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# SENSATIONAL NEWS IN THE MODERN METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

MORRIS GILMORE CALDWELL\*

In the last two decades sociology has been enlarging its scope and extending its various fields. New areas of social phenomena have been explored and proclaimed as fruitful fields for further scientific research. The desire on the part of our social scientists to apply quantitative methods to these new fields has almost approached a religious zeal. However, surprising as it may seem, the daily newspaper has been very largely neglected by the inquiring sociologist and has not been considered as a proper sphere for sociological research until very recently. In fact, it was not until the publication of *The Country Newspaper* by Professor Malcolm M. Willey in 1926 that a strictly scientific study of the newspaper was made along sociological lines. This classic treatise has reclaimed a fertile field for future newspaper research.

## *Methodology*

The purpose of this research is to present an analysis of newspaper content in a selected group of metropolitan newspapers, with special emphasis on materials dealing with crime and other sensational news. Six daily newspapers were selected from various sections of the United States as basic source materials. The East, Middle West, South and Pacific Coast areas are all represented in the selection. The names of the papers are as follows:

Chicago Daily Tribune  
Cleveland Plain Dealer  
Los Angeles Times  
Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph  
New Orleans Times Picayune  
Washington (D. C.) Evening Star

The foregoing newspapers, which are more or less typical of the American metropolitan press, contain a liberal amount of space devoted to crime and other sensational news. For purposes of com-

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parison, two additional newspapers, namely, the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor, were studied because of their negative attitude toward crime and other sensational news.

The scope of this study includes all the issues of the foregoing newspapers, with the exception of the Sunday editions, during the two month period, October 1, 1930, to November 30, 1930. The size of this sample was considered fairly adequate upon which to base conclusions, although no definite rules can be laid down as yet as to the size of the sample in newspaper research. The chances are that the size of the sample should vary with the particular purpose for which a research is made. It has been shown that the kind and nature of crime varies with the changing seasons, therefore, samples should be taken and analyzed for the other three seasons of the year, in addition to the Autumn season, which was used in this survey.

The unit of measurement selected for use in this study was the column inch. All non-advertising material was measured and recorded in terms of column inches. In addition to the general news content, the column headlines and streamer headlines were measured also, because they were considered valuable indices of the amount of crime and other sensational news in the daily newspaper. The results proved that this little innovation in methodology was abundantly worthwhile.

The next problem in methodology which presented itself was the search for a sociological classification of newspaper content. It soon became apparent, however, that there was no classificatory scheme available, which was particularly suitable to the needs of this study. In view of this situation, a composite classification was worked out. Professor Willey's schema<sup>1</sup> was revised and amended and supplemented by a number of outside sources, notably the classification of crime formulated by the United States Census Bureau.<sup>2</sup> The system of classification of newspaper content finally adopted contains twelve major categories—eleven for news materials and one for advertising. They are as follows:

#### SCHEDULE "A"†

##### I. CIVIC AND POLITICAL NEWS

###### 1. Domestic political news

<sup>1</sup>Willey, Malcolm M., *The Country Newspaper*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1926, pp. 35-38.

<sup>2</sup>Bureau of Census, *Instructions for Compiling Criminal Statistics*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1927, pp. 5-8.

†Doubtful material was classified under the "Other News" category under each major division or else under "Miscellaneous."

2. Foreign political news
3. International relations
4. Administrative, judicial and legislative
5. Community development
6. Other political news

## II. ECONOMIC NEWS

1. Labor news
2. Industrial, commercial and financial
3. Price and supply of necessities
4. Other economic news

## III. CULTURAL NEWS

1. Science, invention, discovery
2. Art notes and criticism
3. Amusement notes
4. Literary criticism
5. Educational news
6. Religious news
7. Social service
8. Other cultural news

## IV. OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS

1. Accidents
2. Public welfare investigations
3. Civil suits
4. Suicide
5. Divorce
6. Catastrophies
7. Other

## V. CRIME NEWS

1. Homicide
2. Rape
3. Robbery
4. Assault
5. Burglary
6. Forgery
7. Larceny
8. Carrying weapons
9. Sex offenses, except rape
10. Non-support or neglect of family
11. Violating drug laws
12. Violating liquor laws
13. Driving while intoxicated
14. Drunkenness
15. Disorderly conduct
16. Vagrancy
17. Violating motor vehicle laws
18. Violating municipal ordinances
19. Other crime news

