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A REPLAY OF O.J. IN BLACK AND WHITE: PRE-TRIAL COVERAGE
IN THE
LOS ANGELES TIMES AND THE LOS ANGELES SENTINEL

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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1998

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ABSTRACT

No trial in the latter half of twentieth century America divided the races as did the People of Los Angeles County Versus Orenthal James Simpson. Race was more of a significant factor after the verdict with a *Newsweek* October 16, 1995 poll revealing 54 percent of whites disagreeing with the "Not Guilty" ruling and 85 percent of blacks agreeing. This study analyzed the role race played in mainstream and black media pre-trial coverage of the Simpson case, and explored the difference in the perception and orientation of these two mediums using the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*.

DEDICATION

God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. (Acts 17:24-26)

I dedicate this dissertation to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who is the image of the almighty, omniscient God. Through Christ I can do all things, and He made this study possible with the wisdom and knowledge He gave me. I give God all the praise because He is truly worthy. In Him I live and move and have my being.

Without God, completing this dissertation would not have been possible. He opened the door for me to come to The Ohio State University on a minority student fellowship in 1991. I received my master's degree in broadcast journalism in 1994, and completed my doctoral degree in cultural studies with a concentration in sport sociology in 1997. I had some difficult times during the doctoral years, especially financial. There were times when I felt like giving up, but God supplied my tuition through summer research and teaching assistantships for me to earn the

title "doctor of philosophy." God promised to give me my heart's desire and finishing the doctoral program at the young age of 28 proves that He is not slack concerning His promise as men count slackness, but that every promise in Him is yea and amen. My desire is to use my education to glorify God, not myself.

Since my topic, the O.J. Simpson murder trial, is still a sensitive racial issue, I chose the above scriptures to reiterate that all men were created in the image of God. No matter what ethnic background we belong to, we all have the same origin. The verdict in this trial exposed the rift that still exists between African-Americans and whites. Much healing between the races still needs to take place in this country. It is my prayer that America will reclaim the Christian principles she was founded on and fight the cancerous affects of prejudice that polarize our nation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So shalt thou find favor and good understanding in the sight of God and man. (Proverbs 3:4)

Again, I give honor to Jesus Christ who allowed me to find favor in the sight of my professors and colleagues at The Ohio State University. I thank my mother, Ethel H. Johnson, who instilled in me the value of education at an early age. Mom, you pushed me when I did not feel like being pushed, but now you see the results of your influence in my life! Thank you for your guidance. I love you! I also acknowledge my late grandmother, Jesse Mae Hardeman, who always believed that I would be successful and supported me ever since she quit her job to take care of me the year I was born.

I thank my spiritual mother, Evangelist Sandra D. Carter, founder of Support Ministries, Inc., for her prayers and encouragement. Sister Carter, to have a leader who is anointed and powerful like you is truly a blessing. Thank you for always encouraging me and by faith addressing me as "Professor." Also, thanks to my family in Christ, my

brothers and sisters of Support Ministries who supported me through prayer. I love you all!

Thanks to my dissertation committee members for their assistance and direction: Drs. Melvin Adelman, Felecia Ross and James Upton. Thank you Dr. Adelman for being a caring advisor to me the last three years. Your classes provided the foundation I will use for my academic and sports journalism careers. Thank you Dr. Ross and Dr. Upton for directing me through my literature review and methodology chapters. Having been blessed to work with all of you on my dissertation made my doctoral experience very rewarding. Finally, I would like to especially thank Dr. Nancy Chism, director of the Office of Faculty and TA Development, and Mary Ann Callaghan, director of the Office of Student Services and Graduate Studies in the School of Educational Policy and Leadership, for providing me with graduate assistantships summer and autumn quarters respectively. It was a pleasure working with both of you and may God shower His richest blessings upon you both as you continue to assist students in their academic development.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgments	v
Vita	vii
List of Tables	ix
Introduction	1
Chapters:	
1. The Dominant Culture's's Perception of the Black Athlete According to American Ideology and the Mainstream Media.....	7
2. Review of Literature.....	55
3. Methodology.....	86
4. Results.....	94
5. Discussion.....	100
Bibliography.....	112
Appendices:	
A. Articles from <i>The Los Angeles Sentinel</i>	118
B. Articles from <i>The Los Angeles Times</i>	125
C. Coding Results	135
D. Sample Coding Instrument	142

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. LA Times Reasons for Stories Coded Negative	99
2. LA Sentinel Reasons for Stories Coded Positive ..	99

INTRODUCTION

A century has passed since Plessy versus Ferguson. A generation has passed since the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Yet, America still finds itself polarized in black and white. Americans in the 1990s are experiencing what Manning Marable terms the "paradox of desegregation," that is, the resentment of whites toward the economic, political and social progress of African-Americans. In an October 1991 nationwide poll of 15- to 24 year-olds by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 51 percent of whites said colleges should not give "special considerations" to recruiting and admitting students of color. Forty-nine percent felt they "were more likely to lose out" than minorities when seeking scholarships, jobs or promotions. In contrast, 68 percent of African-Americans and 52 percent of Latinos felt that minorities were more likely to lose out.¹

¹

Manning Marable, "Reconciling Race and Reality," Media Studies Journal, 8 (1994): 13.

A 1993 survey of more than 2,200 Americans on racial attitudes by the National Science Foundation revealed that white liberals expressed almost the same level of racial animosity as white conservatives toward African-Americans. Fifty-one percent of conservatives and a surprising 45 percent of liberals agreed that "blacks are aggressive or violent." Thirty-four percent of conservatives and 19 percent of liberals agreed that "blacks are lazy;" and 21 percent of conservatives and 17 percent of liberals conceded that "blacks are irresponsible."²

The negative stereotypes of African-Americans that whites alluded to in the National Science Foundation survey are portrayed daily by mainstream media outlets. The mainstream media's myopic depiction of African-Americans as gangsters, prostitutes, and welfare mothers reinforces negative characterizations. Marable concurs:

Much of what white, middle-class America knows about black America is learned from television and films where, for generations, African-Americans have been depicted as oversexed maniacs, crack-smoking criminals, dumb athletes and Aunt Jemimas, as lazy, shiftless, ignorant and hopeless Most African-Americans are not drug dealers or criminals, contrary to the impression promoted by American media.³

²
Ibid., 14.

³
Ibid., 14.

This style of biased journalism in the mainstream media was found in the 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, initiated by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Customarily referred to as the Kerner Commission report, the findings warned that America was becoming two unequal, isolated societies, one white and one black. Twenty-seven years later, the response to the verdict of the most publicized murder trial of twentieth century America fulfilled the Kerner Commission's prophetic admonition: *The People of Los Angeles Country Versus Orenthal James Simpson*.

The major race factor in this trial, Simpson, a black man charged with the murders of a white man, Ronald Goldman, and white woman, his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson, brought the racial schism that many whites thought was obliterated more than 30 years ago back to the national forefront. *Newsweek's* October 16, 1995 poll revealed whites and blacks at opposite ends with 85 percent of blacks agreeing with the "Not Guilty" verdict and 54 percent of whites disagreeing. Sixty-six percent of blacks thought Simpson probably did not commit the murders while 74 percent of whites thought he probably did.⁴

⁴ Mark Whitaker, "Whites v. Blacks," Newsweek, October 16, 1995, 30.

Since the trial was televised, the media had constant access to information with networks like CNN feeding the nation 24-hour-a-day sound bites. Newspaper reporters from major dailies around the country gathered in the courtroom scrambling for front page headline scoops. Just how much influence did the mainstream media have regarding the perceptions of whites and African-Americans on the Simpson case? The Kerner Commission blamed the distorted reporting on the African-American community by the mainstream media as one of the primary reasons for the urban race riots during the summer of 1967. The report concluded that the mainstream media report from a white male perspective.

Joseph Boskin's study on mainstream media depiction of black men revealed that the media perpetuated them in dual images as either savages -- violent, sexually rapacious, dangerous -- or Sambos -- lazy, stupid, reckless and carefree.⁵ Carolyn Martindale argues that white editors are affected by this dual nature and may unconsciously covert stereotypes about African-Americans into a sort of mental grid or framework through which they filter news. This mental grid in turn constructs social cognizance, which

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Joseph Boskin, "Denials: The Media View of Dark Skins and the City," in Small Voices and Great Trumpets: Minorities in the Media, Bernard Rubin, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1980), 141-42.

places African-Americans in media roles that define them as failures and criminals.⁶

Unlike the subtle racist framing of the mainstream media, the black press has been an advocacy medium for African-Americans. African-Americans featured in the black press are generally victims of racist America or idols whose career and communal accomplishments are extolled as advances for the entire race.⁷

This study is a case evaluation of stories from the *Los Angeles Times* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* that employed the method of latent content analysis to evaluate the mainstream and black media pre-trial coverage of the O.J. Simpson murder case. The researcher sought to determine whether race had a significant impact upon pre-trial coverage of Simpson in the mainstream media and if that coverage was stereotypical of blacks as asserted by media scholars.

Chapter one discusses mainstream media coverage of four prominent black athletes whose sporting feats paved the way for the extrication of the rigid social, economic, and political barriers that have prevented blacks from

⁶ Carolyn Martindale, "Changes in Newspaper Images of Black Americans," Newspaper Research Journal (1990): 42.

⁷ E.R. Shipp, "OJ And the Black Media: Neither a Typical Hero nor a Typical Victim, He Challenges Typical Coverage," Columbia Journalism Review 33(November/December 1994): 39.

participating in the fullness of American life: Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, and Muhammad Ali. Chapter two provides an overview of the differences in mainstream and black media functions, discusses differences in perception and orientation, and contrasts their coverage of the Simpson murder trial. Chapter three delineates the methodology used for the study, and chapter four examines the results of the coding instruments from the *Times* and the *Sentinel* in relation to the hypotheses, which predict stereotypical coverage of Simpson in the *Times* and positive coverage of him in the *Sentinel*. Chapter five discusses the implications of the findings in relation to the literature review. Since the majority of mainstream media gatekeepers are white men, this study, along with research done by other media scholars like Martindale, Ellis Cose, and Robert M. Entman, contributes to the continued analysis of bias in mainstream media coverage of African-Americans.

CHAPTER 1

THE DOMINANT CULTURE'S PERCEPTION OF THE BLACK ATHLETE ACCORDING TO AMERICAN IDEOLOGY AND THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA

The mainstream media have long been the purveyors of the doctrinal pre-eminence of Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture in America. The crux for the framework of this ideological paradigm, a hard work ethic based on meritocracy, provides the basis for which we perceive reality.

Michael Banks contends that the stereotypes of African-American athletes are the result of the values permeated by the mainstream media since sport is a primary institution of American ideology. He asserts that black "superstars" in sports are either accepted by the mainstream media based on their adherence to the American value system or castigated based on their rejection of it. Thus, endorsement of black

athletes instantly becomes commodified in the mainstream media, which reiterates the dominant culture's ideology.⁸

Banks maintains that mainstream media ideology has come to dominate all major sports and served as the chief catalyst in the mainstream media's search for a "Great White Hope" during the era of Jack Johnson, America's first black heavyweight champion. With dominant genetic theories such as Social Darwinism prevalent at this time, a black champion disputed the myth of white physical superiority. However, it was Johnson's blatant defiance of America's Jim Crow social order barely four decades removed from slavery that earned him the title of "bad nigger" from black intellectuals.

Johnson confronted America's racial ideals, defeating white men inside the ring, while dating white women outside it. His victories over Tommy Burns and Jim Jeffries disputed the racist, genetic myths concerning black inferiority, and while flaunting his defeat of these White Hopes, Johnson deliberately spurned the stereotypes of his era. This was his way of contesting the societal mores that dictated the Negro's place. His refusal to stay in his

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Michael Banks, "Black Athletes in the Media," (Ph.D. diss: The City University of New York, 1993): 640.

prescribed social caste forced black athletes who came after him to assure America that they were not "bad niggers" but "good Negroes."

The athlete who carried this burden was Joe Louis. Louis, along with 1936 Olympic great Jesse Owens, was a subservient champion who came along when both black and white America needed a hero. By defeating the Aryan athletes of Hitler's regime, Owens and Louis emerged as the first black athletes to be accepted as Americans. The mainstream media viewed their sporting feats as patriotic victories over Nazism and praised their accomplishments because they represented the white middle-class liberal ideals of the 1940s.⁹

Following the accomplishments of Louis and Owens, Jackie Robinson's triumph crossing of Major League baseball's color line expressed the progression of America toward desegregation. With Negro soldiers fighting valiantly against Nazism and Fascism in World War II, blacks began to demand the enforcement of the tenets of the American creed, the belief of the fundamental equality of all men and the right of all to the inalienable privileges

9

Frederic C. Jaher, "White America Views Jack Johnson, Joe Louis and Muhammad Ali." in Sport in America: New Historical Perspectives. Donald Spivey, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985): 160.

of freedom, justice and opportunity. Sport was an arena which enhanced the way for acceptance of the "American Dream" during the post-World War II era as black sportswriters began to pressure the Major Leagues to strike out Jim Crow.¹⁰

By the 1960s, however, blacks rejected 1940s liberalism. Victories in the ring and on the field were no longer viewed as indicators of equality with whites. The athlete who emerged as the radical symbol of this revolutionary decade was Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Clay. Because of his conversion to Islam, the mainstream press depicted Ali as the antithesis of American principles.

Since Ali, no black athlete has really come to the forefront on political issues.

The following sections analyze the dominant culture's perceptions of Johnson, Louis, Robinson, and Ali as heroes or outcasts in relation to American ideology. Mainstream media portrayal of these athletes according to this creed will also be examined.

¹⁰

David K. Wiggins, "Wendell Smith, the Pittsburgh Courier-Journal and the Campaign to Include Blacks in Organized Baseball, 1933-1945," Journal of Sport History 10 (Summer 1983), 8.

The Era of Jack Johnson

Jack Johnson (Little Arthur) upset the racial mores of the sporting world in 1908 with his victory over Canadian Tommy Burns for the heavyweight championship. For the first time in boxing history, a black man held the heavyweight title. Prior to Johnson, five blacks had held crowns in lighter divisions, but the opportunity to contend for the heavyweight title had been denied them because white champions drew the color line in the ring. When Jim Jeffries retired in 1905, the so-called golden era of American heavyweight fighters ended. Before Jeffries, the heavyweight division had been dominated by legendary pugilists John L. Sullivan, Jim Corbett, and Bob Fitzsimmons. All refused to fight black challengers.¹¹

Burns, an unadorned fighter of average ability, gave Johnson a shot at the title mainly because he needed a profitable bout to promote himself. Johnson's victory disturbed whites, but as historian Frederic C. Jaher points out, Burns was not American and the territorial imperatives of patriotism and race were absent since the fight took place in Australia. Naturally, whites were rooting for Burns, but he did not represent American nationalism.¹²

¹¹

Jaher, "White America Views," 146.

¹²

Nevertheless, novelist Jack London, who covered the fight for the *New York Herald*, urged Jeffries to come out of retirement and restore the heavyweight championship to white America:

The fight, there was no fight. No Armenian massacre could compare with the hopeless slaughter that took place in the Sydney stadium today. It was a fight between a playful Ethiopian and a small and futile white man . . . But one thing now remains. Jim Jeffries must now emerge from his alfalfa farm and remove that golden smile from Jack Johnson's face. Jeff it's up to you. The White Man must be rescued.¹³

Johnson was a volatile symbol during the Progressive Period who greatly disturbed the white American male psyche.

White men cherished past boxing icons like Sullivan, Corbett and Fitzsimmons with messianic reverence. Each punch, uppercut, and knockout from these men during their heavyweight reigns had come to represent the strength and virility of white manhood. White biologists and scientists of this era adhered to Social Darwinist theories, relegating blacks to physical as well as intellectual inferiority. Thus, Johnson's victory over Burns challenged the doctrine of white supremacy.¹⁴

Ibid., 148-149.

¹³

San Francisco Call, December 27, 1908, GPC; Nat Fleischer, *Fighting Furies: Story of the Golden Era of Jack Johnson, Sam Langford and Their Contemporaries* (New York, n.d.), 44 in Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes*, (New York: The Free Press, 1983), 61, 68.

¹⁴

The mainstream media also perceived Johnson as a threat to America's racial order. During this time, one of the most pervasive media depictions of blacks was the "Sambo" stereotype, the docile, buffoon, clown-like image. Johnson was featured in Sambo cartoons before his title fight with Jeffries with an ape-like head, large eyes and red lips, nappy hair and big feet.¹⁵ Historian Joseph Boskin contends that whites, unable to restore the authoritative master-slave relationship during the Jim Crow era, were determined to degrade blacks using exaggerated comic means. Thus, many cartoons linked blacks to African primitivism.¹⁶

The dense Sambo was an effigy whites were comfortable with, but Johnson's demeanor did not personify this witless, lethargic stereotype. He was mainly perceived as an insolent "uppity nigger" who had stepped out of his prescribed place in the American caste system, but it was his lust for white women -- an early twentieth century racial taboo -- that earned him the image of the feared and hated black buck. Film scholar Donald Bogle describes the

Jaher, "White America Views," 145-146.

¹⁵

William H. Wiggins, Jr., "Boxing's Sambo Twins: Racial Stereotypes in Jack Johnson and Joe Louis Newspaper Cartoons, 1908 to 1938," Journal of Sport History. 15, (Winter 1988): 253.

