, or 6.25 per cent of the total coverage in that newspaper, while *The New York Times* quoted black individuals in six articles, respectively, or 3.17 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**News outlets.** News outlets refer to quotes from another publication (for example, *the Birmingham Post Herold's* editorial) or an unnamed reporter. The newspapers quoted news outlets in a similar percentage of articles. There was not a statistically significant difference in the quotes of news outlets between the ( $\chi^2=0.3$ ,  $p=0.59$ ). *The New York Times* quoted news outlets in 15 articles, respectively, or 7.94 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted news outlets in seven articles, respectively, or 6.25 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Academics.** Academics included scholars from various universities that were not mentioned as being associated with the march. *The New York Times* quoted academics in three articles or 1.59 per cent of articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* did not quote any academics.

**Entertainers.** Entertainers (including musicians, authors, chefs, athletes, famous people etc.) joined the march and/or met the marchers in Montgomery and entertained the crowd. I chose the title “entertainers” for this category because the newspapers referred to people as entertainers. Entertainers were significant because they promoted and supported the march.

*The New York Times* quoted entertainers in three articles, respectively, or 1.59 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted entertainers in zero articles.

**Other.** Other individuals included people who could not be categorized because they were unnamed or vaguely mentioned. For example, *The New York Times* quoted “a woman” without identifying her involvement. Additional examples include a taxi driver, an angry resident.

The newspapers quoted other individuals in a similar percentage of articles. There was not a significant difference in quotes of others between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=1.24$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.27$ ). *The New York Times* quoted other individuals in 44 articles, respectively, or 23.28 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper, while The *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted other individuals in 20 articles, respectively, or 17.86 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

### Individuals Mentioned

*The New York Times* predominantly mentioned the federal government ( $n=127$  or 71.42 per cent), followed by civil rights advocates ( $n=112$  or 59.26 per cent), marchers and

demonstrators (n=93 or 49.21 per cent), religious representatives (n=61 or 32.28 per cent), the state government (n=80 or 42.33 per cent), entertainers (n=58 or 30.69 per cent), court officials (n=55 or 29.1 per cent), others (n=53 or 28.04 per cent), law enforcement (n=34 or 17.99 per cent), the municipal government (n=36 19.05 per cent), and specific black people (n=9 or 4.76 per cent).

The *Montgomery Advertiser* predominantly mentioned the state government (n=60 or 53.57 per cent), followed by the federal government (n=49 or 43.75 per cent), civil rights advocates (n=37 or 33.04 per cent), others (n=30 or 26.79 per cent), marchers and demonstrators (n=30 or 26.79 per cent), court officials (n=27 or 24.11 per cent), entertainers (n=23 or 20.54 per cent), law enforcement (n=18 or 16.07 per cent), religious representatives (n=14 or 12.5 per cent), the municipal government (n=3 or 2.68 per cent), and specific black people (n=1 or 0.89 per cent).

For a list of the other individuals mentioned, refer to Appendix E, Table E11 (*The New York Times*) and Table E22 (the *Montgomery Advertiser*).

I conducted chi-tests for each of the following groups mentioned. To conduct the chi-tests, I used the total number of articles (189 from *The New York Times* and 112 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*).

**Government.** *The New York Times* mentioned federal government officials (n=127 or 71.42 per cent) more than the *Montgomery Advertiser* (n=49 or 43.75 per cent). This is a statistically significant difference ( $\chi^2=15.92$ , df=1,  $p<.001$ ). The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned state government officials (n=60 or 53.57 per cent) more than *The New York Times* (n=80 or 42.33 per cent); however, this finding was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=3.57$ , df=1,

$p=0.06$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned municipal government officials ( $n=36$  or 19.05 per cent;) more than the *Montgomery Advertiser* ( $n=3$  or 2.68 per cent).

**President Lyndon B. Johnson.** The newspapers mentioned President Johnson in a similar percentage of articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned President Johnson in 32 articles, or 28.57 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* mentioned President Johnson in 48 articles, or 25.4 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Attorney General Nicholas deB Katzenbach.** Neither newspaper mentioned Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in a significant percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in 17 articles, or 8.99 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Atty. Gen. Katzenbach in six articles, or 5.36 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** *The New York Times* mentioned other federal officials more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned other federal officials in 62 articles respectively, or 32.8 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other federal officials in 11 articles respectively, or 9.82 per cent of the total articles collected from that newspaper.

**Governor George Wallace.** The newspapers mentioned Gov. Wallace in a similar percentage of articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Gov. Wallace in 33 articles, or 29.46 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* mentioned Gov. Wallace in 51 articles, or 26.98 per cent of the articles from that newspaper.

**Other.** The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other state officials more than did *The New York Times*. The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other state officials in 27 articles, or



24.11 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while, *The New York Times* mentioned other state officials in 29 articles, respectively, or 15.34 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Civil rights advocates.** There was a statistically significant difference between the mentions of civil rights advocates between newspapers ( $\chi^2=19.35$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.001$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned civil rights advocates more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned civil rights advocates in a total of 112 articles, respectively, or 59.26 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned civil rights advocates in a total of 37 articles, respectively, or 33.04 per cent of articles from that newspaper.

**Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.** The newspapers mentioned Rev. Dr. King in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 41 articles or 21.69 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 20 articles or 17.86 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Rev. Hosea Williams.** Neither of the newspapers mentioned Rev. Williams in a significant percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Rev. Hosea Williams in four articles or 2.12 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Rev. Hosea Williams in one article or 0.89 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**John Lewis.** Neither of the newspapers mentioned John Lewis in a significant percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned John Lewis in six articles, or 3.17 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned John Lewis in two articles, or 1.79 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** *The New York Times* mentioned other civil rights advocates more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned other civil rights advocates in 61 articles, respectively, or 32.75 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other civil rights advocates in 14 articles, respectively, or 12.5 per cent of the total articles from that newspaper.

**Demonstrators.** There was a statistically significant difference between the coverage of mentions of demonstrators between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=14.63$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.001$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned demonstrators more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned demonstrators in a total of 93 articles, respectively, or 49.21 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned demonstrators in a total of 30 articles, respectively, or 26.79 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Rev. James Reeb.** The newspapers mentioned Rev. Reeb in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Rev. James Reeb in 32 articles, respectively, or 16.93 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Rev. James Reeb in 16 articles, respectively, or 14.29 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** *The New York Times* mentioned ‘other’ marchers and demonstrators more than did *The Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned ‘other’ marchers and demonstrators in 61 articles, respectively, or 32.28 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned ‘other’ marchers and demonstrators in 14 articles, respectively, or 12.5 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Court Officials.** The newspapers mentioned court officials in a similar percentage of articles. There was not a statistically significant difference in the mentions of court officials between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=0.88$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.35$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned court officials

in a total of 55 articles, respectively, or 29.1 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned court officials in a total of 27 articles, respectively, or 24.11 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Judge Frank M. Johnson.** The newspapers mentioned Judge Johnson in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Judge Johnson in 19 articles, or 10.01 per cent of coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Judge Johnson in 11 articles 9.82 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** The newspapers mentioned other court officials in a similar percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned other court officials in 36 articles, respectively, or 19.05 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other court officials in 16 articles, respectively, or 14.29 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Law enforcement.** The newspapers mentioned law enforcement officials in a similar percentage of articles. There was not a statistically significant difference in the mentions of law enforcement officers between newspapers ( $\chi^2=0.18$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.67$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned law enforcement officials in a total of 34 articles, respectively, or 17.99 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned law enforcement officials in a total of 18 articles, respectively, or 16.07 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Sheriff James Clark.** The newspapers mentioned Sheriff Clark in a similar percentage of articles; however, neither newspaper mentioned Sheriff Clark in a significant percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned Sheriff Clark in 18 articles or 9.52 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Sheriff in nine articles or 8.04 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** The newspapers mentioned other law enforcement officials in a similar percentage of articles; however, neither newspaper mentioned others in a significant percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned other law enforcement officials in 16 articles, respectively, or 8.47 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other law enforcement officials in 9 articles, respectively, or 8.04 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Religious representatives.** There was a statistically significant difference in the mentions of religious representatives between religious representatives ( $\chi^2=14.7$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<.001$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned religious representatives more than the *Montgomery Advertiser*. *The New York Times* mentioned religious representatives in 61 articles, respectively, or 32.28 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned religious representatives in 14 articles, respectively, or 12.5 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Black individuals.** *The New York Times* mentioned black individuals more than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*; however, neither newspaper mentioned them in a considerable percentage of articles. *The New York Times* mentioned black individuals in 10 articles, respectively, or 5.29 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned black individuals in one article, respectively, or 0.89 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

**Entertainers.** There was not a statistically significant difference in mentions of entertainers between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=3.69$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.055$ ). *The New York Times* mentioned entertainers in 58 articles, respectively, or 30.69 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned entertainers in 23 articles, respectively, or 20.54 per cent of the total coverage from that newspaper.

**Other.** There was not a statistically significant difference in mentions of other individuals between the newspapers ( $\chi^2=0.6$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.81$ ). The newspapers mentioned other individuals in a similar percentage of articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned other individuals in 30 articles, respectively, or 26.79 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper, while *The New York Times* mentioned other individuals in 53 articles, respectively, or 28.04 per cent of the coverage from that newspaper.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Discussion

This study set out to analyze how two newspapers—*The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser*, published in the northern and southern United States, respectively—represented race in the coverage of Bloody Sunday and the subsequent marches for the right for Black Americans to vote. This study also set out to understand similarities and differences in how these newspapers covered this event within the Civil Rights Movement. In this chapter, I analyze and discuss the results of the study, applying critical race theory and theories of news framing and Orientalism, as applicable.

I coded a total of 301 newspaper articles and editorials: 189 from *The New York Times* and 112 from the *Montgomery Advertiser*. Given the racial conflict and civil rights struggle historically, specifically within the Confederate States (which includes Alabama), I anticipated that the representation of race in the coverage of this event would differ in a northern versus southern newspaper. Using critical race theory, I determined the variables pertaining to race—racial slur, stereotypes, and explicit mention of race (black and white)—that would help to uncover the similarities and differences in the newspapers’ coverage of that subject. Through the theory of Orientalism, I analyzed coverage for whether and, if so, how newspapers conveyed an ‘us versus them’ mentality to separate white people from the predominantly black marchers. Finally, through news framing theory, I analyzed the significance of how the topics covered and quotes integrated shaped or framed the ‘story’ told about Bloody Sunday and the ensuing marches in both newspapers.

This study contributes to a broad topic of representations of race in news media coverage. More significantly, it opens a new area of study into newspaper coverage of the marches for the

right for Black Americans to vote, a major event within the Civil Rights Movement. The marches for the right to vote led to a significant revolution in American history, as they led to President Lyndon B. Johnson’s signing of the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. As Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. proclaimed: “Voting is the foundation stone for political action. With it the [black people] can eventually vote out of office public officials who bar the doorway to decent housing, public safety, jobs and decent integrated education” (*The New York Times*, 1965, para. 6).

The northern United States (where *The New York Times* is published) was more progressive than the southern states in abolishing of Jim Crow laws and segregation. Alabama was part of the Confederate States (History Net, 2008), which according to Noe (2009) fought to “maintain slavery and white supremacy, the twin ideological foundations of their economic and social worlds” (p. 167). Further, “when southerners spoke of defending liberty, they really meant defending slavery” (Noe, 2009 p. 168) and that the “northern rulers and freed slaves would wreck the antebellum social and economic system, depriving men of their property and power” (Now, 2009, p. 184). The fact that Alabama was part of the Confederate States and had a segregationist leader (Gov. Wallace)—who was voted into power by the eligible voters (white people) of Alabama—at the time of the marches could explain why a newspaper in Alabama would be more negative toward the marches within the Civil Rights Movement. This could explain why newspapers (including the *Montgomery Advertiser*) in Alabama published stories about this event with racial bias.