- VI. SPORT NEWS
  - 1. Sports
  - 2. Other
- VII. PERSONAL NEWS
  - 1. Biography
  - 2. Society and fraternal news
  - 3. Other personal news
- VIII. OPINION
  - 1. Original editorials
  - 2. Reprinted editorials
  - 3. Communications
  - 4. Cartoons
- IX. HUMAN INTEREST MATERIAL
  - 1. Human interest stories
- X. MAGAZINE MATERIAL
  - 1. Short stories
  - 2. Men's and women's page
  - 3. Photographs
- XI. MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL
  - 1. Filler
  - 2. Routine notices
  - 3. Weather
  - 4. Unclassifiable material
- XII. ADVERTISING
  - 1. Display
  - 2. Classified

The foregoing classification scheme worked rather well. News of actual happenings only were recorded under the sensational news and crime news categories. All the newspaper materials were classified under the appropriate headings without difficulty.

The data of this research relating to crime and other sensational news will be analyzed for the newspaper as a whole and then compared with a similar analysis for the front page.

### *The Whole Newspaper*

Table I presents the percentage distribution of news material on the basis of general news content, column headlines, and streamer headlines. Civic and political news comprise approximately 9 per cent of the news content, 26 per cent of the column headlines and 10 per cent of the streamer headlines. Economic news furnishes approxi-

mately 20 per cent of the news content, 16 per cent of the column headlines and somewhat over 4 per cent of the streamer headlines. Crime news and other sensational news each supply 3.56 per cent of the news content and approximately 9 per cent of the column headlines, with streamer headlines of 8 and 6 per cent respectively.

TABLE I

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS CONTENT IN THE WHOLE NEWSPAPER

<i>Type of News</i>	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column</i>	<i>Streamer</i>
Civic-Political News .....	9.12	26.34	10.40
Economic News .....	20.57	16.06	4.44
Cultural News .....	7.94	11.71	3.28
Other Sensational News.....	3.56	9.21	5.92
Crime News .....	3.56	9.90	8.13
Sport News .....	9.82	18.38	62.48
Personal News .....	4.99	4.84	3.02
Opinion .....	7.35	.04	...
Human Interest Material .....	1.27	9.06	.21
Magazine Material .....	27.23	1.47	1.49
Miscellaneous Material .....	4.59	.53	.61

Table II is a comparison of the percentage distribution of news content of a study made in 1900 with the present research. Some interesting changes in the distribution of newspaper content have occurred during this thirty-year period. Civic and political news has decreased approximately 28 per cent, while economic news has increased 8.49 per cent. The decline in political news and the increase in economic news may be due to a number of factors. The increasing industrialization and urbanization of this country have caused the general masses of the population to become more interested in the business of making a living, than the science of government and politics. The monotony of factory life and the intense struggle for existence in the modern industrial order have deadened the finer sensibilities of man. Accordingly, modern man has very little time or inclination to think politically.

The percentage devoted to opinion has decreased from 10.46 per cent to 7.35 per cent—a decline of about one fourth in space. Formerly the editor used to formulate the ideas, attitudes and beliefs of the reading public through the editorial column. The increase in the complexity of the modern social order has been marked by a rapid multiplication of secondary groups and contacts, which furnish the mental stimulation formerly provided by the editor. The editorial column remains merely as the dispenser of the personal opinion of a small group of men.

Sport news has increased from 7.51 per cent to 9.82 per cent—a gain of slightly less than one-third in space. The increase in this type of news undoubtedly reflects the increasing interest of the American people in the world of sports and recreation.

