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THE UTAH NEWSPAPER WAR OF 1968: LIQUOR-BY-THE-DRINK

A Thesis

Presented to the
Department of Communications
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Raymond E. Beckham

August 1969

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News, two Salt Lake City newspapers which compete for circulation and recognition in the Utah-Idaho-Nevada-Wyoming market, have long had a tradition of opposing each other on public issues. The Tribune, in fact, was the main voice of opposition to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, owner of the Deseret News, during the early history of Utah when the territory was struggling to become a state. Their struggles spanned the last thirty years of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century before ownership changes in the Tribune brought about more peaceful relationships.

It was no surprise, therefore, when these two newspapers squared off again for another battle, this time over the issue of liquor by the drink being available in bars and taverns (as opposed to the present system in Utah of liquor being sold in packaged form in state-controlled outlets and agencies). The system of packaged liquor has been the law in Utah since 1934, shortly after prohibition was repealed in the United States in 1933.

Several different groups of citizens have attempted to modify the Utah law over the years to allow liquor to be sold

by the drink. The Utah Legislature, which has the power to amend the law or to enact new legislation, has resisted all such efforts to make any major changes.

In 1968, proponents of liquor by the drink decided to take the issue to the people of the state through Utah's little-known and little-used initiative petition privileges. This required notarized signatures from at least ten per cent of the number of registered voters who cast ballots in the last gubernatorial election, and these signatures must exceed or equal ten per cent of the voters in a majority of the counties in the state.

In this particular case, a total of at least 39,825 signatures would be required, representing ten per cent of the voters in at least fifteen counties. If this could be accomplished, then the issue would be placed on the ballot in the next general election and would be voted upon by all registered voters in the state.

Only three other initiative petition attempts have been made in Utah in the past twenty-six years--none of them involving alcoholic beverages--and all of them failed.

The campaign to get signatures began on May 1, 1968, and ended on July 5, the legal deadline for the initiative petition.

It was apparent from almost the beginning that proponents and opponents of the issue would be supported by those who controlled the two newspapers: John W. Gallivan, publisher of the Salt Lake Tribune, who was one of the leaders of the committee sponsoring the petition for liquor by the drink; and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, owner of the Deseret News,

who took an official stand against the proposal and who cooperated with other churches and civic groups in fighting it. Although other groups supported both sides of the issue, much of the public airing of the arguments was done in the news columns and on the editorial pages of the two newspapers.

I. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this investigation was to compare the handling of the liquor-by-the-drink issue in these two newspapers with standards of the journalism profession. Each newspaper editorially supported its own point of view on its editorial pages, but to what extent did this bias enter into the news columns and other portions of the newspaper?

The Salt Lake Tribune publishes a Sunday edition which is circulated to subscribers of both newspapers under an agreement reached in 1952. For this reason, special attention was given to the handling of the issue in the Sunday editions of the Tribune.

Certain standards of excellence and codes of ethics have been established for newspapers by such influential organizations as the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, and the American Newspaper Guild. Many notable leaders in journalism also have made statements concerning the proper presentation of news material to the readers of newspapers.

This study compares the actions of these two newspapers with the ethics of the journalism profession. Were these two newspapers responsible? Did they serve the interests of the

public? Did they conform to accepted professional journalism standards in handling the issue of liquor by the drink?

II. EXTENT AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The portion of this study dealing with content analysis has been limited to the pages of the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News from May 1, 1968 through July 5, 1968. Each day's newspapers were carefully analyzed, and articles on the liquor-by-the-drink problem were measured and categorized.

This study also includes certain historical highlights of the backgrounds of the two newspapers, and a summary of the history of the liquor issue in Utah. It also reviews the standards and ethics of the journalism profession as set forth by journalistic organizations and leaders, and these will be used to evaluate the performance of the two newspapers.

III. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Only occasionally in modern American journalism history have two great newspapers in the same city opposed each other so dramatically as did the Salt Lake City newspapers in May and June of 1968. This confrontation came despite the fact that the Tribune and News jointly own the Newspaper Agency Corporation, which is responsible for the printing, circulation, and advertising for both newspapers.

Although newspapers in the same city occasionally support opposite points of view in their editorial columns, these two newspapers used all of their resources in the liquor-by-the-drink

issue. A summary of their conduct during such a divisive issue is necessary in order to compare their conduct with the standards of the journalism profession.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study was developed primarily through a content analysis and a careful study of each day's editions of the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News from May 1, 1968 through July 5, 1968. The historical background of the two newspapers was studied through historical journals and writings in the library at Brigham Young University.

The study includes a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the contents of the two newspapers during the period specified, with a comparison of the newspapers' conduct as compared with the standards of the profession as outlined by leaders in the field of journalism. This was done through a careful reading and analysis of each day's newspapers; by researching from books and journals the codes of ethics of the profession as agreed upon by members of the profession; and by studying historical sources pertaining to the liquor issue in Utah and the histories of the two newspapers.

The study summarizes the historical aspects of the liquor issue, and the traditions of the newspapers in their opposing points of view since 1870. It compares the amount of space in the two newspapers on the issue of liquor by the drink, and shows how much of that space supported the biases of the respective newspaper. It reviews the news columns, the editorials, the

letters to the editor, the feature columnists, and advertising. It reviews, in addition, the contents of the Sunday editions of the Tribune, which go to subscribers of both newspapers. Finally, it evaluates the performance of the two newspapers by a comparison with professional standards of conduct.

V. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Column inch. Newspapers are divided into columns. A column inch is the width of one of these columns, one inch deep. The widths of newspaper columns vary, depending upon the number of columns in the newspaper. In the two newspapers studied, the Salt Lake Tribune has six columns on its front pages and up to eight columns on some inside pages, while the Deseret News uses eight columns on most of its pages. In order to have a basis for comparison, all figures in this report are based on a standard newspaper column of $10\frac{1}{2}$ picas (a pica is $\frac{1}{6}$ inch) in width (eight columns to a page). Where widths of columns varied from this standard, they were adjusted to fit. A column inch, therefore, is a standard measurement of $10\frac{1}{2}$ picas ($1\frac{3}{4}$ inches) by one inch.

Pro. The issue in this report is liquor by the drink, as proposed by a group of citizens attempting to make it legal to buy and sell liquor by the drink in Utah. Therefore, those items defined as "pro" are those which support liquor by the drink.

Con. Those articles in the newspapers defined as "con" are those which basically oppose liquor by the drink.

Neutral. Articles in the two newspapers which did not support either side of the issue were defined as "neutral," and stories which carried equal material from both sides of the issue were also defined as "neutral." No attempt was made, however, to divide a story into segments of support or opposition--it was either for liquor by the drink, against it, or neutral, and was judged on its entirety. Exceptions to this rule were: (1) when a columnist wrote an entire column on a subject other than liquor by the drink, yet included at the end a statement or paragraph related to the issue, this paragraph was treated as a separate article and was categorized according to its size, position, and content; and (2) when news stories on other subjects also mentioned liquor by the drink, those portions of the stories dealing with liquor by the drink were categorized according to their size, position, and content.

News story. Readers of newspapers have generally become accustomed to recognizing news pages of newspapers as those containing news stories (as compared with editorial pages, comic pages, sports pages, society pages, feature pages, etc.). A news story, therefore, is a story which reports something newsworthy and which is on a news page.

Editorial. An editorial, as used in this report, is an article which is an official statement of policy or opinion on the part of the newspaper, usually encouraging its readers to support that policy. Although an editorial usually appears on the editorial pages of a newspaper, and is usually unsigned, these are

not hard and fast rules. For example, a letter signed by President David O. McKay was carried on the front page of the News on May 11, 1968, and reflected the official position of the News as well as the position of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. That particular article has been defined as an editorial for the purposes of this report.

Letters to the editor. Most newspapers have pages which are partially devoted to reprinting letters from readers. These are usually addressed to the editor of the newspaper.

Columnists. These are regular feature columnists or writers in newspapers who have their names attached to the columns they write.

Advertising. Newspapers sell space to businessmen and to other people who then use that space to promote their own products or philosophies. In this study only five advertisements were used in supporting or opposing liquor by the drink--three in the Tribune (one supporting liquor by the drink, and two opposing it), and two in the News (one for each side of the issue).

The Church, or Mormon. These terms will be used in this report in referring to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

LBD. The term "LBD" will be used to mean liquor by the drink.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

Much could be written about the history of liquor in Utah and the conflicts between the Church and its opponents in the transition of Utah from a wilderness to what it is today. Only a brief summary is reported here, but it is necessary to review both the liquor issue and the history of the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News in order to place the 1968 battle on liquor by the drink in proper perspective.

I. THE BACKGROUND OF THE LIQUOR ISSUE IN UTAH

The use of alcoholic beverages in Utah has been an issue between members of the Church and non-members since the early history of the state. One of the basic tenets of the Mormon faith is complete abstinence from the drinking of liquor in any form, and as more and more non-members moved into the Utah Territory it was only natural that conflict would arise from the differing opinions.

Nor was the conflict only between Mormons and non-Mormons, nor was it restricted to the Utah Territory. Nationally, the Prohibition Party was organized in 1869, the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874, and the Anti-Saloon League in 1893. All three organizations were dedicated to the complete prohibition

of liquor in the United States, but their first attempts were aimed more at "local option" laws--getting cities, counties, and states to vote to limit or eliminate liquor on the local level. By July 1, 1919, thirty-one states were "dry" or had voted for state-wide prohibition.

One of these thirty-one states was Utah, which in 1916 had passed a constitutional amendment making the state completely "dry" after an era of local option.

National prohibition went into effect on January 26, 1920 when the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was voted into law. Utah was, therefore, "dry" from 1916 until December 5, 1933, when the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed, a period of nearly eighteen years. Utah, by the way, became the thirty-sixth and deciding state to vote for repeal of prohibition.

Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment turned the control of liquor back to the states, and the 1934 Utah Legislature drafted and enacted the state's present Liquor Control Act which essentially requires that all alcoholic beverages be sold in packaged form through state-controlled outlets or agencies.

Since that time, numerous attempts have been made to liberalize the availability of liquor in the state. All of these attempts were aimed at the Utah Legislature in an effort to force the state's lawmakers to modify the statutes governing the purchase and sale of liquor. Only one attempt, however, actually got to a vote. This was in 1947 when the Senate defeated the motion by one vote, thus preventing it from going to the House.

There was one attempt to place the issue on the public ballot, but the drive for signatures failed to get under way.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF UTAH'S TWO MAJOR NEWSPAPERS

The first Utah colonizers were Mormons who arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in July, 1847, seeking refuge in the Great Basin after years of persecution in Missouri and Illinois. Their goal was to develop a society isolated from the rest of the world under the doctrines of the Church.

Even while Brigham Young was preparing for the final leg of the trek westward from Winter Quarters on the Missouri River, Church leaders authorized William Phelps on March 31, 1847, to go east and procure a printing press which was to be taken to the Great Salt Lake Valley.¹

Phelps previously had edited the Evening and Morning Star for the Church at Independence, Missouri, and The Times and Seasons in Nauvoo, Illinois. Following instructions to obtain a press, he immediately went to New York City, returning that fall with a Ramage handpress, type, and paper. He arrived at about the same time Brigham Young returned to Winter Quarters from his first trip to Utah to make plans for the second contingent of Church members to move west.

When Brigham Young left Winter Quarters on his second trip westward in the spring of 1848, however, he left behind many

¹Wendell J. Ashton, Voice in the West (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), p.4.

things because of a shortage of wagons. Included in the items left behind was the press, and Orson Hyde began publishing in Winter Quarters in the winter of 1848 a bi-weekly newspaper, The Frontier Guardian, using the press which had been left behind by Young.²

The following May the press left Winter Quarters and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on August 7, 1849. It was moved into permanent quarters the following January and published its first newspaper in Utah as the Deseret News on June 15, 1850. The following prospectus appeared on the first page of the initial issue:

We propose to publish a small weekly sheet, as large as our local circumstances will permit, to be called Deseret News, designed originally to record the passing events of our State, and in connection, refer to the arts and sciences, embracing general education, medicine, law, divinity, domestic and political economy, and everything that may fall under our observation, which may tend to promote the best interest, welfare, pleasure and amusement of our fellow citizens.

We hold ourselves responsible to the highest court of truth for our intentions, and the highest court of equity for our execution. When we speak, we shall speak freely, without regard to men or party, and when, like other men, we err, let him who has his eyes open correct us in meekness, and he shall receive a disciple's reward.

We shall take every pleasure in communicating foreign news as we have opportunity; in receiving communications from our friends, at home and abroad; and solicit ornaments for the News from our poets and poetesses.³

The Deseret News was thus launched as a newspaper by leaders of the Church in Utah, and through the years has been

²Ibid., p.16.

³Deseret News, June 15, 1850, p.1.

called upon from time to time to defend the Church and its principles.

Following 1850, trade routes were established in the West. More and more settlers were westward bound. The gold strike in California focused attention upon the West as a land of opportunity. During the 1850s and 1860s many non-Mormons began settling in the Great Basin, and the arrival of U.S. troops to establish military camps brought still other groups to Utah. Many of them elected to stay in Utah to build homes and to live.

As might be expected, differences began to arise between the Mormons and non-Mormons. Two anti-Mormon newspapers sprang up among the military personnel, but soon ceased publishing.⁴

The Salt Lake Tribune of today actually started in 1868 as The Utah Magazine, a literary magazine. Elias L. T. Harrison, who had co-edited at Camp Douglas east of Salt Lake City the first magazine west of the Missouri River (the Peep O'Day, which soon folded because of lack of experience of its editors),⁵ announced in the Deseret News on November 25, 1867, that he would soon begin publishing a weekly magazine devoted to articles of instruction, entertainment, and amusement. Printing of the new literary organ was to be done by the News.

Within ten months of its first issue, a few articles appeared which questioned basic Mormon procedures in Utah, and on

⁴Luther L. Heller, "A Study of the Utah Newspaper War, 1870-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1966), p.79.

⁵J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1938), p.330.

March 20, 1869, the first official indication of a change in the magazine was noted in an editorial:

We go at this work as missionaries for intelligence and truth. We have an ambition to aid in the diffusion of that general intelligence which is to form one of the great stepping-stones to the future greatness and influence of our Zion.⁶

Both Harrison and his partner, W. S. Godbe, were members of the Church. It had been their intent to reform certain practices of the Church, not to fight it. But following the publication of other critical articles, both men were excommunicated from the Church in October of 1869⁷ and the Deseret News carried a notice as follows:

Our attention has been called of late to several articles which have appeared in The Utah Magazine. . . . An examination of them has convinced us that they are erroneous, opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and calculated to do injury. . . . Therefore we say to our Brethren and Sisters in every place, The Utah Magazine is not a periodical suitable for circulation among or perusal by them, and should not be sustained by Latter Day Saints.⁸

Harrison and Godbe promptly founded a new religious movement which they called the Divine Movement, but which later was to be known as the Godbeite Movement. Their objective was to preserve the Mormon system by keeping what was true in the Church and by rejecting those things which they considered false.⁹

⁶The Utah Magazine, March 20, 1869.

⁷Heller, op.cit., p.21.

⁸Deseret Evening News, October 26, 1869.

⁹Heller, op.cit., pp.22-23.

They called for expansion of the mining industry, argued against the barter system, fought the Church's role in governmental affairs, and gave all-out support to a newly formed Liberal Party. Polygamy, statehood, and the formation of political parties along national lines were other issues given attention before the end of the century.¹⁰

On the first day of 1870 The Utah Magazine became the Mormon Tribune, a newspaper ". . . of the Liberal Cause in Utah, Devoted to Mental Liberty, Social Development, and Spiritual Progress,"¹¹ and throughout the year placed its emphasis on the new Church of Zion which had been organized by Harrison and Godbe on December 19, 1869. The newspaper's major thrusts were in support of the platform, the philosophies, and the weekly meetings of the new movement.

On July 2, the Mormon Tribune became the Salt Lake Tribune and in the spring of 1871 changed from a weekly to a daily.

Throughout the balance of the century the Tribune and the News fought it out. As Luther Heller said:

Utah experienced a century of journalistic trends in a span of thirty years. During the 1870s there was a callous disregard for journalism ethics and responsibility on the part of the Tribune. The party press had an era of potency in Utah, with the News supporting the People's Party ticket, said to be selected by the Church, while the Tribune carried the banner of the non-Mormon Liberal Party. In addition to representing extreme political factions, the News and the Tribune advocated diverse social and economic policies. Crusades were the essence of the Tribune policies for thirty years.

¹⁰Ibid., p.24.

¹¹Mormon Tribune, January 1, 1870.

. . . the Tribune not only waged editorial battles with the News and other publications in the territory, it set its sights on the Mormon Church, its people, and their "Way of Life." Actually, the Tribune's prime target was not the News, but Mormon ideology. This was substantiated with the anti-Mormon articles sent to various parts of the United States by the Tribune during the latter part of the nineteenth century. These articles were directed specifically against Mormon doctrines, the crux of the Tribune crusades. However, the News was the official spokesman for the Church, and as such, the News had the responsibility of bearing the brunt of these attacks by the Tribune as well as upholding the doctrines of the Church.¹²

The turn of the century brought about new ownership in the Tribune, and with it a period of increasing peaceful relations. By the 1940s the News and Tribune were battling aggressively for news stories, but were "soft-peddling" differences of opinion relative to the position and policies of the Church.¹³

The main battle in the late 1940s became the battle for circulation. The News added a Sunday edition, beefed up its editorial and business staffs, and during the year 1948 nearly doubled its circulation from 44,708 to 84,497 (as compared with the Tribune's 87,237).¹⁴ This battle continued until late in 1952 when the News and Tribune joined forces in organizing the Newspaper Agency Corporation in order to reduce costs by combining their advertising, circulation, and printing operations.

Since the beginning of this cooperative venture, the News and the Tribune have continued their editorial independence, finding themselves on opposite sides of such issues as right-to-

¹²Heller, op.cit., pp.80-81.

¹³Edwin C. Haroldsen, "A Study of Newspaper Agency Corporation in Salt Lake City" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1955), p.8.