## Research Questions

**RQ1: How was race represented in coverage of Bloody Sunday and the following marches for the right to vote in two American newspapers?**

The Civil Rights Movement and all the events within it are rooted in the issue of racism and segregation due to the colour of a person’s skin. One simply cannot tell an accurate story about the Civil Rights Movement or the history of civil rights without referring to race. Both *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* told the story of the marches for the right to vote, an event that led to Black Americans’ right to vote in the United States. The question is not whether they represented race, but how they represented race in the context of this historical event. Such an understanding is important because the way the newspapers told the story impacts the way readers received the story.

Through coding news stories and analyzing the results, I found that some articles made subtle references to race while others were excruciatingly obvious. Critical race theory stresses the ordinariness of racism, which even those who are part of the minority group have accepted as normal (Gold, 2016, p. 1702). As described in the literature review, Crowley (2012) explained that the normalcy of racism prevents the dominant culture from seeing racism until it appears in blatant form (p. 706). When a newspaper exhibits racial bias, it is possible that unless racism is put into blatant form (for example, through the use of the “N-r” word), the reader would not necessarily notice the racial bias (Crowley, 2012, p. 706). Both newspapers represented race in stereotypical ways. This is demonstrated in the language used to describe the marches and in the quotes integrated in news coverage. More specifically, news coverage of the marches for the right for Black Americans to vote cited racial slurs, stereotyped black people, depicted black



people as ‘other,’ and explicitly mentioned race by specifying whether people quoted or mentioned in the article were black or white. The following subsections discuss this in detail.

**Racial Slurs.** *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* both published stories using blatant forms of racism; however, both only published blatant terms in a small percentage of the total stories published—9 per cent and 2.68 per cent, respectively. Despite this, *The New York Times* covered racial slurs significantly more than the *Montgomery Advertiser* according to the chi-square test. Seeing slurs a small percentage of the time almost makes them insignificantly significant—when they appear less often, they become more obvious. Generally, in both newspapers, racial slurs appeared in articles that were oppositional, with some being mixed. The racial slur is a deliberate form of racism that catches the reader’s attention. This resonates with critical race theory, which claims that racism often goes unnoticed until it appears in blatant forms (Crowley, 2012, p. 706). I argue that the racial slur, which this study considered to be a keyword in news coverage, is a ‘frame,’ per news framing theory (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54). *The New York Times* published more slurs, each of which were contained in quotes by individuals who opposed the march for the right to vote. In the article “Marchers Reply to Jeers With Music,” *The New York Times* explained how hecklers often shouted at marchers and offered the example that white men ran toward the marchers yelling “[N-rs], [N-rs], [N-rs], [N-rs], [N-rs]” (para. 13) when the column of marchers passed by. But the marchers only retaliated with song, singing “We Shall Overcome.” This specific article used the slur in a positive way: to contrast hate with willpower. The use of blatant racism arguably enhances the power of the story. I contend that quotes and references to racist slurs are a type of news frame used to illuminate the point of the story—to show just how nasty the fight for civil rights was.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* published slurs in an even smaller portion of stories. Similar to *The New York Times*, the *Montgomery Advertiser* only used the word in quotes to show opposition of the marchers. However, the *Montgomery Advertiser* did not use the slur for positive reinforcement, but to tell the stories of a court hearing where the slur was quoted (“[Black People] Need To March, King Declares in Court”), to show opposition to protests regarding the march (“Police Finally Take Away Young White House Sit In”), as well as to report about the final march and the supportive and oppositional opinions of and responses to the march (“Thousands March U.S. 80 Under Eye of Army Troops”). While *The New York Times* often reported the slur to show the opposing views and negativity that the marchers overcame, the publication did not always report the slur to reinforce positivity toward the marchers. For example, in the article “Wallace Denies Deal,” the publication reported Gov. Wallace’s denial of a deal to avoid another violent confrontation between state troopers and [black people] in Selma” (para. 1). In this article, the opinion of an Alabama state legislator who said “[t]hose [N-rs] are like cats—they always land on their feet” (para. 4). This article, predominantly oppositional, was reported about a news conference that occurred after the second unsuccessful attempt to march on March 9, 1965 and seems to provide details of the march from the perspective of the “segregationist governor” (para. 2), also known as Gov. Wallace as well as other segregationist leaders. Because *The New York Times* reported this negative information, it appears that the publication balanced its coverage, reporting all pertinent information to the march. Additionally, the author of this article seemed to paraphrase what he heard at this meeting, more so than directly quoting the meeting.

**Stereotype.** According to the chi-square test, there was a statistically significant difference in the coverage of stereotypes between the newspapers. News coverage in the

*Montgomery Advertiser* represented Black Americans in stereotypical ways more often than did *The New York Times*. Just as with a racial slur, the presence of stereotypes is significant in that they indicate racial bias; however, neither newspaper stereotyped in the majority of their respective stories—16.96 per cent (*Montgomery Advertiser*) and 3.7 per cent (*The New York Times*), respectively. Similar to the slur, articles with stereotyping were predominantly oppositional toward the marches to vote. Stereotyping, through the lens of critical race theory, is much less blatant than a racist slur and sometimes can be difficult to identify, especially at a time when black people were more susceptible to lower incomes and a lack of education. However, these circumstances were not a result of race, but the result of the greater socio-political issues of the absence of equity and access to adequate resources, which is precisely what the fight for the right to vote sought to achieve. Littlefield’s (2008) research focused on how the media represent black people and the stereotypes—“lazy, unintelligent, sexual, and sinister” (p. 679)—that various forms of media convey. This research differs from mine because it focused primarily on black women in media; however, the research discussed stereotypes of black people in general and also explained how oppressing black people pushes the ideology that black people are “inferior beings who did not warrant any social justice and were deserving of their ill-treatment” (p. 680). The *Montgomery Advertiser* often stereotyped black people, through both quotes and journalistic prose, to turn the blame for responding violently over to the marchers and protesters. For example, the editorial “Lingo Nearly Got Ax Over Selma Debate” reads: “The rock and brick throwing done later in the afternoon by some of the non-violent demonstrators (...) Of course there were no TV cameras around to record the rocks and bricks” (para. 14). The issue of this statement is not whether the counter-violence truly occurred or not, but the accusation that non-violent demonstrators were in fact violent but those actions were never broadcasted.

Through this article, the *Montgomery Advertiser* appears to mock the major news coverage that the protesters in Selma received nationally. The stereotypes here are similar to Warren’s research (2012), which analyzed the *Houston Chronicle*’s portrayal of the people who evacuated New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina and found that the coverage was racially-biased due to the stereotyping of black people. Stereotyping is a component in determining racial bias; therefore, the use of some stereotyping by *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* does show some racial bias. The difference here, though, is the issue behind these two events: Hurricane Katrina (a major environmental emergency) and the marches for the right to vote (an ongoing racial struggle). The events also occurred 41 years apart from one another. Because the marches for the right to vote were race-based, it is much more fathomable to express the issue of race than when covering an environmental emergency. Nonetheless, it is not imperative to tell a race-based story with racist language in journalistic prose. This shows that the *Montgomery Advertiser* covered the marches with more racial bias as the majority of the stereotypes reported were through journalistic prose.

**Othering.** Othering occurs when a group that possesses a certain quality belittles the group that lacks that quality and the “dominant group members assign blame, unfairly and inaccurately, to the othered individual” (Williams and Korn, 2016, p. 24). The ‘us versus them’ mentality separates the ‘superior’ race (in this context, white) from the ‘inferior’ race (in this context, black). Othering is relatively obvious but not nearly as obvious as racist slurs. Othering occurred in both newspapers more often than slurs and stereotypes. The *Montgomery Advertiser* reported othering twice as often as did *The New York Times*. The chi-square test reported a statistically significant difference in coverage of othering. This is a significant finding because the act of othering distances oneself from the group of people that one deems inferior. This, in

turn, can affect how the reader receives and perceives information. *The New York Times* conveyed othering via its use of quotes by telling the side of the people who opposed and distanced themselves from the march. For example, in the article “Truman Doubts March Accomplishes Anything,” *The New York Times* quoted former President Harry S. Truman who called the march “silly” and said, “they can’t accomplish a darned thing” (para. 1). This article is short and is solely based on the opinion of the former president. While *The New York Times*, does not express the oppositional viewpoint, the newspaper chose to publish it. I coded this article as oppositional because it expressed how a former president (someone with considerable credibility) distanced himself from the marchers and denounced their protest. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published a very similar—in terms of content and length—news article about this (“Harry Truman Calls March Silly”), using the same quote. Other instances of othering in *The New York Times* included similar quotes to those noted, to show the distancing of white people who opposed the march and what the march stood for. The *Montgomery Advertiser* also expressed othering through quotes, as can be seen in the article “Selma Mayor Backs Action On March,” which paraphrased and quoted Mayor Joe Smitherman of Alabama saying “the white people of Selma ‘have shown great restraint’ through the seven weeks of civil rights demonstrations (...)” (para. 5) and then “[h]e accused King of ‘seeking new avenues of nationwide publicity’ by calling for ‘this misguided march to Montgomery’” (para. 6). First, “the white people” is not directly quoted in the article, raising the question of whether the newspaper added those words to show that white people were superior and lawful. Secondly, this form of othering separates white people from the demonstrators even though not all black people were demonstrators and not all white people ‘restrained’ from the march; therefore, adding “the white people of Selma” was not necessarily an accurate addition. The finding that othering occurred

more often in the southern newspaper than the northern one is important because the southern newspaper seemed to side with the white people who opposed the march or tried to distance the newspaper itself from the black people, the march, and the driving factor (the right to vote) behind the march. Melancon’s research (2014) about the representation of race in media after the 9/11 attacks discussed othering, explaining that “associations with violence terrorism, or otherness”—which the othering in the *Montgomery Advertiser* did—leads to the impression of the ‘other’ “as threats to an otherwise, putatively authentic American-ness wherein whiteness is constituted as normative” (p. 492). Reporting stereotypes and othering potentially leads to the mindset that the demonstrators threatened the normalcy of Alabama and arguably transferred blame from ‘us’ to ‘them.’

**Black and white.** Both newspapers used the words ‘black’ and ‘white’ to describe some of the people they mentioned and quoted. This portrays an emphasis on race in the media because journalists specifically chose to refer to people as one race or another. For example, the *Montgomery Advertiser* specified that a lawyer was black (“U.S. Plane Used to Fly Attorneys”) but did not specify that the other legal figures (i.e., Judge Johnson, Attorney General Ramsay Clark) were white. In another example, this time in *The New York Times*, the journalist chose to specify the race of a “[N-o] woman, Ms. Mary McGee” (Police Blockades Stormed in Selma, para. 25), who was injured. Both newspapers used ‘black’ and ‘white,’ but *The New York Times* referred to ‘black’ more often than did the *Montgomery Advertiser* in a statistically significant way (see Appendix C). As a researcher, I found these references to race helpful in determining the portrayal of race in newspaper coverage. I contend that the newspapers chose to identify race not to differentiate people by race, but to inform the reader about who the people were because race was a significant personal and political characteristic in writing about this event. Rev. James

Reeb, a white minister who flew to Selma from Boston to participate in the demonstration, was referred to in both newspapers as a white minister and he was murdered as a result of marching. The newspapers also referred to the race of the four white men who killed Rev. Reeb, as well as white people who were opposed to the demonstration. Because the topic of the Civil Rights Movement in general is race-based, it makes sense to sometimes note an individual’s race. White activists like Rev. Reeb and Viola Gregg Liuzzo (an SCLC worker, who was murdered while driving marchers back to Selma from Montgomery after the final march) were significant allies. They did not participate to lobby for their own freedom but for the freedom of their fellow American citizens. Subsequently, the race of anti-marchers who were white depicts the racism that black people experienced. The use of ‘black’ and ‘white’ is a representation of race but it was not necessarily used to discriminate against any race but to inform the reader that a person’s race had some kind of significance to the story.