TABLE II  
A. COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS CONTENT  
IN 1900 AND 1930

<i>Type of News</i>	<i>Wilcox</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>1900</i>	<i>Wilcox</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>(adjusted)</i>	<i>Present Study</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>1930</i>
Civic-Political News .....	25.50	37.56	9.12
Economic News .....	8.20	12.08	20.57
Cultural News .....	2.40	3.53	7.94
Crime-Sensational News .....	3.10	4.56	7.12
Sport News .....	5.10	7.51	9.82
Personal News .....	2.30	3.39	4.99
Opinion .....	7.10	10.46	7.35
Human Interest Material .....	...	...	1.27
Magazine Material .....	3.10	4.56	27.23
Miscellaneous Material .....	11.10	16.35	4.59

Crime and other sensational news has increased from 4.56 per cent to 7.12 per cent—an increase of over one-half in space. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenal increase, which will be expounded and elaborated upon, in so far as the facts warrant, throughout this study. However, suffice it to mention here that actual crimes and other sensational happenings have increased as a natural accompaniment of the ever increasing industrialization. Crime and racketeering have become organized on a national scale. Accidents, suicides, divorces, and catastrophies have likewise increased. A large per cent of American newspapers have taken advantage of the foregoing situation and have deliberately engaged upon a policy of sensationalism in order to increase their sales.

TABLE III  
THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERTISING MATERIAL IN WHOLE NEWSPAPER  
*Advertising News Material*

A.		
Chicago Tribune .....	61.45	38.55
Plain Dealer .....	53.93	46.07

<sup>3</sup>The percentages given in this study are computed on the basis of all the newspaper content, with the exception of advertising.

<sup>4</sup>Wilcox adjusted for comparison with present study.

<sup>5</sup>Wilcox, D. F., "The American Newspaper," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1900, Vol. XVI, pp. 56-79.

The percentages in the Wilcox study are computed on the basis of all the newspaper content, including advertising.

	<i>Advertising</i>	<i>News Material</i>
Los Angeles Times .....	47.85	52.15
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	51.36	48.64
Times Picayune .....	59.57	40.43
Wash. Evening Star .....	65.09	34.91
B.		
N. Y. Times.....	40.78	59.22
C. S. Monitor.....	35.29	64.71

The economics of the newspaper business should be borne in mind in the interpretation of the statistics given in this paper, namely, that the modern metropolitan newspaper is a capitalistic enterprise searching in quest of huge profits. These profits are realized from the sale of advertising space in the paper and not from the sale of the paper itself at the nearest downtown news-stand at 3 cents per copy. The newspapers in this study all have surprisingly high percentages of their total space devoted to advertising as evidenced by the figures in Table III.

The amount of advertising material for the six papers in this survey averages 56.54 per cent and ranges from 47.85 per cent for the Los Angeles Times to 65.09 per cent for the Washington Evening Star. These statistics serve as a screen upon which to throw the statistics of crime and other sensational news. In the light of this background, the real reason appears why the modern newspaper persists in playing up crime and other sensational news. In comparison with this group of papers, the Christian Science Monitor and New York Times have considerably less space devoted to advertising—approximately 35 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.

TABLE IV  
A COMPARISON OF THE AMOUNT OF ADVERTISING MATERIAL IN THE  
NEWSPAPER, 1900, 1924 AND 1930

<i>Study</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Wilcox (1900) <sup>6</sup> .....	32.1
White (1924) <sup>7</sup> .....	45.8
Present Study (1930).....	56.5

Table IV is a comparison of the amount of advertising material in the newspaper in 1900, 1924, and 1930. The proportion of space devoted to advertising increased nearly 50 per cent between 1900 and 1924 and a further increase of approximately 25 per cent between

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 56-79.

<sup>7</sup>White, Paul W., "What Do You Read?", *The Nation*, June 25, 1924, CXVIII, p. 725.

1924 and 1930—a gain of 75 per cent in thirty years. The unprecedented encroachment of advertising upon news space is evidence of the increased commercialization of the American press.

TABLE V

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME NEWS IN THE WHOLE NEWSPAPER

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>	<i>News Content and Headlines</i>
Average .....	3.56	9.90	8.13	3.77
A.				
Chicago Tribune .....	3.66	9.66	18.34	3.97
Plain Dealer .....	2.83	6.78	2.59	2.91
Los Angeles Times .....	4.06	10.08	3.99	4.09
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	2.92	14.42	12.57	3.55
Times Picayune .....	3.75	13.22	10.50	3.98
Washington Evening Star. . .	4.14	5.24	.80	4.14
B.				
N. Y. Times.....	2.07	5.19	.54	2.09
C. S. Monitor.....	.08	.16	..	.07

Table V presents the percentage distribution of crime news in the whole newspaper. The general news content ranges from 2.83 per cent for the Cleveland Plain Dealer to 4.14 per cent for the Washington Evening Star, with an average of 3.56 per cent for all papers. These figures are significant when considered in the light of the fact that these crime materials are set off and embroidered by still other crime materials in the form of column headlines and streamer headlines to the extent of from 2.5 per cent to 18 per cent of all the newspaper headlines in this study. When news content and headlines are combined, it appears that crime news occupy 3.77 per cent of the total space of the whole paper. The foregoing statistics are rather high when compared with 2.07 per cent for the New York Times and .08 per cent for the Christian Science Monitor. These papers also carry a minimum of headline material.