¹⁴Ashton, op.cit., p.351.

work laws, previous proposed liquor-by-the-drink legislation, reapportionment of state senators, and ownership of the state's junior colleges, while at the same time agreeing on a wide range of civic-betterment projects such as urban renewal.

But now came one of the most intense journalistic battles in Utah in the twentieth century--between the Salt Lake Tribune, whose publisher, John Gallivan, was a leader in the movement to get liquor by the drink in Utah, and the Deseret News, owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose leaders opposed the move.

CHAPTER III

A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OVER-ALL BATTLE

The two Salt Lake City newspapers used a total of 5,102.8 column inches of space during the course of the campaign in presenting to the Utah public the two sides of the liquor-by-the-drink issue. The Salt Lake Tribune space totaled 2,844.6 column inches in its news and editorial columns, plus 246 inches of paid advertising, or a grand total of "space exposure" to its public of 3,090.6 column inches. The Deseret News used 1,856.2 column inches in news and editorial articles, plus 156 inches of paid advertising, for a total of 2,012.2 column inches of exposure to its public.¹

This chapter will analyze the use of this space in the two newspapers and will include: (1) when the space was used during the course of the campaign; (2) how the space was used in supporting or opposing liquor by the drink, including the various types of articles; and (3) where the space was used in the pages of the two newspapers and the prominence given to the material by the editors of the newspapers. In this analysis, a comparison will be made between the Tribune and the News.

¹All figures and statistical data used in this chapter have been compiled from the pages of the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News dated between May 1, 1968, and July 4, 1968.

In order to arrive at a basis for comparison, each day's newspapers during the campaign were analyzed. All articles on the issue were categorized according to the amount of space devoted to the liquor-by-the-drink issue. Each story was identified as to its position in the pages of the newspapers, its size, and its support of or opposition to the issue. Each story was also carefully measured and dated.

I. THE NEWSPAPER SPACE AND WHEN IT WAS USED

The "Battle for Signatures" started on May 1, 1968, with a banner headline and a front-page story in the Salt Lake Tribune. Comprising a total of 64.5 column inches, the story announced the filing of an application with Utah's Secretary of State to place the issue on the election ballot on November 5, providing sufficient signatures by qualified Utah voters could be notarized by July 5. Declaring the present Utah liquor laws as "obsolete and unenforceable," the group sponsoring the petition reviewed the advantages of a new law which they were proposing which would "permit the controlled sale of alcoholic beverages by individual drink in hotels, resort hotels, nonprofit private clubs, and in certain public places with food facilities that receive special licenses from local authorities."

The Deseret News followed that same evening with its lead news story on its local pages announcing the move to get 39,825 notarized signatures on petitions, and reviewing the advantages of the proposed new law as outlined by its sponsors. The Tribune carried an editorial the following day (May 2) in support of the

measure, another article two days later (May 4) reporting that the Utah Travel Council was neutral in the matter, a news story two days later (May 6) quoting a group who supported the new proposal, and then two letters to the editor on May 7 and 9 which favored liquor by the drink.

Following its initial announcement of the move on May 1, the Deseret News carried in the next ten days one news story quoting a group who supported liquor by the drink, two letters to the editor supporting it, and one letter which was neutral.

Then on Friday, May 10, the Deseret News editorially opposed the petition movement as the first step toward liquor by the drink, and on May 11 carried a front-page statement of opposition by David O. McKay, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. With fifty-three days remaining before the July 5 deadline for signatures, the battle lines were clearly drawn.

Following the declaration by the News, both newspapers ran very little space the following week.

Starting the fourth week of the ten-week campaign, however, the battle increased in intensity each week until the seventh week when a total of 1,248.1 column inches was used by the two newspapers--908.9 by the Tribune and 339.2 by the News.

Table I compares the total weekly space and the number of stories carried by each of the two newspapers between May 1, 1968, and July 5, 1968. Figure 1 graphically illustrates the weekly space allocated to the issue by each newspaper. They show that each newspaper intensified the amount of space devoted to the

TABLE I

A CHRONOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE TOTAL WEEKLY INSERTIONS
AND NEWSPAPER SPACE DEVOTED TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK IN
THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND THE DESERET NEWS
BETWEEN MAY 1 AND JULY 5, 1968

Week	Ending	<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u>		<u>Deseret News</u>		<u>Total</u>	
		No.Items	Inches	No.Items	Inches	No.Items	Inches
1	May 5	3	91.7	1	31.6	4	123.3
2	May 12	8	112.7	7	69.3	15	182.0
3	May 19	4	45.3	5	55.4	9	100.7
4	May 26	11	136.6	14	178.6	25	315.2
5	June 2	19	241.3	18	207.7	37	449.0
6	June 9	26	429.4	21	369.3	47	798.7
7	June 16	37	908.9	15	339.2	52	1248.1
8	June 23	29	581.7	21	329.8	50	911.5
9	June 30	28	370.3	15	387.2	43	757.5
10	July 5	16	172.7	11	44.1	27	216.8
Totals		181	3090.6	128	2012.2	309	5102.8

Column
Inches

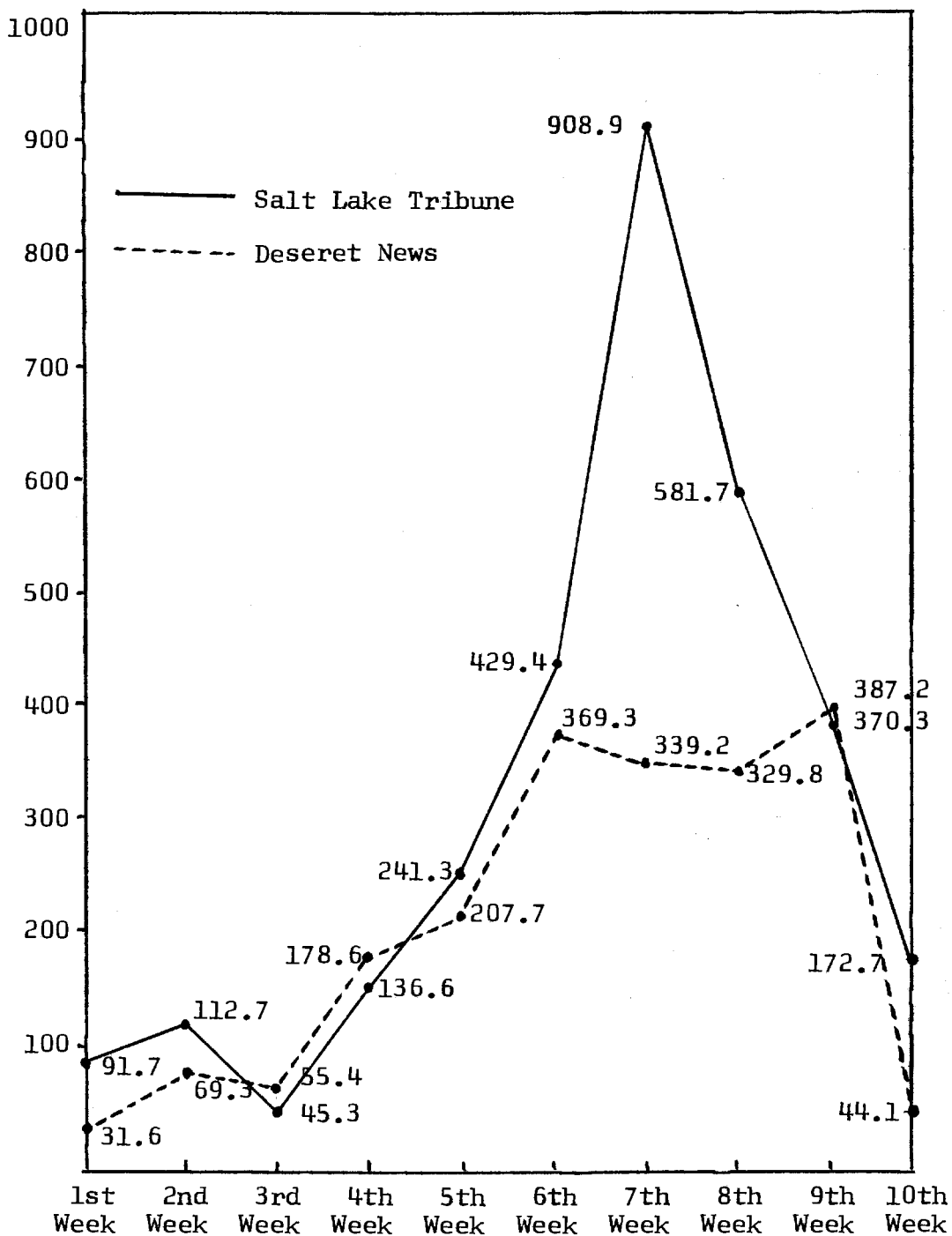


FIGURE 1

A COMPARISON OF THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER SPACE DEVOTED TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK IN THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND DESERET NEWS FOR WEEKS ENDING MAY 5--JULY 5, 1968

LBD² issue until the week ending June 9, with the Tribune more than doubling that week's space the following week (429.4 column inches the week ending June 9 and 908.9 the week ending June 16), while the News reduced its total space during the two weeks following its June 9 high. Although the News used its highest weekly total of the campaign in the ninth week, ending June 30, the Tribune was rapidly decreasing its weekly totals following its climactic week of 908.9 inches ending June 16. Figure 1 points out that the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth weeks of the campaign were the most intensive of the period, and that the Tribune used substantially more space each week during three of these weeks, while the News used slightly more during the ninth week. Figure 1 would indicate that sponsors of the petition felt that sufficient signatures were assured to place the initiative on the ballot in November, as early as June 16 and June 23.

The Tribune ran a total of 181 insertions during the period, while the News ran 128, as summarized in Table 1, with the Tribune running a high of thirty-seven in the seventh week, ending June 16, and the News running its high of twenty-one stories in each of the sixth and eighth weeks.

The Tribune had a total of sixty-four possible insertion dates between May 1 and July 4, and ran articles on the LBD issue on all but ten. Starting on May 23, the editors of the Tribune ran at least one article in every issue of their newspaper--forty-three consecutive days. For the entire campaign

²The term "LBD" will be used to mean liquor by the drink.

of sixty-four days, the Tribune ran an average of 2.83 insertions each day and an average of 48.3 column inches per day.

The Deseret News, because it does not publish on Sunday, had fifty-five possible insertion dates and ran LBD insertions in every issue except seven, averaging 2.3 insertions in the fifty-five total dates, running at least one insertion in forty consecutive publication dates, and an average of 36.6 column inches for all fifty-five days. In other words, the average number of stories per possible insertion dates for the Tribune was 2.8 and for the News 2.3, while the average number of column inches per possible publication dates for the Tribune was 48.3 and for the News 36.6.

The Sunday edition of the Tribune, which is circulated to all of its regular subscribers and to most of the News subscribers, contained 29.4 per cent of all of the Tribune's LBD space. This is more than double what the Sunday pro rata share would normally represent (if each of the seven publication dates each week was considered equal).

If the Sunday edition of the Tribune were eliminated, and a comparison made of the number of stories and column inches on the basis of six days a week only, the Tribune still exceeded the News in both categories, as follows:

	<u>Stories</u>	<u>Column Inches</u>
<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u> (Sundays Excluded)	150	2254.8
<u>Deseret News</u>	128	2012.2

II. THE NEWSPAPER SPACE AND HOW IT WAS USED

In considering how newspaper space was used in the LBD battle, two major categories must be discussed: (1) whether the article was in support of, opposed to, or neutral concerning the issue; and (2) the type of article (news story, editorial, letter to the editor, columnists' comments, pictures or art work, and advertising).

Supporting or Opposing Liquor by the Drink

The Tribune ran 77.5 per cent of its stories and used 83.3 per cent of its space in supporting LBD, while the News ran 76.9 per cent of its stories and 81.9 per cent of its space in opposing it.

The Tribune ran 13.5 per cent of its stories opposing LBD, while the News ran only 10.3 per cent of its stories supporting it.

Both newspapers used 6.2 per cent of their inches in opposition to their own bias, with the Tribune using 176.6 column inches opposing LBD and the News using 114.9 inches supporting it. Each newspaper ran sixteen neutral stories, which figured 9.0 per cent for the Tribune and 12.8 per cent for the News. These figures may be seen in Table II.

Of the twenty-four articles opposing LBD in the Tribune, twenty-two of them were letters to the editor; of the thirteen articles in the News supporting LBD, eleven were letters. In other words, only two contrary articles in each newspaper were stories written by the staffs of the newspapers. The first of

TABLE II

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND THE COLUMN INCHES IN THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND THE DESERET NEWS DEVOTED TO THE SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK FROM MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968*

	<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u>		<u>Deseret News</u>	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Supporting LBD				
Stories	138	77.5	13	10.3
Inches	2368.7	83.3	114.9	6.2
Opposing LBD				
Stories	24	13.5	97	76.9
Inches	176.6	6.2	1519.4	81.9
Neutral				
Stories	16	9.0	16	12.8
Inches	299.3	10.5	221.9	11.9
Totals				
Stories	178	100.0	126	100.0
Inches	2844.6	100.0	1856.2	100.0

*Exclusive of advertising.

the Tribune's two articles which were judged to be in opposition to LBD came on May 12 when it announced the Church's opposition, and the second came on June 26 when it devoted 5.8 column inches on an inside page to announce LBD opposition by a veterans' group. The News, in its first two articles on May 1 and May 6 (before it announced its editorial stand in opposition to the issue), emphasized the positive effects of the issue as they were outlined by proponents of LBD. After taking a stand, no staff-written articles appeared in the News.

The Deseret News does not publish a Sunday newspaper, but many of its subscribers receive the Sunday edition of the Salt Lake Tribune. Table III compares the exposure of the LBD issue in the two newspapers, but takes into consideration only those dates upon which both newspapers publish. The Sunday editions of the Tribune are therefore excluded, and the comparisons are based on the editions of both newspapers published from Mondays through Saturdays during the campaign period.

The Tribune published a total of 150 insertions on this six-days-per-week basis, with exactly 74.0 per cent supporting LBD, 16.6 per cent opposing it, and 19.4 per cent neutral. These totals included two advertisements, one favoring LBD and one opposing it.

The News published a total of 128 insertions, with 76.6 per cent opposing LBD, 10.9 supporting it, and 12.5 per cent neutral. These figures also included two advertisements, one favoring the proposal and one opposing it.

Although the Sunday editions of the Tribune will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, it should be noted at this

TABLE III

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND THE COLUMN INCHES DEVOTED TO THE SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK IN THE TWO SALT LAKE CITY NEWSPAPERS FROM MAY 1 THROUGH JULY 5, 1968, EXCLUDING SUNDAYS AND INCLUDING ADVERTISING

	<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u>		<u>Deseret News</u>	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Supporting LBD				
Stories	111	74.0	14	10.9
Inches	1759.2	78.1	222.9	11.1
Opposing LBD				
Stories	25	16.6	98	76.6
Inches	301.6	13.3	1561.8	77.6
Neutral				
Stories	14	19.4	16	12.5
Inches	194.0	8.6	227.5	11.3
Totals				
Stories	150	100.0	128	100.0
Inches	2254.8	100.0	2012.2	100.0

time that of the thirty-one stories on LBD carried in the Sunday Tribunes, twenty-eight (90.3 per cent) were in support of liquor by the drink, two were neutral, and only one--the initial report of the Church's opposition to LBD--was negative toward the issue. In addition, the Sunday readers of the Tribune were exposed to one other anti-LBD insertion, a paid advertisement totaling ninety column inches.

The Type of Articles Used in the Newspapers

The second category of how the space was used in the two newspapers involves a determination of the type of article. For purposes of this paper, we have divided insertions into five categories as follows: (1) news stories, (2) editorials, (3) letters to the editor, (4) comments by the newspapers' regular columnists, (5) pictures, graphs, or other art work, and (6) advertisements.

Table IV points out that of the 181 insertions in the Tribune during the campaign, 76 of them (42.0 per cent) were news stories, 65 (36.0 per cent) were letters to the editor, and 26 (14.0 per cent) were comments by columnists. The Tribune also used 6 editorials, 5 pictures, and 3 advertisements.

By contrast, the News ran a total of 128 insertions, 55 of them news stories (43.0 per cent), 55 letters to the editor, and only 2 comments by columnists. The News ran 11 editorials, 3 pictures or graphs, and 2 advertisements.

In the news columns Table IV shows that 77.7 per cent of the Tribune's stories supported LBD, while 76.0 per cent of the News' stories opposed it. News columns took up most of the space in both newspapers, with the Tribune using 64.1 per cent of its

TABLE IV

A COMPARISON OF THE TYPES OF ARTICLES USED BY THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND DESERET NEWS
SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, THE SPACE USED, AND THE SUPPORT OR OPPOSITION OF
EACH TO THE LIQUOR-BY-THE-DRINK ISSUE, BETWEEN MAY 1 AND JULY 5, 1968

Type of Article	Salt Lake Tribune							Deseret News						
	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total
News Stories														
Number	59	77.7	2	2.7	15	19.6	76	2	3.6	38	69.1	15	27.3	55
Inches	1675.6	84.5	18.8	1.0	287.3	14.5	1981.7	38.1	3.5	820.8	76.0	221.9	20.5	1080.8
Editorials														
Number	6	100.0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	11	100.0	0	0	11
Inches	134.0	100.0	0	0	0	0	134.0	0	0	373.6	100.0	0	0	373.6
Letters														
Number	43	66.0	22	34.0	0	0	65	11	20.0	44	80.0	0	0	55
Inches	327.5	67.5	157.8	32.5	0	0	485.3	76.8	21.6	276.7	78.4	0	0	353.5
Columnists														
Number	26	100.0	0	0	0	0	26	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	2
Inches	142.7	100.0	0	0	0	0	142.7	0	0	24.3	100.0	0	0	24.3
Pictures														
Number	4	80.0	0	0	1	20.0	5	0	0	3	100.0	0	0	3
Inches	88.9	88.1	0	0	12.0	11.9	100.9	0	0	24.0	100.0	0	0	24.0
Advertising														
Number	1	33.3	2	68.7	0	0	3	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Inches	108.0	43.9	138.0	56.1	0	0	246.0	108.0	69.2	48.0	30.8	0	0	156.0
Totals														
Number	139	76.8	26	14.3	16	8.9	181	14	10.9	99	77.4	15	11.7	128
Inches	2476.7	80.1	314.6	10.2	299.3	9.7	3090.6	222.9	11.1	1567.4	77.9	221.9	11.0	2012.2

total space (1981.7 column inches) for news stories, and the News devoting 53.7 per cent of its total (1080.8 inches out of 2012.2) for news.