**Summary.** Park, Holody, and Zhang (2012) studied how newspaper coverage portrayed the race of the Virginia Tech shooter who was of Asian descent and compared it to a shooting where the perpetrators were white. They noted that race was not discussed at all during the white perpetrators’ attack. Park et al. did not conclusively find “that the race was a driving force behind the media coverage”; however, they did find that race was “undoubtedly an important element of the crimes, as reconstructed in the media reports” (p. 486). This is different from my research because race was the driving factor behind the marches, but similar in that I sought to discern how race was represented in news coverage. Similar to the findings in my research, Park et al found that the newspapers used othering in several articles (p. 487). The researchers also found that stereotypes occurred in one-third of all the news. This is similar to what I found in the *Montgomery Advertiser* (31.25 per cent), but more frequent than what I found in *The New York*

*Times* (14.81 per cent). Similarly, though, the researchers determined that stereotyping was still used “sparingly” (p. 487-488). A small portion of stereotyping shows some racial bias but the number of stereotypes reported do not necessarily indicate that a newspaper was substantially biased.

Overall, the portrayal of race in the newspapers’ coverage differed in the sense that the *Montgomery Advertiser* used more racist language and language that conveyed ‘othering’ than did *The New York Times*, while both newspapers tended to specify the race of individuals mentioned and quoted (other than people like President Johnson and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whose races were widely known). In both newspapers, race played a significant role in how the ‘story’ of the marches for the right to vote was told. Without including quotes that contained the racial slur and language that conveyed othering, the newspapers would have left out important information on the opponents of the marchers and would have minimized or concealed the seriousness of the level of racism that led to the march in the first place. However, the fact that the *Montgomery Advertiser* used stereotypes and othering more often, but quoted slurs less often than did *The New York Times* shows potential racial bias.

I question why the newspapers used racist language as little as they did. Through news framing theory, journalists can convey certain aspects of a story and push certain frames to the forefront of the story while keeping others in the background (Nevalsky, 2015, 468). As can be seen through the example from *The New York Times*—the article “Marchers Reply to Jeers With Music”, where the slur was used to show how the marchers overcame harsh racism—racist language exhibits the contrast of the opposing views on the event, which can deepen the message of the story. And in both newspapers, racist language seemed to expose the truth behind the story: racism. I question whether *The New York Times* used racial slurs more than did the



*Montgomery Advertiser* because *The New York Times* published longer stories with more detail including details about the harsh racism that occurred, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* potentially protected its state and its people by not alluding to the blatant racism that occurred at that time. Perhaps racist language is a frame that the *Montgomery Advertiser* chose to hold back? This question is merely speculative and cannot be answered confidently from my research and findings alone.

**RQ2: What are the similarities and differences in coverage between a local Alabama newspaper and a newspaper in a major American city?**

The first research question provided similarities and differences between race representation in the newspaper coverage of this event within the Civil Rights Movement. This section compares coverage in general, in relation to the format, topic, individuals quoted and mentioned, and tone of coverage. First, I discuss format (specifically, article type and article placement). Second, I discuss the topic of coverage as well as individuals quoted and mentioned through the lens of news framing theory. Next, I discuss and compare tone. Then, I provide examples of how the two newspapers covered the exact same stories. Lastly, I compare my findings to related research and provide a summary of my overall discussion of this research question.

**Format.** Format is not on the lists of indicators of news frames (Entman, 1993 & Tankard, 2001); however, based on my findings, I argue that format is important in determining the importance and emphasis a newspaper puts on a story. I included article type, length, and article placement as subcategories.

*Article type.* *The New York Times* published a greater number of stories on the subject of the marches for the right to vote than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. Of these, only one piece of

coverage was an editorial, while the rest were news articles. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published significantly more editorials (11 compared to 1). This is an interesting discovery because editorials reflect the direct opinion of the newspaper, which the *Montgomery Advertiser* expressed significantly more often. The *Montgomery Advertiser* editors’ opinions were mainly oppositional and critical toward the march and marchers. However, three of 11 editorials were supportive. For example, an editorial about the death of Rev. Reeb claimed that he died to make men free (Alsop, *Montgomery Advertiser*, para. 4). The author wrote that the result of the event was one of the most “rapid, hopeful chains of cause and effect that has been seen in America for a great many years” (Alsop, 1965, para. 6). This could be explained based on the topics of other editorials that *The New York Times* published. This may reflect the fact that this publication focused on a wider variety topics within New York, the United States and the world, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported mostly on events within Alabama.

*Length.* *The New York Times* published a majority of long news stories. In the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the variation in article length was slighter between short, medium and long. Without even reading the story or interpreting the information, the length of the clipping is a visual depiction of how much information and/or detail the newspaper included in a story and how much attention a newspaper gave to a story or issue. Generally speaking, the longer the story, the more information or detail included. However, the length of the newspaper articles is significant to the coverage in-and-of-itself because the amount of information is not telling of the accuracy or bias of the information included. This variable is important because it is a visual indicator of how much information the newspaper feeds the reader, but not about an indicator of what the reader is being fed. *The New York Time* is a longer newspaper in terms of the number of pages, which could explain why that publication published long stories more often.

*Article placement.* The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more articles on the front page. The front page of the newspaper is what is on display and is what the public sees first. This also shows the emphasis that the newspaper put on the story. Additionally, the *Montgomery Advertiser* published more stories within the first quarter of each newspaper it printed, while the *New York Times* published more stories within the second quarter. I posit that the reason the *Montgomery Advertiser* published more articles on the front page and within the first quarter than *The New York Times* is because the marches occurred in Alabama (where the newspaper is published and distributed) and because it is a shorter newspaper in general.

*Summary.* Article type, length, and article placement are visual indicators of the emphasis and importance a newspaper places on a story. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more editorials and often published stories in the early pages of the newspaper, while *The New York Times* published long articles more frequently. The newspapers showed their emphasis on the significance of the marches in different ways and further research could be done to suggest why. Though these visual representations are not indicators of what information the newspapers published, they can become more suggestive when paired with the categories of topic and tone that follow in this next section.

***Topic and tone.*** In this section, I illustrate similarities and differences of topic and tone and bring these two variables together at the end. The topics coded for and analyzed here are police action, violence, future plans, church involvement, protests, voting legislation, and government, as well as ‘other’ topics.

*Topic.* Any topic covered about the marches for the right to vote is significant. Both newspapers mentioned all topics at least once. Certain topics, however, such as protests in support of the marches are more significant because their presence shows whether the

newspapers chose to write about that support. Other topics, such as government, police action, and violence become more important when combined with other variables such as tone and people quoted and mentioned.

Government is a substantial topic because the marchers aimed to persuade the federal government by delivering a petition to the state governor’s office in the capitol of Alabama. Both newspapers’ discussions of government were similar, as both focused mostly on the federal government, followed by state and then municipal. Both newspapers also referred to government officials in articles about protests. For example, *The New York Times* published an article that explained that United States senators denounced the brutality in Selma (“Johnson Pressed for a Voting Law”). Also, both newspapers published articles about governors and mayors who participated in protests throughout the country. Examples include *The New York Times*’s article “10,000 March in Detroit,” the *Montgomery Advertiser*’s article “Federal police Break Up Washington Demonstrations,” and *The New York Times* article that told of how the Mayor of New York City opted to pay for advocates to fly to Selma to participate in the final march (“Bunche to Rejoin March Thursday”).

Of the subtopics analyzed about the marches for the right to vote, the newspapers prioritized topics in different orders. *The New York Times* published the most articles about voting legislation, followed by police action, violence, church involvement, protests, ‘other’ topics, and future plans. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published most about ‘other’ topics, followed by police action, voting legislation, police action, violence, church involvement protests and future plans. Mentions of any and all topics regarding the march are important because that would help tell a well-rounded and accurate story.

A significant difference in topic that should be addressed is the fact that *The New York Times* published more articles about other protests. *The New York Times* mentioned other protests nearly twice as often as the *Montgomery Advertiser*. Protests occurred throughout the country to oppose the violence exerted in Selma (such as on Bloody Sunday as well as the murder of Rev. Reeb) and demanded federal protection for demonstrators. Governors, mayors, and other officials often led the marches, which shows opposition to the state government led by segregationist Gov. Wallace. To bring tone into perspective, in both newspapers, almost every article about such a protest was positive in support of the marchers and their right to peaceful assembly. Therefore, since *The New York Times* published more articles of other protests nationally and internationally (for example in the articles “Ottawa Protest Planned” & “Toronto Consulate Picketed”) to show the extent of support toward the march, it can be inferred that the *Montgomery Advertiser* put this topic in the background. The *Montgomery Advertiser*’s decision to publish minimal stories about protests in support of the march could potentially be due to that newspaper’s bias toward stories that oppose the march. To further contrast, some of the oppositional articles about protests in the *Montgomery Advertiser* had negative headlines, which is a frame as part of news framing theory (Tankard, 2001, p. 101). Consider the following headlines from the *Montgomery Advertiser*: “Police Finally Take Away White House Sit Ins” and “Federal Police Break Up Washington Demonstrations.” Here, the keywords “finally” and “break up” in the respective headlines, combined with the fact that these articles were mainly about the topic of ‘police action,’ suggests that the article may be biased on the side of the police. The headlines alone could have influenced the reception of the viewer. These findings show potential bias in what the newspapers chose to tell the reader in terms of who supported the march, which, through news framing theory, “suggests to the reader the relative importance of

certain considerations by subtly promoting some and ignoring others” (Nevalsky, 2015, 468-469).

Another difference in coverage between the two newspapers is the percentage of articles in which the newspapers discussed civil rights history. Civil rights (along with voter registration) was a significant topic because it was the driving factor behind the marches. What is significant here is that the vast majority of articles that mentioned civil rights in *The New York Times* were supportive, while the majority of articles that mentioned civil rights in the *Montgomery Advertiser* were either oppositional or neutral. Other protests within the Civil Rights Movement that occurred before the timeframe of my research is an important frame as it educates the reader on the reasoning behind the protests. *The New York Times* published an article that Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King wrote called “Civil Rights No. 1—The Right to Vote.” This article covers three pages and explains the impacts of segregation, statistics on voting rights—which is a frame (Tankard, 2001, p. 101)—as well the significance of voting rights that would lead to a fair future for black people. The fact that *The New York Times* included such a long article, written by Rev. Dr. King himself, is significant because it shows the importance the newspaper attached to the background information. This article was published on March 14, 1965, a date when other protests and voting rights legislation were the topics predominantly covered. The date selection here, I would argue, is significant because the court had yet to rule on whether the final march could proceed, but the other two marches had already happened and coverage of those had fizzled. *The New York Times* published this article on a day when no other significant events within the marches occurred (for example, court rulings or acts of violence), which could have overshadowed Rev. Dr. King’s article about civil rights. The *Montgomery Advertiser* did not publish such an article that specifically discussed civil rights or the reasons behind the march

with detail on any day; therefore, the publication did not emphasize the importance of civil rights like *The New York Times* did. Civil rights history is an important aspect of the Civil Rights Movement; however, neither newspaper discussed civil rights in a significant portion of articles. Perhaps this is because both newspapers discussed voter registration (the main reason behind the marches) more so than the overall history of civil rights.

*Tone.* While news articles can be supportive or oppositional with argumentative statements and quotes, editorials offer the opinion of the newspaper and express the editor’s view of the event. Of the 11 editorials about the marches published in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, five were oppositional, three were supportive, two were neutral, and one editorial was mixed. The one editorial that *The New York Times* published about the marches was supportive. The dominance of oppositional editorials, in and of itself, shows that the editors of the *Montgomery Advertiser* had a predominantly oppositional view of the marches. While news stories do not represent the view of editors, the newspapers still chose which stories to publish and how to tell them; therefore, arguably, the tone of the news stories still reflects on how events are covered and can show potential racial bias.