TABLE VI

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME NEWS IN WHOLE NEWSPAPER ACCORDING TO TYPE OF CRIME

<i>Type of Crime</i>	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer</i>
Homicide .....	31.80	28.82	51.56
Robbery .....	13.27	12.17	14.58
Assault .....	6.84	9.04	11.59
Burglary—carrying weapons .....	3.60	2.33	...
Forgery—larceny .....	13.20	12.99	9.33

<i>Type of Crime</i>	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Streamer</i>
Sex offenses .....	1.15		1.41	.22
Neglect of family.....	.26		.09	...
Drunkenness—disorderly conduct, etc... 17.02			17.62	6.27
Violation traffic rules and municipal ordi- nances .....	1.86		1.06	...
Other .....	11.00		14.47	6.45

When these statistics are analyzed further as to the type of crime, the startling fact is discovered that approximately 70 per cent of these crimes are major crimes. An inspection of Table VI shows that homicide, robbery, assault and forgery are the most important. It is interesting to note that homicide comprises about one-third of all crime news in the whole newspaper and over one-half of the streamer headlines. These facts indicate the type of crime displayed in the modern metropolitan newspaper.

TABLE VII  
THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS IN THE WHOLE NEWSPAPER

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column</i>	<i>Streamer</i>	<i>News Content and Headlines</i>
Average .....	3.56	9.21	5.92	3.73
A.				
Chicago Tribune .....	2.48	5.77	11.92	2.66
Plain Dealer .....	2.62	5.69	4.54	2.71
Los Angeles Times .....	5.43	13.07	.71	5.43
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	3.33	14.46	14.28	3.97
Times Picayune .....	3.64	10.83	4.06	3.76
Wash. Evening Star .....	3.88	5.46	...	3.88
B.				
N. Y. Times.....	2.56	5.26	...	2.57
C. S. Monitor.....	.57	1.38	...	.58

Statistics of other sensational news in the whole newspaper tell practically the same story as the statistics on crime news—namely, that the sensational news is decorated and embellished with impressive column and streamer headlines. The general news content ranges from 2.48 per cent for the Chicago Tribune to 5.43 per cent for the Los Angeles Times, with an average of 3.56 per cent for all papers. Other sensational news occupies 3.73 per cent of the total space of the whole paper when news content and headlines are combined. The percentage distribution of this news according to type is shown in Table VIII. Accidents compose about one-third, civil suits 21 per cent, and catastrophies 15 per cent of all sensational news. Public

welfare investigations embraces nearly 10 per cent of the total, while suicide and divorce register approximately 5 per cent and 7 per cent respectively.

TABLE VIII

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS IN THE WHOLE NEWSPAPER ACCORDING TO TYPE

Accidents .....	33.10
Public Welfare Investigations.....	9.69
Civil Suits .....	21.59
Suicide .....	5.11
Divorce .....	7.48
Catastrophies .....	15.28
Other .....	7.75

An index of total sensational news appearing in the newspaper was next secured by lumping the crime news in with the other sensational news. The term anti-social news was appropriated to cover these two categories. The results of this compilation are given in Table IX. The percentage distribution of total anti-social news in the whole newspaper is as follows: Chicago Tribune 6.14 per cent; Cleveland Plain Dealer 5.45 per cent; Los Angeles Times 9.49 per cent; Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph 6.25 per cent; Times Picayune 7.39 per cent; and the Washington Evening Star 8.02 per cent. The average for all papers is 7.12 per cent. When news content and headlines are combined, total anti-social news occupies 7.5 per cent of the total space of the whole paper.

