

Student Work

5-7-1994

The Omaha World-Herald and the "Growth Machine": Interpreting North Omaha and Millard news headlines

Alexandra Shepherd Lipschultz

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork>

Recommended Citation

Lipschultz, Alexandra Shepherd, "The Omaha World-Herald and the "Growth Machine": Interpreting North Omaha and Millard news headlines" (1994). *Student Work*. 3143.

<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/3143>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UNO. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Work by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UNO. For more information, please contact unodigitalcommons@unomaha.edu.



THE OMAHA WORLD-HERALD AND THE "GROWTH MACHINE":
INTERPRETING NORTH OMAHA AND MILLARD NEWS HEADLINES

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Sociology

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Alexandra Shepherd Lipschultz

May 7, 1994

UMI Number: EP74542

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP74542

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Thesis Acceptance

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree Masters of Arts, University of
Nebraska at Omaha.

Committee

| Name | Department |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Theodore H. Tsonopoulos | Sociology |
| Barne E. Johansen | COMM. |
| | |
| | |

Mark O. Rousseau, Sociology
Chairman
March 16, 1994
Date

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF
Alexandra Shepherd Lipschultz, for the Master of Arts
degree in Sociology presented on May 7, 1994, at
University of Nebraska at Omaha.

TITLE: THE OMAHA WORLD-HERALD AND THE "GROWTH MACHINE":
INTERPRETING NORTH OMAHA AND MILLARD NEWS HEADLINES
MAJOR PROFESSOR: Mark O. Rousseau

The study explores the social context of Omaha World-Herald headlines written about two geographic areas of the city, North Omaha and Millard. A combination of sociology and mass communication theories are used to examine the role of the local newspaper in the patterns of the city's growth and development.

The method of study is a content analysis of headlines which mention North Omaha and Millard directly. The headlines studied are a census from three years of news sections, 1989-91, accessed using DataTimes computer database.

The research expectations were that there would be proportionately more "positive" headlines for Millard than North Omaha, and proportionately more "negative" headlines for North Omaha than Millard. Use of the chi square statistic resulted in one statistically significant association -- more "neutral" headlines for Millard appeared

than would be expected by chance alone ($N = 70$, chi square = 6.23, $p < .05$). Directional patterns of proportionately more "positive" headlines for Millard and more "negative" headlines for North Omaha are evident.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My time spent at UNO undertaking the study of sociology was greatly enriched by thought-provoking, yet nurturing, teachers along with thoughtful and considerate student and teacher colleagues.

I am most grateful to Dr. Mark O. Rousseau, my thesis advisor, who was literally a tutor in my study of political and economic elites. Our discussions of the literature opened my mind to the possibilities of the sociological imagination.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Theodore Tsoukalas, a member of my thesis advisory committee. Dr. Tsoukalas was very helpful in the original conception of this study. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Bruce Johansen of UNO's Department of Communication. His expertise as a journalist was a valuable resource for me both in a practical and theoretical sense. Dr. William Clute was especially helpful to the study by assisting me in linking theoretical concepts to the local context.

Many other teachers shared their wisdom and fostered the development of my study. I am grateful to: Dr. Boyd Littrell, Dr. Elaine Hess, Dr. Robert Simpson, Mr. Travis Patton, and Mr. Philip Dwight. Teacher colleagues also gave support and made my work as a graduate teaching assistant a rich experience: Dr. Mary Ann Lamanna, Dr. Andris Skreija, Dr. David Moore, and Dr. Lourdes Gouveia. I am indebted to

Department Secretary, Ms. Mary Gum, for her professional assistance and friendship.

The friendship of my student colleagues was an important part of my experience at UNO: Janet Miller, Ann Greathouse, Kazumi Kimura, Sandra Meinecke, Yong Li, Chris Vincentini, Tom Williamson, and Sharon Bailey. Fellow graduate students Kaj Williams and Mike Hilt (Assistant Professor of Communication) were especially helpful during the study. Thank you to my classmates for adding to an adventure and to my students for their patience and support.

Finally, deepest thanks go to my wonderful family for all the love, support, and encouragement they have given me as I complete this project and enter the future: My husband, Dr. Jeremy Harris Lipschultz -- he is my best friend and mentor. My mother, B. Faye Shepherd -- for believing in me and being there. My son, Jeffrey Thomas Shepherd Lipschultz -- my greatest joy and a true friend.

This study is dedicated to the memory of my father, Donald Joseph Shepherd. He died February 6, 1992.

Daddy,

Instead of letting your death bring me down, I want to let your life lift me up.

Sandy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract..... | i |
| Acknowledgments..... | iii |
| Table of Contents..... | vi |
| List of Tables..... | viii |
| Preface..... | ix |
| Chapter I: Introduction..... | 1 |
| The social questions and theoretical perspective..... | 2 |
| Research questions to be addressed..... | 4 |
| Content analysis..... | 5 |
| Overview of the methodology..... | 5 |
| Expected results..... | 6 |
| History of Omaha's growth..... | 6 |
| Urban renewal and North Omaha..... | 7 |
| History of the <i>Omaha World-Herald</i> | 8 |
| Chapter II: Literature Review..... | 11 |
| The rentier elite..... | 12 |
| The growth consensus..... | 12 |
| The growth coalition..... | 13 |
| Headlines..... | 14 |
| Burden on the headline writer..... | 15 |
| Functions of the headline..... | 17 |
| Agenda setting..... | 19 |
| Chapter III: Methodology..... | 22 |
| The data set..... | 23 |
| Specific parameters of the search..... | 23 |
| Data entry..... | 24 |
| Judges..... | 24 |
| Chapter IV: Results..... | 27 |
| Results of research expectations..... | 27 |
| Positive headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared..... | 30 |
| Negative headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared..... | 31 |
| Neutral headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared..... | 33 |
| Headlines with neutral/evaluative disagreement..... | 34 |
| Headlines with sharp disagreement..... | 35 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Chapter V: Conclusions..... | 37 |
| Social impact of the headlines..... | 37 |
| Extension of the theoretical perspective..... | 37 |
| Future studies..... | 39 |
| The art of headline writing..... | 39 |
| References..... | 41 |
| Notes..... | 43 |
| Appendices..... | 44 |
| Appendix A: Instructions to the judges..... | 44 |
| Appendix B: Headlines presented to judges..... | 45 |
| Appendix C: Positive headlines..... | 56 |
| Appendix D: Negative headlines..... | 58 |
| Appendix E: Neutral headlines..... | 60 |
| Appendix F: Disagreement..... | 62 |
| Appendix G: Sharp disagreement..... | 65 |

LIST OF TABLES

| List | Page |
|---|------|
| I. Table I: Within sample comparison of <i>Omaha World-Herald</i> headlines for North Omaha and Millard according to judges' evaluation..... | 28 |
| II. Table II: Between sample comparison of <i>Omaha World-Herald</i> headlines for North Omaha and Millard according to judges' evaluation..... | 29 |

PREFACE

The *Omaha World-Herald* is Omaha's only daily newspaper. My family subscribes to the afternoon edition; I am a faithful reader. Even though I tend to be a critic of the *World-Herald*, our carrier understands that all editions are to be saved for later reading even while our family is away on vacation.

Is the *World-Herald* a good newspaper? I believe that question can only be answered by the individual reader. For me, the *World-Herald* has served as a stimulus in my attempts at understanding the role of the media in society. Whether one thinks that the *World-Herald* is a good or bad newspaper, its position as the only daily newspaper in Omaha, Nebraska compounds the *World-Herald's* influence in its community.

Chapter I Introduction

Headlines on all news stories and feature stories and most columns are written by copy editors, usually without consulting the reporter. Headline writing is an art. It requires special skills and the experience to be able to estimate the number of characters that can fit in a small space (G. Woodson Howe, editor of the *Omaha World-Herald*; Sunday, September 12, 1993; page 2-A).

The present study explores the social context of this "art" -- headline writing, specifically the *Omaha World-Herald* headlines written about North Omaha and Millard. Growth-conflict urban sociologists John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch (1987, p. 71) consider the local newspaper's role in community growth: "The newspaper has no ax to grind except the one that holds the community elite together: growth." Using this metaphor, one could argue the ax of growth is mighty -- and that it is deftly swung to clear the way for development.

Since 1960 nearly two people a day, on average, have moved out of Near North Omaha. Homes and businesses have also disappeared. (*Omaha World-Herald*, November 10, 1991, p. 1). A story headlined, "Dying Neighborhood Seeks New Lease on Life" defines Near North Omaha's boundaries: 16th to 30th Streets and Ames to Cuming Streets. Complete with color photo and graphics, "Dying Neighborhood..." appears on the *World-Herald's* front page and continues on page 8.

This story along with six others, fill the entire eighth page. One of the inside stories bears this headline:

North Side's Image is Victim of Crime

The story's text calls attention to the social problem and helps frame the research problem for this study.

"When you turn on the TV or pick up the paper, all you see is bad news" (Jim Rhodes, planner for the City of Omaha's Business Development Office quoted in the *Omaha World-Herald*, November 10, 1991, p. 8A).

In recent years, much of Omaha's growth and development has taken place to the west of the city in an area known as Millard. Media coverage gives the impression that most news about Millard deals with schools, new housing, and most recently, what is characterized as "expansion" or "sprawl" (*Omaha World-Herald*, December 12, 1992, p. 29-A. Editorials by Kurt Wullschleger and Gene Graves).

Social questions and theoretical perspective

Logan and Molotch's growth-conflict urban sociology (1987) will be used in combination with mass media concepts to explore the role of a local newspaper in the community growth dynamic. I explore one possible interpretation of the *World-Herald's* role in perceptions about Near North Omaha and Millard. I will additionally discuss the theoretical basis for an argument that some parties may stand to benefit financially from favorable or unfavorable portrayals of various geographic areas of the city.

I examine the possibility that story headlines which mention North Omaha serve the interests of growth

elites by portraying that area as crime-riddled and deviant. Economic development might be the most beneficial solution for investors: structural speculators -- those who "attempt to determine the patterns through which others will seek use values from place.... 'creating a situation'" (Logan and Molotch, p. 30) -- and active entrepreneurs, but not for area residents and small businesses. Likewise, headlines mentioning Millard will be examined in order to contrast the treatment of Millard and North Omaha. Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987) assert, "News of deviance is a discourse of failure and, as such, is essential to imagining what might be better - the discourse of progress" (p. 8).