Of the total of 181 insertions in the Tribune, Table IV also shows that 139 (76.8 per cent) were in support of liquor by the drink, and that of the 128 insertions in the News, 99 (77.4 per cent) supported the News' stand on the issue.

Both newspapers ran more stories in their regular news columns than anywhere else, with the Tribune using almost twice as much space here as did the News (1981.7 column inches as compared with 1080.8). Next most important for the two newspapers was letters to the editor (65 in the Tribune using 485.3 column inches, and 55 in the News, using 353.5 inches). Third most important for the Tribune was in columnists' comments, but third most important for the News was its editorial column. Tribune columnists mentioned the LBD issue in 26 different features (all of them in support of LBD), with Dan Valentine and Sports Editor John Mooney sharing the load. Only twice in the campaign did News columnists mention LBD, but 11 official editorials appeared in the News, all of them opposing the issue (compared with 6 by the Tribune, all supporting LBD).

III. THE NEWSPAPER SPACE AND WHERE IT WAS USED

The location of newspaper articles within the newspaper is an important factor in whether or not the articles are read, and thus regulates to some degree the amount of impact or influence they have on the readers of the newspaper. Newsmen call the loca-

tion of a story "position," and it is as important to the impact of a story as position is to a basketball player or another athlete in his sport. The right position at the right time can make a "winner" out of a story because it exposes that story to the largest number of readers.

There are three important factors to consider in determining the relative importance of position: (1) the page of the newspaper on which the article appears, (2) the location of the story on that page, and (3) whether or not the story was completely printed on that page or whether it was continued on another page. Each of these three factors will be reviewed in comparing the two Salt Lake City newspapers on their treatment of liquor-by-the-drink coverage.

The Page of the Newspaper

The best page in the newspaper is, of course, the front page. Both Salt Lake City newspapers use their main sections (Section A) primarily for important international news, and their inside sections (Section B) for local Utah news. The most important articles of national and international importance are placed on the first page of the main section (page A-1), and the most important local news items are placed on the first page of the second section (page B-1). Other sections appear from time to time, but these are usually specialized sections for sport news, society news, youth features, and others.

The Tribune and the Deseret News place their editorial pages near the end of their main sections (Section A), and both newspapers place their letters-to-the-editor columns on the edi-

torial pages.

Local news stories of major importance are occasionally placed on the front page of the main section (page A-1). In the LBD battle, each newspaper used page A-1 one time--the Tribune in its original announcement of the drive for signatures on May 1 when it carried a banner headline and a total of 64.5 column inches, and the News on May 11 when it carried a statement of opposition to LBD by President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which totaled 18.0 column inches.

The battle was fought primarily on page B-1 (the front page of the second, or "local," section), with the editorial pages running a distant second. The News actually ran more total articles on its editorial pages than on B-1 (61 insertions compared with 50), but the number of column inches on B-1 more than doubled those on the editorial pages (1018.8 as compared with 492.6). These figures are shown in Table V.

The Tribune ran 46.6 per cent of its articles and 53.0 per cent of its LBD space on page B-1, compared with the News' 39.7 per cent of its insertions and 54.9 per cent of its space. Of these totals on page B-1, 89.2 per cent of the Tribune stories supported the Tribune's bias, 9.6 per cent were neutral, and one story (1.2 per cent) was contrary to the Tribune's position. The News ran 74.0 per cent of its stories supporting its bias, 22.0 per cent were neutral, and two stories (4.0 per cent) were contrary to its position.

In total space used on page B-1, 93.6 per cent of the Tribune's inches supported liquor by the drink, 5.5 per cent were

TABLE V

A COMPARISON OF THE PAGES USED BY THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND THE DESERET NEWS IN PLACING ARTICLES ABOUT LIQUOR BY THE DRINK, AND THE SUPPORT OR OPPOSITION OF THOSE ARTICLES TO THE ISSUE, MAY 1, 1968--JULY 5, 1968

Page	Salt Lake Tribune								Deseret News							
	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent *	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent *
Page A-1																
Stories	1	100.0	0	0	0	0	1	.6	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	1	.8
Inches	64.5	100.0	0	0	0	0	64.5	2.3	0	0	18.0	100.0	0	0	18.0	1.0
Page B-1																
Stories	74	89.2	1	1.2	8	9.6	83	46.6	2	4.0	37	74.0	11	22.0	50	39.7
Inches	1411.2	93.6	13.0	.9	82.8	5.5	1507.0	53.0	38.1	3.7	786.5	77.2	194.2	19.1	1018.8	54.9
Editorial																
Stories	49	69.0	22	31.0	0	0	71	39.9	11	18.0	50	82.0	0	0	61	48.4
Inches	461.5	74.5	157.8	25.5	0	0	619.3	21.7	76.8	15.6	415.8	84.4	0	0	492.6	26.5
All other																
Stories	14	60.9	1	4.3	8	34.8	23	12.9	0	0	10	71.4	4	28.6	14	11.1
Inches	431.5	66.0	5.8	.9	216.5	33.1	653.8	23.0	0	0	299.1	91.5	27.7	8.3	326.8	17.6
Totals																
Stories	138	77.5	24	13.5	16	9.0	178	100.0	13	10.3	98	77.8	15	11.9	126	100.0
Inches	2368.7	83.3	176.6	6.2	299.3	10.5	2844.6	100.0	114.9	6.2	1519.4	81.9	221.9	11.9	1856.2	100.0

* Represents the percentage of each page to the total of all stories and inches in the campaign. The other percentages along the top of the page represent the percentage of the pro, con, or neutral stories to the total stories and inches on each page.

neutral, and .9 per cent represented the single story opposed to LBD which appeared on page B-1. The News used 77.2 per cent of its B-1 space opposing LBD, 19.1 per cent of its inches were neutral, and 3.7 per cent were contrary to the News' editorial position. In other words, of the total space used by these two newspapers in the LBD campaign, the Tribune used 53 per cent of its space on page B-1 and the News used 54.9 per cent there. Of the space used on page B-1, 93.6 per cent of the Tribune's space upheld the bias of the publishers, while 77.2 per cent of the News' space promoted its point of view.

Of the 178 total articles in the Tribune, 39.9 per cent of them (71 items) appeared on the editorial pages. This included 6 editorials and 65 letters to the editor. Sixty-nine per cent supported LBD, with all of the opposition coming from 22 letters to the editor. These figures are also summarized in Table V. For the News, 48.4 per cent of its total articles (61 out of 126) appeared on the editorial page, and of these 82 per cent supported the News' stand. Eleven letters to the editor expressed a preference for liquor by the drink.

Other than pages A-1, B-1, and the editorial pages, only 12.9 per cent of the Tribune's stories and 11.1 per cent of the News' stories appeared elsewhere in the two newspapers. By combining pages A-1 and B-1, the Tribune and the News used almost exactly the same proportion of their total space on these two front pages: 55.3 per cent for the Tribune and 55.9 per cent for the News. All of these figures can be seen in Table V, and do not include advertising linage. Of the total number of insertions

on pages A-1 and B-1, the Tribune used 47.2 per cent and the News used 40.5 per cent.

The Placement of Stories on the Page

The position which an article occupies on the page is usually determined by the article's importance. The "lead" or main story is regularly placed in the upper right-hand corner of the page, or is carried as a banner story across the top of the page. This is particularly true on the front pages of the first and second sections of the two Salt Lake City newspapers. The editorial pages also give preference to the most important editorials by having a "lead" editorial at the top of the page, usually followed by others immediately below it.

Stories beginning on the upper half of a newspaper page are usually more "important" than those beginning on the lower half. An editor will sometimes highlight a story on the lower half by giving it a prominent position across the bottom of the page. An article appearing on the lower right half of the page is more often read than one appearing in the lower left position.

For purposes of comparing the position of articles on the pages of the Tribune and News, and the prominence given to articles on LBD by the editors of the two newspapers, five positions are outlined in Table VI in the order of their importance: (1) lead stories, (2) those beginning on the top half of the page, (3) those beginning in a prominent position, (4) those starting on the lower right part of the page (which would be roughly the lower right one-fourth of the page), and (5) those beginning on the lower left position of the page. Letters to the editor and advertising space

TABLE VI

A COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES
ON THE PAGES OF THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND DESERET NEWS
CONCERNING LIQUOR BY THE DRINK AND THE SUPPORT OF OR
OPPOSITION TO THE ISSUE,* MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Position on Page	Pro Stories	Per Cent	Con Stories	Per Cent	Neutral Stories	Per Cent	Total Stories	Per Cent**
"Lead" Stories								
Tribune	37	90.2	0	0	4	9.9	41	36.3
Deseret News	1	3.0	28	84.8	4	12.2	33	46.5
Top Half Page								
Tribune	28	82.4	0	0	6	17.6	34	30.1
Deseret News	0	0	15	68.2	7	31.0	22	31.0
Prominent								
Tribune	5	50.0	1	10.0	4	40.0	10	8.8
Deseret News	1	8.3	8	66.7	3	25.0	12	16.9
Lower Right								
Tribune	2	66.7	0	0	1	33.3	3	2.7
Deseret News	0	0	3	100.0	0	0	3	4.2
Lower Left								
Tribune	23	92.0	1	4.0	1	4.0	25	22.1
Deseret News	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	1	1.4
Totals								
Tribune	95	84.1	2	1.8	16	14.1	113	100.0
Deseret News	2	2.8	54	76.1	15	21.1	71	100.0

*Does not include letters to the editor or advertising.

**Represents the percentage of each position to the total of all stories in the positions shown. For example, the forty-one "lead" stories by the Tribune are 36.3% of the total of 113 stories run by the Tribune in the five positions listed.

have been eliminated from the comparisons.

The Tribune ran 41 of its 113 articles as "lead" stories (36.3 per cent). Of these, 90.2 per cent were in support of the Tribune position. They ran 34 additional stories on the top half of the page (30.1 per cent of the 113 total), and 82.4 per cent of these were for LBD. In other words, of the 113 articles run by the Tribune, 75 of them (66.4 per cent) were run in the two top positions on the page and 86.7 per cent of these supported the Tribune's stand. Of the remaining 10 lead stories, all of them were neutral--which means that no stories were run by the Tribune in either their first position or second position which were contrary to their point of view. Table VI also points out that of all of the stories run by the Tribune, exclusive of letters to the editor and advertising, only 2 (1.8 per cent of the total) were in opposition to liquor by the drink. (One of these announced the Church's stand on the issue, and the other reported opposition to LBD by a veterans' group.)

Ten additional articles were run in "prominent" positions on the pages of the Tribune, 5 in support of LBD, 1 in opposition, and 4 neutral. Three were run in the lower right quarter-pages, 2 of them supporting LBD and the other one neutral.

Twenty-three articles, all of them by Tribune Columnists Dan Valentine and John Mooney, were placed in the lower left quarter-pages in support of LBD. This represented 92.0 per cent of all of the 25 articles placed in that position, with one against LBD and one neutral.

The Deseret News ran 33 of its 71 stories as lead articles

(46.5 per cent). Of these, 84.8 per cent were in support of the News' position. The News ran an additional 22 stories on the top half of the page (31.0 per cent of their 71 total), and 68.2 per cent of these were opposed to LBD. In other words, of the 71 articles run by the News, 55 of them (77.5 per cent) were placed in the best two positions on the page, and 78.2 per cent of these supported the News' position of opposing liquor by the drink. Of the remaining 12 stories in these two positions, 11 were neutral. Only one article was in support of the issue, and this was run prior to the time the Deseret News announced its opposition to LBD. As with the Tribune, only 2 articles out of 71 in the News were contrary to the position of the News (2.8 per cent of the total), but both were run in the first week of the campaign.

Only 16 articles appeared in the pages of the Deseret News which did not begin in one of the two top positions, 12 of them in "prominent" positions, 3 in the lower right position, and 1 in the lower left position.

The Continuing of Stories on Another Page

The third factor of position and its effect on the readability of a newspaper article is whether or not the article is printed in its entirety on the same page. If it is continued on another page, the part which is "jumped" is usually not as well read as the part printed at the beginning of the article. In the LBD battle, the only stories which were jumped were those beginning on pages A-1 and B-1 in the Tribune, and those beginning on page B-1 of the News. For comparative purposes, however, an examination was made of the 76 news stories in the Tribune and the 55 news

stories in the Deseret News, and excluded editorials, letters to the editor, columnists, advertising, and art work. Table VII indicates that the Tribune jumped only 11 news stories during the entire course of the campaign (14.5 per cent of the total). Sixty-five of its 76 news stories were entirely contained on one page (85.5 per cent).

The Deseret News jumped 22 of its 55 articles (40.0 per cent), while 33 (60.0 per cent) were self-contained.

TABLE VII

A COMPARISON OF NEWS ARTICLES IN THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
AND DESERET NEWS ON LIQUOR BY THE DRINK, SHOWING THE
NUMBER WHICH WERE PRINTED ENTIRELY ON ONE PAGE AND
THOSE CONTINUED ON OTHER PAGES
MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Newspaper	<u>Stories Complete</u>		<u>Stories Continued</u>		Total Stories
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Salt Lake Tribune	65	85.5	11	14.5	76
Deseret News	33	60.0	22	40.0	55
Totals	98	74.8	33	25.2	131

According to Table VII, approximately three-fourths of all stories run on the LBD issue during the dates of the campaign were complete on one page, and only one-fourth were jumped to another page.

CHAPTER IV

A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BATTLE

Chapter III reviewed the amount of space used, when it was used, the types of articles or items in the newspaper and how they were used in supporting or opposing liquor by the drink, and where the space was used in the pages of the two Salt Lake City newspapers.

This chapter will analyze the way in which the space was used by the editors of the two newspapers in supporting their own point of view. The discussion has been divided into the following sections as a basis for comparisons between the Salt Lake Tribune and Deseret News: (1) news columns, including the treatment of news concerning specific events during the campaign; (2) editorials which reflect the official positions of the two newspapers; (3) letters to the editor; (4) comments by the regular columnists of the two newspapers; (5) paid advertising; and (6) a review of the Sunday editions of the Tribune.

I. THE NEWS COLUMNS

Of the 5,102.8 total column inches devoted to the LBD campaign in both newspapers, 3,062.5 inches (60 per cent) appeared in the news columns. The Tribune used 1,981.7 inches (64.1 per cent of its total space) in its news columns, while the News used

1080.8 inches (43 per cent of its total) for news items. Table IV on page 30 indicated that of the news space in the Tribune, 84.5 per cent was devoted to supporting liquor by the drink; 76 per cent of the news space on LBD in the News was against the issue (and supported its bias).

Table IV also pointed out that of the 181 total items appearing in the Tribune on LBD, 76 were news stories (42 per cent), and that of these 76 news stories, 77.7 per cent supported the Tribune's position in the issue. Only 2 stories were used by the Tribune to report the other side of the controversy, while 15 of its news stories were considered "neutral."

The News ran a total of 128 items in the LBD campaign, 55 of them news stories (53.7 per cent). Of these 55 news stories, 76 per cent supported the News' position against LBD. As with the Tribune, only 2 of the News' stories could be considered contrary to its stand on the issue and 15 were judged to be neutral.

In other words, 59 out of 76 stories in the Tribune, and 38 out of 55 news stories in the News, were devoted to supporting the bias of the respective newspapers in the LBD issue.

Treatment of the News Columns by the Salt Lake Tribune

There was little doubt from the very beginning of the LBD campaign as to where the Tribune stood on the issue. A banner headline on the front page of the newspaper announced the drive for signatures, raising a question as to whether or not the news value of the story deserved such prominence. During the following weeks, its news columns were used for repeating the views of the

proponents of the issue, answering charges which were made by opponents, urging voters to sign the petitions, telling them where to do so in various locations, and reporting on the drive's progress. Table VIII lists all of the news stories in the Tribune.

Between May 12, when the Tribune announced the Church's opposition to liquor by the drink, and June 26, when it was generally recognized that sufficient signatures had been obtained to assure the issue getting on the ballot, not one news article appeared which could be considered as opposing liquor by the drink. A few statements from the opposition appeared, but were always answered in the same story by LBD spokesmen and the story was thus declared to be "neutral."

One example of this appeared on June 4 when Richard A. Van Winkle, chairman of an organization called "Citizens for a Better Utah Through Opposing Liquor-by-the-Drink," was quoted in the Tribune on June 4 as saying that several responsible attorneys had pointed out weaknesses in the new proposed liquor law and that the deadline for making any changes in it had passed. In the same article, the Tribune quoted extensively from Gerald Cannon, a member of the committee sponsoring the LBD petition, which answered each of the criticisms given by Mr. Van Winkle.

In another example, Oscar McConkie, a member of the committee opposing LBD, was quoted in the Deseret News on June 6 as stating that there was a major flaw in the proposed law. The Tribune also quoted Mr. McConkie the following day, but spent most of the article presenting arguments in favor of the law, and in answering Mr. McConkie's charges.

TABLE VIII

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THE NEWS STORY HEADLINES IN THE
SALT LAKE TRIBUNE DEVOTED TO THE LIQUOR-BY-THE-DRINK ISSUE
MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Date	Page	Posi- tion*	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
May 1	A-1	1	Pro	Group Seeks Utah Vote on Liquor
May 4	B-1	4	Neutral	Travel Council Avoids Stand on Liquor Bill
May 6	B-1	5	Pro	Utahns, Inc. Sees Value of Okay on Liquor Vote
May 10	B-1	1	Pro	Group Begins Drive for Liquor Ballot
May 11	B-1	1	Pro	Drive Starts for Liquor Ballot
May 12	B-1	3	Con	Liquor Position Opposed in LDS Statement
May 15	B-2	3	Neutral	Petition Calls for Legal Voters Only
May 23	B-1	1	Pro	Enthusiasm High, Liquor Petition Sponsors Declare
May 24	B-2	2	Neutral	County Stresses Penalty for False Petition Data
May 26	B-1	1	Pro	'Repeal Settled Big Issue in Liquor Battle'
May 27	B-4	3	Neutral	Weber Clerk Reduces 'Drink' List
May 29	B-1	1	Pro	Liquor Proposal's Tough--It Had To Be

*The numeral 1 in this column denotes the "lead" story, 2 means the story begins on the top half of the page, 3 means a prominent position, 4 means that the story begins on the lower right part of the page, 5 is lower left. See page 36 for a complete description of these positions.