¹⁶

Joseph Boskin, Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 124.

black buck stereotype of Johnson's era as a "big, baadddd nigger, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as he lusts for white flesh."¹⁷ Johnson's open philandering with white women, along with his pummeling of white men in the ring, heavily perpetuated this stereotype. One sportswriter described the brash conduct of "Little Arthur":

With money in his pocket and physical triumph over white men in his heart, he displayed all the gross and overbearing insolence which makes what we call the buck nigger insufferable. He was one of the comparatively few men of African blood who, in a half-perceiving way, desire to make the white man pay for all the undoubted ill-treatment of his forbears.¹⁸

Former champion Jim Jeffries came out of retirement to accept the call of the "Great White Hope" for his race; however, many whites were not comfortable with the racial implications of this fight. Johnson was definitely the "bad nigger" who needed to be ruffed up in the ring with Caucasian wrath, but some whites, especially southerners, feared race relations would be drastically altered if Johnson won. One southern official remarked:

Why, some of these young Negroes are now so proud that it is hard to get along with them, but if Jeffries

¹⁷

Donald Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films, (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1994), 13.

¹⁸

Bohum Lynch, Knuckles and Gloves (New York, 1923), 45, quoted in Roberts, Papa Jack, 52.

should be beaten by Johnson they will be crowding white women off the sidewalks and there are plenty of towns where such action as that would cause deplorable troubles.¹⁹

Southern whites feared that more black men would emulate Johnson's lifestyle if he won, which would uproot the code of Jim Crowism.

As the Johnson-Jeffries fight approached, the mainstream media promoted the contest as a war between the races. The *New York Daily Tribune* reported:

Tomorrow afternoon James J. Jeffries and Jack A. Johnson will meet in their long talked of fight for the undisputed heavyweight championship of the world . . . And the son of a slave mammy of the Old South, Heavyweight Champion Johnson, or the son of a preacher, the undefeated Jeffries, will be declared the most perfect fighting machine in the history of the prize ring.²⁰

White intellectuals and boxers picked Jeffries mainly on race alone. Burns, who had been demolished by Johnson in Australia, predicted that "Jeffries will defeat Johnson for the simple reason that in every way he is the champion's physical and mental superior."²¹ Intellectuals overlooked Jeffries' deteriorated boxing skills and believed his

¹⁹

Omaha Daily News, July 2, 1910, quoted in Roberts, Papa Jack, 97.

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New York Daily Tribune, July 3, 1910, 4, quoted in Banks "Black Athletes," 136.

²¹

Ibid.

education and breeding would be enough to dethrone Johnson.

Johnson, as with all black boxers at the time, was thought to have no endurance or heart to fight a white man.²² The prevalent theory was that blacks had less developed brains than whites; thus, Johnson's defensive skills were dismissed as a lack of aggressiveness. However, when the fight finally took place in Reno, Nevada on July 4, 1910, Johnson handedly beat Jeffries in 15 rounds.

An estimated 18,000 to 20,000 witnessed the Jeffries debacle in Reno. The surprising Independence day outcome evoked feelings of trepidation as well as anguish among whites.

Former champions Fitzsimmons and Corbett (Jeffries' manager) wept and newspaper headlines read: "JEFF MASTERED BY GRINNING, JEERING NEGRO."²³ Now that a black man had indisputably triumphed over the white hope, the media was quick to rescind its position on racial physical supremacy.

The *New York Times* stated:

For the colored population we fear that the victory of Mr. Johnson will prove a misfortune. It will be natural for Negroes to proclaim Johnson's victory as a racial triumph . . . and in doing so they incite hostility. Supremacy in a civilized State does not rest on physical force.²⁴

²²

Roberts, Papa Jack, 62.

²³

Jaher, "White America Views," 150.

²⁴

After Johnson's victory, racial tensions rose around the country. Blacks were mercilessly beaten as whites vented their frustration. Violence broke out in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Atlanta, and Chattanooga. Lower-class whites were often the instigators of the attacks as blacks celebrated Johnson's victory.²⁵

Unlike the Burns fight, where whites appeasingly dismissed his loss as unofficial because he was "appointed" the title after his win over Marvin Hart, Johnson's win over Jeffries, who was the retired champion, officially gave him the crown.²⁶ More importantly, the Johnson-Jeffries title bout took place in America, which had nationalistic implications. Unlike Burns, Jeffries was a former American champion whose pugilist image upheld the white male emblem of masculinity. Johnson defeated five white hopes in 1909 and Jeffries, as London stated, "became the chosen representative of the white race." More importantly, the fight took place in the United States, a factor that

New York Times, July 5, 1910, part 1, pp. 1-4, quoted in Jaher, "White America Views," 150-151.

²⁵

Jaher, "White America Views," 151.

²⁶

Banks, "Black Athletes," 125.

escalated the patriotic essence denoted in white America's racist outlook on the heavyweight title.²⁷

As Johnson's victory crushed white physical superiority, whites began to fear that the racial order in America was being uprooted. With his undisputed victory over Jeffries, Johnson was seen as an independent Negro who no longer needed the white man's permission for anything, and Johnson was just that. He did exactly as he pleased. Well aware of the societal taboo forbidding black men to date white women, "Little Arthur" deliberately flaunted his white female companions. Although many were prostitutes, these white paramours were still considered "ladies" when it came to being involved with a black man.²⁸

While whites could not stop Johnson's exploits in the ring, they decided to punish him outside it. In 1913, Johnson was convicted of violating the Mann Act -- the law declaring transporting of women across state borders for the intent of prostitution and debauchery illegal. During the FBI's investigation Johnson married his second white wife, a young prostitute named Lucille Cameron. A year earlier, his first white spouse committed suicide. Georgia congressman

²⁷

Ibid. 149.

²⁸

Roberts, Papa Jack, 74.

Seaborn A. Roddenberry urged his colleagues to pass an amendment that would prohibit interracial marriages. In a passionate speech he stated:

Intermarriage between whites and blacks is repulsive and adverse to every sentiment of pure American spirit. It is abhorrent and repugnant to the very principle of a pure Saxon government. It is subversive to social peace.²⁹

Since Johnson had violated America's sexual mores, the government altered the true intent of the Mann Act -- to convict white slavers -- to castigate Johnson for his marriage to his second wife. After being found guilty by an all-white jury, Johnson fled the country. He defended his championship abroad against lesser white opponents, but as "Little Arthur" aged, he began to lose his defensive fighting form. He finally lost his title in 1915 to Jess Willard. The mainstream press hailed Willard as the restorer of white superiority as he knocked out Johnson in the 27th round. The *New York Times* reported:

Jack Johnson, exile from his own country, today lost the heavyweight championship of the world to Jess Willard, the Kansas cowboy, the biggest man who ever entered the prize ring and a "White Hope" who at last made good."³⁰

²⁹

U.S. Congress, House, Congressional Record, 62d Cong., 3d sess., December 11, 1912, 502-504, quoted in Roberts, Papa Jack, 159.

³⁰

New York Times, April 8, 1915, 8, quoted in Banks, "Black Athletes," 162.

Johnson returned to America in 1920, served his prison term and was released a year later. White Americans' obsession with Johnson ceased after he returned home mainly because of the country's involvement in World War I. Since blacks were now barred from contending for the heavyweight title, and Johnson was no longer fighting, his marriage to his third white wife in 1925 was not as offensive as his previous unions. In the age of the roaring 1920s and jazz, Johnson's image actually improved. He toured the lecture circuit promoting evangelical religion and temperance after he was released from prison. One of his speeches even won approval from an audience consisting of Ku Klux Klan members.³¹

However, Johnson's public image was never totally restored. Although he went down in boxing history as one of America's dominant prizefighters, he is foremost remembered as the "bad nigger" -- the "uppity" black who defied the social and sexual ideals of the Progressive era. Johnson had all the characteristics that were admired in white athletes: courage, virility, strength, and wit. His main desire -- to be accepted into America's mainstream culture -- would have been granted only had he been white.

³¹ Jaher, "White America Views," 156-157.

After Johnson's reign ended, the heavyweight division was dominated by white fighters like Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Jack Sharkey, Max Baer, and James J. Braddock. It would be 22 years after Johnson was dethroned before Joe Louis, the second black heavyweight champion, would claim title.³² Louis was the black antithesis of Johnson. He knew his place, accepted it, and ascribed to the tenets of the dominant white culture. As Jaher notes, the "Brown Bomber was phlegmatic and obedient, a credit to his race in a time of patronizing tolerance."³³ Thus, with the emergence of Louis in the 1930s, white Americans began to modify their racist concept of the black athlete.

The Era of Joe Louis

Joe Louis, along with Jesse Owens, was one of the most revered black athletes during the New Deal era. To white America, they represented the canon of American ideology -- success as a result of merit. Neither Louis nor Owens attempted to usurp the racial and social order as Johnson had before them. William J. Baker contends that the myth of Hitler supposedly snubbing Owens in the 1936 Berlin Olympics

³² Banks, "Black Athletes," 163-164.

³³ Jaher, "White America Views," 158.

"satisfied a fundamental need to believe in moral order: the evil Hitler insulting the innocent Owens, but with innocence and virtue winning in the end."³⁴

Nazism and Fascism were perceived to be the evils of the moral order of America, and as the country drew closer to war with the Axis powers that practiced this extreme racism, America was forced to examine its own bigotry. The anti-German/Italian sentiment, along with the liberalism of the New Deal period, enabled Louis to transition from being primarily a black champion to an American one.³⁵ Louis' widespread appeal catapulted when he knocked out German Max Schmeling in their 1938 rematch. Schmeling defeated Louis in 1936, the same year Owens outran and outjumped Hitler's Aryans in track and field to win four gold medals in the Berlin Olympics. However, Owens did not bear the burden of American democracy against Nazism as heavily as Louis did against Schmeling in 1938. He returned home from Berlin an American hero, but his prominence was temporal. With his amateur status stripped by the AAU for signing with a professional agent, Owens could no longer compete in track and field meets. Forced to turn professional, he faced the

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William Baker, Jesse Owens: An American Life, (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 3.

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Jaher, "White America Views," 160.

paradox of American sport's so-called level playing field. With few opportunities for employment or commercial endorsements, he was quickly relegated back to second-class citizenship in America's racist caste system.³⁶

In the rematch against Schmeling, Louis clearly represented Americanism against German Nazism as the United States drew closer to war against the Axis countries. Since 1936, the Nazis had conquered Austria and were carrying out their heinous plan of Jewish genocide. The mainstream media heavily criticized the evils of the Third Reich and endorsed Louis as America's representative against the Aryans. During a White House visit a few weeks prior to the fight, President Franklin D. Roosevelt told the Brown Bomber, "Joe, we need muscles like yours to beat Germany."³⁷ With his victory over Schmeling, Louis' heroism satisfied the needs of both races. Dominic J. Capeci, Jr. and Martha Wilkerson concede that the societal need for someone of Louis' stature was essential with the anticipation of World War II. Louis appealed to both blacks and whites and identified himself with American values. Thus, he sustained the conservative status quo.³⁸

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Ibid., 160.

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Ibid., 164.

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Well aware of whites' belligerence toward Johnson, Louis' managers John Roxborough and Julien Black precisely groomed Louis to be unoffensive to whites. Throughout his career, they advised Louis not to emulate the truculent behavior of "Little Arthur," whom Louis' trainer Jack Blackburn constantly scolded, "that fool nigger with his white woman, acting like he owned the world."³⁹ Roxborough and Black told Louis to never be photographed with a white woman and to humbly accept victories over white opponents in the ring. They specifically designed the "good Negro" image of Louis to counteract the "bad nigger" emblem of Johnson. Thus, Louis was depicted as a modest fighter who neither smoked nor drank, donated his earnings to charity and family, and went to church. The submissive Brown Bomber was acceptable to whites who preferred the "docile Negro" to the "uppity nigger" Johnson prototype in the 1930s.⁴⁰

Although white Americans were content with Louis' character, he was not immune to unfavorable coverage in the

Dominic J. Capeci Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, "Multifarious Hero: Joe Louis, American Society and Race Relations During World Crisis, 1935-1945," Journal of Sport History 10 (Winter 1983): 24.

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Caswell Adams, "Instructing the New Joe Louis," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 10, 1941, 107 quoted in Capeci Jr. and Wilkerson, "Multifarious Hero," 6.

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Anthony Edmonds, Joe Louis (William B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 1973): 64.

mainstream media. Even after his impressive victory over Italian Primo Carnera, which conjured up images of the Ethiopian invasion by Mussolini, folklorist William H. Wiggins, Jr. notes that from 1935 to 1938, newspaper cartoons portrayed Louis in non-threatening, dumb, and slothful Sambo stereotype. He cites several cartoons that appeared in the *New York Evening Journal* that depict Louis as a dunce. One cartoon ran with the caption: "'Use the word 'defeat' Joseph.' 'Sho,' answered the Sambo Louis. 'I pops 'em on de chin and dey drags 'em out by de feet.'" Another cartoon promoting the 1937 Louis-James Braddock fight carried a caption which said the Irish fighter "hopes to outsmart and out box the *slow-thinking Louis*."⁴¹

The match between Louis and Braddock took place one year after Louis lost his first bout to Schmeling. Although he won seven fights between his loss to Schmeling and his victory over Braddock, sportswriters demanded flawlessness from Louis in all his fights.⁴² When Louis knocked out former heavyweight champion Jack Sharkey, sportswriters were not impressed. Associated Press correspondent Bob Cavagnero said the Sharkey victory "left

⁴¹ W. Wiggins, "Boxing's Sambo Twins," 251.

⁴² Edmonds, Joe Louis, 47.

room for plenty of doubt whether Louis is the destructive fistifier he used to be. Until Louis is sent against a fighter of Schmeling's caliber again, the full extent of his victory cannot be calculated." Although Louis easily defeated South American challenger Jorge Brescia, reporters focused on Brescia's ability to land punches against the Brown Bomber. United Press reporter Jack Cuddy stated, "The Negro had felt the dynamite in Brescia's right. Louis was in greater danger in [this fight] than at any time during his professional career."⁴³

However, as Louis prepared for his 1938 rematch against Schmeling, whites, along with the mainstream media, were not hesitant to make Louis aware of his patriotic duty to defeat the German athlete of the Nazi regime. The Brown Bomber answered the call of his country, demolishing Schmeling in 2:04 of the first round. Unlike Johnson's victory over Jeffries, blacks were allowed to celebrate Louis' knockout of Schmeling without fear of retaliation from whites because his triumph was perceived as an American victory. Louis beat a white man, but this white man was German, not American. Thus, for the first time, patriotism and anti-

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Ibid., 47.

racism were parallel, and Louis was commended by whites because he upheld "American values."⁴⁴

Louis' fame soared as a national icon after 1938 and reached its pinnacle during World War II. By refusing to seek a draft deferment, donating prize money to the Army and Navy Relief Funds, and boxing in exhibitions at military camps and hospitals, the Brown Bomber was revered almost as much as Jack Dempsey with only Babe Ruth casting a larger shadow as a sports hero.

Mainstream media images of Louis were more humane after the Schmeling knockout. The derisive Sambo depictions began to decline, and as Wiggins points out, American cartoonists began to portray Louis in sketches that captured his "handsome countenance" and "sterling character."⁴⁵

With this "Galahad-like" image, Louis was considered the best role model for blacks to emulate. As Edmonds maintains, by being a "good Negro, one who did not bring shame on his race, Louis had dashed all the fears of those who envisioned rampaging blacks bent on destroying white civilization."⁴⁶ While the "good Negro" emblem of Louis

⁴⁴ Capeci and Wilkerson, "Multifarious Hero," 10.

⁴⁵ W. Wiggins, "Boxing's Sambo Twins," 253.

⁴⁶ Edmonds, Joe Louis, 88.

adhered to liberal white middle-class values, he was not completely submissive to America's racist tactics. During his military service in World War II, Louis wrote a letter protesting an area declared off-limits to black soldiers in England which resulted in the dismissal of the colonel who issued the order. The Brown Bomber shrewdly threw uppercuts against Jim Crow as he spoke out against Army discrimination at bond rallies and boxed with soldiers of both races before integrated audiences only. While the Army used Louis to promote its image and the war effort, Louis, in symbiotic fashion, used his role in the military to promote integration. His status as a national hero personified the "interracial symbolism" needed by white leaders, and as black leaders and journalists announced the Double V campaign, the call for victory over racism abroad and at home, Louis became their representative in the struggle for racial equality.⁴⁷

Louis' patriotic service helped whites become more receptive to changes in the status quo after the war. As Capeci and Wilkerson contend, the Brown Bomber's historical significance lay in the fact that he represented the "best ideals of Americanism." His military service, combined with

⁴⁷ Capeci and Wilkerson, "Multifarious Hero," 13.

his politically symbolic victories over Carnera and Schmeling, paved the way for America's second reconstruction -- the move toward an integrated society.

The Era of Jackie Robinson

The end of World War II forced America, more than in any other period in history, to morally reassess the egalitarian ideals of its national ideology. Contemporary black liberals of the 1940s argued that racism resulted from the transgression of these principles.⁴⁸ The black press heavily castigated America's "apartheid" system and considered integration imperative in a democratic society.

Continuing the Double V campaign strategy as black soldiers returned from fighting abroad, the black press targeted the segregated ranks of the national pastime in its quest for the desegregation of America's sporting institutions. Even writers in the mainstream press, such as *Montreal Gazette* columnist Dink Carroll, claimed that Jim Crow baseball and its southern roots were a breach of the American creed:

Many Americans have criticized baseball for drawing the color line, and have argued that it couldn't truly be called America's national game because of this discrimination . . . part of the Japanese propaganda in the Pacific was to point out

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William Simons, "Jackie Robinson and the American Mind: Journalistic Perceptions of the Reintegrations of Baseball," Journal of Sport History, 12 (Spring 1985): 45.

that colored people were discriminated against in the United States. Many Americans had to ask themselves should they not courageously back up their fighting men -- of all races, creeds and color -- by eradicating the color line at home?⁴⁹

Before Jackie Robinson signed his contract on October 23, 1945 to play for the Montreal Royals, the minor league team of the Brooklyn Dodgers, *Chicago Defender* sports editor Fay "Doc" Young wrote a column entitled "We Won't Stand For Any Bunk," opposing the idea of Negro League teams being owned by Major League clubs:

Either the Negro ballplayers get into the major leagues as any other player of ability or the gentleman's agreement between major league owners and managers, which is decidedly against the very principle for which the soldiers have been fighting for is still in vogue. The Jim Crowing of the Negro ballplayer will continue if the Negro ballplayer is hired to play on a Negro team operated by the owner of a major league club or park. That we won't stand for. We will take the whole hog or nothing.⁵⁰

Opponents of the former UCLA All-American's entrance into the Majors tried to hide behind 1940s liberalism, arguing that Robinson's signing would lead to the demise of the Negro Leagues. Kansas City Monarch white co-owner Tom Baird protested Rickey's recruitment of Robinson declaring, "If the wholesale robbery of Negro players from our league

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Montreal Gazette, Oct. 24, 1945, 14, quoted in Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 143.