What are the perceptions of residents who live in Near North Omaha regarding the amount of local news on various subjects or themes? A telephone survey provided information about North Omaha residents' perceptions of news coverage of their area (Clute and students, 1992).¹ Forty-seven percent (N = 139) of 293 respondents indicated that the *Omaha World-Herald* was a "very important" source of news information about their community. Over 59 percent (N = 179) of 300 respondents reported reading the *World-Herald* "often."

Residents maintained that the news media, including the *World-Herald*, emphasize news about crime in North Omaha over other subjects or themes. Over 53 percent (N = 145 of 269) said there were "too many" stories about crime, while nearly 52 percent (N = 135 of 260) indicated that there is "not enough" news about housing; over 58 percent (N = 149 of

255) felt there was not enough news about the quality of schools; nearly 74 percent (N = 192 of 260) felt there should be more news about business in North Omaha; almost 75 percent (N = 187 of 251) believed the arts need more coverage in North Omaha.

Close to 58 percent (N = 152) of 263 respondents thought there were too few stories about religious activities; 63 percent (N = 149 of 236) felt that school-sponsored activities should get more coverage; nearly 69 percent (N = 177 of 257) would like to see more attention given to community or church-sponsored youth activities; on political stories respondents were split among the categories, "too many," "about right," and "not enough."

Survey respondents also were asked four specific questions about their perceptions of North Omaha. Nearly 76 percent (N = 198 of 258) agreed that North Omaha is a good place to start a business; 75 percent (N = 214 of 285) indicate North Omaha is a good place to raise a family; over 80 percent (N = 229 of 284) agreed that North Omaha is a good place to own property; finally, almost 90 percent (N = 221 of 246) believed that North Omaha would be a better place to live in five years.

Research questions to be addressed

The theoretical interpretation will be supported by a content analysis of *Omaha World-Herald* headlines. The research question to be addressed: How does the *World-Herald* portray North Omaha and Millard as indicated by the use of

"positive," "negative," and "neutral" headlines? This study does not attempt any measurement of the newspaper's intent. It simply tests the proposition that the local newspaper is part of the "growth machine" and, willingly or not, supports pro-growth interests.

This study will examine what the *Omaha World-Herald* is telling its readers to think about (crime, schools, etc.) when it comes to North Omaha and Millard.

Content analysis

The unit of analysis is the entire headline for stories that use either "North Omaha" or "Millard" in the headline. A census of headlines was selected through the DataTimes database. The headline was treated as the quickest and simplest indicator of content (van Dijk, 1991).

Overview of the methodology

Two judges were asked to decide the "positive," "negative," or "neutral" characterization of headlines. A discussion of examples from the headline census will follow analysis of the coding results. The DataTimes computer information network is the source for the *Omaha World-Herald* headlines included in the study. The search parameters include: (1) the years 1989, 1990, and 1991; (2) the words "North Omaha" in the headlines of the "news" sections; (3) the word "Millard" in the headlines of the "news" sections. The two judges were instructed to code 61 headlines about "North Omaha" and 225 headlines about Millard.

Expected results

1. The analysis will show proportionately more negative than positive headlines about North Omaha.
2. There will be proportionately more positive than negative headlines about Millard.

History of Omaha's growth

Omaha grew in size and population during the post-World War II national boom era. Retailing, finance, government, and services replaced meat and grain processing, transportation, and wholesaling as the primary features of the local economy: "In Omaha, as elsewhere, the downtown, once the city's shining glory, withered as expansive shopping malls thrived fed by their natural ally the automobile" (Daly-Bednarek 1992, p. 1). Omaha's city planning in the 1940s and 1950s emphasized "infrastructure improvement and a face-lift approach to...problems of the downtown" (Daly-Bednarek, p. 36). Daly-Bednarek's research found Omaha's planning more similar to that of medium-sized cities in the U.S. than to the large cities which have been extensively studied.

Part of this conclusion rests on Daly-Bednarek's interpretation of The Contested City in which John H. Mollenkopf defined three categories for the largest U.S. cities: (1) Industrial revolution cities transformed to service industry, (2) Southwest high-technology development, and (3) Turn-of-the-century production centers with commerce and cultural strength previous to the industrial revolution.

Daly-Bednarek concluded that Omaha did not fit neatly into any of these three categories (pp. 39-40).

Between 1940 and 1970, Omaha's population swelled from 223,844 to 347,328 (Daly Bednarek, p. 42, Table 1: Population and Rank). Omaha's black population increased by more than twofold from 1950 to 1970 (16,311 to 34,431) (p. 43, Table 2: Racial Composition). The city also nearly doubled its physical area during the 20 years between 1950 and 1970; growing from 40.7 square miles to 76.6 square miles (Daly-Bednarek, p. 42).

Nearly all of the growth occurred in fringe areas; older eastern sections of the city lost population. The fringe areas formed a semicircle arching northwest, west and southwest of the older sections (p. 43).

Urban renewal and North Omaha

In a study of Omaha's attempts at urban renewal, Stevens concluded that average and low-income residents of areas targeted for renewal were distrustful of the promotion of business interests as well as the state's power of eminent domain (Stevens 1981, p. 145).

With the advent of federal slum clearance and urban renewal, the states, ...could take private property and resell it to private developers who would gain the privilege of profit which accompanied ownership (Stevens, p. 145).

North Omaha was one of the areas in which voters tended to oppose urban-renewal plans. Support was greater in the western portion of the city, although not usually strong enough even there to carry the vote (Stevens, p. 146). One of the primary concerns of the black population in North

Omaha came to be the uncertainty about how relocated residents would acquire better housing (p. 147).

History of the Omaha World-Herald

(The following brief overview is based on a 1985 publicity brochure titled The History of the World-Herald 1885-1985).

The forerunner of the *World-Herald*, the *Omaha Daily World*, was founded in 1885. At that time, the city of Omaha (population 60,000) was 31 years old. In the mid-1800's, the *Omaha Republican*, the *Omaha Herald*, and the *Omaha Bee* were already operating.

Into this over-crowded newspaper arena stepped Gilbert M. Hitchcock, a well-to-do, 25-year-old lawyer...He decided that another newspaper was just what Omaha needed. The three existing Omaha dailies were violently partisan, and Hitchcock believed Omaha deserved a nonpartisan newspaper (The History of the World Herald 1885-1985, p. 2).

The first editorial page was headed "Independent in Politics." Its first editorial statement included the following: "The World announces as a piece of trustworthy news that the people's paper has come and come to stay" (The History..., p. 2).

In 1890, the *Omaha Republican* shut down. By 1889, the *Omaha Herald* was bought by Hitchcock and became the morning and evening *World-Herald*. Hitchcock anticipated that his paper would be "the most powerful paper west of Chicago" (The History..., p. 3). The paper struggled financially into the early 1900's. It was during this time that the *World-Herald* turned Democrat, politically -- going so far as to employ U.S. Senate candidate William Jennings Bryan as the editor-in-chief, even as he stumped for office. Bryan quit

working for the *World-Herald* after being named as the Democratic candidate for president in 1896. Hitchcock, too, ran for office -- as a Democrat for U.S. Congress in 1898 -- and was beaten. He succeeded in 1902. Hitchcock lost his seat in 1904 and won it again in 1906 and 1908. He was elected to the Senate in 1910 and re-elected in 1916.

Other rival newspapers have come and gone over the years, including the News which was acquired by the Bee. According to The History of the World-Herald:

The Bee had itself lost prestige when it was widely accused, with some justification, of whipping up the mob spirit that led to the Courthouse riot of 1919 -- the burning of the Courthouse, the lynching of a prisoner and the near-lynching of Omaha Mayor E. P. Smith. The Bee tried to argue that it was not guilty, but a city shocked by the violence of the riot never quite absolved the Bee. Meanwhile, World-Herald editor Harvey Newbranch...admonished the citizenry never to let such a thing happen again...(The History..., p. 4).

Hitchcock's son-in-law, Henry Doorly, (a former Union Pacific Railroad employee), took over the paper after Hitchcock died in 1934. Under Doorly, the *World-Herald* was Republican for nearly 30 years. The Hitchcock/Doorly family controlled the newspaper until 1962, when it was almost sold to a New York publisher. Peter Kiewit (Omaha construction magnate) bid in order to retain local ownership. Kiewit arranged for employees to hold stock in the paper -- in 1985, employees owned 80 percent of equity with the Peter Kiewit Foundation holding the rest. Since the demise of the *Sun* in the 1980's Omaha has been a one-newspaper town.

The *Omaha World-Herald* is a powerful voice within the community. The present study explores what this voice is saying about two of the city's distinct geographic areas.

Chapter II Literature Review

Logan and Molotch (1987) developed a growth-conflict perspective of urban sociology based on various traditions including neo-Marxian political economy, human ecology and community studies. Their thesis is built not only on the commodification of place in the neoclassical economic sense of supply and demand for land and buildings; emphasis is on the social context of the use and exchange of real estate (p. 1).

An apartment building, for example, provides a "home" for residents (use value) while at the same time generating rent for the owners (exchange value). Individuals and groups differ on which aspect (use or exchange) is most crucial to their own lives. For some, places represent residence or production site; for others, places represent a commodity for buying, selling, or renting to somebody else. The sharpest contrast...is between residents, who use place to satisfy essential needs of life, and entrepreneurs, who strive for financial return, ordinarily achieved by intensifying the use to which their property is put (pp.1-2).

Logan and Molotch focus on the tension between these use-value and exchange-value goals, asserting that one's ability to benefit from the manipulation of place is closely linked to one's position in the stratification of society. Further, they argue, cities and regions are actually shaped by the exchange-value interests of pro-growth elites; where people live and how they relate to one another is a social construction directed by those with common interests (pp. 2-3).

The rentier elite

Three types of place entrepreneurs are identified: *serendipitous entrepreneurs*, those who acquire property by inheritance or luck; *active entrepreneurs*, those who anticipate changes in use values; and *structural speculators*, those who anticipate changes and intervene to create trends (Logan and Molotch 1987, p. 30). Of the latter, "Their strategy is to create differential rents by influencing the larger arena of decision making that will determine locational advantages" (Logan and Molotch, p. 30) [emphasis in original]. "Precisely because they do understand the social nature of property prices, sophisticated entrepreneurs are driven to the organizational manipulations that will boost their returns" (Logan and Molotch, p. 31) [emphasis in original]. Molotch (cited in Logan and Molotch) calls the interlocking pro-growth associations and governmental units the "growth machine" (p. 32).

The growth consensus

A growth consensus exists "among a wide range of elite groups, no matter how split they might be on other issues" (Logan and Molotch 1987, p. 51).

For those who count, the city is a growth machine, one that can increase aggregate rents and trap related wealth for those in the right position to benefit (Logan and Molotch, p. 50).

