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# An Analysis of The New York Times Coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas Sexual Harassment Conflict

Donna Arnold Oates  
*Incarnate Word College*

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AN ANALYSIS OF *THE NEW YORK TIMES* COVERAGE OF THE  
ANITA HILL/CLARENCE THOMAS SEXUAL HARASSMENT CONFLICT

by

DONNA ARNOLD OATES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of

Incarnate Word College

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

INCARNATE WORD COLLEGE

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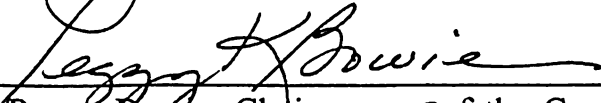
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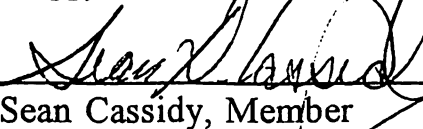
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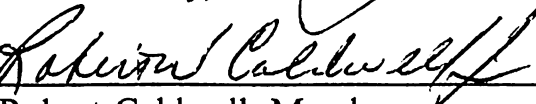
APPROVED:



Ms. Peggy Bowie, Chairwoman of the Committee



Dr. Sean Cassidy, Member



Dr. Robert Caldwell, Member

This thesis is dedicated to my family,  
Randall William and Meghan Ashleigh Oates



## ABSTRACT

### An Analysis of The New York Times Coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas Sexual Harassment Conflict

Donna Arnold Oates, B.A., Incarnate Word College

This study analyzes the media coverage of the hearings established to address the accusations of sexual harassment made toward Judge Clarence Thomas by Professor Anita Hill in October of 1991. The purpose of the study is to determine and examine the methods by which the media subtly shape society's opinions and, therefore, society's definitions of reality in regard to the subject of sexual harassment. This study is approached from a feminist perspective.

The methods by which the media cover sexual harassment are important to society's understanding of the issue. The media guide individuals in the formulation of the meanings which define those individuals' beliefs on sexual harassment. The treatment accorded to this event by the media will be analyzed from a liberal feminist and a patriarchal framework, two opposing ideological

viewpoints that are relevant to the issue of sexual harassment, to discover which ideological perspective, if any, dominated the information which society received from the media. It is the hypothesis of this study that the media constructed a patriarchal perspective via their presentation of the event. The derivation of the meanings inherent in the messages which the media presented as whole "facts" to society is critical to an understanding of the influence of the media on society since it is from the media that the public gleans its own version of reality. In the case of sexual harassment, such an understanding is especially critical to women who function in a class-based society in which men hold power.

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CHAPTER I  
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS<sup>1</sup>  
Chronological Summary

1981: Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas worked together over a two-year period at two different agencies: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Department of Education.

July 1, 1991: President Bush announced that Clarence Thomas was his nominee for the position as the 106th Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

September 3: Dr. Hill was approached by the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee. They were soliciting information on Judge Thomas's conduct.

September 10, 13, and 16: Judge Thomas testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee in hearings to evaluate his ability to fill the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

September 12: Dr. Hill gave a statement to the full senate staff outlining Judge Thomas' alleged harassment. Dr. Hill gave them the name of a friend in whom she had confided while the alleged harassment was taking place. She spoke to them twice this day. She requested that her identity be kept confidential.

September 18: The Senate contacted Dr. Hill's friend, Ellen M. Wells, who provided them with a statement supporting Dr. Hill's claim.

September 19: Dr. Hill contacted the committee staff and requested they distribute her statement to the members of the committee. She was told that Judge Thomas would have to be made aware of her allegations and her identity in order for the committee to address her concerns.

September 21: Dr. Hill gave permission for her identity to be revealed. The committee staff contacted her that same day; in that conversation she stated she did not want the FBI to investigate her claim.

September 23: Dr. Hill faxed the full committee staff a personal statement and consented to an FBI investigation.

September 25: Dr. Hill sent another statement to the committee that corrected some minor typographical errors contained in the first statement. The FBI completed their investigation.

September 26: The FBI made the report on their investigation available to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

September 27: The Senate voted on the nomination; the vote was a 7 to 7 tie. Every Republican on the committee and one Democrat voted in support of Judge Thomas's nomination.

September 28: Thomas presented a statement to the FBI which contained his denial of the allegations.

October 6: Anita Hill's testimony given to the FBI was leaked to the press by an unknown member of the Senate. Nina Totenberg broke the story when she interviewed Dr. Hill on National Public Radio (NPR).

October 7: Dr. Hill gave a press conference in which she stated her belief that the Senate did not adequately address her charges.

October 8: The Senate debated all day and decided to postpone the vote until hearings could be held to address the specific issue of sexual harassment.

October 9: President Bush emphasized his support of Thomas at a high-profile meeting between Judge Thomas and the President.

October 11-14: The hearings were held.

October 15: The Senate debated the issue and voted to confirm Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court. The vote was 52-48.

October 18: Thomas was sworn in at a celebration at the White House.

October 23: Thomas took the oath of office, officially confirming him as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, in a private ceremony. Those present were Judge Thomas's wife, Virginia Lamp Thomas; Senator John C. Danforth, Judge Thomas's chief supporter; and Chief Justice Rehnquist, who administered the oath.

## Chronological Summary

### History

For a two-year period beginning in 1981, Professor Anita Hill was employed by Judge Clarence Thomas as his personal assistant. Mr. Thomas held the position of Head of the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education. During that time, Dr. Hill alleges that Judge Thomas propositioned her several times and, when she refused his invitations, recounted lewd sexual acts he had seen in pornographic material. She was 25 years old when this alleged harassment occurred. In an interview given to NPR reporter Nina Totenberg on October 6, 1992, Hill stated she felt she had no choice but to accept Thomas' behavior; she was "intimidated" and "vulnerable" and feared she would not be given good assignments if she acted to halt the alleged harassment. She never filed a formal complaint. Hill stated that Thomas never tried to touch her, nor did he ever directly threaten her job security.

At some point in the two-year period, Thomas began dating someone else and stopped his alleged harassment of Dr. Hill. Thinking the alleged harassment had permanently stopped, Dr. Hill accepted a position with Mr. Thomas, again as his personal assistant, when he took the job of Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. He began his alleged harassment of her once more. In 1983, it was alleged that Thomas warned Hill of ever making his behavior public,

saying it would ruin his career. Dr. Hill did confide in a fellow classmate at the time the alleged harassment occurred; the classmate, now a state judge, agrees with Dr. Hill's accounting of the events during her employment with Mr. Thomas. Dr. Hill terminated her position with Judge Thomas when she experienced stomach problems that she believed to be directly related to stress caused by tolerating the sexual harassment to which she alleges she was victim.

### The Nomination

On July 1, 1991, President George Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court to fill the position vacated by Justice Thurgood Marshall, the first and only black man to sit on the Supreme Court before Thomas. Judge Thomas was President Bush's first choice for the position. As a former co-worker of Judge Thomas', Dr. Hill was approached by certain staff members of the Senate Judiciary Committee on September 3. They inquired into possible harassment based on rumors they had heard. Dr. Hill contacted the full committee staff on September 12 while Judge Thomas was being publically questioned for his nomination and revealed his alleged past conduct toward her. This was the first time Dr. Hill came into contact with full judiciary staff. She spoke with the full staff again that same day, at which time they explained the process by which they



would address her allegations. Dr. Hill requested that her identity be kept private and that Judge Thomas be kept ignorant of her charges, which limited the actions the committee could take to answer her charges. Dr. Hill revealed the name of the co-worker in whom she had confided at the time of the harassment. On September 18, this co-worker contacted the committee and gave them a statement. On September 19, 1991, Dr. Hill again contacted committee staff and told them that she wanted her allegations to be distributed to the entire committee. Full committee staff contacted her the next day, September 20, and told her that in order for the full committee to address her concerns, Judge Thomas would need to have the option of a rebuttal, in which case he would know who submitted the allegations. If this was acceptable to Dr. Hill, her name would be turned over to the FBI, who would investigate the matter and collect a statement from Judge Thomas. Dr. Hill took a few days to consider this; on September 21, the full committee staff contacted her again. She decided that she did not want an FBI investigation and wanted to think of another option. On September 23, 1991, however, Dr. Hill contacted the full committee staff, faxed them a personal statement, and consented to a FBI investigation. She sent another statement to the committee on September 25 which reiterated her first document but corrected minor typographical errors. On that same day, the FBI completed the report containing an interview of Hill's confidant. The report was made available to the

Judiciary Committee on September 26, and on September 27, the committee was evenly split on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. On September 28, 1991, Judge Thomas gave a statement to the FBI which contained his denial of misconduct toward Dr. Hill. Two days before a senate vote on Judge Thomas' nomination (October 6, 1991), Professor Anita Hill's allegations were "leaked" to the news media by an unknown member of the senate. NPR reporter Nina Totenberg informed Dr. Hill that she had obtained a copy of the affidavit, to which Anita Hill responded by granting her an interview.

When news of his past conduct became public, Judge Thomas categorically denied that he had ever harassed Anita Hill. His comment to the FBI was he had invited her out a few times but stopped asking when she declined his invitations.

### Reactions

Because Dr. Hill presented her accusations so late in the confirmation process and almost nine years after the harassment occurred, her credibility was severely questioned. Members of the senate who supported Thomas stated that her accusations, because they were "last minute," were an attack driven by political agendas. The White House even released the name of Phyllis Berry, who had worked with Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas; Berry insinuated the accusations were

made because Judge Thomas did not return Dr. Hill's sexual interest. Senate supporters of Thomas worked to establish him as the innocent victim of political enemies. Supporters of Dr. Hill, however, cited her spirituality and integrity, saying that she could never have accused Thomas of sexual harassment unless the accusations were based in truth.

Members of the senate were divided in their opinions of how they should react to the accusations. Many thought the vote should occur as scheduled; others felt the vote should be stopped and the accusations investigated. To delay the vote would require a 100 percent agreement of all senate members.

On October 7, the eve of the senate vote on confirmation of Judge Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court, Dr. Hill publically stated that she felt the Senate Judiciary Committee did not effectively handle her allegations against Clarence Thomas. Her statements caused further unrest in the senate; more senators called for a delay of the vote. Dr. Hill's charges at this time indicated that Judge Thomas' harassment of her was illegal.<sup>2</sup> According to her previous descriptions, his activities did not constitute "illegal harassment." Since her accounts now differed, however, her integrity and motive were further questioned.

The public began to question the Judiciary Committee's ability to effectively evaluate the allegations because the committee was comprised entirely of men over 50 years of age and because the senate appeared to be in a state of

unrest and confusion. Questions also arose as to the ability of men to understand what sexual harassment in the workplace really is and to be sympathetic to the problem of sexual harassment of women in the workforce in general. An examination of the laws established to fight sexual harassment ensued, and female lawyers rallied to bring the issue to the forefront of concern and to delay the vote until Dr. Hill's allegations were properly investigated.

An important question was why the judiciary committee did not attempt to delay the vote when Dr. Hill's allegations were brought to their attention in September. Senator Joseph R. Biden, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, stated that a request for delay was not put forth then because of Dr. Hill's request for confidentiality and because by her account the harassment at that time did not constitute physical harm, nor did it threaten her job security.

Judge Thomas did not choose to address the accusations in public, but in his support Senator John C. Danforth held a press conference on October 7 to defend Thomas' character. Several people who worked with Thomas also publically defended him, citing his beyond-reproach character and his strict policies on office behavior. A list of supporting co-workers of Thomas was published by the White House, but several ex-colleagues whose names were not on the list were also contacted; all gave glowing accounts of Judge Thomas' behavior.

Dr. Hill also gave a news conference that day to defend her integrity. She denied having any political motive for her accusations and asserted that she never had any desire to make the harassment public. She did, however, state that she wanted the committee to properly investigate her allegations and that she would willingly assist them in doing so. She believed that the attempts to portray her accusations as politically driven were simply measures to evade the issue of sexual harassment. Other support for Dr. Hill originated in colleagues and senators, some of whom believed her account and others who simply wanted to delay the vote in order to fully investigate the accusations.

On October 8, the senate engaged in very emotional debate over what actions they should take to answer Dr. Hill's accusations. Seven congresswomen marched to the senate to protest the vote but were not allowed in the room. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell met them in his private office. Other women's groups, as well as individual women lawyers, walked through the senate hallways to try to persuade male senators to see the issue from their perspective and delay the vote. Feelings of bitterness and resentment toward the "all male club," the Senate, reached critical levels.

### The Investigation

At the end of the day, two hours past the time that the vote was to have occurred, the senate reluctantly agreed to a one-week delay. The Judiciary Committee was to use that time to conduct hearings to investigate the allegations. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole supported the delay, saying that people were so against Thomas that he probably would not have won the vote had it occurred. The overwhelming reason for the delay was that the Senate's integrity was at stake, and senators wanted the chance to prove that they were willing to further investigate the charges. To go ahead with the vote would make them seem to be uncaring of women's rights.

Dr. Hill's only statement was that she was willing to do whatever the Senate required of her to aid in the investigation. Judge Thomas was reportedly glad that the vote had been delayed, saying that he now had the chance to clear his name. He stated that Dr. Hill had destroyed a reputation he had spent 43 years building, and he wanted to be free of any suspicion before he was voted to the Supreme Court.

Several other allegations against Judge Thomas came to light after the vote was delayed, but Senator Biden indicated his intention to use the delay to only

investigate Dr. Hill's charges. The other allegations, except one, did not involve sexual harassment.

On October 9, President Bush increased his level of public support of Judge Thomas. Thomas was invited to a meeting with President Bush at the White House. The President publically stated that he supported Thomas 100 percent and that the White House would do everything it could to help him through the proceedings. The White House at the same time refused to discuss the method with which Dr. Hill's complaints were handled by the Judiciary Committee.

The Judiciary Committee, meanwhile, established the guidelines for the hearings. Possible witnesses were contacted, and plans were put in place to request that the FBI resume its investigation of the case. A general agreement was established that the committee would neither endeavor to reach a judgement on the issue nor publish a report since the purpose of the hearings was simply to provide a means to allow the senate to evaluate both Dr. Hill's and Judge Thomas' statements. Senator Biden stated that outside groups would not be asked to testify in the hearings, and both sides agreed that no surprise witnesses would be called. The White House was asked for the names of any witnesses it wished to have called. Concurrently, Dr. Hill's accounting of the events was being evaluated on a micro level to see if inconsistencies existed.

Dr. Hill began to be victim to several harassing telephone calls and had to ask for police protection. She also obtained the protection of bodyguards.

Dr. Hill, always depicted as a private person who quietly worked to support minority students, became subject to close attention by reporters. An account of her childhood, including an interview with one of her brothers, was published on the eve of the senate hearings, October 10. Dr. Hill's telephone calls over the last seven years were logged, and calls she made to Judge Thomas were made public. Articles appeared stating support for Thomas was unaffected by the allegations against him. Articles were also written concerning sexual harassment as a widespread issue, and a poll was conducted by *The New York Times*/CBS News confirming that sexual harassment is pervasive within our workforce. All the major networks published schedules of their coverage of the hearings.

On October 10, the Judiciary Committee agreed to hear a new witness against Judge Thomas. Angela Wright had worked as a press secretary under Judge Thomas at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. She stated that she was also sexually harassed by Thomas. The White House strongly protested her involvement in the hearings, but Ms. Wright's testimony was allowed anyway.



## The Hearings

The Senate Judiciary Committee began hearings to investigate Dr. Hill's allegations on October 11. On that day, hearings lasted 12 hours and 35 minutes. Discussions were limited in scope to Judge Thomas' past conduct in light of his present nomination. Judge Thomas was first to speak and be questioned. In his opening statement, he angrily denounced the process by which he was investigated, likening it to "a modern day lynching" (October 12, 1991) and accusing Congress of activities that were worse than "McCarthyism." His statements stopped just short of accusing the Senate of racism. He refused to address individual allegations and instead denied any and all accusations of misconduct. He accused the Judiciary Committee of critically mishandling the situation and severely criticized the confirmation process. By so doing, Thomas simply voiced the feeling prevalent in Congress that the process was indeed impossible. He spoke of the pain and agony he and his family had suffered and stated that no job was worth the trouble to which they had been subjected. He felt that he had not been his normal self since he first heard of the allegations on September 25. He stated that his reputation was ruined beyond repair and he did not care if he was nominated or not; he would simply enjoy having his life back once more when the hearings were over. Thomas went on to describe his working relationship with

Dr. Hill, stating that it had never been other than extremely professional. Judge Thomas, in fact, felt he had always helped Dr. Hill to advance in her career. Thomas also stated that to be nominated to the Supreme Court by the President was a high honor but that these proceedings had left him with no honor and no drive to fight for his own justice: the drive that had helped him out of poverty and pushed him to obtain his excellent education was gone. Thomas stated he would have "preferred an assassin's bullet" (October 13) to the misery he had experienced in the confirmation process. He iterated that he had had enough of public scrutiny and warned that his private life would remain private.

Dr. Hill gave her own opening statement minutes after Judge Thomas completed his. In it, she gave a brief background of her life and education, establishing how it happened that she came to work for Clarence Thomas on both occasions. She went on to quietly and surely describe the events involving her harassment by Judge Thomas in minute detail, describing many times her embarrassment at having to discuss such private matters to a nation of watching people. She ended by saying that she brought the allegations to the committee because she felt she had a duty to do so when she was approached by full staff members of the Senate. She stated that discussing those matters caused her a great deal of agony.

On that same day, *The New York Times* published excerpts of an affidavit submitted on October 10 by John N. Doggett III. In it, Doggett claimed that he had met Dr. Hill in the early 1980s. At that time, Doggett claimed that Dr. Hill believed that he was interested in her sexually although he had done nothing to foster that belief. He claimed she "fantasized" about his nonexistent romantic interest in her. Dr. Hill denied Doggett's statements, saying her recollection of him was vague. Doggett was a classmate of Judge Thomas' at Yale University.

On October 13 and 14, the hearings continued. Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas spoke so eloquently that the Senate remained in turmoil over who was telling the truth, and several other witnesses were called from both sides to testify. The sessions were calmer than those of the first day. The White House continued to stand firm in support of Judge Thomas, and both parties' supporters remained fiercely loyal. Dr. Hill's confidant, her name now known (Ellen M. Wells), testified on her behalf, and Senator Kennedy offered a statement directed at the committee chairman in which he upheld Dr. Hill and rejected Judge Thomas' accusations that the hearings were driven by racism. Senators of both parties agreed that the vote would be extremely close.

On October 14, the last day of the hearings, the issue became the subject of bipartisan politics as both Democrats and Republicans tried to gain the upper hand. The general feeling was that the Republicans were in favor since Judge Thomas

was said to be more believable and since it was expected that he would be appointed to the Supreme Court despite the hearings, which ended at 2:00 a.m.

On October 15, after senate debates that lasted the entire day and commenced under a deluge of telephone calls, letters, and strong persuasion from the White House, Judge Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court of the United States of America was approved by a 52-48 vote. The senators, at first uncomfortable with their votes, were eased when poll after poll revealed the American public believed Judge Thomas over Dr. Hill. Most senators, however, knew that their reputation had been damaged; the hearings were described by Senator Kennedy as an emergency defense established to answer the "tidal wave of anger among the women of America" (October 16, 1991). This aspect of the issue was not resolved by the vote and remains a sore controversy in America. Republican senators, urging America to bring the issue of sexual harassment to the forefront of awareness, put the burden on the shoulders of American women. They also urged businessmen to treat their female counterparts with respect.

Dr. Hill did not comment on the vote but did say that she hoped Judge Thomas' confirmation would not discourage other women from speaking out about sexual harassment in the workplace. Dr. Hill also said that although the proceedings were extremely difficult, she would not hesitate to go through the process again because she believed that it was the right thing to do.

Judge Thomas' statements indicated that it was time for healing, not anger. He vowed to put the last 107 days behind him and go forward in his new job as Associate Supreme Court Justice.

Judge Thomas was sworn into the Supreme Court on October 18, 1991, at a celebration at the White House. Following is a statement made by President Bush at Justice Thomas' ceremony:

America is blessed to have a man of this character serve on its highest court....Clarence Thomas has endured America at its worst, and he's answered with America at its best. He brings that hard-won experience to the High Court, and America will be the better for it (October 19, 1991).

The mood at the ceremony was said to be festive. Thomas reiterated his "healing" theme, cited Sir Winston Churchill in saying, "Let us go forward together" (October 19, 1991). The court ceremony, at which Judge Thomas took the judicial oath, was held on October 23, two weeks from the celebration at the White House. Thomas was not officially a justice until he had taken both oaths, although the White House endeavored to portray him as a full justice after the first ceremony.

### Significance of Study

The hearings to address the charge of sexual harassment by Professor Anita Hill of Judge Clarence Thomas were much more than a forum to discuss the sexual harassment allegations, although that charge, in its seriousness, was the center of the conflict. It was not the entire issue. Judge Thomas redefined the conflict as an issue of race, even though the accused and the accuser were both African-American. It was an issue of the tactics of bipartisan politics, each side fighting to win power over the other. Finally, it degenerated into the Senate's attempt to save their image; they were viewed as unsympathetic to women's groups because of their seemingly indifferent treatment of the issue when Dr. Hill first brought it to their attention. It was a conflict that became, in the end, a successful rebuilding of the male-dominated hierarchy within politics and within our society after what was seen by many as an attempt to disrupt that hierarchy. What it should have been was an issue of a woman's right to her own dignity and to respect, which had been taken from her through sexual harassment.

This study hypothesizes that the media, governed by the feminist definition of patriarchal ideology, presented the case to us in such a way that their version of the reality of the case clearly dominated the methods by which information was presented to the public. The media had the power to critically impact the public

opinions formulated about this conflict. The conflict was presented in such a way that the degradation experienced by Dr. Hill was minimized through media textual portrayals of herself and Judge Thomas and through the media's attempt to make the issue into other than it was. Furthermore, these portrayals were an attempt to establish the male order that had been disrupted by Dr. Hill's allegations. The fact is that Dr. Hill brought an extremely important and prevalent crime to the forefront of our attention, and she suffered for it. It serves us well to analyze the treatment of the issue in order to understand the powers that defined our concepts of reality. We can, by discovering the influence of the media, understand and react to future attempts to change our opinions to those that undermine the female position within our society; only then can the rights of women in the workplace and in society in general be properly championed.

The fact that very little other research on this or even similar cases exists lends even more importance to this study. The pervasiveness of sexual harassment and the media's perpetuation of female subordination in our society are critical issues that must be addressed in order for women to gain their proper place within our culture.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Ideology

Heck (1980, p. 122) cites Althusser's definition of ideology as "...a 'representation' of the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence." Individual perceptions are distorted because the accounts of social reality received from the media are distorted (coded). Ideology is a representational system depicting images and concepts and the structures by which society is influenced. A great number of coded messages are possible; however, only a few are consistently used by the media (Glasgow Media Group, 1972).

For Hackett, the ideological messages within a media frame are better extrapolated from the perspective that such messages contain images of the world rather than simply favor one group or individual over another (1984). The Glasgow Media Group states that ideology is "...the common sense awareness of social processes" (1972, p. 13). This awareness is difficult to study because it is a part of everyday culture and cannot be easily extrapolated from daily routines. The media, in their power to communicate with massive numbers of people, have the power to define societal norms and to set agendas. The media do not mirror



reality; rather, they manifest the cultural codes of news organizations. They maintain the existing heirarchal political order within society.

Eco's definition of ideology is more anthropological. He states that ideology is knowledge in its entirety of the "receiver" and his or her social group. Veron uses this definition as a basis for his argument that ideology is a level of message organization; it is a "level of signification" (Heck, 1980, p. 123). Veron places importance on what is relayed and the way a message is given. Important, too, is what is omitted from a message. The coding and decoding of a message is possible only if both groups know the code; groups that use a different coding system will derive a different meaning from the message than the sender intended. Denotative messages are those derived from a widely used code; connotative meanings are provided by sub-codes and are the privilege of certain groups of people (Heck, 1980).

Linguistic theory uses the concepts of connotation and denotation in relation to messages. Denotation involves the literal meaning of a sign, while connotation is equated with the ephemeral, changeable, associated meanings of messages (Hall, 1980b). Many signs employ both concepts. Barthes considers denotation to be the "first system of signification" (Heck, 1980, p. 124). Signification, according to Barthes, is comprised of a plane of expression, or signifier, and a plane of content, or signified (Heck, 1980, p. 124).

The second level of the signifier and the signified is labeled by Barthes as connotative and is the plane of expression for a second system. A signifier can signify more than one thing within different frameworks (e.g., a pig can be a farm animal, a negative word for policeman, or associated with male chauvinism within certain situations or classes of society).

Connotative meanings operate through the use of lexicons or sub-codes and are decoded according to the lexicons within a given situation. Barthes also uses the concept of the myth as a special connotator because the generation of a myth and the connotation process are identical, differing only by the amplitude of the lexicons that present the concepts of an idea (Heck, 1980). The connotative level of a sign is present when previously coded signs meet cultural codes; at this level, signs contain more ideological messages. These types of codes direct the decoder to the way in which any message should be socially understood and to the codes which attribute power and perpetuate a dominant, preferred ideology of social order. Events that disrupt perceptions of the construction of society do not make sense until they are logically placed somewhere within the existing societal order. The communication between the media and the audience, then, is not a natural event but is a highly structured discourse (Hall, 1980b).

The mass media process involves a set of individual moments chained together in a specific way - "production, circulation, distribution/consumption,

reproduction" - that forms a "complex structure of dominance" (Hall, 1980b, p. 128). What is produced and consumed in this process is meaning, through messages, in the form of signs. If the signs are not understood, or decoded, meaning is not transferred to the consumer, and the messages have no effect on society. The media cannot transmit "raw" information; events must be constructed and meanings assigned (encoded) before an event can be transmitted. An event must be made into a story prior to communication. Messages may be coded with significant ideological information; if the code defining the method of coding/decoding is not parallel, a distortion results (Hall, 1980b). The media, therefore, are makers of meaning.

Certain codes are so imbedded within society that they appear as natural fact rather than a construction. Such codes have been "profoundly naturalized" and so conceal the ideological effect of the message (Hall, 1980b, p. 132).

According to Grossbeck and Slack (1985), Hall defines ideology as the interchange of meanings and communications a society uses to frame practices and consciousnesses and to place identities and subjectivities. Discourse is deeply permeated by language which carries with it powerful ideologies.

Complex societal structures are articulated based on history and on the power holders in any given situation at any given time. This concept, hegemony, depicts a constant struggle for groups within society to achieve dominance and so

present their own ideological framework to society and becomes leaders within it. The conflict is always over the chance to express meanings and practices that support a particular group over another by "disarticulating" the power holders, allowing an alternate group to dominate (Grossberg and Slack, 1985, p. 90).

The conflict between groups, people, or classes presupposes a multidimensional society. Hall (1985) writes that because society as a whole is complex, the relationships between its parts are also complex. Dominant groups are diverse, structured organizations as well that can experience internal contradiction, just as the dominant group as a whole contradicts other, exterior groups. Contradiction indicates alternative systems of action, which the dominant group leaders shape into political and social norms for the group and for exterior groups as well. Social and political rules, familial rules, economic standards, all are *articulated* by the leaders of the group in power for others to follow. Ideology is exactly this establishment of meaning. Class ideology, then, is in constant evolution; no correspondence of meaning is ever always constant. Structure is what its particular history has made it be (Hall, 1985).

Hall (1985) cites Althusser's idea that knowledge is the product of practice rather than a reflection of reality in language, thus rejecting the Marxist idea of a "false consciousness," where people are shielded from the truth within a given social class through the dominant ideological supporters. For Althusser, the

function of ideology is to reproduce "the social relations of production" (Hall, 1985, p. 98). Ideology is the directions for how to think and reason in order to make sense of the world and of social relationships within it. Ideas directing thought are most prevalent in a society's language codes. Language is a product of the media; the media, then, become the perpetuators of a dominant ideology. A society is reflected in its language (Hall, 1985).

Ideology can also be a system of representation made up of representation ideas, myths, and images. People exist via their perceived relationships to reality. This concept, outlined in Althusser's *For Marx*, is semiotic in tone; in fact, Hall writes that within this concept, every interaction within society exists within "...the interplay of meaning and representation and can itself be represented" (Hall, 1985, p. 103).

Writers of media research have said that the media are a mirror to the world and reflect only the reality of society. Bennett (1982) cites a problem with this theory. A definitive line cannot be drawn between society and representations of society within the media. Such a concept suggests that the media are somehow separate from society and from social representation.

The concept of the media as definers of reality addresses the duality between what is real and what is defined as real in society and places the media within society as delineators of reality. The media is taken out of the secondary

role in the "media as mirror" theory and places them with society as active participants. To suggest that the media define reality implies that the perspectives with which the media report events and the inclusion of events in media products over others is to suggest that the media influence audiences' perceptions of society in profound ways. The media become agencies of mediation between events and the perceptions of those events (Bennett, 1982). "News stories, like myths, do not 'tell it like it is,' but rather, 'tell it like it means'" (Carey, 1988, p. 71).

Bird (1988, p. 82) states that though news is not fictitious, it is a "story about reality, not reality itself." News enjoys a privileged status as truth. News records history, relaying those events judged by news organizations as worthy. News stories are written so that "reality" is transmitted in the first few sentences. "Narrativity...is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality" (White, quoted in Bird, 1988, p. 82). Reality is narrated in a story form that transmits cultural values. Cultural values can only exist through their communication (Byrd, 1988). Furthermore, media power lies in the ability to transmit meaning and truth in ways that support ideological representations.

Hall (1985, p. 108-111) explains the relationship between meaning and representation with the term "black." As a boy in Jamaica, Hall was called "coloured," which meant "not black." The term "coloured" was a representation of the "...mixed' ranks of the brown middle class" and was, in that particular

society, a term given to those who were in a class above the "black...ordinary folk." Hall later moved to England, where he was called "coloured" because he was black. The term "coloured" in England meant something quite different than it did in Jamaica. The meanings of these terms were not literal or fixed; they signified different things in different social settings. Meanings are not transparent in worldwide language; they differ within social systems. Furthermore, ideology does not freely emanate from individual persons; we are ascribed into it by others and are born into it (Hall, 1985).

Many systems of representation exist; ideologies are complex, multi-faceted systems of social practice. Several dominant ideologies may interchange at any given time. The notion of a singular dominant ideology or a singular subordinate ideology is simplistic (Hall, 1985).

### News as an Ideological Construction

A daily newspaper, because of its frequency of production, is in high competition with other dailies. To be successful, a daily newspaper must be first in its coverage of events. It must find new angles with which to cover an event already presented. It publishes a story and drops it within a day, it moves stories around, and it emphasizes different stories over others at different times, creating a freshness, a discontinuity. Hall writes that a newspaper's feeling of change is

deceptive because each newspaper has a regular audience and a strong, existing structure and routine within which they define what news is, the methods by which they obtain news, presentation methods, and orders of emphasis. Each paper uses their structure and routine to support the areas of interest and the awareness (pre-defined meanings) of the part of society it serves. It is a matter of the production and consumption of a known product. New stories are placed within the already established structures and meanings. The existence of an "image" of the newspaper in the minds of its readers allows the newspaper to write about events in certain frameworks. A daily newspaper, then, is a "...structure of meanings," reiterating the medium as a creator of meaning (Hall, 1975, p. 17).

Gans (1979) defines news ideology as a "...deliberately thought-out, consistent, integrated, and inflexible set of explicit political values, which is a determinant of political decisions" (pp. 29, 30). According to Gans, seven ideological positions exist within news: radicals, "left-leaning" liberals, liberals, moderates, conservatives, ultraconservatives, and right-wing extremists. The news media support the set of positions in the middle of the spectrum; all other groups are not treated as well. Gans writes the media depict right wing groups in more positive ways than left-wing groups (e.g., radicals are framed as extremely deviant groups, while ultraconservatives are never labeled as even reactionary). The Glasgow Media Group's research supports this claim (1982). Opinions that do not



coincide with the dominant ideological position are not reported, while opinions that parallel the dominant ideological position are reported as fact. Journalists do not follow story lines to which their employers or sources would take exception (Parenti, 1993).

Events are also more likely to be reported if event frequency parallels that of the news media and if the event contains only a few messages. An event that takes a great deal of time will have a lesser chance of reaching the public because of the quick, daily schedules to which the media comply. Events must also be judged worthy of coverage before they reach the media; thus, a "threshold" exists which an event must reach before it is considered news. Worthiness is based on relevancy and familiarity within a given culture; however, events must also be unexpected or uncommon. Events are most likely to be covered if they involve the dominant power group, have personal perspectives, and are negative events. Negative events are predominant within the news because they are more frequent, are unambiguous, and they fit audiences' perceptions about present society. (Galtung and Ruge, 1981).

Gans' study of news (1979) found that the most frequently covered events within the news are government conflicts, decisions, events, proposals, government personnel changes, protests, crimes and scandals, disasters, social innovation, and national ceremonies (pp. 16-19). The subjects within news accounts

overwhelmingly address the interactions of society and national interests, but societal accounts are often framed as "soft news." National news receives far more extensive treatment (Gans, 1979, p. 19).

The Glasgow Media Group (1976) cites four "filters" through which information must pass in order to be news. These filters are: constraints inherent to the medium in which the news is being presented, traditional news values, appropriateness of the information to the medium, and culture. These four filters serve to create an ideological interpretation of occurrences that is presented as reality. The news, then, is a highly constructed, cultural product that creates versions of reality.

Stories are judged suitable based on substantive, product, and competitive considerations. Substantive considerations involve the importance of the information within a given story. Because some stories are important to some people but not to others, a story is not substantively important unless it contains information on people or things that defines the story's intended audience. A story is selected if the audience for whom the story is important fits the targeted audience of the news organization for which the journalist works. Story importance is usually judged by the involvement of the federal government (especially the President), the impact of the information on the nation or on a large segment of the population, and the significance of the information on historical and

future societal norms. Story importance is determined by a very small group of people within the news organization (Gans, 1979).

News audiences' perceptions are not of individual, separate "truths"; rather, beliefs are comprised of a general knowledge of past and present truths. Such truths are continuously being changed to redefine people's perceptions. News accounts "re-inform" previous occurrences and place events in certain contexts in line with the past. Historical events lend justification to present events. Frames provide order for selected segments of everyday social activity; they create understandable stories from nonsensical bits of information (Molotch and Lester, 1984; Tuchman, 1978). Molotch and Lester (1974, p. 102) state that

...occurrences *become events* according to their usefulness to an individual who is attempting...to order her or his experience....Each time there is a need to carve up reality temporally, the reason for doing so constrains what kind of carving will be done....Any occurrence is a potential resource for constructing an event, and the event so constructed is continuously dependent on the purposes-at-hand for its durability.