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Chicago Defender, Sept. 1, 1945, 7.

continues we may as well quit baseball."⁵¹ Clark Griffith, owner of the Washington Senators, also denounced the signing of Robinson claiming, "In no walk of life can one person take another's property unless he pays for it. We have no right to destroy the Negro Leagues."⁵² The black press was quick to expose the mendacity of these white owners in liberal sheepskin, emphasizing their main concern was not the prosperity of the Negro Leagues, but their profits that would be lost from the decline of colored ballclubs:

The Old Fox, as Griff (Clark Griffith) is known in organized baseball, is a shrewd business man. It's his business acumen that causes him to compliment the National Negro League by saying it is well established and organized baseball shouldn't raid it by taking their players. But Griff is no liberal by any means. Not until colored baseball made the turnstiles click in figures comparable to those of the Nationals did he allow colored clubs to play white clubs in Griffith Stadium.⁵³

Brooklyn Dodgers president Branch Rickey was not immune to the desire to make a profit, but unlike Baird and Griffith, he possessed a moral quality in his approach to the game. Dubbed the "Mahatma," and a devout Methodist, Rickey refused

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Washington Daily News, Oct. 24, 1945, 40, quoted in Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 143.

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Boston Daily Globe, Oct. 25, 1945, 8; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1945, 29, quoted in Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 145.

⁵³

Amsterdam News (New York), Nov. 10, 1945, 10, quoted in Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 146.

to attend Sunday games, although his critics were quick to point out that he did not hesitate to collect the offering at the gate. However, reflecting on his decision to sign Robinson, Rickey explained, "I couldn't face my God much longer knowing that His black creatures are held separate and distinct from His white creatures in the game that has given me all I own."⁵⁴

After the 1945 tryouts at Bear Mountain, Rickey addressed the issue of black players in the Majors at a press conference stating that the Dodgers had no intention of signing a black ballplayer and that he thought the Negro Leagues were rackets and needed reform. To rectify the Jim Crow dilemma of organized baseball, Rickey announced the start of a United States League which he intended to be a circuit for black players. The Dodgers president hinted that the best players in this new league would possibly have an opportunity to play in the Majors. His true intentions, however, were to use the United States League to recruit black athletes for his organization.⁵⁵

As his scouts began to file reports on potential black players, Robinson boldly stood out from the rest. Since the

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Jules Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 48.

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Ibid., 47-48.

initial black player was expected to spend several years in the minors, anyone over 30 was eliminated. This ruled out Negro League stars like Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige, although Paige did make the Cleveland Indians' roster in 1948. Younger players such as Roy Campanella of the Baltimore Elite Giants and pitcher Don Newcombe of the Newark Eagles were considered Major League prospects, but Rickey was not convinced they had the maturity or resilience for his "great experiment." Robinson was obviously not the best second baseman from the Negro Leagues, but the Mahatma needed more than natural talent. He needed a black athlete with the mental capacity to withstand racial taunts from white fans along with the integrity and courage not to retaliate.⁵⁶ Robinson fit the mold. His sporting feats at UCLA had established him as one of the country's best-all around athletes during his college career. Robinson emerged as the Bruins' first four letter athlete, excelling in football, basketball, track, and baseball. Moreover, he was one of the few blacks in the 1940s who played collegiate sports with whites, making him the superior candidate over his more talented Negro League counterparts to desegregate the Majors.

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Ibid., 58.

When Rickey was investigating Robinson's background, he was warned that the former All-American's main problem was his fiery temper. He was known for arguing and talking back to white officials and players, and as a youth Robinson had gotten in trouble with the police for "shooting off his mouth about his constitutional rights." However, Rickey disregarded these reproaches due to Robinson's race, stating:

If he had done the things people are criticizing him for as a white player he would have been praised to the skies as a fighter, a holler guy, a real competitor, a ballplayer's ballplayer. But because he's black his aggressiveness is offensive to some white people.⁵⁷

Rickey actually admired Robinson's dauntless stand against racism, and when he interviewed the former Bruin the Mahatma stressed the necessity to retreat from all confrontations in the Majors. To illustrate this crucial point, Rickey posed as a player who had just punched Robinson on the cheek. Robinson alertly responded, "I get it. What you want me to say is that I've got another cheek."⁵⁸ With that correct reply Rickey knew he had the

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Branch Rickey in Rowan, Next Year, 109-110, quoted in Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment, 62-63.

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Rowan, Next Year, 118, quoted in Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment, 66.

legitimate black ballplayer to throw out Jim Crow in organized baseball.

The black press quickly identified Robinson as the "right type" of player to integrate the Majors. He was described as "well behaved," "modest," "responsible", and a "high class citizen."⁵⁹ Even mainstream newspapers described Robinson as the "right boy," "ideal candidate," "ideal Negro," and "a credit to the race;"⁶⁰ yet, many white sportswriters rejected Robinson's cross over baseball's color line. Several southern newspapers emphatically objected to Robinson's signing. *Atlanta Journal* sports editor Ed Danforth commented, "I don't see why a top

flight Negro ballplayer would be so anxious to play in the white leagues when he is doing so well in his own organization." *New York Daily News* writer Jimmy Powers stated, "We question Branch Rickey's statements that he is another Abraham Lincoln and that he has a heart as big as a watermelon and that he loves all mankind."⁶¹

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Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 158.

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Ibid., 156.

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Jimmy Powers in the *New York Daily News*, March 12, 1946, quoted in Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment, 74.

In spite of the objection from southern sportswriters, historian William Simons accentuates that Robinson "affirmed rather than challenged American values." Joe Louis, still reigning as the heavyweight champion in 1945, had demonstrated to whites that a black athlete could embody the ideals of Americanism.⁶² Thus, there was no need to fear the "bad nigger" of the Jack Johnson era anymore.

Robinson's first game as a Brooklyn Dodger occurred on April 15, 1947, seven years before the landmark case *Brown versus Board of Education* -- the forerunner to the end of the "separate but equal doctrine." Putting aside his emotions and frustrations when white fans berated him on the playing field, Robinson was well aware that his breakthrough in the Majors would cause America to "touch base" with race relations:

Plenty of times I wanted to haul off when somebody insulted me for the color of my skin, . . . But I had to hold myself . . . The whole thing was bigger than me.⁶³

The Era of Muhammad Ali

The 1940s liberalism Robinson and Louis represented was deemed obsolete and "Uncle Tomish" by the militant

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Simons, "Jackie Robinson," 163.

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Banks, "Black Athletes," 524.

generation of black athletes in the 1960s. As Muhammad Ali emerged as the symbol of 60s radicalism, his anti-patriotism boldly defied the Louis archetype of the pre-World War II era.⁶⁴ In spite of attempts to desegregate schools by the 1954 Brown decision and the integration of professional basketball and football after Robinson's Major League debut, blacks were still at the nadir of American society economically and educationally. Ali exploited this social quandary when criticized for his radical mentality:

People are always telling me what a good example I could be if I just wasn't a Muslim. I've heard it over and over, how come I couldn't be like Joe Louis and Sugar Ray. Well, they're gone now, and the black man's condition is just the same ain't it? We're still catching hell.⁶⁵

The "good Negro" athlete was on the verge of extinction as athletic victories over whites were no longer considered indicative of race advancement. Former Olympic great Jesse Owens, who represented the liberalism of the Louis exemplar, found himself at odds with the militant Ali and other young black athletes of the revolutionary 1960s era. Owens insisted on calling Ali "Cassius Clay" and although Owens had faced severe discrimination as well as humiliation

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Jaher, "White America Views," 168.

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Mike Marqusee, "Sport and stereotype: from role model to Muhammad Ali," Race and Class, 36 (1995): 16.

during his career, he firmly believed in the meritocracy of America and the so-called level playing field of sport. As Cassius Clay, Ali believed in these ideals of Americanism.⁶⁶

When asked by a Soviet reporter about racism in America after he won the gold medal in the lightweight boxing division at the 1960 Rome Olympics, Clay responded:

Tell your readers we got qualified people working on that, and I'm not worried about the outcome. To me, the U.S.A. is still the best county in the world, counting yours.⁶⁷

However, when he returned to Louisville, Kentucky, Clay was quickly brought to the realization of his ephemeral hero status as he could not get a cheeseburger served to him in a downtown restaurant -- even with his gold medal hanging from his neck.

As the civil rights movement progressed, radical blacks exposed the fallacy that sports integration led to significant changes in America's political, social and economic structures for African-Americans. Malcolm X despised boxing and considered it a sport in which promoters only "let a Negro excel if they are going to make money for them."⁶⁸ He especially disliked Floyd Patterson, the

⁶⁶ Banks, "Black Athletes," 310.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 310.

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"American Negro" who championed the cause of white Christianity and integrationists. However, while Malcolm detested the sport of boxing, he saw nothing Uncle Tomish in Clay, stating, "Clay is the finest Negro athlete I have ever known, the man will mean more to his people than Jackie Robinson, because Robinson is the white man's hero."⁶⁹

After Clay's defeat of infamous heavyweight champion Sonny Liston in 1964, he announced at a press conference with Malcolm the next morning:

I believe in Allah and in peace. I don't try to move into white neighborhoods. I don't want to marry a white woman. I was baptized when I was twelve, but I didn't know what I was doing. I'm not a Christian anymore. I don't have to be what you want me to be. I'm free to be what I want.⁷⁰

The next day he further explained his new political convictions to the media:

I ain't no Christian. I can't be when I see all the colored people fighting for forced integration get blowed up. I'm the heavyweight champion, but right now there are some neighborhoods I can't move into. I know how to dodge boobytraps and dogs. I dodge them by staying in my own neighborhood.⁷¹

Jeffrey T. Sammons, Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 193.

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Marqusee, "Sport and stereotype," 13.

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Ibid., 13.

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Ibid., 13-14.

With these intrepid denunciations of the white "establishment," Clay became the first African-American athlete to challenge America on "black terms."⁷² Not since the great Paul Robeson had a black athlete challenged the country's institutional axioms. Clay defiantly counter-punched the old stereotypical duality of the "good Negro" and "bad nigger" emblems. As Marqusee points out, in telling the press he did not want to marry a white woman, Clay was saying "I'm no Jack Johnson; and in criticizing integration, he was saying 'I'm no Floyd Patterson.'" He boldly defined his own identity, which was contrary to perceptions of the dominant culture.⁷³ On March 6, 1964, Clay made his final break from the white establishment, accepting the Muslim name of Muhammad Ali from Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad.

After Ali's declaration of his Muslim conversion, Floyd Patterson, a recent convert to Catholicism and NAACP integrationist, said "he felt he had a duty to reclaim the title for America from the Muslim Ali."⁷⁴ Thus, Patterson became America's "black white hope" and Ali was the

⁷² Sammons, Beyond the Ring, 193.

⁷³ Marqusee, "Sport and stereotype," 10, 14.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 15.

"impeccable foil."⁷⁵ The bout between Ali and Patterson conjured up images of a holy war between the crescent and the cross. Many whites viewed Clay's denouncement of Christianity as a rejection of American values and embracement of communism. However, as Sammons contends, religion was not the main issue. Racial ideology, patriotism, and society's conventions for appropriate athletic demeanor were at the center of the Ali controversy. America's sporting public found itself estranged from Ali because of his political convictions which disturbed the mainstream liberals who had endorsed Louis and Robinson. They did not want this renegade athlete to usurp American social order and the role athletes play in it.⁷⁶

As Ali was the antithesis of America's racial and political creeds, the mainstream media was quick to support Patterson. The country was moving, although by force, toward an integrated society. Even Patterson's marriage to a white woman was overlooked. Ironically, Patterson would have been the miscreant in Jack Johnson's era. However, both Patterson and Johnson wanted to be accepted into the mainstream of American society. Ali did not. Thus, his

⁷⁵ Sammons, Beyond the Ring, 198.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 197-98.

black radicalism terrified whites, conservatives as well as liberals.

Ali technically knocked out Patterson on November 22, 1965 in the 12th round. He purposely carried the "good Negro," taunting him between blows, roaring, "Come on America! Come on white America!"⁷⁷ The disappointment of the mainstream media in Patterson's defeat was analogous to that of Johnson's victory over Jim Jeffries. Gene Ward commented in the *New York Daily News*:

I had to feel sorry for Patterson, who wanted so desperately to subdue this brash exponent of the Black Muslim hate-sect. Floyd regarded it as something which he had to do. He told me in a private interview three days before the fight, "I'm not against Clay's religion. It merely is that I disagree with the Black Muslim's belief in segregation because I've been for integration all my life." Speed Clay has . . . But class he hasn't and punch he can't . . . He had a man whose back hurt him . . . but our big beautiful heavyweight champion of the world couldn't knock him down.⁷⁸

It is clear from Ward's expression that with Patterson's defeat, white patriotism lost to black radicalism.

Ali's next patriotic opponent was Uncle Sam. Before his fight with Ernie Terrell in 1967, the Selective Service reclassified Ali, making him eligible for the draft.

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Marqusee, "Sport and stereotype," 16.

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New York Daily News, November 11, 1965, 65, quoted in Banks, "Black Athletes," 363.

Liberal mainstream newspapers such as the *New York Post* appealed to the champ to follow Louis' example of World War II service, but Ali blatantly refused with this poetic declaration:

Keep on asking me, no matter how long.
On the war in Viet Nam,
I sing this song
I ain't got no quarrel with the Viet Cong.⁷⁹

In April 1967, the WBA took away Ali's title for his refusal to report for military service. In June a federal court found him guilty of draft evasion and sentenced Ali to five years in prison. "Establishment" America, as Sammons asserts, got its conviction as the prosecuting attorney warned, "We cannot let this man get loose, because if he gets by, all black people who want to be Muslims will get out for the same reasons."⁸⁰

Ali regained his boxing license in 1970 as a result of a ruling from the New York Supreme Court. He fought his first fight since in his three year boxing hiatus against Jerry Quarry, whom many angry whites hoped would demolish the "uppity nigger" in the ring. However, Ali's true ring resurgence occurred when he fought Smokin' Joe Frazier in

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Sammons, *Beyond the Ring*, 200.

⁸⁰

Ibid., 203.

1971 for the heavyweight crown. Again, images of American patriotism versus black radicalism surfaced in the mainstream press. Like Patterson, Frazier was the "surrogate" white hope. *New York Times* sportswriter Robert Lipsyte claimed that "everyone who knew Joe Frazier liked him. An honorable, decent, hard-working slugger, Frazier had always been willing to sacrifice his flesh, in bits and pieces for our viewing pleasure."⁸¹ Anti-Ali sportswriters like Ward unanimously picked Smokin' Joe:

If Jack Dempsey deteriorated in the course of a three-year layoff . . . If Sugar Ray Robinson needed 11 months and six tuneups to regain championship form after a similar span on the sidelines . . . then I can't see Muhammad Ali beating Joe Frazier. Ali couldn't carry Jack's gloves, or Sugar's either, and I can't see him lasting 10 rounds with Joe Frazier.⁸²

Much to their satisfaction, Americanism won as Frazier defeated Ali in 15 rounds.

As Ali began his comeback after the Frazier defeat, he would continue to be viewed as a menace to society. Sammons asserts that with no legitimate white hopes, other black heavyweights were expected to punish Ali. Frazier eventually lost his title to George Foreman, another black symbol of American patriotism who paraded around the ring in

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Ibid., 212.

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New York Daily News, March 7, 1971, 139, quoted in Banks, "Black Athletes," 437.

the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, waving an American flag. However, by the time of the Ali-Foreman fight, public criticism of Ali curtailed as the country was preoccupied with the Watergate scandal. The public's obsession with Nixon and Watergate allowed Ali to take full advantage of his retaliation victories against Joe Frazier and Ken Norton. Many Americans now viewed Ali as a dignified and dauntless fighter. As Sammons points out, race and politics played a far more insignificant role when Ali fought Foreman than they had when he fought Frazier. Ali was now gaining the approval of a more lenient American public. Foreman somewhat symbolized an era many Americans wished to forget.⁸³

Ali received Fighter of the Year honors from the Boxing Writers Association after defeating Foreman in 1974. He shared the award in 1976 with Frazier as a result of their "Thrilla in Manilla" bout, and that same year about 500 sportscasters and writers chose Ali over Joe Louis, Jack Dempsey, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Jack Johnson as the greatest all-time boxer. Finally, the country, as Sammons states, had caught up to Muhammad Ali.⁸⁴

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Sammons, Beyond the Ring, 225-6.

⁸⁴

Ibid., 226.