Elites may haggle in public about which among their "competing" growth strategies should prevail; thereby

creating the impression of pluralism. Yet, it is noted that these "issues...reach public agendas...precisely because they are matters on which elites have...agreed to disagree" (Logan and Molotch, p. 51).

From a Marxian perspective (Goering 1979), it could be asserted that this appearance of organizational or political interest-group pluralism may thwart "the conditions for the successful mobilization of protest against the system of class oppression and manipulation" (p. 489). In other words, ordinary citizens may be given the impression that more divergent viewpoints are represented than actually exist, and this could obscure the opportunities for "grass-roots" urban social movements (Goering, p. 489). The development of a class consciousness is therefore hampered. The pro-growth elites are organized to struggle "for the maintenance of the conditions of profit" while non-elites may or may not organize to struggle for "the conditions for equitable survival" (Goering, p. 490).

The growth coalition

Logan and Molotch point out that those persons with the greatest stake in land-use decisions are quite active in local affairs, with business people in the thick of urban politics (p. 62). Aside from the specific rentier elite (especially the structural speculators), there exists a support component to the pro-growth coalition which includes lawyers and property brokers. Logan and Molotch note the particular interest of monopoly businesses (including local

newspapers such as the *Omaha World-Herald*) which are linked to the growth of the city (p. 63). City (and presumably subscription) growth is the primary means for the newspaper to increase its profits; not only from subscription revenue, of course, but also by increasing its appeal to advertisers based on its readership figures. The newspaper may not have an interest in specific spatial patterns of metropolitan growth. "The newspaper has no ax to grind except the one that holds the community elite together: growth" (Logan and Molotch 1987, p. 71). In the most power-laden scenario, business -- as part of the pro-growth elite -- is capable of

...withholding advertising revenue from media which have incurred its displeasure, and the acute awareness of media which depend on this revenue that anything which appears to be 'anti-business', or which for some other reason greatly displeases important advertisers, is likely to have disagreeable consequences (Miliband 1991, pp. 146-7).

The importance of the local newspaper's role in the "growth machine" and its commitment to growth goals is apparent in the words of the publisher of the *San Jose Mercury News* in the 1950s:

When asked why he had consistently favored development on beautiful orchard lands that turned San Jose into one of the largest cities in California within a period of two decades, he replied, "Trees do not read newspapers" (Domhoff 1983, p. 168; Logan and Molotch 1987, p. 70).

Headlines

Parenti criticizes the power of the headline as a "peripheral framing device" which can "mislead" those who do not read the entire story, "create the dominant slant on a

story", and influence "how we do read the story's text" (1986, p. 223). Journalistic training stresses the role of the headline as a factual necessity, "...the headline must tell what the story is about" (Berner, p. 107). The headline's role is vital to the newspaper; "...the headline today has two definite functions: To advertise the news and to bulletin or summarize it" (Radder, p. 49). "The reader who is attracted by the advertisement will read all or part of the story. If he is not interested he will nevertheless have the main facts from the headline bulletin" (Radder, p. 110).

Burden on the headline writer

"...the fact that the majority of people do not read more than the headlines of most of the stories, throws a tremendous responsibility on the copyreader. It makes the headline more important than the story" (Radder, p. 110). Radder points to "...the imperative necessity that the headline should be not only literally true to the facts of the story" but "it should also comprehensively reflect its spirit." It should say or imply no more than the story. A headline fails if "it is taking an unfair advantage of the reader who assumes that it is not necessary for him to read the story" (Radder, p. 110).

Parenti's criticism is acknowledged by Radder: "Unfair headlines, of course, are most likely to be found over so-called 'policy' stories, that is stories of a controversial nature such as political stories or news about industrial

situations" (Radder, p. 110). The importance of the words chosen for headlines is noted: "Sometimes a *single word* will be sufficient to color a head or make it 'damn with faint praise'" (p. 112) (emphasis is mine).

Radder's example: "Harris Slips In by Bare Majority" compared with "Harris Elected: Majority is 30 Votes" (p. 112). Radder's Newspaper Make-up and Headlines (1924) turns to headlines found in U.S. newspapers during that time of organized labor strife: "...from a Chicago paper for December 1, 1921: U.S. Board Cuts (\$)50,000,000 Rail Waste, 'Open Shop' For Shop Workers Is Recognized... (parenthetical clarification is added). In this headline 'waste' is used as a synonym for closed shop" (Radder, p. 114). Radder's question "Why do newspapers color news and headlines?" (p. 114) is certainly not a new concern, yet it remains an important issue. Radder's explanations are still used; (1) to satisfy advertisers, (2) at the request of the newspaper owner (who is frequently connected to other business through stockownership or directorship), (3) the general socialization of owners, editors and reporters -- "mental outlook, the friendships, ambitions, fears, customs, and beliefs..." (p. 118). These explanations will be explored in the present study. Radder shares this editorial from the early 1920s which appeared in the La Crosse (Wis.) *Tribune*:

A wealthy newspaper publisher owns Standard Oil and railroad stocks, or steel, or is interested in Mexican concessions. He is human, and humanly selfish. Inevitably and quite unconsciously, his attitude is influenced. His attitude is translated into his newspaper policy.

A boy gets a job as reporter on this newspaper. He is loyal. He reads the editorials. The publisher is a fine fellow, and nods pleasantly to the reporter. The managing editor commends his work. He is advanced. He writes special stuff for other newspapers, to add to his income. Perhaps he becomes a staff writer for one of the press associations. Unconsciously and honestly his stories are colored by the impression and sympathies and personal contacts resulting from his affiliation with the interested publisher. One cannot put a finger on it but his personal reactions to life are there between the lines of the written story (p. 119).

Functions of the headline

Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks identify six major functions of newspaper headlines:

1. Attracts the reader's attention.
2. Summarizes the story.
3. Helps the reader index the contents of the page.
4. Depicts the mood of the story.
5. Helps set the tone of the newspaper.
6. Provides the adequate typographic relief (Baskette et al., p. 169).

Baskette, Sissors, and Brooks' The Art of Editing is a journalism text. As such, its explanation of the function of headlines is applied to the training of journalists and may be indicative of some journalists' beliefs regarding headlines. Baskette *et al.* elaborate on the list of headline functions: "Good headlines attract the reader's attention to stories that otherwise may be ignored" (p. 169). "The reader knows what the story is about and can make an intelligent decision about whether to read more" (p. 170).

...the editors have created for their readers a form of index to the page. This also helps the reader determine what to read and what to bypass. In one sense, good headlines help readers determine what *not* to read (p. 170).

"Headlines probably reveal as much about the tone, or character, of a newspaper as anything it contains" (p. 171). "Readers read the headline first, then the story. Copy editors work in reverse; they first read the story, then write the headline" (Baskette et al., p. 176). In other words, the copy editor is in a position to provide the meaning of the story for the reader.

Van Dijk emphasizes the importance of the headline in both textual and cognitive functions:

As every newspaper reader knows, they are the most conspicuous part of a news report...they are usually read first and the information...is strategically used by the reader during the process of understanding in order to construct the overall meaning, or the main topics, of the rest of the text before the text itself is even read (van Dijk 1991, p. 50).

Van Dijk asserts that the headline is an important part of the way the reader commits the newspaper's information to memory -- a "model of the situation" (pp. 50 - 51). The words selected for headlines can have an ideological impact which van Dijk says can make it difficult for readers to interpret a story differently from the way it is summarized in the headline. "Defining an event as a 'riot' may lead to a different interpretation of the news report, and hence to a different model of the situation, from when the event is defined as a 'disturbance' or a 'protest'." Because the headline has such a powerful influence on the interpretation of a news report, readers would have to make an extra effort to derive an alternative main topic from the text" (p. 51). (van Dijk cites Schwartz and Flammer 1981 and himself and

Kintsch 1983. "...headlines have a particularly important function in influencing the use readers will make of this information on later occasions" (van Dijk, p. 51). i.e. in conversation with others (Atwood, Sohn, and Sohn 1978), or arguably, in mobility and investment decisions.

Van Dijk argues that readers are not the only ones to have their "model of the situation" influenced by the headline. The journalists covering and writing the stories also "...use summarizing headlines to understand and memorize the information they get from the discourses of their many sources, which may well define the situation for *them* as they in turn do it for the reader. Often the headlines are not written by the reporters themselves, but by special editors..." (p. 51) (emphasis in the original).

Agenda setting

The "agenda setting" theory of the press traces back to Lippmann's (1922) "map-making" function of the press (Cohen, 1963). Cohen says the "map-making" function is overlooked "...because the newspaper is so much a part of our everyday life...also because of a general tendency to regard the news as objective or factual and hence to think of the possible impact of the press largely in terms of editorial persuasions" (Cohen, p. 12). Cohen identified the agenda-setting function of the press:

...the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about...The editor may believe he is only

printing the things that people want to read, but he is thereby putting a claim on their attention, powerfully determining what they will be thinking about, and talking about, until the next wave laps their shore (p. 13) (emphasis in the original).

Atwood, Sohn, and Sohn (1978) found "significant correlations between content of the local daily newspaper and what people in the community report reading and talking about." McCombs and Shaw (1972) tested the "agenda-setting" approach by correlating voter perceptions of key 1968 presidential campaign issues with those issues receiving the most coverage. Gandy (1991) points out that much agenda-setting research has focused on the media as a whole or divided into subgroups, either attempting to demonstrate effect or comparing the effects of print media to electronic media; "...only peripheral interest is shown in determining how the agenda is set from day to day, from edition to edition" (Protest and Shaw, p. 267). "A much smaller group of researchers begins with media content... [and] attempts to draw inferences about the nature of media organization on the basis of consistencies or patterns of attention and emphasis that characterize some sources and not others" (p. 267). This case study approach plays a part in the present study. An attempt will be made to place the individual case in perspective to its broader environment. Van Dijk points to the desirability for this area of research:

...we have found that this reproductive and symbolic role of the Press is not isolated, but linked in many ways to political, economic, or other power institutions or the elites in general. The implications for the process of reproduction of this

structural and ideological position of the Press relative to other institutions need to be further examined in a theoretical framework...for instance in terms of the political economy and sociology of the media (p. 254).

The present study explores the possible growth coalition motivations of the local newspaper by analyzing headlines. By considering the headline as indicator of story content, one may hope to examine what the *Omaha World-Herald* is telling its readers to think about when it comes to North Omaha and Millard.²

Chapter III Methodology

Babbie identifies content analysis as an unobtrusive measure, a way of "studying social behavior without affecting it in the process" (1989, p. 322). There are two types of content on which the analysis may be focused: manifest and latent. Manifest content is that which is "directly visible, objectively identifiable..such as the specific words in a book;" latent content "refers to the meanings contained within communications. The determination...requires judgments..." (Babbie, p. 323).