When people or groups of people have different purposes for reality, they will "use" occurrences differently, creating issues of "truth." Interpretation leads to alternate accounts of what happened and different interests in the outcomes. Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas created an issue of truth; Judge Thomas and the judiciary committee created an issue of perception of fairness, and Dr. Hill and the judiciary committee created an issue of fair treatment. Feminist groups picked up the issue of fairness. The occurrence also became an issue of racial conflict. Molotch and

Lester (1974) write that sometimes an issue becomes the issue: if one side of an issue accuses the other side of deflecting attention away from it and creating another issue, the issue becomes the point of conflict.

It is not the purpose of this study to uncover the truth of either side of any of these issues; rather, this study attempts to discover which issues became highlighted in the media coverage in order to ascertain whose purposes such coverage served, thereby discovering the ideological theories that enjoy predominance in the media.

### Ideology Within News Organizations

Gail Tuchman writes that "news is a window on the world"; news has in its purview the power to define what is relevant, interesting and important. Tuchman states the "window" through which audiences look can be many shapes and sizes, many textures and patterns, and can present many views (1978, p. 1). The view and the window are both dictated by a given news organization's ideological stance; knowledge is both developed and disseminated according to such viewpoints.

Media organizations are structured similarly to other large businesses. They are comprised of a heirarchical structure in which role responsiblities are clearly

defined. Organizational goals are supported by policies and procedures, and a clear line of responsibility exists in support of such goals. There are supervisor/subordinate relationships and communication channels. The products of media organizations reflect the ideological stances of the people at the top of the organizational hierarchical structure because those are the people who establish the "norms" of the organization (Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott, 1982).

Media organizations exist in symbiosis with their environment; in fact, they depend on their environment for the material they produce. Media relationships with the sources of this material (information) influence their final product (Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott, 1982).

The news media also work within the media at large and have the power to set agendas for their audiences, especially concerning political matters. The news is the process by which occurrences are turned into events; news is geographically unlimited. News allows audiences to know selected information about people who may be next door or who may exist on the other side of the globe (Tuchman, 1978).

Gans (1979, pp. 9-15) writes that the people featured in news stories are either knowns, who are people who are well-known within society who usually hold official positions; and unknowns, common people who live within the general social classes which make up society. A small percentage of Knowns enjoys a

much more frequent news coverage than unknowns, especially the President, presidential candidates, federal officials, state and local officials and well-known people involved in an event in which the law has been broken. Unknowns who are most likely to be covered are protesters, "rioters," and strikers, victims, alleged and actual law breakers, people involved in unusual activities, voters and people who answer surveys. Most Unknowns enter the news through statistical representation.

No story is universal or timeless. A story exists within a specific time and place, and the assumptions about the truths of that story also exist within that same specific time and space. Viewers select meanings based on the presentation of information in relation to social ideals (Cohen, 1991). When stories are told and retold, other viewpoints are applied to them and different meanings are extrapolated. All communication is socially defined; general discourse assumes a basic knowledge of the norms of the society in which the discourse is situated (Cohen, 1991). It is the function of journalists to create such discourse through the construction of stories (Roeh, 1989).

The danger in journalism as storytelling lies in the tendency of audiences to accept the contents of stories as reality. News is not presented with the purpose of education or reflection; rather, news is presented in order that events can be known (Postman, 1989). Graber (1989) also adds the dimension of latent and manifest

meanings inherent in any news story. Latent meanings are inferred in any given story based on the personal orientations of the receivers of the messages. Manifest meanings are simply standard meanings of words that denote each step of an event within a story. In order to thoroughly analyze the contents of news stories, all of the messages, both latent and manifest, must be considered.

In addition to being storytellers, Gans (1979) writes that journalists are also establishers of political officials, since a political candidate who does not do well in the media will also not do well in the polls. Journalists serve as a medium for political discourse, providing political feedback to audiences and distributing power to certain groups who are aligned with the dominant political ideology. Journalists are the "watchdogs" of society's moral code; they choose and reject stories based on the morality issues involved in the story. Journalists create myth in their function as the distributors of "truth," serving as the measurers of social order and as "agents of social control" (Gans, 1979, p. 295). Journalists act either individually or under the influence of the dominant power holders within society. Journalists create reality for their audiences, thus constructing society itself (Gans, 1979). In all of these roles, journalists present stories according to the definitions supported by the news organization for which they work.

Graber (1989) writes the order and presentation of stories are established to support the dominant ideology of the news organizations. Frames represent a

media organization's political and/or community beliefs, production costs, or audience sensitivity. Story selection, according to Gans (1979), is a two-step process: news availability is determined and ties journalists to their news sources; journalists then determine news suitability, tying them to their audiences.

Molotch and Lester (1974, p. 101) write that news organizations "strategically" construct reality by presenting events. not because of any inherent importance that exists in conjunction with a given event, but because the value of events parallels the purposes of people in positions of power who have access to the media. The perspective with which events are presented reveals a specific societal organization demonstrating the hierarchical order of classes.

People need accounts of actions that render their own actions real and logically organized (patterned). News accounts of actions provide audiences with agendas; thus, people "need" news. "Pasts and futures are constructed and reconstructed as a continuous process of daily routines" (Molotch and Lester, 1974, pp. 101-102).

The agenda-setting function of the media is an integral part of every news organization and is influenced by values. The media in their agenda-setting role educate audiences on what is or is not important, normal, or desirable. Journalistic products incorporate facts into standard reference frames, which does not facilitate



the complete, unbiased, objective coverage of any event. News, then, is never a "mirror image of reality" (Glasgow Media Group, 1976, p. 10).

Every reporter applies his or her own set of values to each story written. Certain groups enjoy preference within the news. Reality judgements applied to each story a reporter writes cannot exist apart from reporters' value systems. Values within the news are implicit and must be extrapolated by discovering the information that is presented, highlighted, or left out. Every story, especially those concerning an "undesirable" behavior within society, implies what is desirable simply by its presentation as a negative event (Gans, 1979).

Since most news values are not explicit, they must be deduced and are therefore usually ambiguous. In addition to values within the news, values are derived from the news, creating a multi-level system of value messages. Value messages resulting from the news are not applied to news stories by the journalists who write them (Gans, 1979). Values within the news are those of the news' authors and are present within the news by the use of news frames.<sup>3</sup>

The perspectives with which reporters write parallel a dominant social order. The target of any event is the driving force behind its coverage. For example, events involving the government, the arena in which public policy is determined, will more likely be covered by the media than similar events involving

other groups. Those individuals or groups that challenge the political or social order are labeled by the media as deviant.

Tuchman (1978) writes that people portrayed in the news create and influence societal norms. Society has a part in shaping social consciousness, and people actively create social incidents based on an apprehension of events that deviate from the accepted societal norm. If incidents were accepted as "normal," they would not be news. Tuchman also discusses a more interpretive news theory in which the routines of reporters and news organizations define social norms and so dictate what is newsworthy based on their immediate needs (e.g., what stories must go where on a newspaper page and why).

Within the interpretive theory, the media serve to define what is "deviant" and what is "normal" social behavior by the frames with which such stories are presented. Occurrences involving groups labeled "deviant" by media organizations are often treated as "soft" news, which are feature-type stories, or are reported with negative groups who are a threat to social stability. The media, by constructing stories, ensure constantly changing standards for social phenomena (Tuchman, 1978).

Most political and social disorder news involves ordinary citizens rather than public officials or members of elite groups within the social structure. The news supports the values of the upper-middle and upper classes of society. Other

societal classes are supported when they uphold the values of the upper-middle and upper classes. The media generally support the values of the middle-aged and older population segment rather than the values of younger groups. News also favors the societal structure supporting the white male. In summary, the news supports the values of upper class, middle-aged, white male members of society. Political and social order exist based on value judgements of how society should be structured; to challenge those values is to support political and social disintegration (Gans, 1979, p. 60).<sup>4</sup>

Political and social order are protected and maintained through leadership. The news media play an integral part in creating competent leaders. The ultimate protector of order is the President; Gans writes that the President serves as the nation's moral leader. The President represents national values and acts as "the agent of the national will" (Gans, 1979, p. 63). The news portrays the President as the person responsible for these duties, thus upholding the President's right to set the values and the moral tone for society. Seiden (1974) writes that a President's motive for being actively involved in the media is to influence society toward his views. The Executive Office of Communications is effective in its use of the press release for Presidential gain.

Gans (1979) cites a study done in 1974 by *Time* magazine to extrapolate America's most promising leaders. Forty-nine percent of the people listed were

government officials; 24.5 percent were professionals (mostly university leaders); and 17.5 percent were business leaders. Only three percent were racial and ethnic leaders. Most of the leaders from universities were from Ivy League schools. Ninety-one percent of the leaders were white males. People in their forties comprised 52 percent of the list; only 2 percent of the leaders identified were in their twenties.

The presentation of news events is influenced by several factors, the most powerful of which is the government. Government officials influence journalists by complaining to the executives of a media organization if their views are not supported by the news stories published by that organization, by exerting economic pressure or charging a news organization with FCC violations (in previous years via the Fairness Doctrine), by investigating a news organization, by litigation, and through influencing a news organization's audience against it by presenting its failures. Parenti (1993, p. 63) notes a daily morning meeting during which the senior White House staff decides, "What do we want the press to cover today and how?" The President himself has access to the media at a moment's notice any time it suits him to use them, indicating his powerful control over journalists. Journalists also experience pressure from special interest groups.

Organizational requirements also influence journalists to conform to the influence of government officials. Journalists are under pressure to fill column

inches with facts, preferably exclusive facts, and they must meet schedules; to do so requires a good working relationship with government officials who have inside knowledge of the workings of the political arena. Officials are able to publish their own versions of policy in the news media simply by helping journalists fill their job requirements. Altschull (1990) writes that government officials and journalists have the same power; their jobs are almost interchangeable. The news media are a type of "bulletin board" for government officials (Altheide, 1974), who use the newspapers to show their supervisors what is happening on certain issues. Altschull (1990, p. 328) quotes Bagdikian's ideal relationship between the government and the press: "The ideal relationship...is one of independence of the media from government, and no assumption of governmental obligations by the media." The current relationship between the government and the media is far from this ideal.

Altschull (1990, p. 295) states that "*information* is power," and those who control the news media control "societies and nations." The news media do not address issues of power because to acknowledge the power of journalism is to give it a seriousness. Power "takes the fun out of being a journalist" (Altschull, 1990, p. 330). Such power is important, though, since a news audience generally has no notion that he or she is being ideologically conditioned by the government officials

and special interest groups who exert control over the news media. The power of the media to "spread a belief system for good or ill, is incalculable" (1990, p. 348).

In anticipation of some of the obstacles established by unhappy government officials or disgruntled members of a special interest group, journalists will censor their own work and cooperate with the powerful constituents within society.

Cooperation usually means complying with the wishes of the government by skewing information to favor important sources of news and to gain an advantage over competing news organizations. Such sources are important because they possess the power and the information to create national news and to influence people for or against a news organization. The power of a source is greater than the power of an audience (Gans, 1979, p. 283; Glasgow Media Group, 1976) because journalists' first consideration is the make up of their final product, and sources have more power to influence the product than do audiences.

Product considerations involve the "fit" of the story into the final product of a given news organization. A story must comply to the medium and to the format of the news vehicle in which it will be included. A story must fit into the news product so balance with other stories is created and must support the technology used to create the news product (i.e., a newspaper, the television news show, or the news magazine). Story balance includes story mixture and subject and geographic, demographic and political balance. Stories must be complete, clear, contain action,

and lend diversity to the other stories with which it will be published (Gans, 1979, p. 174).

The news product, then, contains only those stories that fit into the ideological and physical confines of the news product. Journalists publish the information that helps them sell their product. Over half of the information contained in print and broadcast news products is far removed from being news (Altschull, 1990).

Each news story must pass through certain people or organizations who help construct the final makeup of the event. Molotch and Lester (1974, p. 104) cite the three main bodies that constitute news: news promoters, or those people who can make news important enough to be news (e.g., the President or an eye witness); news assemblers, or those people working within the media to present news to society; and news consumers.

Promoters work with their own benefits in mind: past and future uses are a constant aspect of any occurrence a promoter wishes the media to cover. Molotch and Lester use the example of a bombing: If the United States bombs Saudi Arabia and the media do not emphasize the occurrence in their reporting or report it as a bombing of military targets, President Clinton will appear in a different light altogether than if the media widely report the occurrence as an "indiscriminant massive bombing" (1974. p. 104). People in power, then, have

access to the media and work in conjunction with them in order that their interests are served.

Assemblers, or media personnel, have the power to promote or ignore promoters' work or activities. Within the media institutions, advancement and promotion are tied to the content of news stories. The needs of promoters and the needs of assemblers often parallel; powerful promoters exert great pressure on assemblers, and assemblers need the information and support of promoters in order to produce the types of stories for which they will be promoted.

Consumers take the information given to them by assemblers (who obtained the information from promoters) and construct the event. Their access to occurrences is limited to what the assemblers choose to present to them. A typical consumer does not have the power of the promoter to use the media for his or her own purposes.

The events presented to the consumer are further categorized, limiting the consumer's ability to construct a news event in any way other than that in which it is presented. Routine events are those that contain some kind of purpose. For example, President Clinton visiting a nursing home full of poor, elderly patients may be presented by the media to support his upcoming health insurance plan, but it also serves him well image-wise. It may also be tied to another issue; say, his



tax plan. Such events are extremely important to promoters because they serve to create the general view of what society is "really like."

News events that are not purposive in nature are classified by Molotch and Lester as either accidents or scandals. Accidents disrupt the daily routine of events and are promoted by people who are not involved in the accident. Many accidents are never made into public events, usually because the interests of powerful promoters would be undermined by the presentation of some accidents. Molotch and Lester (1974, p. 110) state, "...All this attests to the fact that all events are socially constructed and their 'newsworthiness' is not contained in their objective features."

Scandals enter the media when an occurrence is intentionally made into an event by people or organizations who do not support the motives of the people involved in the scandal. A scandal can only be presented in the media if the event contains an eyewitness or someone who "leaks" the story to the press. Scandals are controlled by the people with the most power to influence the media. The Glasgow Media Group (1976) writes that news is the extraordinary and the significant, not the ordinary or mundane. This emphasis creates a news structure that "blames" the groups or people who instigate the action; they are labeled disruptive. Those categorized as disruptive are most often members of low status, lower class groups. The black community is extremely under-represented in news

unless they are associated with a problem involving the white community. Women are also under-represented. (Glasgow Media Group, 1982).

Molotch and Lester suggest that the media do not reflect the world but reflect the world according to elite powerholders. The media do not reflect reality; they create one reality over another.

Stuart Hall (1975) agrees with Molotch's and Lester's assertion that the press' consistent reporting practices reflect the patterns of life within a society, patterns that are ever changing. Hall goes a step further, however, and states that through its methods of selection, treatment and presentation, the press "...interprets that process of social change" (p. 11). The press serves as society's "teacher."

### News Bias

Altheide (1974) writes that bias is what distorts news in order to conceal the truth. News organizations fundamentally distort news through the daily organizational demands placed on journalists. News decontextualizes information to create stories that adhere to the constraints of a news medium.

Two types of bias that journalists acknowledge are the insertion of personal values into stories and "ideological commitments" (Altheide, 1974, p. 175). The standard formula by which all journalistic accounts are written (i.e., who, what,

when, where) lends all stories sameness; a press conference and a burglary can be reported identically. The who-what-when-where formula is "the first and greatest commandment in the matter of journalistic style" (Parenti, 1993, p. 3). Adding any information that requires interpretation compromises clarity.

The "who-what-when-where" formula allows journalists to select facts for a story, creating a biased version of the reality of the event being reported. The "who" is usually a trusted government official; the "what" is related directly to "who" and is usually controlled by the "who." The "when" of a story is dictated by the news media's schedules. If an event occurs in time for it to be covered by the media, it will be included in the news product (e.g., newspaper or newscast). Story inclusion is also influenced by the "whens" of other occurrences; if a news organization has enough stories to fill its established time or space parameters, editors will make value judgements regarding what will and will not be included. The "where" of a story is related to the "who" and the "what." Different sources produce different accounts of stories. Altheide (1974) uses the example of robbery to illustrate. Most crime reported by the news media is heard about through police scanners, which focuses on the violence in the streets. White collar crime is seldom reported because information on it is not obtained through standard information channels. Crime in the news leaves audiences with the idea that certain types of criminal activity are indicative of certain classes of people.

No "why" or "how" questions are asked without assumptions made regarding what is important as an explanation within a given story. The "why" or "how" questions "presuppose a platform for inquiry, a framework for interpreting answers, a set of rules about who to ask what about what" (Parenti, 1993, p. 5).

The order of the pieces of information within a news story creates a historical reenactment of history that is out of context; this decontextualization is necessary in order to fit news accounts in a usable format for the medium in which the account will be presented. The presentation of a story from different angles also creates a different version of an event (Altheide, 1974). Bias is thus injected into news accounts.

The perception of bias is tied directly to the level of audience involvement. Gunther (1988) writes that when an audience is not involved in a topic, attention to the topic is peripheral. When people are concerned with a news topic, they process the information on that topic in a more profound manner. Furthermore, the more an audience is involved in a topic, the more the media messages regarding that topic are trusted. Extreme involvement in an issue, however, tends to focus media bias and leads to a distrust of media accounts of the issue, especially if media accounts are contrary to audiences' beliefs (Gunther, 1988). The Glasgow Media Group (1976) found that few people cared about bias; those

who did care judged bias not on particular issues but on an overall assessment of the media.

Bias and objectivity are most often linked to political or ideological functions of the mass media. Journalists themselves use such concepts to judge their individual products. Commonly, bias is thought to be the injection of opinion into "factual" news stories. Bias is also an unbalanced account of an issue containing opposing viewpoints and is the misrepresentation of reality (Hackett, 1984). Hackett (1984, p. 232) cites McQuail's delineation of the possible indications of bias:

explicit argument and compilation of evidence favoring one view; a tendentious use of facts and comments, without any explicit statement of preference; the use of language which colors an otherwise factual report and conveys an implicit but clear value judgement; and the omission of points favoring one side, in an otherwise straight news report.

Studies of bias within the news media accept the assumptions that the media should fairly reflect the occurrences within the world as they happened, without favoritism. The biggest obstacles to the fair, balanced reporting of news are political and social attitudes of reporters; biases within stories that are easily extrapolated through decoding methods; and the favoring of political constituents. Writing stories that favor political constituents is the most important form of

"political or ideological bias in the media" (Hackett, 1984, p. 233; Glasgow Media Group, 1976).

Hackett writes that journalists achieve balance in stories by defining social reality according to the dominant political ideology. Hackett (1984, p. 234) cites other arguments stating the journalists' "...mediation of the social world."

Hackett (1984; Tuchman, 1978) further states that the social and political worlds are not constant, enabling a simple reflection within media contexts. Reality must be socially constructed, and the media serve to do so, giving them so much power that the media have become the institutions to which other organizations conform. The media, hence, language, is a "structuring agent" (Hackett, 1984, p. 236).

## Semiotics

John Deely (1990) writes that the heart of semiotics involves the concept that human experience, in its entirety, may be interpreted through the use of signs. Deely cites Asa Berger's statement that semiology is important as a science because it employs the concepts of the linguistic model to texts, broadening the linguistic model beyond its application to language.

Although semiotics has supported many methods of study (for my purposes, structuralism), semiotics is of itself not a method. Semiotics is, rather, a perspective. Within this perspective, Deely (1990, p. 10) writes that ideas are signs of "what is objectively other than and superordinate to" the idea.

Semiotic arises from the attempt to make thematic this ground that is common to all methods and sustains them transparently throughout to the extent that they are genuine means by which inquiry is advanced. Semiotics, then, "...rests on the realization of a unique form of activity in nature,...and for which...Charles Sanders Pierce coined the name *semiosis*" (Deely, 1990, pp. 10-11).

A narrative entity requires the use of signs for the development of method; that is, the natural activity of signs must be present before a method can be developed and before communication can take place at all. Every scientific method has as its purpose a revelation of something. Because semiosis is a process of revealing meanings, *every* method involves semiosis (Deely, 1990).

As a perspective, semiosis can never be free of ideology because semioticians, by nature of being human, hold some ideological perspective. Any ideological stance applied to semiotics is external to the system of signs and is applied to the signs to give them meaning. Semiotics instead maintains a point of

view which can be extracted from the signs by any true scientific method. Deely explains this concept well:

The semiotic point of view is the perspective that results from the sustained attempt to live reflectively with and follow out the consequences of one simple realization: the whole of our experience, from its most primitive origins in sensation to its most refined achievements of understanding, is a network or web of sign relations. This point of view cannot be reduced to an ideology without losing what is proper to it for the reason that its boundaries are those of the understanding itself in its activity of interpreting dependently upon the cognate interpretations of perception and sensation. (1990, p. 13).

Saussure also believed that language was foremost a system of signs. His theory was that as long as human activity conveys meaning, there exists an underlying system that makes those meanings possible. Linguistics is the primary model for studying sign systems, or semiotics, because within language both the conventional and arbitrary nature of the sign is most clear. A semiotic system for distinguishing meanings must exist if the assignment of meaning to objects or actions within a culture is planned. Language is the most complex and encompassing semiological system (Culler, 1976). Parenti (1993, p. 161) writes,

Journalism can present a coherent narrative only if it is rooted in a social and political ideology, an ideology that gives a consistent focus or narrative line to events, that provides the terminology for a thick description and a ready vocabulary of explanation.

Saussure identified three types of signs in semiology: the icon, the index, and the sign proper, or symbol. All signs signify something, take a certain form,



and relay a meaning, but the relationships between the signifier and the thing signified are different for each type of sign. The icon denotes a physical resemblance between the signifier and signified. The index implies a causal relationship between the signifier and signified (smoke: fire). The relationship between the signifier and the signified in the symbolic sign is arbitrary and conventional (i.e, a handshake as a form of greeting). Because of the arbitrary and conventional characteristic of the symbol, it is the focus of semiotics (Culler, 1976).

Systems of conventional signs used for direct communication are central to semiotics. Such systems encompass the message codes used to transmit meaning within a language system. More complicated coding systems, such as those in aesthetic works (e.g., painting, music and literature) are used not for direct communication but for the communication of more subtle notions. A third type of coding system is that of social practice, such as ritual and etiquette. Saussure also addresses the coding systems inherent in the social and natural sciences, which are cause and effect systems (Culler, 1976).

The primary model for the study of semiotics is linguistics. Barthes writes that linguistics is a "true science of structure" that has as its goal the reconstruction of a thing in order that its messages will be made manifest (1972, p. 213).

Structuralism is an activity of deconstruction and reconstruction. Saussure believed

that an analysis of language is also an analysis of "social facts." Linguistics studies social convention (Culler, 1976).

Words do not perfectly conform to any structure in the world except discourse, which is variant. Language in relation to semiotics is a series of relationships and contrasts within a larger objective relationship of experience (Deely, 1990). For example, a sentence is comprised of the relationships of the words that build it, and those words are a part of a larger system of language. Semiotically, words relationships create concepts that are interpreted according to an interpreter's ideological stance. Therefore, semiotics always involves three elements: a sign; the thing for which the sign stands, or signifies; and an interpreter (Deely, 1990).

Singer (1978, p. 223) also notes the triadic quality of semiotics as it relates to language, both oral and written. Sebeok cites Barthes' and Leach's interpretations of semiology as a "generalized linguistics." Sebeok cites Pierce's breakdown of the interpretive component of semiotics into final, emotional, and energetic interpretants. The final interpretant involves intellectual concepts. The emotional interpretant relates to the first impression a sign creates for the interpreter, and the energetic interpretant involves the reaction an interpreter has to a sign.

Sless' (1986, p. 1) treatment of ideology as a point of view revolves around the intellectual interpretant in its relation to the sign and the signified because Sless sees semiotics as an "intellectual curiosity about the ways we represent our world to ourselves and each other." For Sless (1986), semiotics has as its subject matter the entire world. Semiosis, however, applies semiotic concepts to communication systems. Semiotics involves the study of communication. Semiosis is the process by which human beings communicate and understand one another.

The basis for semiosis is the "stand-for" relationship between an object and the thing or idea for which the object stands. This concept parallels Deely's sign/referent components of the sign/referent/interpreter triad. These three components are the basis for semiosis and provide Sless' primary principle of semiotics, which is that statements about any aspect of the triad cannot be made in isolation. A statement about any part of the triad contains implications for the other components (Sless, 1986, p. 6). Because ideological interpretations of the sign/referent are not constant among people, the triadic components are ever-changing.

Barthes (1972) states that three relations exist within every sign. The relation that ties together the signifier and the signified is the first relation and is internal. This relation is symbolic because it relates to symbols (although it can

also relate to signs). A virtual relation also exists that ties a sign to other signs. This is the second type of relation and implies the existence of a memory of forms, each distinguished from another by any difference that changes the meaning of signs to make them unique. This relationship implies systems of meaning and is paradigmatic. The paradigmatic relationships between the words of a discourse define structuralist study. The third relation is actual and unites a sign with other signs within a discourse. It is a "syntagmatic relation" (Barthes, 1972, p. 206). Any one of these relations in dominance of the other two implies an ideological stance that controls the meaning of discourse.

The control of meaning is an important tool for social control. The idea that reality is determined by language has long been a school of thought for many structuralist scholars. The Whorfian hypothesis supports this in its idea that what is absent from a language is as important as what is present in a language. The Whorfian hypothesis states that if a language is missing a means of distinguishing between the past and future (past and future tenses), the people who use it could not conceive of a past or a future (Sless, 1986). The absence of feminine terms for people in our language relates to the Whorfian hypothesis; such terms are just recently being developed for use within our language (i.e., personkind rather than mankind, chairperson instead of chairman). The absence of such terms points to the subjugation of women in our culture.

Many systems of meaning can be derived from language; social control depends on an audience's ability to derive the *intended* meaning from the text it reads. Sless cites Stuart Hall's three meaning systems used by readers to understand text: dominant, subordinate and radical meaning. Dominant meaning occurs when readers understand and interpret text according to the intentions of the writers of the text. It is a preferred meaning, usually preferred by the ruling class. Readers are uncritical of the text and support the status quo as a natural societal norm.

Subordinate meaning creates reader interpretations that accept the dominant ideology but that reserve the right to "negotiate more equitable rights within the existing order" (Sless, 1986, p. 106). Radical meaning is the nonacceptance of the status quo and involves the struggle to support the oppressed working class. Radical, or oppositional reading, is conscious of the class system and works to break it (Sless, 1986). Texts, therefore, are "sites of ideological struggle" (Hall, quoted in Sless, 1986, p. 110). Sless states that

The rhetoric of ideological struggle proclaims a victory over the power of the text which paradoxically could not have been won if the text actually had that power. At the centre of that battle is semiosis because the fight is over what *stands for* what.

## Theoretical Frameworks

Central to the study of sexual harassment are the theories that govern our way of understanding the social hierarchy in which we live. The stratification of society into class, male dominance/female subordination, and race explains societal roles of women and the sexual exploitation to which women are vulnerable.

Angela Davis writes that one is unable to understand the "...true nature of sexual assault without situating it within its larger sociopolitical context" (1984, p. 37).

Feminist and patriarchal theories provide frameworks within which society can place sexual harassment and within which an image of women's roles in society can be formed.

The foremost feminist theories important to this research are liberal feminism and patriarchy. Other feminist theories, however, provide a context beside which liberal feminism and patriarchy can be understood and are important to the study of feminist issues.

Radical feminism differs from other feminist theories in that radical feminists believe that women's oppression is fundamental (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978). They believe that women's subjugation is the most widespread of all oppression, that women were the first group to be oppressed, and that women's oppression is the most difficult to abolish. Radical feminists disagree on basis of

women's oppression; some believe the female biological function is the main source of oppression, while others believe male aggression causes women to be oppressed. Radical feminists deny that women's oppression is caused by lack of legal rights or by a class-structured society; the fight for legal rights or the fight against a class-structured society are secondary in importance to the fight against sexism (Jaggar, 1977). Classically, radical feminism supports the idea that women's oppression results from their child-bearing function; the liberation of women will only become reality through a "biological revolution" that would accommodate the production of children outside a woman's body so that women would no longer be physically dependent on men for survival (Jaggar, 1977; Steeves, 1987). Through technology, both men and women will be freed from the necessity to work, and children will have no need for an education. Both the biological and economic constraints placed on both men and women will be removed and the biological and economic "role systems" negated (Jaggar, 1977). Radical feminism, then, relies heavily on the advancement of technology.

Other radical feminists place more emphasis on sexism rather than biology. Jaggar and Struhl cite Charlotte Bunch's work supporting the radical feminism view based on sexism. She writes that in order for women to fight sexism, women must become lesbian (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978, p. 72; Steeves, 1987). Radical

feminists as a group believe in universal male domination, for which the only solution is that women separate themselves completely from men (Steeves, 1987).

Socialist feminist beliefs are fundamentally Marxist, but the socialist feminist believes the Marxist theory needs to be enriched in order to be comprehensive in its treatment of women's oppression. Socialist feminists believe women are not all oppressed in similar ways; for example, working class women and women from poorer countries face dissimilar difficulties. Socialist feminists focus on the problems faced by women of all classes, races, and locations and do so by addressing class subjugation and patriarchy. For socialist feminists, capitalism and sexism are integrally intertwined, but the oppression of women began long before society was class-structured. Socialist feminists hold a classless, genderless society as an ideal; they believe that sexism and economic oppression are fundamentally intertwined (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978).

Socialist feminists do not separate women's roles into home/family and the workplace, as does almost every other feminist theory. Socialist feminists argue instead that work at home and work in public sector are both work. The importance of analyzing domestic labor in relation to sexual discrimination is an important issue in the study of women's oppression for socialist feminists and should be understood. Some socialist feminists simply feel that domestic labor should command a salary as does work outside the home (Halloran, 1974).



Liberal feminism addresses the inequality of opportunity afforded to women. A basic tenet of liberal feminism is women and men have equal capabilities for reasoning, so women should have equal opportunities to use their capabilities. Men and women should fill roles on the basis of their ability to do so, not based on race, sex, religion, or any other perspective. Women should also have equal legal and educational rights, although most liberal feminists agree on a laissez faire attitude by the state government in private affairs. Liberal feminists reject the attitude that women are weaker and must be protected (Jaggar, 1977). Liberal feminists believe psychological differences between men and women are not biological but are learned. People, then, should be able to reach any level within society to which they aspire, regardless of sex or class (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978; Jaggar, 1977; Halloran, 1974). Liberal feminists do not question the idea that people have innate inequalities and that inequalities even exist between men and women. They do question, however, the lack of opportunity for women that is present in the current social structure. The basic tenant of the liberal feminist philosophy is the unerring belief in individual freedom to compete for social roles on equal terms with others (Jaggar, 1977). Liberal feminism is considered to be the most mainstream of all feminist theories and fights to change laws that support the subjugation of women (Steeves, 1987; Halloran, 1974).

Traditional Marxism supports the tenet that people are different because society has conditioned them to be different. People are not passive in their roles in society; for the Marxist, societal members create their own roles and their own structure. Marxists deny the liberal feminist assertion that it is possible for people to have equal opportunity to succeed within a class-structured society (Steeves, 1987; Jaggar, 1977; Halloran, 1974). For the Marxist, a society based on class allows the upper class the ruling power over the lower classes. The upper classes control all functions, to a personal level, of the lower class, which the Marxist considers degrading. Capitalism and male supremacy provide for cheap labor from the underprivileged classes, the consumption of goods, and workers (women) for the more menial tasks such as food preparation and home care (Jaggar, 1977).

The discrimination against women in the workforce is necessary to capitalism. The health of any business relies on its workers' abilities to produce more than they are being paid to produce. Halloran (1974) terms this "surplus value." Having an unemployed workforce complements the concept of surplus value because workers cannot rebel against a low salary when they are easily replaced by others willing to take their jobs for the same low salaries. Women workers are typically those who are underpaid or unemployed (Halloran, 1974).

Marxists attribute the oppression of women to the organization of society into classes and to the traditional family structure. The oppression of women

began with the idea of the ownership of private property, because such ownership gave power to those who were privileged enough to own, e.g., men. Women were dependent on men for economic survival. The oppression of women is but a symptom of class oppression (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978; Jaggar, 1977).

Although feminists have made important gains in the struggle for women's rights, many of those gains are constantly being challenged by men and women alike. Patriarchy is the dominant ideology controlling and limiting the progression of women in private, political and social attainment.

Patriarchy is defined differently by persons who subscribe to different theories. Goldberg (1978) writes that the only biological sex difference that would naturally allow men a higher level of authority in society is aggression. The male hormone system gives men the advantage over women in the competition for social attainment. Patriarchy, defined thus, supports the theory that men are not given higher status roles simply because men traditionally fill such roles; men obtain higher status because they are biologically more aggressive in pursuing those roles. Feminists argue that women can be as aggressive and successful in higher status roles but are not allowed to compete for them and are, in fact, socialized in such a manner that women do not even try to compete for traditional male roles. Placing women in such roles would quickly lead to disruption of order since the naturally aggressive male would soon compete for the positions.

Goldberg asserts that male aggressiveness is not the oppression of women unless it is directed toward women rather than toward goal attainment.

Millett (1970) discusses patriarchy in terms of "sexual politics." Male domination of females is perpetuated as a male birthright; it is one of the most enduring dominant/subordinate relationships. Men hold power because they are men, not by reason of ability (Smith, 1989). Every avenue of power - military, industry, educational institutions, technology, politics, religion - is controlled by men. Women as a societal group "...lack proper title to membership in the circle of those who count for one another in the making of ideological forms" (Smith, 1989, p. 15).

Millett (1970) cites Hannah Arendt's observation that political power is gained either through consent or through force. Patriarchy is perpetuated through consent, achieved through the socialization of women to accept their traditional roles and status. A woman's "sex role" is defined for her by the patriarchal society in which she lives. Patriarchy is two-fold in that older men dominate younger men, and men dominate women.