There were no significant similarities in tone. In fact, the chi-test revealed a statistically significant difference in tone: *The New York Times* was significantly supportive, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* was significantly neutral and oppositional. I found that *The New York Times* told the story of the marches for the right to vote more supportively and with less racial bias than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*, which told it with more racial bias and negativity toward the event and marchers. The oppositional articles that *The New York Times* published told the story from the opposing side, seemingly to tell the story in a balanced way. For example, in the article “Selma’s Moderate Police Give Way to Troopers,” *The New York Times* reported on

Bloody Sunday and police action from the oppositional perspective of the police officers. This article even included a quoted racial slur. I argue that, while this article is oppositional, it reflects the reality of the motive behind the brutality, which is racism, racial bias, and discrimination. Based on the representation of race (explained earlier in my discussion of the first research question) and the similarities and differences between coverage, I argue, through news framing theory, that *The New York Times* was more transparent, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* seemed to withhold some information (such as the number of protests in support of the marches) and did not frame the coverage of the marches in terms of civil rights history, nor did that newspaper frame coverage of the marches positively.

**News framing theory.** To compare and contrast newspaper coverage, I used news framing theory as a lens, as it helps define specific frames. I used these frames in coding coverage of the marches. News framing theory argues that “frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events” (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). What the media conveys about a subject or event can have an impact on what the reader learns from that media coverage about that subject or event. As stated in the literature review, frames can be identified in the news based on “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Further, news framing theory offers a list of 11 framing tactics: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs (Tankard 2001, p. 101). Photos, keywords, sources of information, and quote selection were the most pertinent news frames found in coverage of the marches.



*Photos.* *The New York Times* published more photos than did the *Montgomery Advertiser*. This finding is important because the inclusion of a photo visually illustrates an event. *The New York Times* showed readers the story in addition to telling the story. To provide an explanation, the number of photos about the marches should be compared to the number of photos printed per newspaper on each day. Perhaps one newspaper published more photos in general.

*Individuals quoted.* As Tankard (2001) listed, news framing theory includes quote selection (p. 101) as a frame. My findings illustrate that, just because a person is quoted (or mentioned for that matter), it does not mean the newspaper used quotes from various groups to show the viewpoints of both sides on an issue. The people that a publication—any publication—chooses to quote is highly influential on audience reception because individuals quoted can back up and reinforce ideologies and specific points about a topic that the newspaper wants to promote. In this study, newspapers varied in who they chose to quote and mention. Initially, I anticipated that the quotes of marchers and civil rights advocates would be indicative of a supportive article, while quotes of segregationists such as Sheriff Clark and Gov. Wallace would be indicative of an oppositional article. However, the findings demonstrate that the context in which a person is quoted and mentioned is equally, if not more, important than the fact that a person was quoted or mentioned.

Quotes from seemingly important people (presumably a governor, for instance) can add credibility to an article. However, a quote from an official and/or credible source can still be biased. For example, in terms of voting legislation, Gov. Wallace was quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser* saying, “Voter registration and voting rights are not the issues involved in these street demonstrations (...) I have said many times before, and I say again, that any individual who is qualified to vote is entitled to vote” (“Wallace Flying To Washington Today To Confer With

Johnson on Problems,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, para. 10). Here, Gov. Wallace’s quote is misleading about voting legislation and the reasoning behind the marches and other demonstrations. As explained in the introductory chapter, black people technically had the right to vote; however, barricades such as poll tax, the threat of violence, and literacy tests prevented them from successfully registering (Davidson, 1992, p. 13). Therefore, while Gov. Wallace’s quote is not wrong, it is biased in arguing that black people could vote because it fails to acknowledge the fact that the existing law failed to provide a fair way to register. This shows a biased explanation of voting rights that discredits the reasoning behind the marches

Quotes can also be altered to get a different point across. *The New York Times* article “Transcript of President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Affairs” is positively persuasive toward protecting the marchers during the third march and mentions Gov. Wallace’s telegram asking for federal assistance to do so. At the news conference, the President read the telegram he sent in response to Gov. Wallace, stating that responsibility falls on state and municipal governments but that the federal government would send troops in order to obey the court order (para. 3). In the article, “Johnson Says Gov. Wallace Shirks Duty”—which discusses this televised news conference—the *Montgomery Advertiser* focused on President Johnson’s accusation of Gov. Wallace not protecting his citizens and, in doing so, used more aggressive words as well as partial and indirect quotes such as “scorn” (para. 3), “solemn responsibility” (para. 1), and “shirking” (para. 1). This article opposed the governor but it also arguably victimized Gov. Wallace, as it made the President appear to have verbally attacked the leader of Alabama. In a similar article, “Johnson Calls Up Troops, Deplores Wallace's Acts; Alabama March on Today: President Is Firm Tells Press at Ranch He Has 4,000 Ready for Security Duty Johnson Calls Up Alabama Troops,” *The New York Times* included full, direct quotes as well as

paraphrased quotes from President Johnson rather than partial quotes. These quotes expressed President Johnson’s confusion to Gov. Wallace’s claim that Alabama was unable to provide protection, but the quotes did not include aggressive words. While the *Montgomery Advertiser* made the president look as if he made accusations against the governor, *The New York Times* expressed that the President merely explained his perspective on his meeting with Gov. Wallace to discuss security. He expressed his view that Gov. Wallace felt strongly about taking necessary action and therefore was surprised to see the governor’s request for Federal assistance in those duties. It appeared that the *Montgomery Advertiser* extracted thoughts and ideas and created a quote that makes the president sound more critical of Gov. Wallace, thus potentially influencing President Johnson’s reputation. This quote in the *Montgomery Advertiser* from President Johnson—an integrationist—is clearly demeaning and was cleverly used to influence public perception, as supported by news framing theory. Further, *The New York Times* published the entire transcript of the meeting as well as a news story. The transcript and articles are about the same news conference based on the quotes and that all these articles were published on the same date, March 21, 1965.

*Summary.* Quotes can be paraphrased, which can alter or frame the meaning of the words a person spoke. I found that the newspapers used indirect and partial quotes to get a certain point across, as can be seen in the example provided in the section on stereotypes discussed as part of the first research question above. In this example, the *Montgomery Advertiser* added “white people” to change the statement. Partial and paraphrased quotes can be manipulated and altered, which can change the meaning as well as alter public reception of that person quoted. This finding is significant and, though I did not code specifically to find partial and indirect quotes, this is an important discovery that could build on this research in the future.

***Individuals mentioned.*** I did not discuss individuals mentioned in the news framing theory portion because it is not on the list of frames (Tankard, 2001, p. 101). The top six groups mentioned in *The New York Times* articles were the federal government, civil rights advocates, demonstrators, state government officials, religious representatives, court officials, and entertainers (the last two with the same number). Entertainers offer a level of significance because their presence was positive in support of the march. The top six groups that the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned were state government officials, followed by federal officials, civil rights advocates, other, demonstrators, and court officials. Similarly, both newspapers mentioned specific black individuals the least. In my research, I coded individuals in one group only and used discretion to code people who were mentioned (and quoted). For example, if an unnamed black person was identified as being a marcher, then I coded this individual in the ‘Marchers’ group rather than “Specific Black Individuals” group because the number of marchers mentioned shows more significance in this event than ‘other’ individual, regardless of their race. The fact that I coded this way could explain why specific black people were least mentioned in the newspapers. Additionally, some individuals mentioned, such as Rev. Dr. King and other civil rights advocates, are widely-known as being black.

The people who the papers decide to mention is not as significant as who was quoted because often the person was just mentioned as being present at the marches. People mentioned are also not on the list of frames put forward by news framing theory. However, who the newspapers chose to mention can still show bias and my research could potentially point to another frame to consider.

Similar to my argument about people quoted, just because a civil rights advocate was mentioned, this did not mean the article was supportive, just as when a segregationist was

mentioned, this did not mean the article was oppositional. For example, the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the article “Clark Says King’s Actions Are Vendetta Against Him,” which reported on how Sheriff James Clark believed that Rev. Dr. King was the reason Sheriff Clark received threatening letters. Sheriff Clark was quoted saying: “He is just an outside agitator that came in to stir trouble to satisfy his revenge against me and make his personal bank account larger, and also it is a grab for power” (para.7). The tone of this article was oppositional, and it conveyed othering, stereotypes and accusations. This article also discussed how a black woman fought back on Bloody Sunday but the photographer only took the picture of Sheriff Clark with the billy club (para. 13). The police used tear gas and billy clubs to disperse the crowd. This scenario shifted blame from the police (Sheriff Clark) who terrorized the group to the black woman who defended herself. This is an example of how just because an individual is mentioned, it does not mean that the article has a positive or negative contribution to the overall story.

Subsequently, just because Gov. Wallace, a segregationist leader, was mentioned, that does not automatically determine whether the article was oppositional. For example, *The New York Times* published the article "President's Plea Curtails March", where Gov. Wallace was mentioned just to explain President Johnson's expectation that Alabama officials such as Gov. Wallace obey the orders of the federal court (para. 12). Gov. Wallace is mentioned; however, his segregationist opinions are not expanded on and the article is supportive overall because of the support that is given to the march.

To illustrate the opposite, the *Montgomery Advertiser* did mention Rev. Dr. King in positive ways, such as to report the third and final march (“Thousands Take Part in Saturday Marches”, *Montgomery Advertiser*), while *The New York Times* published an article about an

editorial in *The Birmingham Post-Herald* which urged Gov. Wallace to provide protection because Rev. Dr. King “thrives on violence” (“Dr. King Thrives On Violence”, *The New York Times*, para. 1) and continues to claim that Rev. Dr. King’s march is for propaganda and publicity reasons (para. 2). This article mentions Gov. Wallace merely as a government official, while the editorial is negative toward Rev. Dr. King. The mention of Gov. Wallace (a segregationist) in an article does not make the article oppositional, just as the mention of Rev. Dr. King (a civil rights advocate) does not make the article supportive.

The difference here is that the vast majority of articles that mention Rev. Dr. King are supportive, while articles in the *Montgomery Advertiser* regarding Rev. Dr. King are more frequently oppositional and neutral. *The New York Times* also mentioned Rev. Dr. King more frequently, which shows that publication put more emphasis on that specific leader.

**Summary.** Individuals who the newspapers chose to mention are more pertinent to the research question when the context behind the mention is considered. The tone of the article in which specific individuals are mentioned reflects whether or not that person was mentioned to add positivity or negativity to the article. There is still importance in noting who is mentioned despite this fact because the newspaper chose to emphasize those specific people in the article and within the overall story of the marches. I grouped individuals based on their role within the event. The number of people mentioned from specific groups—regardless of whether that coverage was supportive or oppositional—reflects the focus each newspaper put on those groups.

**Same subject, different story: examples.** Analyzing the topic of news coverage alongside its tone and who the newspapers chose to mention and quote strengthens the significance of the topics discussed. This section looks at similar stories published in the papers and the similarities and differences in reporting them.

After Judge Frank M. Johnson’s federal court ruling that the third and final march could proceed, Gov. Wallace fought for a ‘stay’ of a federal court order on the grounds of the “acts of violence on the part of the allegedly peaceful demonstrators” and “demonstrations on the part of white citizens in opposition of the march” (“Gov. Wallace Seeks Stay of March”, *Montgomery Advertiser*, para 2). *The New York Times* published a similar article (“Wallace Asks a Stay”), but rather than discussing acts of violence or quoting Gov. Wallace, the newspaper wrote six paragraphs of straight fact on what the stay would mean and what would happen if Judge Johnson approved of it. *The New York Times* did not use any keywords here, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* included the words “tension,” “violence,” and “real danger.” This example suggests bias toward the march and the marchers.