TABLE VIII (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
May 29	B-1	2	Pro	Booths to Solicit Signatures for Petition
May 30	B-1	1	Pro	Sponsors Explain Liquor Proposal
May 31	B-1	3	Pro	Booths Available for Signing Liquor Petitions
June 1	B-1	2	Pro	Petition Booths Open in 9 Areas
June 2	B-1	1	Pro	Alternate Plan on Liquor Called 'Step Backward'
	B-1	2	Pro	Drink Petition Booths Appear, Response Termed 'Excellent'
June 4	B-1	1	Pro	Response to Petition Keeps Booths Around S.L. Open
	B-18	2	Neutral	Principals Detail Points in Proposals on Liquor
June 5	B-1	3	Pro	Liquor Petitions Available at Office in Ogden
June 6	B-1	2	Pro	Liquor Petition Boosted by 2 New Offices
June 7	B-1	2	Pro	Petition Booths Give Citizens Chance to Sign
	B-4	3	Pro	Localities to Control Liquor Sites, Sponsors Say
June 8	B-1	2	Pro	Booths Aid Signup on Liquor Petition
June 9	B-1	1	Pro	Utah Liquor Law History Since Statehood Retraced
	B-1	2	Pro	Liquor Law Booths Open
	B-5	1	Neutral	Liquor by the Drink--Two Sides to Vital Question
June 10	B-1	1	Pro	Petitions Available at Area Locations

TABLE VIII (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
June 11	B-1	2	Neutral	KUED-TV to Air Both Sides in Liquor Issue
	B-1	2	Pro	Here's Signup Times for Liquor Booths
June 12	B-1	1	Neutral	ETV Program to Answer Liquor Issue Questions
	B-1	2	Pro	Locations of Booths
June 13	B-1	1	Pro	KUED Panel Debates Liquor-by-Drink Issue
	B-1	2	Pro	When Drivers Get Drunk, They Go All-Out in Utah
	B-1	2	Pro	Booths Open Today to Sign Liquor Bid
June 14	B-1	1	Pro	Oregon Finds Its Liquor by Drink Law Effective
	B-1	2	Pro	Backers of Petition Urging Signup Now on Liquor Bid
June 15	B-1	1	Pro	Speed Essential--This Weekend--For Drink Petitions
	B-1	2	Neutral	TV Discussion Set on Liquor
	B-1	2	Neutral	Liquor Debate Broadcasts Again Sunday
	B-1	2	Pro	Signers of Petition Not Sponsors, Lawyer Says
June 16	B-1	1	Pro	Idaho Liquor Law 'Superior' to Old Locker System
	B-1	2	Pro	Speed Essential for Signing Drink Petitions
	B-1	2	Pro	Liquor-by-the-Drink Issue Aired at WSC Young Democrat Meet

TABLE VIII (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
June 16	B-1	3	Neutral	S.L. Stations to Broadcast Debate on Liquor Issue
	B-2	1	Pro	Here's the Complete Text of Proposed Utah Liquor-by-the-Drink Law Provisions
				Synopsis of Initiative Legislation Known as 'The Alcoholic Beverage Control Act of 1968'
June 17	B-1	1	Pro	Deadline Nears for Liquor Ballot Petition
	B-1	2	Neutral	Drink Opponents Debate Issue on Home Screens
June 18	B-1	1	Pro	Liquor Law Spurs Washington's Economy
	B-1	2	Pro	Drive-In Booths Aid Liquor Bid Signup
	B-1	2	Pro	Expert Rejects Link of Alcoholism, Liquor Across Bar
June 19	B-1	1	Pro	Sign Liquor Issue This Week-- Beat Last-Minute Rush
	B-1	3	Neutral	KUED to Offer Liquor Quiz Panel Tonight
	B-2	2	Pro	Portland Official Notes City Growth With Start of Liquor By the Drink
	B-2	5	Neutral	'Drink' Foes List Two Area Aides
June 20	B-1	1	Pro	Liquor Petition Creating Big Voter Turnout at Registration Office
	A-20	1	Pro	'By Drink' Easy to Control, Says Ex-Oregon Chief
June 21	B-1	1	Pro	By-Drink Aide Asks Maximum Efforts

TABLE VIII (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
June 21	C-8	1	Neutral	TV Panel Answers Questions on Liquor-by-the-Drink Proposal
June 22	B-1	1	Pro	More Signups Vital As Backers Aim For By-Drink Goal
June 23	B-1	2	Pro	By-Drink Signup Crucial
June 24	B-1	4	Pro	Utah Voters Rush to Sign Liquor- by-Drink Petitions
June 25	B-1	2	Pro	10 Counties Qualify on Drink Petition
June 26	B-1	2	Pro	Drink Issue Nears Final Count- down
	B-1	4	Pro	Liquor Proposal Expertly Drafted, Rampton Says
	B-20	5	Con	Vets Group 'Opposes' Drink Issue
June 27	B-1	2	Pro	Signatures Vital As 'By-Drink' Nears Deadline
June 28	B-1	1	Pro	Liquor Petition Nearing Goal, Push Continues
June 29	B-1	1	Pro	By-Drink Aides Optimistic-- Renew Efforts
June 30	B-1	1	Pro	Liquor Petition Moves Briskly In Homestretch
July 1	B-1	2	Pro	Sunday Strollers Add Names to Drink Lists
July 2	B-1	1	Pro	Signup Defends Utah Right to Vote on Liquor
	B-4	2	Pro	Unitarians Hear Liquor Data Report
July 3	B-1	1	Pro	Effort Succeeds--Drink Issue Heads for Ballot

The Tribune provided equal space in its editions on Sunday, June 9, for both sides to present their views. Mrs. Peter W. Billings represented the Utah Citizens for Legal Control of Alcoholic Beverages, and Mr. Henry S. Nygaard served as spokesman for Citizens for a Better Utah Through Opposing Liquor-by-the-Drink.

Again, on June 15, the Tribune carried an answer to charges made by two Brigham City attorneys that a person who signs the petition becomes a sponsor of the proposed bill. Donald B. Holbrook, a member of the committee sponsoring liquor by the drink who is also one of the attorneys who drafted the proposed bill, was quoted by the Tribune as stating that those who signed are not "sponsors" under Utah law.

Perhaps the most effective presentation of both sides of the issue in the Tribune came as a result of the two major debates on television. Highlights of the positions taken by both sides were reported by Tribune reporters, and a comparison of these reports with those by News staff members will be covered in a later section of this chapter.

In summary, the editors of the Tribune used their news columns to promote their own points of view, ignored to a large extent the other side of an issue which was important to the Utah public, and, in a sense, managed the type of information it gave to its subscribers.

Treatment of the News Columns by the Deseret News

When proponents of LBD first announced their intentions to begin a drive for signatures on a petition which would place

the issue on the election ballot, the News carried the story as it would carry other local important news items: it reported the facts as given by the committee, and followed a few days later with a news item that a prominent Utah group had gone on record as favoring liquor by the drink in the state.

On May 10, the News on its editorial page took an official position in opposition to liquor by the drink, including the petition movement, and from then until the end of the campaign did not run a story in its news columns which could be considered as supporting the issue. Its news space devoted to the LBD issue was used to quote opponents in attacking the liquor bill itself, questioning sections of the proposed legislation, announcing opposition to the bill by leading union, church, and civic officials, and by telling those who had signed the petition how and where to remove their names from the petitions.

The Tribune had run long lists of places to have signatures notarized. These had been listed in their news columns. The News countered with lists of notaries public who would notarize affidavits (which the News printed in its news columns) requesting county officials to remove their names from the petitions.

The Tribune had printed the full text of the proposed new law, with a "synopsis" of the highlights. The News took exception to the synopsis and accused the Tribune of telling only the proponents' side of the story. The News then published its own commentary, "So that its readers may know the whole story regarding the proposal." (The full text of the proposal in the

Tribune had been printed in its Sunday edition, which is circulated to a majority of the News subscribers.)

A Tribune editorial on June 12 implied that Utah's present liquor laws hamper traffic safety laws. The News ran a reply the following day in its news columns, quoting extensively from a statement by Richard A. Van Winkle, chairman of the committee opposing LBD, and a former chairman of the Utah Highway Commission, who said that the Tribune "carefully told only one side of the story in commenting on an article in another newspaper." He said that unless the Tribune's statements could be supported by studies made in Utah, that the Tribune had made a "reckless and irresponsible charge." Mr. Van Winkle then mentioned several points in the original study which the Tribune editorial had failed to mention.

Two major debates were held on KUED, one of Utah's educational television stations, on June 12 and June 19. The News' news columns carried notices of the debates in advance and good coverage of the debates themselves. These will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Table IX details the various news stories run by the News on the LBD issue, the location of those stories, their stand on LBD, and the headline of each story. Other than notices about debates, progress reports as to the petitions' status, and related items to the issue, all news stories were supporting the bias of the News.

In summary, the News ran fewer news stories on LBD than did the Tribune (55 compared with 76), and a slightly smaller percentage of them supported the News bias (76 per cent compared with 77.7 per cent). However, the Tribune's "neutral" news articles provided its readers with more of both sides of the issues than did the News.

TABLE IX

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF NEWS STORIES DEVOTED TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK, AND THEIR HEADLINES, IN THE DESERET NEWS, MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Date	Page	Position*	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
May 1	B-1	1	Pro	Petitions Due on 'By-Drink'
May 6	B-1	3	Pro	Utahns Urge Liquor Vote
May 10	B-2	3	Neutral	Petitions Going on Drink Issue
May 15	B-1	3	Neutral	Under-Age Signers Not Legal
May 16	B-1	1	Neutral	Law by Petition--4th Try in 26 years
May 20	B-1	1	Con	By-Drink Plan Attacked As 'Permissive'
May 22	B-1	2	Neutral	Third of By-Drink List Void
May 23	B-1	1	Con	Drug Expert Cites Myth, False Ideas
	B-1	2	Con	Callers Urge Clerks to Remove Names
	B-1	5	Neutral	Rampton on By-Drink Issue**
May 24	B-10	2	Con	Clerk Okays 17 Petitions
	B-1	3	Con	Utah Demo Opposed to By-Drink
May 27	B-1	2	Con	'Understand By-Drink Issues'
May 29	B-1	1	Con	Ruling Given on Petition Names
May 30	B-1	2	Con	Foe Questions Moderation in By-Drink

*Position on the page. See page 44 for description of code.

**This was not the exact headline. Governor Calvin L. Rampton was quoted on his views of LBD in an article which carried his endorsement of Hubert H. Humphrey as President of the United States.

TABLE IX (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
June 1	B-1	3	Con	Pitfalls in Local Option
June 3	B-1	1	Con	Liquor Opponents Open S.L. Office
June 4	B-1	4	Con	Pointed Query for By-Drink Backers
June 5	B-1	2	Con	'It's Saloon By Any Name'
June 6	B-1	1	Con	Flaw Cited in Drink Law
June 7	B-1	1	Con	Union Official Calls By-Drink Harmful
June 8	B-1	1	Con	Ministerial President Opposes 'By-Drink' Petition
	C-4*	3	Con	How to Get Name Off Petition
June 10	B-1	1	Neutral	Debate Spotlights Opposing Views of Liquor By Drink
June 11	B-1	1	Con	'Taverns Favored' in By-Drink Move
	A-16	2	Neutral	S.L. County Submits By-Drink Petitions
June 12	B-1	2	Neutral	Liquor Debate Set on KUED
June 13	B-1	1	Neutral	Liquor Pro-Con Aired on TV
	B-1	2	Con	Editorial on Liquor Criticized
June 14	B-1	1	Con	Facts Available on Petition
June 15	B-1	1	Con	'Signing Indicates Approval'
	B-1	2	Neutral	Radio, TV Will Air By-Drink Debates
June 17	B-1	1	Con	By-Drink--Other Side of Story
	B-1	2	Con	Liquor Debaters Trade Charges

*Church News Section of Deseret News, p.4.

TABLE IX (continued)

Date	Page	Position	Pro, Con, or Neutral	Headline
June 18	B-1	1	Neutral	Drink Petition Status
	B-1	2	Neutral	Problems of Alcohol Heard at U. Course
	B-1	3	Con	By-Drink Plan Hit by Lawyer
June 19	B-1	1	Con	By-Drink Bill 'Loaded'
	B-12	2	Neutral	New TV Debate on Liquor
June 20	B-1	1	Con	Clashes Highlight By-Drink Debates
	B-1	2	Con	2 Pardons Officials Rap By-Drink Plan
June 21	B-1	1	Con	Drink Bill Changes Needed, Official Says
June 22	B-1	1	Con	Lawyer Assails Quirk in By-Drink
June 24	B-1	1	Con	'Liquor Issue Is a Moral Contest'
	B-1	3	Con	'Many Loopholes' in By-Drink Bill
June 25	B-1	2	Con	LBD Opposition Voiced by Vets
June 26	B-1	1	Con	\$1 Million Loss Estimated in LBD Discounts
	B-1	3	Con	Remove Name? See Notaries
June 27	B-1	2	Con	'Serious Flaw in Liquor Bill'
	B-1	3	Con	Anti-Drink Notary List Expanding
June 28	B-1	2	Con	By-Drink Plea Falls Short of 'Mandate'
	B-1	4	Con	Notaries Aid in Removal
June 29	B-1	2	Con	'Nevada Has Drink Ills'
	B-3	3	Neutral	LBD Petitions Nearing Goal
July 3	B-1	2	Neutral	Petitions Certified

The Television Debates and Their Coverage

Two television debates were held on KUED, Channel 7, the educational television station at the University of Utah. Although other radio and television debates were held, the news coverage which was given in reviewing these two debates will be compared in the Tribune and the News. Recorded tapes of these two telecasts have been carefully reviewed and compared with the reports published in the two newspapers.

The June 12th television debate. The Tribune's news story covering the debate was judged as favoring LBD. As Table X points out, 51.3 per cent of the space in the story quotes proponents of the issue and favors LBD, while only 12.9 per cent could be considered unfavorable. The other 39.9 per cent of the space, including the headlines, was neutral. Of the 42 paragraphs in the Tribune story, 64.3 per cent favored LBD, 18.9 per cent were unfavorable, and 16.7 per cent were neutral.

In the News' story on the debate, 30.2 per cent of the space supported the bias of the newspaper, 29.9 per cent was contrary to the bias, and 39.9 per cent was judged as neutral. Of 34 paragraphs in the story, 38.2 per cent opposed LBD, 41.2 per cent supported it, and 20.6 per cent were neutral. The story in the News was judged to be neutral.

Both newspapers carried arguments on both sides of the issue on such questions as to whether or not the proposed bill was well written, the adequacy of the present Utah laws, whether or not people should read the proposed new law before signing the petition, and whether or not the opponents had a proposed law of

TABLE X

A SUMMARY OF THE SPACE USED AND THE NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS IN THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE AND THE DESERET NEWS CONCERNING COVERAGE GIVEN TO TWO TELEVISION DEBATES ON LIQUOR BY THE DRINK ON KUED-TV, SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 12 AND 19, 1968*

Column Inches and Paragraphs	Salt Lake Tribune			Deseret News		
	June 12	June 19	Total	June 12	June 19	Total
Column Inches Space Supporting LBD	28.9	23.9	52.8	9.6	5.9	15.8
Per Cent Space Supporting LBD	51.3	33.9	41.6	29.9	18.3	24.1
Column Inches Space Opposing LBD	7.3	22.1	29.4	9.7	7.8	17.5
Per Cent Space Opposing LBD	12.9	31.3	23.1	30.2	24.2	27.2
Column Inches Space Neutral	20.2	24.6	44.8	12.8	18.5	31.3
Per Cent Space Neutral	35.8	34.8	35.3	39.7	57.5	48.7
Total Column Inches	56.4	70.6	127.0	32.1	32.2	64.3
Number Paragraphs Supporting LBD	27	31	58	14	9	23
Per Cent Paragraphs Supporting LBD	64.3	42.5	50.4	41.2	34.6	38.3
Number Paragraphs Opposing LBD	8	22	30	13	10	23
Per Cent Paragraphs Opposing LBD	19.0	30.1	26.1	40.6	38.5	38.3
Number Paragraphs Neutral	7	20	27	7	7	14
Per Cent Paragraphs Neutral	16.7	27.4	23.5	21.9	26.9	23.4
Total Paragraphs	42	73	115	34	26	60

*These were the dates of the TV debates. The news articles in the Salt Lake Tribune appeared on June 13 and June 21, 1968, and in the Deseret News on June 13 and June 20, 1968.

their own. The Tribune's story completely ignored the portions of the debate dealing with the powers of the liquor commission under the new law, the selling of liquor on Sundays, the selling of liquor in the presence of minors, the other religious groups in addition to the LDS Church who were opposing LBD, the protection of neighborhoods against the construction of bars, and whether or not the liquor industry was providing any of the funds for the LBD campaign. The News carried information about each of these questions and quoted both sides on most of them.

Of the 17 questions raised during the debate, the Tribune's story quoted answers from 7 of them, as outlined in Table XI. Of the 7 answered, 5 of the quoted replies covered both sides of the issue, while the other 2 quoted only the Tribune's position. The News' story answered 13 of the 17 questions, and of these 13 answers, 9 reported both sides of the issue. One of the 13 answered only the News' point of view, and 3 others presented only the answers which were opposite to the News' stand. These may be seen in Table XII.

One of the major discussions in the debate covered the problems which the new Salt Palace (Salt Lake City's new convention center which was scheduled for completion in the fall of 1969) would have in scheduling conventions if visitors could not obtain liquor by the drink. The Tribune covered in its story the full discussion of this point by John W. Gallivan, the Tribune's publisher and chief spokesman for LBD in the television debate, but failed to carry the views of the opponents which had been given during the debate. The News carried both sides of the question.