Ali retired in 1979 and attempted an unsuccessful comeback in 1980 against Larry Holmes. With the end of 1960s activism, Ali lacked the political focus he had as Malcolm X's disciple. President Carter sent Ali on a goodwill mission to Africa as an advocate for the US boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, but the African politicians found it insulting that America would send an uneducated athlete to negotiate such a significant decision. Ali was ignorant of the fact that most Africans considered the Soviet Union anti-imperialist, unlike their perception of the United States. Sammons emphasizes that black Africa wanted to show America that South African racism was just as repulsive to them as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan was to the US. While in Africa, Ali changed his position on the boycott and admitted at a press conference that had he known the history between America and South Africa, he would have turned down Carter's request.⁸⁵ Ali further embarrassed himself when he endorsed Ronald Reagan for president in 1984. African-Americans were shocked that the icon of the protest movement of the 60s would support a candidate who had vehemently fought against affirmative action policies.

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Ibid., 232.

Ali's political activism declined in the 1990s as he became a follower of the true tenets of Islam, forsaking the partisan rhetoric of the Black Muslims. Today, the former champion has been accepted into the American mainstream. Of all the images we have of Ali, none are more exhilarating and dynamic than when he, with his entire body trembling, lit the Olympic flame in the 1996 Summer Games in Atlanta. No longer considered a militant and radical threat to the white "establishment", Ali, like Louis, Owens and Robinson, is now considered an American hero and unquestionably "the greatest."

Beyond the Muhammad Ali Era

The black athlete who has surpassed Ali in national as well as international prominence is Michael Jordan. Revered as the greatest basketball player ever, "His Airness" fits the meritorious concept of American ideology. As a world renowned athlete, Douglas Kellner contends that Jordan not only represents the "national symbolic" but also the "global popular." Jordan embodies the American work ethic which has brought him tremendous wealth and success. As a superstar black athlete, he represents the ideals of the American

dream -- that anyone can triumph over the limitations of race and class.⁸⁶

However, while Jordan's rise to stardom and success can be attributed to meritocracy, his image is tainted somewhat by his corporate investments. Kellner maintains that Jordan's symbiosis with Nike is so firm that if Nike is disgraced, so is Jordan. The Air Jordan shoe line has made Nike an icon of corporate America and pop culture. Jordan is probably embarrassed by all the negative publicity that Nike has recently received for its third world labor practices, but his involvement with the corporation is too complex for him to cry "foul" and terminate his endorsement deal.⁸⁷

The mainstream media reprimanded Jordan and his Nike Dream Team comrades for refusing to wear the official USA Olympic warmups in the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, which were made by Nike's chief rival, Reebok. Jordan, along with Charles Barkley and Scottie Pippen, were chided for putting capitalism before patriotism. Jordan's allegiance to the shoe company in Beaverton, Oregon, was viewed as betrayal to Uncle Sam in favor of the almighty dollar. Ironically, these anti-Nike/Jordan sportswriters

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Douglas Kellner, "Sports, Media Culture, and Race -- Some Reflections on Michael Jordan," Sociology of Sport Journal, 13 (1996): 462.

⁸⁷

Ibid., 463.

forgot that capitalism is the center of American patriotism.

They represent that segment of the "establishment" who feel Jordan's slice of the American pie is a bit too large.

Nevertheless, Jordan's overall media image is favorable and his commercial appeal continues to soar as he led the Bulls to their fifth NBA title in June 1997. He recently signed another record-breaking one-year deal with the Chicago Bulls worth over \$30 million for the 1997 NBA season, and launched his own clothing line, "Jumpman" sponsored by Nike. Jordan is expected to pass the professional sports baton not only to rising NBA stars, but all young black athletes who fit the notion of "good American citizens."

The terms "good Negro" and "bad nigger" have long since disappeared from the mainstream media, but they are subtly conjured up today. The mainstream media's NBA heir to Jordan's throne is Detroit Pistons' star forward Grant Hill.

Hill was featured in *GQ Magazine's* April 1995 edition as the "Savior of Sports." Notice, not just basketball, but "sports." The sidebar next to the lead read:

The whole world is praying Grant Hill is the prototype of the next generation of sports star: intelligent, appealing, immensely talented. Why, he even plays the piano.⁸⁸

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Tom Junod, "The Savior", *GQ:Gentlemens Quarterly*, April 1995, 171.

GQ writer Tom Junod emphasized that Hill embodies model behavior on and off the court; thus the "good Negro," while his hardwood counterparts Chris Webber and Glen "Big Dog" Robinson are spoiled brats who demand more millions than their play is worth. Hill has been cast by the mainstream media as the measuring stick for "bad" players like Webber and Robinson, as well as the controversial "Generation Next" of the NBA led by Philadelphia 76ers' brash guard Allen Iverson.

Hill is not *GQ Magazine's* sole choice as the Messiah of sports. Golf phenom Tiger Woods was deemed a racial pioneer along the lines of Jackie Robinson and *GQ* prophesied that Ken Griffey, Jr.'s commercial appeal and patented swing will save Major League Baseball in its post 1994-strike era.⁸⁹ As heirs to Jordan's sports throne, Hill, Junior, and Woods bear the burden of being accepted according to the American creed.

The first black athlete, however, to make it possible for Jordan, Hill, Junior, and Woods to "crossover," is the focus of this media study, O.J. Simpson. Sport sociologist

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Charles P. Pierce, "The man. Amen," *GQ:Gentlemens Quarterly* April 1997, 196-203+; Peter Richmond, "The Supernatural," *GQ:Gentlemens Quarterly* April 1996, 198-205.

Harry Edwards credits Simpson as the trailblazer for corporate America's acceptance of black athletes:

Before Magic Johnson, Michael Jordan, Charles Barkley or Shaquille O'Neal, there was O.J. -- superstar pitcher, actor, sportscaster and all-around celebrity. With unrivaled crossover appeal, he was living out the American dream, living proof of the vitality and viability of America's promise to all its people.⁹⁰

Using football as a means to escape the pitfalls of Potrero Hill, the San Francisco ghetto in which he grew up, Simpson emerged as an All-American football hero in the late 1960s.

After winning the Heisman trophy in 1968 and stunning Buffalo Bills fans with his explosive running style, in which he broke all the team's records as a running back, Simpson catapulted onto the celebrity circuit. In 1969, he got his first product endorsement with Chevrolet, and when Hertz hired him in 1975, Simpson became the first black celebrity spokesman for a major corporation.⁹¹ The Hertz commercials led to other contracts with companies such as Tree Sweet Orange Juice, Foster Grant Sunglasses, RC Cola, and Nabisco. However, there was a dark side to the surface appearance of Simpson's glamorous lifestyle. Rumors spread that his sporting feats were not solely confined to the

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Harry Edwards, "We Must Let O.J. Go -- Separating Fact From Image," Sport, February 1995, 80.

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Jewelle T. Gibbs, Race and Justice, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996), 122, 124.

gridiron. Simpson was a regular at popular sports bars, usually surrounded by attractive women and admiring fans, and there were also unconfirmed rumors that he was a cocaine user. As a result of his All-American background at USC, Simpson quickly adapted to the celebrity status of the superstar athlete, accepting complimentary gifts and indulging in clandestine sex.⁹²

Five years after he signed the Hertz deal, his 11-year troubled marriage to his first wife Marguerite ended. A knee injury forced Simpson to retire from football in 1979, the year after he was traded to the San Francisco 49ers. Facing life for the first time without football at the relatively young age of 32, Simpson clung to his celebrity status. He prided himself on being "colorless" and as Jewelle Gibbs points out, used his lessons in "whiteness" from USC for big payoffs in the business world.

Simpson hired lawyers who invested his football fortunes in food franchises such as Pioneer Chicken and Honey-Baked Ham stores. He was also the main attraction at celebrity golf tournaments and convention banquets. Gibbs contends that these "cameo" appearances made Simpson a "true American

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Ibid., 124.

hero, a rags-to-riches story in living color."⁹³ When Simpson married Nicole Brown in 1985, an attractive blond who represented the essence of white beauty, he had finally reached the pinnacle of assimilation into white culture -- or so he thought. However, Simpson's fantasy lifestyle began to crumble as he became abusive in his marriage to Nicole. In 1989, Nicole filed assault charges against Simpson, but he was only given a light sentence -- a \$470 fine, 120 hours of community service, and mandated counseling twice a week.⁹⁴ Unable to reconcile their differences, Nicole filed for divorce in 1992. Simpson not only lost his wife, but was starting to lose his celebrity image as his popularity declined in the 1990s. Simpson was now forced to face the surreptitious life he lived at home. When he was charged with the brutal murders of Nicole and her friend Ron Goldman on June 18, 1994, Simpson learned the painful lesson so many other black male celebrities have -- those who live by the media also die by the media.

After Simpson's tragic fall, mainstream media newsmagazines wasted no time conjuring up negative

⁹³
Ibid., 129.

⁹⁴
Ibid., 135.

connotations of Simpson's character, particularly his violent past and struggle to shed his blackness. All of a sudden, Simpson was now the "bad nigger." The phenomenon of race and how it applies to the ideals of Americanism is a pivotal theme for analysis of the mainstream media's pre-trial depiction of Simpson because the media culture, as Kellner states, is "the stage in which our social conflicts are played out and our social reality constructed."⁹⁵

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Kellner, "Sports, Media Culture," 465.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Sociologist Herman Gray argues that an ideological pattern persists in mainstream media representations of African-Americans, placing them in stereotypical frameworks that have formed over decades.⁹⁶ Early studies of the mainstream media portrayal of African-Americans found a slanted nature of coverage. For example, Gist's 1932 study of press portrayal of blacks revealed that general news about them was downgraded into antisocial news.⁹⁷ The results of a longitudinal study of the coverage African-Americans in two Los Angeles newspapers from 1892 to 1968 caused Johnson, Sears, and McConahay to conclude: "It is just as well that press coverage of blacks was so rare for

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Herman Gray, "Television, black Americans, and the American Dream," Critical Studies in Mass Communications, 6 (1989):376-386.

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N. P. Gist, "The Negro in the daily press," Social Forces, 10 (1932): 405-411, in Jyotika Ramaprasad "How Four Newspapers Covered the 1992 Los Angeles Riots, 77, in Mediated Messages and African-American Culture, Venise T. Berry and Carmen L. Manning-Miller, eds., Sage Publications.

so many years, because the content of it was mostly degrading."⁹⁸

In 1968 the National Advisory Commission on Racial Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission report, criticized the mainstream media for failing to accurately focus on the concerns and lives of African-Americans. The Kerner Commission was formed at the request of President Lyndon B. Johnson to find the cause of the racial riots between blacks and whites in the 1960s. The report found fault with the mainstream media in four areas: (1) The media failed to adequately report race relations and urban problems; (2) the media's coverage of blacks in the news was often biased or racist; (3) the media had a faulty record of employing blacks; and, (4) the media isolated blacks in their coverage of American society.⁹⁹ Although African-Americans have made significant gains economically, politically, and socially since the civil rights movement, mainstream media depiction of them still tends to be biased, although racist images are not as conspicuous as those found in earlier studies.

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P. B. Johnson, D.P. Sears and J. B. McConahay, "Black invisibility, the press, and the Los Angeles riot," American Journal of Sociology 76 (1971): 710.

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Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 211.

Studies also show that African-Americans, more than whites, feel that newspapers cannot be trusted.¹⁰⁰

The first section of this literature review focuses on the negative stereotypes of African-Americans commonly seen in mainstream newspapers. Next, an overview of the history of the black press is given to illustrate its function as an advocacy news medium for blacks to counter the degrading portrayal of them in the mainstream media. The last two sections analyze mainstream media and black press coverage of Simpson, emphasizing the difference in reporting styles concerning his tragic fall.

African-Americans in the Mainstream Media

In her study on the mainstream media's misrepresentation of urban blacks, JoNina M. Abron found that the image of the "black underclass" is distorted. She claims that the mainstream media's use of this term is misleading because they do not report the true cause of the economic crisis in the black community, which she claims is the result of the 1980s decline of manufacturing industries where blacks once held well-paying positions. Abron points out that few newspaper and magazine articles or television

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Virginia D. Fielder and Leonard P. Tipton, Minorities and Newspapers (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1986).

broadcasts investigate the fundamental causes of black poverty, concluding that in most instances, the mainstream media's portrayal of the so-called black underclass focuses on the morbid social conditions of ghetto life, such as promiscuity, drug addiction and crime.¹⁰¹

Crimes committed by black males are a dominant theme in the mainstream media. *Philadelphia Daily News* columnist Linda W. Moore points out that the mainstream media devise theories that conform to what many white journalists and whites in general believe, that African-American men commit the majority of violent crimes. In the much publicized Charles Stuart case, Stuart, a white man, fabricated the identity of a black man as the murderer of his pregnant wife. The real crime story, Wright insists, is black-on-black crime in which blacks account for 44 percent of all murder victims but only 12 percent of the population.¹⁰²

Kirk A. Johnson's examination of six of Boston's largest print and broadcast outlets in 1987 revealed that 85 percent of the stories on Roxbury and Mattapan, the city's predominately black neighborhoods, depicted African-

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JoNina M. Abron, "The Image of African Americans in the U.S. Press," The Black Scholar 21 (1990): 50.

¹⁰²

Linda W. Moore, "Can The Press Do The Right Thing," Columbia Journalism Review 29 (July/August 1990): 24.

Americans as drug pushers and users, thieves, and troublemakers. By contrast, Johnson found that Boston's black press coverage of these neighborhoods featured articles on educational advancement and entrepreneurial industriousness. He asserts that Boston's mainstream media's biased coverage of blacks is based on commonly held stereotypes, with the majority of stories featuring crime and violence. Although Mattapan and Roxbury accounted for only 7 percent of the crime news during Johnson's 30-day analysis, 59 percent of all the news about these two black neighborhoods was about crime. Thus, the average newspaper reader, as Johnson asserts, might easily assume that these prevailing negative images are characteristic of all African-Americans.¹⁰³

Although Boston's mainstream media outlets did present a more balanced view of African-Americans who did not live in the inner-city, Johnson found that a substantial number of stories lacked reactions from blacks who were in positions of authority. For example, two of the stories in Johnson's sample on a Supreme Court ruling in favor of affirmative action featured reactions from white Bostonians,

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Kirk A. Johnson, "Black and white in Boston: A researcher documents disturbing biases in mainstream coverage of blacks," Columbia Journalism Review 26 (May/June 1987), 50.

but none from blacks. Johnson also found that reporters failed to acknowledge racism as an underlying cause of discrimination and injustices faced by African-Americans. Euphemisms such as "the disadvantaged" and "the underprivileged" were used to describe blacks, but racism was seldom alluded to.¹⁰⁴

Carolyn Martindale also concludes from her study of four mainstream newspapers -- the *New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, and *Chicago Tribune* -- from 1950-1989 that the mainstream media consistently reminded readers of the problems blacks face in society but often failed to explore them. Martindale also found that stereotypical coverage of African-Americans significantly increased in the *Times* and *Globe's* coverage in the 1980s, reaching its highest percentage for all time periods analyzed.¹⁰⁵ By ignoring the diversity of the African-American community Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow contend that the mainstream media distort and marginalize African-Americans. They assert that the images mass-produced by white editors have resulted in racial fallacies

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Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁵

Carolyn Martindale, "Coverage of Black Americans in Four Major Newspapers, 1950-1989," Newspaper Research Journal 11(Summer 1990): 103, 110.

which the dominant culture perpetuates. The result is ignorance of the rich diversity of African-American culture.¹⁰⁶

The reiteration of these delusions by the mainstream media place African-Americans in a stereotypical frame in print as well as broadcast news. Robert M. Entman of Northwestern University notes that the images of African-Americans on television news seen by whites filters their notions of black behavior. Entman's examination of mainstream media coverage in Chicago revealed that white crime victims were given more airtime than black victims; however, black assailants were given extended coverage beyond what their numbers merited. He concludes that the outcome is an image of a society "in which minorities, especially blacks, play a heavy role in causing violence but make little contribution toward helping society cope with it."¹⁰⁷

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Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, Split Image in "Exploring (and Exploding) the U.S. Media Prism," Media Studies Journal 8 (Summer 1994): 164.

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Robert M. Entman, in Ellis Cose "Seething in Silence -- The News in Black and White," Media Studies Journal 8 (Summer 1994): 8. For more of Entman's work on Blacks in TV news see "Modern Racism and the Images of Blacks in Local Television News," Critical Studies in Mass Communications, 7, 332-345 and "African Americans According to TV News," Media Studies Journal 8 (Summer 1994): 29-38.

In one of the first studies on broadcast coverage of the Simpson case, Eddith A. Dashiell, a journalism professor at Ohio University, conducted a content analysis on pre-trial coverage. Dashiell's study analyzed transcripts of 342 Simpson stories that aired on the national evening TV news programs of broadcast networks ABC, CBS, and NBC from June 13 through September 30, 1994. For the issue of race, Dashiell employed the method of manifest content analysis in which stories were coded for references to interracial marriage, Simpson's race, Nicole Simpson's race, the race of other participants, racial makeup of the jury, and police racism.¹⁰⁸

Dashiell found that race played a minor role in network coverage. Of the 342 stories in the sample, there were only 10 references to Simpson's race, nine of which appeared in CBS Evening News transcripts. Police racism was only mentioned 46 times, Nicole Simpson's race five times, the racial make-up of the jury 31 times, and interracial marriage three times. Dashiell only examined media coverage for the first 80 days after Simpson was charged with the double murder, but her findings reveal that the media did

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Eddith A. Dashiell, "Broadcast TV News Coverage of the O.J. Simpson Murder Case," in Mediated Messages and African-American Culture: Contemporary Issues (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996), 159.

not portray Simpson in a racist manner and that the networks reported on race as a verifiable angle of their news stories.