In another example, in similar articles about Turnaround Tuesday when the marchers were turned back the second time on March 9, 1965, both *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. *The New York Times* discussed the lack of violence, unlike the previous attempt to march, and directly quoted Rev. Dr. King saying: ““We had the greatest demonstration for freedom today that we’ve ever had in the South”” (“1,500 Turned Back”, para. 3). The *Montgomery Advertiser* partially quoted Rev. Dr. King in a way that suggests he was illegally marching: ““I must march”” (“Rights Marchers Turned Back”, para. 3), ““We are aware of the court order”” (para. 6), and ““The judge’s order’, King said, ‘was an unjust injunction”” (para. 14). The *Montgomery Advertiser* used words in this article like “defiance” (“Rights Marchers Turned Back”, para. 20)—referring to the marchers—and “quietly” (“Rights Marchers Turned Back”, para. 1)—when referring to police officers. Additionally, the *Montgomery Advertiser* used phrases such as: “tension-filled meeting between King and his column of marchers” (para. 2). *The New York Times*, on the other hand, used no

persuasive or leading words in journalistic prose and continued to inform the reader of another event that took place on the same day—the beating of Rev. Reeb. In this same article, the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Maj. John Cloud, of the Alabama State Police: "This march is not conducive to the safety of those using the highway" (para. 5) to show why the police turned the marchers back and to further make Rev. Dr. King and the marchers look unlawful.

### **Summary**

I found that the *Montgomery Advertiser* represented race and covered the marches with more bias than did *The New York Times*. Peterson (2009) studied major city newspaper coverage of a protest during the 1968 Olympic Games, where two black athletes who won gold and bronze, respectively, raised their arms during the medal ceremony in the air to liberate black people. This protest occurred three years after the marches for the right to vote. The researcher found that a majority of the newspapers were not supportive of the protest (p. 106). Similarly, my research found that coverage of the marches in the *Montgomery Advertiser* was not supportive of the marches, based on the tone of the articles and the variables that establish significance when determining tone such as topic, individuals quoted and mentioned, and whether the article is factual or opinionated. Differently, *The New York Times* seemingly told the story in a more supportive way through positivity as well as in a more rounded way, by telling stories from multiple angles.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

I chose to study newspaper coverage of the Selma-to-Montgomery March for the right to vote, an event within the Civil Rights Movement. This study examined two newspapers: one local Alabama newspaper (the *Montgomery Advertiser*) and one national newspaper (*The New York Times*). I analyzed these newspapers to look for similarities and differences in the overall coverage (topic, quotes, tone, etc.) as well as the newspapers’ representation of race. Since this event and the overall Civil Rights Movement is race-based, it was expected that race would have been covered in some way. Through critical race theory, news framing theory, and the theory of Orientalism, I conducted a content analysis and coded a total of 301 articles that mentioned the marches in some way.

The results of my study indicate a difference in the representation of race, as *The New York Times* quoted more slurs, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted and represented more stereotypes in journalistic prose. I contend that *The New York Times* published more slurs to tell the whole story, which includes the harsh reality of racism through quotes from white supremacists. The *Montgomery Advertiser* also published some articles that showed the harsh opposition to the marchers; however, through more stereotyping and othering, it appears that the publication was more bias when informing the reader of the event.

*The New York Times* reported the majority of articles in a supportive tone with less bias, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported in a predominantly neutral and oppositional tone with more bias. The tone was an important component when reporting which individuals each publication mentioned and quoted. I learned that just because someone significant within the Movement, like Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, was mentioned or quoted does not indicate that the

article was supportive. In contrast, just because a person who opposed integration was mentioned or quoted did not indicate that the article was oppositional. The context in which a person is mentioned or quoted can signify bias in reporting if that context is overly supportive or demeaning toward that person. The *Montgomery Advertiser* published more demeaning content toward civil rights advocates and marchers. Additionally, because the *Montgomery Advertiser* published significantly more editorials, with the tone being predominantly oppositional, I contend that that publication had a more negative opinion about the marches than did *The New York Times*, in which the one editorial published was supportive.

Quotes are a frame within news framing theory that show what a publication decided to place in the forefront or hide in the background. Quotes from significant people—no matter what stance that person took on the event—provide ethos or credibility, and that can persuade a reader. The tone and opinion of the person quoted can add bias if it is meant to persuade the reader one way or another. I did not code for indirect quotes; however, when comparing quotes between newspapers, I learned that these types of quotes are significant because newspapers can take small portions or even single words that a person said and give them a different meaning.

Overall, through coding for multiple variables, I found more differences than similarities in how both newspapers reported on this event within the Civil Rights Movement. Although neither newspaper represented race through stereotyping or slurs in a significant number of articles, I believe the existence of those variables in coverage is significant in the overall representation of race because *The New York Times* reported stereotypes only in quotes, while the *Montgomery Advertiser* reported stereotypes in both journalistic prose and quotes. This is a major difference in representation of race. In addition to those representations, I found that the tone of the overall articles that I collected from the *Montgomery Advertiser* implied bias. Since

the *Montgomery Advertiser* was published in the area where demonstrations occurred, perhaps the disruption of thousands of people in the streets caused a negative perception of the overall event, while the *New York Times* reported from an unaffected area. However, my research set to determine whether there was a difference in coverage and to qualify these differences, not necessarily to determine why. I do not accuse the *Montgomery Advertiser* of falsely reporting the event. I merely found that the publication showed bias because it had a more negative stance that was backed with an oppositional tone toward the overall topic and negatively opinionated quotes from those against the march as well as negative mentions toward the people who participated in the event. My findings show that *The New York Times* reported more supportively while still quoting and mentioning significant people from both sides to report the overall story. While these two newspapers form a small sample of the newspapers in the United States that reported the event, I conclude that there is, in fact, a difference in how a local Alabama newspaper reported the marches for the right to vote versus how a major-city, national newspaper reported the same event.

### **Limitations**

I used a newspaper database, Newspapers.com, and the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database to retrieve the articles. There is a potential that I did not retrieve all the articles that were published in that time frame that are pertinent to my research. I used Boolean searches and sifted through the virtual pages of the newspapers to look for keywords, topics, and ideas to decrease this potential for inaccuracy.

I only read articles for a limited time frame of the overall voting rights protests. The entire event from start to finish would have exceeded the scope of this study. Articles published

before or after could have altered my results or added information that could have answered more questions.

A further potential limitation is that I am a white woman in 2018 looking back at a historical event as it was written about in newspapers from 1965. Even people who were not racist at that time used language deemed inappropriate today. I had to offset my own bias while reading the newspapers and, when coding, focus on the historical time period and context based on knowledge from primary and secondary sources.

### **Future Research**

Because this area of inquiry is new, there is much potential for future research. One avenue might involve broadening the list of newspapers analyzed. I analyzed a small sample of what could be a large study (given the vast number of newspapers that covered this event in the United States); therefore, further research can and should be conducted to contribute an even more comprehensive study and conclusion. I only compared two newspapers, and there are thousands of newspapers in the United States and internationally that may have covered this event. Perhaps there were newspapers that contained even more oppositional coverage than the *Montgomery Advertiser* or newspapers more biased than *The New York Times*. As I mentioned in another chapter, Rev. Reeb was one of three (two white, one black) people killed during this specific event. A researcher could look at the difference in media coverage of race just based on those incidents. I believe more research is needed on this subject because it was such a significant part of civil rights history and it could help research on similar topics today.

**Final Thoughts**

I first learned about the Selma-to-Montgomery marches when I was 11-years-old. Prior to my research, I thought I had an adequate understanding of the topic. However, as I read newspaper coverage and historical information about the marches as well as the entire event (which started in January 1965), I realized I only had limited knowledge of the subject. Through my research, I learned about the United States government, the court orders and hearings surrounding the march, the involvement of people I hadn't heard of before (sheriffs, mayors, and other officials) and the murders of civil rights advocates during the march. I found myself learning about and questioning the event in different ways. Of course, my passion lies in human rights and I believe that Judge Johnson's ruling to allow the march was justified. Ultimately, I believe the marches for the right to vote made a significant change in American history. However, as a critical thinker, when I set aside the fact that Gov. Wallace was a segregationist, his proclamation that public safety would be jeopardized made me think: If an event with such significance as this one occurred in Canada today, would the government allow a march of that magnitude to take place on an equally congested highway? By reading about the same event in two newspapers, I got a wide explanation of events, bias and all. I wonder who decides what to write in history books. Arguably, every single person had a different perspective on how something occurred. There are not two sides to every story. There are infinite sides to a story. Story-tellers—newspapers, historical writers, teachers, etc.—get to decide whose perspective to tell the story from. I think that, in-and-of-itself, is significant because stories such as the marches for the right to vote are significant in history and the way in which a story is told affects how future generations receive it, and determines how the legacy of civil rights activists is carried forward.

Joanne Bland and the marchers for the right to vote took significant risks to fight for their rights, and they succeeded. While there are still changes to be made in the United States, and in the world, the Civil Rights Movement made significant advances toward an inclusive future. Like Rev. Andrew Young, an aide to Rev. Dr. King, said, “we’re going to love the hell out of this state of Alabama” (Gould, 1965, para 6). And that is exactly what they did.

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## APPENDIX A

### Lists of Newspaper Articles

The following lists are references to the articles included in my study. They are organized by paper and in chronological order.

The following is a reference list of the articles I collected from *The New York Times*.

Reed, R. (1965, March 8). Alabama Police Use Gas and Clubs to Rout Negroes. *The New York Times*.

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## APPENDIX B

## Table of ‘Other’ Topics

The following table depicts the prevalence of the three ‘other’ topics determined while coding.

Table B1. Prevalence of ‘other’ topics in *The New York Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser*, respectively.

Topic	Number of articles in <i>The New York Times</i>	Percentage of total articles (n=189)	Number of articles in the <i>Montgomery Advertiser</i>	Percentage of total articles (n=112)
<b>Rev. Reeb's death</b>	40	21.64%	24	21.43%
<b>Court</b>	23	12.17%	18	16.07%
<b>Donations</b>	9	4.76	1	0.89%
<b>Total</b>	72	38.1%	43	38.39%

## APPENDIX C

## Table of Results and Chi-Square Tests

This comparative table depicts the results from my coding sheet as well as the chi-square test results where applicable.

Table C1. Coding sheet and chi-square test results.

		New York Times	Total Articles	Montgomery Advertiser	Total Articles	Chi- Square (df=1)	P-Value	Significa (<.05)
			189		112			
		Tally	Percentage	Tally	Percentage			
<b>Length</b>	<b>Short</b>	52	27.51%	29	25.89%			
	<b>Medium</b>	25	13.23%	41	36.61%			
	<b>Long</b>	112	59.26%	42	37.50%			
<b>Format</b>	<b>News Article</b>	188	99.47%	101	90.18%			
	<b>Editorial</b>	1	0.53%	11	9.82%			
<b>Picture</b>	<b>Small</b>	3	1.59%	4	3.57%			
	<b>Medium</b>	20	10.58%	7	6.25%			
	<b>Large</b>	20	10.58%	1	0.89%			
<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Front Page</b>	45	23.81%	45	40.18%			
	<b>First Quarter</b>	93	49.21%	89	79.46%			
	<b>Second Quarter</b>	120	63.49%	17	15.18%			
	<b>Third Quarter</b>	1	0.53%	6	5.36%			
	<b>Fourth Quarter</b>	2	1.06%	4	3.57%			
<b>Topic</b>	<b>Marches</b>	<b>Police action</b>	92	48.68%	44	39.29%		

<b>Total topics (for chi-square test):</b> <i>NYT: 703</i> <i>MA: 358</i>		<b>Violence</b>	89	47.09%	50	44.64%			
		<b>Future plans</b>	13	6.88%	7	6.25%			
		<b>Church involvement</b>	56	29.63%	26	23.21%			
		<b>Protests</b>	54	28.57%	9	8.04%			
		<b>Voting Legislation</b>	94	49.74%	40	35.71%			
		<b>Total</b>	398	56.61%	176	48.09%	5.31	0.02	Signific
	<b>Government</b>	<b>Federal</b>	89	47.09%	60	53.57%			
		<b>State</b>	84	44.44%	55	49.11%			
		<b>Municipal</b>	31	16.40%	14	12.50%			
		<b>Total</b>	204	29.02%	129	35.25%	5.42	<.02	Signific
	<b>Other</b>	<b>Out of total articles</b>	72	38.10%	43	38.39%			
	<b>Other</b>	<b>Out of total</b>	72	10.24%	43	12.01%	0.77	0.39	Not significant
	<b>Civil Rights</b> (percentage of articles)		29	15.34%	10	8.93%			
	<b>Civil Rights</b> (percentage of topics)		29	4.13%	10	2.73%	1.19	0.28	Not significant
<b>Tone</b>	<b>Supportive</b>		122	64.55%	25	19.64%	50.19	<.0001	Signific
	<b>Oppositional</b>		13	6.88%	31	27.68%	24.38	<.0001	Signific