TABLE XI

A COMPARISON OF THE NEWS COVERAGE GIVEN BY THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
AND THE DESERET NEWS TO QUESTIONS ASKED ON TWO TELEVISION
DEBATES OVER KUED-TV, SALT LAKE CITY,
ON LIQUOR BY THE DRINK*

The Coverage in the Newspapers of the Questions Asked on TV	Salt Lake Tribune			Deseret News		
	June 12	June 19	Total	June 12	June 19	Total
Questions answered for and against LBD	5	13	18	9	5	14
Questions answered for LBD only	2	1	3	3	0	3
Questions answered against LBD only	0	0	0	1	0	1
Questions not answered at all in story	10	9	19	4	18	22
Totals	17	23	40	17	23	40

*The two television debates were held on June 12 and June 19, 1968. The stories in the Salt Lake Tribune were carried on June 13 and June 21, 1968, and in the Deseret News on June 13 and June 20, 1968.

TABLE XII

THE QUESTIONS ASKED ON THE JUNE 12, 1968, KUED TELEVISION
LBD DEBATE, AND A SUMMARY OF THE COVERAGE GIVEN THOSE
QUESTIONS BY THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
AND THE DESERET NEWS

Question Raised in Debate	Answers Quoted by Tribune		Answers Quoted by News	
	Pro	Con	Pro	Con
Should a person read the proposed bill before signing the petition?	x	x	x	x
Do both sides want it on the ballot?	x		x	
Is the proposed law well written?	x	x	x	x
Will LBD affect tourism?	x	x	x	x
Does the new Salt Palace need LBD?	x		x	x
Are present liquor laws adequate?	x	x	x	x
Who is financing respective campaigns?				
Do opponents have an alternate law?	x	x	x	x
Would new commission have too much power?			x	x
Why is corruption within the proposed commission only a misdemeanor?				
What protection do citizens have to prevent saloons in their neighborhood?			x	x
Why couldn't liquor not be sold on Sunday?			x	
What other churches oppose new law in addition to the LDS Church?				
Is money for LBD coming from liquor industry?			x	
Will more liquor be sold under new law?				

TABLE XII (continued)

Question Raised in Debate	Answers Quoted by Tribune		Answers Quoted by News	
	Pro	Con	Pro	Con
Was the opposition to new law organized at the urging of the LDS Church?				x
Why won't the new law prohibit the sale of liquor in the presence of minors?			x	

The only question raised during the debate which was reported by the News in support of its own position was one asking if the LBD opposition had been organized by the LDS Church. Mr. Van Winkle, chairman of the opposition committee, reported that he had not been approached by the LDS Church to serve, but that he was sure they supported the committee.

The June 19th television debate. The Tribune gave good coverage to this debate, devoting 70.6 column inches to it--but on an inside page (page C-8). The story was judged to be neutral because it provided answers to both sides of each question carried in its report, except one. Table X on page 56 shows that 33.9 per cent of the Tribune story was for LBD, 31.3 per cent was material opposed to it, and 34.8 per cent of the 70.6 column inches of space was neutral. Of the 73 paragraphs in the Tribune story, 42.5 per cent of them supported the LBD point of view, 30.0 per cent were opposed, and 27.4 per cent were neutral.

Table XIII reviews the questions raised during the debate and the coverage of the answers given by the two sides. Of the 23 questions raised during the debate, the Tribune answered 14 of them. Of these 14, both sides of the issue were covered in 13 of them. Only the question about local options brought quotes in the Tribune from the supporters of LBD, and nothing from the opposition's statements. Oscar McConkie, a member of the panel opposing LBD, indicated in the debate that the proposed new law was hard to interpret concerning local options, but the Tribune did not mention this in its news coverage. It did, however, quote from the

TABLE XIII

THE QUESTIONS ASKED ON THE JUNE 19, 1968 KUED TELEVISION
DEBATE ON LIQUOR BY THE DRINK AND A SUMMARY OF THE
COVERAGE GIVEN THOSE QUESTIONS BY THE SALT LAKE
TRIBUNE AND DESERET NEWS

Question Raised in the Debate	Answers Quoted by Tribune		Answers Quoted by News	
	Pro	Con	Pro	Con
Will LBD bring more money to state treasury?	x	x		
Why not let bartenders serve a person rather than having the person himself do it?	x	x	x	x
Will LBD bring on more traffic deaths?	x	x		
Can a person or firm resell liquor licenses?				
Where can minors eat if restaurants have LBD?	x	x		
Can I still take a brown bag to a restaurant?				
Can we prevent a "snack Bar" from getting a license?	x	x		
How can we prevent bars from springing up all over?	x	x		
Explain the local option system.	x		x	x
Why does new law make corruption within the liquor commission only a misdemeanor?			x	x
What prevents a bartender from selling to a minor?				
Would bars be open on Sundays?				
If this petition fails, when can be the next one?				
Would LBD bring more money to Utah?	x	x		

TABLE XIII (continued)

Question Raised in the Debate	Answers Quoted by Tribune		Answers Quoted by News	
	Pro	Con	Pro	Con
Is it illegal to get drunk on the premises?				
Where would "enforcement" money come from?			x	x
Why are opponents afraid of having people vote on the LBD issue?	x	x		
Is there a petition movement which a person can sign which opposes LBD?	x	x		
Do hotel chains avoid Utah because we do not have LBD?	x	x	x	x
How many members of the legislature are members of the LDS Church?	x	x		
Will new law allow only beer in grocery stores?	x	x		
If proposed law is proven to be bad, can the legislature amend it?	x	x		
Will LBD help bring more convention business?				

proponents that local option was available within sixty days for local communities to enact local laws in opposition to LBD.

The Deseret News story was judged to be in support of the News' bias against LBD. Of the twenty-three questions raised in the debate, the News' report carried only five of them. Table X shows that 24.2 per cent of the story in the News opposed LBD, 18.3 per cent supported it, and 57.5 per cent was neutral. Of the twenty-six paragraphs in the story, 38.5 per cent opposed LBD, 34.6 supported it, and 26.9 per cent were neutral.

The Tribune report did not carry those portions of the debate dealing with the possible corruption of liquor officials under the new law, and sources of revenue from the enforcement of the new law. The News report ignored questions dealing with neighborhood saloons, more money coming into the state because of LBD, traffic fatalities in LBD states as compared with Utah, how snack bars can be prevented from getting a liquor license, how minors could avoid eating in restaurants where liquor is being served, why the opposition is avoiding having the issue go to the voting booths, what percentage of the legislature is comprised of Mormons, whether or not beer would continue to be sold in grocery stores under the proposed law, if the legislature would have power to change the new law if it turned out to be a poor law, and whether or not there was a petition being circulated against LBD. Both newspapers failed to report on questions involving the issuing of liquor licenses and the re-selling of them, whether or not "brown bags" could still be taken to a restaurant after LBD was approved, the Sunday closing of saloons,

when another petition would be started if this effort fails, the handling of people who become intoxicated in licensed bars, and the possibility of increased convention business in Utah because of LBD.

In summarizing the two debates and the coverage of them in the two newspapers, the Deseret News coverage of the June 12th debate was more complete, more factual, and more impartial. The Tribune coverage of the June 19th debate was more complete, more factual, and more impartial. In combining the total coverage of the two debates, the Tribune used twice as much space as the News, 41.6 per cent was in support of its bias (compared with 27.2 per cent for the News), and 50.4 per cent of its 115 paragraphs were in support of LBD (compared with 38.3 per cent of the News' 60 paragraphs against it). These figures are compared in Table X.

A total of forty questions were raised in the two debates, some of them duplicates of each other (questions asked on both June 12th and June 19th). The Tribune answered eighteen in presenting both sides of the question, and three others in presenting only its own advocates' point of view. The News presented quotes on seventeen of the questions where both viewpoints were expressed, and one supporting only its own bias. Table XI reviews the number of questions asked during the debates, and the number of the questions which were answered by the respective newspapers.

Of the total of 40 questions asked during the two television debates, the Tribune reported the questions and answers of 21 of them and ignored 19. The News reported on 18 of the questions and ignored 22. These figures can also be seen in Table XI on page 58.

II. EDITORIALS

The Salt Lake Tribune ran 6 editorials in support of liquor by the drink, utilizing 134 column inches of space in doing it; the Deseret News used 11 editorials and 373.6 inches in opposing it. These figures can be found in Table IV on page 30.

Translating these figures into percentages, the Tribune used 3.4 per cent of its total number of insertions (not including advertisements) as editorials and 4.7 per cent of its total space. The News used 8.7 per cent of its insertions and 20.1 per cent of its space as editorials.

Four of the editorials in the News were contained in the Church News Section, a Saturday evening supplement to the Deseret News. Fifty-eight per cent of the total editorial space in the News was in these four editorials. The News also ran one editorial --a special message from Church President David O. McKay--on page A-1.

In comparing the editorials on the newspapers' editorial pages only (and eliminating the five mentioned in the above paragraph), each newspaper used six editorials and nearly the exact amount of space (134 column inches in the Tribune and 139 in the News).

Table XIV presents a chronological listing of these editorials and the subject matter in each. The Tribune's primary theme in its editorials centered on giving Utah people a chance to vote on the LBD issue; the News told its readers to defeat the proposal before it got to the voting booth. Two of the News' editorials were direct answers to Tribune editorials: on June 8

TABLE XIV

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THE EDITORIALS IN THE SALT LAKE
 TRIBUNE AND THE DESERET NEWS CONCERNING LIQUOR BY THE
 DRINK, MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Newspaper	Date	Heading or Remarks
Tribune	May 2	Liquor Law Petition Deserves Support
News	May 10	Petition's A Step For Liquor By The Drink
News	May 11	President McKay Urges Stand Against Liquor Plan
Tribune	May 24	Utah's Petition Rights Must Not Be Subverted
News*	May 25	Some Questions and Answers on Liquor By The Drink
News	May 29	How to Take Name From Liquor Petition
Tribune	June 2	Sign the Petition With Full Confidence
Tribune	June 4	Tourism: Unparalleled Opportunity
News	June 4	How Not To Give Utah Better Liquor Laws
News*	June 8	An Answer to the <u>Tribune's</u> July 2 Editorial
Tribune	June 12	Where 'Liquor By Drink' Law Fails
News	June 14	Liquor and Driving--Facts vs. Fallacies
Tribune	June 16	Let's Settle Liquor Issue in Voting Booth (Guest editorial reprinted from Moab <u>Times-Independent</u>)
News	June 17	To Vote Against LBD, Don't Sign Petition
News*	June 22	The Church Is Accused . . .
News	June 27	LBD: Whose Interests, Liquor's or People's?
News*	June 29	Here's Text of Church Stand (Complete text of Gordon Hinckley's June 23 KSL talk)

*Editorials contained in the Church News Section of the News.

when the News answered a July 2 editorial in the Tribune which discussed provisions of the new proposed law; and again on June 14 when it attacked a June 12 Tribune editorial which stated that Utah's present liquor laws hampered traffic safety efforts.

In summary, both newspapers used their editorial columns for expressing their official points of view. The News used nearly three times as much editorial space as did the Tribune, whereas in the other types of items covered in this chapter (news columns, letters to the editor, comments by columnists, and advertising), the Tribune used more than the News. In other words, the News fought more of its battle in its editorial columns than did the Tribune.

III. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

As Table IV on page 30 pointed out, the Tribune used 65 letters to the editor and 485.3 column inches of space on the LBD issue, and the News printed 55 letters in 353.5 inches of space. Of those in the Tribune, approximately two-thirds were in favor of LBD and only one-third opposed it; in the News, 80 per cent were opposed and 20 per cent supported LBD. More items and more space which were contrary to the biases of the newspapers were contained in the letters to the editor than in any other part of the newspapers.

The Tribune used more items in its letters columns than anywhere else except its news columns (65 items compared with 76 news stories); the News used 55 letters and 55 news stories, each of which accounted for 43.7 per cent of its total items during the

campaign. In other words, of the 178 total items in the Tribune during the campaign, 65 (36.5 per cent) were letters to the editor; of the 126 total items in the News, 55 (43.7 per cent) were letters.

Of the 65 letters in the Tribune, 43 (66 per cent) supported the Tribune's point of view, while 22 (34 per cent) were opposed. Of the 55 letters in the News, 44 (80 per cent) supported the News' bias by opposing LBD, while only 11 (20 per cent) opposed the bias of the News.

Table XV lists in chronological order the letters to the editor printed in the Tribune, and indicates whether the letters were for liquor by the drink or against it. A brief descriptive summary of the primary theme of the letter is also included. These summaries show that readers advocating LBD used four basic arguments in favor of their cause: increased taxes and tourism; the right of all the people to vote on such an important issue in the voting booth; the Church and its people as bottlenecks to progress; and free agency to choose to drink if desired. The opponents countered with: increased taxes and income to the state are not worth the price in heartache and crime; every important issue should not go to the voting booth because the legislature is set up for this purpose; the Church has the right to oppose LBD, just as proponents have the right to support it; and free agency carries with it responsibility for all aspects of society.

Four of the letters in the Tribune were not signed, two of which supported LBD and two of which defended the Church and the state. The first of these appeared on June 3 and appealed for the full exercise of the democratic process. In place of a name at

TABLE XV

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN THE SALT
LAKE TRIBUNE CONCERNING LIQUOR BY THE DRINK,
MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of the Letter
May 7	Pro	Liquor revenue needed in state.
May 9	Pro	All those who drink are not alcoholics; many of the nation's finest people are moderate drinkers.
May 10	Pro	Tourists are highly amused by our liquor laws.
May 15	Pro	Liquor laws will not protect youth.
May 18	Con	Alcohol should be abolished completely, except for medicinal uses.
May 23	Con	Those who do not sign the petition are voting against LBD.
May 25	Pro	Availability of liquor reduces the desire for it.
	Pro	Utah can use the extra taxes which will come from LBD.
May 26	Pro	President McKay is wrong in urging people not to sign the petition, even though he can urge them not to vote for LBD.
May 28	Con	The liquor interests want LBD because they know that more people will get the drinking habit if it is easier to get.
May 29	Pro	The Church should not stand in the way of getting the LBD issue on the ballot.
	Pro	Those who want to drink should be able to do so.
May 30	Pro	In favor of LBD, but questions the tactics of proponents.
May 31	Con	The cost in heartache, death, crime, law enforcement and medical care is far more than any income derived.
June 3	Pro	The minister against LBD spoke only for himself--not for the Congregational Church.
	Pro	Signing the petition is a vote for democracy.

TABLE XV (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of the Letter
June 6	Pro	The issue is not LBD, but whether or not we are going to let the people vote on a public issue.
	Pro	Utah is far behind the times because the Mormon Church dominates everything; let each person choose for himself.
	Con	<u>Tribune</u> chided for burying opposition news and facts.
June 7	Pro	Ward teachers came by and left anti-LBD literature; Church should let people decide such things.
	Con	Enough broken homes and carnage on the highways without LBD; why have alcohol in any form at all?
June 9	Pro	Church must be afraid of its people's support if it is unwilling to let the issue get to the voting booth.
June 10	Con	Never has been a liquor law that has been respected; too bad prohibition isn't here to blame for troubles.
June 11	Con	Church leaders have the right to give instructions; LBD will affect our communities for better or for worse.
June 12	Pro	Tourists come because of scenery, not because we don't drink; let liquor be available for those who drink.
June 12	Con	Proud of Utah the way it is now.
	Pro	Read the proposed bill and think for yourself; it has controls, and revenues will pay for its enforcement.
June 15	Con	<u>Tribune</u> editorial criticized for telling only part of the story in the <u>Wall Street Journal</u> concerning traffic safety and alcohol.
	Pro	Tourists will go on to Wyoming or other states because they can get drinks easier.
June 16	Pro	Scriptures uphold the rights of people to drink.

TABLE XV (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of the Letter
June 16	Pro	Cannot wait for the legislature to do anything about liquor laws.
June 17	Pro	Opponents of LBD must be afraid of the issue going to the voting booth.
June 18	Pro	Opponents of LBD are illogical and emotional in their argument; most drinkers are good, solid citizens.
June 19	Con	Those fighting for LBD not condemned for doing so; why is Church condemned for fighting against it?
June 21	Con	Mormons have a right to be the ruling power in the state because they are the ones who have made it what it is.
June 22	Con	Opponents to LBD not desperate as claimed; proponents have booths open.
	Pro	Non-drinkers are being un-American in depriving others of the right to vote on LBD.
	Pro	The Baptist Pastor working against LBD is doing so as an individual and does not speak for the church.
June 23	Pro	LBD in Iowa has made it possible for Iowans to buy drinks in Iowa, whereas they previously went across state lines.
June 24	Pro	The LDS Church should not deprive others of doing what they want to do.
	Pro	Majority rule is the heart of democracy--LDS people should realize that even the Book of Mormon says this.
	Pro	Let's put the same restrictions on ice cream.
	Pro	LBD is now available in Utah to the "privileged" class--it should now be available to all who want it.
June 25	Pro	Let everyone drink as much or as little as they wish.

TABLE XV (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of the Letter
June 26	Con	Proposed law will not prevent minors from purchasing LBD; present laws should be enforced to the letter.
June 27	Con	Both Mormons and non-Mormons should listen to President McKay.
	Con	Cannot see one good, intelligent reason for liquor consumption.
	Con	<u>Tribune</u> censured for Dan Valentine column.
June 28	Con	Alcohol is a narcotic; let's have a third choice on the ballot--that of complete prohibition.
	Pro	Utah's absurd liquor laws need overhauling, and LBD is a good place to start; let's get it on the ballot.
	Pro	The tourist industry in Utah must have LBD to be successful; Utah needs tourism as a tax base.
	Pro	Criticizes subversive tactics of opponents; calls present laws ridiculous, archaic, and discriminatory.
	Con	<u>Tribune</u> and Dan Valentine criticized for printing a column which went beyond a "basic sense of honesty."
June 29	Pro	Mormons do not have a right to run Utah just because Mormon pioneers settled the state.
June 20	Pro	Signing the petition isn't the same as voting for LBD.
July 1	Pro	Thanks to Cache County voters for warm support of LBD leaders and petition.
	Pro	A right will have been taken away if Utah voters do not get the chance to vote upon the LBD issue.
	Con	Every idea presented to the state does not need to be voted upon by every citizen in order for the democratic processes to be fulfilled.