While Dashiell's results did not reveal stereotypical coverage of Simpson, the mainstream media do filter negative images of African-Americans and other minorities, which results in perceptual externalities. Oscar H. Gandy, Jr. contends that these spillover effects confine African-Americans to media roles that depict them as social deviants which conform to the white male media gatekeeper's perspective.¹⁰⁹ White editors present news through "strained, cultural filters" which influence media agenda setting.¹¹⁰ In setting the agenda, the media do not tell us what to believe, but they do suggest what we cooperatively acknowledge as truth in our society.¹¹¹ Thus, the "unconscious grid" which stereotypes African-Americans in the mainstream media illustrates the pervasive view of them according to the dominant culture.

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Oscar H. Gandy Jr, "From Bad to Worse - The Media's Framing of Race and Risk," Media Studies Journal 8 (Summer 1994): 39,41.

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Jannette L. Dates and Edward C. Pease, "Warping the World -- Media's Mangled Images of Race," Media Studies Journal 8 (Summer 1994): 91.

111

Donald L. Shaw and Shannon E. Martin, "The Function of Mass Media Agenda Setting," Journalism Quarterly 69 (Winter 1992): 902-903.

African-Americans and the Black Press

Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm published the nation's first black weekly newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, on March 16, 1827 in New York City, 137 years after the first white newspaper in the colonies. Cornish, a Presbyterian minister, and Russwurm, a 1826 graduate of Bowdoin College in Maine, started *Freedom's Journal* so blacks would have a news medium to challenge the malicious attacks against them in the New York newspapers. Slavery was scheduled to end in New York on July 4, 1827 as a result of a law passed on March 31, 1817. However, the law did not immediately end slavery for all. Only persons over 40 were to be freed, and although it was illegal to transport slaves out of the state, white slave-owners continued to do so.¹¹²

Editorial support calling for the end of the "peculiar institution"¹¹³ from the New York papers was basically

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Lawrence Fortenberry, "Freedom's Journal: The First Black Medium," The Black Scholar 6, (1974): 33; Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1984): 21; Carter R. Ryan, "Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," Journalism Monographs, 12 (September 1969): 10 in Fortenberry, "Freedom's Journal"; Grace F. Smith, "Sojourner Truth -- Listen to the Voice," Negro History Bulletin 36, (March 1973): 64, in Fortenberry, "Freedom's Journal."

¹¹³

The term "peculiar institution" refers to the system of chattel slavery in the South. See Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution, (New York: Vintage Books, 1956).

nonexistent. Mordecai Noah and William Coleman, editors of the *New York Enquirer* and *New York Evening Post*, were adamant in their stand for slavery. One of Noah's steady editorial keynotes was the re-enslavement of New York's free blacks, calling them "a nuisance incomparably greater than a million slaves."¹¹⁴ Coleman's editorials commended West Indian slavery, one of which induced this sardonic response from one of the *Journal's* readers:

The venerable editor of the *New York Evening Post*, has assumed the responsibility of the crime of slavery. For this absurd attempt, we can make but one apology; that is, of old age. The many years he has been permitted to enjoy the goodness of Providence, have impaired his mind, and left it with much of its former fruitfulness, without sufficient vigor to guide its decisions.¹¹⁵

The *Journal* served as a platform for blacks to counter the bigotry and hatred in the New York mainstream press, a purpose made clear by Cornish and Russwurm in the first issue:

Daily slandered, we think that there ought to be some channel of communications between us and the public; through which a single voice may be heard, in defense, of five hundred thousand free people of colour.¹¹⁶

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Fortenberry, "Freedom's Journal," 33.

¹¹⁵

Ibid., 33.

¹¹⁶

Ibid., 34.

Thus, with the publishing of the *Journal*, a new era of black news emerged. As Mary Sagarin points out, there had been pamphlets, brochures and manifestoes, but the *Journal* would be the first newspaper owned, operated, published, and edited by and for blacks.¹¹⁷

However, as a result of a conflict between Cornish and Russwurm over the issue of black colonization, the *Journal* lasted only two years. Cornish, who opposed colonization, resigned from the *Journal* six months after the first issue had been published. Russwurm ran the paper alone for one year and then left for Liberia. Cornish returned and changed the paper's name to the *Rights for All* in May 1829.

The paper suspended publication on October 9, 1829.¹¹⁸

There were approximately 40 black newspapers published between the first edition of *Freedom's Journal* and the advent of the Civil War, with titles such as *Aliened American*, *Mirror of Liberty*, and *Freeman's Advocate*.¹¹⁹

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Mary Sagarin, John Brown Russwurm: The Story of Freedom's Journal in Fortenberry, "Freedom's Journal," 35.

¹¹⁸

Armistead S. Pride, "A Register and History of Negro Newspapers in the United States: 1827-1950" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1950) in Roland E. Wolseley, The Black Press, USA (Iowa State University Press, 1990), 26.

¹¹⁹

Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media, (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990): 347.

In both pre- and post-Civil War periods, black press editors viewed their publications as serving the cultural and educational needs of the black community. Black newspapers reported on births, deaths, marriages, achievements and social events in the African-American community, happenings the mainstream press chose to ignore.¹²⁰ The editor of the *Weekly Anglo-African* (New York) gave this statement of purpose in 1859:

We need a press -- a press of our own. We need to know something else of ourselves through the press than the everyday statements made up to suit the feelings . . . of our opponents.¹²¹

Advocating emancipation was the paramount concern of the black press during the antebellum era, while equal opportunity to compete in America's economic and political arenas became major points of focus after slavery.

After the cessation of *Freedom's Journal*, mainstream media outlets in New York, such as the *New York Sun*, continued to oppose equality for blacks. In 1846, the *Sun*, a popular penny press newspaper catered toward New York's white middle and working classes, insinuated that the voting

¹²⁰

Ibid., 347.

¹²¹

Kessler, The Dissident Press, 24.

rights of blacks be curbed.¹²² Willis Hodges, a free black whitewasher, wrote a reply. The editor printed Hodges' rebuttal for a fee of fifteen dollars, but altered the content. When Hodges complained, a *Sun* staff member told him that the *Sun* "shone for white men only," and that if he wanted his views printed, he would have to start his own newspaper. Hodges responded by establishing the *Ram's Horn* with partner Thomas Van Rensselaer. On January 1, 1847, 3,000 copies were printed with the motto: "We are men, and therefore interested in whatever concerns men."¹²³ Although the *Ram's Horn* featured articles from prominent free blacks like Frederick Douglass and noted white abolitionist John Brown, the paper lasted only one year. Douglass started the *North Star* ten months after the first publication of the *Ram's Horn*. Douglass went beyond the agenda of even the most radical abolitionist newspapers controlled by whites by advocating full citizenship and equal rights for blacks. The first issue set forth this creed:

The object of the *North Star* will be to attack slavery in all its forms and aspects, advocate Universal Emancipation; exact the standard of public morality; promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the

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Wolseley, *The Black Press*, 30.

¹²³

Ibid., 30.

colored people; and to hasten the day of freedom to our three million enslaved fellow countrymen.¹²⁴

Although Douglass faced the same financial obstacles as black editors before him, he was able to keep the *North Star* in publication until 1860. Black newspapers dramatically increased during the decade after the Civil War, with publications established in eight states that previously had none. By 1890, 575 black newspapers were being published.¹²⁵

One of the most radical publications during this time was the *Memphis Free Speech*, edited by Ida B. Wells. During the post-Civil War period, Wells' newspaper was a major voice against lynching in the South which eventually led to her lecture tours in Great Britain. Wells also published *The Red Record*, a pamphlet which told the world of the horrible lynching of Henry Smith at Paris, Texas.¹²⁶ Wells was forced to leave Memphis after her printing plant was wrecked and later joined the *New York Age*, a newspaper published by T. Thomas Fortune from the late 1800s until 1910.¹²⁷ With contributions from prominent blacks like Booker T.

¹²⁴

Ibid., 31.

¹²⁵

Ibid., 38.

¹²⁷

Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 376.

Washington, the *New York Age* flourished. T. Thomas Fortune later became known as the "dean" of black journalism as his fiery editorials caught the attention of the white press as well as President Theodore Roosevelt whom Roi Ottley quotes as saying, "Tom Fortune, for God's sake, keep that pen of yours off me."¹²⁸

The black press became even more intrepid in its advocacy of civil rights for African-Americans during this century. The *Boston Guardian*, founded by William Monroe Trotter and George Forbes in 1901, was one of the first black newspapers to openly contest Booker T. Washington's conservative agenda of blacks learning trades and staying in their prescribed place in society.¹²⁹ The *Defender*, first published on May 5, 1905, gained national appeal despite the muckraking tactics of editor Robert S. Abbott.¹³⁰ Although heavily criticized for its sensationalized crime stories, the *Defender* featured stories that emphasized the concerns of the black community. Ida B. Wells became an influential staff writer, investigating race riots and lynchings. With Jim Crow laws restricting economic opportunities for blacks

¹²⁸

Wolseley, *The Black Press*, 48.

¹²⁹

Ibid., 49.

¹³⁰

Ibid., 53.

in the South, the *Defender* urged them to migrate to the North to find better jobs. During and after World War I, the *Defender* focused extensively on the military inequities between black and white soldiers, as well as the sub-slavery conditions of African-American sharecroppers in the South.¹³¹

The paper also led in the formation of clubs that could get railroad rates for blacks heading North. Chicago's black population was tripled as a result of the *Defender's* campaign, with 110,000 moving to the "windy city" in 1917.¹³²

Upon America's entrance into World War I in 1917, racial violence spread to the North. In East St. Louis, Illinois, a riot claimed the lives of 39 blacks and nine whites.¹³³ In the summer of 1919, a Chicago riot resulted in 38 people killed and 537 injured. From June to the end of the year, there were approximately 25 race riots, and more than 70 black soldiers were lynched after World War I.¹³⁴

Marcus Garvey, a descendant of Jamaican Maroons, had profound influence on the black press during this time,

¹³¹ Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 380.

¹³² Wolseley, The Black Press, 53.

¹³³ Report on The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 217.

¹³⁴ John H. Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. From Slavery To Freedom , 6th ed., (McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1988), 313.

publishing two newspapers in Harlem, New York, the *Daily Negro Times* (1922-24), and the *Negro World* (1918-33).¹³⁵ Garvey advocated black nationalism and the return to Africa, which he believed was the only way blacks would ever achieve equality. His *Negro World*, published weekly, had more than 200,000 subscribers worldwide.¹³⁶ Most black editors continued to push for equality in America during the period between the two world wars, but Garvey remained influential, publishing nine newspapers between 1910 and 1940 and establishing the Universal Publishing House, the first independent black publishing company.¹³⁷

During World War II, the black press launched its "Double V" campaign for victory at home as well as abroad.¹³⁸ Black editors supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's war policies, but continued to criticize racism in America, especially in the military. The moral, ethical, and racial issues of the war propelled the black press to a new level of prominence as its readership expanded with newspapers

¹³⁵ Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 352.

¹³⁶ Kessler, The Dissident Press, 42.

¹³⁷ Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 352.

¹³⁸ Kessler, The Dissident Press, 44.

being published in 32 states.¹³⁹ National black weeklies in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Baltimore, and Norfolk (Virginia) reached thousands of readers across the nation. *Courier* editor Robert L. Vann emphatically protested racial discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and featured editorials criticizing the nation's treatment of its black soldiers. The *Courier* and the *Defender* also used the Double V campaign to call for the end of Jim Crowism in Major League baseball.

After World War II, America had four leading black newspapers: the *Courier*, the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Defender*, and the *Amsterdam News*.¹⁴⁰ However, as the country began to address the racial inequities that had been on the black press' agenda since the founding of *Freedom's Journal*, the structure of the black press began to alter. Dates and Barlow maintain that as the Jim Crow era declined and segregation lost legal status, three practical factors brought change to the black press: competition from radio and television for advertisers and readers; increasing operation costs; and the new demand for black journalists by

¹³⁹

Ibid., 43.

¹⁴⁰

Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 383.

white publishers.¹⁴¹ They point out that during World War II the black press had the monopoly on black readership, but this changed nine years later with segregation being declared unconstitutional in the landmark *Brown v. the Board of Education* case in 1954. As America's white institutions slowly integrated, the black press was severely affected. No longer restricted to writing for black publications, many talented African-American journalists sought work in the mainstream press. During the late 1960s and 1970s, mainstream newspapers' weekly salaries for reporters were almost three times as much as black newspapers. Black newspaper reporters averaged \$110 a week, while many metropolitan dailies paid their reporters \$400 a week.¹⁴²

Larger salaries in the mainstream media were not the most significant factor in the decline of black journalism. The demise of the black press in the 1950s was not as serious since the mainstream media still disregarded the black community. However, the advent of the civil rights movement, with its marches and sit-ins, was a story the mainstream media could not ignore. Thus, as Dates and Barlow assert, the black press was no longer the only news medium

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Dates and Barlow, Split Image, 359.

¹⁴²

Ibid., 359.

telling the story of the African-American community in the 1960s.¹⁴³

Although the mainstream media devoted more space to the African-American community in the 1960s, particularly the urban uprisings, stories were often told from a white editorial perspective. The Kerner Commission criticized the mainstream media for its biased reporting on the 1968 riots:

They [mainstream media] have not communicated to the majority of their audience -- which is white -- a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the United States. They have not shown understanding or appreciations of -- and thus have not communicated -- a sense of Negro culture, thought, or history.¹⁴⁴

The Kerner Commission not only reprimanded the mainstream media for its prejudiced views in covering the African-American community, but also chided them for lack of minority representation in the newsroom. One of the major recommendations was for the mainstream media to diversify their ranks. With more African-American writers, a more accurate presentation of the black community would be conveyed. African-Americans only made up 5.51 percent of the newsroom workforce in 1995.¹⁴⁵ Thus, with the inaccurate

¹⁴³

Ibid., 363.

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Ibid., 364.

¹⁴⁵

reporting of the black community in the mainstream media and the lack of African-Americans in the newsroom, the black press is still a much needed institution.

Mainstream Media Coverage of O.J. Simpson

After O.J. Simpson was taken into custody, *New York Times* sports columnist William C. Rhoden described the hardships Simpson and other famous African-American athletes bear:

Money and notoriety based on physical prowess can never fully fill certain voids, heal old scars, change skin tone, straighten hair, change any of those intrinsic qualities. The money is a temporary salve - a pain killer that allows the athlete to get through a day, a life, a career. Eventually the troubled soul must stop to confront the demons that have been in pursuit.¹⁴⁶

Before the tragic day of June 13, 1994, O.J. Simpson was a sports hero to white Americans, and a role model for African-Americans. The "Juice" was one of the first black athletes to transcend race with his smooth transition from the gridiron to the sidelines of NBC. Simpson graced the television as well as the movie screen, sprinting through

Orayb Najjar, "ASNE efforts increase minorities in newsrooms," Newspaper Research Journal 16 (Fall 1995), 135.

¹⁴⁶

John Corry, "Medea and the O.J. Media," The American Spectator, September 1994, p.48.

airports for Hertz commercials, and appearing in three *Naked Gun* movies and the HBO series *First and Ten*.¹⁴⁷ Simpson was, as one of his colleagues commented, Michael Jordan before Michael Jordan. He had colossal appeal in the mainstream media because his exodus from the ghetto to the NFL Hall of Fame supported the ideal of American meritocracy. Thus, when Simpson was charged with the murders of his ex-wife and her friend Ronald Goldman, alluding to race as a major factor in the trial disturbed whites. *Newsweek* journalist Jonathan Alter explains:

Many whites had invested considerable psychic energy in their illusion of a color-blind society. Their almost paternalistic admiration for Simpson had made them feel better, more broad-minded, and acknowledging the shadow of race threatened that sense of accomplishment.¹⁴⁸

The shadow of race, however, led to Simpson's downfall according to Alter's *Newsweek* colleague Evan Thomas who describes Simpson as a man who eventually went wrong because he tried to go "white."¹⁴⁹ Using the theme of "two-ness"¹⁵⁰

147

Jill Lieber and Sonja Steptoe, "Fatal Attraction?", *Sports Illustrated*, June 27, 1994, p. 20.

148

Jonathan Alter, "Black & White & read all over, *Newsweek*, August 1, 1994, p. 19.

149

Cynthia Tucker, "What's black, what's white, what's racist?", *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, September 4, 1994, D7.

150

W.E.B. Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk in Three Negro Classics*. John Hope Franklin, ed. (New York: Avon Books, 1965):214-215.

- a term W.E.B. Dubois coined which relates to the struggle of being an American as well as black - Thomas depicts Simpson as a black man living in a facade in the white man's world:

Although Simpson talked about being colorless, he was actually quite conscious of playing the race card. If it was necessary to be more white to get ahead, he would adapt accordingly. At the same time, he knew how to use his skin color to his advantage."¹⁵¹

Thus, because Simpson played golf with Hertz clients and took diction lessons to improve his speech for commercials, Thomas describes him as a black man out of place. Thomas likens Simpson's late ex-wife Nicole to a trophy and quotes Simpson saying he was attracted to Farrah Fawcett-Majors' looks. Nicole is described as "blonde, well-dressed and impressive on his arm."¹⁵² The article also criticizes Simpson for aspiring to be a successful actor like Dustin Hoffman, a goal Thomas said was based more on hope than reason. Thomas does not even mention Simpson's successful roles in the *Naked Gun* movies, but instead focuses on his lesser parts in flicks such as *Firepower* and *Hambone and Hillie*. Although Simpson's company Orental Productions made

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Evan Thomas, "Day and Night: He lived two lives. An inside look at O.J. Simpson's world," Newsweek, August 29, 1994, p. 45.