TABLE IX

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL ANTI-SOCIAL NEWS IN WHOLE NEWSPAPER

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>	<i>News Content and Headlines</i>
Average .....	7.12	19.11	14.05	7.50
A.				
Chicago Tribune .....	6.14	15.43	30.26	6.63
Plain Dealer .....	5.45	12.47	7.13	5.62
Los Angeles Times .....	9.49	23.15	4.70	9.52
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	6.25	28.88	26.85	7.52
Times Picayune .....	7.39	24.05	14.56	7.74
Wash. Evening Star .....	8.02	10.70	.80	8.02
B.				
N. Y. Times.....	4.63	10.45	.54	...
C. S. Monitor.....	.65	1.54	...	...

However, the foregoing figures may be misleading. A newspaper may publish a considerable amount of anti-social news, but this anti-social news may be balanced or offset by an equal amount of cultural news. Indices of sensationalism were constructed to give cognizance to this fact. The percentage of anti-social news for each paper was divided by the percentage of cultural news for that paper and multiplied by 100. The results of this computation are recorded in Table X. The Los Angeles Times contains a much larger percentage of anti-social news than the Chicago Tribune, yet it has an index of sensationalism of only 95 in comparison with an index of 120 for the Chicago Tribune. This is due to the fact that anti-social news in the Los Angeles Times is balanced by a high percentage of cultural news, while the Chicago Tribune contains a minimum of cultural news.

TABLE X  
INDICES OF SENSATIONALISM<sup>8</sup>

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Anti-Social News</i>	<i>Cultural News</i>	<i>Index of Sensationalism</i>
A.			
Chicago Tribune .....	6.14	5.13	120
Plain Dealer .....	5.45	7.23	75
Los Angeles Times .....	9.49	10.01	95
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	6.25	7.12	88
Times Picayune .....	7.39	6.13	120
Wash. Evening Star .....	8.02	12.05	67
B.			
N. Y. Times.....	4.63	6.90	67
C. S. Monitor.....	.65	16.37	4

The Washington Evening Star contains a comparatively high percentage of anti-social news, yet it has a rather low index of sensationalism because of the large percentage of cultural news within its columns. The indices of sensationalism for the six papers in this study range from 67 for the Washington Evening Star to 120 for the Chicago Tribune and Times Picayune. These indices are all high in comparison with an index of 4 for the Christian Science Monitor. Of course, this paper has a high percentage of cultural news with practically no anti-social news.

Certain conclusions regarding the relationship between advertising material and sensational news appear from the foregoing statistics on crime news, other sensational news and total anti-social news

$$^8\text{Index of Sensationalism} = \frac{\text{Percentage of Anti-Social News}}{\text{Percentage of Cultural News}} \times 100$$

in the whole newspaper. In drawing conclusions of this kind, the fact must be recalled to mind that the modern metropolitan newspaper is a mammoth capitalistic enterprise seeking profits. These profits are secured by selling as much advertising space as possible—in the case of the newspapers in this study, somewhat in excess of 50 per cent of the total space of the whole paper. It is the job of the editor to put this advertising material before as large a reading public as possible. It is no easy task, for no one cares to buy a newspaper with nothing but straight advertising in it. The newspaper must be made attractive even to the point of enticing and seducing its readers. The data in this research seems to indicate that this is accomplished by embellishing and decorating the general body of the paper with crime news and other sensational news.

### *The Front Page*

The statistics on crime and other sensational news in the whole newspaper presents a convincing array of evidence. But this is only half of the story. The front page tells the rest. In fact, the most interesting aspect of this research is the analysis of the crime news and other sensational news on the front page in relation to the rest of the materials found there.

TABLE XI

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME NEWS ON THE FRONT PAGE

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>
Average .....	11.60	18.28	14.90
Chicago Tribune .....	10.90	16.09	27.79
Plain Dealer .....	12.18	16.01	3.35
Los Angeles Times .....	5.99	9.94	...
Pitt, Sun-Telegraph .....	7.77	15.57	18.23
Times Picayune .....	17.55	25.14	24.25
Wash. Evening Star .....	15.23	26.96	15.79

In Table XI the percentage distribution of crime news on the front page is found to range from 5.99 per cent for the Los Angeles Times to 17.55 per cent for the Times Picayune, with an average of 11.6 per cent for all papers. The column headlines on the front page range from approximately 10 per cent for the Los Angeles Times to 27 per cent for the Washington Evening Star and the streamer headlines range from about 3 per cent for the Cleveland Plain Dealer to nearly 28 per cent for the Chicago Tribune.