From a historical perspective, men, by virtue of being male, are attributed with authority that is socially conferred. History is written from a male perspective, and the ruling class was male-dominated. All children who are taught this history are thus socialized to the way of life that perpetuates this historical structure

(Smith, 1989). Adults then pass on this particular socialization to children through language, treatment and expectation. Bem and Bem (1978) write that from the day a female child is born, she is given special treatment. Bem and Bem cite one study in which mothers were more protective of six-month old females, possibly because girls are considered more fragile than boys. Mothers still in hospitals touched, spoke to, and held female infants more often than male infants. Even children's story books are by a vast majority written about main characters who are male. Such sex-role conditioning, then, begins practically at birth.

Millett (1970) writes that the historical basis for patriarchy is no longer valid since it is based on a male's superior strength. The arena in which men must fight to succeed is political rather than physical; therefore, physical strength is not a factor for success. A man's ability to obtain and hold power determines success, and women are not allowed to compete for such power.

Hansen and Philipson (1992), from a radical feminist perspective, write that patriarchy is a power system based on gender in which the male enjoys the superior role in relation to power and economic privilege. As a gender system, patriarchy is biologically based rather than historically or economically based. Society is a hierarchical gender structure; patriarchy is perpetuated by traditional sex roles. Men and women are placed in roles and are given individual power based solely on biological distinctions. Power is sexual rather than economic;

social class determination is not based on being wealthy or poor but on being man or woman. Radical feminist theory supports the assertion that patriarchy is perpetuated on a very basic level by the traditional family and on the division of labor that is based on sex rather than ability. Since power is divided sexually, the basis of woman's oppression is her reproductive self.

Millett (1970) writes that patriarchy based on gender does not apply to a society in which success is attained through mental rather than physical means. Male dominance of women, therefore, is perpetuated by a non-biological value system. The patriarchal system is no longer a biological system but is rather a cultural acceptance of social roles, and the basis of patriarchy is the family unit.

Socialist feminists believe that patriarchy is an issue of class structure rather than biological or historical ground and is inexorably linked to capitalism. A woman is considered to occupy a lower class than a man, within the family as well as within society at large. The family as a structure supports society (capitalism) and perpetuates the oppression of women; it is a small patriarchal unit that supports a larger patriarchal society. Based on the female ability to bear children, women are by necessity integrally linked to the family; it becomes her first role. Women, then, are excluded from capitalist production and public work, rendering them powerless, economically dependent and somewhat invisible in a capitalist society. The family encourages capitalism and the sexual division of

both labor and society (Eisenstein, 1977; Millett, 1970; Smith, 1989). A woman's function within the family unit is to teach conformity to society's norms and rules to her children; at the same time, she is ruled within the family by the male, who is the traditional family head. Women are oppressed two-fold and perpetuate their inferior status (Millett, 1970).

Basic to the theory of patriarchy is the sexual division of labor. Society is divided into the public (business, politics) and the private (home, family). Public roles are those associated with maleness; private roles are given to the female. Work done in the private sphere is unpaid and therefore does not hold as high a value in a capitalist society as work that produces goods or money, which is work done in the public sector. Men are thus given a superior place in society over women, supporting the patriarchal ideology. Men are the makers of culture; women simply exist within it (Jaggar, 1977; Smith 1989).

Women's entry into the work force has not equated to liberation. Women are paid significantly less than men for the same jobs and receive less benefits than do men. Women who work outside the home often find themselves with two jobs since their traditional roles within the home have not changed (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978). Bem and Bem (1978) write that of the women who work outside the home, "...78 percent will end up in dead-end jobs...compared to...40 percent for men. Only 15 percent of all women workers in our society are classified by the Labor

Department as professional and technical workers..., " which includes teachers and nurses. In the 1980s, women collectively earned two-thirds what men earned (Bancroft, 1985). Women who are unattractive or overweight; older; those caring for small children; and women who are black or of Latin descent have an especially difficult time competing in the public sector. Black women in particular face a two-to-one ratio of unemployment as compared to white women (Edwards, 1981).

Theories on racism in relation to the women's movement address the problem of the polarity of experience of white and black women's lives. Davis (1989) writes of the danger in assuming that white women (who generally lead the women's movement) need only support black leadership in areas of specific interest to black people, such as black leadership. Black women suffer a triple oppression that is foreign to caucasian women's experience. Many of the feminist theories challenge the oppression typical of white middle-class society, leaving the issue of race unchallenged. White women can achieve their feminist goals without addressing the problems faced by black women. Black women in general have felt that the women's movement has been supported by white men and women without addressing the needs of black women, causing them to form their own coalitions (Davis, 1989).



Black women hoped that the civil rights movement would bring about significant change in their lives; however, all groups are not able to access the positions of power that lead to change. Black Americans are victims of a structure that perpetuates inequality and, hence, oppression of minority groups. The changes that black Americans have been able to make are through the allowance of the dominant power class. Change for black Americans has always been through alliance with white men affiliated with the federal government, meaning that black issues have always been perceived as national issues involving social protest to inequality. The government treats political issues through legal reform, and legal reform by nature treats issues of principle rather than, for example, historical or ideological inequalities. Black men and women found their basic needs to be undermined by political expediency, continuing the oppression of the black race within society (Edwards, 1981).

Black women face a three-fold oppression rooted in economics, racism, and sexism. Eckardt (1989) writes that non-white women face an 80 percent fatality rate from breast cancer, suffer from three times as many hysterectomies and sterilization procedures as do white women, and are three times more likely to be raped or otherwise assaulted. Black women have a higher unemployment rate than do black men or white people. Black women fight beside black men to stop racism but must fight against black men against sexism. In the minds of black

women, black liberation means liberation for black men, and women's liberation is reserved for white women.

Black women have a two-fold struggle against sexism/sexual harassment and racism within their own race. Eckardt (1989) writes that black women must struggle alongside black men against racism at the same time they are fighting black men about sexism. Black liberation is reserved for black men, and women's liberation is the liberation of white women.

Eckardt cites the words of Cheryl Clark (1989, p. 53) to define the liberation of the black race as defined by the black woman:

While the cult of Black Power spurned the assimilationist goals of the politically conservative black bourgeoisie, its devotees, nevertheless, held firmly to the value of heterosexual and male superiority...It is ironic that the Black Power movement could transform the consciousness of an entire generation of black people regarding black self-determination and, at the same time, fail so miserably in understanding the sexual politics of the movement and of black people across the board.

Eckardt cites Wallace in her study of black relations. The myth that has influenced black gender relations and black and white race relations for over 100 years is that white men and black women conspire to "castrate" the black male. The myth developed after slavery that black men sought white women, which portrayed the black man as a threat to the white race: to white women sexually, and to white men as a threat to the object of their domination. Black men, therefore, learned to place his value of himself on his virility, and white men and

black women learned a basic distrust of black men. Black women are faced with the choice of condemning black men and thus hurting themselves as well or of seeing black men as victims of a class structure dominated by the white race (Eckardt, 1989).

An interesting dichotomy exists between gender relations within and between the black and white race that arose during slavery. White men held all power and white women were in total subjugation to white men. White men were strong, white women frivolous and weak. Within the black race, black women had to be strong: physically, to work in the fields; emotionally, to withstand the disruption of her family when parts of it were sold away; and sexually, to supply the labor force for the white male. Black males, therefore, were weak. Within gender relations, white men were strong, so black men were made weak; white women were weak, so black women were made strong. Such a myth is welcomed by black women because it affords them strength in the face of obstacle.

Such a history has fostered a basic mistrust of the white woman by the black woman. The feminist movement defines liberation for women based on the caucasian culture, to which black women cannot relate. For a white woman to tell a black woman that the white female is oppressed is somewhat ludicrous given the history of the black race and the role of the black woman within that history.

Furthermore, a double standard exists in interracial relationships, causing black women to question their role in a multi-cultural society. Far more interracial couples are made up of a black man and white woman; very few are comprised of black women and white men. Society somehow sees a black man and a white woman couple as the black man's attempt to be "accepted by the white society"; the notion that black men prefer white women is inherently sexist. Black women face a "racial-sexual oppression" (Eckardt, 1989, p. 57).

The media serve to perpetuate the subordination of black Americans. Halloran (1974) writes that the media do more than reinforce attitudes already present in the minds of their audiences; they also teach behavior and present information that audiences would otherwise not have. The media also present values and ideals inherent in the dominant cultural ideology they desire to perpetuate, reinforce behavior toward certain groups and classes of people, approve and disapprove actions, and bring social problems to light. Since the dominant class is one of the white male, and since the dominant class holds the power in society, it can be reasoned that the interests of black America will not be favorably portrayed by the media. Minority groups, to catch the interest of the elite, must do something sensational in order to be noticed by the media (Halloran, 1974).

For black Americans, the event is the most important factor in determining interracial behaviour, since that is what the media will present to society. Beliefs

are not attitudinal; rather, they are situational, and the beliefs that the media audience will form about a certain group or class depend upon how events are portrayed by the media (Halloran, 1974).

Halloran (1974) writes that

the media, in the way they present different ethnic groups, can feed the forces that inhibit differentiated thinking and that make us see all members of the labelled group as more alike than they really are.

Thus, stereotypes already developed by a society are reinforced by the media. The media serve to shape public consciousness at the same time they they reflect it. Black issues and events are most often covered by white newsmen, again reflecting the black subordination within a white male dominated society (Halloran, 1974).

### Sexism, Racism and the Black Woman

Eckardt (1989) cites the work of Michele Wallace, who has identified a recent phenomenon among the black race which is characterized by a growing distrust of black females by black males. Black women find themselves fighting the confines of black machoism, while black men feel they are more oppressed than their female counterparts. Furthermore, black men feel their oppression is supported by black females, leading to the belief that they are "sexually and

morally superior and also exempt from most of the responsibilities human beings [have] to other human beings" (quoted in Eckardt, 1989, p. 53).

If black women condemn black men for not accepting basic human responsibilities, they are condemning themselves as a race. If they see the black man as a victim of oppression, they themselves become victims. Separating sexism from racism and racism from sexism is extremely difficult for the black race. The ideal that seems to be most accepted by society is that the black man and black woman together are victims of racist societal structures, negating any component of sexism while at the same time not excluding it singularly as a form of victimization (Eckardt, 1989).

Sexism within the white culture has greatly influenced sexist behavior within the black culture, but a double standard is present. When a white man harasses a white woman or treats her with sexism, he does so as a male, not as a *white* male. A black man in the same action toward a black female is always defined as a *black* man, never just a man. In such ways racism is never separate from sexism for the black race (Eckardt, 1989). The black woman's role in the advancement of all women is critical because of its embodiment of both racism and sexism (Eckardt, 1989).

Racism is a feminist issue because feminism involves the "political freedom and practice to free all women.... Anything less than this not feminism" (Smith,

quoted in Eckardt, 1989, p. 56). Feminist movements have traditionally not encompassed the quite different problems encountered by the black woman. Many black women feel that the white feminist movement is simply a tool for the advancement of white women, not all women. At the same time, black women consider the white woman's cry of oppression ludicrous given the black woman's history of slavery (Eckardt, 1989).

### Images of Women in Media

Beardsley (1989) writes that it is impossible to write about human beings in a sex-neutral manner because our primary useage of the English language does not facilitate sex neutrality. Certain adjectives have become common in the description of women (i.e., lively, animated, vivacious) that seem misplaced when used to describe men.

Furthermore, society has accepted the use of masculine terms for sex-neutral descriptions (i.e., mankind). If the use of masculine terms can be gender-neutral, logic dictates that the use of similar feminine terms may be gender neutral. The un-use of female terms as gender-neutral expressions is a symptom and a perptuation of the lower status of women in society. Use of masculine terms in gender neutral ways is also an indication of the attitude of the user toward women.

Such an attitude is not necessarily singularly chosen but may be an acceptance of ingrained cultural norms (Moulton, 1989).

Korsmeyer (1989) writes that language serves as a stereotype of women. Common descriptions of women refer to their sexuality; descriptions of men in sexual terms is so foreign to society that such descriptions become comical. Women are often described as "working mothers," but men are never termed "working fathers." In addition, when a woman functions beyond the normal perceptions of the confines of her abilities, her actions become comical. A description of a woman hockey player, for example, may be comical and imply many connotations, whereas a description of a male hockey player is simply a description. The language we use to describe people directly relates to the images of effectiveness and power those people hold.

John Berger (1972) writes that the presence of a man is dependent on his promise of power. His presence is always defined externally from his physical being. However, a woman's presence is defined by herself. She defines, through her speech, gestures, clothing, environment, expression, how she may or may not be treated. A woman's presence is part of her inner being. A woman, then, must constantly guard her image. She is in constant surveyance of herself.

Berger (1972, p. 46) also writes that a woman's appearance defines for a man how he should respond to her. "Men survey women before treating them."



In order to control how men will treat her, a woman must somehow control her presence.

How a woman acts defines how she would have others act toward her: If a woman throws a glass on the floor, this is an example of how she treats her own emotion of anger and so of how she would wish it to be treated by others. If a man does the same, his action is only an expression of his anger (Berger, 1972, p. 47).

Simply put, men may act for the sake of action or expression, but when women act, they do so at the risk of compromising their presence. Women function in an entirely different manner than do men, even within similar roles.

The roles in which women are cast within the media do little to establish women as a segment of society equal to men. Women are most often depicted by the media in roles that support men. Furthermore, the images of women in the media are dichotomous: the Madonna-Whore duality is deeply entrenched in patriarchal ideology. Such an image stereotypes women into those who use "female powers" for sacred or profane work (Ferguson, 1990).

Inside media organizations, women are far from equal to their male coworkers. Women who do attain high-level, managerial positions are seen as manipulative, pushy women who "slept their way to the top." Such an image of women perpetuates stereotyping and workplace sexism. Although the United States has seen an increase in the number of women entering the journalist profession, few are editors or producers. When women did attain positions of

power, the images of women within the product of the news organization did not improve, suggesting that the patriarchal ideology of the editor in chief (a position most often held by a man) is upheld even when women do hold positions of power (Ferguson, 1990).

Bybee (1990) states that only approximately one-fourth of the by-lines on the front pages of newspapers were women's. Women were only quoted as legitimate sources of information 11 percent of the time, and only one-fourth of all photographs within a paper contain women. Luebke (1989) found that photographs, when they did contain images of women, most often depicted women in stereotypical roles. By overlooking women in their depictions of what is important in society, news organizations trivialize the roles of women. The inclusion of one photograph over another involves a value choice, which suggests the place of women in the minds of news producers is not in the news. Luebke also found that women were included in photographs on page one of newspapers because they were interesting. Men were included because they were doing something important. The only section of the newspaper in which photographs of women outnumbered those of men was the Lifestyles section. Even women holding professional jobs were relegated to the Lifestyles section.

Gender inequality within news production involves power. Women are dominated by men in newswork through the creation of a reality that excludes

women as knowledgeable sources and producers of information. The power/knowledge viewpoint encompasses four main points. The first point is that power and knowledge are inseparable. To be powerful is to possess a field of knowledge, and to possess a field of knowledge is to have the ability to possess power (Bybee, 1990).

The second point is that the power/knowledge relationship can be a constructive or destructive force. Power allows a construction of a truth that legitimizes the relationships within the field of knowledge (Bybee, 1990).

The third point in the power/knowledge perspective is that power can be channeled in many different directions, adapting and influencing truth. Power can be exerted from the bottom or top of a hierarchical organization (Bybee, 1990).

The final point is that power and knowledge are integrally linked to social practice, especially language. This point relates to Althusser's maxim that ideology is a part of the practice of a culture (Bybee, 1990).

Because news organizations function to produce knowledge, they hold extreme ideological and political power. They create and transmit cultural norms. It follows that the gender inequality within news organizations and within their products is tied to the gender inequality within the public at large (Bybee, 1990).

Gail Tuchman (1978) refers to the "symbolic annihilation" of women by the mass media in relation to the reflection hypothesis. The reflection hypothesis

states that the mass media serve to reflect dominant social values. Representations within the mass media suggest that those presentations are ideals. In opposition, media trivialization, condemnation, or the absence of a representation serves to annihilate the representation within society. Media portrayals of women approve of married women but frame single women as more likely candidates for victimization. Working women are most often "villians"; housewives are treated more sympathetically (Tuchman, 1978).

Newspapers, in their attempt to appeal to an entire family, have treated women as a separate audience, giving them a special women's section written by female reporters. The women's section is filled with fashion, society news, recipes. The newspaper defines a woman's interest in extremely traditional, patriarchal frames. Newspapers have been traditionally non-supporters of the women's movement (Tuchman, 1978).

The media define the roles of women in society in terms of a woman's sexuality. Images of women rarely portray them as active individuals. Instead, a single woman stands for all woman and defines what they are (sexually) in the eyes of men. Women are fragmented by media depictions into one aspect of womanhood that denies the complexity of the feminine persona. A woman is never *only* female, *only* a mother, *only* a sex object. She is at any given time a complex melding of many different personas. Media representations of women fail

to depict the fuller images of women embodying more than one characteristic of her femininity. Newspaper portrayals of a woman center around the roles of mother, sex object, wife and housewife (Butcher, 1974).

Media organizations do not operate within a vacuum; social institutions outside of the media influence media presentations of women through sexual ideology. The images of women in the media are products of social practice as much as they are media products (Butcher, 1974).

### Sexual Harassment

Grimshaw (1986. p. 88) writes that the term "sexual harassment" has a political force derived from its genderless quality, although sexual harassment is usually an experience of women. "Harassment" implies an unwelcome, unpleasant, intrusive proposal. The concept behind sexual harassment highlights those experiences that are "intrusive and coercive" and redefines the perception of those experiences. It also creates distinctions between different human experiences of harassment, i.e., between a child being harassed by another child on a playground and a woman being harassed in her office by a supervisor. These analogies are possible because of the genderlessness of the term "sexual harassment." Any distinction between those experiences which are only female and those which are

only male would dim the power of the term. Language must be common to both men and women in order for it to be fully understood.

Dr. Lynn Kramer, a professor in the English department of Southern Connecticut State University, experienced an extended period of sexual harassment by a male student. She has written an as yet unpublished manuscript entitled "From Textual to Sexual Harassment" in which she outlines her observations drawn from her experience (Kramer, 1992).

Dr. Kramer cites Professor Grauerholz' (1989) study of sexual harassment in which she found that sexual harassment is a struggle over power; women are particularly vulnerable in this struggle because of the cultural ideology that outlines the "proper" role of women (Kramer, 1992).

Dr. Kramer draws a distinction between sexual harassment and sex harassment. Sexual harassment is experienced by an individual solely based on that individual's sex. Sexual harassment, at a minimum, creates a hostile work environment; many times it leads to physical assault. Sexual harassment is an issue of unequal power and operates from persons who hold power to those possessing a lesser power (Kramer, 1992).

Sex harassment is different in that it originates from people who have lesser power and is directed to those who possess power in a given situation (e.g., from a male student to a female professor). It simply involves gender in relation to

society's views of gender roles rather than a biological determinant, i.e., sex. In sex harassment, women are made victims solely because they are women with power (Kramer, 1992).

If a man who sexually harasses a woman is knowledgeable of the system in which the two people operate, he is more effectively able to carry out his assault without consequences to himself.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Kramer has developed four phenomena that relate to how an organization internally handles a case of sexual harassment (Kramer, 1992).

The first phenomenon involves the harasser appropriating the role of the victim. When a female accuses a male of sexual harassment, she asserts power over him, which redefines the culturally defined hierarchical power structures in which males possess power over females. These "power shifts" create a situation in which males with the power to stop the harassment are uncomfortable.

In order for the male dominant power structures to be rebuilt, the male harasser portrays himself as the victim. Other men can then validate his experience by lending a sympathetic ear to his account of the situation. In this process, the female's experience as a victim is denied, erasing her power over her victimizer (Kramer, 1992).

In the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment incident, Judge Thomas claimed the role as victim. He portrayed himself as a victim of racism,

likening his treatment to that of a "modern day lynching" (*The New York Times*, October 12, 1991). He also pictured himself as a victim of the intrusive process to which he was subjected prior to his appointment to the Supreme Court. Any power that Dr. Hill may have had over him was negated by his role as victim.

The second phenomenon developed by Dr. Kramer is the "re-establishment of male discourse patterns" (1992, p. 11). Once a male has negated any power a female has over him through her accusations of sexual harassment, he must gain the support of a male higher up in the organizational structure than the female in order to maintain his power. This is especially true if the female holds a higher position of power than the harasser within the organizational structure in which the harassment took place. The situation becomes one in which the male harasser relates to other males within the organization, leaving the woman completely out of the communication process (Kramer, 1992).

In the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment situation, Judge Thomas was backed by the President himself and enjoyed the full resources of the White House in his defense against the sexual harassment charge. Both Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas had senators as their supporters, but the argument may be made that the senate judiciary committee did not effectively process the information given to them by Dr. Hill regarding Judge Thomas.



Dr. Kramer's third phenomenon involves the "validation of the victimizer's "plight" (Kramer, 1992, p. 12). Once the harasser has established himself as the victim, he validates his own behaviour in line with his image as a victim, rationalizing his actions in light of his victimization. This action places the female in a more acceptable place in the cultural heirarchal structure in the eyes of the males judging the case. The harasser may even call the other males to act against the female victim (Kramer, 1992).

The fourth and final phenomenon outlined by Dr. Kramer is the "erasure of the female's subjectivity" (1992, p. 12). Once the male harasser has been able to re-establish the male-superior power structures, he is able to communicate with other males at the exclusion of the female victim. The men "work out" an acceptable conclusion to the situation without ever including the female in the solution. The female becomes a "completely transparent 'exchange site'" (Kramer, 1992, p. 13).

### CHAPTER III

#### METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes *The New York Times'* coverage of the accusations of sexual harassment made toward Clarence Thomas by Anita Hill in October of 1991. This study is an attempt to discover the ideological messages *The New York Times* presented to its readers on the sexual harassment issue. The ideological messages inherent in the news coverage of sexual harassment are important to the public's understanding of the issue because of the media's influence on people's perceptions of reality (see Chapter II, Ideology).

*The New York Times'* treatment of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment conflict by the media will be analyzed from a liberal feminist and a patriarchal framework (as defined by feminist theory). This study attempts to determine which of these two perspectives most influenced the information presented to the public. It is the hypothesis of this study that the patriarchal perspective dominated *The New York Times'* coverage of the event, and that *The New York Times* presented the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas issue in a manner that supported and preserved male dominant institutional and cultural societal structures. The derivation of the meanings inherent in the messages which *The New York Times* presented to its readers on this issue is critical for an

understanding of the perpetuation of sexual harassment in our society. Such messages are also important in the feminist struggle against sexual harassment in a male-dominated society.

Meanings within messages can be effectively uncovered through frame analysis and structuralism, which are two methods of literary and linguistic analysis; and via the Glasgow Media Group's method of analyzing media coverage of events. This study applies all of these methods.

Stuart Hall, in an introduction to Smith (1975), outlines specific steps taken in literary/linguistic analysis. The first step is to select a medium for study. *The New York Times* is used in this study because it has established a reputation for being the leading source of information for government officials, business people, professionals, and academicians throughout the United States. *The New York Times* sets agendas not only for the public but for other media institutions as well. *The Times* is a national newspaper, giving it a more widespread audience and influence than a local newspaper has (Gitlin, 1980).

Hall's second step in literary/linguistic analysis is to establish a time frame that allows an in-depth analysis of the chosen medium. This study will analyze The New York Times' coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict with a focus on the month of October 1991. It was during this month that the allegations brought forth by Anita Hill were made public and the senate addressed these

issues. The hearings scheduled to allow both Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas to present their sides of the issue also took place in October, and it was during October that Judge Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court of the United States of America was confirmed. Since one cannot gain a true picture of the event in its entirety by only examining one month of the conflict, information presented by *The New York Times* after the vote will also be examined, but on a lesser scope. Some key points leading up to the publication of the conflict will also be included in the analysis.

This analysis cannot ignore the the redefinition of the conflict into conflicts of race and politics. This study will research coverage of the conflict by publications known for their African-American, feminist and conservative viewpoints.

The questions important to this study are:

1. With what perspective, liberal feminism or patriarchal, did the media present the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment conflict?
2. If the patriarchal ideology predominated, did the liberal feminist viewpoint affect the outcome at all?
3. What methods were effectively used to present the information of the case according to a certain viewpoint (i.e., frame analysis, linguistic techniques)?

Once the publication and time frame have been selected for analysis, the material may be analyzed. Frame analysis and structuralism are two ideological,

analytical methods used to breakdown media messages. The Glasgow Media Group's method of analyzing media coverage of an event closely interrelates to frame analysis and structuralism and is incorporated into this study. These four analytical methods are discussed below.

### Frame Analysis

William Gamson (1989) writes that facts are meaningless until they are fitted into some kind of context, or frame. News framing is the process by which reporters, editors, even entire news organizations themselves fit together pieces of reality consistent with a dominant ideology. Gamson quotes Todd Gitlin's idea that

media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. (1989, p. 157)

Framing constructs reality for an audience because the audience has very few other means of obtaining other information for any given story besides the information presented in the media. Without such alternate information, forming an opinion different than the one the media intended becomes difficult (Graber, 1989).

Hackett (1984, p. 248) cites the Glasgow Media Group's assertion that the media and the most powerful social ideologies are always associated. Social

ideologies allow members of society to make sense of the issues being presented without ever asking why those messages are being presented, and why they are presented in one certain way. The appearance of balance, or of presenting both sides of a given story, further deflects audiences away from such questions.

Gitlin (1980) writes that media frames are consistent formations of understanding, interpretation, information selection and organization, and of event presentation. Every reporter will present facts according to his or her individual perspective of any given story; such framing is done on a subconscious level (Hackett, 1984).

Reporters are constrained by space and time limitations. Facts, then, must be triaged into a story that is coherent. Selecting certain pieces of information over others, however, creates a "false reality." Gitlin states,

the media bring a manufactured public world into a private space...people rely on the media for concepts, for images of their heroes, for guiding information, for emotional charges, for a recognition of public values, for symbols in general, even for language. (1980, p. 1)

Society is dependent on the media for information of our culture, giving the media the power to define culture. Media attention to certain events accords such events meaning; by ignoring or downplaying other events, the media negate them. News framing is the technique by which the media shape reality in order for it to be efficiently processed and presented.

Because the media are competition based, reporters are under constant pressure to be the first with information, to develop new angles and information to make an old story new. Audiences receive many different frames for one story, and each frame is more stylized than the last.

Gamson (1989) writes that events covered in the media are framed by several different people. News directors, editors and reporters all have input into the information included in any given story; they define how a specific story will be presented.

Story frames are powerful tools used to create, support or influence social ideologies. Reporters, when framing stories for audiences, are most successful when they use images audiences have already stored in their memories. Framing the Persian Gulf War as another Vietnam is a familiar example. Upon hearing this analogy, audiences will remember definite images that evoke specific reactions. An important aspect of news framing, then, is orientations already present within the historical knowledge of an audience (Graber, 1989; Tuchman, 1978).

The argument that each individual person has his or her own ideas and orientation and will therefore apply his or her own meanings to news frames seems logical. Researchers who have studied perception have found that audiences and news professionals are usually from the same culture and will easily understand the established meanings inherent in news frames (Graber, 1989). Even when

audiences question the framing of a particular story, they still accept the framework of the newspaper or newscast and the news itself as natural, objective and inherent components of societal structure. For example, audiences assume that a newspaper will contain the news relevant to society within an understood time frame. The format of the newspaper and the presence of news itself is assumed. Audiences have come to expect the news in an edited, familiar format that was and is defined by the media institutions (Tuchman, 1978).

Barkin (1989) writes that although news is ideologically framed, it is not entirely fictional. News stories are all generally composed of certain elements: introductions and conclusions that frame stories in relation to other stories, a limited number of reporters and editors for any given publication, a limited number of people (or characters) within a given story, a distinct setting in which the characters operate, and verbal texts and photograph techniques that contain their own messages. All of these components are arranged and shifted in a myriad of ways to create different meanings and invoke different reactions in an audience. Tuchman (1978, p. 190) writes that the details within news accounts not only serve to give events life but also lend them "character." News events are both socially reflexive and are presented without the context in which they were produced.

The orientations of the top executives in the media are also an important aspect of news framing. Severin and Tankard (1988) cite Warren Breed, a former



newspaper reporter and a faculty member of Tulane University, in his findings that newsrooms are socially controlled. Every newsroom has its own policy dictating the coverage of events. Reporters will omit, select, and place certain stories in key positions in order to comply with the newsroom policy. Their career advancement depends on it.

Such a policy is covert and must be learned by each new reporter within a given organization. A reporter's objectivity is shaped by the interests and affiliations of the executives for whom he or she works. Reporters who ignore the existing "newsroom culture" are risking their jobs, as are editors who allow such reporters to continue in their deviance (Severin and Tankard, 1988). Newsrooms are dictated by "territorial, institutional, and topical chains of authority" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 191).

The information included in any news account must be approved by the journalist and his or her audience in order for the event to qualify as news. Information may be known about an event but may not be included in the final story because it is not judged relevant, it is a common skill dictated by the norms of society, or it does not comply with time or space constraints (Tuchman, 1978).

The final story, the presentation of the information, the use of language, placement of the story on the page, and the use of pictures all are influenced by cultural codes. Such codes are so ingrained into the daily consumption of

information that they are never questioned. Examination of such codes reveals the influence of news ideology (Glasgow Media Group, 1976).

Many reporters frame their stories before stories are ever written. Each medium contains controlling factors that limit reporters: for television the controlling factor is time; for the print medium, space dictates the contents of stories. All reporters have a great deal of work to do in order that daily deadlines are met; reporters may therefore find it difficult to completely research stories. Journalists rely on trusted sources for information, even though those sources have their own frameworks within which they work. Limiting sources to the trusted few also limits the inclusion of any new perspectives on a given event (Soloski, 1989).

Stocking and LaMarca (1990) interviewed eleven journalists to discover if reporters did indeed have pre-formed hypotheses of the stories they were assigned to cover. They found that of 32 descriptions reporters gave for their stories, 26 contained hypotheses. Seventy-two percent of the hypotheses were descriptive, and 44 percent were evaluative. Almost every story examined by Stocking and LaMarca contained assumptions about the people and events of the story. Reporters, then, have certain orientations that dictate methods of coverage. Stories are then framed by reporters' beliefs and by their trusted sources.

Government officials are excellent examples of the "trusted sources" used by reporters for information. Government officials, however, can control the

information they give to reporters in order that their own best interests are served. Reporters are reluctant to print material their sources would find unfavorable because the reporter must rely on the official for future information. Reporters, by using government sources extensively for information, reaffirm the existing political power structures. Audiences have no knowledge of where or how reporters obtained information unless a reporter chooses to credit sources within the story. Audiences are unaware of the perpetuating influence of the societal power structures in defining news (Soloski, 1989). Gitlin (1978, p. 81) writes, "...the direct influence of mass media belongs routinely and professionally to the hierarchially organized handful who have access to it." Such access is not present as an equal opportunity within all classes of society. Access is hierarchical and structured to accommodate powerful groups within the societal structure. Viewpoints alternate to those held by the powerful elite are discarded (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

Tuchman writes that news "imparts a public character to occurrences [and]...is first and foremost a social institution" (1978, p. 4). News legitimizes the status quo through its presentation of objectivity and truthfulness. News is also produced by people within established social organizations that are comprised of systems and practices and that interact with other news institutions. According to research conducted by Tuchman, journalists within these systems generally

developed personal professional norms in accordance with the system's executives. Journalists support the social hierarchy (Tuchman, 1978).

Most journalists write stories using previously formed hypotheses. A reporter may develop assumptions that support both sides of an issue, but often he or she will side with the character within the story that the reporter feels best supports that reporter's idea of the truth. Cognitive psychological research has revealed that people are most likely to search for information that supports their own ideas about people and events rather than look for information that rejects one's preconceived notions (Stocking and LaMarca, 1990).

If the media are the presenters and perpetuators of a dominant ideology, analysis of the perspectives with which the media present information is useful for the empirical study of those messages. Information is always presented by the media within the context of certain frames. Counts (1975) conducted a study to determine the "fidelity" with which journalists report stories. The emphasis in the study was on the differences of emphasis (of pieces of information) due to reporter selection; in effect, how reporters chose to "frame" their stories. Count found that variation within a story occurs when reporter agreement with the story is varied, and readers' perspectives varied with the different story variations. Reporters framed their stories according to their own beliefs, and those frames had an impact

on readers' understanding of the events within a story, suggesting a powerful tool in the hands of media personnel to shape their audiences' ideas of reality.

Goffman (1974) states that people assimilate information through primary frameworks, that is, a frame that makes a happening meaningful. Most primary frameworks are intangible and involve the "lore" passed through generations through culture; they allow people to find, understand, and label any number of occurrences.

Primary frameworks are either natural or social in nature. Natural frameworks happen without intervention from outside forces; they are "purely physical" (Goffman, 1974, p. 22). Social frameworks contain background information outlining the motives of a controlling force (e.g., a person, group, or class). They are orchestrated happenings that are subject to standards and to ever-present control.

Social frameworks can be understood on the level of workings within the natural world and on the level of the more abstract conflict/competition inherent in two opposing forces. Goffman uses the example of a checker game to illustrate this point: one physically moves the checkers to win the game, but one also has in mind the strategies used to achieve a successful outcome. It is this second level that requires the most attention. The frameworks in totality of any group comprise that group's culture. Members of a society constantly apply primary frames to

their environment in order to make sense of it. It is an unconscious act that facilitates the ordered existence of society (Goffman, 1974).

The ease with which frames are used and accepted leaves people vulnerable to the influences of other people's frames. When a group, person, or class intentionally manipulates information in order to further certain aims, people receiving the data develop a false understanding of the occurrence. Goffman calls this a "fabrication" (1974, p. 83). Several types of fabrication classifications exist: the one relevant to this study is a fabrication developed to support a certain end. Fabrications can be benign, when the interests of the people within the fabrication are purportedly being served. Goffman also discusses paternal constructions, when the people creating such frames do so in the best interests of those people receiving the framed information. The most basic paternal frame is tact.