TABLE XV (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of the Letter
July 2	Pro	Opponents to the LBD issue are not realistic--we need LBD to attract hotel and motel chains, and to make present hotels profitable.
	Pro	The first step is to sign the petition so that it can get on the ballot; then we can make up our minds later.
	Con	Utah doesn't need a new liquor law, especially to attract tourists.
	Pro	Juveniles can get liquor any time now; Utah people are naive.
	Pro	New law would not corrupt Utahns.
July 3	Pro	Questions system of buying an entire bottle instead of one or two drinks; accuses Utahns of hypocrisy.
	Pro	Mormon Church is real loser in this issue because it tampered with the democratic process.

the bottom appeared, "Name withheld to protect other members of my family."

The next two were in the June 13 and June 16 editions, and primarily answered a previous letter which accused the Church and Utah of being thirty years behind the times. They were signed, "Proud to be a Utah citizen," and "I'm glad to be a Utahn."

The final one appeared on June 25 and was signed, "Chicago Charlie." It proposed unlimited drinking for everyone, including minors.

Table XVI lists chronologically the letters to the editor which appeared in the Deseret News, with a brief description of the letter and whether it supported or opposed LBD. Letters in the News which supported the News' bias were primarily centered around three basic themes: that liquor is evil and that it brings heartache, crime, highway accidents, and other social ills; that President McKay had a right to speak out, and that Utahns should do what he says because he cares for all of the people; and that the new law has serious flaws in it which would make it a poor liquor law. Supporters of LBD responded with letters saying that liquor is here to stay and that the new law will bring better controls; that President McKay preaches individual freedom and then interferes with the democratic processes in preventing a vote by all of the people; and that present laws are not enforceable and therefore we should give a new law a chance to work. All of the letters in the News were signed by individuals, and all except one of the fifty-five letters included an address with the signatures. In the Tribune, twenty-six of the sixty-five letters included an

TABLE XVI

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN
THE DESERET NEWS CONCERNING LIQUOR BY THE DRINK,
MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of Letter
May 8	Con	The reasons for any change in present laws should be well understood.
	Con	The liquor interests are probably behind the move.
May 9	Con	We already have liquor by the drink; let's improve controls.
May 15	Pro	Our present laws don't work; let's try a new one.
May 16	Con	Let's stop the growth of alcoholism by discouraging its cause; LBD will help it grow.
May 17	Con	We shouldn't predicate our future on the sale of liquor; we must build a good, clean image for Utah.
May 20	Con	Can't imagine any sane person wanting to make liquor more available to our youth.
May 21	Con	Liquor is evil; Utah doesn't need it for tourism.
	Pro	President McKay preaches individual freedom and then wants to restrict people from selling and buying LBD.
May 22	Con	Tourists will suffer with LBD because of traffic safety.
	Con	Alcohol brings lots of heartaches.
May 23	Con	Look at the victims of alcohol before you decide about LBD.
May 27	Pro	Compare the present law and the proposed law, and you will agree that the new law is better.
	Con	President McKay is right; let members of the Church use their free agency to oppose LBD.
	Con	Free agency includes doing what ought to be done; let's support President McKay and do what ought to be done.

TABLE XVI (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of Letter
May 28	Con	President McKay cares about everyone; alcoholics and those killed in traffic accidents have lost their free agency.
	Con	Laws keep us from stealing; present liquor law keeps us from being able to stop at a bar and get in trouble.
May 29	Con	President McKay has a right to speak out on the issue.
	Con	The defeat of the petition movement would mean a 9-1 vote against LBD.
May 30	Con	If there is an alternative bill on liquor, let's see it.
	Con	Tragedies increase where LBD is made legal.
May 31	Con	The proposed revisions of Utah's liquor laws would make alcohol more readily available and would increase crime.
	Con	President McKay was within his rights to speak out.
	Con	Utah is a Mormon state. Those who don't like it can go somewhere else.
June 3	Pro	The Church should not stand in the way of a public vote.
	Con	Liquor brings troubles.
June 4	Pro	Questions statement in <u>News</u> editorial that all petition-bearers get fees for each signature.
	Con	Gives statistics to refute statements made by LBD proponents involving alcohol consumption in Utah.
June 5	Con	Proposed new law is not fair to present beer taverns.
June 6	Pro	Let's replace illogical appeals with a reasonable approach to our liquor problems in Utah.
	Con	Let's follow the advice of our leaders and reject LBD.

TABLE XVI (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of Letter
June 7	Pro	Let's give the new law a fair try.
	Con	Those who drive on highways also want freedom.
	Pro	The LBD issue should be voted upon by everyone.
June 10	Con	The youth of today do not want to live under LBD tomorrow.
June 11	Con	A few extra dollars do not justify extra miseries; Iowa statistics clearly indicate that Utah does not need LBD.
	Con	Utah is a unique state--tourists don't expect LBD.
June 13	Con	Mormons peculiar--they want to protect their heritage.
June 17	Con	Proposed law will be harder to enforce than present law.
June 18	Con	Test of faith and loyalty; follow President McKay.
June 19	Con	71 per cent of the men and 39 per cent of the women killed in auto accidents in a recent California study were under the influence of alcohol.
	Con	Economic benefits not worth the price of lives; asks for one good intelligent reason for liquor consumption.
June 20	Pro	<u>Deseret News</u> has not confined its opinions to its editorial pages.
	Con	Tourists in Switzerland cannot buy liquor near super-highways and this doesn't seem to have hurt their tourist industry.
June 25	Con	Two tourists from Iowa give advice against LBD.
June 26	Con	Proposed bill is poor legislation, avoids legal processes.
	Con	Save money by setting up your own bar in your own home.

TABLE XVI (continued)

Date	Pro or Con	Primary Theme of Letter
June 28	Con	Alcohol is a narcotic; let's have a third choice on the ballot in November: complete prohibition of all narcotics.
	Pro	The <u>Deseret News</u> is not giving its readers an impartial look at a very vital issue; let's vote on LBD in November and settle the liquor issue once and for all.
July 1	Con	Real intent of LBD proponents is greed, selfishness.
	Con	Bartenders cannot be expected to limit consumption because they are in business to sell as much as they can.
July 2	Pro	Accuses Church of not having confidence in those who become members of the liquor commission, even though they will be appointed by a Mormon governor and confirmed by a Mormon legislature.
	Con	Tourists coming to Utah don't need LBD--they can get it in neighboring states.
July 3	Con	Defends <u>Deseret News</u> for its stand on LBD; recommends that those who need more liquor can visit nearby states.
July 4	Con	Two Texas tourists write to urge Utah to stay beautiful--without LBD.

address with the signatures.

In summary, the number of letters in each newspaper was heavily weighted in favor of the bias of the respective newspaper. In spite of this, however, the readers of each newspaper got more unbiased statements from opposing points of view through letters to the editor than from any other part of the newspaper.

IV. COMMENTS BY THE REGULAR COLUMNISTS OF THE TWO NEWSPAPERS

In its support of liquor by the drink, the Tribune used two of its regular columnists extensively in their regular columns. Dan Valentine and John Mooney on 26 different dates used 142.7 column inches in promoting LBD. The News also used two of its columnists, but each of the two was used only once during the campaign. The two together used only 24.3 column inches. See Table IV on page 30.

As mentioned previously, the Tribune placed a total of 178 items in its pages during the ten-week campaign. Of these 178 items, 26 (14.6 per cent) were contained in the regular columns of Mr. Valentine and Mr. Mooney. All of the comments in both newspapers were in support of the bias of the respective newspaper.

Table XVII is a chronological listing of the columnists' comments in the Tribune and the amount of space used. Perhaps the most controversial column appeared on June 18 when Mr. Valentine reprinted a letter which he claims to have received from a man in Salt Lake City who signed his name as a "Salt Laker and former World War II Major." The "writer" claimed that he liked the present liquor laws in Utah because they compared with the rules

TABLE XVII

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THE COMMENTS MADE BY COLUMNISTS
IN THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE CONCERNING LIQUOR BY THE DRINK,
MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Date	Columnist	Column Inches	Synopsis of Column, or the Exact Quote
May 19	Valentine	23.9	Mythical story about people who lived in the land of turnips. People ate turnips and got a warm glow inside. Some decided to just eat a slice of turnip, but some turnip-haters made them eat an entire turnip or none at all. The turnip-lovers petitioned, an election was held, and they won their case. But after they won, they found that eating slices legally was not nearly as much fun as eating them illegally. Many started eating water-melons, and carried them around in brown bags.
May 23	Valentine	22.6	A review of the turnip story, and quotations from letters "received" by Valentine, with his answers to these letters.
May 24	Valentine	2.7	"Even I think this is too far: a local ski group held a banquet the other evening. A local skier received an engraved invite with the letters 'BYOL' on the bottom (Bring Your Own Liquor). The local skier who received the invite is only 11 years old!" "I understand it is practically impossible to buy a packet of turnip seeds in the entire state of Utah these days!"
May 26	Mooney	1.3	"Suppose they rebuild Saltair and discover the only way it can survive is by sale of liquor by the drink."
May 27	Valentine	1.3	Story about a lady carrying petitions around in a brown bag.
May 28	Valentine	5.3	Story about a drinker who refused to sign the petition because he didn't want the doctor who made him stop drinking to be able to get liquor by the drink.

TABLE XVII (continued)

Date	Columnist	Column Inches	Synopsis of Column, or the Exact Quote
May 29	Valentine	1.3	"Remember what Confucious said many years ago: Just because a man signs a liquor-by-the-drink petition does not mean he is a drunkard or an alcoholic!"
May 30	Valentine	1.3	Paragraph about the man who signed the LBD petition by mistake, thinking it was to ban Idaho Potatoes in Utah.
June 3	Valentine	10.2	Various paragraphs about liquor statistics and stories.
June 5	Mooney	1.3	"I dread the day when all booze is eliminated in Utah--then we'll never be able to explain Utah drivers to strangers."
	Valentine	17.3	Story about a telephone conversation between Mr. Valentine and a woman nudist who insists that all alcoholic beverages are banned at nudist camps.
June 9	Mooney	1.3	"Sports competition has one advantage over the liquor petition hassle--we expect to see the opposition 'homed' in athletics, but we never want to see the visitors beaten without a chance to play the game."
	Valentine	1.3	"If the State Legislature is allowed to write a liquor law, we'll all wind up drinking 3.2 martinis!"
June 10	Valentine	2.0	Paragraph about the brown paper bag shortage in Cuba.
June 13	Valentine	1.3	Paragraph about the man who signed the LBD petition by mistake, thinking it was to ban the sale of milk on Sundays.
June 14	Mooney	2.6	"As the liquor question becomes more vital, will 'Ten Nights in a Bar Room' be shifted from Park City to Salt Lake for the Days of '47 celebration?"

TABLE XVII (continued)

Date	Columnist	Column Inches	Synopsis of Column, or the Exact Quote
June 16	Valentine	1.3	"Gee, I wonder if 'Dan' and 'Elaine' have signed the liquor-by-the-drink petition? Or aren't they eligible?"
	Mooney	1.3	"Funny thing, but the people who speak the most profoundest about the evil of drink--never have had a drink, nor have they been in a place where booze was dispensed."
June 17	Valentine	1.3	"Hot Chocolate is a more dangerous drink than whiskey--if you're drinking it and driving a car at 110 miles an hour!"
June 18	Valentine	23.3	Mr. Valentine reprints a letter which he said he received from a man who signed his name as a "Salt Laker and former World War II Major." The letter stated that he favored continuing the present laws because it gave the "upper class" or "officers" the right to liquor by the drink (through private clubs) and denied it to the "enlisted men" and common people. He said this system worked well in the Army where officers could go to their own bars for alcoholic drinks, while beer was good enough for the enlisted men.
June 20	Mooney	1.9	"I always subscribed to majority rule, but I thought this applied AFTER the election INSTEAD of the election."
June 21	Valentine	1.3	"I know a Salt Laker who is such a fanatic that he's signed three affidavits to remove his name from the liquor-by-the-drink petition--and he hasn't even signed it."
June 22	Mooney	9.8	Mr. Mooney answers two readers who had written him suggesting that he stick with sports and leave the liquor question to the city desk.

TABLE XVII (continued)

Date	Columnist	Column Inches	Synopsis of Column or the Exact Quote
June 28	Mooney	2.0	"Utah may not be behind the times, but what other state offers a 'Wets vs. Drys' battle for the long hot summer excitement?"
June 30	Mooney	1.5	"Open Champ Lee Trevino can use a bottle instead of golf clubs and win bets, but remember, in Utah this bottle must be in a brown paper bag."
July 3	Mooney	2.0	"There's been so much said about liquor by the drink, you'd think we were voting on the '5th Amendment'."

in the Army where officers were privileged to drink liquor by the drink and the enlisted men were not. One reader wrote that ". . . to stoop to such cheap and tawdry tactics as to print the kind of divisive, anti-social tripe as contained in the purported letter is beneath the dignity of a responsible journalist (and newspaper). He has performed a great disservice to this community."¹

The News ran a column in its Church News Section on June 8 by Jack Jarrard which quoted verbatim a story about a man charged with murder. In his defense, he said that all must share the blame with him because all had voted to restore saloons to the town, and that saloons had led to his downfall. The other comment by a News columnist was by Harry Jones on June 19: "One bad thing about liquor by the drink--every city block will become 'double-jointed.'"

In summary, the columnists of the Tribune used their columns to promote the bias of the newspaper to a much greater extent than did the columnists of the News (26 different items against 2). Of the eight Sundays of the campaign, Tribune columnists used five for comments.

V. PAID ADVERTISING

The most notable fact about the paid advertising during the liquor-by-the-drink battle is that there was so little of it. Only five advertisements were run during the entire ten weeks of the campaign, 3 in the Tribune totaling 246 column inches, and 2 in the News totaling 156 inches. These are shown in Table IV on page 30.

Those opposing LBD inserted an advertisement in both the

¹Salt Lake Tribune, June 27, 1968.

Tribune and the News on June 4. The advertisement contained a total of forty-eight column inches in each newspaper, and was headed: "Will You Join Us in Helping Build a Better Utah, Oppose Liquor-by-the-Drink." It appealed for volunteer workers and for financial contributions and was signed by members of the committee opposing LBD. Both newspapers placed the advertisement on inside pages in their main news sections.

Those supporting LBD placed their only advertisement in both newspapers on June 15. Its size was 108 column inches, and was headed, "The Real Issue is not Liquor-by-the-Drink. The Real Issue is Will You Be Allowed to Vote?" It reviewed the need for 40,000 notarized signatures, listed the locations of booths where the petition could be signed, appealed for financial contributions, and was signed by members of the committee supporting the issue. The Tribune placed the advertisement on the back page of its local section; the News on an inside page of its main news section.

The final advertisement was placed only in the Tribune, and was sponsored by those opposing liquor by the drink. Ninety inches in size, it was headed, "Is This the Kind of Liquor Law You Want in Utah?" It quoted eight attorneys who raised specific questions about the proposed law, urged readers to study the proposal and recognize its dangers before signing the petition. It was signed by 124 attorneys from throughout the state.

In summary, three advertisements were placed in the Tribune (one for LBD and two against it), and two in the News (one for and one against). It would normally be expected that sponsors of the two differing viewpoints would require much more paid advertising

space to get their messages to the reading public. In this campaign, however, two major newspapers in the state were involved so deeply in the issues that sponsors probably felt they were getting their messages to the public in other parts of the newspapers.

VI. THE SUNDAY EDITIONS OF THE TRIBUNE

As mentioned on page 16, the Tribune and the News jointly organized the Newspaper Agency Corporation in 1952, thus combining their circulation, advertising, and printing functions. Their editorial functions, however, were to remain independent.

Prior to the organization of the new corporation, the News had been publishing a Sunday newspaper for morning distribution along with its regular six-evenings-a-week schedule. The Salt Lake Telegram, owned by the publishers of the Tribune, also published six evenings a week but did not publish a Sunday edition. As a part of the organization of the Newspaper Agency Corporation, the News purchased the Salt Lake Telegram (thus eliminating its evening competition), and abandoned its Sunday morning edition (thus eliminating the Tribune's Sunday morning competition). Subscribers to the Deseret News were allowed to take the Sunday edition of the Tribune and include it in their subscription price, and the News delivery boy would deliver it as he would have delivered the Sunday edition of the News.

Because of this arrangement, many subscribers to the Deseret News receive the Sunday edition of the Tribune. In other words, the Sunday Tribune serves both publics. Therefore, shouldn't its treatment of the issue (or any other issue of public concern)

normally be more impartial than other editions of the Tribune, particularly when the issue is editorially supported on opposite sides by the two dailies? This section reviews the treatment of the liquor-by-the-drink issue in the Tribune's Sunday editions.

The Tribune ran 835.8 column inches of space on Sundays (29.4 per cent of its total space in the campaign). It ran 32 items on Sundays (18 per cent of its total of 178 items in the campaign).

Table XVIII indicates that of the 32 items run in the Sunday Tribune, 28 of them (87.5 per cent) supported the Tribune's stand on LBD, 3 were neutral (9.4 per cent), and only 1 was contrary to the Tribune's bias. The total amount of space used is also summarized in Table XVIII and the support or opposition to the LBD issue ran about the same percentages: 85.8 per cent in favor of LBD, 1.6 per cent opposed to it, and 12.6 per cent neutral.

The Church announced its opposition to LBD on May 10, and the Tribune carried the announcement in its news columns on Sunday, May 12. From that date until the end of the campaign, however, the editors of the Tribune placed only pro-LBD items in its pages except for two "neutral" articles--one announcing a television debate, and the other a prepared statement by each side.

It would be expected that the editorials would support the Tribune's point of view, and that the newspaper's columnists might also be totally committed to the support of LBD. However, all of the letters to the editor in the Sunday Tribune were also in favor of LBD, and 13 out of the 17 news articles supported it.