¹⁵²

Ibid., 47.

four successful TV movies for NBC, Thomas does not credit him for being a smart business owner. Thus, because Simpson never achieved his desired level in acting or business, and had to settle for being a sports commentator on NBC - **a job that paid him \$600,000 a year** - Thomas labels him a failure:

He wanted to be a great actor, but he had to settle for being a TV personality. He was less of a businessman than a friend of businessmen. Despite his effort to rise above race, he wound up in a kind of gilded no man's land.¹⁵³

This article makes a mockery of Simpson's achievements and its subtle racist tone reprimands Simpson for wanting too much, as well as aspiring to be too much. Although Thomas says that whites did not perceive Simpson as a threat, his constant referrals to Simpson's attraction to white women and Simpson as a "face man" in the business world, depict the image of the black male white America abhors - one who manages to rise above his allocated place in society.

Time's June 27, 1994 story "End of the Run," was actually somewhat objective in its reporting, but stereotypical in its presentation of Simpson's mug shot on the cover. *Time* used a computer to darken Simpson's appearance, making him appear more blurred and heavily

¹⁵³

Ibid., 43.

bearded. This brought charges of racism from prominent African-Americans. "The way he's pictured, it's like some kind of animal," then NAACP Director Ben Chavis commented, "The photo plays into the stereotype of the African-American male as dangerous and violence-prone."¹⁵⁴ Russell Adams, head of Afro-American Studies at Howard University added, "It says 'Bad boy, bad boy. Here's O.J. black as sin. That's the elusive thing about racial matters: some things are more subtle."¹⁵⁵ Earl Ofari Hutchinson, author of The Assassination of the Black Male Image, claims that *Time* darkened Simpson's photo to make him look more menacing and that the magazine's treatment of Jeffrey Dahmer, a confessed serial killer, was more favorable than its coverage of Simpson who proclaimed his innocence. Hutchinson points out that *Time* did not tamper with the photographs of Dahmer but presented him as a "sad-eyed, contrite young man."¹⁵⁶ Hutchinson notes that *Time* did not scrutinize Dahmer's personality or make judgments about his character, but highlighted "promiscuous speculation" about Simpson and

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Paul Hoversten, "Time criticized over O.J. cover," *USA Today*, June 22, 1994, p. D1.

¹⁵⁵

Ibid.

¹⁵⁶

Earl Ofari Hutchinson, "The O.J. case and hidden racism," *Chicago Defender* September 6, 1994, p.12.

called his relationship with Nicole "dangerous and dysfunctional."¹⁵⁷

Hutchinson also insists that *Time's* judgment of Simpson's character implied a presumption of guilt. Like its rival *Newsweek*, *Time* also depicted Simpson as living two lives. In her article "End of the Run," Nancy Gibbs states that Simpson did not necessarily change from the days of his childhood, but tried to "add layers of polish that occasionally peeled off."¹⁵⁸ Trying to act and talk "white," made him appear gentle and generous on one hand while violent and mean on the other.

Black Press Coverage of O.J. Simpson

The Simpson case challenged the usual coverage of the black press because he was not the usual black hero or victim. However, as Columbia journalism professor E. R. Shipp points out, in covering the Simpson trial, the black press focused mainly on five issues of paramount concern to its readers:

1. Is Simpson worthy of blacks' sympathy given the lack of involvement with anything black since his football-playing days ended?

¹⁵⁷

Ibid.

¹⁵⁸

Nancy Gibbs, "End of the Run," Time June 27, 1994, p.32.

2. Was he singled out for prosecution because the murder victims were white?
3. Have the mainstream media replaced the old lynch mob in destroying a black man perceived to have violated racial taboos?
4. Is he the latest victim of a racist society's conspiracy to destroy black men?
5. Can any black man, even one as wealthy as O.J. get a fair trial?¹⁵⁹

Shipp emphasizes that the consideration of Simpson's guilt is noticeably absent from these debates since the black press has traditionally been an advocacy medium for African-Americans.

When Simpson's tragedy became public, coverage varied among black newspapers and magazines across the country. In his article "OJ And the Black Media," Shipp contends that The *Los Angeles Sentinel* provided the most comprehensive coverage of the case using simple, straightforward headlines such as, "Dual Murder Charges Against Simpson Move to Courtroom."

Some African-American journalists employed by mainstream media outlets also shared Shipp's view that Simpson was not the usual black hero. Dorothy Gilliam, *Washington Post* columnist, observed:

¹⁵⁹

Shipp, "OJ and the Black Media," 40.

He does not stir the kind of heart feelings that a Magic Johnson or a Michael Jordan or someone of that hero stature might. Yet there is still a sense that, despite all his wealth and protection and image handlers, he is still subject to the same kind of maltreatment experienced by any other African-American.¹⁶⁰

Yet, some black journalists had no sympathy for Simpson and presented him the same way as *Newsweek's* "Day and Night" feature. Ed Davis, managing editor of the *New Pittsburgh Courier*, wrote:

I'm just hard-pressed to figure out what I've heard in all the years of following O.J. Simpson that indicates a concern for our kind I firmly believe that to whom much is given, much is expected, and O.J. Simpson has not ante-upped on his obligation to black America.¹⁶¹

Shipp maintains that Simpson's supposed rejection of "being black" was the reason George Curry did not run a major story on Simpson's arrest in the 1994 September issue of *Emerge*. "We're not talking about somebody who was the great black hope," Curry explains. "In fact he's gone out of his way to declare himself race neutral. O.J. isn't important. What is important is the issue of domestic violence."¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰

Ibid., 40.

¹⁶¹

Ibid., 40.

¹⁶²

Ibid., 41.

Although not a Simpson advocate, Curry does believe that black men are "being used as poster children for every domestic issue around": sexual harassment (Clarence Thomas), date rape (Mike Tyson), child abuse (Michael Jackson), and domestic violence (Simpson).¹⁶³ Shipp maintains that white men accused of sexual misconduct, such as Senator Bob Packwood or Woody Allen, are seen as individuals, but when black men are implicated, all African-Americans suffer. Curry shared the same views Hutchinson had concerning the vast difference in the mainstream media's coverage of Jeffrey Dahmer versus that of Simpson:

I'm not a conspiracy buff, but I do find it extremely curious that they (black males) are being accorded far more media coverage than a cannibal like Jeffrey Dahmer. I suspect celebrity has something to do with it, but I think race has something to do with it too. The white media routinely demonizes the black male."¹⁶⁴

Although the degradation of the image of the black male is pervasive in the white media, publications like *Newsweek* and *Time* were covert in their racist treatment of Simpson. Using the theme of "two-ness," Simpson was subtly presented as a threat to white America because he succeeded in rising above his place. Shipp asserts that the black press was divided,

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Ibid., 41.

¹⁶⁴

Ibid., 41.

with some publications reprimanding Simpson for abandoning the African-American community, and some exposing the difference in the mainstream media's coverage of white men accused of similar crimes. *Time* and *Newsweek* used Simpson's unique character to covertly stereotype him as the dangerous and violent black male. Ellen Willis discusses this type of treatment of Simpson by the white press in her article "Good Blacks and Bad Blacks" in *Village Voice*. Although *Village Voice* is not a black publication, Willis effectively analyzes the implications of Simpson's assimilation into white America, asserting that the moment he fell, he became black again. Thus, Willis concludes that Simpson became fodder for white America and the mainstream press because, "no matter how much one of 'them' appears to be one of us, (whites really believe) underneath they are all rampaging brutes."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵

Ellen Willis, "Good Blacks And Bad Blacks," *Village Voice* , July 5, 1994, p. 8.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study analyzed pre-trial media coverage of the O.J. Simpson murder case using one mainstream newspaper, *The Los Angeles Times*, and one black newspaper, *The Los Angeles Sentinel*. Race proved to be more of a divergent factor between blacks and whites after Simpson's acquittal; thus, the researcher wanted to assess the pre-trial media coverage in both newspapers before the verdict to explore if race played a major role in how they reported the case.

Since the trial took place in Los Angeles County, the researcher chose the *Times* because of its influential position as a leading mainstream newspaper, the type the Kerner Commission directed its admonishments in the 1960s to improve media coverage of African-Americans.¹⁶⁶ The *Sentinel* was chosen because of its reputation as a prominent black

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Martindale, "Coverage of Black Americans in Four Major Newspapers 1950-1989," Newspaper Research Journal 11 (Summer 1990):100.

weekly newspaper in California. Most black newspapers probably followed the *Sentinel's* lead since they reprint many national news stories from other leading black publications. Also, Shipp's study listed the *Sentinel* as the black newspaper with the most comprehensive coverage of the Simpson murder case.¹⁶⁷

From the implications of the literature review concerning the nature of mainstream media and black press portrayal of African-Americans, the researcher constructed the following hypotheses, and nominal, conceptual, and operational definitions for coders in this study to evaluate stories in the *Times* and the *Sentinel*.

Hypothesis One: Since studies reveal that the mainstream media still report from a white male perspective, a viewpoint that stereotypes African-Americans, stories and editorials from the *Los Angeles Times* will portray O.J. Simpson as violent or a failure. Pre-trial coverage will imply Simpson's guilt and discredit his character and criticize his defense team's strategies.

Hypothesis Two: Since the history of the black press reveals that its agenda is to depict African-Americans in a positive manner, stories and editorials from the *Los Angeles Sentinel* will portray O.J. Simpson as either a hero or victim of white racist views. Pre-trial coverage will imply Simpson's innocence and uplift his character and applaud his defense team strategies.

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Shipp, "OJ and the Black Media," 39.

Nominal Definitions

Mainstream Newspapers: White-owned major daily publications that cater mainly to a white audience.

Black Newspapers: Black-owned weekly publications that cater mainly to a black audience.

Conceptual Definitions

Media Agenda Setting: The style in which newspaper articles are written to reflect a particular editorial perspective.¹⁶⁸

Media Portrayal: How persons are described, represented and characterized in newspapers.

Positive Coverage: Media portrayal of persons in a favorable or commendatory manner, i.e. coverage that implies Simpson's innocence, supports his defense strategy, uplifts his character, describes him as a hero, describes him as a victim of racism, or criticizes media depiction of him.

Negative Coverage: Media portrayal of persons in a dissenting or contrary manner, i.e., coverage that implies Simpson's guilt, criticizes his defense strategy, attacks his character, describes him as violent, describes him as a failure, or supports media depiction of him.

Objective Coverage: Media reporting that is based on facts not personal prejudice, i.e., stories that reported the facts of the case; stories free of personal opinion or bias.

Hard News Stories: Stories with no editorial opinion; content is restricted to facts or day-to-day proceedings of an event.

Columns: Stories that feature the perspective or opinion of the writer on certain issues.

168

See Donald L. Shaw and Shannon E. Martin, "The Function of Mass Media Agenda Setting," Journalism Quarterly, 69 (1992): 903. Shaw and Martin contend that the mainstream media unconsciously present a restricted and alternating set of social issues which the political and social system can debate. They maintain that the "point of view" of the social system may be the primary "function" of the news media in America. The mainstream media do not tell us what to believe, but as Shaw and Martin emphasize, they do imply what we cooperatively may acknowledge.

Conceptual Definitions cont.

Editorials: Stories that feature the perspective or opinion of the newspaper on certain issues.

Feature Stories: Stories that present a human interest angle of the person being highlighted, i.e. charitable deeds, religious activities, political beliefs, community involvement.

Operational Definitions

Violent: words or phrases that describe unruly behavior and actions, i.e., Simpson went into a rage after his divorce.

Failure: words or phrases that imply unsuccessfulness, i.e. Simpson failed at his attempt to be an actor.

Hero: words or phrases that describe courageousness and fearlessness, i.e., Simpson's demeanor was dauntless as the prosecution cross-examined his mother.

Victim: words or phrases that imply suffering and loss, i.e., Simpson's image has been irreparably damaged.

Independent Variable

Media Agenda Setting: The agenda of the newspaper, whether it is mainstream or black, determines how African-Americans are portrayed.

Dependent Variable

Media Portrayal: Portrayal of African-Americans is dependent upon the agenda of the newspaper, whether it is mainstream or black.

Attributes of Independent Variable Media Agenda Setting

According to the literature, media stereotyping of African-Americans is part of the procedure of the mainstream press, which is controlled by white males.

Attributes of Dependent Variable Media Portrayal

Positive coverage and negative coverage are the types of media portrayals reflective of the procedure of the newspaper, whether it is mainstream or black.

The units of observation in this study were editorials, columns, and hard news and feature stories from the *Sentinel* and the *Times* that reported on the case during a six month time frame -- June 16, 1994 to December 29, 1994. Simpson was charged with the murders of his ex-wife and Ronald Goldman on June 17. The *Sentinel* had already published its weekly edition from June 16-June 22, thus, missing Simpson's arraignment on June 17. The researcher used the *Sentinel* publication dates to collect articles from the *Times*. This purposive sample was done for the six month time frame so the coverage of the *Times* would correspond to the weekly coverage of the *Sentinel*.

Content in articles was examined for negative and positive coverage in the *Times* and the *Sentinel*. All coding instruments provided the coders with the operational definitions of positive, negative and objective coverage to ensure a fair measurement of each story. The sampling frames were the Los Angeles Times Index 1994, in which stories were located under the heading "O.J. Simpson," and *Los Angeles*

Sentinel microfilm in The Ohio State University main library.

As mentioned, the researcher used the nonprobabilistic method of purposive sampling -- a method in which the researcher uses her own judgment for the sample selection¹⁶⁹ -- for collecting editorials and hard news and feature stories in the *Sentinel* and the *Times*. This technique was employed based on the researcher's unit of analysis, media agenda setting, which reflects the editorial perspective of a newspaper. The mode of observation used for examination of the stories was latent content analysis. Unlike manifest content analysis, which measures the surface content of communication, latent content analysis measures the underlying meaning of communication.¹⁷⁰

The coding method was another limitation in this study. The researcher did not have the funds to pay another coder to read all the stories in the sample size, so she divided the stories into 14 separate coding instruments. Nine coders read stories from the *Times* and five coders read stories from the *Sentinel*. To guard against bias, the coders were

¹⁶⁹

Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, 6th ed., (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992): 233.

¹⁷⁰

Ibid., 318.

not told which newspaper they were reading. The combined sample size of the stories was 151 (62 from the *Sentinel* and 89 from the *Times*).

The researcher evaluated all 14 coding instruments and intercoder reliability with each coder was assessed separately using Holsti's formula¹⁷¹:

$$C.R.= \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

M represents the number of coding decisions in which the researcher and each coder were in agreement. N1 and N2 refer to the number of coding decisions the researcher and each coder made in each coding instrument. After the researcher calculated intercoder reliability between herself and each coder, the average of the 14 percentages was calculated, which resulted in 65 percent. This percentage is average; however, it is high enough to suggest an overall consistent pattern of reporting that all coders saw in the *Times* and *Sentinel*.

Suggestions for Future Research

The researcher had originally intended to do a study similar to Martindale's, using four mainstream newspapers:

¹⁷¹

O.R. Holsti, Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969): 140.

the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. She also wanted to compare these newspapers with weekly black publications in these cities. However, funding and time became obstacles, with the researcher having only one year to collect and analyze data after the proposal had been approved.

Expanding the print media analysis will give a more representative sample and comprehensive assessment of overall mainstream and black media pre-trial coverage of the Simpson trial. In addition to analyzing more newspapers, other variables could also be tested, such as the number of words, type of photographs (action or still), and placement of stories. This would fall under the category of manifest content analysis. Other media such as radio talk shows and television network broadcasting could also be examined for bias and sensationalism.

Another interesting analysis would be to do a sociological study that would break down the concept of race and how it applies to the Simpson case. A study such as this would focus more on Simpson's life experience and how it relates to the widespread experience of blacks in America, especially black males, making class and race the main variables of analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Only three coders out of the 14 had lower than 60 percent agreement with the researcher. These three coded stories from the *Times*, with two coders evaluating hard news stories and coder evaluating columns.

Coder #1 disagreed with the researcher on eight out of 10 stories. These stories focused mainly on court proceedings and trial developments. The headlines of these eight were: "Ito Rejects Defense Bid to Bar Seized Evidence," "No Deadline Set on DNA Test Results in Simpson Case," "Talking to Police Limits Defense, Experts Say," "Jury Questioning Begins Slowly in Simpson Case," "Ito May Penalize Simpson Prosecutors Over DNA Tests," "Search in Simpson Case Upheld," "Trading on Misfortune," and "Simpson Team Subpoenas Prosecutors for Pretrial Hearing." This coder, an undergraduate journalism major, assessed the first three stories as portraying Simpson in a negative manner and the last five as portraying him in a positive manner. The

researcher interpreted all stories in this sample as objective.

The second coder disagreed with the researcher on six out of 10 hard news stories. As with the first coder, the subject matter of these stories was on court proceedings and trial developments. The headlines of these six were:

"Decision Near on Seeking Death in Simpson Case," "Debate Intense on Simpson Evidence; Crucial Ruling Due," "Simpson Loses a Privilege; Others in Jail Gain One," "Simpson Distraught in Jail Visit, Deputy Says," "No Role in Probe, Ito's Wife Says," and "D.A. Forced to Beef Up His A-team."

This coder evaluated the first five stories as negative and the last one as positive. The researcher coded all six stories as objective.

The third coder disagreed with the researcher on six out of 11 columns. The majority of the *Times* columns were written by Bill Boyarsky who had a column entitled "The Spin" during the Simpson trial. Boyarsky's topics included commentaries on the media's coverage of the case, particularly the ethics of reporting, the race factor, domestic violence, and the jury system. The six headlines coder #13 disagreed with the researcher were: "Victims Families Should Be Heard," "Public Defense for Everybody Equals Justice," "The Evolution of News Ethics in Reporting

Trials," "Shaping the News Means Shaping Minds of Jurors," "When a Trial Overshadows Candidates," and "Divining Potential Jurors' Real Racial Attitudes a Daunting Challenge." This coder assessed the first two columns as objective, the next three as negative, and the last one as positive. The researcher evaluated the first two columns as negative and the last four as objective.