Goffman also discusses exploitative frames, when one party frames information in a way that is detrimental to the other party involved. People framing information in a exploitative way can work within, outside of, or even for the law. Goffman draws a distinction between frames that delude a few individuals and those that affect society at large. Exploitative frames are tied to beliefs of human nature; as such, a person's past may be "...vulnerable to arbitrary rereading" when that person is implicated in an exploitative frame. If the belief that a person can be exploitative in one aspect but respectable in all other aspects

is supported, then "...purely dramatic bases of discreditation and social control would be weakened.<sup>6</sup> Further, one person can exploitatively frame a second party in order to influence a third party's views on the particular occurrence in which the second party is involved. Goffman labels this an "indirect" fabrication (1974, p. 107) .

Indirect fabrications may be perpetrated through the use of planted evidence, through the manipulation of occurrences within an event so that a second party's actions will discredit him or her, or through the support of facts that may be later discredited. The third method allows the fabricator to apply these facts to the victim (through accusation) then discredit the facts. Some accusations (Goffman uses rape; I also suggest sexual harassment) create problems for society because both the accuser and the accused will be doubted (Goffman, 1974). In the case of an indirect fabrication, it is possible to indict oneself. In such a case, a person frames the fabrication and is also maligned by it. In some cases, a person does not have to create a fabrication; he or she simply has to fail to support the standards (moral and social) with which he or she has consistently presented him or herself to society, including admitting social and moral failures (Goffman, 1974).

Fabrications have an impact on social structures. When someone is discredited, his or her actions may be significant to society at large rather than to

the people involved in the specific event. Such a discreditation will generate ongoing activity that is itself subject to being discredited (Goffman, 1974).

The use of any type of fabrication is ultimately linked to the value systems inherent in any societal structure. In news, values are "built in" to the decisions made by the people influencing the final product of the particular news medium. Gans (1979, p. 182) cites Peter Schrag's comment, "Every reporter operates with certain assumptions about what constitutes normative behavior, if not the good society,...and the more 'objective' he tries to be, the more likely those assumptions will remain concealed." The values that are inherent in a reporter's daily job, then, facilitate the feeling of objectivity on the part of the reporter since those values are job-related rather than personal. Gans writes that reporters can eschew personal values by being objective, by placing little emphasis on the implications of the stories they print, and by repudiating ideology. Journalists can choose which news to publish because they are not personally involved in the news story and do not care about the implications of what they print. When journalists do state opinions or evaluate the information of a story, they do so in reaction to the information rather than in predetermined judgement of the facts of the story. Objectivity is still preserved (Gans, 1979). Journalists feel they are objective when they believe that any personal values they inject into stories are dominant in the society within



which they work. Dissent toward such values can be rationalized as moral disorder or deviance.

News can have a profound effect on any component of society, but journalists are not free to consider the implications of the stories they print; to do so would compromise journalistic integrity. Journalistic freedom is limited to predicting implications and writing to support certain implications over others. When implications cannot be predicted, journalists employ intentions of fairness. Fairness is dictated according to societal values, supporting the notion that groups or individuals outside of the "norm" are treated unfairly by the media (Gans, 1979).

Journalists who present stories within the context of certain values rarely change their treatment of the event within the story; to do so would appear inconsistent and would undermine a journalist's credibility. In the event of a highly visible occurrence, story frames may be changed with no effect on credibility. Important to this concept is the realization that journalists themselves present such highly visible events; they control story coverage according to the values of their peers. Gans (1979) writes that values exist most often within the news as reality assumptions which are often stereotypical representations of society.

Journalistic values within a given news story originate either from the journalistic profession or from the journalists themselves as citizens within society. If journalists apply values that are not professionally accepted or driven, they are acting on the part of the entity whom those values favor. Journalistic autonomy is compromised, however, when journalists write strictly according to the values within their profession. Journalistic values, especially enduring ones, usually coincide with the values of the dominant political discourse. A majority of a medium's audience will also support such enduring values and do not find fault in journalistic application of values to news (Gans, 1979). Audiences, then, are easily swayed by inherent values within news stories; such values are almost subliminal.

The media, like other businesses, are competition based and are in business for profit. Unlike other businesses, however, the media have the power to shape public opinion. Through the framing of information, the media ideologically control society (Hall, 1978). The media do not passively report events; they frame them so class political and ideological viewpoints consistent with their own views are supported. The media (specifically, the press) have the function of organizing events into a coherent language. They also disorganize events that are contrary to the dominant hegemony. The Glasgow Media Group (1982) found that information which challenges the dominant hegemony is simply not included in news stories. In reporting on the political arena, for instance, journalists are

imbalanced, biased and inaccurate (Glasgow Media Group, 1982, p. 67). In this respect, the press educates readers to the structure of society rather than to truth (Hall, 1978). The press

define for us the very terms in which we are to 'think' (or not 'think') [about] the world. Their influence has to be assessed...in terms of the way in which they condition our entire intellectual *gestalt* (Bennett, 1982, p. 44).

Often, the techniques used by the media to frame stories are more inherent in their actual stories than in their methods of obtaining information. Snyder (1984) cites Edith Effron, a freelance writer, who analyzed the coverage of a presidential campaign. Effron found more than twenty methods the media use to frame stories in order that stories conform to existing media ideologies. Some of the methods Effron cites are the use of false labels, the staging of media events, the presentation of a false neutrality, the use of selective indignation, and the citation of anniversaries to lend importance to dates.

### The Photograph as Frame

Woollacott (1982, p. 100) writes that news is "reality as it unfolds," and pictures are the evidence of reality as it happens. Photographs, however, are rarely impartial. Photographs contain information that influences an audience's

perception of a story. A picture of picketers outside of a factory gate offers a very different impression than a picture of a manager and a union representative sitting at a conference room table. An average story may be photographed with an unlimited number of angles and perspectives, each photographic method having a different impact on an audience (Graber, 1989).

Hall (1981) examines the use of pictures in the print media as framing devices. Meaning is applied to text through the use of photographs. In the denotative sense, pictures exemplify exactly the meaning of the images they contain. Pictures, however, also use connotative codes to transmit meaning; they signify meanings that are often implied. They are the images of social praxis, knowledge, and beliefs and contain expressive codes that depend on the audience's knowledge of cultural norms in order that the pictorial images of a photograph are "properly" decoded.

Part of the social knowledge required to decode a photograph is recognition of the meanings of certain expressions, body positions, gestures. A photograph is an abbreviated version of the images people encounter daily through interaction with living subjects.

Since expressions and gestures can mean many things depending on the situation in which they are being carried out, pictures are assigned captions that explain the contents of the picture in perspectives that are compliant with the

frame of the story of which the picture is a part. Captions assign unequivocal meanings to pictures, giving them a single theme. Pictures are the proof of the occurrence of any given event (Hall, 1981).

A photograph within a news story is significant on a ideological level because of the value it lends to a news story. News value is the power of the story and picture combined to support the ideological decoding of messages intended by the journalist. News values appear to be neutral and natural processes: pictures are logically linked to the stories to which they refer and add information to a story. Pictures, however, are selected for their ability to catch attention and to add drama and controversy to a story. They are ideologically selected and become ideological signs through their association with a given theme. The ideological value of a photograph concerns its ability to support the connotative and interpretive messages within a story, to support the story "angle." Photographs adding ideological value to a story do not supply any new information to a story; rather, they provide a prompt by which audiences recognize the world. Through photographic support of news angles, journalists provide representations of the leaders and power holders within the social order. Ideological values are parallel to the policy, tradition, values, and style of the news organization (Hall, 1981).

## Structuralism

Raymond (1990) writes that meaning is made within language, and human activity is a response to language. Language builds perceptions about a person's self and the about the world, and all new activities are integrated into one's perception by comparing them to what is already perceived as true. Meaning making, then, is an activity built by language.

Meaning making is a political activity insofar as it resides in the practices and structures of society that maintain cultural power relationships (e.g., gender, class and race relationships). Linguistic meaning making creates, maintains, and legitimizes these power relationships (Raymond, 1990, p. 6). Feminist work is an embodiment of the struggle to redefine meanings, or recreate reality (Raymond, 1990).

Within the print media, each publication has a "metalanguage" (or message) explaining how the events (messages) should be interpreted (Hall, 1975). Such "metalanguage" creates a consciousness of reality in the minds of media audiences. Structuralism is the study of such language. Journalists are able to manipulate language by choosing some words or sentence structures over others (Parenti, 1993, p. 68). This flexibility is due in part to the vague nature of language.

Language manipulation is not ideologically specific; it is a technique that may be used by all (Parenti, 1993).

The manipulation of "fact" does not depend on word choice more than it depends on the ambiguousness of words. What the press reports matters less than how their audiences decode journalistic messages. Decoding is an involved and dynamic activity (Parenti, 1993).

Journalists are simply storytellers, and the power of linguistic structure is extremely influential. To possess a keen grasp of language is to possess the power to persuade, an inherent function of journalists' daily routines. Language allows us to reference reality (Roeh, 1989). All stories have certain instances built into them where the language becomes polysemic; that is, the meanings intended by the words serve as a "meeting place" in the minds of the audiences, who at that moment associate the text to a social, relevant experience. Those meanings are framed within lesser meanings in a story and are thus the most powerful (Cohen, 1991).

The continuous use of information in an established order provides a "structure of interpretation." If journalists present information in no order except that dictated by the structure of the story within their product (i.e., the newspaper), then the order imposed on a journalist by the medium within which he or she works must be a part of structural analysis. Such an order becomes more than

simply a professional dictate for story presentation, because the content and organization of information within a story provides the context for the understanding and evaluation of society (Glasgow Media Group, 1972, p. 118; 1982). Meaning is understood in the context of the environment in which communication takes place, not in isolation. Culture, then, plays an important part in audience understanding of media messages (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

Hall (1975) states that newspapers are both linguistic and visual. Meanings are shaped and sometimes changed altogether to fit the dictates of arrangement, space, and presentation. Newspapers present events in categorical, interpretive order. The different categories within a paper (e.g., sports, classifieds, metro) become convenient "pigeon holes" for data; these categories also define for the reader what the event is or should be. Newspaper categories are signifying codes. The Glasgow Media Group (1980) found that information that contradicted media frames are more likely to be questioned by viewers than information that fit into a newspaper's interpretive order.

Newspapers also strategically place events in locations on a given page that either lend the story emphasis or bury it. The use of headlines, bold types, lines, captions, repetition of statements, the use of figures and figure presentation, the incorporation of official statistics into a story and pictures are additional techniques that effectively emphasize or de-emphasize a story, as are story length, story



Hackett (1984, p. 242) writes that structuralism analyzes the linguistic codes of a given story from the inside. To conduct such an analysis, structuralists must have a basic knowledge of "social and historical forces" that is preconceived.

The Glasgow Media Group writes that studies of language within news stories have revealed a more methodical understanding of media messages. Central to linguistic study are how utterances are related, who has the power to control the messages within a narrative, when different parties within a narrative are given space to speak, how topics are closed and new ones opened, and what the proper order of utterances is within a story (Glasgow Media Group, 1976, p. 22). The news story is more than a series of sentences; the order and presentation of those sentences are carefully constructed to relay an ideological meaning. Structural analysis of stories reveals the sequence in which information is presented to create a certain message. Sequencing rules within journalistic practice dictate that information be presented in order of importance, with the most important information presented first. Story structure is a very restricted element (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

Sociolinguistic analyses supports the study of social relationships within discourse. Sociolinguistic analyses have thus far concentrated on associations between class, gender, or race differences; each one of these differentiations contain its own system of linguistic codes. Word sounds, speech and lexical

changes between these social structures are contextualized within structural differences.

Vocabulary is a strong indicator of a person's class and status. The use of nouns and pronouns especially indicates class stratification: the middle class uses more nouns and pronouns than does the working class. Vocabularies exemplify values and judgements. News vocabulary is not impartial, balanced or indicative of the social classes involved in a given story. Rather, it coordinates and directs messages for social consumption. It is highly restricted and uses a very limited number of descriptions to relay meanings (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

Different types of communication contain stylistic attributes (e.g., news discourse has its own characteristics that are expected to be present within a news story). Uncovering the coding system within news is important to discovering the accuracy of the media's claim to neutrality; the Glasgow Media Group (1980) found that the media use a highly restricted code understood by elite powerholders within society.

The assertion of neutrality within news organizations conceals the properties of restricted code. Such properties are an extremely predictable use of lexicons, syntax, and discourse structure and very specific story content. In order to decode media messages, an audience must possess the rules that define the linguistic differences of news from other types of discourse. These rules allow an

audience to decode the messages within the context intended by journalists (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

When messages are received via the print medium, other factors influence the decoding process. Written words are presented in a more organized fashion than is speech. The written word demands for a more formal process of interpretation which allows people to become active members of the communication process through the activity of reading. Readers absorb the written word and reconstruct it into the spoken word (Glasgow Media Group, 1980).

The study of the composition of linguistic codes for the purpose of decoding messages requires more than the analysis of sound and speech. The function and purpose of the parts of a story must also be determined. To this end, the Glasgow Media Group cites Sacks, et. al. (1972, p. 23) in their development of rules for the study of discourse. The primary rule is the consistency rule, which is if a part of a population is categorized, then other members within that segment of the population can be similarly categorized. The consistency rule glosses over differences between groups and allows the media to label different constituents within a larger group in similar ways (e.g., all groups on strike across the country are the cause of societal unrest). Groups can be gender, race, and class specific. It is an aim within news production to develop "preferential hearing" by audiences

in order that messages created by the consistency rule are decoded properly (Glasgow Media Group, 1976, p. 25).

The Glasgow Media Group (1980) writes that headlines are critical components of the language of news. They summarize and focus the reader on the story. Headlines are also one of the strongest symbols of style and serve as signifiers for the tone of the stories they announce. Other important tools used by the print media are the amount of space given to a specific news item, the placement of news stories, the social status of those who are interviewed for the stories, and repetitive coverage given to a news story.<sup>7</sup>

Balance is more affected by the manner and context of appearance than by equality of numbers (1980, p. 97). The control the media have over information and explanation allows them enormous power to influence society for or against a group or person. (Glasgow Media Group, 1976, 1980, 1982).

Structuralism has been used as an example for analysis for social practice because it is structured as well as an expressive system. Through language, culture becomes anthropological rather than abstract. People speak their culture in a language full of codes and systems (Hall, 1980a). Structuralism, according to Hall (1980a, p. 31), is the "...unconscious forms and categories through which historically definite forms of consciousness were produced." Hall (1980a) writes that consciousness is never present without an ideological influence, and language

and concepts exist within a group of other concepts. It is the collection of such concepts that forms an ideological field.

This study examined the language, story position, use of pictures, headlines, and classification used by the *The New York Times* while covering the hearings of the Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas sexual harassment case. Based on these findings, the ideological perspective behind the presentation of the event was derived.

### The Glasgow Media Group Method

The Glasgow Media Group (1972 p. 19) developed a method for discovering whether or not media organizations' presentations of events in the news clarifies or confuses the issues of events. The first step in the method is to distinguish three areas of analysis. This study analyzes *The New York Times'* coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment conflict, concentrating on how the conflict was treated by the senate; the hearings; and the reactions/statements of Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas regarding the media coverage of the conflict. The second step in the Glasgow Media Group's method is to find other records apart from the main medium chosen for analysis and compare these records to the main medium. This study reviews coverage in *Ms.* magazine and

*National Review* for alternate perspectives of the conflict. The final step in the method is to examine both the linguistic and visual elements of the chosen publications. This method is directly related to frame analysis and structuralism, both components of this study.

The Glasgow Media Group (1980) states that the organization and content of news stories facilitate audiences' understanding of the world. The media limit the world view by supporting and emphasizing accepted themes and by repeating those themes in their news accounts, allowing for a limited range of conclusions that can be drawn. Identifying those themes through frame analysis and structuralism is an important step toward broadening the societal view beyond that of the established order.

### Racism and News Reporting of Race

A discussion of racism and how the media report race is important to this study because in his defense against Anita Hill's sexual harassment charge, Judge Thomas injected the issue of race into the proceedings. If the media report race in certain ways, it follows that Thomas' charge of racism tempered the perspectives with which information was presented to readers. The important question for this study is, did the media support Judge Thomas' labeling of the conflict as a racial

conflict. If so, the following question must be, did the redefinition of the issue negate the charge of sexual harassment in the media coverage.

Halloran (1974) cites Guillaumin's concept that race reporting is tied to the attitude of the majority group. Racial issues are more likely to be reported when the majority group feels threatened by the actions of the minority.

The media have a much greater influence than simply reinforcing the attitudes of the majority groups. The media teach the majority group what attitudes to take. They also provide models for behavior and information that extend far beyond a person's immediate experience. In order to preserve the dominant group's ideals and values, the media use stereotyping frames, suggest values and modes of action, and depict popular culture. The media attribute types of behaviour to certain groups through their selective use of sources of information, they set our agendas by selecting issues and presenting them for attention, and they label groups within news accounts of events (Halloran, 1974).

The media use an existing framework that is inherent in all news organizations to report events. News reporting is people-centered, and the negative is reported over the positive. Minority groups, in order to be reported as news, must have done something negative to be noticed by the media. Because newspapers usually follow each other in story development; the initial frame in which the event was covered becomes the frame accepted by all other media

organization, who develop other angles and incites from that initial frame. Culture is articulated within these frames (Halloran, 1974).

Racism is a cultural aspect of society that is "historically rooted in social relationships, integral to the value systems of modern Western societies, and serving particular interests in existing social structures" (Halloran, 1974, p. 23). Racism can be incorporated in organizational policies and practices and is thus a part of a social system of interaction. Within the social system, white people have more and easier access to power. Behavior becomes social action (Halloran, 1974).

The perspectives by which the media report race can support the general social phenomenon that stereotypes all members of a race to those examples portrayed in the media (Halloran, 1974). Since most coverage involving blacks also relates to poverty, crime and violence, the entire black race is stereotyped as a threat to the white members of society. The press typically presents an image of society that is white but that contains a black population, which defends the status quo. The media provide definitions of the black community for the white community, and those definitions frame the black segment of society as a problem to be feared by white people (Halloran, 1974).

Race is a controversial issue, so media coverage of racial issues will be controversial, whether journalistic approaches are cautious or daring. Media critics



have stated that coverage of race should be handled delicately in order to soothe the emotions involved in racial conflict. The journalistic answer to this statement is that to handle any news item with perspectives other than that with which the event presents itself would be to report "news as we would like it to be" rather than "news as it is" (Braham, 1982, p. 269).

If media organizations only report "news as it is," they adhere to a value system different from any other type of writer. A writer of a book on the issue of racism may argue on one side of the issue or another. He or she will emphasize those facts that give credence to his or her viewpoint and play down or not include facts that are controversial to his or her side. The news value which supposes that reporters only write news "as it is" puts journalists beyond such a basic component of writing for public consumption (Braham, 1982).

That media do not write "news as it is" has been proven many times. Braham cites Breichner's work that found that news coverage of black citizens 'constituted almost a boycott or censorship of positive, favourable news' (quoted in Braham, 1982, p. 270). News reported in the southern states at one time never included pictures of black people; in fact, blacks were cut and airbrushed out of pictures. The message was that black people were not an important constituent of the newspapers' audiences.

Changes in news reporting of race were brought about by the civil rights movement in the 1960's, but they encompassed the quantity of news about black Americans rather than changes in the quality of news. News about black people continued to be reported only when blacks threatened the ideals and values of the white majority (Braham, 1982).

To determine a media definition of race, Hartmann et. al. (1974) studied selected editions of several newspapers over an extended time period. They found that every newspaper they studied handled race with similar themes: in terms of immigration control, hostility and discrimination between black people and white people, legislation for the control of immigration, and in relation to the politician Enoch Powell. Each theme centers around the problems between black and white people; no news focused on the problems of black people as a race (i.e, housing, unemployment, poverty, etc.) In other words, the press focuses on conflict in relation to race; they present to their white audiences pictures of the black race that usually involve conflict, tension or violence.

### Headlines and Race

Halloran (1974) writes that a headline's two primary purposes are to indicate story content and to highlight a story's main point. Headlines make a

page more aesthetically pleasing by segmenting a page and provide summaries of stories. Many readers simply read headlines rather than stories to catch a glimpse of what is news, lending importance to the way headlines are phrased. Headlines also influence how readers interpret the stories the headlines introduce.

Halloran performed a study in which he analyzed headlines for the presence of racial cues. He found that thirty percent of the material he analyzed contained cue words that indicated the story contained a racial element. Words that cued readers to information that was specifically about the white population were rarely used. Examining the material by topic revealed that race was used fifteen percent of the time to indicate "white hostility," twenty-five percent of the time to indicate discrimination, thirty-seven percent of the time to signal legislation, and twenty-eight percent of the time to indicate race relations. When the ethnic group was specifically identified, race was used to indicate disturbance twenty-four percent of the time. Twenty percent of the stories specifying race involved white hostility, and sixteen percent involved crime (Halloran, 1974, p. 153).

To place the use of race in context with other concepts in headlines, Halloran examined the words with which race indicators were usually placed in headlines. Five types of words emerged: violent words, such as murder, riot, kill, shoot; words of conflict and/or disagreement, such as hate, clash, fight, crisis; words indicating some type of legal process, such as jail, detain, arrest, jury,

evidence; restrictive words, such as stop, censor, boycott; and words indicating illegal acts, such as theft, fraud, loot (Halloran, 1974, pp. 153 - 154). Such headlines indicate that race in the news associates the black population with violence, conflict and generally unpleasant scenarios. This study will include analysis of the headlines of the stories addressing the sexual harassment conflict between Dr. Anita Hill and Judge Clarence Thomas to discover the use of headlines as supporting ideological frames.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS<sup>8</sup>

*The New York Times* coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment conflict consisted of 173 articles published over a 19-day time period. In total, 28 articles were published on the front page and were continued in the National section, 76 were inclusive to the National section, 43 were published in the OP-ED section, and 15 appeared under Editorials. Five articles were published under certain column titles such as "Observer" and "On My Mind." A few other articles appeared under other sections of the paper such as in The Living Arts, but this occurrence was rare. Approximately 59 articles were hard news, presenting updates and information on the conflict. Forty were soft news items such as features and stories about related issues. Sixty-eight were opinion pieces or editorials, and sixteen could have been a combination of classifications. (Because of the information presented in these stories, they could be classified as either features or hard news stories.) Most of the coverage occurred while the hearings to address the sexual harassment charge took place and immediately after the Senate voted to confirm Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. *The New York Times* coverage of the conflict began on October 7, 1991, after Nina Totenberg of

National Public Radio broke the story by interviewing Anita Hill on the air. The coverage ended on October 28, 1991.

Research into the coverage of the conflict by a publication for the black members of society revealed surprising results. The magazine *Ebony*, chosen for analysis for this project, did not cover the conflict at all. The only mention of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict in *Ebony* was one line within a "Year in Review" feature article. An analysis of the magazines *Black Enterprise* and *Essence* also revealed no coverage of the conflict. Each issue of these three magazines was searched from August 1991 to June 1993.

### Analysis of the Data

This analysis is ordered chronologically and is divided into the coverage before the hearings to address Dr. Hill's allegations, the hearings themselves and the senate vote on Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court, and follow-up coverage. The comparison among *The New York Times*, *Ms.*, and *The National Review* follows. The analysis concludes with a discussion of the coverage as a whole in order to reveal common threads of information.

Photographs are an important part of frame analysis and are analyzed with the texts of each story in which the photographs appeared.

*The New York Times*, *Ms.* and *The National Review* coverage was analyzed with the principles of frame and linguistic analysis and with the Glasgow Media Group methodology outlined in Chapter III. To extrapolate the data, a worksheet of 26 points based on the components of frame and textual analysis was developed and applied to each article (see Attachment I for the worksheet).

The worksheets for each day were then analyzed and comprise the information presented in the following chapter. Because of the extensive use of labeling within the coverage of this event, charts of the labels appear in association with the day of coverage to which they apply. The analysis of the labels and the discussion of the frame and textual analysis data collected from the articles comprise this qualitative analysis. The analysis is followed by conclusions and recommendations for further research.

### Pre-hearing Coverage

*The New York Times* began coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas sexual harassment conflict on October 7, 1991. This section addresses this beginning coverage through October 10, 1991. Table 1 lists the labels used to name the important constituents in this conflict: Dr. Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, the Senate, the sexual harassment charges, the nomination, the Senate Judiciary

Committee, the hearings, and the public reaction. All the labels are quoted directly from *The New York Times*, October 7-10, 1991.



TABLE 1. Labels used during the pre-hearing coverage.

Anita Hill	<p>Professor Hill 178x; Ms. Hill 29x; Anita F. Hill 7x; Professor Anita Hill 7x; his assistant 6x; former aide to judge 4x; a law professor 3x; victim 3x; Oklahoma law school professor 3x; Thomas's accuser 3x; An Oklahoma law professor 3x; his assistant at the Department of Education 3x; Anita Hill 3x; Anita F. Hill, a law professor at the University of Oklahoma who is a former Thomas aide 3x; a tenured professor at the University of Oklahoma Law Center 2x; the professor 2x; personal assistant 2x; Anita F. Hill, a law professor at the university who has accused Judge Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment 2x; Anita F. Hill 2x; Prof. Anita F. Hill 2x; Miss Hill 2x; Prof. Anita Hill 2x; Anita Faye Hill 2x; professor; not an October surprise; a woman who struggled so with the need to come forward; Yale educated professor at the University of Oklahoma Law Center; tense, measured, organized; messenger of the message; pained by the whole experience; friend and advisor to black law students; calm defiance; tenured professor specializing in commercial law; a symbol of one of the most sensitive and complex political issues of the day; part of a last minute effort to derail Judge Thomas's nomination; an activist in the local community; an elected member of the Faculty Senate; an administrative fellow in the Office of the Provost; a board member for a local women's center; a woman of substance; Judge Thomas's former aide at two Federal agencies and the alleged object of his attentions; the witness; an activist without rancor; an accuser; the messenger; Dr. Hill; Professor Anita F. Hill; the University of Oklahoma Law Center professor; a young employee in [Thomas's] office at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; two very credible people of great intellect; credible and intelligent; woman at center of furor; a subject of intense scrutiny and criticism; a tenured professor and a specialist in contract law; his special assistant; a high court nominee's accuser; Miss Anita Hill; the person who has accused Clarence Thomas of harrassing her on the job; the complainant; a young lawyer; his assistant; doubly disadvantaged by race and gender; the accuser; fresh out of law school and new to the world of work; Davida against the Goliaths; poised and dignified; this woman; humiliated; intelligent; articulate self-made lawyer; sullided and discredited; the former aide whose allegations have thrown the confirmation into disarray; a private person in a storm; the Oklahoma law professor who has ignited a firestorm over Washington: a product of both a dusty farm at the end of a dirt road and the neo-gothic courtyards of the Yale Law School; the 35 year old professor; an intensely private person who now finds herself in the most public of roles; a sometimes enigmatic individual who must now explain herself to the nation; somewhat naive and more than a little idealistic; a veteran of politically sensitive Washington jobs who cunningly set out to ambush Judge Thomas; honorable and virtuous; a complex personality; pragmatic and realistic; very formal; very reserved; very approachable; very, very dignified; upholding the image of a law professor not a political person; a super, super woman; a step above everybody; a sweet, special person; serious nature and religious conviction; pretty straight; a professional lawyer; not worldly wise; awfully young; a board member of Handitrans of Norman a protege of powerful men; Anita F. Hill, a law professor at the University of Oklahoma; an aide of his at the E.E.O.C.; the complainant.</p>
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TABLE 1. Labels used during the pre-hearing coverage.

Clarence Thomas	<p>Judge Thomas 217x; Clarence Thomas 36x; the nominee 25x; Judge Clarence Thomas 15x; Mr. Thomas 15x; Thomas 6x; Judge 4x; the Judge 2x; the Supreme Court nominee 2x; Chairman of the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission 2x; this poor guy 2x; Professor Hill's supervisor; a victim; Judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; Head of the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Education; prudish; a straight arrow; President Bush's nominee for the Supreme Court; Chairman of the Commission; Chairman of the agency charged with enforcing the nation's anti-discrimination laws; Chairman of the E.E.O.C.; Judge Thomas, who sits on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; the victim of the drama; very distraught; credible and intelligent; a man backed by the full power of the Presidency; a cinch for confirmation; the White House nominee to the Supreme Court; Clarence; the person who I respect so greatly, and a person I love dearly [quote from Sen. Danforth]; a student at Yale Law School in the early 1970's; particularly sensitive and caring regarding the professional and personal concerns of the women he knows and works with; the accused; Mr. Danforth's 43-year old former aide; his protegee; a protegee of powerful men; President Bush's choice for the Supreme Court; the person accused; a black conservative; a man who held and holds power in Ms. Hill's profession.</p>
the Senate	<p>the Senate 50x; senators 5x; lawmakers 3x; this club 2x; 100 senators 2x; the Senate train 2x; mechanics of power and decision making in Washington; the old-boy's network; the boys; a lack of sensitivity toward women's concerns and Black and Hispanic concerns; in a state of confusion; slipping support for Judge Thomas; Congressional investigators; slowness in addressing the accusation; hunkered down and disorganized; the overwhelmingly male senate; male senators; United States Senate; damaged; tradition-bound annals; a picture of ineptitude if not outright indifference; two women members; no minority members; still operates like a men's club, mostly taking the white male viewpoint as the universal norm; some of the most powerful politicians in Washington; the full Senate; a 98-percent male senate; our leaders; politicians; the white men of the Senate; more concerned about how this looked for them, for their party, their procedures and their political prospects than in discovering what really happened; covered with mud; fear and anguish on Capital Hill; high-dudgeon oratory; institution on the line; Hill; whole institution in question; cat's cradle of ethics rules; an older brother watching smugly as parents punish a younger brother [Senate over House re: bad check controversy]; the Senate Club, nearly all white males over 50 years old; wallow in tawdry episodes and dubious ethical performances; more interested in defending Senate rules and in pinning down the source of the leak; insensitivity about sexual harassment; high high drama and open confrontation of the Senate; gave short shrift to the sexual harassment allegations; partisan fighting; conflicting interests; 98-percent male institution; male-dominated Senate.</p>

TABLE 1. Labels used during the pre-hearing coverage.

The Charges	<p>the allegations 17x; her concerns 9x; her allegations 6x; these allegations 6x; the allegation 5x; Anita Hill's allegations of misconduct 4x; the charges 4x; accusation 2x; potentially explosive accusation 2x; burst into national press 2x; central issue 2x; an unpleasant issue 2x; political ploy 2x; Ms. Hill's allegations 2x; the activity 2x; accusations 2x; the allegation of sexual harassment 2x; her statement 2x; the allegations by Professor Hill 2x; a cloud hanging over [Thomas's] head 2x; accusations of sexual harassment 2x; Prof. Anita Hill's accusations of sexual harassment 2x; the subject 2x; Ms. Hill's charges 2x; the information 2x; the dispute 2x; bitter; he-said, she-said; case; gender problem; a gender and generational problem; extraordinarily serious complaint; a microcosm of the problem, endemic in society, about the way women are viewed; every woman's nightmare; an indicator of how women are viewed in society; explosive...accusations; breakdown in communication; accusations of insensitivity; potential damage to the committee; accusation reverberates through Washington; the questions; a he-said, she-said sort of report; a subtle, private crime; this kind of treatment; a national controversy; Judge Thomas's behavior; inappropriate sexual advances; serious allegations against Judge Thomas; Ms. Hill's assertions; a serious allegation; her charges; the investigation; Professor Hill's concerns; her allegation; the matter; her allegations about Judge Thomas's conduct; the severity of this; normal male behavior; a real issue; the allegations of sexual harassment; Professor Hill's allegations;; unanswered questions about Judge Thomas; her other assertions; the complaints of a woman of substance; the tempest into which lawmakers were plunged; harassment charge; allegations; one of the most politically charged issues before [the senate] in recent years; dramatic and carefully presented public accusation; allegations against Judge Thomas; events that were unpredictable; highly charged sexual politics on Capitol Hill; the drama; the tension between sexes; the debate sexual crimes; the victim syndrome; such allegations against men; extremely difficult issues; an emotional drain on Congress; the events of this past weekend; the issues now publically raised; those assertions; an issue whose force it [Senate] had misunderstood and mishandled; allegations of sexual harassment; this episode; the questions at stake; her case; the whole thing; Ms. Hill's accusations; her accusations of sexual harassment; the furor; the information she provided in the form of a sworn statement; sexual harassment allegations; the situation; certain allegations; an injustice which is being perpetrated on him; sexual harassment charge; unfair attacks [on Thomas]; Professor Hill's accusations of sexual harassment; those allegations; an 11th-hr leak; Prof. Anita Hill's charges serious and unique aspects of sexual harassment accusations; a firestorm; recountings of bestiality and rape; the right to work unmolested; a gender divide; one woman against the corporate power structure, against the boss who says she's imagining things and a bulwark of male authority that surrounds him; explosive issue of sexual harassment; the controversy; partisan issue the right of women to work free from sexual harassment; profound importance; scandal; the dispute; cloud of doubt; uproar; Sudden storm; the last minute disclosure; the accusation that he tried to date Professor Hill some 10 years ago and the, when she refused, talked to her about his sexual preferences and about pornographic movies.</p>
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TABLE 1. Labels used during the pre-hearing coverage.

The Nomination	the vote 3x; the nomination 2x; the Thomas nomination 2x; the worst kind of sleazy political campaign, with no effort spared to assassinate the character of Clarence Thomas 2x; Judge Thomas's nomination 2x; vote on Thomas; the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court; the vote on this nomination; a nomination with serious and highly controversial and unresolved charges and denials; the circus; The Supreme Court nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas; character assassnation; political free pass; Judge Thomas's confirmation process; behind the scene maneuvers; abruptly redrawn lines of battle; deliberate outrage; deliberate character assassnation; deliberate manipulation of the process.
the Senate Judiciary Committee	the committee 31x; Senate Judiciary Committee 12x; the Judiciary Committee 11x; committee members 5x; the Judiciary Panel 2x; Judiciary Committee Members 2x; all male; panel; hunkered down and disorganized; male members of the committee;all men over 50; male lawmakers; the senators; Committee Officials; Senator Biden's Committee; the Senate; the Senate committee; the Republican leadership and all Democratic members of the committee; committee hands; members of the Senate Judiciary Committee; members of the committee; Biden's panel; the Thomas panel; all male Senate Judiciary Committee; 14 senators, all men.
The Hearings	first televised congressional hearings on the subject in history; cross examination; excruciating and embarrassing; lead to a muddled outcome and painful vote; raise the specter of Congressional hypocrisy; prevent this from turning into a referendum on 2000 years of male dominance and sexual harassment; a forum; a rare public battle of the sexes on Capital Hill; fierce political debate; one of the great television dramas in Washington's history this rare hearing.
Public Reaction	storm of outrage 2x; angry explosion among women in legal and political circles; an electric current of anger through women; gender-based anger; touched a nerve; an astounding strength of feeling; a gap in male understanding, in the understanding of the people making the decisions; a tremendous rush of activity by various organizations; the gender divide has opened and swallowed politeness like a great hungry whale; public debate on the issue;deluge of protests from women all over the country; their [women's] anger; the clamor.