In the present study, latent content of the headline as a whole will be explored with the assistance of two judges. The instructions to the judges indicate that "coding decisions should be guided by whether or not you think the headline describes an area in which you would want to live, work, or attend school" (see Appendix A).

Establishing acceptable reliability levels for content analysis accentuates the tension between reliability and validity: "...high reliability can be achieved for simple forms...in which coding is essentially a mechanical task...as categories and units of analysis become more complex, they may yield results that are both more useful and less reliable" (Holsti, p. 142). Given the exploratory nature of the present study, the complexity of analyzing the entire headline, and the subjectivity involved in doing

so, the reliability level for the coding of latent content will be established at .67, the lowest standard recommended by Krippendorff. At this level, only "...highly tentative and cautious conclusions" may be drawn (Krippendorff, p. 147). The reliability will be reported using a method explained by Holsti:

$$\text{Coefficient of reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Here, M represents the number of coding agreements for the 2 judges, while N₁ and N₂ represent the number of decisions made by each judges (Holsti, p. 140; Frank, 1990, p. 52).

The data set

The headlines chosen for the study were retrieved using DataTimes, a computerized information network.³ Using DataTimes, one may access over 2,000 sources including over 110 newspapers (the *Omaha World-Herald* is but one). The *Omaha World-Herald* sections available through DataTimes include: News, Business, Editorial, Sports, Books (Sunday), Entertainment (Sunday), Fashion (Thursday), Home (Sunday), Living Today, Parade (Sunday), Working (Sunday), and Youth (Tuesday). The searches used for this study specified: (1) headlines containing the words "north" and "Omaha;" and (2) headlines containing the word "Millard."

Specific parameters of the search

The parameters established for the Datatimes search were as follows:

For North Omaha

Head = north omaha
 Section = news
 Year = 89 or 90 or 91

For Millard

Head = millard
 Section = news
 Year = 89 or 90 or 91

The search yielded 68 headlines with the words "north" and "Omaha" and 233 headlines with the word "Millard."

Data entry

The researcher omitted headlines which were not, in fact, about North Omaha (e.g. "Missouri River Ice Jam Spreading North of Omaha"); duplicate headlines; and headlines which the search yielded but did not contain the word Millard. Accordingly, 61 headlines about North Omaha and 225 headlines about Millard were included in the study. Each of the headlines was key entered into a computer data file in order to construct a coding instrument.

For analysis of the headlines' latent content, an instrument was presented to each of two independent judges. The materials included one page of instructions (See Appendix A) followed by eleven printed pages of headlines, each containing approximately 25-27 headlines for a total of 286 headlines (See Appendix B). Direct references to North Omaha and Millard were omitted from the headlines. Blanks were substituted for these references (e.g. "_____ businesses to receive tax credits").

Judges

The two judges are both white males approximately 25 to 35 years of age. One is a graduate student and teaching

assistant in sociology. The other is an assistant professor of communication and a graduate student in education. These judges were selected by the researcher because of their willingness to participate in the project. Both were known by the researcher to be individuals who keep abreast of current events. I consider both judges knowledgeable regarding sociology and communication respectively, yet unaware of the specific focus and methods for this study. Using the Holsti formula, intercoder reliability for this study is .674, thus meeting Krippendorff's lowest standard for "highly tentative and cautious conclusions" (p. 147). Reliability is expected to be lower when coding decisions focus on latent content (Babbie, p. 299). Each judge made 286 coding decisions; agreements totaled 193.

Three coding options were offered: "positive," "negative," or "neutral." Thus, the judges were not put in a forced choice (i.e. "positive" vs. "negative") situation. In nearly all cases where there was not agreement, it was because one judge opted for the "neutral" category while the other judge selected either "positive" or "negative" (Millard N = 62 of 156, 39.7 percent; North Omaha N = 23 of 61, 37.7 percent). It was the *rare exception* that one judge saw a headline as "positive" while the other judge coded that same headline "negative" (Millard N = 7 of 156, 4.5 percent; North Omaha N = 1 of 61, 1.6 percent).

As the most conservative approach, only those headlines where both coders agreed were used for the final analysis.

For North Omaha, the coders agreed on 37 of 61 cases (60.65 percent). For Millard, the coders agreed on 156 of 225 headlines (69.3 percent).

Chapter IV Results

The research expectations in the present study, that there would be proportionately more "positive" headlines for Millard than North Omaha, and proportionately more "negative" headlines for North Omaha than Millard, were confirmed.

Results of research expectations

The analysis used the chi square statistic with the assumption that frequencies would be equally distributed among the cells. The expected cell values ("positive," "negative," and "neutral") for North Omaha and Millard were compared to the observed values as determined by the two judges. Only those headlines on which there was agreement by the judges were included in the statistical analysis (North Omaha, N=37 and Millard, N=156). In the strictest statistical test, only one of the six cells was statistically significant at the .05 level: the judges found more "neutral" headlines for Millard (N = 70, Chi Square = 6.23, $p < .05$) than would be expected by chance alone. However, the directional pattern of proportionately more "positive" headlines for Millard and more "negative" headlines for North Omaha was found, and the lack of statistically significant results for those cells may be a function of low sample size.

Table I Within sample comparison of *Omaha World-Herald* headlines for North Omaha and Millard according to judges' evaluation

| Judges' Rating | | North Omaha N=37 | Millard N=156 |
|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| "Positive" | N | 6 | 48 |
| | column % | 16.2 | 30.8 |
| | chi square | 3.22 n.s. | 0.31 n.s. |
| "Negative" | N | 17 | 38 |
| | column % | 45.9 | 24.4 |
| | chi square | 1.80 n.s. | 3.76 n.s. |
| "Neutral" | N | 14 | 70 |
| | column % | 37.8 | 44.9 |
| | chi square | 0.23 n.s. | 6.23 p < .05 |
| | chi square | 5.25 p < .10 | 10.30 p < .01 |

Chi square for each cell = (observed N - expected N)²/expected value. For North Omaha, the expected N = 37/3 = 12.3. For Millard, the expected N = 156/3 = 52. See K.W. Elifson, R.P. Runyon, and A. Haber, Fundamentals of Social Statistics, second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990, pp. 407-414, 465. Because chi square is proportional to sample size, a larger value would yield statistically significant results. For example, had the North Omaha sample been three times larger, the lack of "positive" headlines and abundance of "negative" headlines both would have been statistically significant at the .05 level. Further, the tabled chi square value is for a two-tailed test, but -- strictly speaking -- the test here is a one-tailed test. So, in effect, the researcher has imposed a more conservative estimate of the alpha level.

While the within sample analysis showed a proportionately larger number of neutral headlines about Millard than would be expected by chance alone, a between

sample analysis yielded other significant results. The two cells displaying the greatest observed variance from expected overall cell values were: "negative" North Omaha headlines and "positive or neutral" Millard headlines. The overall chi square was significant at the .01 level. Table II highlights the differences between the number of "negative" headlines and "positive or neutral" headlines for North Omaha and Millard.

Table II Between sample comparison of *Omaha World-Herald* headlines for North Omaha and Millard according to Judges' evaluation

| Judges rating | | "Positive or Neutral" | "Negative" | |
|---------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|------------------|
| | | | | row sums |
| North Omaha | obs. N | 20 | 17 | 37 |
| | exp. N | 26.45 | 10.54 | |
| | chi sq. | 1.57 | 3.96 | |
| Millard | obs. N | 118 | 38 | 156 |
| | exp. N | 111.54 | 44.45 | |
| | chi sq. | 3.61 | .94 | |
| column sums | | 138 | 55 | grand sum 193 |

chi square = 10.08
 p < .01
 df=1, critical value 6.635

Between sample chi square theoretical frequencies were calculated as row sum multiplied by column sum, divided by the grand sum. Overall chi square is the sum of the four cells' chi squares $[(N - \text{expected } N)^2 / \text{expected } N]$. Critical values at $df=1$, .10 = 2.706, .05 = 3.841, .01 = 6.635. See Frederick Williams, Reasoning With Statistics, Fourth Edition. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1992, pp. 119-20.

A closer examination of the content of "positive," "negative," and "neutral" headlines will provide a qualitative evaluation of the research expectations.

Positive headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared

There were six "positive" headlines about North Omaha: of these, four mentioned grants, funding, or business development (e.g. "_____ funding approved," "business, housing development _____ project gains state support"); one referred to school expansion; and one described an act of heroism on the part of an individual ("rescue at Dodge Park _____ teen pulls driver out of Missouri") (See Appendix C) (Blanks indicate that place names such as North Omaha and Millard have been omitted).

Eighty-three percent (40 out of 48) of the "positive" headlines about Millard either mention the word "school" (e.g. "grade schools primary aim of _____ expansion plans") or make direct reference to education, education administration or school board ("_____ board offers parents health data"), classrooms ("_____ seeks bonds to build classrooms"), or students ("_____ student wins invitation to inauguration") and scholars ("_____ scholars pick Penn State, ISU").

Four of the remaining headlines mentioned funding for other projects (e.g. "contract awarded for _____ airport"), four dealt with community activities ("hats off to _____ Days"), one announced a new grocery store and another heralded the improvement of a local street.

The emphasis on school-related topics in the "positive" Millard headlines is certainly consistent with a growth machine perspective. Proximity to schools is an important factor when Americans select a neighborhood (Zannaras 1968, p. 10).

As for the "positive" North Omaha headlines, only one directly referenced schools. If the headlines had followed the pattern observed in the Millard headlines, the "teen" in the river rescue story might well have been referred to as a "student."

Negative headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared

The judges agreed that 17 of the North Omaha headlines were "negative." Of these, 13 made reference to crime and law enforcement (76 percent) (e.g. "9 arrested after fighting starts among 800 in _____," "officers seize rapid-fire arms in _____"). Three "negative" headlines focused on economic difficulties and attempt at revitalization ("kickoff of revitalization program tiny crowd disappoints mayor at gathering in _____" -- this headline is especially interesting because it implies that the Mayor has come to help North Omaha, but that the people who live there are apathetic). One headline described a tragic loss of life unrelated to crime (See Appendix D).

Thirty-eight Millard headlines were agreed upon as "negative." Crime was the focus of 13 headlines, however, in 10 of the 13 "crime" headlines, schools or students were

also mentioned (e.g. " four suspected of vandalizing _____ schools," "_____ teacher faces charges of fondling 14-year-old girl"). Again, it is interesting to note both the consistency and inconsistency of the headline patterns: the tendency to refer to young people in Millard as students does not apply in this disturbing headline, "beyond normal curiosity kids making bombs worrisome in _____."