			<b>Mixed</b>	23	12.17%	12	10.71	0.14	0.7	Not significant
			<b>Neutral</b>	31	16.4%	44	39.29	19.68	<.0001	Significant
	<b>Factual vs. Opinion</b> ( <i>The New York Times</i> : n=188, <i>Montgomery Advertiser</i> : n=101)		<b>Factual</b>	96	51.06%	41	40.59%	2.89	0.89	Not significant
			<b>Opinionated</b>	36	19.15%	35	34.65%	8.52	0.004	Significant
			<b>Mixed</b>	56	29.79%	25	24.75%	0.83	0.36	Not significant
<b>Individual Quoted</b>	<b>Government</b>	<b>Federal</b>	<b>President Lyndon B. Johnson</b>	21	11.11%	11	9.82%			
			<b>Nicholas deB Katzenbach</b>	6	3.17%	7	6.25%			
			<b>Other</b>	56	29.63%	47	41.96%			

			Total	83	43.92%	65	58.04	5.61	0.02	Signific	
		State	Governor George Wallace	23	12.17%	11	9.82%				
			Other	24	12.7%	27	25.89%				
			Total	47	24.87%	38	33.93%	15.71	<.0001	Signific	
		Municipal		15	7.94%	11	9.82%	0.32	0.57	Not signific	
	Civil Rights advocates	Rev Dr Martin Luther King Junior	24	12.7%	8	7.14%					
		Hosea Williams	2	1.06%	1	0.89%					
		John Lewis	2	1.06%	0	0%					
		Other	52	28.04%	5	5.36%					
		Total	80	42.32%	14	12.5%	29.13	<.0001	Signific		
	Demonstrators				36	19.05%	8	7.14%	7.99	0.01	Signific
	Court officials	Judge Johnson	6	3.17%	8	7.14%					
		Other	11	5.82%	11	9.82%					
		Total	17	8.99%	19	16.96%	4.24	0.04	Signific		

	<b>Law Enforcement</b>		<b>Sheriff Clark</b>	6	3.17%	2	1.79%			
			<b>Other</b>	17	8.99%	12	10.71%			
			<b>Total</b>	23	12.17%	14	12.5%	0.01	0.93	Not significant
	<b>Religious representatives</b>			56	29.63%	20	17.86%	5.16	0.02	Significant
	<b>Specific Black People</b>			6	3.17%	7	6.25%	1.61	0.2	Not significant
	<b>News Outlets</b>			15	7.94%	7	6.25%	0.3	0.59	Not significant
	<b>Academics</b>			3	1.59%	0	0%			
	<b>Entertainers</b>			3	1.59%	0	0%			
	<b>Other</b>			44	23.28%	20	17.86%	1.24	0.27	Not Significant
	<b>Total # People Quoted</b>			444		243				
<b>Individual Mentioned</b>	<b>Government</b>	<b>Federal</b>	<b>President Lyndon B. Johnson</b>	48	25.4%	32	28.57%			
			<b>Nicholas deB Katzenbach</b>	17	8.99%	6	5.36%			
			<b>Other</b>	62	32.8%	11	9.82%			
			<b>Total</b>	127	71.42%	49	43.75%	15.92	<.0001	Significant

	State	Governor George Wallace	51	26.98%	33	29.46%			
		Other	29	15.34%	27	24.11%			
		Total	80	42.33%	60	53.57%			
	Municipal		36	19.05%	3	2.68%			
Civil Rights advocates	Rev Dr Martin Luther King Junior	41	21.69%	20	17.86%				
	John Lewis	6	3.17%	2	1.79%				
	Hosea Williams	4	2.12%	1	0.89%				
	Other	61	32.75%	14	12.5%				
	Total	112	59.26%	37	33.04%	19.35	<.001	Significant	
Demonstrators	Reeb	32	16.93%	16	14.29%				
	Other	61	32.28%	14	12.5%				
	Total	93	49.21%	30	26.79%				14.63
Court officials	Judge Johnson	19	10.01%	11	9.82%				
	Other	36	19.05%	16	14.29%				
	Total	55	29.1%	27	24.11%				0.88
Law Enforcement	Sheriff Clark	18	9.52%	9	8.04%				
	Other	16	8.47%	9	8.04%				
	Total	34	17.99%	18	16.07%				0.18

	Religious representatives		61	32.28%	14	12.5%	14.7	<.001	Signific
	Specific Black People		9	4.76%	1	0.89%			
	Entertainers		58	30.69%	23	20.54%	3.69	0.055	Not significant
	Other		53	28.04%	30	26.79%	0.06	0.81	Not significant
	Total # People Mentioned		737		303				
Racist Language	Not Present		166	87.83%	98	87.5	0.007	0.93	Not significant
	Slur	Quote	17	8.99%	3	2.68%	4.52	0.03	Signific
		Journ Prose	0	0%	0	0%			
	Stereotype	Quote	7	3.70%	9	8.04%	15.67	<.0001	Signific
		Journ Prose	0	0%	10	8.93%			
Othering			28	14.81%	35	31.25%	11.48	<.0001	Signific
	White		69	36.51%	34	30.36%	1.18	0.28	Not significant
	Black		120	63.49%	57	50.89%	4.61	0.03	Signific



## APPENDIX D

## Tables of People Quoted

The following tables are lists of ‘other’ people who *The New York Times* quoted.

Table D1. List of ‘other’ federal government officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

Person quoted	Times quoted
Bill D. Moyers (White House aide)	1
Carl T. Rowan (Director U.S. Information Agency)	2
Chief Justice Earl Warren	1
Chief U.S. Marshall James P. McShane	1
Clifford Alexander (Deputy Special Assistant to President)	1
Federal Official	1
Former President Harry S. Truman	1
George E. Reedy (President’s Press Secretary)	5
John W. McCormick (House Speaker)	1
Jack Valenti (Special Assistant to President)	1
John Doar (Assistant Attorney General, Head of Civil Rights Division Dept. of Justice)	4
Justice Dept. spokesmen	3
Lieut. Bud Gordon	1
Lieut. R. E. Ethridge	1
Lynda Bird Johnson (President’s daughter)	1
President Kennedy	1
Press Sec Joseph Laitin	1
White House official	3
LeRoy Collins (Federal Community Relations Service)	2
Senator Clifford P. Case	1
Senator Robert F. Kennedy	2
Senator Thomas J. Dodd	1
Sen Jacob K Javits (Repub. N.Y.)	1
Sen Joesph S. Clark (Dem Pennsylvania.)	1

Rep. Armistead I Selden (Democrat)	1
Rep. Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn	1
Rep. George W. Andrews (Democrat)	1
Rep. James C. Cleveland (Republican of New Hampshire)	1
Rep. James G. O'Hara (Michigan Democrat)	1
Rep. John V. Lindsay (Manhattan Republican)	1
Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham (Democrat of New York)	1
Rep. William Fitts Ryan (Dem of Manhattan)	1
Rep. William M. McCulloch of Ohio	2
Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough	1
Senate Republican leader Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois	2
State Rep W. Clark Hutchinson	1
Russell B. Long (Louisiana)	1
Democrat of New York	1
Brig. Gen. Henry V. Graham (National Guard Officer Commanding Troops	1
Donald Slaiman, Director of Civil Rights Department of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)	1
Total	56

Table D2. List of ‘other’ state government officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
An aide to Wallace	3
Bill Jones	3
Budget Officer James V. Jordan	1
Cecil C. Jackson Governor Wallace’s Executive Secretary	1
Gov. Richard J. Hughes	1
Gov. William W. Scranton	1
Governor Rockefeller	2
Governor Romney	1
John Frazer	1
Alabama Legislator	3
New Jersey State Assembly	1
Spokesman for Wallace	1
Consul-General Park Armstrong Jr.	1
Col. Al Lingo (Safety Director of Public Safety)	3
John Love	1
Total	24

Table D3. List of ‘other’ municipal government officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Harper Sibley Jr. (City Public Safety Commissioner)	1
Mayor Joseph Smitherman (Selma)	6
Wilson Baker	3
Mayor Wagner (New York City)	2
City Council President Paul R. Screvane	3
Total	15

Table D4. List of the ‘other’ civil rights advocates quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
American Jewish Congress	1
Basil A. Paterson (NACCP)	1
Charles S. Conley (SNCC)	1
CORE	2
SNCC	3
James Foreman (SNCC)	1
John Rowe (NAACP)	1
Miss Elizabeth Sutherland (SNCC)	1
Miss Shirley Mesger (CORE)	1
National Advancement of Colored People	1
National Urban League	1
Roy Wilkins	2
SCLC statement	1
SNCC veteran	1
SNCC worker	1
Stanley H. Lowell	1
Whitney M. Young Jr.	1
Rev. James Bevel	5
Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (SCLC)	3
James Farmer (CORE)	4
Aids of MLK	1
James Orange (King’s assistant)	1
Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr	1
King’s assistant	1
Rev. L. L. Anderson	2
Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth (SCLC)	1
Rev. George Lawrence (SCLC)	2
Andrew Marrisett	2
Dr. Alfred Moldovan	1

Rev. Andrew Young	4
Rev C. T. Vivian	3
Total	52

Table D5. List of the other demonstrators quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Demonstrator	7
Doris Wilson	1
Girl in tour of White House	1
Miss Haynes & Miss Lawson	1
Miss Victoria F. Smith	1
Unnamed marcher	2
Robert Brand	1
Stephen G. Cary	1
Charles Maulding	1
Dianna Burrows	1
Elijah Turner	1
John Henry Suttles	1
Leroy Moten	1
Linda Blackman	1
Louis Miller	1
Martha Griffin	1
Morris Jackson	1
Reginald's brother, Cliff	1
William King	1
David Calhoun	1
Bernard Sims	1
15-year-old boy	1
Rev. Clark B. Olsen	1
Rev. Orloff F. Miller	2
Robert Gist	1
Dr. Ralph J Bunche	2
Dr. Walter Johnson	1
Total	36

Table D6. List of court officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Justice Arthur J. Goldberg	1
Justice Hugo Black	1
Lawrence Gubow	1
Maury Smith	2
Supreme Court	2
Burke Marshall	1
Mrs. Constance Baker Motley	1
Atty. Gen. Richmond M. Flowers of Alabama,	1
John Nelson	1
Total	11

Table D7. List of the ‘other’ law enforcement officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
D. H. Lackey	1
White House policeman	1
Asbury Middlebrooks	1
FBI Agent James M Barko	1
Federal Bureau of Investigation spokesperson	1
John F. Malone	1
Leuit. Bud Gordon	1
Maj. John Cloud	3
Maj. Steve Stover	1
Maj. W. L. Allen	3
Police Chief Marvin Stanley	1
Sheriff Clark’s posseman	1
State troopers	1
Total	17

Table D8. List of the ‘other’ church officials quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Episcopal Suffragan Bishop of Washington	1
Bishop Stephen Gill Spotswood	1
Dean Francis B. Sayre Jr.	1
Cardinal Spellman	1
Minister Channing Phillips	1
Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler	1
Dr. Duncan Howlett	1
Episcopal Suffragan	1
Father John F. Cronin	1
Bishop R. H. Mueiller	1
James A. Minter	1
Lawrence Cardinal Shehan	1
Lewis Krienberg	1
Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord of Washington	1
Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell	1
Msgr. George Higgins	1
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice	1
Clergyman	1
Preacher	1
R. Jacobsen	1
Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel	1
Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath	2
Rabbi Max J. Routtenberg	1
Rabbi Robert J. Marx	1
Rev. D. W. Brooks	1
Rev. Dr. Dan M. Potter	1
Rev. Dr. M. Morgan Weston	1
Rev. Farley W. Wheelwright	1
Rev. George M. Docherty	1