The overall percentages for the categories of positive, negative and objective for the *Times* sample were respectively 12%, 30%, and 57%. With over half of the stories being coded as objective and only 30% coded as negative, hypothesis one, which stated that the *Times* would portray Simpson as violent or a failure, imply his guilt, attack his character, and criticize his defense strategy, was not supported. However, for stories evaluated as negative in the *Times*, the coders believed the majority implied Simpson's guilt. Choice "a," which stated the story implied Simpson's guilt, was selected 23 times (See Table 1, p. 99).

The overall percentages for the categories of positive, negative and objective for coders who read the *Sentinel* were respectively 44%, 15%, and 42%. With the percentages almost even for the categories of positive and objective coverage, hypothesis two, which stated that the *Sentinel* would portray

Simpson as either a hero or victim of racism, imply his innocence, uplift his character, and applaud his defense strategy, was not fully supported. Yet, as with the *Times*, the reasons coders selected for assessing stories as positive in the *Sentinel* reveal that they believed the *Sentinel* coverage supported Simpson and portrayed him in a positive manner. Choice "f," which stated the *Sentinel* would criticize media depiction of Simpson, was chosen 13 times. Choice "a" (implying Simpson's innocence) and choice "e" (describing Simpson as a victim of racism) were each chosen 10 times (See Table 2, p. 99). The majority of *Sentinel* headlines focused on the implications of choices "a", "e" "f," such as "Is 'Trial by Media' an Attempt to Influence Jury in O.J. Simpson Case," "Black Activists Say Frenzy Over O.J.'s Fall Feeds Stereotypes," and "D.A.'s No Death Penalty Raises Many Political Questions." Feature stories focused on the human interest angle of Simpson, with reporters interviewing Simpson's relatives and admirers. Two stories written by *Sentinel* staff writer, the late Dennis Schatzman, featured interviews with Simpson's former sister-in-law and a woman whom Simpson helped financially. The headlines of these stories were: "He's Innocent Insists O.J.'s Sister-in-Law," and "South L.A. Resident Recalls the 'Human Side' of O.J. Simpson."

The coding results of the *Sentinel*, although not fully supporting hypothesis two, were not shocking. With the categories of positive and objective almost even at 40 percent, these findings display the *Sentinel* operating as an advocacy medium, which is the primary function of the black press.¹⁷²

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Kessler, *The Dissident Press*, 23-24.

a -- imply Simpson's guilt	<u>23</u>
b -- criticize his defense strategy	<u>8</u>
c -- attack his character	<u>9</u>
d -- describe him as violent	<u>8</u>
e -- describe him as a failure	<u>1</u>
f -- support media depiction of him	<u>3</u>

Table 1. LA Times Reasons for Stories Coded Negative

a -- imply Simpson's innocence	<u>10</u>
b -- support his defense strategy	<u>7</u>
c -- uplift his character	<u>8</u>
d -- describe him as a hero	<u>8</u>
e -- describe him as a victim of racism	<u>10</u>
f -- criticize media depiction of him	<u>13</u>

Table 2. LA Sentinel Reasons for Stories Coded Positive

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The pre-trial coverage of Simpson in the *Sentinel* supports Shipp's assessment of the pivotal questions asked by the black press concerning the case: (1) Did the mainstream media replace the lynch mob; (2) was Simpson being accused because the victims were white; and, (3) was Simpson the latest victim of society's connivance to destroy black men?¹⁷³ All of these issues were primary points of focus in the *Sentinel*.

Sentinel writer A. Asadullah Samad wrote several columns implying Simpson's innocence and accusing the mainstream media of framing the ex-football great. Samad's July 7, 1994 editorial had the following headline: "O.J.'s Murder Rap: Has Anybody Bothered to Check the Butler?" Samad emphatically argues that all the evidence against

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Shipp, "OJ and the Black Media," 40.

Simpson was circumstantial. He also asks why Simpson was the primary suspect instead of Kato Kaelin:

How do you lose the key witness who lives at the residence and was close to both O.J. and victim? And how does a material witness that disappears out of the clear smoggy sky, not become a suspect? And how come a manhunt hasn't been called for Kato Kaelin? And why hasn't the major propaganda media provided minute-by-minute coverage on "the search for Kato?"¹⁷⁴

In this column Samad insinuates the "conspiracy theory" by the LAPD to charge Simpson with murder using the "black guy did it" stratagem. Addressing Simpson's superstar status, Samad asks in another column: "O.J.: Can Even an American Hero Get Justice in America?" Samad points out that in spite of Simpson's celebrity appeal, the football Hall of Famer found himself in the position familiar to many black men -- under accusation in the American justice system.¹⁷⁵

Not all *Sentinel* columnists directly supported Simpson as Samad did. Jim Cleaver remained neutral in his commentaries stating that Simpson deserved a fair trial, but never jumping on the race or black male conspiracy bandwagon. In "Meanwhile Folks, Another Visit to the 'Juice' Factory," Cleaver commented:

Yes, there is this school of thought which leans toward the idea that there is an assault on prominent Black

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Los Angeles Sentinel, July 7-July 13, 1994, A7.

¹⁷⁵

Los Angeles Sentinel, June 30-July 6, 1994, A1, A14.

males. But when we examine this charge, we can find there are just as many non-blacks who have run afoul of the law. So, this is a charge we might take with a grain of salt if we can take the blinders we all too often wear, away from our battle weary eyes.¹⁷⁶

Columnist A.S. Doc Young expressed no sympathy for Simpson, and consistently reminded readers that two people had been viciously murdered. Clearly not a Simpson fan, Young challenged readers to look beyond the obstacle of race:

The O.J. Simpson case is not a racial issue! Black Americans should not be burdened with it! But, merely because O.J. is an Afro American -- or a black person -- some people who should know better have jumped up with attempted, race-based "defenses" of this man, who at the time of this writing, is the prime (or only) suspect in the murders of his former wife, Nicole, and "her friend," Ronald Goldman. That is wrong.¹⁷⁷

Sentinel sportswriter Kenneth Miller shared Young's sentiments stating he did not feel sorry for Simpson:

It's hard for me to pity a man who had so much that seemed to come so easy. I grieve with the families of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman who were not quite as fortunate as Mr. Simpson.¹⁷⁸

As an advocacy medium, the *Sentinel* pre-trial Simpson coverage told the story from an African-American viewpoint, focusing on police treatment of Simpson, his slim

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Los Angeles Sentinel, August 11-August 17, 1994, A7.

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"O.J.: Not A Racial Issue," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 30-July 6, 1994, A7.

¹⁷⁸

"Ode to O.J.," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 30-July 6, 1994, B1.

possibility of receiving a fair trial, the media craze, and the racial politics of the case. Support for Simpson was evident in *Sentinel* hard news stories with headlines such as: "Were the Handcuffs Really Necessary," "District Attorney 'Stretching' on O.J. Simpson Evidence," and "O.J.'s Judge: Were Her Decisions Political."¹⁷⁹ In the "Handcuffs" story, *Sentinel* staff writer Dennis Schatzman compared Simpson's arrest to Jeffrey Dahmer's, asking how many times did we see Dahmer, a confessed serial killer, handcuffed compared to Simpson. Schatzman recalls the scene in which Simpson was being questioned by police in front of his home, noting that the handcuffs were not removed until Simpson's lawyer, Howard Weitzman, appeared.

In the "District Attorney" story, Schatzman quotes Century City criminal attorney Janet Levine who stated that the District Attorney's office was "pulling out all stops to try and convict Simpson" because of back-to-back losses in the Rodney King and Menendez Brothers cases. Schatzman quotes criminal trial attorney Carl Jones in his story on the decision of Municipal Court Judge Kathleen Kennedy-Powell's motion to use evidence found on Simpson's property without a search warrant. Jones said he would not be

¹⁷⁹

Los Angeles Sentinel, June 16-June 22, 1994, A1, A15: December 15-December 21, 1994, A1, A4: July 14-July 20, 1994, A17.

surprised if Kennedy-Powell was thinking about the defeat former Los Angeles Superior Judge Gittelsohn suffered after he ordered the desegregation of Los Angeles Unified School System's busing. Schatzman said that Kennedy-Powell, "in the minds of some legal experts, is looking over her shoulder to the ultra conservative Southern California public who has punished judges who issued unpopular rulings in the past."¹⁸⁰

The coding results of the *Times* were unexpected with over half of the stories being coded objective. These findings are surprising in relation to the literature on mainstream media depiction of African-Americans and studies on racial evaluations of the mass media. As the Kerner Commission found in 1968, the mainstream media do a very inadequate job of reporting on racial minorities. The "white male" bias of the mainstream media imposes a paternalistic perspective from the dominant culture on African-Americans and other racial groups. Studies such as Virginia D. Fielder's and Leonard P. Tipton's analysis of minority newspaper perception revealed that African-Americans are less likely than whites to feel that mainstream newspapers can be trusted, and that African-

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Los Angeles Sentinel, July 14-July 20, 1994, A17.

Americans are much more likely than whites to say newspapers do not provide favorable enough coverage of diverse groups in society.¹⁸¹

When evaluating the *Times'* pre-trial coverage on the Simpson case, coders thought the reporting was overwhelmingly objective, but not without some implications of Simpson's guilt. Headlines such as "911 Tapes Tell of Stormy Simpson Relationship," "Blood Matches Simpson Type, Police Sources Say," "Simpson Distraught in Jail Visit, Deputy Says," and "Decision Near on Seeking Death in Simpson Case," point to Simpson as the murderer of his ex-wife and Ronald Goldman.¹⁸² The coders assessed these stories as, implying Simpson's guilt. Using phrases such as "sources say," or the "deputy says," the *Times* can hide behind the guise of objectivity while still subtly implicating Simpson as the murderer. Aware of this bias, the researcher still interpreted all of these stories as objective because *Times* reporters used quotes from valid sources, although in these articles, most of them were negative toward Simpson. *Times* reporters did not insert their personal opinions, which

¹⁸¹

Virginia D. Fielder and Leonard P. Tipton, Minorities and Newspapers (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1986).

¹⁸²

Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1994, A1, A14; June 16, 1994, A1, A12; July 14, 1994, A1, A16; August 10, 1994, A1, A20.

would conflict with the standard of objectivity. The *Times* reported on race as a valid angle of the Simpson case and did not purposely stereotype Simpson, which mirrors Dashiell's findings on how the broadcast networks utilized race in their pre-trial coverage.

The coders who are not familiar with routine journalism reporting were probably heavily influenced by the *Times* headlines for stories they coded as negative. Of the nine coders who read the *Times*, two were white, the other seven African-American. Of the seven African-American coders, one was a journalism major in college. She had 70 percent agreement with the researcher and evaluated the majority of stories she read as objective. Since the remaining African-American coders who read *Times* articles represent the general black reader, the assessment of 30 percent of the *Times* stories as negative suggests that there is a difference in how African-Americans interpret the news.

Temple University sociologist Noel Cazanave contends that blacks judge the news by their own precepts, which differs from the views of mainstream reporters who claim to be objective. He asserts that reporters in the mainstream press tend to think that they work in an ideology-free environment with "isolated individuals" collaborating to tell the story to the best of their ability, but ignoring

the fact that others have viewpoints that enable them to see certain happenings very clearly and others not at all. Cazanave maintains that African-Americans hold ideological convictions that tend to explain and justify the social realities of their status quo.¹⁸³

According to a 1995 Gallup Poll survey, African-Americans were more alienated from the mainstream media than Asian-Americans and Hispanics. African-Americans, by margins of better than two to one, said television and newspaper reporting worsens rather than improves relations among different racial and ethnic groups. African-Americans also reported getting upset more frequently with mainstream media coverage about them, and 66 percent of those surveyed said that newspapers pay no attention to blacks' criticism of their coverage.¹⁸⁴

Much of African-Americans' frustrations with the mainstream media stem from the stereotypical depictions that cast them as drug dealers, rapists, prostitutes, and thugs.

Black men have born the burden of these negative media images in what Earl Ofari Hutchinson calls the "fine art of black male bashing." Hutchinson cites the 1989 Charles

¹⁸³

Linda W. Moore, "Can The Press Do The Right Thing," 23-24.

¹⁸⁴

Leslie McAneny, "Ethnic Minorities View The Media's View of Them," The Gallup Poll Monthly (August 1994): 31-32.

Stuart case as one of the prime examples of the mainstream media depiction of the black male as dangerous and fierce. After Stuart's accusation of a black male as the murderer of his pregnant wife, Hutchinson states that "the stampede was on," as the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald* ran stories about violence-prone young, black men terrorizing the city.¹⁸⁵

In 1994, Susan V. Smith, a young white woman from Union, South Carolina, fabricated a story of a black male who carjacked her with her two infant sons at gunpoint. Like Stuart, Smith was the real murderer. Thus, from the Stuart and Smith cases, and all the way back to the Scottsboro Boys, many African-Americans are cynical when black males are accused of high profile crimes against whites because of the old "black man did it" ruse. The mainstream media have promoted this stratagem for years.¹⁸⁶

Although the coders' overall assessment of the *Times* pre-trial coverage of Simpson as objective implies that this newspaper did not appear to purposely stereotype him, the insinuation of Simpson's guilt was apparent. Unlike the *Sentinel*, the *Times* sample did not have any feature articles

¹⁸⁵

Earl Ofari Hutchinson, *The Assassination of the Black Male Image*, (Los Angeles, CA: Middle Passage Press): 20.

¹⁸⁶

Ibid., 32.

that presented the human side of Simpson. From the *Times*, readers get the image of Simpson as a fallen hero, but with the *Sentinel* readers get the image of the man behind the hero. Since the *Times* sample was based on the weekly dates of the *Sentinel*, there may have been some feature stories on Simpson in other issues. However, according to the findings in this study, it is very unlikely that these features would portray Simpson in a positive manner.

Most mainstream media outlets would deny any bias in their reporting of the Simpson case, but as Cazanave points out, most reporters in the mainstream media fail to see certain phenomena that African-Americans see. Thus, the need for the black press continues.

A Final Word on the Simpson Tragedy

In The Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B. Dubois stated that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line. He described the Negro's status as one born with an eternal mask, an impediment that would cause the Negro to always see himself through the perceptions of others:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through

the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.¹⁸⁷

Double-consciousness is the tragedy of O.J. Simpson's life. Simpson always measured his worth through the eyes of whites, constantly trying to assimilate into their world. He actually believed that whites looked at him through colorblind lenses, often bragging to friends that when he went places, he was "treated as well as a white man."¹⁸⁸ Yet, Simpson failed to realize that his blackness was something diction lessons, golf, and crossover commercial appeal could not revoke.

Although he was acquitted of the murders of his ex-wife and Ronald Goldman, Simpson's image is forever tarnished with the majority of white Americans believing he is guilty.

Thus, he has been handed his blackness back by the dominant culture.

The Simpson saga has important social implications regarding race. The divergent reaction between blacks and whites to the Simpson verdict revealed more than ever that the social ills of more than 300 years of slavery and racial discrimination have not been eradicated barely 30 years

187

W.E.B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk, in Three Negro Classics, John Hope Franklin, ed. (New York: Avon Books): 215.

188

Gibbs, 129.

after the civil rights movement. Yet, as *Newsweek's* Mark Whitaker asserts, whites and blacks are locked into a symbiotic relationship in America:

. . . blacks can't help dealing with whites, if for no other reason than that they still hold most of the nation's political and economic power. And whites can hardly give up on the relationship either, if only because none of America's most pressing social issues - from education and crime to competitiveness, entitlements and the national debt can be addressed without black participation.¹⁸⁹

The economic power of whites is crucial as race continues to permeate the national forefront, especially with the current affirmative action backlash which has influenced conservative, white politicians to rescind government-aided programs for minorities. America continues to be a house divided along the color line. A house divided against itself cannot stand.

¹⁸⁹

Mark Whitaker, "Whites v. Blacks," 35.

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APPENDIX A

ARTICLES FROM *THE LOS ANGELES SENTINEL*

The Los Angeles Sentinel (June 16-June 22, 1994)

Schatzman, Dennis, "Police Tight-Lipped, Release Few Details Following Autopsy," pp. A1, A15.

Schatzman, Dennis, "Were the Handcuffs Really Necessary?", pp. A1, A15.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (June 23-June 29, 1994)

Bayles, Fred, "Simpson: A Uniquely American Tragedy", pp. A1, A15.

Bolden, James, "Supportive Friends, Fans May Have Aided in O.J.'s Capture," p. A14.

"Dual Murder Charges Against Simpson Move to Courtroom," pp. A1, A14.

"Handled With Care," p. A6.

"O.J.'s Homeys Offer Comments", pp. A1, A15.

"Officials: There is No Provision for Removing O.J. from Hall of Fame," p. B1.

"Transcript of Felony Complaint Against O.J.," pp. A1, A15.

"Jackson Raps Cops, Media," p. A1.

"Fans Make Pilgrimage to O.J.'s USC Shrine," p. B1.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (June 30-July 6, 1994)

Cleaver, Jim, "Once Again, Putting Cart Before the Horse", p. A7.

Miller, Kenneth, "Ode to O.J.", p. B1.

Young, A.S. Doc, "O.J.: Not A Racial Issue", p. A7, A12.

Samad, A. Asadullah, "O.J.: Can Even an American Hero Get Justice in America?", pp. A1, A14.

Williams, Joe III, "The Odyssey of O.J. Simpson Reveals a Social Phenomenon", p. A14.

"O.J.'s Hearing Begins Today: Defense Gets Blood, DA Gets Hair," pp. A1, A11, A15.

"Those 911 Tapes", p. A6.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (July 7-July 13, 1994)

Samad, A. Asadullah, "O.J.'s Murder Rap: Has Anybody Bothered to Check the Butler?", p. A7.

Schatzman, Dennis, "O.J. Simpson Preliminary Hearing Enters Second Week", pp. A1, A19.