School-related conflicts or problems not related to crime were the focus of thirteen "negative" Millard headlines (e.g. "crowding a concern _____ school chief opposed to transfers," "_____ official resigns post").

Eight of the headlines referred to tragedy not related to crime (e.g. "_____ student dies from injuries in accident," "crash kills student from _____"). In all but two of the "tragedy" headlines, the victim was identified as a student in the Millard Schools.

Of the remaining "negative" Millard headlines, two dealt with lawsuits within the community, one referred to property damage not related to crime, and one described the closing of a community newspaper.

Even though there were 13 negative "crime" headlines for both North Omaha and Millard, this accounted for only 34 percent of the Millard "negative" headlines as opposed to 76 percent for North Omaha.

Neutral headlines: North Omaha and Millard compared

The judges agreed that 14 of the North Omaha headlines were "neutral." Of these, 7 pertained to "government" (e.g. "board votes 4-1 for _____ office," "reactions to park plan mixed in _____"). Four headlines could be categorized as related to "civic/community/cultural" ("_____ GOP women work to preserve historic buildings," "myths persist 24 years after death of Malcolm X number of Muslims in Omaha unclear Fogarty: _____ was peaceful neighborhood"). Two headlines referred to development and housing, while the remaining headline focused on services or utilities (See Appendix E).

What is absent in these "neutral" headlines is reference to crime. The tone could generally be characterized as "government and civic organizations at work," more or less routine business co-mingled with concern and optimism.

Seventy percent (49 out of 70) "neutral" Millard headlines were about schools and school business (e.g. "school levy may hit low for _____," "_____oks bond issues for schools"). Fourteen focused on government aside from schools, three headlines were about services or utilities, two pertained to culture or entertainment, one referenced a community effort to save a swimming pool, and the remaining headline's main focus was housing ("new-home construction down _____ expects to enroll 16,000 in fall") although it also references schools.

As in the case of North Omaha's "neutral" headlines, Millard headlines, too, are absent of references to crime. Similarly, even though the headlines mostly focus on schools, the combination of school and government headlines reflects the same "routine, government-at-work" tone. It should be noted that of the 156 Millard headlines the judges agreed on, 92 (or 59 percent) made reference to the Millard schools.

Headlines with neutral/evaluative disagreement

There were 23 headlines about North Omaha which the judges were in neutral/evaluative disagreement (one judge coded the headline "neutral" while the other coded it either "positive" or "negative." The researcher has chosen to let the intercoder disagreements stand. Due to the subjectivity involved in the coding decisions, it did not seem appropriate to return to the judges with instructions to "force" agreement. Although no conclusions may be drawn relative to the disagreements, it may be noted that 12 of the codings lean to the "negative" while 11 lean to the "positive" (See Appendix F). Most of the "negative"-leaning headlines refer to economic or community deficiencies (e.g. "HUD may pull funds for project in _____"), crime ("businesses, Mad Dads unite rape galvanizes _____," deviance, law enforcement ("_____ program starts officers to track down problems and solutions"), or conflict ("minister faults _____ plan").

The "positive"-leaning headlines about North Omaha focus mainly on attention from government ("Exon, Kerrey, Hoagland visit _____ clinic"), civic participation ("_____ voter turnout hits its target") and culture/arts ("_____ mural is way to expose the arts to youth"). This last headline fits the pattern of not referring to North Omaha young people as students.

There were 62 neutral/evaluative disagreements about Millard headlines. In 25 of the 62 decisions, one coding decision was "negative." "Positive" coding decisions were recorded for 37 of the 62 headlines. Of the 62 headlines, 51 made reference to schools, school board or administrators, students, etc.

Headlines with sharp disagreement

There was only one headline about North Omaha on which the judges were in sharp disagreement (one indicating "positive" and the other "negative") ("_____ plan would rebuild 70-block area of _____") (See Appendix G). The "negative" judge offered his reason in a note hand-written on the coding instrument: "If it needs to be rebuilt that badly, then I wouldn't want to live there..."

The judges were in sharp disagreement on 7 headlines about Millard. "_____location may ease 74th-Dodge congestion new county office should be help" (bad that there was congestion, good that it may be eased); "Benson, _____, South Omaha may get police patrol on foot" (bad that it is needed, good that it will be done); "full phone

service restored in _____" (one judge had a note, "Why was it out in the first place?"); "_____teacher unhurt terrorists crash trip down Amazon River (one judge obviously thought it was bad that terrorists crashed the trip, the other noted: "a well-traveled teacher!"). Consider the ambiguity of this headline: "_____class has its day in court" -- apparently a reference to civic education but this was not clear. Also, "workers dig for clues in _____ bottles abound under school grounds" -- archaeology or hazardous rubbish? Finally, "old _____neighborhood plans lights contest." This headline points to the obvious value-judgments of the individual judges. It is hard to say whether this indicated a dislike for old neighborhoods or lights contests. Some of the headlines can easily be viewed as "doubled-barreled" or "fortunately/unfortunately" types of headlines. This supports the notion that individual perspective plays a role in the evaluation of content.

Chapter V Conclusions

This exploratory study examines the role of the local news media in the "growth machine." While no direct conclusion can be drawn regarding the *Omaha World-Herald's* intent, the results are consistent with Logan and Molotch's "growth machine" interpretation.

Social impact of the headlines

Has the *World-Herald* played a role in North Omaha's image problem? One may cautiously conclude that the newspaper has not helped North Omaha's image based on the proportionate shortage of "positive" headlines about that area (6 "positive" out of 37 agreements, versus 17 "negative" out of 37 agreements and 14 "neutral" out of 37 agreements). What has been the newspaper's role in the westward growth boom? By its tendency to offer "neutral" and "positive" headlines about Millard (70 out of 156 agreements were "neutral", 48 of 156 were "positive" -- versus 38 of 156 were "negative"); the *Omaha World-Herald* paints a picture of a more peaceful or desirable community in contrast to North Omaha.

Extension of the theoretical perspective

The Logan and Molotch growth-conflict perspective anticipates that as development in Omaha arches from the west to the northwest and then to the far north that media portrayal of those areas will support growth goals. Future

studies could test this theoretical perspective. Returning to Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987): "News of deviance is a discourse of failure and, as such, is essential to imagining what might be better - the discourse of progress" (p. 8).

The Omaha World-Herald appears to function as a cog in the "growth machine" -- ultimately to the benefit of structural speculators (Logan and Molotch, p. 30). A portrayal of Near North Omaha as blighted, deviant, and criminal leads to further devaluation of real estate there. Structural speculators would probably be wise to buy up parcel after parcel of cheap land to clear the way for industrial development convenient to the airport and downtown. It is foreseeable that stepped-up affluent residential development in northeast Douglas County could make an image-conscious corridor into downtown more desirable. Logan and Molotch note the impact of the gentrification phenomenon on exchange values in urban locations (1987, p. 115). This invasion of young, affluent whites is seen "...among the press, the public bureaucracies, and the entrepreneurs -- [as] grounds for celebration" (p. 115). These changes are welcomed by those who stand to profit, "...because this sort of transformation builds rents and is thought to make the city more attractive for other investments, including growth-driving additions to the basic economy" (p. 115). Those who are not in any position to benefit from the exchange of property, namely renters, may see gentrification as a destruction of *their* neighborhood (pp. 115-6). One could

anticipate that Near North Omaha real estate could suddenly become valuable in the hands of developers. Meanwhile, talk of potential job-creating industrial parks in the area could serve to fractionalize the nearby community, regardless of the jobs that may or may not be available for neighboring residents. O'Connor echoes: "...in the hall of mirrors of pluralistic politics particular capitalist and worker economic interests were often similar" (1984, p. 197).

Future studies

Future studies should give consideration to the entire local news media, including broadcast news. Specific exploration of parts of speech and phrases could lead to better understanding of what readers, viewers, and listeners are being told to think about. Studies focusing on the time period from 1992 to the present and beyond could further investigate the relationship between the city's growth goals and the news media's portrayal of areas within the city.

The art of headline writing

Repeating the words of the *Omaha World-Herald's* editor G. Woodson Howe, "Headline writing is an art. It requires special skills..." One must hope that the leadership of such an important voice in the Omaha community fully recognizes that these skills are not limited to being able "...to estimate the number of characters that can fit in a small space." This study asserts that the headline, for the most part, is the news; serving as a summary and a frame,

not only for the reader, but often the reporter as well. The words chosen for headlines are of great significance for the community; the persons choosing these words are in positions of considerable power.

References

- Atwood, L. Erwin, Ardyth B. Sohn and Harold Sohn (1978). "Daily Newspaper Contributions to Community Discussion" in Journalism Quarterly V.55:570-6.
- Babbie, Earl (1989). The Practice of Social Research. Second Edition. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Baskette, Floyd K., Jack Z. Sissors, and Brian S. Brooks (1992). The Art of Editing. Fifth Edition. New York: Macmillan.
- Berner, R. Thomas (1982). Editing. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- University of Chicago Center for Policy Study (1968). The Media and the Cities.
- Cohen, Bernard C. (1963). The Press and Foreign Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Daly-Bednarek, Janet R. (1992). The Changing Image of the City: Planning for Downtown Omaha, 1945-1973. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Dijk, Teun A. van (1991). Racism and the Press. London: Routledge.
- Dijk, Teun A. van (1988). News As Discourse. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dijk, Teun A. van (1988). News Analysis. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Domhoff, G. William (1983). Who Rules America Now? Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Elifson, Kirk W., Richard P. Runyon, and Audrey Haber (1990). Fundamentals of Social Statistics. Second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Ericson, Richard V., Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B.L. Chan (1987). Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Frank, Pamela (1990). News About Government Scandal: An Exploratory Study of Language. Thesis, Master of Arts. University of Maryland.
- Gandy, Oscar (1991). "Beyond Agenda Setting" in Agenda Setting. David L. Protess and Maxwell McCombs eds. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Goering, John (1979). "The Marxist Perspective in Urban Sociology" pp. 479-493. From Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology edited by Scott McNall. New York: St. Martins.
- Holsti, Ole R. (1969). Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Krippendorff, Klaus (1980). Content Analysis. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch (1987). Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McCombs, Maxwell and Donald Shaw (1972). "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media" in Public Opinion Quarterly v.36: 176-185.
- Miliband, Ralph (1991). Divided Societies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- O'Connor, James (1984). Accumulation Crisis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Parenti, Michael (1986). Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media. New York: St. Martin's.
- Radder, Norman J. (1924). Newspaper Make-up and Headlines. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Simon, David R. and D. Stanley Eitzen (1990). Elite Deviance. Third Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Stevens, Donald Louis, Jr. (1981). The Urban Renewal Movement in Omaha, 1954-1970. Thesis, Master of Arts. Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha.
- Williams, Frederick (1992). Reasoning With Statistics. Fourth edition. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- The History of The World-Herald 1885-1985.
- Zannaras, Georgia (1968). An Empirical Analysis of Urban Neighborhood Perception. A thesis presented for the degree Master of Arts, The Ohio State University, Department of Geography.