Readers of the Sunday Tribune had only three opportunities during the ten weeks of the campaign to read statements opposing

TABLE XVIII

A SUMMARY OF THE TYPES OF ARTICLES AND THEIR SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO LIQUOR BY THE DRINK
 RUN IN THE SUNDAY EDITIONS OF THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE, MAY 1--JULY 5, 1968

Type of Article	Number of Articles							Column Inches Used						
	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total	Pro	Per Cent	Con	Per Cent	Neutral	Per Cent	Total
News	13	76.5	1	5.9	3	17.6	17	592.4	83.4	13.0	1.8	105.3	14.8	710.7
Editorials	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	2	44.6	100.0	0	0	0	0	44.6
Letters/Editor	6	100.0	0	0	0	0	6	48.6	100.0	0	0	0	0	48.6
Columnists	7	100.0	0	0	0	0	7	31.9	100.0	0	0	0	0	31.9
Totals	28	87.5	1	3.1	3	9.4	32	717.5	85.8	13.0	1.6	105.3	12.6	835.8

liquor by the drink: on May 12 when quotations from Church President David O. McKay were printed in the news story announcing the Church's opposition; on June 9 when Henry Nygaard served as spokesman for the opposition in a Tribune article giving equal space to both sides; and on June 23 when opponents purchased space for an advertisement.

In summary, the Tribune's 32 articles on Sunday were about the right proportion of its total articles it ran during the campaign, but the space devoted to LBD on Sundays was heavy (29.4 per cent of the total LBD space was run on Sundays). The fact that 87.5 per cent of all items (28 out of 32) supported the Tribune bias, however, gave its readers little opportunity to weigh both sides of the issue.

In the ten-week campaign, only 176.6 column inches of space in the Tribune could be considered in opposition to LBD, most of this in letters to the editor, and of this total only 7.4 per cent appeared in the Sunday editions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to compare the handling of the liquor-by-the-drink issue in the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News, and to evaluate the performance of these two newspapers in comparison with the standards and ethics of the journalism profession.

To do this, this chapter will review standards of excellence and codes of ethics which have been established for newspapers by professional journalism organizations, by some newspapers themselves, and by notable leaders in the communications field. It will then summarize the content analysis made of the two newspapers in the handling of the campaign to get signatures on the liquor-by-the-drink petitions, and compare it with the standards of the profession discussed above. Finally, the conclusions of the study will be outlined.

I. THE STANDARDS OF THE PROFESSION

The independence and freedom of the press in the history of the United States are accepted traditions in the American heritage. Individual newspapers over the years have attempted to put into writing the rules of their own organizations or staffs, but these were in most cases nothing more than office rules or the ideas of

individual editors toward the responsibilities of specific newspapers. But as the press grew, and as more and more qualified men entered the journalistic field, a growing feeling of responsibility seemed to balance the traditions of freedom and independence. By 1910 the Kansas Editorial Association had become the first such organization to adopt a code of ethics for the guidance of its members.¹ Many other organizations, newspapers, and leaders in the journalism profession have since that time put into writing the standards of ethics and responsibility which should govern those in the field.

Codes of Ethics Established by Leading Professional Organizations

Gerald Gross, writing on "The Responsibility of the Press," discusses codes of ethics as follows:

A code of ethics is a kind of public "diary of conscience," a written record of the character of the profession. Like an individual's character, it is formed by the subtle and not-so-subtle pressures of governmental influence, personal integrity and societal demands. The code of ethics, then, is the sum total, or aggregate public statement, of that profession's sense of responsibility.

Many will claim that in some instances the standards have not been set high enough; in others too high to meet the realistic demands of the marketplace. There will always be criticism, of course; but the fact that codes of ethics are formulated at all indicate a basic premise of moral commitment to professional conscience and public good.²

The first step toward the formulation of codes and professional standards was a widespread appreciation of the need of such standards, and the second step was the formulation of such codes

¹Leon Nelson Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1925), p.281.

²Gerald Gross, The Responsibility of the Press (New York: Fleet Publishing Co., 1966), pp.362-3.

by regional groups of editors and publishers.³

As to the need for professional standards, Charles Beard, a noted American historian, speaking at the 1938 St. Louis Post-Dispatch Symposium on Freedom of the Press, said that freedom of the press a hundred years ago meant "the right to be just or unjust, partisan or nonpartisan, true or false, in news columns and editorial columns."⁴ Many journalists look upon the nineteenth century as the high point of press freedom in this country, but Frank Luther Mott has called part of that period "the Dark Ages of Partisan Journalism."⁵ Flint quotes Henry Watterson in the Louisville Courier-Journal in 1900:

Journalism is without any code of ethics or system of self-restraint and self-respect. It has no sure standards of either work or duty. The journalist has few, if any, mental perspectives to fix his horizon; neither chart of precedent nor map of discovery upon which his travel lines have been marked.⁶

Criticism against the American press started early in the twentieth century, following the publication of a series of articles by Will Irwin in Collier's in 1911, which argued that the influence of the newspaper had shifted from the editorials to the news columns. Later came Upton Sinclair's Brass Check in 1919, George Seldes' Freedom of the Press in 1935, and Seldes' newsletter, In

³Flint, op.cit., p.385.

⁴Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication (New York: Harper's, 1957), pp.88-9.

⁵Frank L. Mott, American Journalism (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p.167.

⁶Flint, loc.cit.

Fact, published during the 1940s.⁷

Theodore B. Peterson summed up these early criticisms as follows:

1. The press has wielded its enormous power for its own ends. The owners have propagated their own opinions, especially in matters of politics and economics, at the expense of opposing views.
2. The press has been subservient to big business and at times has let advertisers control editorial policies and editorial content.
3. The press has resisted social change.
4. The press has often paid more attention to the superficial and sensational in its coverage of current happenings, and its entertainment has often been lacking in substance.
5. The press has endangered public morals.
6. The press has invaded the privacy of individuals without just cause.
7. The press is controlled by one socio-economic class, loosely the "business class," and access to the industry is difficult for the newcomer; therefore, the free and open market of ideas is endangered.⁸

Joseph Pulitzer, who was in 1904 one of the most prosperous and most influential of newspaper publishers, said that "nothing less than . . . a sincere sense of moral responsibility will save journalism from a subservience to business interests, seeking selfish ends, antagonistic to public welfare."⁹

Journalism as a "profession" thus began to emerge from criticisms from within the ranks of journalism itself, as more and more

⁷Schramm, op.cit., pp.87-8.

⁸Fred S. Siebert, Theodore B. Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1956), pp.78-9.

⁹Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," North American Review, Vol. 178 (May, 1904), p.642.

editors championed the causes of fairness, impartiality, and responsibility. A new concept combining the traditions of freedom with the obligations of responsibility began to take shape. Wilbur Schramm called it the "Social Responsibility" theory, and Theodore Peterson has come out with this description of the new concept:

Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under the Constitution, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communications in contemporary society. To the extent that the press recognizes its responsibilities and makes them the basis of its operational policies, the libertarian system will satisfy the needs of society. To the extent that the press does not assume its responsibilities, some other agency must see that the essential functions of mass communications are carried out.¹⁰

Compare this statement with one attributed to William Peter Hamilton, of the Wall Street Journal, and it can be seen how far the sense of "professionalism" and responsibility has come:

A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk.¹¹

As the number of journalists grew, and as self-criticism (and public criticism) suggested a greater sense of responsibility, a feeling of "professionalism" seemed to be awakening among the newspapermen of the nation. As newspapers began publishing creeds and standards of conduct, journalists were holding meetings to exchange ideas on a regional and even a national basis.

It was only natural that professional standards would be discussed. As mentioned earlier, the Kansas Editorial Association

¹⁰Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, op.cit., p.74.

¹¹Ibid., p.73.

adopted a code of ethics for its members in 1910. Other state and regional associations followed, but it was not until 1923 that the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted its Code of Ethics (or "Canons of Journalism"). These were reaffirmed in 1938. The following sections of the Code are applicable to the present study:

Responsibility.--The right of a newspaper to attract and hold readers is restricted by nothing but consideration of public welfare. The use of a newspaper makes of the share of public attention it gains serves to determine its sense of responsibility which it shares with every member of its staff. A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unworthy purpose is faithless to a high trust.

Independence.--Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital.

1. Promotion of any private interest contrary to the general welfare, for whatever reason, is not compatible with honest journalism. So-called news communications from private sources should not be published without public notice of their source or else substantiation of their claims to value as news, both in form and substance.

2. Partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth does violence to the best spirit of American journalism; in the news columns it is subversive of a fundamental principle of the profession.

Sincerity, Truthfulness, Accuracy.--Good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name.

1. By every consideration of good faith a newspaper is constrained to be truthful. It is not to be excused for lack of thoroughness or accuracy within its control or failure to obtain command of these essential qualities.

2. Headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles which they surmount.

Impartiality.--Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expression of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.

1. This rule does not apply to so-called special articles unmistakably devoted to advocacy or characterized by a signature authorizing the writer's own conclusions

and interpretations.¹²

The American Newspaper Guild, made up of writers and reporters and excluding from its membership management and supervisory personnel, was organized in 1933.¹³ It adopted a code of ethics as a basic policy in 1934. The applicable sections relating to this study are:

1. That the newspaperman's first duty is to give the public accurate and unbiased news reports, and that he be guided in his contacts with the public by a decent respect for the rights of individuals and groups.

.....

4. That the Guild should work through efforts of its members or by agreement with editors and publishers to curb the suppression of legitimate news concerning "Privileged" persons or groups, including advertisers, commercial powers, and friends of newspapermen.

.....

6. That the news shall be edited exclusively in the editorial rooms instead of in the business offices of the daily newspaper.

The Guild's committee on ethics also urged the condemnation of certain practices "as being harmful to the public interest," and these were included in the code. The pertinent sections include:

1. The carrying of publicity in the news columns in the guise of news matter.

2. The current practice of requiring the procuring or writing of stories which newspapermen know are false or misleading, and which work oppression or wrong to persons or groups.¹⁴

¹²Committee on Modern Journalism, Siegfried Mandel (Advisory Editor), Modern Journalism (New York: Pitman Corporation, 1962), pp.547-8.

¹³George L. Bird and Frederick E. Merwin, The Newspaper and Society (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942), p.560.

¹⁴Ibid., pp.566-7.

A third code adopted on a national basis was adopted in 1962 by the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. Called "Criteria of a Good Newspaper," the following excerpts are applicable to this study:

A good newspaper prints the important news and provides the information, comment, and guidance that is most useful to its readers.

It reports fully and explains the meaning of local, national, and international events which are of major significance in its own community. Its editorial comment provides an informed opinion on matters of vital concern to its readers.

By reflecting the total image of its own community in its news coverage and by providing wise counsel in its editorials, a good newspaper becomes a public conscience. . . .

Finally, a good newspaper should be guided in the publication of all material by a concern for truth, the hallmark of freedom, by a concern for human decency and human betterment, and by a respect for the accepted standards of its own community.

A good newspaper may judge its own performance--and be judged--by the criteria that follow.

Integrity--The newspaper shall:

Maintain vigorous standards of honesty and fair play in the selection and editing of its content as well as in all relations with news sources and the public.

Deal dispassionately with controversial subjects and treat disputed issues with impartiality.

Practice humility and tolerance in the face of honest conflicting opinions or disagreements.

Provide a forum for the exchange of pertinent comments and criticism, especially if it is in conflict with the newspaper's editorial point of view.

Label its own editorial views or expressions of opinion.

Accuracy--The newspaper shall:

Exert maximum effort to print the truth in all news situations.

Strive for completeness and objectivity.

Guard against carelessness, bias, or distortion by either emphasis or omission.

Responsibility--The newspaper shall:

Use mature and considered judgment in the public interest at all times.

Select, edit, and display news on the basis of its sig-

nificance and its genuine usefulness to the public. . . .

Clearly define sources of news, and tell the reader when competent sources cannot be identified. . . .

Leadership--The Newspaper shall:

Act with courage in serving the public.

Stimulate and vigorously support public officials, private groups, and individuals in crusades and campaigns to increase the good works and eliminate the bad in the community.

Help to protect all rights and privileges guaranteed by law. . . .

Oppose demagogues and other selfish and unwholesome interests regardless of their size or influence.¹⁵

In summary, the men and women who work in the field of journalism and communications have gradually come to consider their work as a profession, and have banded together in associations to set up certain standards of their profession. Excerpts from three of these codes of ethics have been quoted here, all of which point out the responsibility of the press to be independent, accurate, truthful, impartial, and responsible in its service to the public.

Codes of Ethics Established by Individual Newspapers

In addition to codes of ethics being established by state, regional and national professional organizations, many newspapers have adopted for themselves a written code by which they operate. These range from the large metropolitan dailies to small rural weeklies. For example, the stockholders of the small Park Ridge Echo, at Alexandria, Minnesota, met in the early 1950s to adopt a declaration of aims, which read in part: "To begin with, we must

¹⁵Victor Hackler (Ed.), "Criteria of a Good Newspaper," APME Red Book 1962, An Account of the Annual Convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association and Reports of the APME Continuing Studies Committees (New York, New York: The Associated Press, 1962), pp.127-9.

realize that a truly great newspaper must be greater than any one of, or the combined consciences of its editors, in that, when it speaks, its words are of someone far wiser, far more reasonable, far more fair, far more compassionate, far more understanding, and far more honest than those men, crippled by human weaknesses and failings, whose task it is to write those words."¹⁶

It is not intended in this report to provide a comprehensive report concerning such newspapers' codes, but to show that where such codes exist there is a common understanding concerning truth, fairness, impartiality, and accuracy. The following excerpts from various codes are representative of these responsibilities:¹⁷

Philadelphia Public Ledger

Always deal fairly and frankly with the public.

A newspaper to be trusted and respected must give trustworthy information and counsel. It is a serious thing to mislead the people.

Brooklyn Eagle

Be fair. The Eagle wants to make friends, not enemies. Don't suppress any part of the truth for fear of spoiling a good story.

Get both sides. Don't let anyone use the Eagle to vent a grudge.

Beware of your own prejudices. Your personal likes or dislikes have no place in a news story. If you feel strongly on some subject, try your hand at an editorial or write a letter for the Forum page. But keep your news reports free from editorial comment.

The Christian Science Monitor

News, not opinions. The news columns are for news;

¹⁶Schramm, op.cit., p.89.

¹⁷All codes quoted are printed in full in Flint, op.cit., pp.446-58.

not for opinions except as these are reported as news. Attempts on the part of the reporters or correspondents to usurp the editor's functions and pass judgment upon the merits of propositions should be suppressed, no matter how big a hole the omission makes in the story.

Heads. Headlines must be an index to the story, not a characterization of it; descriptive, not opinionated; concrete, not abstract; and alliteration, clap-trap, and sensationalism are prohibited.

Springfield Republican

It is the function of an honest newspaper to print the news without fear or favor.

Detroit News

The paper should be fearless, but fair.

The paper should be accurate as far as human effort can obtain accuracy.

We should work to have the word reliable [italics in the original] stamped over every page in the paper.

The most valuable asset of any paper is its reputation for telling the truth; the only way to have that reputation is to tell the truth.

The Hearst Papers

Be fair and impartial. Don't make a paper for the Democrats or Republicans . . . make a paper for all the people and give unbiased news of all creeds and parties. Try to do this in such a conspicuous manner that it will be noticed and commented upon.

Dayton Journal

This newspaper must first of all be clean, it must be fair, it must be honest and without malice in its opinions and expressions, and it must at all times devote itself unflinchingly and fearlessly to the public service in the interest of the masses of the people.

Sacramento Bee

The Bee demands from all its writers accuracy before anything else.

Equally with that, it demands absolute fairness in the treatment of news. Reports must not be colored to please a friend or wrong an enemy.

Don't editorialize in the news columns. An accurate report is its own best editorial.

Tampa Times

In all of which meriting, as individuals, the respect of our associates and the public by fairness to our enemies, cleanness in our purposes and unswerving honesty every minute of every hour.

Marion Star

Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

Be truthful. Get the facts.

Be decent. Be fair. Be generous.

In reporting a political gathering, give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike. If there are politics to be played, we will play them in our editorial columns.

It is recognized that not every newspaper has put into writing a code of ethics or a set of instructions to its writers and editors. But the attributes of fairness, impartiality, truthfulness, and accuracy are usually found in those newspapers that have such written instructions, and these are the same attributes found in professional codes.

Comments by Leaders in Journalism Concerning Ethics

A third source from which standards and ethics can be determined are journalists themselves--editors, publishers, newsmen, and those who teach journalism classes in colleges and universities.

Many of these leaders in the profession have spoken out concerning the practices and the experiences of their colleagues. Here again, it is not the intent of this study to be comprehensive in reviewing this subject, but merely to note that many individual leaders in the field see the responsibilities of the press in the

same way as do professional organizations and as do many individual newspapers.

One of the first codes to become widely known was "The Journalist's Creed" written by Walter Williams, for many years dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri. Following are excerpts from this Creed:

I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of lesser service than the public service is betrayal of that trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy, and fairness are fundamental in good journalism.

I believe that suppression of the news, for any consideration other than the welfare of society, is indefensible.¹⁸

Another quote from the Committee on Modern Journalism, which edited Modern Journalism:

Clearly, every news reporter and all the news media are primarily obligated to their readers. As was suggested earlier, these obligations are to the readers as a group, not to small segments. In this broad sense, a newsman has the obligation to report fairly and honestly all the news which he believes the readers should read and most of the news which he believes the readers want to read.¹⁹

And from the summary of the chapter on ethics in journalism from the same book:

The news media serve a vital function in a democracy--that of providing information on the basis of which citizens make the decisions necessary for governing themselves. The nature of this function in itself underlies the journalists' code of ethics--fair, honest, and equal treatment for all.²⁰

¹⁸Mandel, op.cit., p.546.

¹⁹Ibid., p.558.

²⁰Ibid., p.559.