### Analysis of Frames

The labels listed above reveal both neutral and charged language.

"Professor Hill" is used to label Anita Hill more often than any other term;

similarly, Clarence Thomas is termed "Judge Thomas" most often. Both labels frame Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas in terms of their professions, placing them distinctly within the middle to upper-middle class. The labels "professor" and "judge" are both sexless terms. Of note, however, is the frequency with which Dr. Hill's workplace was mentioned. *The New York Times* reporters added that Dr. Hill taught at the University of Oklahoma in the majority of news items, even specifying the types of classes she taught. Judge Thomas's workplace, the Appeals Court for the District of Columbia Circuit, was mentioned only a few times and usually in later articles.

The feminist patriarchal viewpoint on the presence of additional classifiers attributed to the female constituent rests on the male need to clearly place women within the hierarchal power structure. The label of "Judge" for Clarence Thomas was sufficient information to place him within the male realm of leadership and power. Since "professor" is not gender-specific, Anita Hill required more information in order for her to be classified within the hierarchal power structure.

In addition to information on Dr. Hill's workplace, which places her more specifically in the societal power structure, Dr. Hill's gender was identified along with her profession. In almost every article in which she was labeled, in various forms, a professor, she was also called "Ms." or even "Miss" (32 times within this first coverage). Variations of her full name were used 29 times, and when she was

labeled a professor, she was also often referred to by her name (e.g., Professor Anita Hill, Professor Anita F. Hill). The use of her full name provided an gender-identifier because "Anita" is traditionally a feminine name.

Dr. Hill, when spoken of in relation to Judge Thomas, was most often labeled as his assistant rather than Judge Thomas being labeled her boss. Instances of Hill being placed in a subordinate role to Thomas occurred 21 times. Judge Thomas could have quite easily been classified as her boss in those instances rather than she as his assistant, but this only happened once. The feminist patriarchal perspective explains this phenomena with the assertion that men are naturally supervisors of women; to place Judge Thomas in that role is to state the obvious. Since Dr. Hill accused Judge Thomas, exerting power over him and thus upsetting the established patriarchal gender role ideology, she required reclassification as a woman subordinate to a man.

Predominant in the coverage of this conflict is the presence of government officials. Of 174 people cited, quoted directly or indirectly, or interviewed, 96 (55%) were government officials, from President Bush to senate aides. Such figures indicate a heavy reliance on government officials for information. Although reliance on government sources for information regarding an issue involving the senate seems logical, such a heavy reliance indicates a healthy use of sources for inside knowledge into the conflict. In the hearings, to be discussed

later in this report, some senators even used statements published in the press to try to question Anita Hill's reliability.

The labels attributed to the Senate framed them as the cause of the entire conflict that came after the charges were made public. The Senate was labeled inept, confused, defensive, unable to focus on the problem at hand because of a preoccupation with their own image, and concerned about their re-election based on their vote. They were labeled "the Senate Train," implying they were a force out of control. In discussing the fighting among the Senate members, the Senate was described as "covered with mud." The fact that the Senate at that time was 98 percent male was repeated often, as was its race. Aside from being labeled "the Senate," the label of "old-boy's network" was used in various forms. The Senate was even directly called "the boys." An article appeared with the coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thoms scandal on October 10, 1991, that cited a public opinion poll stating the public was disillusioned with their representatives in government, although a pie chart depicted the majority of people approved of the way congresspeople did their jobs. The headline for this article read, "Public Calls Lawmakers Corrupt and Pampered." This articles served to aid the framing of Congress as inept.

The Senate was unabashedly framed in a way consistent with the ideological class-based power structure. They were labeled in gender and race terms: all-

white, males, all over the age of 50. These frames of the Senate simply serve to support the class-based traditional view of the role of race and gender in holding power. It is in balance with readers' ideals of "reality." Graber's (1989) statement that people will understand the messages of media frames because the framers and the audiences are from the same culture stands proven.

The negative labels attributed to the Senate are surprising in that they challenge the effectiveness of our government's processes. Reporters were at risk in portraying the Senate in a negative light when they depend on the Senate for information. Important to note, however, is that the presence of an all white Senate, though criticized, was not challenged. No questions of why or how we came to have an all white Senate were asked. The race of the Senate seems to have been questioned in this issue simply because the two involved in the conflict, Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas, were both black. It was only when white people stood in judgement of two black people were racial differences highlighted.

Goffman (1974) would call the framing of the Senate a social framework because the framing of the Senate in terms of race and gender provided background information that suggested the motives of the controlling force. The controlling force in this issue was the Senate, who had the power to decide the issue through its vote. Faced with the choice of supporting a black female or a black male, both extremely credible, they supported the black male. Feminist



definition of patriarchy would attribute the support of Judge Thomas over Dr. Hill as the male propensity to support and promote men into positions of power.

This event can be classified, according to Molotch and Lester (1974), as a scandal. The charges became public when Anita Hill's statement was "leaked" by a senate member to the press. In line with the concept of the scandal is the Glasgow Media Group's (1976) idea that because the media focus on the significant rather than the mundane, the person or people instigating the actions are those who are labeled disruptive. Those labeled disruptive are most often those who are also underrepresented in the press, i.e., minorities and women. Anita Hill is the disruptive party in this conflict, evident by the various labels of accuser, the idea that she set out to "ambush" Clarence Thomas, the label stating that her allegations had "thrown the confirmation into disarray," and the framing of her as igniting a "firestorm over Washington."

According to Goffman's definition (1974, p. 107), the framing device used was an "indirect fabrication." Someone leaked the information about Dr. Hill's allegation to the press in order to indirectly frame Clarence Thomas and influence the Senate's views about him. In this case, both Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill were questioned, and the Senate was depicted in the media in a very uncomplimentary light. The use of an indirect frame did in this instance malign the framer since he or she was a member of the Senate.

Goffman further states that fabrications impact social structures. When Clarence Thomas was discredited by the accusation of sexual harassment, the issue of sexual harassment itself was ongoing and had significant impact on the public's views on sexual harassment. The coverage on October 8, one day after the issue broke, contained articles on the laws governing sexual harassment and on men having difficulty with the issue. Coverage on October 9 contained editorials from women demanding that Anita Hill's charges be given fair attention and calling the Senate and men nationwide to listen to women. On the front page of the New York Times, October 9, 1991, is an article and a picture of women who were representatives in the House marching to the Senate to voice their concerns that the issue be addressed. Directly above that picture is a headline announcing that the vote had been delayed. This combination of frames suggests that the reaction of women had an effect on the delay, but further reading of the article, continued in the National section, revealed that the women were not even allowed in the caucus room where the senators met. Social structures were impacted but not changed.

The coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict appears extremely balanced in support of the two constituents. Balance creates the illusion of objectivity, leading readers away from questions regarding the type, order, and presentation methods of information. Close examination of the coverage, however, reveals a bias toward Clarence Thomas as a powerholder, a man backed by the

Presidency, a victim, and an influential member of society. His roles at the E.E.O.C. and at the Department of Education were mentioned frequently. Hill was labeled as a victim also, but she was also "the accuser" to Thomas's "accused" as well as naive, young, and subordinate.

The President's role in the conflict in this initial coverage was very visible. The front page of *The New York Times* published a picture, in the upper right hand corner, columns 3 through 5, of Clarence Thomas and President Bush meeting at the White House. Column 6, directly to the right of that picture, contained a story entitled, "BUSH EMPHASIZES HE BACKS THOMAS IN SPITE OF UPROAR." The use of all caps in the story title is important; *The New York Times* usually uses initial caps for titles. A blurb under the title states, "Court Nominee to Be Presented as Family Man With Greater Credibility Than Accuser," effectively labeling Dr. Hill as the troublemaker and connecting Thomas's name with the idea of "family man."

### Photographs

The photographs within this first wave of coverage contain many connotative meanings. They are signifiers of the beliefs that news editors held

regarding the constituents in this case. Each photograph in this first coverage is addressed in order of appearance.

The coverage on October 7, 1991, contained two photos: one of Anita Hill, and one of Clarence Thomas. The photograph of Dr. Hill is surrounded by an article that introduces her charges to the public. It is a small photograph that spans only one column; it is a head and shoulders shot of Dr. Hill. The caption simply provides her name and work (law professor) and states that she has accused Judge Thomas of sexual harassment.

The photograph of Judge Thomas is very different. It is about six times larger than the photo of Hill. Judge Thomas is facing to the right of the photo frame, his head is turned toward the photographer. He is looking up and possibly smiling, but the smile gives him the appearance that he is grimacing and showing his teeth. The caption states the accusations of sexual harassment and points out that they were made two days before the vote. A blurb directly under the caption reads, "New uncertainty rocks a turbulent confirmation process."

The emphasis on these two pictures is placed on Thomas. His picture is much larger than Hill's, and it is placed in the far upper right-hand corner, the place of emphasis on newspaper pages.

The photographs on October 8, 1991, were much more emotional. Page one of the paper contained a 5x7 of Dr. Hill speaking at microphones. Her brow

is furrowed and her mouth slightly open. Directly beneath her is the title of the story: "The Senate and Sexism." Within that same story is another 5x7 of Senator John C. Danforth, Judge Thomas's chief advocate. He is standing at a podium looking down and sideways. His posture depicts worry; his brow is also furrowed. Contrasting these two pictures, one sees Dr. Hill staring straight ahead and speaking while Senator Danforth looks down. The implication is of her accusation and his worry.

In a story directly beside the photo of Senator Danforth, another 5x7 portrays Dr. Hill and David Swank, the dean of the law school where Dr. Hill teaches. This photo is in high contrast to the first photo of Dr. Hill but parallels the photo of Senator Danforth, to which it is juxtaposed. In this photo, Dr. Hill is seated with her hands crossed in front of her in her lap. She is looking down and is frowning. Directly behind her stands her dean, his right arm crossing his chest and his left hand supporting his chin. It seems as though he stands in judgement of her. He is looking to the left, seemingly directly at the photo of Danforth.

The only photo of Judge Thomas is a long shot depicting him walking up the walkway to the front door of his home. Only his back is present. Above his head waves an American flag, attached to the side of his house.

Two other photographs appear in this day's coverage. They are of Senator Biden and Senators Metzenbaum and Hatch. Biden's photo is a head and shoulders

shot of him speaking into microphones; the other photo depicts Metzenbaum standing over Hatch, who also speaks into microphones.

If one addresses these pictures in order of appearance, one sees Dr. Hill standing, speaking into a microphone and looking directly ahead; Dr. Hill seated, looking down at the floor and frowning; Senator Danforth, looking down at the floor; Judge Thomas's back as he walks to his house; and three senators. One interpretation of these photos is that Dr. Hill spoke and was not proud of what she said, Senator Danforth was not happy with her speech, Judge Thomas was walking away, and senators sat and discussed the issue. This interpretation is in line with the coverage, which consistently relayed Dr. Hill's reluctance to make the issue public, the Senate's controversy on how to handle the allegations, and Judge Thomas's denial of the accusations.

No photographs of Judge Thomas appeared on October 9, and only one was published of Anita Hill. This photograph was buried on page A20 in the National section and depicts her seated and speaking into several microphones. The caption quotes Dr. Hill's statement that she is willing to cooperate with the Senate in whatever capacity they need her to fill. All the other photographs in this day of coverage depicted public and Senate reaction to her charges. The picture appearing on the front page depicted women from the house marching up the Senate steps. The tall columns of the Capitol tower over them. The picture is

cropped so that the columns are completely visible, making the picture an odd size (5x8). The next photo is a medium shot of Senator George C. Mitchell, then Senate majority leader. He is looking down and is gesturing with his right hand. The photo appears in an article of excerpts from his speech regarding delaying the confirmation vote. The caption places him in the debate on the postponement of the vote.

Two photos appear on the next page of coverage. Both photos are extremely large (7x7 1/2 and 10x6). They depict women lobbyists against Judge Thomas waiting to hear the verdict on the postponement of the vote and discussing the issue with Senator Kennedy, an opponent of Judge Thomas's.

The next photo is highly significant in relation to the outcome of the conflict. It is a large photo of Senator John C. Danforth holding papers out and to his left. An American flag appears over his left shoulder. To the right of the photo, just above his outstretched arm, part of the Capitol Building is evident through the window. The caption identifies phone logs citing calls Dr. Hill made to Clarence Thomas after she left his employment. The phone log was a deciding factor in the minds of some Senators to confirm Judge Thomas, as they could not believe that she would keep in touch with him if he had indeed harassed her. The phone logs were used as evidence against her during the trials. The article directly

to the left of the picture cites that day as the hardest one yet for Senator Danforth in his fight for Judge Thomas's confirmation to the Supreme Court.

October 10 contained an interesting mix of photographs. The front page contained the photograph of Judge Thomas and President Bush that was previously mentioned. The only photograph of Dr. Hill is one of her at the Washington airport. She is surrounded by men, all black, who are unidentified. She is looking slightly up, her eyes wide as if in surprise. She is frowning slightly and looks frightened. Comparing this picture of her to the picture of Judge Thomas and President Bush gives one the impression that she has just realized she is fighting the power of the President. The picture of her is almost at the bottom of page B15, and the picture of Thomas and Bush is at the top of the page 1. She is looking up, and Bush is looking out at the camera with his head turned slightly down.

Other photographs on page B15 depicted Senator George Mitchell and a two-shot of Senator Bob Dole, the minority leader, and Senator Danforth. The picture of Mitchell is a close-up of him looking up and to camera right. His mouth is clenched into an angry frown. This picture appears in an article relaying Mitchell's success in persuading several key democrats not to vote for Thomas unless they delay the vote. The two shot is a medium shot of Dole and Danforth. Danforth is facing the camera but is looking sideways. He looks angry, and the



caption relays the information that he had just received the list of democrats who would change their votes if the vote was not postponed. These pictures portray a definite conflict within the senate.

The only other picture appearing on October 10, 1991 is a three shot of Virginia Thomas, Judge Thomas's wife; Judge Thomas; and Senator Danforth. They are standing in front of Thomas's house, and a car partially blocks Mrs. Thomas. Danforth's hand is outstretched and is placed on Thomas's back. The American flag is again evident. The caption simply names the Thomases and Senator Danforth, but the title relays that they are going to a "high-profile" meeting at the White House.

All of these photographs serve to frame the conflict and those involved in the conflict in certain ways. Dr. Hill is portrayed as initially direct, then saddened and ashamed. Thomas is smiling in the first shot, then other shots of him show his back. He is most often accompanied by Senator Danforth and is even associated photographically with President Bush. Senators are photographed in conflict with one another, the conflict always identified by captions, headlines, or the stories in which they are placed.

### Structural Analysis

*The New York Times* has a distinct "metalanguage" (Hall, 1975) with which they report the news. The coverage of the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict was influenced by both the language and the placement of the coverage within the newspaper. Every issue of *The New York Times* from October 7 to October 10 contained at least one article on the sexual harassment charges on the front page. The articles always appeared at or near the top of the page in the last few columns (columns 4-6) with the exception of October 7, which published the front page article on the harassment charges in columns 1-2 in the middle of the page. The front page stories were all continued in the National section, and all other articles regarding this conflict were also published in the National section. The use of the National section labels it an issue of national importance, a logical label in that the issue involved the Senate and a position on the Supreme Court. Placing it in the National section, however, also categorized the issue of sexual harassment as a national problem.

Entire pages within the National section were dedicated to the conflict. Excerpts from Senate speeches, either supporting the delay of the vote or not, usually occupied the top halves of the pages. Stories involving senators or laws on sexual harassment were also usually printed on the top half of the page. The

stories about the women protesting the vote were printed at the bottom of the page, and the story relaying that the vote had been delayed was also printed on the bottom half of the page (both of these stories were continued from the front pages).

The only use of official statistics or figures, both techniques to emphasize ideas, occurred in the article discussed earlier regarding the public opinions of the Senate. Certain information was emphasized in each story by the use of blurbs offset from the regular column body text with lines or boxes. Some examples of the type of information highlighted in blurbs are questions on the timing of Dr. Hill's allegations, the troubling nature of the accusation and its effect on Washington, the Senate's handling (or mishandling) of the issue, Thomas's denial of the charges, and the delay of the vote. Information about Thomas's denial of the charges received the most treatment in blurbs, with the Senate handling of the issue the second most frequent.

Other methods of highlighting information used were the use of bars to introduce information and the use of boxes. Short stories, usually features, that had relevance to the issue were sometimes published in a box, making them similar in appearance to a blurb. While the boxes emphasized the stories, the information within it was equated to a blurb and was de-emphasized. Examples of

stories in boxes were men having difficulty with the sexual harassment issue, laws on sexual harassment, and Thomas's affidavit.

The subject of sexual harassment, after the first day, was given tremendous emphasis by the length of the stories published. Roughly half a page was given to the subject on October 7, with most of the space occupied by the one article introducing the subject to readers. October 8 featured three entire pages of coverage, but only six articles were published. Most of the articles (all but one) occupied at least one third to one half of a page. The only article shorter than one third of a page was an article published in a box regarding men having difficulty with the issue of sexual harassment.

Three entire pages were dedicated to the sexual harassment conflict on October 9, and stories on pages other than these three added roughly another page to the coverage of the conflict. Eleven stories were published regarding the sexual harassment conflict on this day. October 9 marked the first appearance of articles in the OP-Ed section, an important structural method for applying truth to stories outside the editorial pages by emphasizing opinion within the editorials (Glasgow Media Group, 1982). The editorials were calls from women to men to pay attention to the issue and calls to the Senate to be fair. Most of the stories were again quite lengthy, the longest ones focusing on the Senate's process and decision to delay the vote. Almost an entire page was dedicated to excerpts from senators'

remarks as they debated on the delay of the vote. *The New York Times* chose to set off the information in Judge Thomas's phone logs depicting calls made to him by Anita Hill by designing a matrix linking the day, time of call and message. Blurbs cited the "gender divide," new hearings to address the accusations, and Judge Thomas's reaction to the charges.

*The New York Times* published a story on the front page on October 10 followed by two full pages in the National section and four other stories in the OP-ED and Editorials sections. Nine stories were published on this day. The story involving President Bush's meeting with Judge Thomas appeared on the front page and on the top of the page in the National section, where it was continued. Also at the top of the page was a story relaying how the Senate reached the decision to delay the vote. Stories about Anita Hill and Judge Thomas themselves were placed at the bottom of the pages.

The language within this initial coverage was significant in framing the constituents of the conflict. Schnudson writes that if a story can be kept alive long enough, the story in its entirety can be "fleshed out and rounded off" (1986, p. 150). *The New York Times*, by the volume of coverage it produced on this story, was able to define the conflict in terms consistent with its version of truth. The issue was defined using some specific framing techniques. Anita Hill's name was left out of every headline of every story in this initial wave of coverage except

one, an article appearing at the bottom of a page in the National section that labeled her Professor Hill. She was called a law professor, a woman, and Thomas's accuser in the headlines. Such use of language served to remove her personally from the conflict; she was nameless and was defined by her sex and her class. When her name was used it was in relation to her position as a professor in society. Judge Thomas, in contrast, was cited nine times in the headlines, usually by his last name. The focus on Thomas was usually within the context of "the Thomas vote." The headlines served to negate the issue of sexual harassment and focused readers on Thomas, not in relation to the sexual harassment charges, but on the delay of the vote for confirmation to the Senate. The focus on the vote also placed emphasis on the senate action. Even this early in the coverage, the focus was on the Senate and the vote rather than on Dr. Hill and the alleged incident.

The absence of the word "alleged" is also significant. Dr. Hill's charges were often called allegations or accusations, but never was the word "alleged" attached to other labels of the conflict, such as the "alleged sexual harassment." When the issue was labeled, it was usually labeled in association with Dr. Hill, e.g., her accusations or her allegations, negating the need to label the charges as "alleged." While Dr. Hill was most often associated with the sexual harassment issue, Judge Thomas was most often associated with the vote and with his confirmation process.

The language used to support Thomas in relation to his vote is subtle. News stories tell of the difficulty Thomas had during his confirmation process, citing the sexual harassment allegations as a last ditch effort to keep Thomas off the Supreme Court. Senate officials are cited questioning why Dr. Hill's allegations appeared so late in the process. Thomas is labeled a victim, a "poor guy," and a man who has "suffered enough." The Senate was even framed as a victim of the charges in a statement that the charges were "particularly draining" to them.

The language used to describe the sexual harassment conflict is varied. The charges of sexual harassment were placed within gender and political conflict. The charges were labeled a "he-said, she-said" controversy, pitting a woman against a man in a male arena (politics). The conflict was also framed as a last-minute political ploy and an 11th-hr accusation, and Anita Hill was framed as a puppet for politicians interested in keeping Thomas off the Supreme Court. Such use of language redefines the issue, giving it a political rather than a personal meaning.

A more obvious use of language as a framing device appeared in the kickers at the tops of each page of coverage in the National section. The first kicker to appear on the subject stated, "An Accuser Takes Pains to Explain Her Actions." This kicker leads readers to believe that Dr. Hill did something wrong and is now anxious to explain herself. Judge Thomas is left out of the kicker

entirely. That kicker also implies that the stories following will be about Dr. Hill's explanation of her actions. This is important in a linguistic analysis because readers often take most of their information from headlines and kickers rather than reading an entire story. Other kickers within this timespan cite the clash over the assertions and the fact that the allegations took over a month to be made public (see Chronology, this report). Dr. Hill's accusations are labeled an "11th-Hour Uproar" in a kicker on page A19, October 9, 1991; another kicker cites an "emotional plea from longtime mentor," addressing Danforth's speech calling for a vote without delay (same date). The kicker above the story relating the decision to delay the vote offers the promise of a justification for the vote, implying a justification was necessary. October 10's kickers read "Eyeball to Eyeball, the Republicans Blinkered" in reference to the delay of the vote.

The implication of this last kicker was that if the Republicans had been stronger, a vote could have been held without delay. Such a kicker denies the moral right in delaying the vote so that the issue could be properly addressed and instead turns the decision to delay the vote into a contest which the Republicans lost. Another kicker on this day labels the conflict "A Matter of Irreconcilable Differences." Such a statement negates the need for the issue to be addressed because a conclusive end is impossible. This kicker also appeared directly above the story citing Bush's support of Thomas. The language of the kickers



significantly supported the viewpoints journalists held about the issue. If one only read the headlines and the kickers published for this conflict, one would certainly have an idea that the conflict centered around the senate vote, that Dr. Hill somehow did something wrong, and that Thomas, by virtue of having a powerful, long-time mentor in Senator Danforth and in the President, was not at fault and was a victim of political motives.

Absent from this initial coverage is the mention of race. Neither Judge Thomas nor Dr. Hill was labeled in term of their race. They were both labeled according to their class, gender, upbringing and personalities, but race was not an influential factor.

Examination of the structures of the stories published within this initial coverage revealed that most often, stories presented the "who," "what" and "when" of the story but very rarely offered a "why" or a "how" explanation. This is consistent with Altheide's breakdown of the contents of news stories (1974). The "Whos" in this coverage were most often government officials, Dr. Hill or Judge Thomas. The "whats" were related to the "whos"; government officials were most often cited regarding the actions of the Senate; sexual harassment charges or her work as a law professor were most often linked to Dr. Hill. Judge Thomas was frequently linked to his confirmation process or his work at the E.E.O.C.

In summary, the initial coverage served to baseline the conflict for future reporting. It sufficiently framed the issue, not in terms of sexual harassment, but in terms of the impact of the accusations on the Senate and on the vote. Dr. Hill was displaced from the issue in the headlines and kickers and through the use of labels such as "his accuser" and "professor." Judge Thomas was presented as someone with very powerful governmental support, while the Senate was faulted many times over for its handling of the issue and for the conduct of its members in general. The only labels of race were applied to the Senate.

### The Second Wave of Coverage

Table II depicts the labels applied to Dr. Hill, Clarence Thomas, the Senate, the conflict, the nomination, the hearings, the Judiciary Committee, and to the public reaction. These labels cover the next wave of coverage, October 11-16. Within this time period, the Senate held special hearings to address the sexual harassment charges and voted to confirm Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

Anita Hill	<p>Professor Hill 288x; Anita Hill 66x; Ms. Hill 31x; Prof. Anita F. Hill 23x; Anita 22x; Anita F. Hill 11x; Anita Hill 8x; the professor 5x; his accuser 5x; Hill 5x; Anita F. Hill, an Oklahoma law professor 4x; Anita Hill 4x; Anita F. Hill 3x; his assistant 3x; Thomas accuser 2x; accuser 2x; a black woman 2x; Professor Anita Hill 2x; one of the most level headed people I know 2x [Hoerchner]; shy Baptist girl from the south who was a victim of the big bad man 2x; the woman accusing him of sexual harassment; Professor Hill, who worked for him in two federal agencies; the 35 year old professor at the University of Oklahoma Law Center; a child of the civil rights movement; "...a fatal attraction type (critics)..." ; a subordinate; the man and woman pitted against each other, succesful black lawyers; exemplars of the American dream; two former colleagues; the law professor; a quiet Baptist woman; one of two professionals working with me [Thomas]; special assistant to me [Thomas]; Anita Hill, who is from Oklahoma; this is a person I have helped in every turn in the road since we met [Thomas]; Anita Hill was a person I considered a friend, whom I admired and thought I had treated fairly and with the utmost respect [Thomas] Anita F. Hill, a slight figure almost lost among the security guards and lawyers; professor of law at the University of Oklahoma; member of the Antioch Baptist Church in Tulsa, OK. since 1983; practicing lawyer; his only assistant at the Office of Education; an assistant to Judge Thomas; his special assistant; special assistant to a political appointee; female subordinate; assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Education; the nominee's former aide, who teaches law at the University of Oklahoma; this quiet dignified woman; a young black woman; an impressive law professor; Yale law graduate; my [Thomas's] special assistant; a Yale law graduate who taught civil rights law; an attorney advisor; an obviously intelligent and thoughtful female professor of law; a credible witness; a person of integrity, compassion and deep spiritual substance; not a political activist, not vindictive, not a publicity hound; she does not seek controversy; she is warm, smart, thoughtful, funny, a little shy; victim; witness; Professor Hill, who teaches at the Oklahoma University Law School; Anita; two apparently good people ; the two principles; two highly accomplished black people; two African-American people; two stellar personalities [Hill and Thomas]; a law professor at the University of Oklahoma who worked for Judge Thomas at two federal agencies in the early 1980s; a tool of special interest groups; a troubled woman who fantasized about a relationship with him; an ambitious woman with her eye ever on her career; aloof; Professor Thomas (sic); private reserved pragmatic moralistic woman; a pawn of liberal interest groups; a meek, innocent, a very hard, tough woman; a black woman; a tool for white men to ruin the life of a black man"; Who knows, maybe this is a sister who doesn't want to see a black man get ahead." a woman in a position of this sort; she was a classification attorney; an astute professor, a law professor, a lawyer who was concerned about being fired by Judge Thomas; tool of various advocacy groups; Afro-American; "She was opinionated... arrogant,... relentless debator,...kind of woman who always made you feel that she was not going to be messed with was not going to take anything from anyone. She was aloof, she always acted as if she was a little bit superior.</p>
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TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

Clarence Thomas	<p>Judge Thomas 257x; Clarence Thomas 96x; Mr. Thomas 25x; Judge Clarence Thomas 20x; Thomas 17x; Judge 11x; the nominee 9x; Chairman 9x; her boss 6x; Thomas 5x; Clarence 3x; Judge Clarence Thomas, the Supreme Court nominee 2x; an assistant secretary in the office of civil rights 2x; chairman of that office[E.E.O.C.] 2x; her former boss 2x; Head of the E.E.O.C. 2x; Chairman of the E.E.O.C. 2x; court nominee; Judge Thomas, a black man who rose from an impoverished boyhood in segregated Georgia to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; victim of a smear campaign [Pres. Bush]; a child of the civil rights movement, a success story that would have made the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. beam with pride"; President Bush's nominee; her superior at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; a man who humiliated a subordinate and then covered up his misconduct with a giant lie; the Supreme Court nominee alternately on the edge of tears and trembling with fury; her supervisor; his own nominee [Pres. Bush's]; a black man; shocked, surprised, hurt and enormously saddened; a boss, as a friend, and as a human being; an attorney-advisor for Hill; a manager, a policymaker and a person; no means a perfect person; a victim of this process; this black man; person who is supervising my [Dr. Hill's] work; my employer; then Chairman Thomas; the chief law enforcement officer of the country on this subject; this person who had some power in the new administration; this individual; an individual who will be a member of the court; a black American; tight jawed Judge Thomas; a top Reagan Administration Civil Rights Official; a man supposedly mature enough to interpret the constitution with wisdom; her then boss; two human beings, both well-spoken and handsome, both Horatio Alger stories; a black person; an important voice in the black community and in national affairs; a traitor, enemy and uncle tom; victim; conservative; black; witness; Bush appointee; her superior; the top enforcer in the country on employment discrimination; her superior; a strong man who has my full confidence, a man that belongs on the court [Bush]; Director of the E.E.O.C.; Judge Thomas, who now sits on the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; person in charge of fighting discrimination in the workplace; nation's chief law enforcement officer on that issue; highest person in her [Anita's] field; a person who has done this foul, foul presentation of verbage, verbal garbage; Afro-American; an man who helped nurture her [Hill's] career; her mentor; Lead player; "Martyrdom of Clarence Thomas"; the stars; family man; steady image of indignation; a family man who said he never even talked dirty to the guys in the locker room; her tormentor; principal; main witness; Judge Thomas, who is black; a sitting Federal Judge; a black nominee; remarkable and intelligent; a black man; member of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia; an intense, angry man.</p>
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TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote. 154

The Senate	the senate 8x; the senators 7x; lawmakers; the full senate; the United States Senate;the jury of 100 senators, a group of professional politicians, a third of whom face re-election next year;congress; the senators of both parties; this body; an old order; the 98% male senate; the 100 Senators who are to vote on the nomination on Tuesday; the jury of the Senate; slick lawyers; mostly male Senate; 98 male members of the Senate.
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TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

The Conflict	<p>sexual harassment 11x; allegations 10x; Professor Hill's allegations 6x; the issue 3x; Professor Hill's allegations of sexual harassment 3x; the charge 3x; "this nonsense, garbage, trash that you siphoned out of the sewer against me" [Thomas] 2x; her allegations 2x; Anita F. Hill's accusations of sexual harassment 2x; the case 2x; the charges against Judge Thomas 2x; these unpleasant matters 2x; these serious charges 2x; those allegations 2x; charges; my [Hill's] experience; allegations made by Professor Hill; her contacts with Judge Thomas; these horrifying events; what Professor Hill asserted; "...this was no case of tragic misunderstandings nor of ambiguous conversations..."; these "ugly" incidents and phrases; "...twisted motive she might have had for telling monstrous lies about him."; smear campaign [Pres. Bush]; the sexual harassment issue; individual charges; accusations; an intensely private subject; starkly opposing stories; the issue of sexual harassment; riveting collision; the charges; a heartofore private subject; the things that Professor Hill accused him of; carefully crafted lies; diametrically opposed stories; unwanted advances; offensive conversations; sexism in the workplace; confusing set of facts and allegations; her situation; these very serious charges; this very serious, very explosive, and very sensitive allegation; these sensitive allegations; the confidential allegations; what she has alleged; "the charges from the shadows"; the big penises; the big breasts; pubic hair, and sexual encounters with animals; Judge Thomas's overtures; these incidents; the experience that occasioned this meeting; behavior you have alleged he engaged in while your boss; the behavior; alleged conversations or alleged statements; the incidents that you have alleged; an ugly issue; your [Anita's] allegations; the allegations of improper behavior; the incidents; the behavior; the comments which you [Anita] represent Judge Thomas made to you; what you allege to be happening; harassment; a sexual harassment charge; she alleges that Clarence Thomas harassed her; the issue of the behavior of Clarence Thomas; this does not constitute a legal complaint; sexually harassed you; this information; the information; the behavior; each and every single allegation; scurrilous, uncorroborated allegations [Thomas]; any allegations; curless allegations of this nature; other allegations; sexual comments you allegedly made to her; the allegations made by Anita Hill; a lot of allegations; a lot of charges; gross, awful sexually harassing things; these sorts of allegations; improper conduct; this alleged conduct; sexual humiliating accusations; sexual harassment charges; persistent, repellent suggestive sexual talk; her complaint; harassment charges; a sordid storm over human relations, civil rights and the future of the Supreme Court; the tempest surrounding Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill; the idea he may have made lewd suggestions to Anita Hill; a case study of sexual harassment; she alleges, he persisted in pressuring her for dates and describing video tapes about group sex rape and bestiality; Prof. Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment; the Thomas Hill drama; the Anita Hill story; her sexual harassment charges; the lurid sex tale allegedly told to Ms. Hill; accusations that now threaten Judge Thomas's confirmation; the controversy; the long awaited October surprise; Anita Hill's allegations; a broad and complex story; the Thomas case; sexual harassment accusations against Judge Clarence Thomas; the episode; the case; a dispute over sexual harassment and the credibility of two believable witnesses.</p>
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TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

The Senate Judiciary Committee	the Committee 26x; the Senate Judiciary Committee 13x; the Judiciary Committee 13x; this Committee 8x; committee members 4x; the senators 3x; a committee of the United States Senate 3x; the Senate Committee 2x; the committee , composed entirely of white males; the senators on the committee; all-male Judiciary Committee; this body; her male interrogators; members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.; the senators sitting in judgement; the senate panel; those white men on that committee; a panel of white male politicians.
The Nomination	the nomination 8x; the Thomas nomination 4x; Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court 3x; Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination 2x; the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court 2x; a disputed nomination to the Supreme Court; his nomination; nominated for the Supreme Court; reindorsement [Bush]; his nomination to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; a high honor; it was an honor; the high point; the great honor bestowed on me [Thomas]; the nomination of Clarence Thomas to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; the Judge's Supreme Court nomination; the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; this nomination; his Supreme Court nomination; the Thomas nomination; "it is the President after all who started Clarence Thomas down the road of agony by using him in a childish political maneuver";President Bush's decision to elevate an underqualified Judge Thomas to the Nation's highest court; Mr. Bush's choice of Judge Thomas; the naming of Judge Thomas; Judge Thomas's nomination; the second nomination of a black to be a Supreme Court Justice.

TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

The Hearings	<p>the hearings 25x; the Senate hearing 8x; Senate Judiciary Committee hearing 6x; lynching 5x; a trial 5x; this process 4x; Kafkaesque 3x; a high tech lynching for uppity blacks who in anyway deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves" 2x; today's hearings 2x; a national forum 2x; Senate's hearings 2x; a travesty 2x; the proceedings 2x; drama 2x; the Thomas case 2x; a lynching; a travesty that such sleaze, dirt, gossip and lies should be displayed in prime time to an entire nation; a circus; a national disgrace; today's lurid, gut-wrenching proceedings on Capitol Hill "...the inquiry, with its leaks and its trolling for dirt..."; so explosive a situation; unAmerican and Kafkaesque [Thomas]; today's high drama; Clarence Thomas tried to put the Senate on trial tonight; his ordeal; "high tech lynching for uppity blacks"[Thomas]; high tech lynching; the man and the woman pitted against each other; a day that would change many things; the first nationally televised hearing on the sensitive issue of sexual harassment; an extraordinary civic lesson: the riveting collision before the Senate Judiciary Committee; the vivid details of Professor Hill's account and the raw anguish of Judge Thomas's defense; "...a quiet Baptist woman... in the Senate Chamber and on national television describing conversations about pubic hair or penis size"; Professor Hill's account of unwanted advances and offensive conversation; excruciatingly difficult; this ordeal; the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings that usurped the network tales of sex and power; a much better than average, real life, made for television drama; the political battle...of a confrontation between a man and a woman; her account; this drama; trying and very hard; most difficult experience of my life [Hill]; disgusting; "this hearing's a case in which this sleaze this dirt was searched for... leaked to the media and this Committee and this body validated it and displayed it at prime time over our entire nation.; this is not a closed room; this is not an opportunity to talk about difficult matters privately or in a closed environment"; you've spent the entire day destroying what it has taken me 43 years to build and providing a forum for that [Thomas]; the destruction of my integrity; the first discussion of genitalia in the history of the Supreme Court confirmation process; the event was by turns seamy, surreal and stunning; an American tragedy; it was a horrible thing to watch; the reopened hearings; the Senate Judiciary Committee has stripped away the dignity of two apparently good people and lost its own in the process; the spectacle; the Thomas case; a nasty, lurid political soap opera; the he said/she said drama; supreme court nomination hearings; the new hearings; the senate hearings; Saturday's day long assault on her credibility; the back and forth struggle; an engrossing miniseries about sex, race and power; the show had been transformed into the confirmation hearing of Anita F. Hill; U.S. Morality Play; the Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearings; drama that has gripped so many Americans in recent days; Friday's senate hearings; the case is such and in house morality play; all this has become national drama; a great American psychodrama [le Monde]; the show, the incident [Il Giornale of Milan]; the issue [Washington correspondent of the South Africa's Sunday Times]; searing interrogation of Judge Clarence Thomas and Anita F. Hill; the inconclusive hearings on the emotionally charged issue of sexual harassment; the three day hearings on sexual harassment charges; the testimony; the committee hearing; the warfare; a heated exchange.</p> <p>the hearings were an embarrassing spectacle that would "result in nothing good.";</p>
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TABLE 2. Labels from the coverage of the hearings and the confirmation vote.

Public Reaction	the wrath of women; "...people are asking what sort of person could withstand the ceaseless, intrusive examination of his or her private life to which Judge Thomas has been subjected..."; public rage; "the charges...have been topic no. 1 in offices and universities, in restaurants and street corners, with many women celebrating the sudden public discussion of a heretofore private subject and many men wondering about their own conduct"; plenty of disagreement; plenty of debate; plenty of speculating and ruminating; vivid details left spectators gasping; many viewers were saddened by the belief that Hill and Thomas would emerge scarred; people were so preoccupied by the hearings that lunch dates were forgotten and the streets were almost deserted at midday; many viewers asked themselves and their friends if workplace relationships between men and women will ever be the same; for some black Americans the charges... smelled like a conspiracy; many people yesterday looked forward to the rewards that might come from a frank public discussion of sexism in the workplace; hysteria about the Thomas nomination; the immediate and massive response of the thousands of women who called their senators demanding that the vote on Judge Thomas be delayed; tidal wave of anger among the women of America.
Anita Hill Continued	a vicious liar or an opportunistic turncoat; principal, main witness; a scorned suitor; a bitter opponent of Judge Thomas; a gold digger; emotionally unstable; a remarkable, intelligent person; the accuser.
The Conflict Continued	foul, foul presentation of verbage, verbal garbage; something that happened 10 or 8 years ago can come out of the night like a missile and destroy a man after 43 years of exemplary life; these outlandish statements; the words he used; the fear of losing her job; not an 11-th hour fabrication; Professor Hill's problems at the E.E.O.C.; the fox guarding the hen house; dirt and innuendo; these points of sexual harassment; "the issue isn't discrimination and racism; its about sexual harassment; "Allegations of Anita Hill were the result of Ms. Hill's disappointment and frustration that Mr. Thomas didn't show any sexual interest in her." [quote from Phyllis Berry, Thomas supporter]; a foul, foul pile of stench; "ordeal of Anita Hill"; this sexual harassment crap; Judge Thomas's bad taste; the storm threatening Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court; these nasty things; sad things;graphic, occasionally lurid accusations that have been made by Professor Hill; an account that Judge Thomas had sexually harassed an aide; his approaches; Anita Hill's various accusations; the harassment case.
The Hearings Continued	her explosive testimony; the agony of these two people; Sunday's hearings; week of bitter battle; this terrible episode.

Analysis of Frames

The labels framing the parties involved in this conflict vary slightly from those in the initial coverage. Dr. Hill is still most often called "Professor Hill" (288 times). Other variations of her name are also used often. Labels have been added, though, that add new dimensions to her image. This coverage labels Dr. Hill in terms created by her critics and her supporters and in relation to her race, religion and her association with Judge Thomas.

Elizabeth Beardsley (1989) writes that the English language contains adjectives and descriptors that are gender-neutral; that is, they can be applied to both males and females with equal clarity. Many such descriptors are genderized through ideas of appropriate application. The term "cheery" can correctly be used to describe both men and women but seems incongruous when applied to a man. The term has been genderized through use. Similarly, terms such as "aggressive," "tough" and "hard" are labels attributed to men.

When labeled by her critics, Dr. Hill was given those traits usually attributed to males. She was called hard, tough, opinionated, arrogant, a plotter, and an endless debater. She was labeled a little superior, implying arrogance. She was also called "nobody's victim." These are all masculine traits that paint a picture of a very masculine woman. In the same time frame, however, her critics

also labeled her as a pawn or tool of special interest groups, advocacy groups, the process, and white men. She was labeled a "Fatal Attraction type" and a troubled women suffering from fantasies about Judge Thomas, implying emotional instability.

These labels establish a dichotomy of character traits. From a liberal feminist definition of patriarchy, such a dichotomy is explained through the need of Dr. Hill's critics to exemplify her attempt to be successful and her subsequent loss of control. Women who aspire to be successful in a man's world by taking on masculine traits will simply succeed in being used by men. A women conducting herself in traditionally masculine ways challenges the gender-order of society; she will be labeled in terms that describe her failure to succeed. Furthermore, her emotional stability will be questioned.

Dr. Hill's supporters labeled her in distinctly feminine terms. She was call private, funny, a little shy, a slight figure, and reserved. Her supporters also established her as a good woman through the labels "demure" and "moralistic." She was credited with a "deep spiritual substance." These labels establish Dr. Hill firmly within the feminine domain in a gender-based society. The label "a slight figure among bodyguards" suggested a need for male protection.

The facts that she was extremely well educated, self-sufficient and a successful career woman were absent from the labels used by her supporters and

her critics alike. Her critics labeled her as unsuccessful in a man's world when she tried to act "like a man," and her supporters placed her firmly back in the accepted ideological position of women. The labels attributed to Hill by her supporters were based on character, and those attributed to her by her critics were labels of action. Such labels are in line with Berger's (1972, p. 46) notion that "men act and women appear."

Among the labels within the initial coverage, the issue of race was noticably absent except in relation to the Senate. In contrast, this second time frame contained many labels indicating race. Dr. Hill was labeled a black woman, a black female law student, an Afro-American and a black lawyer. Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas were both labeled African Americans and "two highly acclaimed black people." Phyllis Berry, who testified in support of Judge Thomas, suggested that Dr. Hill was angry that Judge Thomas had married a white woman, providing a motive for the allegations. The addition of racial labels indicates that race is becoming an important aspect of the conflict. These labels provide the framework for Judge Thomas's labels of the hearings, which will be discussed shortly.

Labels indicating religion also appeared in relation to Dr. Hill but were absent from descriptions of Judge Thomas. A feature published on Anita Hill appeared on October 11 outlined her upbringing in a large, church-going family. Another article contained information on Judge Thomas being schooled by Roman

Catholic nuns. Both Dr. Hill and Clarence Thomas were attributed with religious backgrounds, but only Anita Hill's religion was used to label her. She was a "quiet Baptist woman" and a "member of the Antioch Baptist Church in Tulsa." She was also attributed with a "deep spiritual substance." The religious labels served to frame her as a good, decent woman who should be far removed from any conflict that is sexual in nature.

Dr. Hill was also frequently labeled in relation to Judge Thomas. She was usually placed in a subordinate role to him, consistent with her position as his assistant at the E.E.O.C. and at the Department of Education. Labels linking Hill and Thomas most often categorized her in some way as his assistant. A few labels attributed them with equal status (e.g., former colleagues, two successful black lawyers). Some labels indicated her subordinate status in terms of her gender (e.g., female subordinate). Labels of Judge Thomas frequently placed him in the role as her supervisor. He was called "her boss" six times, "her former boss" twice, "her then boss," "her mentor," and "a boss." Thomas was also labeled "a man who humiliated his subordinate and who covered up his conduct with a giant lie." Judge Thomas was called her supervisor several times. Although labels placing Dr. Hill in a role subordinate to Judge Thomas is a correct depiction of their former relationship, these labels were chosen over others that could have as easily described them within their former roles, such as their titles. Furthermore, the

only labels correctly describing Judge Thomas as Professor Hill's boss are those that also specify time, such as "former boss." Such labels placing them firmly in the superior/subordinate relationship are consistent with the patriarchal viewpoint of gender relationships in which the male controls the majority of power within a class- and gender-based society. The labels that do not specify the time frame for which Dr. Hill worked for Thomas (i.e., those that do not contain the qualifiers "former" or "then") keep her in a subordinate role to him, even though she had not worked for Judge Thomas for over 10 years.

Judge Thomas himself was most carefully framed in this coverage to lay the groundwork for his own framing of the incident. His race was heavily alluded to; he was called "a black man," "a black American," "an Afro-American," "a black nominee," "a black person," and "an important voice in the black community." Judge Thomas was described "as a black man who rose from an impoverished boyhood in segregated Georgia to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit." He was also labeled "a success story that would have made Dr. Martin Luther King beam with pride."

Braham (1982) writes that the media often portray race in terms of conflict, consistently involving the threat of a black presence to the white majority. These labels place Thomas firmly in contrast to the white Senate, enabling to polarities to be established and a conflict to be depicted between Thomas and the

Senate. Thomas could then be portrayed as a victim of the all-white Senate. The issue, then, was redefined as an issue of racial conflict between Judge Thomas and the Senate rather than as the issue of sexual harassment between Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas. Dr. Hill, through the emphasis on Thomas's race, became displaced.

Thomas's emphasis on himself as a victim was further supported by his backers. They labeled him "a family man," "a man who said he never even talked dirty to the guys in the locker room," and a victim of a "smear campaign."

The theme of Thomas as a victim was necessary for the redefinition of the conflict. The label most emphasized by *The New York Times* was Thomas's label of the hearings as "a lynching." This label was highlighted in large, bold letters, all caps, in the headline of the issue published on October 12. The hearings were also called "a high tech lynching for uppity blacks" and "a high tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves." Thomas also labeled the hearings Kafkaesque, alluding to the surreal, horrific writings of Kafka.

The use of the term "uppity" is cited by Beardsley (1989) as a racialized word. Just as some words within our language have come to be gender-specific, other words are racially specific. Beardsley calls for a comparison of the word "uppity" to the feminine specific word "pushy," used to define those who lack

strength and independence. "Aggressive" is usually the term applied to men with strength and independence. Women are labeled pushy if they exhibit aggressiveness; similarly, black people are labeled "uppity." Uppity also implies direction; black people who are aggressive are seen as trying to move "up" the social hierarchy into the realm of the white man.

Thomas further depicts himself as a victim of the all-white Senate by labeling the hearings as a forum for the destruction of his dignity. He stated that the Senate ruined a reputation he had spent 43 years building. The labels attributed to the hearing by reporters themselves framed the hearings as "seamy, surreal and stunning"; "a nasty, lurid political soap opera"; "conversations about pubic hair or penis size"; and "an engrossing miniseries about sex, race and power." The committee was labeled as a body that "stripped away the dignity of two good people and has lost its own in the process." The words "sexual harassment" are noticeably absent from these labels, further reiterating that the issue had been redefined as an attack on Judge Thomas.

The press also labeled the hearings as "the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings that usurped the network tales of sex and power" and "the first discussion of genitalia in the history of the Supreme Court confirmation process." The foreign press called the hearings "The Great American Psychodrama." These labels, almost tongue-in-cheek depictions, invalidated the hearings by labeling them



a drama and a tale. Such labels took the issue out of the context of "the real" and turned it into entertainment. The press used the label "high drama" to describe the hearings.

The labels of the conflict within this time frame parallel those presented in the initial coverage. Several labels that are new to this group of coverage support the underlying theme of Judge Thomas as a victim. A label of Thomas early in this coverage frames him as being "ambushed," and several labels of the conflict support this idea. The language used to describe the charges was very descriptive: they were called "the charges from the shadows" and "something that happened 10 or 12 years ago [that came] out of the night like a missile and destroy[ed] a man after 43 years of exemplary life." The conflict was labeled "ugly," "horrific" (tying the event to the Kafkaesque theme), "monstrous," "stark," and "carefully crafted lies." The event was also called "an intensely private subject" and "a heretofore private subject," implying that it had no place in the public domain. Feminists, however, supported the airing of the issue, stating that it opened a fresh perspective on a pervasive problem.

The labels *The New York Times* published from "person-on-the-street" interviews supported the "Judge Thomas as Victim" theme. One man was quoted as saying the conflict was "just another plot for the white man to put a black man down and keep us against each other...it's another black role model shot down."

Another label suggested that Anita Hill was "a sister who doesn't like to see a black man get ahead," suggesting a motive for her actions. Another motive was suggested by Phyllis Berry, a Thomas supporter who testified for him at the hearings, who stated that Dr. Hill was upset that Clarence Thomas did not have a romantic interest in her. In a person-on-the-street interview, another man stated, "Clarence Thomas didn't do anything wrong that any American male hasn't done." He went on to say that the women within his workplace, because of their renewed focus on sexual harassment due to the hearings, were more intolerant of harassment at work. His response was, "I've seen some things going on at work that are pretty scary."

Black men and women alike stated that the conflict hurt them all, supporting the racial frame. Interviews with a man and a woman at a hair salon revealed the feeling that if Judge Thomas lost the confirmation vote, another black person would not be nominated to the Supreme Court for several years. Women interviewed about the subject framed the conflict as one that could have been avoided had Anita Hill been a stronger person.

The use of labels to support underlying themes is important to the balance of the stories within the paper. Stories from day to day pick up the themes from previous stories and frame the conflict according to those already established labels. The label of the hearings as a lynching was a common theme that was

carried throughout the coverage, as was Judge Thomas's anger at being made, in his eyes, a victim of the process. His comment about preferring an assassin's bullet was also repeated extensively. Dr. Hill was framed as subordinate to Thomas and weak, and the people on the street picked up on those labels and used them to build their impressions of her.

### Photographs

In this time frame, 67 photographs added to the coverage of the conflict. Several photographs depicted Senators seated before microphones during the hearings. Other photographs depicted the people spoken to during "person-on-the-street" interviews. Several photographs were interesting in that they perpetuated the themes used to frame the conflict that were threaded throughout the coverage.

On the front page of the issue published October 11, 1991, a picture depicts Judge Thomas walking from his home. His legs are crossed in mid-step and his arms are held away from his body. In an editorial published October 15, 1991, that same image, now in silhouette, is perched on a high wire suspended between two rocks. The use of a true figure of Thomas on a high wire rather than a drawing or caricature firmly places him in a precarious position; this

image can be carried in the minds of readers back to the initial picture of Thomas. The caption from the first picture places the time frame on the eve of the hearings.

The coverage on October 11 also carried a picture of Anita Hill's parents sitting on a sofa in their home. They both hold Anita Hill's high school graduation picture. The presence of Anita in the photograph through her high school picture highlights her physical absence from the scene. The photograph is reminiscent of parents holding pictures of children who have died, creating a foreshadowing of the effect of the hearings on Anita Hill. A description of the events in later articles highlighted the attacking and accusatory nature of the Republican treatment of Dr. Hill. A blurb published on October 15, 1991, stated that "Anita Hill must have known the White House would have to cut her up." The White House was singled out because President Bush authorized the attack strategy Republican supporters of Thomas used to refute Dr. Hill's claims.

The pain the trials caused Dr. Hill is further emphasized by a picture published October 12. The photograph depicts Dr. Hill's mother, standing over Dr. Hill and hugging her, while Dr. Hill is still seated. Dr. Hill appears as if she is crying. The caption reads, "Anita F. Hill being hugged by her mother, Irma Hill, after testifying that she had been sexually harassed by Judge Clarence Thomas." The caption serves to place the hug after the testimony was over.

The front page of the issue of October 12 contained identical pictures of Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas being sworn in. The pictures are taken from the same angle and depict each person facing camera right and holding up their right hands. Within the October 12 issue, another identical set of photos of Thomas and Hill appear on pages 10 and 11, respectively. The photos depict both Thomas and Hill seated at the witness table and talking into a microphone. Their right arms are both placed on the table in exactly the same place, and both are in mid-speech, their mouths slightly open.

Such uses of identical pictures serve to balance the information presented and provide a feeling of objectivity. Both of the people pictured, because of the identical angles at which the photographs are taken, appear to be on equal footage. The pictures appear in word-for-word accounts of their opening statements. The coverage before October 11, however, has already served to frame both Thomas and Hill in ways that, as discussed above, are not equal.

Other photographs in parallel were published on October 14, 1991. These photographs depicted four witnesses for Hill and four for Thomas. The photos of each group of witnesses is taken from the same angle and portrays the witnesses in a straight row. The photographers are positioned to the left of the people, so the images of the people closer to the camera are larger than those of the people on the far ends of the rows. The only difference in the images of Hill's witnesses and the

images of Thomas's witnesses is the witnesses for Dr. Hill are in a straight row, soldier-like. They all face the same way and seem very stiff and formal. The witnesses for Judge Thomas, although lined in a row, sit with different postures and turn their faces in different directions.

the issue on October 12 also contained a very large photograph of the hearing room. A table at which Judge Thomas is seated occupies the left side of the picture. The table faces a long row of tables at which the Senate Judiciary Committee is seated. This picture poignantly reinforces the frame of Judge Thomas as a victim of an all-white Senate: one black man, alone, faces a row of fourteen white male Senators. Thomas's frame of a victim of a terrible wrong is further supported by a picture published that same day of Virginia Lamp Thomas, Judge Thomas's wife, wiping tears from her eye. The caption places her at the hearings during her husband's testimony.

One of the ideas used to refute Anita Hill's claims of sexual harassment was the similarity of one of her claims to an incident described in the book *The Exorcist*. The picture on the front page of the October 13 issue of *The New York Times* depicts Senator Orrin G. Hatch, a chief Thomas supporter, holding up an issue of *The Exorcist*. This picture supports the labeling of Dr. Hill by Thomas supporters as a mentally unstable, vindictive person who may suffer from erotomania, a psychological disorder in which a person has delusions about

someone else's interest in him or her. The suggestion is that Dr. Hill read *The Exorcist*, a book about satanic possession, and then transferred part of the book to her life via her accusation. The book itself became a signifier of her mental stability.

October 13 coverage contained the only picture of activists on the issue of sexual harassment, and the text the picture supports portrayed the activists in a very narrow light. This is consistent with Tuchman's assertion that news reports lend character to public events by highlighting certain "particulars" of the events (1978, p. 190).

The picture of the gathering depicted several people standing in a grassy area. A banner overhead reads, "When She Says No, She Means No." This banner is significant in that it brings the issue back from a conflict between Judge Thomas and the Senate to an issue of gender conflict. The banner statement is one that has frequently been associated with the issue of date rape, further emphasizing sexual harassment as a conflict between men and women.

The caption below the picture states that the demonstrators were mostly women who gathered to "argue and discuss" the sexual harassment issue and the conflict between Judge Thomas and Professor Hill. The emphasis within the article centered around certain women who tried to push men out of the park when the men tried to voice their opinions. The speaker was even quoted as saying,

"Men always shout women down." A blurb contained the sarcastic message, "A beautiful day is deemed perfect for arguments on harassment." The organizer of the event, Melodie Baham, labeled it "Democracy in action."

*The New York Times* issue published on October 15 contained a very different image of Dr. Hill than had been previously published. October 14 marked the end of the hearings, and the front page of the issue for this day sported a picture of Dr. Hill smiling and waving. The caption places her back in Washington.

In contrast with the many parallel pictures published within the October 11-16 time frame, this October 15 issue published mirror images of Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas. Two pictures of the same size, one of Thomas and one of Hill, are placed directly beside one another. Thomas is facing camera right and is speaking; Hill is facing camera left and is also speaking.

These mirrored images portray the two constituents, at first in parallel, as two people now in direct contrast to each other. These pictures reflect the diametrically opposed versions of the conflict they are discussing. Both Hill and Thomas are labeled in the text as credible, intelligent people who are equally believable. These photographs reinforce their equality.

The October 16 issue of *The New York Times* contained three interesting photos. On this day, the vote to confirm Judge Thomas was announced. The first



picture of interest was of Anita Hill. It is a medium shot of her holding a pile of textbooks, and the caption relates that she is arriving at the University of Oklahoma to teach. What is interesting about the photograph is that she appears to be crying, probably because she is squinting into the sun. Although the only comments she offered about the affirmative vote was that she was glad that she had been able to voice her concern, this picture implies that she is upset about the decision.

The other two photographs of note are of pictures published side by side of the only two female Senators, Nancy L. Kassebaum, who voted for Judge Thomas's confirmation; and Barbara A. Mikulski, who voted against Thomas. Both of the photographs are extremely uncomplimentary. Senator Kassebaum directly faces the camera and appears to be scolding someone. Her eyebrows are drawn down and her mouth is opened in speech. Her upper lip is held tightly across her teeth. The photo of Senator Mikulski depicts her with her head slightly raised, her eyes partially closed, and her mouth wide open, as if she is screaming. These photos stereotype these women as emotional beings. Their emotions are plainly expressed on their countenances.

The photographic images of the women in this coverage is in line with Barbara Luebke's (1989) study that found that women in news photographs often take on roles subordinate to men. Most women in the photographs of her study

were either depicted as spouses or were included in coverage because they were interesting, not because of the importance of their actions. In most of the photos contained in this coverage, the women were interesting because of their emotions. For example, Virginia Lamp Thomas was always pictured behind Judge Thomas. Most of her images can be seen behind Judge Thomas's shoulder. The only image of her by herself is when she is crying, a purely feminine activity in public. Anita's mother and Anita are pictured hugging, another emotional display that is accepted in a public forum from women but not from men. The women senators, in contrast to the pictures of their male colleagues speaking, sitting in front of a microphone and papers, or talking, were depicted scolding and screaming.

### Structural Analysis

On every day of coverage within this time frame, articles and pictures appeared on the first page and were continued on pages within the National section. The majority of the articles were published in the National section, the OP-ED sections and the Editorial section. An article within this time frame was also published in the Living Arts section and addressed the television coverage of the hearings.

Approximately 3 1/2 pages were dedicated to the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas issue in the October 11 publication of *The New York Times*. The longest article was a feature on Anita Hill's background and upbringing. Almost an entire page was dedicated to a survey conducted to determine the predominance of sexual harassment in the workplace. The title of the article, "Sexual Harassment at Work Is Pervasive, Survey Suggests," leads one to believe that the survey found that sexual harassment is a pervasive problem. The pie charts included with the article, however, depict only 38 percent of those surveyed as ever having a problem with sexual harassment. Sixty-one percent had never encountered a problem with sexual harassment. In this case, the use of figures to highlight certain information, a standard structural framing technique, added confusion to the information in the article. Other figures used consisted of horizontal bar charts stating the public opinion that most people were in favor of Judge Thomas's confirmation, that the Senate handled the accusations incorrectly, and that most people considered the allegations to be false and should not be taken seriously.

A chart in the article directly to the right of this survey depicted the steady rise of women in the workforce and a matrix depicting the number of reports of sex discrimination and sexual harassment. The source for this information is the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The kicker for this page states, "The Sting of Claiming Sexual Harassment," implying that a charge of sexual harassment will not be believed or taken seriously based on the information from the survey. These figures lend validity to the assumption that sexual harassment is widespread, but the survey is misleading in that only 512 people were surveyed. The statistics serve as a warning to women who claim sexual harassment. Without reading the fine print to discover the sample size, the survey seems very objective and official.

Another kicker in the coverage of this day, October 11, defines Anita Hill as "The Woman Who Ignited the Firestorm." It appears directly over the feature of Dr. Hill's background.

The language within the coverage of this day is very supportive of Dr. Hill. She is featured extensively in this coverage and is depicted as a member of a large, loving, religious family. Her allegations are given weight by the survey and the case studies of sexual harassment, which lend truth to the fact that it could have easily happened to her, regardless of the outcome of the survey. The first appearance of Angela Wright, a woman who also claimed Judge Thomas sexually harassed her, appeared on this day. An extensive article discusses the panel's admission of Ms. Wright's testimony into the proceedings.

Editorials also support Dr. Hill but do so simply because she is female. These editorials offer other accounts of female victims of sexual harassment and

frame men as the perpetrators of sexual harassment. Anna M. Warrock, in her editorial "Objects of the Game," states, "men really are pigs, they like it that way, and women better get used to it." Such statements frame men and women in distinct roles and indirectly support Dr. Hill, not Judge Thomas, as the victim.

The placement of the articles in the October 12 issue of *The New York Times* is similar to the October 11 publication. The front page articles appeared in columns four through six and were continued in the National, OP-ED and Editorials sections. A total of 15 articles appeared on this day and occupied roughly eight and one-half pages. The extensive space given to the conflict on this day was due to the beginning of the trials; four pages were dedicated to excerpts from the hearings, and almost two pages were dedicated to Judge Thomas's and Dr. Hill's opening statements, which were published in their entirety.

No figures or use of official statistics highlighted information on this day. One article featured the public reaction to the hearings and quoted people's opinions on the subject and on Hill and Thomas, even though television coverage had only begun that day. This article was given an entire half of a page and was the first article appearing in the National section that addressed this conflict.

Generally, the language in this article supported both Judge Thomas and Professor Hill. The statements printed by *The Times* suggested that people were saddened that both Hill and Thomas would be adversely affected by the hearings.

The black Americans interviewed presented a different viewpoint from others. *The Times* framed them as "smelling a conspiracy." One black woman said that Hill was being used by powerful politicians, and a black man theorized that President Bush had changed his mind about appointing a black man to the Supreme Court and had instigated the accusations so that Thomas would not be confirmed. People were generally supportive of the hearings being public, citing it as a step toward more open discussion on the issue of sexual harassment.

The mild language of this story was in high contrast to the headline of the paper, which read, "THOMAS ACCUSER TELLS HEARING OF OBSCENE TALK AND ADVANCES; JUDGE COMPLAINS OF 'LYNCHING.'" Dr. Hill's name is absent from this headline, an indication that the conflict has been redefined as a racial conflict between Thomas and the Senate. The language used to describe the hearings was very descriptive. The tone of the stories was combative and inflammatory. The titles of the stories read, "On Thomas: More Questions, Not Fewer" and "In an Ugly Atmosphere, the Accusations Fly," implying a verbal fight between the accused and the accuser. In reality, neither Judge Thomas nor Anita Hill were ever in the same room with each other. Judge Thomas, in extremely angry terms, accused the Senate of "ruining the country" and "going far beyond McCarthyism." In the same paragraph, *The Times* quotes Thomas as saying, "...black men who did not 'kowtow to an old order' would 'be

lynched, destroyed, caricatured by a committee of the U.S. Senate rather than hung from a tree." Thomas labeled the hearings "a national disgrace." Thomas's statements again reiterate the redefinition of the conflict into racial terms rather than gender terms. Anita Hill is not a part of any of Judge Thomas's labels of the conflict; in fact, he even refused to watch her testimony, to the dismay of Senators.

Judge Thomas also cites the harm that has been done to his name; this statement made up the title for the account of his opening testimony in *The Times*. In Thomas's viewpoint, the harm was done to Thomas's name by the Senate's handling of the sexual harassment charges, not by the allegations themselves. The title for Dr. Hill's testimony read, "I felt that I Had to Tell the Truth."

The kickers for these two articles are interesting. Above the article relating Thomas's opening statement were the words, "I have Endured This Ordeal for 103 Days." The kicker above Dr. Hill's opening statement read, "These Last Few Days Have Been Very Trying." The implications are that Judge Thomas had suffered through much more than Dr. Hill had had to endure, which negated the fact that if she had indeed been harassed by Judge Thomas, her ordeal had lasted for years.

The language in Judge Thomas's statement was strong and angry. He stated that no job was worth the stress that he had experienced at the hands of the Senate and that "no horror in [his] life has been so debilitating." Thomas called for the

process to stop, inviting the committee to confirm him or not. He stated he would not allow himself to be "further humiliated in order to be confirmed." This language established Thomas firmly as an unwilling victim of a process instigated by the Senate.

Dr. Hill's statement was decidedly more calm. She simply introduced herself, gave a brief summary of her background, stated the allegations, and ending with the statement that telling "the world" about her alleged experience had been extremely difficult. She stated that her only motive was to provide the committee with information. She even placed some of the blame for the occurrences on herself, stating that she may have used bad judgement in not speaking out against the allegations at the time they occurred.

Dr. Hill's statement was supported by an article appearing directly under it which related Angela Wright's account of alleged sexual harassment done to her by Judge Thomas. Ms. Wright specifically stated, however, that she was not stating a claim of sexual harassment because she was not intimidated by Judge Thomas's actions toward her, which paralleled his actions toward Professor Hill. She stated that his actions were at most obnoxious and annoying.

The information relayed by Wright served to both support and discredit Dr. Hill. Angela Wright was another person willing to corroborate Dr. Hill's account, but she also did not consider Judge Thomas's actions to be sexual harassment.



This framed Dr. Hill as someone who was perhaps overreacting in her sexual harassment claim.

The article directly below the testimony of Judge Thomas provided a review of the televised coverage of the day. The article framed the hearings as better than a soap opera; the title read, "In Dramatic Hearings on Thomas, No Soap Opera Fan Need Feel Cheated." Dr. Hill's presence is again absent from a title.

The four pages of excerpts are an interesting structural technique. The excerpts are in the form of questions and answers and are word-for-word accounts of the hearings. They even include breaks in speech and accounts of repetitions of statements, occurring when a speaker began speaking in one train of thought but then began speaking again from another angle. This adherence to the actual speech used in the hearings frames the excerpts as completely factual, unbiased and untouched information. The excerpts are not, however, complete accounts of the hearings. Journalists chose information to publish and left some information out. A reader has no way of knowing what was omitted from the reports of the hearings.

Analysis of the questions that journalists did include reveals that the information that was printed involved details of Judge Thomas's statements to Dr. Hill, his role as her boss, and his motivation for harassing her. Senator Arlen

Specter, a chief Thomas supporter, focused his questions on Dr. Hill's support of Judge Thomas after she left his employment. His questions also involved discrepancies between her later statements and those included in the F.B.I. report (see Chronology, this report). Other questions centered on Dr. Hill's response to Judge Thomas's statement and Dr. Hill's lack of written evidence of the harassment. Although Dr. Hill discussed the incident with friends, she never recorded the occurrences of harassment on paper. Questions also addressed the possibility that Dr. Hill fantasized about Judge Thomas, to which she simply responded, "I am not given to fantasy." Dr. Hill continues with statements about her confidence in the truth of her statements. Senators also tried to determine her motive through questioning.

Judge Thomas was then allowed a second statement in which he reiterated his denial of the charges and his disgust with the Senate. It was here that the Senate discovered that Thomas did not listen to Dr. Hill's testimony. Questions for Thomas focused solely on the allegations, allowing Judge Thomas to refute them individually.

Three editorials were published on this day: two in the OP-ED section and one under Editorials/Letters. The editorial by Lloyd R. Cohen entitled "Fear of Flirting" presented a modern day dilemma for single people. Since the workplace is a convenient arena for meeting people, young, single people use the workplace

to find people whom they might want to date. Sexual harassment makes such arrangements extremely difficult. The language of this article frames sexual harassment as a tragedy for people not because of the horror of harassment but because it prevents people from dating.

The language in the other editorial in this section was quite different. The entire incident is framed in this article, written by Anna Quindlen in the "Public and Private" section, as a tragic incident that ruined the lives of two good people. She states, however, that she does not believe that Thomas is "good enough" to sit in judgement of others in the role of Supreme Court Justice. In her eyes, the hearings were "a horrible thing to watch." The title of the article is "An American Tragedy."

The third editorial, entitled "Her Story, and His," discusses the dichotomy of the stories told by Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas. The most striking language within this story holds Dr. Hill as an example of the treatment women can expect by bringing charges of sexual harassment into the public forum. This is an important use of the Consistency Rule: one case of sexual harassment epitomizes all cases. It teaches women what to expect should they ever bring forth accusations of their own.