Notes

1. University of Nebraska at Omaha Associate Professor of Sociology William Clute offered a research course during the 1992 spring semester. Clute headed a telephone survey project which actively involved both undergraduate and graduate students (including the thesis author). The research project focused on various issues concerning North Omaha, including media use among residents and perceptions of media portrayal of the community.
2. It is not within the scope of the present study to explore the impact of federal tax policies and resource infusion into areas of development. Examination of these decisions would provide excellent material and questions for future studies.
3. University of Nebraska at Omaha Reference Librarian James T. Shaw facilitated the researcher's access to the DataTimes database.

Appendix A
Instructions to Judges

Instructions For Coding Headlines

The following is a list of newspaper headlines. Please indicate whether you find each headline (in some cases, groups of subheads are included) to be negative, neutral, or positive. My research deals with news media characterization of areas within a city. Blank spaces on the coding sheets indicate that specific area names have been deleted. Your coding decisions should be guided by whether or not you think the headline describes an area in which you would want to live, work, or attend school. Mark your coding decision in the [] bracket just to the left of each headlines or head and subhead group. Use these symbols:

- [-] If the headline is negative, code it "[-]".
- [0] If the headline is neutral, code it "[0]".
- [+] If the headline is positive, code it "[+]".

Assign only one code to each headline.

Appendix B
Headlines Presented to Judges

- [] crash kills student from _____
- [] old _____ neighborhood plans lights contest
- [] victim's parents suing _____ fire department
- [] _____ schools told to prepare for continued strong growth
- [] _____ to seek title in national football tourney
- [] _____ dies; led _____ board
- [] _____ teacher faces charged of fondling 14-year-old girl
- [] Westside Story is no thriller for _____
- [] _____ to name school ' _____ '
- [] panel to look at options for high schools _____ board seeks crowding solutions
- [] District 66, _____ consider alternatives year-round schools explored
- [] _____ debates year-round school complete participation in choice law unlikely
- [] U.S. Department of Education honors _____, Gretna schools
- [] _____ board ponders year-round school
- [] 3 of 4 grades decline _____ school officials analyze test-score drop
- [] increase in _____ enrollment fuels talk of new high school
- [] teachers' representative expresses concern _____ board oks procedure on abortion law board ratifies teachers' contract
- [] school gets going in a _____ hard-hat zone
- [] _____ teacher unhurt terrorists crash trip down Amazon River
- [] student pray-in starts day at _____
- [] survey due on 3rd _____ high school
- [] _____ school board oks '91-92 budget board hears plans for _____ rites for _____, 90, set for today in Fremont
- [] _____ man to join _____ fire board
- [] _____ fire district has vote Thursday
- [] _____ schools tax hike plan is held down

- [] _____ board to rethink school in _____ school budget to get hearing Aug. 1
- [] superintendent gets pay raise in _____
- [] new building solution to crowding _____ board oks _____ school
- [] _____ grad is pageant winner
- [] hats off to _____ Days
- [] residents blast _____ plan _____ picked as grade school site
- [] focus on growth, facilities _____ district may give its future a double take
- [] _____ schools emphasize community involvement
- [] _____ officials plan to consider alternatives to new high school
- [] '91-92 school budget at issue _____ board urged to do more with less
- [] rulings are mentioned school tax will rise, _____ board is told enrollment increase noted in april
- [] beyond normal curiosity kids making bombs worrisome in _____
- [] 25,000 likely to vote in council primary, _____ bond election
- [] _____ schools budget proposal has 10.3% hike
- [] _____ budget seeks addition of 54 teachers
- [] _____ oks bond issue for schools
- [] joining the melting pot students learn more than English Omaha, _____ school districts provide own language programs
- [] bond win to help _____ schools handle growth, district chief says
- [] _____ board picks architect before vote
- [] council, _____ bonds may pull 25,000 voters poll hours
- [] _____ schools push for bond issue
- [] basketball weekend was awesome it's back to books for _____ champions
- [] _____ student, 14, tells court substitute teacher fondled her
- [] solar car shines on _____ middle school

- [] _____ residents seek ways to save swimming pool
- [] _____ district to be state's model school
- [] officials not laughing after pigs set loose inside _____
- [] _____ tax hike would be brief bond levy figures conservative
- [] school bond issue if voters agree, _____ tax hike would be brief bond issues
- [] _____ seeks bonds to build classrooms
- [] superintendent vows to protect _____ schools in law changed
- [] \$27 million in bonds for _____ schools to face vote April 2
- [] _____ school chief is seeking more expansion
- [] first all-woman board takes reins of _____ school district
- [] ruling to aid _____, omaha schools
- [] new health-education program to start in _____ high schools
- [] Australian teachers end year in Nebraska _____ memories going down under
- [] _____ outlines sex education plan
- [] _____ sex-education class to be discussed thursday
- [] _____ honor student dies in auto accident
- [] Omaha board nudges forward two school building projects _____ board delays action on sex ed open-enrollment policy at District 66 ok'd
- [] _____ board to consider new sex education course
- [] Padre pitches books to pupils at _____ school
- [] voters reject two incumbents in Papillion-Lavista school race newcomer tops field in Bellevue race vote gives _____ all-woman board
- [] 5 escape bellevue fire unharmed _____ area blaze causes \$60,000 damage fire extinguished in vacant duplex
- [] _____ candidates in school board race spotlight finances
- [] 2% lid prompts plan for _____
- [] pupil checks out _____ fire truck
- [] students who made the grade are flying high over _____
- [] _____ schools take a look at alternatives if lid ok'd

- [] _____ students have a grand time
- [] _____ school chief takes his job on the road
- [] _____, Lincoln airports will be awarded fund
- [] _____ board formally opposes 2% lid
- [] acceptances to wait until 1993-4 _____ holds off on transfers
- [] statement played at trial my companion killed girl in _____,
defendant says
- [] _____ board clamps down on spending
- [] ballot issues pose \$19 million juggle for _____ schools
- [] _____ board oks \$58.7 million budget
- [] _____ board members to speak on LB1059
- [] _____ district is too crowded to accept transfers, official says
- [] Westside case affects policy _____ schools open doors to
groups
- [] _____ to plan in case 2% lid adopted
- [] _____ teen dies in accident
- [] _____ board to discuss campaigning for LB1059
- [] school levy may hit low for _____
- [] uncertainties in lid, LB 1059 _____ schools may ask \$25
million bond issue
- [] _____ school budget just an educated guess
- [] dime more for grade schools _____ to boost school lunch prices
- [] _____ boy survives jolt from power pole
- [] _____ schools' tax rate to jump if law repealed
- [] work on _____ avenue brings traffic rerouting
- [] insurance costs increase for 1990-91 _____ board oks teachers'
contract
- [] _____ can't pay to back law
- [] road work, weather trim crowds kids keep busy at _____ Days
- [] math studies ahead for _____ scholars
- [] _____ scholars pick Penn State, ISU

- [] committee fears rise in school vandalism _____ board
considers burglar alarms
- [] workers dig for clues in _____ bottles abound under school
grounds
- [] at old _____ Central School mystery corked in buried bottle
- [] backers of school-finance bill survive _____ primary
- [] support of school-financing bill survives _____ board primary
- [] _____ bond decision is likely soon
- [] let school-finance law stand, _____ board urges
- [] _____ school board hopefuls say they back school finance law
- [] _____ tax bills may be similar to 1980 tally
- [] _____ schools win an appeal on food funds
- [] depends on school aid bill's fate 2 _____ school budgets
ready; only 1 to survive
- [] cases confirmed at Benson, _____ 2 high schools plan measles
shots
- [] _____ oks swap talks
- [] kestrels get nesting boxes near _____
- [] motorists in _____: beware
- [] _____ facelift to inconvenience motorists
- [] _____ Days fighting obstacles, including expense of fireworks
- [] school budget plan in _____ is 9.7% larger
- [] more than 500 attend funeral for slain _____ student
- [] _____ students stunned by slaying of well-liked girl
- [] Omaha, _____ school districts to start kindergarten roundups
- [] cause takes Lammel to Washington ----- principal leads aid
fight
- [] _____ takes aim at back-to-back titles
- [] _____ student dies from injuries in accident
- [] bill to pay fire personnel to affect _____ lawsuit
- [] _____ senior dies after rollover

- [] _____ student, 16, in critical condition
- [] _____ High senior dies one day after jeep accident
- [] William Zersen gets _____ fire post
- [] _____ principal leads national group into the 1990s
- [] four suspected of vandalizing _____ schools
- [] four teens are arrested in _____ school break-ins
- [] _____ board addresses rash of vandalism, possible solutions
- [] grade schools primary aim of _____ expansion plans
- [] _____ Witt says empty lots signal a need for more schools
- [] project widens eyes in _____
- [] drug efforts praised in Lexington, _____
- [] roads agency offers _____ information on big widening
- [] _____ schools face payment in food audit
- [] _____ schools chief backs funding plan
- [] _____ fire district want more candidates for board
- [] four _____ students to switch districts vandalism damage estimated at \$3,200
- [] _____ schools postpone financial support for suit grade school expansion gets go-ahead
- [] _____ voting takes 54 ballots
- [] chili supper Sunday at _____ Hall new organization to push for recycling
- [] cigarettes are blamed for fire that killed four in _____
- [] _____ senior enters plea in jeep crash
- [] request to enlarge district gets lukewarm response in _____
- [] school superintendent says _____ faces tax increase
- [] new Dominican school has _____ ties
- [] Lincoln jail escapee captured in _____
- [] big face-lift next year _____ avenue improvements set all at once
- [] Food-4-Less plans new _____ store