Edmund W. Booth, editor and publisher of the Grand Rapids Press during the early part of the century, presented a "preamble" to codes:

The daily newspaper in America, being the publication most generally read by all classes of people and being by common consent a public servant, having abilities for promoting the interests of government and of the public welfare, it therefore becomes a matter of honor and of duty that editors and reporters, as well as publishers, shall strive at all times for the freedom of the press, themselves kept free from all interests or alliances tending to hamper free expression, shall seek for truth and accuracy in all published statements and shall contend for fairness and for justice toward all individuals, interests, or issues dealt with in the newspaper column.²¹

Leon Nelson Flint, in his Conscience of the Newspaper, written while he was professor of journalism at the University of Kansas in 1925, said:

Occasionally an editor seems to feel that his newspaper is his own property to do with as he sees fit; to use in spreading such propaganda as suits his views; to serve as a medium for such half-truths and garbled facts as he decides the public shall have. . . .

Impartiality and fairness plead for recognition in all the relations of a newspaper to the public. We have found them to be involved in questions of suppression of news, distortion by selection or emphasis or editorial color, and newspaper independence.²²

Another quote by Mr. Flint:

Formal assent to a code by one entering journalism is nowhere required, but an informal acceptance is taken for granted.²³

Wilbur Schramm talks about the new "social responsibility" theory of the press, and what it demands of the media:

²¹Flint, op.cit., p.460.

²²Ibid., p.152. ²³Ibid., p.281.

Essentially it demands a combination of responsibility and freedom. More specifically, it demands that the media be accurate and full in their reports on environment; that they express adequately and fairly the conflicting views on public questions; that they entertain us with decency and taste, and give us an adequately balanced service; and that they keep themselves free from pressures, restrictions, or allegiances that might detract from the fairness, balance, and reality of their content.²⁴

Theodore Peterson, Dean of the College of Journalism and Communications at the University of Illinois, sums up the purposes behind the various codes as follows:

By the very fact of adopting these codes, the media have linked freedom with responsibility . . . every one of the codes explicitly acknowledges the media's duty to perform in the public interest. . . .²⁵

Roy A. Roberts, President of the Kansas City Star, in delivering the seventh annual William Allen White Memorial Lecture in 1956 said: "Likewise freedom of the press encompasses responsibility of newspapers. The two are indivisible."²⁶

And one year earlier at the annual lecture, Norman E. Isaacs, Vice-President and Executive Editor of the Louisville (Kentucky) Times, told his audience of ten attributes which make a good newspaper. Here are three of those attributes:

First of all, it's an honest one. It prints the news without playing sides. It tells what happened as objectively as it knows how.

.....

Eighth, it's a newspaper which leads, not follows. It takes the high road of public service. It doesn't act as the organ of the Chamber of Commerce or the merchants, or the labor unions, or the country club, or the politicians. It leads in its editorial expressions, in the interests of all the people.

²⁴Schramm, op.cit., p.103.

²⁵Gross, op.cit., p.42. ²⁶Ibid., p.87.

.....

And tenth, and most important, it's a newspaper with a conscience. It's a newspaper dedicated to the service of the reader, of the community, of the state, and of the nation. It has principles, ethics, and morals. . . .²⁷

Mr. Clifton Daniel, Managing Editor of the New York Times,
said in 1960:

The press in this country has been called the "fourth branch of government." Its importance to the structure of our democracy is certified in the Constitution. In fact, there would be no democracy without a free press. . . . These facts impose a peculiar responsibility on the journalist. It is a responsibility, not to his employer, not to a particular paper, not to a particular point of view, but to the public and to his own conception of the obligations of his profession.²⁸

Later on in his summary of his remarks, Mr. Daniel reviewed the primary responsibility of the reporter and editor in our democracy:

To serve the public--not the profession of journalism, not a particular newspaper, not a political party, not the government, but the public.

To put information in the hands of people who must be their own rulers.

To make that the supreme obligation of their lives.²⁹

Professional journalists, therefore, agree as individuals with the organizations, associations, and newspapers that freedom of the press carries with it the responsibilities of serving the public, of being fair, of being impartial, of being accurate, and of being honest.

In summary, there are codes of ethics and standards of conduct which have been more or less agreed upon by those in the journalism profession. As Leon Flint said in an earlier quote in

²⁷Ibid., pp.143-4. ²⁸Ibid., p.150. ²⁹Ibid., p.156.

this chapter, "Formal assent to a code by one entering journalism is nowhere required, but an informal acceptance is taken for granted." In other words, a person entering the profession of journalism automatically accepts the standards of the profession. He accepts, in a sense, a public trust.

In reviewing the "Canons of Journalism" set forth by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the "Criteria of a Good Newspaper" outlined by the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the "Code of Ethics" of the American Newspaper Guild, codes of ethics by various newspapers, and statements by leading professional journalists, the following five points appear to be agreed upon as standards of conduct for the profession (as they pertain to this study):

1. Newspapers have a responsibility to the public, and should balance rights of freedom with public service.
2. Newspapers should use news columns for news and editorial columns for opinions.
3. Newspapers should serve the entire public and not segments of it.
4. Newspapers should be accurate and truthful, and should maintain good faith with their readers.
5. Newspapers should be fair and impartial, and should not suppress news or information which is opposite to their own views. Both sides of a public issue should be reported so that the public can make decisions in governing themselves.

II. A COMPARISON OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TWO SALT LAKE CITY NEWSPAPERS WITH THE STANDARDS OF THE JOURNALISM PROFESSION

It is assumed from the above review of standards that newspapers and journalists have a responsibility to present issues fairly and accurately to all of their publics. This selection of the study will take each of the five standards outlined above, and will compare the activities of the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News (in the handling of the liquor-by-the-drink issue) with these standards.

1. Newspapers have a responsibility to the public, and should balance rights of freedom with public service

As a conveyor of news and opinion, a newspaper has a responsibility to report items of public interest. It should provide whatever space is necessary to give this service to the public. In this regard, it should be noted that both the Tribune and the News devoted sufficient space to the LBD issue. They brought an awareness of the importance of the issue to the public.

The codes agree that freedom of the press carries with it an obligation of responsibility. Whether or not the Tribune and the News could be considered responsible (in the sense that they felt a responsibility to all of the people of the state) will be discussed in following sections of this study.

2. Newspapers should use news columns for news, and editorial columns for opinions

Journalism professionals generally agree that official positions of newspapers on public issues should be stated in editorial

columns, and that the news columns should report the news as objectively as possible.

In the LBD issue, both the Tribune and the News made their positions known in their editorial columns. The Tribune used 4.7 per cent of its total space on the issue in editorials, while the News used 20.1 per cent of its LBD space on editorials. All of the editorials in both newspapers supported the official position of the respective newspaper. In keeping with the standards of the profession, this is a part of the freedom of the press which is an inherent right of every newspaper--the right to express its opinions in editorials.

The opinions expressed in the news columns of the Tribune and the News on the LBD issue were usually quotations from those who supported the bias of the respective newspaper. It has been noted, however, that 77.7 per cent of all the news stories in the Tribune were in support of that newspaper's bias, and 69.1 per cent of all of the News' news stories supported the News' bias. It was obvious that both newspapers directed their reporting activities toward their own editorial opinion, because only two stories appeared in the news columns of each newspaper which could be considered as being opposite to their point of view. In the Tribune only 19.6 per cent of its stories were neutral, and in the News only 27.3 per cent were neutral. However, by using the technique of quoting the opinions of others (even though those opinions reflected their own views), the two newspapers avoided the appearance of editorial positions in the news columns.

Another technique employed by the Tribune to utilize its news columns in supporting its point of view was assigning one of its veteran reporters to write a series of articles on liquor by the drink. In an "editor's note" at the beginning of the first article of the series, the Tribune stated: "Following is an analysis of the political realities surrounding the proposed revision of Utah liquor laws as viewed by O. N. Malmquist, the Tribune's former political editor who has reported on Utah's legislative sessions for more than thirty-five years."³⁰ All five articles, including three on LBD laws in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, were obviously favoring the proposed law in Utah. The headlines tell the slant: "Liquor Proposal's Tough--It Had To Be," "Utah Liquor Law History Since Statehood Retraced," "Oregon Finds Its Liquor by Drink Law Effective," "Idaho Liquor Law 'Superior' to Old Locker System," and "Liquor Law Spurs Washington's Economy." Newspapers often assign reporters to cover a particular issue by writing a series of articles on the subject. The only question raised in this particular case is whether or not Mr. Malmquist should have covered both sides of the issue rather than only the side supported by the Tribune.

The codes in some cases have warned against headlines which do not reflect the intent of the story, or which in themselves might be biased toward a particular point of view. Both newspapers were guilty of this, although as can be seen in Tables VIII and IX on pages 44-48 and 52-54, respectively, the Tribune's headlines

³⁰Salt Lake Tribune, May 29, 1968, p.B-1.

were more direct in their opinions or instructions. For example, such Tribune headlines as "Sign Liquor Issue This Week--Beat Last-Minute Rush," "Liquor Petition Moves Briskly in Homestretch," "By-Drink Sign-Up Crucial," and "Speed Essential--This Weekend--For Drink Petitions," all seem to be giving instructions to readers. Some News headlines would also raise professional eyebrows: "Pitfalls in Local Option," "Pointed Query For By-Drink Backers," "Remove Name? See Notaries," and "Anti-Drink Notary Lists Expanding." For the most part, however, News headlines were less inclined to be biased than were Tribune headlines.

The Tribune printed the full text of the proposed law on Sunday, June 16, in six-point type. Boxed in the center was a "synopsis" by Tribune editors, which included a generous sprinkling of bold-face type and capital letters to highlight the points which seemed most important to the Tribune staff. The "synopsis" was in a larger size of type than was the reprint of the entire law. Evidently the editors of the News felt that the Tribune "synopsis" was slanted because they followed up the next day with their own "editorialized" news column which started out by saying:

The Sunday Salt Lake Tribune, which goes to Deseret News weekday subscribers as well as to Tribune subscribers, published the full text of the proposed liquor-by-the-drink law, along with a commentary praising the bill's provisions. This Tribune commentary told only one side of the story: the proponents' side. So that its readers may know the whole story regarding the proposal, the Deseret News publishes this commentary on its provisions.³¹

The story then went on to refute many of the comments by the Tribune, and added many opinions as to what the proposed law would

³¹Deseret News, June 17, 1968, p.B-1.

and would not do. Although many examples could be cited, one example shows the general trend of the two newspapers toward opposite ends of the issue: In its "synopsis," the Tribune headed one of its sections with the phrase, "Establishes Basis for Legal Control," and then summarized under this heading the provisions of the bill which would support the enforcement of provisions of the bill; the News, in its commentary, headed a section, "Provides Basis for Evasion of Legal Control," and then listed under this heading the weaknesses of the bill which the News felt were unsound.

Another example of expressing opinion in the news columns is a word now and then dropped into a news story. As mentioned previously, both newspapers quoted extensively the leaders of the two groups, probably leaving it to these spokesmen to say the things in news stories which the newspapers could not say for themselves. Quoting such leaders would be good if both sides were quoted in a newspaper, but in the LBD issue the newspapers quoted primarily those who agreed with their own points of view. The following two lead paragraphs from the Tribune show how the bias of a reporter can creep into a news story, not through quoting a friendly source but through a non-objective look at the issue:

Offices and booths will open Saturday in various parts of the state to provide Utahns with the opportunity of signing petitions for an enforceable [italics not in the original] liquor by the drink law.³²

Registered Utah voters wishing to sign petition for placing an enforceable [italics not in the original] liquor by the drink law on the November ballot will find booths open Monday in several Salt Lake City area locations and in three other Beehive State communities.³³

³²Salt Lake Tribune, June 8, 1968, p.B-1.

³³Ibid., June 10, 1968, p.B-1.

In summary, then, both newspapers editorially expressed their stand on the LBD issue early in the campaign and continued throughout the campaign to comment editorially upon their positions. This is in keeping with the rights of newspapers to express themselves editorially on public issues.

In the news columns, both newspapers were guilty of promoting their causes through the listing of booths, reproduction of blank affidavits, addresses of notaries public, and similar information which would not be considered as news. Both newspapers also "editorialized" in their headlines, the Tribune doing this more flagrantly than the News. The Tribune's "synopsis" of the law on June 16, and the News' "commentary" on the "synopsis" on June 17 both violated the spirit of professional standards, even though the News may have felt justified in using its news columns to answer a "biased" news story in the Tribune. (To the News' credit in this instance is the fact that it clearly indicated in its opening paragraph that it was commenting on the issue as the Deseret News.) Finally, the Tribune was guilty on several occasions of using its reporters and writers for making statements in the news columns which were editorial comments of opinion rather than statements of fact.

3. Newspapers should serve the entire public and not segments of it

Lengthy comment is not necessary here. Many readers of the Salt Lake Tribune undoubtedly opposed liquor by the drink, and many readers of the Deseret News probably supported it. The Tribune served the interests of that segment of the Utah popula-

tion which supported liquor by the drink. Its publisher, John W. Gallivan, was a member of the group proposing the new legislation. On the other hand, the News served the interests of the groups opposing LBD, even though its readers probably represented opinions on both sides. Its owner, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had publicly opposed liquor by the drink.

Of the space in the Tribune, 83.3 per cent supported the Tribune's bias, while only 6.2 per cent opposed it; of the space in the News, 81.9 per cent supported the News' bias, with only 6.2 per cent opposing it. These figures are exclusive of advertising space. It seems apparent that both newspapers served the interests of their respective owners and associates rather than the interests of both sides of the issue.

4. Newspapers should be accurate and truthful, and should maintain good faith with its readers

"Good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name," says the A.S.N.E.'s "Canons of Journalism." Under the heading of accuracy in the code of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association is this statement: "A newspaper shall . . . strive for completeness and objectivity and shall guard against carelessness, bias, or distortion by either emphasis or omission."

Using these definitions of accuracy and truth, it may be said that both the Tribune and the News failed to keep faith with their reading publics because they presented so completely only one side of the LBD issue.

But because a later section will deal with fairness and

impartiality, this section will be limited to the idea of truthfulness and accuracy as a deliberate misrepresentation of facts, or a distortion of facts through untruths. In other words, to violate this standard a newspaper would need to deliberately lie (rather than to suppress the truth). Although both newspapers were guilty of telling only one side of the story, and of interpreting the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed new LBD law to fit their particular bias, no evidence of out-and-out distortion of facts through untruths was found.

Under the second part of this particular standard, that of "maintaining good faith with its readers," both newspapers undoubtedly lost a measure of the respect which their readers had had for them. Neither newspaper was completely objective in the material it provided for its readers.

5. Newspapers should be fair and impartial and should not suppress news or information which is contrary to its views or opinions, both sides of a public issue should be reported so that the public can make decisions in governing themselves

Both newspapers were guilty on all three counts: they were not fair and impartial; they suppressed information contrary to their own views; and they failed to report adequately both sides of the issue to their publics.

Exclusive of advertising, both the Tribune and the News used only 6.2 per cent of their LBD space in presenting information contrary to their respective positions, while the Tribune used 83.3 per cent of its space and the News 81.9 per cent of its space in giving information which supported their views. Neither newspaper

performed the kind of impartial reporting described by professional standards which would allow readers the facts upon which they could make a decision. Only two news items appeared in the Tribune which were judged to be opposed to LBD, and only two appeared in the News which supported it. The only other items in either newspaper which were contrary to the opinion of the respective newspaper (except for advertisements) were letters to the editor, and these ran two-to-one in the Tribune in favor of the Tribune's bias, and four-to-one in the News in favor of the News' bias.

Even the Tribune's regular columnists, who would naturally comment upon such a hotly-debated public issue as liquor by the drink, totally supported their newspaper's position. Those opposing LBD should have had an opportunity to be read.

Both newspapers were partial, both newspapers suppressed information, and both newspapers failed to adequately report both sides of the issue.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Who was right and who was wrong? It was not the purpose of this study to determine the rights or wrongs of LBD, nor to evaluate the reasons why the newspapers and their editors performed as they did. The intent was to compare the handling of the LBD issue in the two newspapers with the accepted standards of the journalism profession.

In this regard, and in spite of the public service performed by the two newspapers in bringing such an important issue to the

attention of the public, both newspapers failed to live up to the public trust given to them and to the standards of the profession they represent.

A complete and impartial view of the issues could not have been obtained by reading either newspaper. Neither the Tribune nor the News gave its readers a clear understanding of the pros and the cons of the liquor-by-the-drink issue.

Both were guilty of serving special interest groups rather than the Utah public as a whole. Both used their news columns for opinion. Both suppressed news and facts which did not conform with their views. Both failed to give their readers the opportunity of reading both sides of the LBD issue.

The tragedy is that both of these Salt Lake City newspapers, with circulation throughout the Utah-Idaho-Nevada-Wyoming market, are respected members of the journalism fraternity. Both have won Pulitzer prizes, the most coveted of all awards in journalism for professional excellence. Their readers have come to expect them to adequately report on the news and opinions of the day. But in the divisive issue of a proposal to change Utah's liquor laws to permit the sale of liquor by the drink, both of these newspapers failed to live up to the professional standards of the journalism field.

Both sides won a battle. Proponents of LBD, supported by the Tribune, obtained sufficient signatures to place the issue on the Utah election ballot in November of 1968; opponents of LBD, supported by the News, campaigned successfully to have the issue defeated at the polls. And even though the Utah public lost the

privilege of an impartial look at the issues involved in liquor by the drink, the ultimate losers will be the newspapers themselves.

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THE UTAH NEWSPAPER WAR OF 1968: LIQUOR-BY-THE-DRINK

An Abstract of a Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Communications
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Raymond E. Beckham
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ABSTRACT

A group of Utah citizens, supported by the Salt Lake Tribune, campaigned in May and June of 1968 to change Utah's liquor distribution system from a state-owned package method to one which would allow mixed drinks. Opponents of the change were supported by the Deseret News.

The two newspapers became the spokesmen for the two opposing groups. A careful analysis of them shows that of the 2,844.6 column inches of space in the Tribune, and of the 1,856.2 column inches in the News, exclusive of advertising, more than eighty per cent in each newspaper supported the editorial stand of that newspaper, while only slightly more than six per cent opposed it.

Neither the Salt Lake Tribune nor the Deseret News lived up to the standards of the journalism profession in the handling of the liquor issue in Utah. A complete view of the issues could not have been seen by reading either newspaper. Both were guilty of serving special interest groups; both used their news columns for opinion; both suppressed news and facts which did not conform with their own views; and both failed to be fair and impartial in reporting the two sides of the issue.