Rev. George McMahon	1
Rev. Herbert Smith	1
Rev J. J. Curry	1
Rev. James Finlay	1
Rev. Joseph E. Lowrey	1
Rev. John J. Cavanaugh	1
Rev. John P. Crowley	1
Rev. K. L. Favier	1
Rev. Michael Alen	1
Rev. Paul Moor Jr	1
Rev. Philip Hurley	1
Rev. Rene Guesnier	1
Rev. Robert Hoppe	1
Rev. W. E. Hogan	1
Rev. William A. Jones	1
Rev. Patrick A. O’Boyle	1
Rev. Walter Fauntroy	1
Rev. William M. Baxter	1
Right Rev. James A. Pike	1
Rory Ellinger	1
Sister Mary Peter	2
Spokesperson of the Roman Catholic clergy	1
Timothy Pagano	1
Young minister	1
Dr. Norman Vincent Peale	1
Total	56

Table D9. List of the specific black people quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
12-year-old [black person]	1
20-year-old Reginald Moton	1
Early Butler	1
George Douglas	1
Jesse James Daniel	1
Timothy Murphy	1
Total	6

Table D10. List of the news outlets quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Advertisements in Alabama newspapers	1
Reporter	2
Britain the Guardian	1
Broadcast reporter	1
Journalist questions	2
Liberal Dutch Newspaper	1
Neiuwe Rotterdamse Courant	1
Newspaper editorial	2
Ron Gibson reporter of Birmingham news	1
Selma-Times Journal	1
Soviet Press agency "Tass"	1
Spokesperson for news station	1
Total	15

Table D11. List of the academics quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Dr. Fredereck Kraus	1
Dr. John Landgraf	1
Dr. Robert Coles	1
Total	3

Table D12. List of the entertainers quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Harry Belafonte	1
James Baldwin	1
Leonard Bernstein	1
Total	3

Table D13. List of the ‘others’ quoted in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Angry resident	1
Army spokesperson	1
Bus company officials	2
Construction worker	1
Sister Michael Ann	1
Leaflets anti-march	1
Llyod Russel	1
Louis Armstrong	1
Miss Ruby Magee	1
Murray E Heimbinder	1
One official	1
Rosa Belle Hall	1
Selma resident	1
Spokesman for Southern Railway Company	1
Spokesperson	1
Stephan Schwartz (upper Nayak)	1
Taxi driver	1
Thomas Beech	1
Thomas Dreier	1
NYC official	1
White man	1
Unidentified voice	1
United Steel Workers union	1
USIA official	1
War Hero John D. McCarthy	1
Will McGaughy	1
Winton M. Blount	1
Witness	1
Woman on tour	1

Young men's business of Birmingham	1
Dr. Ney Williams	1
Benjamin R. Epstein	1
Dr. Homer Jack	1
Dressmakers Joint	1
Fannie Lou Hamer	1
George W. Rae	1
John Sullivan	1
Morris Iushewitz	1
Official of the Voice of America	1
Orren L. Perdue	1
Roy Simmons	1
James A. Minter	1
Yale teachers	1
Total	44

The following tables list other people quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Table D14. List of the other federal officials quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Government guard	1
U.S. government	1
U.S. Sen. John Sparkman D-Ala	1
Lt. Gov. Jim Allen	3
Congressman William L Dickinson	3
Press Secretary George E. Reedy	2
Orville Splitt	1
U.S Sen Lister Hill D-Ala	1
Former President Harry Truman	1
Justice Dept. spokesman	2
Jack Rosenball	1
LeRoy Collins	3
Sen. Everett M. Dirksen	3
Rep. Joseph Y. Resnick	1
Sen. Allen J. Ellender	2
Rep. Gerald R. Ford	1
Rep. John Davis	1
Rep. Bob Sides	1
Rep. Sam Gibbons	1
Rep. Glenn Andrews	1
Rep. Jack Edwards	1
Rep. George Andrews	1
Sen. Albert Gore	1
Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr.	1
Rep. John Buchanan	1
Sen. J. William Fulbright	1
senator	1

Sen. Jacob K. Javits	1
Rep. William F. Ryan	1
Rep. Jonathon B. Bingham	1
House Speaker John McCormack	2
Sen Clifford P. Case	1
Sen. Edward M. Kennedy	1
George Meany	1
Vincent J. Murphy	1
Total	47

Table D15. List of the other state government officials quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Person quoted	Times quoted
Gov. Richard Hughes of New Jersey	1
An aide (state)	2
Gov. John Volpe	1
Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller	1
Gov. John Dempsey	1
Gov. Jack Campbell	1
Deputy Ashberry Middlebrooks	1
House Speaker Albert Brewer	3
Gov. John H. Chafer	1
Resolution quoted	1
Legislator	1
Sen. A. C. Shelton	1
Sen. Bob Gilchrist	1
Rep. Joe Goodwyn	1
Sen. Ed Horton	1
Sen. Mill McCain	1
Rep. Alton Turner	1
Sen. Mike Mansfield	1
Col. Albert J. Lingo	2
Sen. Larry Dumas	1
Cecil Jackson	1
Vaughan Hill Robison	1
Rep Richard Dominick	1
Total	27



Table D16. List of the other municipal government officials quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Mayor Art Hanes	1
John Burns	1
L. B. Sullivan,	1
Montgomery Mayor Earl James	1
Wilson Baker	4
Mayor Joseph T. Smitherman	3
Total	11

Table D17. List of the other civil rights advocates quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Roy E. Wilkins	2
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	1
[Black] Leaders	1
Rev. Andrew Young	1
Total	5

Table D18. List of the other demonstrators quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Leader of the march	1
Signs from spectators	1
March leaders	1
Amelia Boynton	4
Dr. Ralph Bunche	1
Total	8

Table D19. List of court officials quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
McLean Pitts	1
Attorney Fred Gray	1
Judge James Hare	1
Judge Daniel H. Thomas	1
Attorneys for Wallace	1
Atty. O.J. Goodwyn	1
J. B. Stoner	1
Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy,	1
Circuit Judge L. S. Moore	1
William J. O'Connor	1
David W. Crosland	1
Total	11

Table D20. List of other law enforcement officials quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Chief Deputy U.S. Marshal H. Stanley Fountain	1
FBI Agent	1
State Trooper Lt. R. E. Ethridge,	1
D. H. Lackey	1
Sheriff Mac Slim Butler	1
Marvin Stanley	1
Maj. John Cloud	5
Lt. Bud Gordon	1
Total	12

Table D21. List of the other religious representatives quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Person quoted	Times quoted
Contingent from Church Federation of Greater Chicago	1
Bishop Thomas J. Toolen	3
Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference	1
National Council of Churches	1
Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike	1
Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Alabama	1
Episcopalian	1
Clergymen of the Unitarian Denomination	1
Archbishop Lawrence Cardinal Shehan	1
Rev. Jack Mendel	1
Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Alabama	1
Right Rev. C. J. Carpenter	1
Rev. Norman C. Truesdell	1
Rabbi Richard L. Rubenstein	1
Bishop	1
Methodist Bishop Kenneth Goodson of Birmingham	1
Rev J. L. Ware	1
Chattanooga Christian Leadership Council	1
Total	20

Table D22. List of specific black people quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Margaret Moore	1
Dr. William B. Dinkins and Dr. Edward Maddox Jr.	2
Jimmie Lee Jackson	1
John Carter Lewis	1
Unidentified [black person]	1
Early Butler	1
Total	7

Table D23. List of news outlets quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Washington: The Post	3
Newspaper Editorial	1
Newsmen	1
Birmingham news reporter	1
Total	6

Table D24. List of others who the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted.

<b>Person quoted</b>	<b>Times quoted</b>
Florence and Colbert County Ministerial Associations	1
Dr. Samuel S Berman	1
Douglas O. Benton	1
State highway engineer	1
Billy Graham	1
Robert P. McCormick	2
Ralph "Short" Price	1
Dr. Lois Edinger	1
Charles Cook	1
President of Alabama League of Aging Citizens Rubin M. Hanan	1
Supt. Austin R. Meadows	2
Spectators	1
J. R. Stallworth	1
Walter McKee	1
Rep. tram sessions	1
Harry Bridges	1
James Lawson	1
Don Hallmark	1
Total	20

## APPENDIX E

## Tables of People Mentioned

The following tables list ‘other’ people mentioned in *The New York Times*.

Table E1. List of other federal officials mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Wife of Vice President	1
Bill D. Moyers	2
Charles B. Chamblee	1
Chief U.S. Marshal James J. P. McShane	2
Robert S. McNamara	1
Gen Harold K. Johnson	2
George E. Reedy	2
George Meany	1
Jack Rosenball, (Public Affairs Officer)	1
Jack Valenti	1
Lee White	1
Lynda Bird Johnson	1
Maj. Gen. Alfred C. Harrison	1
Maj. Gen. Carl C. Turner	2
Maj. George V. Underwood	1
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt	1
Mrs. Johnson	1
National Guard Officer Brig. Gen. Henry V. Graham	3
President Harry S. Truman	1
President Roosevelt	1
Albert Gore	1
Assist Democrat	1
Ella T. Grasso	1
Gerald R. Ford Jr.	1
House Democrat Whip Hale Boggs	1

House Democratic Leader Carl Albert	1
Gov. Jacob K. Javits	3
Senator James O. E.	1
Brig. Gen. John M. Wright	2
Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen	3
Robert F. Kennedy	2
Sen. Allen Ellender	1
Sen. George Smathers	1
Sen. Sam Erwin	1
Speaker John W. McCormack	1
Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel	3
Sen. of Montaro	3
Rep. Glenn Andrews	1
Committee Emanuel Celler	1
Rep. William Fitts Ryan	2
Donald Slaiman	2
Walter Davis	1
William Pollard	1
Total	62

Table E2. List of other state officials mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Bill Jones	1
George Fowler	2
Gov. Collins	1
Gov. John A. Love	1
Gov. George Romney of Michigan	2
Governor Phillip H. Hoff of Vermont	1
Cecil C. Jackson	1
Gov. of New Jersey	1
Rep. Leonard Farbstein	1
Gov. Jimmy Davis	1
Rep. Jacob H. Gilbert	1
John H. Chafee	1
John N. Dempsey	1
John W. King	1
John H. Reed of Maine	1
State Treasurer Gerald A. Lamb	1
John A. Volpe of Massachusetts	1
Gov. of California	1
Col. Al Lingo	6
Comptroller Abraham D. Beame	2
Captain W. B. Painter	1
Total	29



Table E3. List of other municipal officials mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
George Ritter	1
David Ross	2
Deputy Mayor George Kinella	1
James E. Bent	1
Madison S. Jones	2
Mayor Wagner	5
Mayor Arthur J. Holland	1
Mayor Earl D. James	1
Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh	2
Mayor Joe Smitherman of Selma	1
Mayor Leonard Rogers	1
Paul R. Screvane	4
L. B. Sullivan	1
Russell Richards	1
Theodore J. DiLorenzo	1
Thomas H. Corrigan	1
Mayor Richard Sheehan	1
Wilson Baker	4
Hy Bravin	1
Stanley Lowell	4
Total	36

Table E4. List of other civil rights advocates mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Bayard A. Rustin	1
Benjamin R. Epstein	1
Charles Cogen	1
Charles Evers	1
CORE	2
David Sullivan	1
George Ware	1
George Wiley	2
James Peck	1
James B. Carey	1
James Farmer	5
James Foreman	4
Mario Savio	1
Marion Barry	2
Max Greenberg	1
NAACP	1
Normal Hill	1
Oscar Cohen	1
other leaders of SCLC	2
Ralph Helstien	1
Roy Wilkins	4
Russell Crowell	1
Rev. Paul Smith	1
Whitney M. Young	1
Norman Thomas	1
Rev. James Peters of Bridgeport	1
George Davis	1
Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy	4
Rev. T. Vivian	3