- [] _____ board hears testimony on care for special ed pupils
- [] _____ board offer parents health data
- [] _____ location may ease 74th-Dodge congestion new county office should be help
- [] federal food program _____ day-care funds will undergo state audit
- [] _____ principal disputes drug czar's statement
- [] crowding a concern _____ school chief opposed to transfers
- [] _____ airport to receive \$100,000 grant for paving
- [] _____ board asks study of handicapped services
- [] care of handicapped pupils at issue _____ aide quits in protest of firing
- [] care for handicapped pupil at issue _____ board hears aide's grievance case
- [] _____ aide denied return to job with fewer duties
- [] _____ school board brings up matters on next year's budget
- [] contract awarded for _____ airport
- [] _____ lunch prices unchanged; driver's education to cost more
- [] assistant superintendent named _____ board oks hike of 4.5% in school taxes
- [] _____ school officials look at budget, finance
- [] burgeoning enrollment _____ faces 4.5% increase in school tax
- [] _____ board begins era with new chief
- [] Benson, _____, South Omaha may get police patrol on foot
- [] two _____ schools to get energy loan
- [] _____ official talks on youth violence
- [] _____ school board discusses state-aid question
- [] salary raises ok'd in _____
- [] retiring leader proposes _____ school additions
- [] 34 years of change mark Stroh's career he grew, nurtured _____ schools
- [] 400 attend party _____ bids adieu to superintendent

- [] _____ Days parade draws 2,000
- [] new-home construction down _____ expects to enroll 16,000 in fall
- [] _____, Papillion-Lavista to honor two educators
- [] museum hits road for Elkhorn, _____
- [] _____ W-H Scholars to attend Creighton, Brigham Young
- [] _____ World-Herald Scholars tell college, career plans
- [] new hires would be aim of heftier _____ budget
- [] highway 50 to cut wider path in _____
- [] contract dispute settled _____ foundation to pay Sullivan for Call Suzie
- [] widening of highway 50 in _____ planned in 1990
- [] new _____ Stroh Center passes with flying colors
- [] _____ group ends payments to Call Suzie
- [] _____ school chief endorses Walt Powell
- [] Boyle addresses _____ Avenue work
- [] _____ official resigns post
- [] Morgan pledges help in _____ Boyle schedules rally Wednesday
- [] Friday moving day for _____ offices
- [] _____ principle takes crash course
- [] suit on paid firefighters next for _____ district
- [] _____ school administrator suspended
- [] headed latchkey program _____ administrator quits as foundation treasurer
- [] _____ girls get lift from weight training
- [] full phone service restored in _____
- [] _____ girls have boys boxed in
- [] 350 meet to dedicate _____ school
- [] expansion for 3 _____ schools win tentative ok
- [] final match in march 21 _____ spirit is flying high

- []boards to decide _____ proposal voters ok fire district change
- []_____ fire district may go suburban
- []voters in _____ rural fire protection district go to polls today
- []_____ middle school students get measles shots
- []Indians to play Southeast revenge no motive for _____, girls coach says
- []another case of measles spotted at _____ school
- []_____ teacher elected
- []_____ paper shuts down
- []_____ board votes to pay Witt \$73,000 in first year
- []_____ class has its day in court
- []hire 37 more, _____ district advises board
- []_____ administrator says cuts possible with no added aid
- []parochial numbers climb in _____
- []state aid formula still a concern _____ schools: new faces, few changes
- []_____ student wins invitation to inauguration
- []property loss down at _____ school
- []Omaha, _____ officials endorse ACT update[]athletics and academics _____ boys on football team win games, grades
- []9 arrested after fighting starts among 800 in _____
- []reactions to park plan mixed in _____
- []minister faults _____ plan
- []_____ plan would rebuild 70-block area of _____
- []grants include funds for new _____ YMCA
- []businesses, Mad Dads unite rape galvanizes _____
- []governor visits _____ Nelson, officials hear good and bad
- []_____ funding approved
- []study questioned _____ project runs into opposition
- []consultant says there's a lot to work with in _____

- [] business, housing development _____ project gains state support
- [] rescue at Dodge Park _____ teen pulls driver out of Missouri
- [] police plan action to defuse gatherings in _____
- [] _____ development envisioned
- [] UNO minorities survey _____ not healthy Morgan says
- [] urban league officials report on _____ nothing new
- [] _____ GOP women work to preserve historic buildings
- [] _____ activist issues call for rally on city, county issues
- [] support group formed in _____ minister: war pulls blacks closer
- [] _____ group demands police inquiry Bryant tests negative for marijuana, coke
- [] _____ voter turnout hits its target
- [] kickoff of revitalization program tiny crowd disappoints mayor at gathering in _____
- [] _____ program starts officers to track down problems and solutions
- [] center marks 20th year at _____ site
- [] two charged in _____ slaying
- [] effort in _____ _____ urges greater voter turnout
- [] Central Park Elementary to expand school district to buy _____ land
- [] OPPD president says rates will lag behind inflation contracts approved for _____ station
- [] _____ businesses to receive tax credits
- [] blaze in _____ residence kills child believed to be 1 or 2
- [] cruise control urged for _____
- [] witnesses' accounts vary on _____ incident
- [] in _____ Mad Dads offer Bush advice
- [] at group's charter meeting Spire challenges _____ Lions Club
- [] Cox Cable schedules _____ work

- [] board votes 4-1 for _____ office
- [] _____ mural is way to expose the arts to youth
- [] \$1 million cut changes _____ planning
- [] spending veto no threat to _____ loan plan
- [] census lags in both _____, _____
- [] recommendation awaited county expected to delay on _____ office
- [] _____ housing program includes 6% loans
- [] \$250,000 was proposed first panel backs \$1 million boost for areas of _____
- [] Cox says now is not time cable panel hears pleas for _____ channel
- [] support sought for credit union in _____
- [] councilman lists _____ needs
- [] in _____, _____ Hoagland opens offices
- [] driver leads police officers on fast _____ chase
- [] series of shootings in _____, mall not all tied by probe
- [] arson is suspected in _____ fire
- [] officers seize rapid-fire arms in _____
- [] myths persist 24 years after death of Malcolm X number of Muslims in Omaha unclear Fogarty: _____ was peaceful neighborhood
- [] HUD may pull funds for project in _____
- [] Exxon, Kerrey, Hoagland visit _____ clinic
- [] group in _____ to feature candidates
- [] new financial institution backed for
- [] Urban League holds mayoral forum aid for _____ is pledged
- [] two teen-agers hurt in _____ gunfight
- [] no one seriously hurt in _____ incident standoff linked to gunman's despondence
- [] narcotics officers arrest 4 in _____ house
- [] _____ raid nets 3 drug arrests

Appendix C
Positive Headlines

North Omaha

- [] Central Park Elementary to expand school district to buy _____ land
- [] rescue at Dodge Park _____ teen pulls driver out of Missouri
- [] grants include funds for new _____ YMCA
- [] _____ funding approved
- [] business, housing development _____ project gains state support
- [] _____ businesses to receive tax credits

Millard

- [] _____ airport to receive \$100,000 grant for paving
- [] contract awarded for _____ airport
- [] two _____ schools to get energy loan
- [] salary raises ok'd in _____
- [] 34 years of change mark Stroh's career he grew, nurtured _____ schools
- [] _____, Papillion-Lavista to honor two educators
- [] _____ W-H Scholars to attend Creighton, Brigham Young
- [] new hires would be aim of heftier _____ budget
- [] new _____ Stroh Center passes with flying colors
- [] _____ girls get lift from weight training
- [] 350 meet to dedicate _____ school
- [] expansion for 3 _____ schools win tentative ok
- [] final match in march 21. _____ spirit is flying high
- [] _____ principal leads national group into the 1990s
- [] grade schools primary aim of _____ expansion plans
- [] drug efforts praised in Lexington, _____
- [] chili supper Sunday at _____ Hall new organization to push for recycling
- [] big face-lift next year _____ avenue improvements set all at once
- [] Food-4-Less plans new _____ store
- [] _____ board hears testimony on care for special ed pupils
- [] _____ board offer parents health data
- [] _____ middle school students get measles shots
- [] _____ student wins invitation to inauguration
- [] Omaha, _____ officials endorse ACT update [] support of school-financing bill survives _____ board primary
- [] _____ school board hopefuls say they back school finance law
- [] _____ schools win an appeal on food funds
- [] kestrels get nesting boxes near _____
- [] _____ seeks bonds to build classrooms
- [] _____ school chief is seeking more expansion
- [] ruling to aid _____, omaha schools
- [] new health-education program to start in _____ high schools
- [] students who made the grade are flying high over _____
- [] _____ students have a grand time
- [] math studies ahead for _____ scholars
- [] _____ scholars pick Penn State, ISU
- [] _____ grad is pageant winner

- []hats off to _____ Days
- []_____ schools emphasize community involvement
- []_____ budget seeks addition of 54 teachers
- []joining the melting pot students learn more than English Omaha,
_____ school districts provide own language programs
- []bond win to help _____ schools handle growth, district chief
says
- []basketball weekend was awesome it's back to books for _____
champions
- []solar car shines on _____ middle school
- []_____ district to be state's model school
- []_____ schools told to prepare for continued strong growth
- []_____ to seek title in national football tourney
- []U.S. Department of Education honors _____, Gretna schools

Appendix D
Negative Headlines

North Omaha

- [] police plan action to defuse gatherings in _____
- [] UNO minorities survey _____ not healthy Morgan says
- [] _____ group demands police inquiry Bryant tests negative for marijuana, coke
- [] kickoff of revitalization program tiny crowd disappoints mayor at gathering in _____
- [] two charged in _____ slaying
- [] blaze in _____ residence kills child believed to be 1 or 2
- [] witnesses' accounts vary on _____ incident
- [] 9 arrested after fighting starts among 800 in _____ [] study questioned _____ project runs into opposition
- [] driver leads police officers on fast _____ chase
- [] series of shootings in _____, mall not all tied by probe
- [] arson is suspected in _____ fire
- [] officers seize rapid-fire arms in _____
- [] two teen-agers hurt in _____ gunfight
- [] no one seriously hurt in _____ incident standoff linked to gunman's despondence
- [] narcotics officers arrest 4 in _____ house
- [] _____ raid nets 3 drug arrests

Millard

- [] crowding a concern _____ school chief opposed to transfers
- [] care for handicapped pupil at issue _____ board hears aide's grievance case
- [] _____ aide denied return to job with fewer duties
- [] _____ official resigns post
- [] suit on paid firefighters next for _____ district
- [] _____ school administrator suspended
- [] headed latchkey program _____ administrator quits as foundation treasurer
- [] four suspected of vandalizing _____ schools
- [] four teens are arrested in _____ school break-ins
- [] _____ board addresses rash of vandalism, possible solutions
- [] _____ schools face payment in food audit
- [] four _____ students to switch districts vandalism damage estimated at \$3,200
- [] cigarettes are blamed for fire that killed four in _____
- [] _____ senior enters plea in jeep crash
- [] school superintendent says _____ faces tax increase
- [] Lincoln jail escapee captured in _____
- [] another case of measles spotted at _____ school
- [] _____ paper shuts down
- [] _____ administrator says cuts possible with no added aid
- [] more than 500 attend funeral for slain _____ student
- [] _____ students stunned by slaying of well-liked girl
- [] _____ student dies from injuries in accident
- [] _____ senior dies after rollover