The foregoing percentages of crime news on the front page are

rather high when compared with the percentages of crime news in the paper as a whole. The crime news in the whole newspaper averages 3.56 per cent as compared with 11.6 per cent for the front page. This seems to indicate a tendency for the papers in this study to stage a front page display of crime news.

Further, a correlation of + .784, with a P. E. of only  $\pm .106$ , is found to exist between the amount of advertising material in the papers in this study and the amount of crime news on the front page. This seems to indicate that the front page display of crime news is vitally connected with the advertising policy. The modern metropolitan newspaper, with over one-half of its space devoted to advertising, would be a rather dull and drab affair, and hardly saleable, without the flashy and ostentatious display of crime news on the front page.

TABLE XII

THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS ON FRONT PAGE

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>
Average .....	12.30	16.91	11.60
Chicago Tribune .....	9.16	12.65	11.68
Plain Dealer .....	11.09	12.77	5.58
Los Angeles Times .....	13.07	21.15	...
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	14.93	28.78	34.46
Times Picayune .....	14.07	15.57	17.91
Wash. Evening Star .....	11.48	10.54	...

An inspection of Table XII shows that the other sensational news appears on the front page for the various papers in slightly greater amounts than the crime news. The percentage distribution ranges from 9.16 per cent for the Chicago Tribune to 14.93 per cent for the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, with an average of 12.3 per cent for all papers. This sensational news is played up to the public by means of column and streamer headlines in the same manner as the crime news is.

TABLE XIII

THE RELATION OF CRIME NEWS ON THE FRONT PAGE TO THE TOTAL CRIME NEWS IN THE WHOLE PAPER

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>
Chicago Tribune .....	16.73	22.35	83.27
Plain Dealer .....	27.02	51.15	45.00
Los Angeles Times .....	7.00	31.79	...
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	11.18	18.36	26.27
Times Picayune .....	30.12	51.64	52.42
Wash. Evening Star .....	22.01	58.10	21.43

The statistics given in Tables XI and XII, relative to the amount of crime news and other sensational news on the front page, are interesting and instructive. They become more significant, however, when compared with the total crime news and other sensational news in the whole newspaper. These comparisons are made in Tables XIII and XIV. The percentage relationship of the crime news on the front page to the total crime news in the whole paper ranges from 7 per cent for the Los Angeles Times to 30.12 per cent for the Times Picayune, with an average of 19.01 per cent for all papers. The percentage relationship of the other sensational news on the front page to the total other sensational news in the whole paper ranges from 11.42 per cent for the Los Angeles Times to 26.57 per cent for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, with an average of 20.03 per cent for all papers.

TABLE XIV

THE RELATION OF OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS ON THE FRONT PAGE TO THE  
TOTAL OTHER SENSATIONAL NEWS IN WHOLE PAPER

	<i>News Content</i>	<i>Column Headline</i>	<i>Streamer Headline</i>
Chicago Tribune .....	20.72	29.51	53.96
Plain Dealer .....	26.57	48.63	42.86
Los Angeles Times .....	11.42	51.97	...
Pitt. Sun-Telegraph .....	18.85	33.92	43.71
Times Picayune .....	24.90	38.97	100.00
Wash. Evening Star .....	17.73	34.60	...

The data presented in Tables XIII and XIV on the relation between crime and other sensational news on the front page to crime and other sensational news in the whole paper are given in crude form. These data are refined in Table XV, which is a comparison between indices of emphasis for crime news, other sensational news and civic and political news. The indices of emphasis for crime news range from 1.27 for the Los Angeles Times to 3.56 for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, with an average index of 2.55 for all papers. The indices for other sensational news range from 2.08 for the Los Angeles Times to 3.50 for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, with an average index of 2.80 for all papers. In comparison, the indices of emphasis for civic and political news range from 1.67 for the Chicago Tribune to 2.34 for the Washington Evening Star, with an average index of 2.08 for all papers. With the lone exception of the Los Angeles Times, the indices of emphasis for crime news and other sensational news are much larger than the indices of emphasis for civic and political news.