Wilbur Smith	1
Rev. Andrew Young	1
Viola Gregg Liuzzo	1
Rev. James Bevel	3
Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth	2
Bayard Rustin	1
CORE	1
Rev. Walter E. Fauntry	1
Rev. Milton Galamison	1
Rev. J. Schults	1
Total	61

Table E5. List of other marchers and demonstrators mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Jim Letherer	3
Percy Sutton	1
Marcher	1
Eli Johnson	1
Doris Wilson	2
Rev. Dr. Theodore Gill	2
Rev. Sherill Smith	1
Rev. Clark Olson	2
Sister Mary Leoline	1
Timothy Murphy	1
Rev. Orloff F. Miller	2
Mrs. Amelia Boynton	2
Aruza Sanders	1
Len Chandler	1
Dr. Bunche	3
Mrs. Paul Douglas	3
Mrs. Charles W Tobey	1
C. Vann Woodward	1
Richard Hofstadter	1
John Hope Franklin	1
Henry R. Winkler	1
Bernard Weisberger	1
Martin Duberman	1
James W. Silver	1
James Shenton	1
Mark Haller	1
Robert Cross	1
Donald Campbell	1
Harold Hyman	1

John Higham	1
Shaw Livermore Jr.	1
Rogers Shugg	1
Stuart Bruchey	1
E. B. Smith	1
Thomas N. Bonner	1
Samuel P. Hayes	1
J. Rogers Hollingsworth	1
Dean Herbert T. Long	1
Dr. Aaron Halls	1
Dr. Alan Carlsten	1
Dr. Keith Irwin	1
Dr. Kenneth Keeton	1
Ted Klitzke	1
Dr. Ed Calrson	1
Dr. Jack Geiger of Harvard	3
Dr. David French	1
Rev. Robert Johnson	1
Mrs. Harold L. Ickes	1
Total	61

Table E6. List of other court officials mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Assistant Attorney General John Doar	9
Att. Gen. Richmond M. Flowers	1
Atty. Gen Edward W. Brooke of Mass	1
Atty. General in Alabama	1
Cecil Poole	1
Deputy Atty. Gen of US Ramsey Clark	8
Federal District Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile	4
Judge James J. Hare	1
Judge Richard T. Rives	1
Lee C. White, Maj.	1
Robert M. Morgenthau	1
U.S. Atty. Drew J. T. O'Keefe	1
U.S. District Judge Harold Cox of Jackson	1
Mrs. Constance Baker Motley	5
Total	36

Table E7. List of other law enforcement officials mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
J. Edgar Hoover	1
Leroy Collins	8
Maj. Gen. Alfred Harrison	1
Maj. John Cloud	3
Michael J. Murphy	1
Sheriff Mac Sim Butler	1
Sheriff Rainey	1
Total	16

Table E8. List of other religious representatives mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Bishop John Wesley	3
Cardinal Spellman	1
Deaconess Phyllis Edwards	1
Dr. David G Colwell	1
Dr. Eugene Carson Blake	1
Dr. Seymour Siegel	1
Dr. Albert J Penner	1
The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle	1
John Wesley Lord	1
Deaconess Phyllis Edwards	2
Members of staff of Right Rev. James A. Pike	1
Most Rev. John Patrick Cody (archbishop of New Orleans)	1
Most Rev. Thomas Toolen	3
Msgr. Charles J. Brady	1
Msgr. George Higgins	1
Msgr. George L. Gingras	2
Msgr. George W. Casey	1
Rabbi Abraham Heschel	2
Rabbi David J. Susskind	1
Rabbi Everett Gendler	1
Rabbi Irwin I. Hyman	1
Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch	1
Rabbi Stanley M. Kessler	1
Ralph Abernathy's kids	1
Rep. Robert Grimes	1
Reps. Jewish Community Council	1
Rev. Canon William	1
Rev. Charles Pendleton	1
Rev. Dan M potter (exec of council)	1

Rev. Dr. David R. Hunter	2
Rev. Dr. Ray Gibbons	1
Rev. Dr. Robert W Spike	3
Rev. Dr. William F Rosenblum	1
Rev. Frederick D. Reese	1
Rev. Herald Swezy	1
Rev. Kenneth Murdoch	1
Rev. John Vernon Butler	1
Rev. Joseph Ellwanger	1
Rev. Paul J. Millancy	1
Rev. Robert Stone	1
Rev. Robert Foulks	1
Rev. Theodore A. Gill	1
Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley	1
Right Rev. Alfred L. Banyard	1
Right Rev. Richard Millard	1
Right Rev. Paul Moore Jr.	1
Rev. Paul J Mullany	1
Sister Ernest Maria	1
Nun	1
Other leaders of Christian Conference	2
Total	61

Table E9. List of specific black people mentioned in *The New York Times*.

Person mentioned	Times mentioned
Jimmie Lee Jackson	7
Mrs. Mary McGhee	1
Terry Jerome Wimmins	1
Total	9



Table E10. List of other entertainers mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Alan King	2
Arthur Davis	1
Billy Eckstine	2
Bobby Darin	1
Chad Mitchell Trio	2
Dick Gregory	3
Elaine May	2
Ella Fitzgerald	1
Floyd Patterson	2
Gary Merrill	2
George Kirby	1
Godfrey Cambridge	1
Harry Belafonte	4
Ina Blain	1
James Baldwin	2
Joan Baez	4
John Killens	1
John Stewart of Kingston Trio	1
Lena Horne	1
Leon Bibb	2
Mahalia Jackson	1
Mike Nichols	2
Nina Simone	1
Nipsey Russel	2
Odetta	1
Pete Seeger	2
Peter, Paul and Mary (group)	4
Ruby Dee	1
Sammy Davis	2

Shelley Winters	2
Leonard Bernstein	1
Tony Bennett	2
Tony Perkins	1
Total	60

Table E11. List of other people mentioned in *The New York Times*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor	1
Borough President Joseph F. Periconi	1
Charles S. Zimmerman	2
David Hall	1
David Sullivan	1
Dr. Abraham Halpern	1
Dr. Harold Schoemer	1
Dr. Richard Hausknecht	1
Dr. James E.	1
Dr. Leon Redler	1
Elmer Cook	1
Harry D. Reeb	1
Harry Golden	1
James B. Carey	1
James Forman	1
James H. Meredith	2
Dr. King’s wife	1
John A. Sullivan	1
Joseph Konowe	1
Leo Hoylan	1
Max Greenburg	1
Mrs. Dreier	1
Mrs. Marie Reeb	3
Mrs. Michael Straight	1
Dr. Sullivan Jackson	1
Nicholas Lee	1
Noel D. Cooper	1
International Brotherhood Teamsters	1
Olympic medal winners John Woodruff and Andy Stanfield	1

Rachel Milton	1
Reb's kids	2
Rob Powell	2
Robert Fischel	1
Runner Vivian Valle	1
Thomas Randal Kendrick	1
Namon Hoggle	1
William Stanley Hoggle	2
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (telegram), I	1
Elmer Cook	2
Jackie Robinson famous baseball player	1
Martin Watson	1
King's wife	1
Dr. Richard Hauskecht of New York and	1
R. B. Kelly	2
Total	54

The following tables are lists of the people the *Montgomery Advertiser* mentioned.

Table E12. List of other federal officials mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Person mentioned	Times mentioned
Robert S. McNamara	1
President Dwight D. Eisenhower	1
President Harry Truman	1
President John F. Kennedy	1
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey	1
Vice President Richard M. Nixon	1
Sen. Everett M. Dirksen	1
Sen Hill	2
Rep. Dickinson,	1
Rep. Barry Lynchmore	1
Total	11

Table E13. List of other state officials mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Gov. Connolly	1
Gov. George Romney	1
Gov. Orval Faubus	1
Gov. Rockefeller	1
Gov. Edward T Breathitt	1
Jefferson Davis	1
Mrs. Harold Ickes	1
Mrs. Paul Douglas	1
Rep. Gus Young	1
Rep. Sam Nettles	1
Sen. Jimmy Clark	1
Sen. Pete Matthews	1
Sen. Roland Cooper	1
Sen. Sparkman	1
Sen. Neil Metcalf	1
Sen. Larry Dumas	2
Col. Albert Lingo	8
Rep. Prentiss Walker	1
Capt. W. B. Painter	1
Total	27

Table E14. List of other municipal officials mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Mayor Jerome Cavanagh	1
Mayor Roland G Desmarals	1
Mayor Earl James	1
Total	3

Table E15. List of other civil rights advocates mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Dallas County Voters League	1
James Forman	1
Joseph Lowery of Birmingham	1
Larry Fox	1
SNCC	1
Whitney Young	1
Rev. James Bevel	1
Rev. Ralph Abernathy	1
Viola Gregg Liuzzo	1
William M. Kunstler	1
Robert McCormick	3
Bayard Rustin	1
Total	14

Table E16. List of other demonstrators and marchers mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Amelia Boynton	2
Mrs. Paul Douglas	1
Ministers beaten	2
Rev. Orloff F. Miller	3
Rev. Clark Olsen	3
Mrs. Charles Tobey	1
Dr. Ralph Bunche	1
LeRoy Moton	1
Total	14

Table E17. List of other court officials mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Cecil Poole	1
Peter Hall	1
Solomon Seay	1
Judge James A. Hare	2
Ramsey Clark	1
Edward Brooke	2
Fred Gray	2
Judge Bishop Barron	1
Judge Daniel H. Thomas	1
Judge Peter Woodbury	1
Frank Kelly	1
R. S. Hill	1
Constance Baker Motley	1
Total	16



Table E18. List of other law enforcement officials mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Maj. Walter L. Allen Jr.	1
LeRoy Collins	1
Maj. John Cloud	1
Police Capt. K. W. Jones	1
Fred Hammock	1
Robert Shelton	1
Roy Smith	1
Trooper Charles Webber	1
State troopers	1
Total	9

Table E19. List of other religious representatives mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Bishop John Wesley Lord	1
Right Reverend C. C. J. Carpenter	1
Dr. D. R. Price	2
Lutheran Minister Norman C. Truesdell	1
Msgnr. George L Gingras	3
Pastor	2
Rabbi Richard G. Hirsche	1
Rev. James S. Cantrell	1
Rev John C. Turner	1
Rev. Jesse L. Douglas	1
Total	14

Table E20. List of other specific black people mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
David Hall	1
Total	1

Table E21. List of entertainers mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

<b>Person mentioned</b>	<b>Times mentioned</b>
Alan King	1
Billy Eckstine	1
Chad Mitchell Trio	1
Nipsy Russell	1
Byron Janis	1
Leonard Bernstein	1
Dick Gregory	1
Elaine May	1
Floyd Patterson	1
Harry Belafonte	1
Ina Balin	1
Leon Bibb	1
Mike Nichols	1
Nina Simone	1
Odetta	1
Ossie Davis	1
Pernell Roberts	1
Pete Seeger	2
Shelley Winters	1
Tony Bennet	1
Tony Perkins	1
James Baldwin	1
Total	23

Table E22. List of other people mentioned in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Person mentioned	Times mentioned
Carl Wayne Clark	2
D. H. Hammond	2
Dorothy Frazier	2
Elmer Cook	1
Father of Rev. Reeb	1
Gordon Persons	1
Harold Frodge	1
J. C. Hogan	1
Jack Kennedy	1
Jimmy George Robinson	1
Kremlin J. Edgar Hoover	1
Leo Haley	1
Malcom X	1
Mohandas K. Gandhi	1
Mrs. Annie Turner	1
Mulreany	1
Paul (Bear) Bryant	2
R.B. Kelly	1
Mrs. Marie Reeb	1
Rufus A. Lewis	1
Steven Kuromiya	1
Tucker Frederickson	1
Viola’s husband Dr. Anthony J. Liuzzo	1
William Stanley Hoggle	1
Ike Eisenhower	1
Dr. Paul Shoffeitt	1
Total	30