- [] _____ student, 16, in critical condition
- [] _____ High senior dies one day after jeep accident
- [] _____ honor student dies in auto accident
- [] 5 escape bellevue fire unharmed _____ area blaze causes \$60,000 damage fire extinguished in vacant duplex
- [] statement played at trial my companion killed girl in _____, defendant says
- [] _____ teen dies in accident
- [] committee fears rise in school vandalism _____ board considers burglar alarms
- [] residents blast _____ plan _____ picked as grade school site
- [] '91-92 school budget at issue _____ board urged to do more with less
- [] beyond normal curiosity kids making bombs worrisome in _____
- [] _____ student, 14, tells court substitute teacher fondled her
- [] crash kills student from _____
- [] victim's parents suing _____ fire department
- [] _____ teacher faces charged of fondling 14-year-old girl
- [] 3 of 4 grades decline _____ school officials analyze test-score drop

Appendix E
Neutral Headlines

North Omaha

- [] _____ GOP women work to preserve historic buildings
- [] center marks 20th year at _____ site
- [] at group's charter meeting Spire challenges _____ Lions Club
- [] Cox Cable schedules _____ work
- [] board votes 4-1 for _____ office
- [] spending veto no threat to _____ loan plan
- [] reactions to park plan mixed in _____
- [] governor visits _____ Nelson, officials hear good and bad
- [] consultant says there's a lot to work with in _____
- [] recommendation awaited county expected to delay on _____ office
- [] _____ housing program includes 6% loans
- [] Cox says now is not time cable panel hears pleas for _____ channel
- [] councilman lists _____ needs
- [] myths persist 24 years after death of Malcolm X number of Muslims in Omaha unclear Fogarty: _____ was peaceful neighborhood

Millard

- [] _____ board asks study of handicapped services
- [] _____ school board brings up matters on next year's budget
- [] _____ lunch prices unchanged; driver's education to cost more
- [] _____ school officials look at budget, finance
- [] _____ board begins era with new chief [] _____ school board discusses state-aid question
- [] new-home construction down _____ expects to enroll 16,000 in fall
- [] museum hits road for Elkhorn, _____
- [] widening of highway 50 in _____ planned in 1990
- [] _____ group ends payments to Call Suzie [] _____ school chief endorses Walt Powell
- [] Boyle addresses _____ Avenue work
- [] Morgan pledges help in _____ Boyle schedules rally Wednesday
- [] Friday moving day for _____ offices
- [] _____ principle takes crash course [] _____ girls have boys boxed in
- [] boards to decide _____ proposal voters ok fire district change
- [] _____ fire district may go suburban
- [] William Zersen gets _____ fire post [] _____ schools chief backs funding plan
- [] _____ fire district want more candidates for board
- [] voters in _____ rural fire protection district go to polls today
- [] Indians to play Southeast revenge no motive for _____, girls coach says
- [] _____ board votes to pay Witt \$73,000 in first year [] state aid formula still a concern _____ schools: new faces, few changes
- [] _____ bond decision is likely soon

- [] let school-finance law stand, _____ board urges
- [] _____ tax bills may be similar to 1980 tally
- [] _____ oks swap talks
- [] _____ Days fighting obstacles, including expense of fireworks
- [] cause takes Lammel to Washington ----- principal leads aid fight
- [] _____ tax hike would be brief bond levy figures conservative
- [] school bond issue if voters agree, _____ tax hike would be brief bond issues
- [] \$27 million in bonds for _____ schools to face vote April 2
- [] _____ candidates in school board race spotlight finances
- [] 2% lid prompts plan for _____
- [] pupil checks out _____ fire truck [] _____ schools take a look at alternatives if lid ok'd
- [] _____ school chief takes his job on the road [] _____ board formally opposes 2% lid
- [] acceptances to wait until 1993-4 _____ holds off on transfers
- [] ballot issues pose \$19 million juggle for _____ schools
- [] _____ board oks \$58.7 million budget
- [] _____ board members to speak on LB1059
- [] _____ to plan in case 2% lid adopted
- [] _____ board to discuss campaigning for LB1059
- [] school levy may hit low for _____
- [] uncertainties in lid, LB 1059 _____ schools may ask \$25 million bond issue
- [] _____ school budget just an educated guess
- [] work on _____ avenue brings traffic rerouting
- [] _____ can't pay to back law
- [] road work, weather trim crowds kids keep busy at _____ Days
- [] _____ officials plan to consider alternatives to new high school
- [] 25,000 likely to vote in council primary, _____ bond election
- [] _____ schools budget proposal has 10.3% hike
- [] _____ oks bond issue for schools
- [] _____ board picks architect before vote
- [] council, _____ bonds may pull 25,000 voters poll hours
- [] _____ schools push for bond issue
- [] _____ residents seek ways to save swimming pool
- [] Westside Story is no thriller for _____
- [] panel to look at options for high schools _____ board seeks crowding solutions
- [] _____ debates year-round school complete participation in choice law unlikely
- [] school gets going in a _____ hard-hat zone
- [] survey due on 3rd _____ high school
- [] _____ school board oks '91-92 budget board hears plans for _____ rites for _____, 90, set for today in Fremont
- [] _____ man to join _____ fire board
- [] _____ fire district has vote Thursday
- [] _____ schools tax hike plan is held down
- [] _____ board to rethink school in _____ school budget to get hearing Aug. 1

Appendix F
Disagreement

North Omaha

- [] _____ development envisioned
- [] urban league officials report on _____ nothing new
- [] _____ activist issues call for rally on city, county issues
- [] support group formed in _____ minister: war pulls blacks closer
- [] _____ voter turnout hits its target
- [] _____ program starts officers to track down problems and solutions
- [] effort in _____ urges greater voter turnout
- [] OPPD president says rates will lag behind inflation contracts approved for _____ station
- [] cruise control urged for _____
- [] in _____ Mad Dads offer Bush advice
- [] _____ mural is way to expose the arts to youth
- [] \$1 million cut changes _____ planning
- [] minister faults _____ plan
- [] businesses, Mad Dads unite rape galvanizes _____
- [] census lags in both _____, _____
- [] \$250,000 was proposed first panel backs \$1 million boost for areas of _____
- [] support sought for credit union in _____
- [] in _____, _____ Hoagland opens offices
- [] HUD may pull funds for project in _____
- [] Exon, Kerrey, Hoagland visit _____ clinic
- [] group in _____ to feature candidates
- [] new financial institution backed for _____
- [] Urban League holds mayoral forum aid for _____ is pledged

Millard

- [] federal food program _____ day-care funds will undergo state audit
- [] _____ principal disputes drug czar's statement
- [] care of handicapped pupils at issue _____ aide quits in protest of firing
- [] assistant superintendent named _____ board oks hike of 4.5% in school taxes
- [] burgeoning enrollment _____ faces 4.5% increase in school tax
- [] _____ official talks on youth violence
- [] retiring leader proposes _____ school additions
- [] 400 attend party _____ bids adieu to superintendent
- [] _____ Days parade draws 2,000
- [] _____ World-Herald Scholars tell college, career plans
- [] highway 50 to cut wider path in _____
- [] contract dispute settled _____ foundation to pay Sullivan for Call Suzie
- [] _____ Witt says empty lots signal a need for more schools
- [] project widens eyes in _____
- [] roads agency offers _____ information on big widening
- [] _____ schools postpone financial support for suit grade school expansion gets go-ahead

- [] _____ voting takes 54 ballots
- [] request to enlarge district gets lukewarm response in _____
- [] new Dominican school has _____ ties
- [] _____ teacher elected
- [] hire 37 more, _____ district advises board
- [] parochial numbers climb in _____
- [] property loss down at _____ school
- [] at old _____ Central School mystery corked in buried bottle
- [] backers of school-finance bill survive _____ primary
- [] depends on school aid bill's fate 2 _____ school budgets ready; only 1 to survive
- [] cases confirmed at Benson, _____ 2 high schools plan measles shots
- [] motorists in _____: beware
- [] _____ facelift to inconvenience motorists
- [] school budget plan in _____ is 9.7% larger
- [] Omaha, _____ school districts to start kindergarten roundups
- [] _____ takes aim at back-to-back titles
- [] bill to pay fire personnel to affect _____ lawsuit
- [] superintendent vows to protect _____ schools in law changed
- [] first all-woman board takes reins of _____ school district
- [] Australian teachers end year in Nebraska _____ memories going down under
- [] _____ outlines sex education plan
- [] _____ sex-education class to be discussed thursday
- [] Omaha board nudges forward two school building projects _____ board delays action on sex ed open-enrollment policy at District 66 ok'd
- [] _____ board to consider new sex education course
- [] Padre pitches books to pupils at _____ school
- [] voters reject two incumbents in Papillion-Lavista school race newcomer tops field in Bellevue race vote gives _____ all-woman board
- [] _____, Lincoln airports will be awarded fund
- [] _____ board clamps down on spending
- [] _____ district is too crowded to accept transfers, official says
- [] Westside case affects policy _____ schools open doors to groups
- [] dime more for grade schools _____ to boost school lunch prices
- [] _____ boy survives jolt from power pole
- [] _____ schools' tax rate to jump if law repealed
- [] insurance costs increase for 1990-91 _____ board oks teachers' contract
- [] superintendent gets pay raise in _____
- [] new building solution to crowding _____ board oks _____ school
- [] focus on growth, facilities _____ district may give its future a double take
- [] rulings are mentioned school tax will rise, _____ board is told enrollment increase noted in april
- [] officials not laughing after pigs set loose inside _____
- [] _____ dies; led _____ board
- [] _____ to name school ' _____ '
- [] District 66, _____ consider alternatives year-round schools explored

- [] _____ board ponders year-round school
- [] increase in _____ enrollment fuels talk of new high school
- [] teachers' representative expresses concern _____ board oks
procedure on abortion law board ratifies teachers' contract
- [] student pray-in starts day at _____

Appendix G
Sharp Disagreement

North Omaha

[] _____ plan would rebuild 70-block area of _____

Millard

[] _____ location may ease 74th-Dodge congestion new county office
should be help

[] Benson, _____, South Omaha may get police
patrol on foot

[] full phone service restored in _____

[] _____ class has its day in court

[] workers dig for clues in _____ bottles abound under school
grounds

[] old _____ neighborhood plans lights contest

[] _____ teacher unhurt terrorists crash trip down Amazon River