The coverage of the hearings by The Times on October 13 mirrored that of the previous day. Sixteen articles occupied roughly eight pages; articles once more

began on the front page and were continued in the National section, where all other articles on the harassment hearings were published with the exception of three. Two of these three appeared in the OP-ED section, and one was published in the Forum section. The only use of official statistics or polls was the citation of a 1987 survey conducted by the United States Merit Systems organization to discover how many more of their female employees reported sexual harassment in 1987 than reported it in 1980, the date of their last survey. The results reported by *The Times* indicated that no more harassment occurred in 1987 than in 1980. Only 5 percent reported taking action on the issue. The study also surprisingly found that 14 percent of males reported sexual harassment. The article was entitled "The Evolving Concept of Sexual Harassment."

The language within the article framed sexual harassment as an issue that is underreported, which "reflects the continuing stigma women feel if they press the issue." Women were also framed as "incensed that Ms. Hill's charges were being viewed as a political ploy to undermine Judge Thomas's nomination and not as a serious issue." This labeling of the issue redefined Dr. Hill's sexual harassment charges as in terms of male control rather than gender conflict. The political arena, especially the Senate, is controlled by white males. Labeling the sexual harassment charges in political terms takes the control of the issue away from Dr. Hill, who is not involved in politics in any manner, and gives control to politicians.

The issue is no longer a gender-based conflict; it is a conflict of race (between Judge Thomas and the all-white Senate) and politics, again between Judge Thomas and the Senate.

Other stories published on October 13 that involved the public included two stories published side by side, one entitled "On Streets, Confusions and Talk of Harassment" and the other entitled "Speakers' Corner Debate on Thomas Nomination." Both articles depict the discussions of the conflict as examples of the "pain" Americans were feeling over the difficult trials. Opposing viewpoints supporting both Thomas and Hill were presented, as were conflicts between men and women. The language presented frames of conflict and confusion for the American public.

An article about a Yale reunion supported supported Thomas and Hill, both graduates of Yale. Younger graduates supported Anita Hill, calling Senator Specter "mean spirited and small" because of his attack of Hill through his questions. Senator Specter also graduated for Yale.

Five pages of excerpts of questions detailed the vicious attack strategies the Republicans used to discredit Professor Hill. Articles revealed that President Bush approved of the strategy but was not an active player in it because White House officials thought it best for him to remain outside of the conflict. Republicans, namely Senators Specter, Hatch, Danforth, Heflin and Thurmond, questioned Dr.

Hill's motives and the methods she used to arrive at her allegations. They accused Dr. Hill of perjuring herself based on contradicting answers she gave to one question. They portrayed her as emotionally unstable and suggested that she worked with special interest groups, called "slick lawyers," to demean and defeat Judge Thomas. She was also labeled with an extremely feminine term when she was called a "willing vessel" for special interest groups, calling into play the traditional correlation of the substance of a woman to her womb. They linked her to the book *The Exorcist*, stating that part of her allegations were pulled from that book. Dr. Hill's allegations were likened to "words sinking, like some kind of psychic dentist's drill, into the most sensitive, least explored parts of the national consciousness," again linking Hill to dementia.

Language describing Judge Thomas was direct and inflammatory. Judge Thomas asserted he was stereotyped by traditional myths held about black men and their sexual prowess. Thomas's statement reads,

Senator, language throughout the history of this country, and certainly throughout my life, language about the sexual prowess of black men, language about the sex organs of black men and sizes, etc. That kind of language has been used about black men as long as I've been on the face of this earth, and these are charges that play into racist, bigoted stereotypes.

This statement by Judge Thomas supported the conflict as an issue of race. Other support for the racial definition of the conflict appeared in an article quoting black men in on-the-street interviews. One man asserted that "Black America has

a long way to go. Black people are being used as pawns." Another black man asserted, "It's kind of like black people doing each other in. A self-destructive, internecine fight that will keep a black off the Supreme Court." Sexual harassment had been completely removed from the conflict.

Coverage on October 14 spanned roughly eight pages and consisted of 18 articles. All of the articles appeared on the front page and in the National and Editorials/Letters sections. No statistics or public opinion polls were used in these articles to highlight information. One article related discussions with psychologists theorizing possible reasons why Thomas's and Hill's views were so opposed. The psychologists offered three hypotheses: one of them was lying, one of them suffered from delusion, and they both are telling a version of the truth that they each remember as fact. Delusion was often a label Thomas supporters tried to attribute to Dr. Hill, as was erotomania, which the psychologists explained as a condition in which a person has a fixed romantic delusion on someone, a sort of a fatal attraction. The behavior of a person with erotomania is otherwise very normal.

The language used to describe the hearings on this day was emotional. Reporters described Judge Thomas's testimony as "blasting" the panel for its "bruising process" and as trying so hard to discredit Hill that Thomas supporters contradicted themselves. The hearings were described as "spilled blood" that

stained the entire black race. Black people cited dismay that the hearings had damaged lives far beyond the lives of Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas. An article appearing on the front page offered the feeling among blacks that regardless of the outcome of the hearings, the image of blacks had been severely damaged. The hearings were "an embarrassment to their race."

Race became a major issue in the hearings because Judge Thomas focused on his race to facilitate his role as a victim of the white men of the Senate. Race was hardly mentioned in conjunction with Anita Hill because she chose not to focus on her race as an issue. The simple fact that both Thomas and Hill were black may have been enough to send the black race into dismay at the hearings; Judge Thomas's use of his race as an issue may have served to win him support from the black community, who understood his role as victim. One can only speculate how differently the black race would have responded had either Judge Thomas or Anita Hill been white.

The language used in this coverage of the hearings further denounced Dr. Hill as someone with a delusional order. One article quotes a psychiatrist who was called to Washington and who was quoted by *The Times* as saying it was entirely possible for a person to have an absolutely false belief about someone's harassment of him or her while being an otherwise "coherent, competent, intelligent and attractive" person. The implication was that Dr. Hill suffered from this delusion;



all these adjectives were used often to describe Dr. Hill. Further into the article, Ms. Berry was quoted in her belief that Professor Hill had a romantic interest in Judge Thomas, which made the possibility of Dr. Hill suffering from this delusion more possible. Another Thomas witness, Ms. J. C. Alvarez, suggested that Dr. Hill was suffering from "transference," a psychological condition in which people transfer their feelings about a person to another person. Ms. Alvarez also labeled Dr. Hill's testimony as "schizophrenic." By these questions about her mental health, which questions in which language was used that involved very valid terms for psychological conditions, Dr. Hill is displaced from the incident of sexual harassment. She is defined as someone who suffered from mental disorders, someone who should not be taken seriously as a credible witness.

In contradiction to the assertions that Dr. Hill's mental capacity was compromised, the coverage on this day also contained an article stating that Dr. Hill had passed a polygraph test; the results were 100 percent conclusive that she was telling the truth. The polygraph test was taken as an effort to re-establish Dr. Hill's credibility. Supporters of Thomas dismissed the test summarily, stating that such tests were easily manipulated and were not admissible as evidence in a court of law. Hill supporters reiterated her stable and level-headed nature and her slowness to anger. Another article presenting excerpts of questions asked of Dr. Hill contained a statement made by Senator Alan K. Simpson, Thomas supporter,

which contained his disbelief that Dr. Hill did not make the allegations public at the time they allegedly happened. His reasoning was that she was working in Washington, D.C., a place he considered to be "fertile ground" for her complaint. These articles further established the conflict within the hearings.

A relatively brief article (1/4th of a page) appeared outlining President Bush's role in the support of Thomas. The article outlined the decision to strategically attack Dr. Hill's credibility, a decision supported by President Bush. Although Bush took a very distant role in the hearings, he again reiterated his support for Thomas, again giving Thomas more credibility than had Dr. Hill.

A public reaction article within this coverage entitled "Puzzled and Disgusted, But Fixated on the Hearings" used language that very strongly supported Judge Thomas. The quotes that were published to describe people's views on the subject had switched from the indecision of earlier articles to support for Thomas. One woman is quoted as saying, "I personally believe he probably did all of those things...But they are making too big a deal out of it. It's not like he's been raping women and beating children." Others cited Professor Hill as a "vicious liar or opportunistic turncoat," "overly prudish," and "a tattletale." One man is quoted as saying, "Clarence Thomas didn't do anything wrong that any American male hasn't done."

The article printed directly beside "Puzzled and Disgusted" was also a man-on-the-street collection of interviews, except the interviewees were black. The quotes within this article revealed that these black people had picked up on the negative racial stereotypes that Judge Thomas asserted had been used to frame him. A black Harvard psychiatrist is quoted early in the article as saying, "Black men will feel it reinforces negative stereotypes about them as sexual animals out of control." Other black people voiced their fear that Dr. Hill's allegations would keep Judge Thomas from being confirmed and would make another black nominee an impossibility.

The article also questioned Dr. Hill's motives. One man said, "I think it's just another plot for the white man to put the black man down and keeping [sic] us against each other." This quote is followed by a quote stating, "Who knows, maybe this is a sister who doesn't want to see a black man get ahead. They used a black woman to get to Marion Berry, remember." Other black men attributed her motive to her anger that Judge Thomas was married to a white woman. Only one quote was included that attributed her motive to her belief that she had been sexually harassed. The kicker for this page read, "Among Blacks, Embarrassment and Anger."

These public opinion articles support the frame of Thomas as a victim of the white man and Dr. Hill as the tool the white men used to attack Thomas. The

quotes printed by *The Times* reveal a black attitude that generalized the conflict in terms of its impact on their race and white attitude that defined the conflict in terms of gender.

The first article printed on page A17 of the National section was entitled, "Next Act in Drama Fails to Disappoint." The use of language to describe the conflict in terms of a play, or fiction, is continued in this article from previous ones. Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas were labeled the "stars" of the drama; their witnesses were called "performers." The hearing room was labeled "the scene." The trivialization of sexual harassment by framing the hearings as entertainment is perpetuated in this article.

The October 12 issue of *The Times* contained 15 articles that occupied about seven pages. All of the articles were published on the first page and in the National, OP-ED and Editorials/Letters sections. One article was published on this day in the Living Arts section; this article discussed the issue of sexual harassment as treated by sitcoms. Two public opinion polls were included in the coverage on this day; one appeared on the front page. The title states, "Most in National Survey Say Judge Is the More Believable." This title is misleading in that it implies a large survey; very small print below pie charts included with the article indicate that only 501 people were contacted, which is a very small piece of the national population. Pie charts indicate that just over half the people surveyed

believed Judge Thomas over Dr. Hill, but less than half believe he should be confirmed.

Bar charts included with the text of this survey highlight information on the public's view of the confirmation. The bar charts compare survey results from polls taken on October 9 and October 13. The bars demonstrate a steady increase in the public's support for Judge Thomas. Additional pie charts indicated a public belief that the Senate mishandled the allegations and that nothing good would result from the hearings. The poll appeared directly under the first page article entitled, "Thomas's Edge Steady, Vote Due Today." The survey results support this idea that Thomas was the favored constituent.

Another front page article offered the reason for Thomas's success and in the process downgraded Republicans, again applying a political definition to the issue. This article stated that "very few people in Washington were seeking the truth at all...their time was spent trying to manipulate the process." The author of this article, Maureen Dowd, attributes Thomas's impending success to the weakness of the Democrats, who "made a pass at figuring out what happened," and to the attack tactics of the Republicans, who, "just as they did in the 1988 campaign,...battered the other side early with nasty, personal attacks." Ms. Dowd characterized the Democrats with the words "bowing and scraping" and said the

Republicans successfully framed the hearings as "'a trial' in which Judge Thomas had the presumption of innocence." Another article deeper within this issue of *The Times* supported this definition of the hearings as a trial by the comparison of the hearings to regular trial-by-jury cases. The article, entitled "Compelling Evidence on Both Sides, But Only One Can Be Telling Truth," quotes a Washington lawyer, who said lawyers and juries regularly faced cases in which one constituent was lying. He said, "It's only on TV that a witness breaks down on the witness stand and confesses."

Editorials in the October 15 issue of *The Times* called for a vote against Judge Thomas, citing Thomas's meager qualifications to be a Supreme Court Justice. Another article appearing in the OP-ED sections wondered at his nomination, again citing his unimpressive qualifications.

In contrast, another article predicted Judge Thomas's confirmation because an affirmative vote was the only "just" vote. Articles also appeared within the OP-ED section defining the problem as "everyone's problem."

The headline for the October 16 issue of *The Times* announced the confirmation of Judge Thomas to the Supreme Court by a 52-48 vote. The coverage of the sexual harassment issue on this day was comprised of 15 articles published within about four and one-half pages. No public opinion polls or surveys were published on this day.

Judge Thomas's attitude as described by *The Times* was radically different from earlier characterizations. He was quoted as calling for healing and peace, stating that the incident should be "put behind [them]."

The sexual harassment issue, defined in the proceedings in terms of politics and race, was redefined once more by a front-page article entitled, "Image More Than Reality Became Issue, Losers Say." The information in the first paragraph of this article attributed Thomas's success to his image as a victim, citing emotional television appearances in which he "cast himself as a martyr to the process and to racial discrimination." Race, according to Hill supporters, decided the vote.

The image of the Senate, according to another front page article, remained questionable. Senators were called "indifferent" and "unfair"; Democrats were said to have "yielded to 'blatant intimidation'" by Judge Thomas and the White House. Another article contained a quote from a Hill supporter that attributed the Thomas confirmation to the Democrats being "wimps." A lobbyist for a women's groups said she found that Senators felt that "even if it [the sexual harassment allegation] was true, is talking dirty all that bad, especially when it might have been an isolated incident in his life at a time after his divorce?" Senators were criticized for allowing personal concerns regarding re-election to color their voting decision in the Thomas/Hill case. Southern Democrats who depended on the black vote for re-election all voted to support Thomas.

Such an attitude depicts the gender-class order priorities of society.

Southern Democrats voted for Thomas because they wanted to win favor with the black vote, but Dr. Hill is also black. If society placed as much emphasis on the roles of women as it does on the roles of men, voting for either Hill might have been as effective in winning the black vote. The focus throughout the coverage was on Judge Thomas as a victim; the fact that Dr. Hill was an alleged victim of sexual harassment never became a main issue after the conflict had been redefined.

The most lengthy article was published excerpts from the Senate debate. During this debate, Judge Thomas was characterized as a political nominee chosen for his pro-life views on abortion. The President was criticized for nominating Thomas based on this issue and on Thomas's generally conservative views. The account of the vote echoed such charges and added views on the impact the decision would have on women across the country. An article featuring Anita Hill as she returned to teaching related her hope that her experience would not stop other women from speaking out about the issue of sexual harassment.

The return of women's issues to the conflict almost seems to be unwarranted. Accounts in *The Times* to this point never addressed the abortion issue and addressed sexual harassment in terms of Thomas's role as the accused. Drawing the reader back to a frame of sexual harassment as a women's issue is an abrupt change from previous frames used to define the conflict.



The reaction of women's groups were published in the Editorial section, labeling them opinion. The first article on the Editorials page reiterated the idea that the conflict between Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas had provided a forum for open discussion of sexual harassment. The author writes,

The silence is broken as well as our hearts...that is, at least the issue of sexual harassment had finally been accorded wide and serious attention. The brutal fight tapped some dark places in the American soul and incited deep anger, feelings that will not easily subside. But the battle, finally, is over.

The conflict as portrayed by *The Times* did not open free discussion across the country. Most of the comments published about public viewpoints focused on Thomas as a victim of the all-white Senate and Hill as a tool used by politicians to strike a black man down. Race and politics were discussed far more than was sexual harassment.

Other articles in the OP-ED section depicted women's advocacy groups as angry and willing to "strike back." These articles warned the Democrats to be prepared for "long term political consequences," citing their anger that the "liberal guilt about racism remains greater than the guilt about the routine mistreatment of women."

In summary, the articles published in this second time frame characterized a definite redefinition of the sexual harassment controversy into a racial conflict between Judge Thomas and the Senate. Anita Hill was displaced by labels and

frames that questioned her mental health and by the gender-based societal order that focuses most importance on men. She simply became a tool of powerful men operating in a traditionally male realm: politics. The issue of sexual harassment, inherently a gender conflict, became controlled by the men of the Senate and Clarence Thomas. The two women Senators were completely removed from the conflict by *The Times'* inattention to their roles in the conflict. They were rarely mentioned.

The public views on the issue supported the redefinition of the conflict into one of race and politics. In the first coverage, people were as yet undecided on whom they would support: Hill or Thomas. By the end of the second time frame, public opinions were definitely in favor of Thomas, citing his victimization by the Senate and by Dr. Hill (as a pawn of special interest groups) as reasons why Thomas won their support. The black community sided with Thomas based on their fear that another black nominee to the Supreme Court would not arise. They rationalized Dr. Hill's accusations by believing that she was being controlled by others or by hypothesizing that she did not want him to be successful.

The full impact of the televised hearings rested on the Senate. In both the first and the second time frames, the Senate was framed in terms describing their inept handling of the case, their viciousness or their weakness.

### Follow-up Coverage

The follow-up coverage was published within the time frame of October 17 to October 28, 1991. During this time, Judge Thomas took the oath to become the 106th United States Supreme Court Justice. Table III below lists the labels attributed to the constituents of the sexual harassment conflict between Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas.

TABLE 3. Labels used in the sexual harassment conflict after Judge Thomas was confirmed.

Anita Hill	Professor Hill 38x; Prof. Anita F. Hill 14x; Anita Hill 19x; Ms. Hill 6x; Prof. Anita Hill 5x; Anita F. Hill 4x; Hill 4x; Prof. Hill 2x; Anita F. Hill, an Oklahoma Law School professor; Prof. Hill, who teaches law at the University of Oklahoma; Anita F. Hill, a black female law professor ; his subordinate; Oklahoma law professor; a victim forced into the limelight because she could not lie; Miss Hill; his accuser, Prof. Anita F. Hill; Professor Anita Hill; Professor; Justice Thomas's accuser, Prof. Anita F. Hill; the perfect victim; victim; Anita F. Hill, the Oklahoma law professor who accused him of sexual harassment; a former Thomas aide who is a University of Oklahoma law professor; protagonist; very complex, highly intelligent; role model for black and white people alike.
Judge Thomas	Judge Thomas 92x; Clarence Thomas 31x; Thomas 27x; Justice Thomas 19x; Mr. Thomas 18x; Judge Clarence Thomas 17x; the Judge 4x; the nominee 3x; his nominee 2x; black nominee 2x; Justice Clarence Thomas 2x; black man; victim of a white lynching; the 43 year old Judge; second black to ascend to the Supreme Court; a black conservative; Judge; black conservative Judge; the Supreme Court nominee; black and holds a conservative philosophy; black and conservative; 106th Justice; 106th Supreme Court Justice; the new justice; Supreme Court nominee Judge Clarence Thomas; Clarence Thomas, "the best man on the merits" [Bush]; their nominee; protagonist; very complex, highly intelligent; role model for black and white people alike; a black man [who] was seen as either a long-suffering figure assaulted on all sides or Willie Horton in a suit and tie - a division that mirrors the traditional racial iconography of the South.

TABLE 3. Labels used in the sexual harassment conflict after Judge Thomas 201 was confirmed.

The Senate	the Senate 36x; Senate 3x; the Senators 2x; an all-white Senate; that Senate; the full Senate; "a privileged class of rulers who stand above the law" [Bush]; women and male Senators; the 98 men in the Senate.
The Conflict	the accusations 2x; sexual harassment 2x; the charges 2x; She asserted that Mr. Thomas had sexually harassed her; accusations that Judge Thomas sexually harassed Prof. Anita F. Hill; her accusations; accusations that he sexually harassed Anita F. Hill; the accusations against Judge Thomas; what was alleged; these charges; Professor Hill's account; the very serious accusations of sexual harassment made by Professor Hill; Anita Hill's sexual harassment charges; the Thomas case; what Prof Anita Hill alleged; his Rabalaisian; those raunchy things; alleged failing with Professor Hill; what is is alleged to have said; Anita Hill's tale; accusation against Mr. Thomas; accusations of sexual harassment against Judge Clarence Thomas; the accusation of harassment made by Prof. Anita F. Hill against Judge Thomas; Prof. Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas; Professor Hill's charges; Professor Hill's accusation of sexual harassment against Judge Thomas; accusations that she had been sexually harassed; Prof. Anita F. Hill's assertions of sexual harassment; Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment; this sexual harassment crap; this particular accusation; sexual harassment accusations against Clarence Thomas; the Thomas matter; sexual harassment accusations against Judge Thomas while his confirmation to the Supreme Court was before the Senate; sexual harassment accusations by Anita F. Hill, a former Thomas aide who is a University of Oklahoma law professor.
The Senate Judiciary Committee	the Judiciary Committee 24x; Senate Judiciary Committee 18x; the committee 2x; senators 2x; Senate Committee; the senators; jury in this case; white senators; 14 men on the Senate Judiciary Committee.
The Nomination	the Thomas nomination 12x; the nomination 6x; the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court 4x; Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court 3x; Clarence Thomas's nomination 2x; the Thomas confirmation 2x; Judge Thomas's nomination; Judge Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court; Judge Thomas's nomination; Clarence Thomas's Supreme Court nomination; the appointment of Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

TABLE 3. Labels used in the sexual harassment conflict after Judge Thomas 202 was confirmed.

The Hearings	Thomas hearings 17x; the hearings 12x; these hearings 8x; Senate Judiciary Committee hearings 3x; a high tech lynching 2x; high-tech lynching 2x; Clarence Thomas hearings 2x; hearings 2x; soap opera melodrama, emotional outrage and political farce; the show; searing Senate hearings; the Senate hearing; the painful experience of defending himself before the nation against charges of sexual harassment; the Judiciary Committee hearings; his experience; hearing; a watershed drama about sexual harassment; Senate hearings; a melodrama in which a black man was seen as either a long-suffering figure assaulted on all sides or Willie Horton in a suit and tie - a division that mirrors the traditional racial iconography of the South; the Thomas affair; Senate Committee proceedings; Thomas battle; the drama; an exercise in futility; last weekend's proceedings at the Senate Judiciary Committee; the public humiliation of Judge Clarence Thomas; Clarence Thomas's second round of confirmation hearings; these extraordinary hearings; Thomas's confirmation battle; Judge Thomas's last-minute invocation of "lynching"; Thomas episode; Thomas debate; the Thomas hearings on sexual harassment; Judge Thomas's hearings; the Judiciary Committee hearings of Professor Anita F. Hill's assertions of sexual harassment against the Supreme Court nominee Judge Clarence Thomas; the Senate's treatment of Prof. Anita F. Hill; a symbolic and low-tech gang rape; the Judiciary Committee's hearings on Judge Clarence Thomas; Justice Clarence Thomas's rancorous Supreme Court confirmation hearings; Thomas hearings on the issue of sexual harassment; the acrimonious televised hearings; the Senate's embarrassing Clarence Thomas hearings; the Thomas-Hill hearings.
Public Reaction	the furor; "...riveted the nation on the issue of sexual harassment.

### Analysis of Frames

The labeling of Professor Hill in this last round of coverage returned the focus on her as a victim, but not as a victim of sexual harassment. She was a victim of the process, forced to come into the public eye by manipulative senators. Another label framed her as the "perfect victim": she was black and a woman, two classifications in the social hierarchy that denied her power to fight the white men,

as they were labeled, at the top of the class structure. These labels supported the earlier framing of Professor Hill as a tool or pawn of people in power.

Labels describing Thomas balanced past articles by continuing the focus on his race; in fact, his race was even more emphasized in the follow-up coverage. His frame as a victim of a lynching was also carried over to the follow-up coverage; he was directly called a victim of "white lynching."

In addition to simply being labeled black or a black man, Judge Thomas was labeled both in terms of his politics and his race. At the end of the articles covering the hearings and the vote, Thomas's views on abortion were reported. The follow-up coverage balanced this report by framing Thomas as a "black conservative," a "black conservative judge" and "black and hold[ing] a conservative philosophy." This emphasis also balanced the redefinition of the conflict into a racial/political conflict.

The inconclusive hearings were framed in a graphic way in a description of Thomas. He was labeled a "black man seen as either a long-suffering figure or Willie Horton in a suit and tie - a definition that mirrors the traditional racial iconography of the South." This label serves to support the conflict in terms of race and reiterates the fact that the hearings produced no conclusive evidence for or against either Thomas or Hill. The words "traditional racial iconography of the

South" also support the mindset of a lynching by reminding readers of the historical Southern conflict between white and black people.

Labels of the Senate and the Senate Judiciary Committee continued to frame them in terms of their race and gender. Such frames attributed them with power by virtue of them being both white and male; they necessarily had to be defined as powerholders in order to exert their power over Hill and Thomas, creating a pawn and a victim, respectively.

Labels used to describe the conflict in the follow-up coverage served to balance the new racial and political definitions of the coverage. In addition to continuing the labels of "charges" and allegations," which appeared throughout the entire coverage of the event, labels arose which associated Thomas, not Hill, with the event. The conflict was now termed "the Thomas matter" and "the Thomas case."

Some new labels were also applied to the hearings. *The New York Times* continued to frame the hearings in terms of a "melodrama" and "soap opera," but new labels framed the hearings with a perspective consistent with the labeling of Thomas as a victim. The hearings were still labeled a "lynching" and a "high-tech lynching," but the label "the public humiliation of Judge Clarence Thomas" was also attached to the hearings.

The hearings labeled in terms of their effect on Dr. Hill also depicted her as a victim. One writer, in a letter to the Editor, labeled the hearings a "symbolic and low-tech gang rape," violently returning the focus to gender conflict. However, the presence of this label in the Editorial section places it firmly in the realm of opinion and negates any challenge to the reporting of the issue as a political and racial conflict.

### Photographs

A total of 13 photographs were included in the follow-up coverage of the event. Pictures of male senators, consistent with previous depictions, portrayed them seated at tables in front of microphones or speaking to groups of people, usually women from women's advocacy groups. A picture of Senator Biden was published that depicted him in his office deep in thought, staring through windows. A picture of Senator Biden also placed him outside the work of the senate. He is in a cafe, leaning over a table and talking to women. The caption reveals that he is campaigning. The mood portrayed by these pictures, with the exception of the picture of Biden in his office, is that Senators are continuing their work as normal.



Several pictures of women were included in this coverage. A photograph of two women interviewed in a person-on-the-street story was included with the article. The women are quoted as blaming Hill for not putting a stop to her alleged harassment when it happened. Other pictures of women included a photograph of a woman who runs a home for battered women and a lawyer at the New York City Commission on Human Rights. The lawyer is surrounded by files identified by the caption as sexual harassment complaints filed by women.

Only one picture of Anita Hill was included in the follow-up coverage. She is smiling largely; the words directly under the picture state, "her mood now."

Three photographs appeared of Judge Thomas: One in the National section on October 17, and two on October 19 on the front page the National section. The October 17 picture depicts Thomas, smiling largely, getting into or out of a car. The photo on the front cover depicts Judge Clarence Thomas and Barbara Bush hugging. The caption reads, "After the Oath, a Hug. Barbara Bush, hugging Judge Clarence Thomas after he was sworn in yesterday in a ceremony at the White House." The Thomas picture in the National section is a three shot of Thomas, Virginia Thomas and Justice Byron R. White, who administered the oath for Thomas. Both the Thomases are smiling, and Clarence Thomas is pointing in the distance, arm outstretched. The caption attributes their smiles to the

identification of a supporter. These photographs seem to provide testimony that supports Judge Thomas's call for healing and peace.

### Structural Analysis

The placement of the stories in the follow-up coverage is markedly different than previous story placement. Only four of the thirteen days of follow-up coverage carried information about the conflict on the front page. The three items that did obtain front page status were a story on harassment cases in general, a story on President Bush's criticism of the Senate, a short feature on the disappointment of some women's groups and the picture of Barbara Bush and Clarence Thomas hugging. No stories about the actual conflict were present on the front page. The stories on the front page were also moved from the top of the page, columns four through six, to the top of the page, column one. The feature on Dr. Hill was placed almost at the bottom of the page, columns 2-4.

Most of the follow-up coverage contained articles intermingled with reports on other topics, which was different from previous coverage in which entire pages were dedicated to the conflict. Only the issues published on October 17 and October 19 contained full page coverage of the event, only one page each. Of the 46 articles published in the October 17-29 time frame, 16 were editorials and 14

were articles about sideline issues that mentioned the hearings (e.g., articles featuring senators that mentioned their involvement in the hearings or articles on the processes in Congress in general). The bulk of the coverage was still contained in the National and OP-ED sections.

The coverage on October 17 consisted primarily of articles offering reactions from various people and groups on the vote to confirm Thomas to the Supreme Court. a front page article featuring a picture of Dr. Hill smiling was an article citing women's groups' reaction to Judge Thomas's confirmation and their promises of "political revenge." The language used portrayed anger and plans for future action; words used depicted plans to "target" Senators who voted for Judge Thomas. The press labeled womens' reactions an outcry and cited a chant sung by women gathered in Washington: "We'll remember in November."

*The Times's* account of Dr. Hill's reaction was far different. She was said to have refused to comment on either the Democrats' or the Republicans' treatment of the subject; her perspective, according to *The Times*, focused on justice. She is quoted as saying, "For me it is enough justice getting it heard." Directly beside this article is the picture of Judge Thomas, half-way in or out of a car, smiling largely.

This article, in a subtle way, seems to perpetuate the framing of Anita Hill as a pawn of powerful special interest groups. According to *The Times's* reports,

she was severely attacked in the hearings, yet she shows no anger nor offers accusations of her own. She simply states her gladness that she had the opportunity to go through that process. Her lack of emotion could be seen by some as a weakness, further framing her as someone who is easily controlled.

An article in the Review/Television column provided a summary of the hearings. The article framed the televised hearings as an opportunity to see successful black professionals at work on television rather than the depictions of "criminals" or "sappy sit-comer or preening celebrity" images of blacks that, in the article's author's mind, usually appear on television. The men of the Senate were termed "bickering white men" and as "all men, all white," further adding to racial aspects of the issue. Although the author of the article stated that the hearings should have not been televised, he stated,

there is some gain in the unusually clear picture transmitted of white male politicians living down to a good old American stereotype and of black men and women on the rise giving lie to a very bad old one.

The framing of the conflict in terms beneficial to the black race is contradictory to every other account of the hearings published in *The Times*. Although the author of this article saw the hearings as beneficial to blacks, the focus on race is perpetuated.

Other articles in the October 17 issue questioned the system and the fairness of the vote, heralding a turning of attention from the conflict to the Senate

process. Only in the Editorial section was the focus still tuned directly to Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas.

One article published in the OP-ED section criticized Thomas's tactics, labeling them a "sordid campaign" similar to "a defense attorney who impugns the morals and behavior of the rape victim ('she was asking for it')." This author, Tom Wicker, also discredited Thomas's lynching theme, writing that it "cheapened...the memory of the real lynchings of real people that soil American history." This article is unusual in that the language used to describe the conflict defines it in terms of gender conflict (with the allusion to rape) and discredits the definition of the conflict in terms of race.

Two other editorials on October 17 supported Dr. Hill. One was written in the form of a letter to Dr. Hill, labeled "the witness," and suggested that women and men owe Dr. Hill a "thank you" for presenting herself as a dignified, credible witness who "exposed a dark subject whose power all women know and countless men have now begun to grasp." The other editorial echoed support for Dr. Hill, citing her bravery.

These articles contrast the framing of Dr. Hill as a pawn or tool for special interest groups. She is framed as a woman backed only by honorable intentions. However, since these articles are editorials, they provide opinion; articles

elsewhere in the paper, where Dr. Hill was framed as a pawn, are in contrast to editorials and so appear to be fact (Glasgow Media Group, 1982).

October 18, 1991, dedicated about two pages to the conflict. Slightly less than one page of the coverage consisted of editorials. One page of articles was published in the Nationals section, and an article on the issue appeared in the Law section. The article in the Law section did not address the issue in itself but rather questioned the activities of a new judge, J. Michael Luttig, in helping to develop the strategy to support Judge Thomas. According to some, Mr. Luttig should not have been involved in the issue because he is a newly confirmed judge and would have a conflict of interest. Mr. Luttig's supporters claimed that he still owed allegiance to the Justice Department, where he worked prior to confirmation, and was obligated to support his client's request for assistance since he had yet to be sworn in as a judge. His client in this case was the President, and the fact that Mr. Luttig was willing to support the President at the risk of his own actions being questioned gives further weight to the power of the Presidency in this conflict.

Other articles published on October 18 similarly focused on side issues rather than on the hearings or the vote. One article cited the divisiveness of the conflict on women across the country. The article framed lower class, working women as disbelieving of Hill: "white and black women from the low-rent neighborhoods of this city look at Professor Hill as cowboys might look at a dude

adrift in Dodge City, their incredulity spiced with contempt." Upper and middle class women were said, in this article, to support Hill.

One statement printed said that women often handle harassing situations themselves, but in order to do so effectively women must have developed a sense of power. The statement says this is difficult for younger women. Anita Hill was framed in earlier coverage as a young women in fear of losing her job with Judge Thomas. Tied to this statement, the reference is that Dr. Hill, being young, had yet to develop her own sense of personal power, placing the blame of the conflict on her. Had she been powerful enough to put a stop to the alleged harassment, the hearings would not have occurred.

Other articles mentioned the Thomas/Hill conflict but were written with focuses other than the conflict. One depicted the world of the high court, and one reiterated President Bush's belief that the hearings should not have been televised.

The coverage on October 18 was characterized by heavy use of the Editorial section. Four editorials appeared in the OP-ED section, each with a different theme. One again criticized the Senate for their handling of the case and the Republican attack on Dr. Hill. Another called Americans to be civil to each other now that the hearings were over and men and women were tuned to the sexual harassment issue. One article applauded the leak of Dr. Hill's F.B.I. testimony to the press, citing that discussion of the issue and serious consideration

of Dr. Hill's charges would not have happened had the testimony not been leaked.

The fourth article was an editorial by a British writer, Fay Weldon. She characterized foreign relief that "the Affair" had ended, writing that a "sigh of relief...ran through the male intelligentsia of the International community, and a sigh of sorrow through the female." Their attitude was that the issue became a fight between a definition of sexism and a definition of racism, and racism won.

Ms. Weldon's article further supports the framing of both Hill and Thomas as victims and characterizes the focus of the hearings in racial terms. She also picks up the theme of the televised hearings as a drama. These frames are evident in one statement:

And it was dreadful, of course, for the *Dramatis Personae*. Judge Thomas and Professor Hill were thrown up by fate as sacrificial victims and exploited by society in the interests of its own survival - so that whites could re-examine their attitudes to blacks and find them faulty, and women reflect on how easily questions of gender degenerate into questions of sex.