Wilson, Jerald, "Simpson Dream Team: Myth vs. Substance", p. A7.

"Trial Lawyers in Simpson Case Give Bravura Performances Filled With Pathos, Posturing", p. A19.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (July 14-July 20, 1994)

Cleaver, Jim, "Some Questions About the Media Circus", p. A7.

Miller, Kenneth, "O.J. Simpson: We Know Too Much," p. B1.

Schatzman, Dennis, "O.J.'s Judge: Were Her Decisions Political?", pp. A1, A17.

Schatzman, Dennis, "Courtroom Bias, Credibility Also on Trial in Simpson Case, p. A17.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (July 21-July 27, 1994)

Farr, Steve, "In O.J.'s Old Neighborhood, Everybody Has a Theory", p. A3.

Schatzman, Dennis, "District Attorney's Office Will Be Fair, Says Garcetti", pp. A1, A9.

Schatzman, Dennis, "South L.A. Resident Recalls the 'Human Side' of O.J. Simpson", p. A3.

"Perception vs. Reality", p. A6.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (July 28-August 3, 1994)

Samad, A. Asadullah, "Racially Bias Media Reporting: Persuasion by Deception", p. A7.

Schatzman, Dennis, "Simpson's Defense Will Add More Black Lawyers -- Cochran", pp. A1, A13.

Schatzman, Dennis, "People Still Remember the Kindness of O.J. Simpson", p. A3.

"Cochran Gives Simpson Team Respected, Trial Smart Attorney", p. A3.

"The Juice on TV", p. A6.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (August 4-August 10, 1994)

Brown, Malaika & Schatzman, Dennis, "Simpson Case: Despite Promises, Leaks Keep on Coming", pp. A1, A4.

Schatzman, Dennis, "L.A. Journalists Take Bashing Over News Coverage of Simpson", p. B9.

Young, A.S. Doc, "O.J. Simpson Case Continues To Dominate the Public Forum", p. A7.

"Black Activists Say Frenzy Over O.J.'s Fall Feeds Stereotypes", p. A4.

"The Black Press, O.J., and the Courts", p.A6.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (August 11-August 17, 1994)

Bolden, James, "Panelists View Events in O.J. Case Differently", pp. A1, A12.

Cleaver, Jim, "Meanwhile Folks, Another Visit to the 'Juice' Factory", p. A7.

"Hollywood Lifestyles Exposed in Simpson Case", p. B3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (August 18-August 24, 1994)

Schatzman, Dennis, "Is 'Trial by Media' an Attempt to Influence Jury in O.J. Simpson Case?", p. A3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (August 25 -August 31, 1994)

"Simpson's Defense Attorneys Still Fighting for Access to Info", p. A3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (September 1-September 7, 1994)

Bolden, James, "Simpson Defense Shifts to Files of LAPD Detectives", p. A3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (September 8-September 14, 1994)

Bolden, James, "'Trials' Net Same Result: Simpson Found Not Guilty", p. A1

Bolden, James, "Frustrations Grow as Parties Prepare Case of the Century", p. A3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (September 15-September 21, 1994)

Bolden, James, "With Death Penalty Ruled Out, Lawyers Prepare to do Battle", p. A3.

Schatzman, Dennis, "'He's Innocent,' Insists O.J.'s Sister-in-Law", pp. A1,A14.

Schatzman, Dennis, "D.A.'s No Death Penalty Decision Raises Many Political Questions", pp. A3, A14.

"A Prudent Decision", p. A6.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (September 22-September 28, 1994)

Bolden, James, "Simpson Attorneys Release Legal Arsenal", p. A3.

Smith, Betty, "Betty Smith and Family Won't Forget 'My Day in Sun With O.J.'", p. A3.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (September 29- October 5, 1994)

Bolden, James, "Families Use Media As Means To Deliver Opinions, Theories", p. A3.

Young, A.S. Doc, "Much, Too Much Simpson", pp. A7, A11.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (October 6- October 12, 1994)

Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (October 13- October 19, 1994)

"Some Believe Simpson's Defense May be Winning by Losing", p. A4.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (October 20- October 26, 1994)

Foster, David, "Frenzy Over O.J. Fall Helps Fuel Racial Stereotypes", pp. A1, A14.

Young, A.S. Doc, "From Indoe to O.J. and Infinity", pp. A7, A11.

"Prospective Jurors Are Mostly White, Middle-Age Professionals", p. A14.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (October 27- November 2, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (November 3 - November 9, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (November 10- November 16, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (November 17 - November 23, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (November 24 - November 30, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (December 1 - December 7, 1994)
"O.J. Case Shows Presumption Of Innocence Not Always Easy",
p. A11.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (December 8- December 14, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (December 15- December 21, 1994)
Schatzman, Dennis, "District Attorney 'Stretching' On O.J.
Simpson Evidence", pp. A3, A4.

The Los Angeles Sentinel (December 22 - December 28, 1994)
Nothing selected for sample

The Los Angeles Sentinel (December 29 - January 4, 1995)
Nothing selected for sample

APPENDIX B

ARTICLES FROM *THE LOS ANGELES TIMES* (NATIONAL EDITION)

The Los Angeles Times (June 16, 1994)

Maugh, Thomas H. II, "DNA Tests on Blood Won't Yield Answers for Months", p. A13.

Newton, Jim & Meyer, Josh, "Blood Matches Simpson Type, Police Sources Say", pp. A1, A12.

The Los Angeles Times (June 22, 1994)

Braun, Stephen, "No Weapon Found in Search of Chicago Field", p. A19.

Dillow, Gordon, "Mixed Messages: Simpson is Hastily Edited Out of Film on Values, but Some Prefer the Original", p. A19.

Katz, Jesse & Braun, Stephen, "Grand Jury Reportedly Probing Simpson Alibi", pp. A1, A18

McElvaine, Robert S, "The Day -- and Night -- of the Locust", p. B7.

The Los Angeles Times (June 23, 1994)

Meyer, Josh & Ford, Andrea, "911 Tapes Tell of Stormy Simpson Relationship", pp. A1, A14.

Stolberg, Sheryl, "Judge Denies Simpson Got Special Treatment in '89," p. A1.

Weinstein, Henry, "Talking to Police Limits Defense, Experts Say", p. A15.

The Los Angeles Times (June 29, 1994)

Bates, Karen Grigsby, "A la Carte from the Hero Menu", p. B7.

Ford, Andrea & Newton, Jim, "Simpson Hearing Focus Is on Evidence Testing", pp. A1, A24, A25.

The Los Angeles Times (June 30, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "Shaping the News Means Shaping Minds of Jurors", p. A18.

Hutchinson, Earl Ofari, "Race and Sex -- the Last Taboo Lives", p. B7.

Newton, Jim & Ford, Andrea, "Simpson Lawyers Move to Suppress Evidence", pp. A1, A19.

Weinstein, Henry, "Routine Hearing Expected to be Anything but Routine," p. A1.

The Los Angeles Times (July 6, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "In the Simpson Drama, No Witness Is a Minor Player on the Stage", p. A4.

Newton, Jim & Ford, Andrea, "2 Describe Scene at Simpson Estate on Murder Night", pp. A1, A4.

Weinstein, Henry, & Dolan, Maura, "Judge's Ruling on Legality of 1st Search Could Be Crucial", p. A5.

The Los Angeles Times (July 7, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "The Jury System is also on Trial Amid the Spectacle," p. A4.

Ford, Andrea & Newton, Jim, "Debate Intense on Simpson Evidence; Crucial Ruling Due", pp. A1, A5.

Lafferty, James, "Public Defense for Everybody Equals Justice," p. B7.

Morrison, Patt, "Everyone's a Private Eye in the Ultimate Whodunit", pp. A1, A4.

The Los Angeles Times (July 13, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "Choosing the Judge for the Simpson Trial", p. B3.

Newton, Jim & Ford, Andrea, "Simpson Attorneys Draft Motions to Challenge Case", pp. A1, A14.

The Los Angeles Times (July 14, 1994)

Newton, Jim, "Passport, Cash Reported in Simpson Chase Car," pp. A1, A16.

Weinstein, Henry, "Mystery Presides Over Who Will Be Simpson Case Judge", p. A16.

The Los Angeles Times (July 20, 1994)

Ford, Andrea, "D.A. Meets With Black Leaders on Fairness Issue", pp. A1, A12.

Weinstein, Henry, "Simpson Case Ignites Debate on Legal Ethics", pp. A1, A13.

The Los Angeles Times (July 21, 1994)

Newton, Jim & Ford, Andrea, "Simpson Offering \$500,000 Reward for Tips in Case", pp. A1, A18.

The Los Angeles Times (July 27, 1994)

No stories listed in the LA Times Index

The Los Angeles Times (July 28, 1994)

Newton, Jim, "250,000 Tipsters Deluge Hot Line in Simpson Case", pp. A1, A30.

Weinstein, Henry, "Simpson Experts Decline DNA Test", pp. B1, B3.

The Los Angeles Times (August 3, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "The Art and Privilege of Bombshells in Simpson Case", pp. B1, B3.

The Los Angeles Times (August 4, 1994)

No stories listed in the LA Times Index

The Los Angeles Times (August 10, 1994)

Boyarsky, Bill, "A Cynical Game of Leaks, Denials", p. A20.

Ford, Andrea & Newton, Jim, "Decision Near on Seeking Death in Simpson Case", pp. A1, A20.

The Los Angeles Times (August 11, 1994)

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APPENDIX C

CODING RESULTS

CODING RESULTS/LOS ANGELES TIMES

Coder #1 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
5	3	2

Researcher/Coding Instrument #1

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	10

Coder #4 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
1	5	4

Researcher/Coding Instrument #4

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
2	2	6

Coder #7 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
1	6	3

Researcher/Coding Instrument #7

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	1	9

CODING RESULTS LOS ANGELES TIMES, cont.

Coder #8 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	10

Researcher/Coding Instrument #8

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	10

Coder #9 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
2	2	6

Researcher/Coding Instrument #9

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	10

Coder #10 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	4	6

Researcher/Coding Instrument #10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	1	9

CODING RESULTS LOS ANGELES TIMES, cont.

Coder #11 - Number of stories:9

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	4	5

Researcher/Coding Instrument #11

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	9

Coder #13 - Number of stories:11

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
1	3	7

Researcher/Coding Instrument #13

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	2	9

Coder #14 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
2	0	8

Researcher/Coding Instrument #14

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
0	0	10

CODING RESULTS/LOS ANGELES SENTINEL

Coder #2 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
5	0	5

Researcher/Coding Instrument #2

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
5	0	5

Coder #3 - Number of stories:10

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
4	3	3

Researcher/Coding Instrument #3

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
1	4	5

Coder #5 - Number of stories:15

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
6	1	8

Researcher/Coding Instrument #5

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
5	0	10

CODING RESULTS/LOS ANGELES SENTINEL, cont.

Coder #6 - Number of stories:15

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
5	4	6

Researcher/Coding Instrument #11

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
8	0	7

Coder #12 - Number of stories:12

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
7	1	4

Researcher/Coding Instrument #12

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Objective</u>
8	1	3

INTERCODER RELIABILITY/PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT

Coder #1/Researcher:	20%
Coder #2/Researcher:	80%
Coder #3/Researcher:	70%
Coder #4/Researcher:	60%
Coder #5/Researcher:	73%
Coder #6/Researcher:	66%
Coder #7/Researcher:	40%
Coder #8/Researcher:	100%
Coder #9/Researcher:	60%
Coder #10/Researcher:	70%
Coder #11/Researcher:	55%
Coder #12/Researcher:	92%
Coder #13/Researcher:	45%
Coder #14/Researcher:	80%
<hr/>	
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE:	65%

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE CODING INSTRUMENT

Coding Instrument

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Gender

- a. male b. female

2. Student Status (if you are not a student go to question #4 and #5).

- a. undergraduate b. graduate/professional

3. What is your major? _____

4. For non-students, what is your highest level of education attained?

5. For non-students, what is your profession? _____

6. Please circle your age range.

- a. 18-22
b. 23-27
c. 28-32
d. 33-37
e. 38-42
f. 43-47

7. Please circle your ethnic background.

- a. Black, non-Hispanic
b. Asian or Pacific Islander
c. White, non-Hispanic
d. American Indian or Alaskan Native
e. Hispanic
f. Other _____

DIRECTIONS: Read the following news stories and determine whether coverage portrays O.J. Simpson in a positive, negative, or objective manner. Circle the appropriate letter(s) for your response.

Positive Coverage: Coverage that portrays Simpson in a favorable or commendatory manner. Coverage that implies his innocence, supports his defense strategy, uplifts his character, describes him as a hero, describes him as a victim of racism, or criticizes media depiction of him.

Negative Coverage: Coverage that portrays Simpson in a dissenting or contrary manner. Coverage that implies his guilt, criticizes his defense strategy, attacks his character, describes him as violent, describes him as a failure, or supports media depiction of him.

Objective Coverage: Coverage that states the facts of the case. Coverage that is free of personal opinion or bias.

1. *LA Journalists Take Bashing Over News Coverage of Simpson*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

2. *Simpson Defense Shifts to Files of LAPD Detectives*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

3. *'Trials' Net Same Result: Simpson Found Not Guilty*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

4. *Frustrations Grow as Parties Prepare Case of the Century*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

5. *'He's Innocent Insists O.J.'s Sister-in-Law*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

6. *With Death Penalty Ruled Out, Lawyers Prepare to do Battle*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

7. *D.A.'s No Death Penalty Decision Raises Many Political Questions*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

8. *Some Believe Simpson's Defense May be Winning by Losing*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

9. *Frenzy Over O.J. Helps Fuel Racial Stereotypes*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

10. *Prospective Jurors Are Mostly White, Middle-Age Professionals*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

11. *O.J.'s Hearing Begins Today; Defense Gets Blood, DA Gets*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

12. *Cochran Gives Simpson Team Respected, Trial-Smart Attorney*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

13. *People Still Remember the Kindness of O.J. Simpson*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

14. *Panelists View Events in O.J. Case Differently*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

15. *Hollywood Lifestyles Exposed in Simpson Case*

How does this story portray Simpson?

- a. positive b. negative c. objective

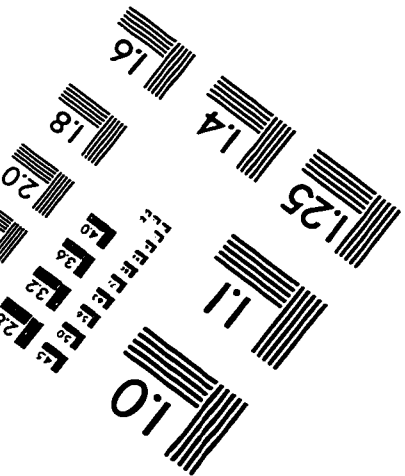
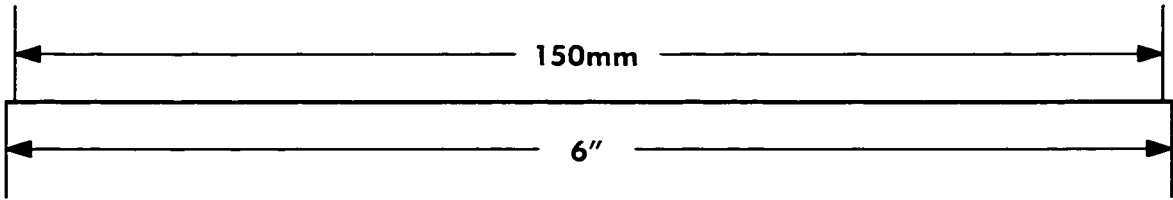
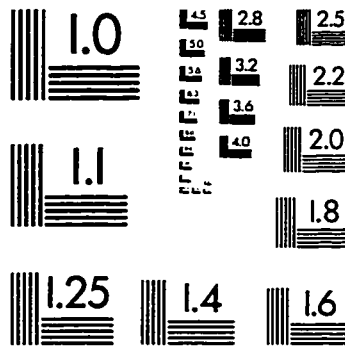
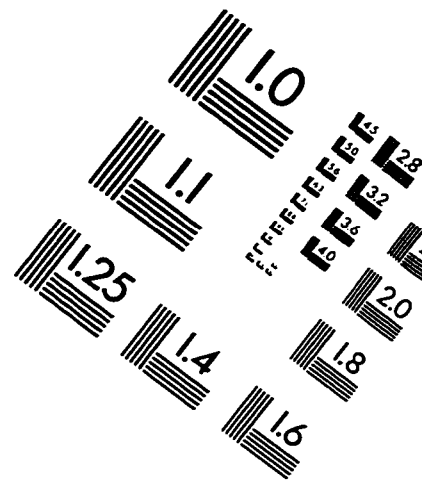
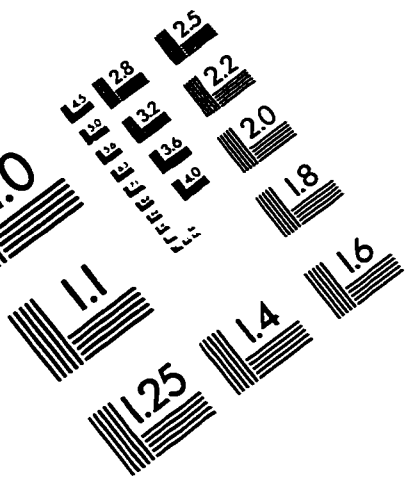
If positive, does it

- a. imply Simpson's innocence
- b. support his defense strategy
- c. uplift his character
- d. describe him as a hero
- e. describe him as a victim of racism
- f. criticize media depiction of him

If negative, does it

- a. imply Simpson's guilt
- b. criticize his defense strategy
- c. attack his character
- d. describe him as violent
- e. describe him as a failure
- f. support media depiction of him

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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