October 19 was probably the most important day of follow-up coverage because Judge Thomas's swearing-in ceremony was covered on that day, but only three articles were printed. The first article was entitled "A Festive Mood at Thomas Swearing-In" and was dedicated to the reiteration of Thomas's theme of healing. The article also presented information on the court ceremony which would mark Judge Thomas's official entry into the Supreme Court and which was postponed due to the death of Natalie Rehnquist, Chief Justice Rehnquist's wife.



Another article focused on Thomas's ability to function on the Supreme Court based on his confirmation experience. The article quoted Judge Thomas' assertion that he is now a more sensitive person to human vulnerability, but critics speculated on his ability to fairly judge cases involving women's issues, notably abortion cases.

The third article, published on October 19 and written by Peter Applebome, focused on the racial theme of the conflict. The article, entitled, "Thomas Hearings as Testimony to the Power of Race in American Politics," stated in the first paragraph that "the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court turned on something else [besides sexual harassment] - race" (brackets added). Thomas was labeled in this article as a black conservative; a blurb highlighted the words, "Race as the hottest 'hot button.'" The article picks up the theme that the televised hearings presented an image of black men that was far different from stereotypical images of blacks, but Applebome writes that the emotions stirred by the image of a black victim of white men were "almost primal." Applebome quotes Roger Wilkins, civil rights activist and teacher at George Mason University, in a statement that most black people probably supported Thomas because they were unaware of Thomas' "hideous record of attacking civil rights remedies and civil rights leaders." Wilkins further stated that many blacks would have supported

Thomas because of a "deep-rooted and instinctive reaction of blacks who saw a common interest in defending one of their own."

One questions why Anita Hill, also black, is not considered "one of their own." A patriarchal viewpoint is that she is not accorded the same support by her race because she is not a man in a position of power; further, her actions attempt to deny a man a position of power. A feminist explanation adds to this patriarchal perspective. The fact that she is a woman attributes her less support than is given to a man. This point is further upheld by a man-on-the-street who said, "I going to support a black *man*...I don't care who he is" (emphasis added).

Coverage after the 19th of October consisted primarily of articles criticizing the Senate's handling of the affair. Critics of the Senate ranged from President Bush to people writing in the Editorial section calling for reform of the confirmation hearings. Several articles on the subject of harassment itself were written, as were features on senators who played key parts in the conflict. Articles also appeared that reported other claims of sexual harassment, the most notable one being an account of a female firefighter. This harassment case received very limited coverage, possibly due to the social hierarchy remaining unchallenged because the case did not involve the government or questions of race.

Another article speculated on the public reaction to the Thomas/Hill conflict, citing groups who were searching for ways to draw some good from the

hearings. The article, published on October 28 and entitled, "Capitalizing on the Thomas Fallout," focused on the gender relationships in the Capitol Building itself.

Thomas's swearing in received less than one column length of coverage. The swearing-in ceremony, scheduled for November 1, 1991, took place privately on October 23 in a ceremony attended by Thomas and his wife, Senator Danforth, and Chief Justice William Rehnquist. No public announcement had been made until after Justice Thomas had been sworn in. One can only speculate as to the privacy of an event that should have been the high point of a long and arduous process for Judge Thomas. Perhaps the upheaval of the hearings created a need for quiet in Judge Thomas's life, or perhaps he anticipated further animosity from women's groups that he was unwilling to face. Any reason given, except for one given by Judge Thomas himself is, again, speculation.

### Other Perspectives

To obtain perspectives other than those presented by *The Times*, the magazines *Ms.* and *National Review* were also analyzed. *Ms.* was chosen to provide a feminist perspective of the issue, and *National Review* is included for a conservative viewpoint. The coverage presented by *Ms.* will be presented first

followed by the coverage of the issue in *National Review*. Table IV presents labels used in *Ms*.

#### Coverage in *Ms*.

TABLE 4. Labels used in *Ms*. magazine.

Anita Hill	Anita Hill 22x; Hill 7x; Ms. Hill 3x; a black woman 2x; the victim; a professional African American woman; a real black woman on TV; Anita Hill - bright, sincere, black, and female; a black woman claiming harassment and being discredited by other women; Professor Anita Hill; a woman of awesome credibility, not to mention brains, dignity, attractiveness of person, and a personality so compelling that the official Thomas advocates never dared to attack her personally; a remarkably believable person with nothing to gain; everybody's daughter, every community's model student, every sister; Professor Anita Hill.
Clarence Thomas	Thomas 37x; Clarence Thomas 9x; a professional African American man; a black man chosen by white racists for high office; a black man; a black man grilled by a panel of white men about his sexual deviance; Clarence; the black guy; "uppity black"; the only nominee; a bird in the hand; the black nominee.
The Senate	the Senate 5x; senators 2x; Good Ol' Boy Network; the U. S. Senate that confirmed Clarence Thomas.
The Conflict	the charges 2x; her charges 2x; the bitter fruit from the tree of truth; the fall of Thomas; behaviors described by Hill to have allegedly been enacted; the tragedy; the harassment; her allegations against Clarence Thomas; Anita Hill's description of sexual harassment; this drama; the Hill-Thomas confrontation; the Hill-Thomas episode; the slick racism that set the entire debacle in motion; a serious charge; these allegations; the last-minute leak of lewd sexual allegations; Hill's charges; Anita Hill's revelations; Hill's revelations.
The Senate Judiciary Committee	Senate Judiciary Committee 2x; the senate committee; abysmally ignorant; all-male committee; all-male judiciary committee; Judiciary Committee; the monolith that comprised the Senate Judiciary Committee; 14 white male senators.
The Nomination	the nomination 3x; the Thomas nomination; a black man chosen by white racists for high office; a hard-fought nomination; the nomination of a black man to the Supreme Court; his nomination.

TABLE 4. Labels used in *Ms.* magazine.

The Hearings	the hearing 4x; the hearings 3x; the Hill-Thomas hearings 2x; the Clarence Thomas hearings 2x; Thomas ("allegedly") lying through his teeth in front of the nation; "fair" hearing; the Thomas affair; the Senate debate on Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court; the Thomas hearings; my [Dr. Hill's] Senate Judiciary Committee testimony; the Senate hearings; this dismissal of a woman's experience; those hearings; Senate Judiciary Committee hearing.
Public Reaction	

### Analysis of Frames

The most notable difference between the labels used to describe the conflict in *Ms.* and in *The New York Times* is the absence of qualifiers that establish Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas in terms of their class status. Judge Thomas was never referred to as "Judge" throughout the entire *Ms.* coverage. Dr. Hill was only referred to as a professor twice. *Ms.* chose instead to use variations of Dr. Hill's and Judge Thomas's given names and surnames. The most common label for them both was "Anita Hill" and "Thomas." Within the pages of *Ms.*, class status was not a factor in the conflict except through allusions to race, making a perspective of class status a mere implication.

*Ms.* defined the issue primarily from the perspective of race, but gender was also an important theme. Dr. Hill was labeled an "African American woman," "a real black woman on TV," "a black woman," and simply "black." Judge Thomas was labeled a professional African American man, a black man chosen by

white racists for high office, "a black man," the "black nominee," and even "the black guy."

*Ms.* makes evident its support of Dr. Hill over Thomas by labels that frame her personality in complimentary terms. She is labeled "a woman of awesome credibility, not to mention brains, dignity, attractiveness of person, and a personality so compelling that the official Thomas advocates never dared to attack her personally." She was also called "a remarkably believable person" and "everybody's daughter, every community's model student, every sister." No such labels are attributed to Thomas; the only label used to describe his personality is "uppity black," which *Ms.* quoted from Thomas himself.

### Structural Analysis

The conflict was covered by *Ms.* magazine during the January/February issue; coverage consisted of letters to the editor, a section that included three pages of letters subscribers submitted; a two page article written by Anita Hill herself; a three and one-half page article and several short articles in series that spanned five pages. The coverage was concluded with a two page chronology of the activities of women who fought to bring about changes in the workplace regarding the issue of sexual harassment. No photographs were included with the coverage, but

several line drawings and cartoons depicted men and women in battle over the sexual harassment issue supported the text. Another four page article supporting the theme of sexual harassment, not the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict itself, portrayed sexual harassment on Capitol Hill.

The only use of statistics is in Dr. Hill's article "THE NATURE OF THE BEAST" (bold type and caps included in article). She includes figures stating that from 42 to 90 percent of women will be sexually harassed in some form while they are employed outside the home. Dr. Hill also cites letters written to her by women saying they had been harassed as long as fifty years ago. To highlight information, *Ms.* uses a stack of negative (black) bars into which positive (white) type font is placed.

The highlighting of the words "nature" and "beast" serve to classify sexual harassment as a gender conflict. "Nature" has always been a descriptor of "femaleness," personified in Mother Nature and the concepts of fertility and new birth. The significance of the emphasis on "beast" is more speculative; beast may be applied to male aggressiveness and, in nature, survival of the fittest. Theories on the significance of these emphases are purely speculative.

In comparison to the coverage of *The Times*, the language used in *Ms.* is much more volatile. The titles of these articles exemplify women's anger at sexual harassment and highlight the racial aspect of the Thomas-Hill conflict. The title of

the primary article in *Ms.* is "**REFUSING TO BE SILENCED**" (bold and caps included in *Ms.*). The articles in series are entitled "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around," "Becoming the Third Wave," "We Speak in Tongues..." and "And the Language is Race." The anger and the determination depicted by these authors, all black women, is characterized by the labels attributed to the conflict.

The first article of the series, "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around" by Barbara Smith, attributed the public fascination with the conflict to the rarity of seeing a credible black woman discussing important issues. She labeled the confrontation "demoralizing," however, because the image of Anita Hill "reinforced the perception that any woman who raises the issue of sexual oppression on the black community is somehow a traitor to the race, which translates into being a traitor to black men." Smith calls other black women to keep fighting the stereotype that pits black women against black men.

This is a theme that parallels the stereotypes presented in *The Times*, but with different players. *The Times* offered the frame of the stereotypes of black men, such stereotypes being perpetuated by black women. Smith's article places the stereotype on the woman. Smith's article also terms the conflict as a racial problem, but the conflict is between black men and women, not between white men and black men. She defines the issue in terms of gender conflict within a race, not a interracial problem.



Rebecca Walker's article, "Becoming the Third Wave," explains Thomas's confirmation in terms of conflict between men and women but not within racial boundaries. She writes that Thomas had to be confirmed in order that all men in America would be safeguarded. She writes,

If Thomas had not been confirmed, every man in the United States would be at risk. For how many senators never told a sexist joke? How many men have not used their protected male privilege to thwart in some way the influence or ideas of a woman colleague, friend or relative?

Walker also highlights the "misconception of equality between the sexes," placing the conflict definitively within gender roles.

The next article in the series, entitled "We Speak in Tongues...", is a striking discourse in which the author, Marcia Ann Gillespie, writes that black women who act outside of traditionally defined roles are labeled as crazy or vindictive or stupid. Black women are supposed to support black men over themselves, and when they do not they are belittled and misunderstood. Gillespie writes that women who are black are *both* woman and black; race as sex are inseparable. This concept, according to Gillespie, is never understood. She calls black women to start speaking out on issues that affect all black women, as Anita Hill did, and to recognize that "black men are not the only ones endangered in the United States of America." Gillespie framed the issue as a racial attack on the black female from all others: black and white and Latina, men and women alike.

Representative Eleanor Holmes Norton authored the final article of the series. It was entitled "...And the Language is Race" and focused the turning point of the conflict on the Senate leak of Dr. Hill's testimony to the F.B.I. (see Chronology, this report). According to Norton, the last-minute nature of the leak attributed the proceedings that followed it with a sense of unfairness; to support Dr. Hill would have been to condone the leak. She also defined the conflict in terms of race, writing that "race had been responsible for the nomination and only race could undo it. Thus it is a mistake to read the outcome of the hearings as a comment on feminism; it is a comment on the continuing potency of race to push all else aside." Norton's article supports *The Times* racial frame.

Norton starkly contradicts *The Times*, however, in stating that most black people, in the end, did not support Thomas. She writes that although Thomas' support within the black community rose slightly toward the end of the process, it only reached 40 percent, and only increased because most blacks saw the issue in terms of a take-it-or-leave-it situation. *The Times* quoted steady support for Thomas and published interviews with black people who all supported Thomas.

All of the authors in the series of articles defined the issue in terms of race, as did *The Times*. The pronounced difference in the racial definitions is *Ms.* used rather volatile language that characterized the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict as an *intra*-racial problem: black men against black women. *The Times'* definition

of race framed the conflict as an *inter-racial* problem: white men against a black man, who used a black woman as a pawn in the process.

### Coverage in the *National Review*

The *National Review* provided an extremely different frame of the conflict.

TABLE 5. Labels used in *National Review*.

Anita Hill	Anita Hill 13x; Miss Hill 10x; Professor Hill 7x; the new national poster girl for sexual harassment; Miss Hill, the youngest of 13 from a dirt-poor black family.
Clarence Thomas	Thomas 23x; Clarence Thomas 12x; Judge Thomas 12x; The Judge, a Judge; Justice Thomas; black; her putative tormentor; Judge Thomas, the prodigal son of another impoverished black family; the "conservative" Thomas; Judge Clarence Thomas.
The Senate	the senate 4x; Senators 2x; the full Senate.
The Conflict	the Anita Hill Scoop; Anita Hill's implausible charges; the alleged offenses; the allegations; what she alleges; sexual harassment charges; the alleged conversations; the charges against Judge Thomas; the accusation of Anita Hill; her accusation; Miss Hill's statement; this dirt; Hill allegations; the Hill story; a charge of sexual harassment; the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas contretemps; Anita Hill's Oktoberfest; he allegedly talked dirty to her; last month's sexual harassment World Series; a Southern belle tantrum, properly thrown, used to bring a man to his knees.
The Senate Judiciary Committee	The Judiciary Committee 3x; the 14 committee members; a Senate committee; the Senate Judiciary Committee; committee members; the Committee.
The Nomination	Judge Thomas's nomination; the nomination; the Thomas nomination.
The Hearings	The Judiciary Committee inquisition; the hearings 5x; "Thomas's term, 'lynching,' was not a bad metaphor for this "process."; Thomas hearings; "special hearing on a charge of sexual harassment"; the Thomas-Hill hearings; the kangaroo trial of Clarence Thomas.
Public Reaction	

### Analysis of Frames

The labels of Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas in the *National Review* were somewhat different than those used in *Ms.* Dr. Hill was labeled using her given name and surname more often than any other label; "Miss Hill" was the second most frequently used label for Dr. Hill. Neither of these labels indicate her profession, taking her class status out of consideration.

Judge Thomas's labels were different. He was called "Thomas" more often than any other term. The use of his surname alone provides a frame of familiarity between the authors and Judge Thomas. His given name and surname was used as often as the term "Judge Thomas." In contrast to Dr. Hill, whose profession was never alluded to, Judge Thomas was placed within the class hierarchy with the term "Judge," lending him more credibility through his function as a judge. His political ideals were also presented in the term "conservative Thomas."

In *Ms.*, complimentary labels were attributed to Hill; in *National Review*, derogatory labels are presented. She is framed as "the new national postergirl for sexual harassment" and as a "southern belle" throwing a temper tantrum. Both labels place Dr. Hill in a childlike/childish role. No such labels were attributed to Thomas.

The conflict was also framed with a different perspective in *National Review* than it was in *Ms.* The word "alleged" is applied to more labels in *National Review* than in *Ms.* The conflict was also labeled "Anita Hill's Oktoberfest," last month's World Series, and "a southern belle tantrum, properly thrown, used to bring a man to his knees." These labels denegate the seriousness of racial, class and gender issues and make light of the conflict through trivialization. According to these labels, the conflict was nothing more than a temper tantrum, a baseball game (the All-American sport), or a festival.

Race was not a focus within the labels. The senate, pointedly framed by *The Times* according to race, was never referred to in like terms in *National Review*.

### Structural Analysis

The coverage within the *National Review* appeared in the October through December issues. In all, the *National Review* published 9 articles addressing the conflict. Three one paragraph blurbs also addressed the issue in the section "The Week." Other articles that did not address the Thomas/Hill conflict but that offered views on feminism and women's actions were published during the October-December time frame. Like *Ms.*, no pictures were published, but line drawings

were used to support the themes of the articles. Unlike *Ms.*, both male and female authors published articles in *National Review*.

The first article published mentioned the Thomas hearings with a focus on his views of natural law. Anita Hill's allegations were not a part of this article; nor was the subject of sexual harassment. The second article, published in the October 21 issue, appeared in the "On the Scene" column and focused on the friction between the Republicans and the Democrats. The article, entitled "Advise and Obstruct," was written from the perspective that the Republicans, through the Hill/Thomas conflict, learned how to beat the Democrats, and the Democrats learned that they were slipping from power. William McGurn, the author of this article, also discussed whether or not Thomas should have been forced to present his ideas on abortion. In contrast to *Ms.* but in line with *The Times*, the *National Review* quoted a poll citing black support for Thomas. Dr. Hill was not mentioned as a key participant in the process; in fact, she was not mentioned at all.

Two paragraphs were published in the November 4 issue under the column "The Week." One article presented the scenario that Judge Thomas, opposed to affirmative action, had been accepted into Yale through an affirmative action program. The purpose of this point is to demonstrate how affirmative action "devalues genuine black achievement." The second paragraph, appearing on the same page, focuses on Nina Totenberg as the person who broke the Anita

Hill/Clarence Thomas conflict. It frames Totenberg as a ruiner of people's lives and lists Clarence Thomas among the people whose lives she had destroyed. The article goes on to suggest that she had been fired from a job because of plagiarism. Neither of these articles address Dr. Hill's role in the Hill/Thomas conflict.

The first article that did address Anita Hill appeared on November 4. The first sentence of the article reads, "Anita Hill's implausible charges, which senator after senator obsequiously thanked her for making, have apparently made her a star." Language used to describe Hill framed her as someone "basking in her new celebrity," "Glowing with a self-confident exultation, fresh from the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*." In this article, she was termed "the new national postergirl for sexual harassment," and her testimony was called "perfectly pitched to the ideological constituency she served and won." The article continues with the statement,

Whether you believed Miss Hill depended mostly on whether you subscribed to (or were cowed by) the feminist mythology according to which even the most innocuous-seeming male is a rapist at heart and a presumptive harasser.

The article further relates the opinion that "Thomas's term, 'lynching,' was not a bad metaphor."

The article directly following discusses sexual harassment in terms of the Thomas/Hill case. Entitled "Sexual Harrassment," it states that laws about sexual harassment are so centered in favor of women that women are given free rein to

establish their own personal definitions of what constitutes sexual harassment. The author of this article also portrays Dr. Hill's failure to forcibly stop the alleged harassment of her when it happened as rationalized by the professionalism of maintaining business contacts.

A guest editorial written by Barbara Amiel uses very strong language to frame the Hill/Thomas conflict as a subject given a ridiculous amount of attention. The article begins with the statements,

Did Clarence Thomas tell Anita Hill the size of his penis? When the two of them worked together...did he...tell her about his preferences in pornographic films?

These statements were then sarcastically termed

weighty matters ...pondered by a Senate committee that includes such stalwarts of the new moral order as Edward Kennedy (Chappaquiddick) and Joseph Biden, the man who plagiarized Neil Kinnock's speech.

Ms. Amiel then asks, "What on earth does this have to do with Judge Thomas' fitness for the Supreme Court?" Her contention is that Judge Thomas's alleged statements made to Dr. Hill did not constitute any wrong; had Judge Thomas been someone with whom Dr. Hill would have enjoyed a relationship, those alleged comments would have been welcomed. Ms. Amiel writes that the "only relevant argument Professor Hill might have made was that anyone crazy enough to ask her out is not fit to be a Supreme Court Justice."



The next article on the issue was published on the November 22nd. The focus of the article was on the confirmation process and on the senators involved in the process, namely Senators Biden, Simon, Kennedy and Metzenbaum. The heart of the issue, according to this article was not sexual harassment, race or class, it was Thomas's views on abortion. The article ends by calling for a thorough investigation into the entire affair.

The last article the *National Review* published on the Thomas/Hill conflict appeared in the column "The Misanthrope's Corner." It cites, in derogatory language, the passiveness of Dr. Hill and her supporters, contrasting this lack of anger with the past call of feminists for women to "get mad." Florence King, the author of this piece, frames the conflict as "last month's sexual-harassment World Series" in which sexual harassment played an incidental part. He criticizes America's propensity to be passive because getting mad also means "out of control" and "crazy."

These articles primarily deny that a conflict occurred that involved Dr. Hill. She was rarely mentioned in the articles addressing the issue, and when she was mentioned, she was framed with derogatory language. The *National Review* saw the issue in terms of its relationship to politics (Democrats vs. Republicans) and in terms of feminism (which the *National Review* fights).

When the issue was directly addressed, the language used supported Thomas over Hill, in high contrast to the coverage within the pages of *Ms.*

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

The questions asked in the Methodolgy section of this report were

1. With what perspective, liberal feminism or patriarchal, did the media present the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas Sexual harassment conflict?
2. If the patriarchal ideology predominated, did the liberal feminist viewpoint effect the outcome at all?
3. What methods were effectively used to present the information of the case according to a certain viewpoint (i.e., frame analysis, linguistic techniques)?

The liberal feminist definition of the conflict would have framed the case in terms of an equality of opportunity. Judge Thomas's harassment of Dr. Hill would be, in line with liberal feminism, an attempt to keep her from using her own resources as a professional and as a well-educated person, to further her career goals. She would not have had the same opportunities that Judge Thomas had.

This perspective does not hold true in this case. Dr. Hill had enjoyed the same educational background and upbringing that Judge Thomas had; in fact, their similar backgrounds were often highlighted in the coverage.

The alleged sexual harassment of Dr. Hill did not prevent her from accepting opportunities for advancement, nor did it cost her her job with Judge Thomas, as would have been in line with a liberal feminist definition of the

conflict. The coverage within *The Times* made much of the fact that she followed Judge Thomas to a new department after the harassment had occurred. She was not framed as someone who was, through Judge Thomas's actions, unable to find employment or who was denied advancement. She was given references by Judge Thomas that helped her win her first job at Oral Roberts University.

The patriarchal definition of the coverage was highly supported by the framing devices used by *The Times*. Anita Hill was framed in language that labeled her in terms of her gender and her race, as was Thomas. Thomas, in fact, often used his race to portray himself as the black victim of white men, calling on harsh themes such as "lynching" and "black sexual stereotypes." *The Times* used these labels to redefine the issue into a class and racial struggle, not between Dr. Hill and Judge Thomas, but between the senate and a Judge Thomas. Dr. Hill, by virtue of being framed as a woman and as black, was displaced altogether; she became secondary in the conflict as it was redefined. These frames support the patriarchal ideology, as defined by feminism, that men, specifically white men, hold most of the power within our society. The patriarchal heirarchy in this case was white men (Senate) holding power over a black man (Thomas).

The feminist work in this issue had very little effect on the outcome of the hearings. Although women marched to the Senate to lobby against Thomas, launched a telephone campaign directed toward their Senators, and wrote many

sexual harassment charges and instead focused on Dr. Hill's methods and Judge Thomas's "victimization."

Based on the analysis, this study seems to support the hypothesis that patriarchal ideology most influenced the perspective with which *The Times* presented this conflict to its readers. Through a heavy use of frames, the issue was defined by *The Times* in terms of a male-dominated ideological view.

Sexual harassment is, first and foremost, a conflict between men and women. Based on the feminist definition of patriarchy, sexual harassment involves one gender's power over another. The Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill sexual harassment case as presented by *The Times* culturally defined the issue in terms somewhat removed from gender. Readers of *The Times* therefore understood the issue as something other than a gender conflict.

### Suggestions for Further Research

This study focused largely on one publication's treatment of one case of sexual harassment. It included an analysis of two magazines' coverage of the same case in order to explore other publications known for their alternate views. Additional study of this case should focus on the impact this case has had on women and men regarding the issue of sexual harassment. Of interest is what

effect these charges have had on Judge Thomas's decisions on women's issues as a Supreme Court Justice.

The literature review conducted for this study revealed a shocking lack of academic analysis of the case. The Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill sexual harassment conflict was labeled the event that instigated more open discussion between men and women on the issue of sexual harassment. As such, the event should have been given significant attention, especially by women's advocacy groups.

The absence of the issue from three leading black magazines is startling and is an area of concern. Additional study into the reasoning behind the propensity of black publications' lack of attention to this issue would be an interesting study. Why did the black publications choose to ignore the issue? A more exhaustive study of publications geared toward black readers is in order and is important to black and white people alike.

The validation of this study through replication would also provide an interesting area of study. Would another, similar study, conducted on a similar issue, reach similar conclusions? What would have been the outcome if Thomas

had been white, or if there had been black members of the Senate? How would the issue have been framed had Dr. Hill been white? All are interesting questions that other studies, in analyzing other cases, could answer.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> All information regarding the chronology of the events is taken from *The New York Times* from October 6 to October 28, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> In 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defined sexual harassment as behavior that inhibits a person from satisfactorily performing his or her job or that creates an "intimidating or hostile or offensive environment." (Quoted from *The New York Times*, Tuesday, October 8, 1991, p. A22.) This law is vague because it relies on individual interpretations of what is acceptable and what is not. In Dr. Hill's case, the judiciary committee at first did not believe that the harassment she described was "illegal"; it was not until she gave them more detail that they considered it so.

<sup>3</sup>Gans (1979, pp. 42 and 52) lists the enduring values of news: "ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, social order, and national leadership." He writes that social order and national leadership are news values that are most striking. Social order involves "disorder news" and the actions taken by those in power to re-establish order. National Leadership involves the people who establish and control social order. These two values within news stories imply the "desirability of social order" and the need of leaders to maintain order.

<sup>4</sup>Gans writes that similar values underly social and moral disorder news. Social disorder news reports the support citizens give to those in authority, or powerholders, while moral disorder news addresses the amount of respect given to citizens by their leaders (1979).

<sup>5</sup>A sexual harassment scenario in which a man harasses a woman is used in this report because it is by far the most common scenario. A "man harassing a woman" scenario also most closely resembles the Hill/Thomas conflict.

<sup>6</sup>Hence, framing the Hill/Thomas conflict simply as a drama as a method of discreditation would not have as effectively supported *The Times's* ideological view. In addition to the frames of drama, background information and testimonials supported the definitions *The Times* used to frame the issue.



<sup>7</sup>The Glasgow Media Group found that daily newspapers were more likely to cover disputes (such as the Hill/Thomas conflict) than other media because daily newspapers have a tighter focus on the range of stories they include in their publications. Daily newspapers tend to overemphasize the significance of disputes that are published within their pages. Stories that become news in daily newspapers are those that fit within the time frame of a daily publication.

<sup>8</sup>For ease of reading and because of the nature of this analysis, frames and labels within quotation marks in this chapter are understood to be taken directly from the publication and issue under discussion, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>9</sup>All pictures included in this Addendum are taken from *The New York Times*. Dates for each photograph are given on each page.

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## APPENDIX I

Worksheet Used to Extrapolate Data for Analysis

## GENERAL INFORMATION WORKSHEET

1. Item #:
2. Day:  
Dateline:
3. Headline (incl. font, bold):  
sub:  
Headline on "continued page":  
Writer:  
Font:  
cont'd font:
4. Type and length (Hard news, soft news, feature, editorial, statistics, polls, dateline):
5. Information presented (Updates, opinions, impressions, analyses):
6. Story placement
  - a. On page (incl. page #):
  - b. Within paper (section):
7. Number of stories in this publication:
8. Photographs
  - a. Number of
  - b. Men (names) Women (names) Other (names):
  - c. Description of photographs:
9. Labels
  - a. of Hill:
  - b. of Thomas:
  - c. of conflict:
  - d. of senate:
  - e. of committee:
  - f. of public reaction:
  - g. of hearings:
10. Repetition of statements:
11. Use of figures:
12. Use of public opinion polls:
13. Use of analogies:
14. Use of official statistics:
15. Use of the editorial section (incl. relation to stories within given publication):
16. Language tone (specific words):
17. Sequence of information presented:
18. Use of the consistency rule (one represents all):
19. Use of specific types of frames (paternal (tact), exploitive, accusatory, indirect):
20. Heavy use of pronouns:
21. syntax (arrangement of words):
22. lexicons(particular language to news):
23. discourse structure:
24. Other:
25. Column inches:
26. Who interviewed/quoted/cited:

## APPENDIX II

Complete Testimonies  
Made by Anita F. Hill  
and  
Clarence Thomas  
at the Hearings to Address the  
Sexual Harassment Allegations

### 21-3. Anita Hill testimony

In your textbook you have an exercise to cover the testimony of Clarence Thomas at his Senate confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice. Here is the testimony of Anita Hill, the woman who accused Thomas of sexual harassment. Although this is not a speech in the traditional sense, her statement before the Senate Judiciary Committee is similar to a speech. Her statement contains very graphic sexual detail, the kind that most newspapers usually do not print. However, because it was a key factor in her testimony, the sexual references could be considered crucial to the story. You decide if you think that information is needed.

Background: Anita Hill, a professor of law at the University of Oklahoma, worked for Clarence Thomas when he was an assistant secretary in the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights in 1981 and a year later when he chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. She accused Thomas of sexual harassment in 1991 when she was interviewed by the FBI as part of background checks the agency was conducting into Thomas. Her testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee was given on Oct. 11, 1991, but for purposes of this assignment, assume that you are covering it for tomorrow's newspaper and that it occurred today.

Here is her opening statement to the committee:

Mr. Chairman, Senator Thurmond, members of the committee, my name is Anita F. Hill, and I am a professor of law at the University of Oklahoma. I was born on a farm in Okmulgee County, Oklahoma, in 1956. I am the youngest of 13 children. I had an early education in Okmulgee County. My father, Albert Hill, is a farmer in that area. My mother's name is Irma Hill. She also is a farmer and a housewife.

My childhood was one of a lot of hard work and not much money, but it was one of solid family affection, as represented by my parents. I was reared in a religious atmosphere in the Baptist faith, and I have been a member of Antioch Baptist Church in Tulsa, Oklahoma, since 1983. It is a very warm part of my life at the present time.

For my undergraduate work, I went to Oklahoma State University and graduated from there in 1977. . . .

I graduated from the university with academic honors and proceeded to the Yale Law School, where I received my J.D. degree in 1980. Upon graduation from law school, I became a practicing lawyer with the Washington, D.C. firm of Ward, Hardraker and Ross.

In 1981 I was introduced to now Judge Thomas by a mutual friend. Judge Thomas told me that he was anticipating a political appointment, and he asked if I would be interested in working with him. He was, in fact, appointed as assistant secretary of education for civil rights. After he had taken that post, he asked if I would become his assistant, and I accepted that position.

difficult because at the time I was his only assistant at the Office of Education – or Office for Civil Rights.

During the latter part of my time at the Department of Education, the social pressures and an conversation of his offensive behavior ended. I began both to believe and hope that our working relationship could be a proper, cordial and professional one.

When Judge Thomas was made chair of the EEOC, I needed to face the question of whether to go with him. I was asked to do so, and I did. The work itself was interesting, and at that time it appeared that the sexual overtures which had so troubled me had ended. I also faced the realistic fact that I had no alternative job. While I might have gone back to private practice, perhaps in my old firm or at another, I was dedicated to civil rights work, and my first choice was to be in that field. Moreover, the Department of Education itself was a dubious venture. President Reagan was seeking to abolish the entire department.

For my first months at the EEOC, where I continued to be an assistant to Judge Thomas, there were no sexual conversations or overtures. However, during the fall and winter of 1982, these began again. The comments were random and ranged from pressing me about why I didn't go out with him to remarks about my personal appearance. I remember his saying that some day I would have to tell him the real reason that I wouldn't go out with him.

He began to show displeasure in his tone and voice and his demeanor and his continued pressure for an explanation. He commented on what I was wearing in terms of whether it made me more or less sexually attractive. The incidents occurred in his inner office at the EEOC.

One of the oddest episodes I remember was an occasion in which Thomas was drinking a Coke in his office. He got up from the table at which we were working, went over to his desk to get the Coke, looked at the can, and asked, "Who has put pubic hair on my Coke?" On other occasions, he referred to the size of his own penis as being larger than normal, and he also spoke on some occasions of the pleasures he had given to women with oral sex.

At this point, late 1982, I began to feel severe stress on the job. I began to be concerned that Clarence Thomas might take out his anger with me by degrading me or not giving me important assignments. I also thought that he might find an excuse for dismissing me.

In January of 1983, I began looking for another job. I was handicapped because I feared that, if he found out, he might make it difficult for me to find other employment and I might be dismissed from the job I had. Another factor that made my search more difficult was that there was a period – this was during a period of a hiring freeze in the government. In February of 1983, I was hospitalized for five days on an emergency basis for acute stomach pain, which I attributed to stress on the job.

Once out of the hospital, I became more committed to find other employment and sought further to minimize my contact with Thomas. This became easier when Alison Duncan became office director, because most of my work was then funneled through her and I had contact with Clarence Thomas mostly in staff meetings.

In the spring of 1983, an opportunity to teach at Oral Roberts University opened up. I participated in a seminar – taught an afternoon session . . . . The dean of the university saw me teaching and inquired as to whether I would be interested in furthering – pursuing a career in teaching, beginning at Oral Roberts University. I agreed to take the job in large part because of my desire to escape the pressures I felt at the EEOC due to Judge Thomas.

When I informed him that I was leaving in July, I recall that his response was that now I would no longer have an excuse for not going out with him. I told him that I still preferred not to do so.

At some time after that meeting, he asked if he could take me to dinner at the end of the term. When I declined, he assured me that the dinner was a professional courtesy only and not a social invitation. I reluctantly agreed to accept that invitation, but only if it was at the very end of a working day.

On, as I recall, the last day of my employment at the EEOC in the summer of 1983, I did have dinner with Clarence Thomas. We went directly from work to a restaurant near the office. We talked about the work I had done, both at Education and at the EEOC. He told me that he was pleased with all of it except for an article and speech that I had done for him while we were at the Office for Civil Rights. Finally, he made a comment that I vividly remember.

He said that if I ever told anyone of his behavior that it would ruin his career. This was not an apology, nor was it an explanation. That was the last remark about the possibility of our going out or reference to his behavior. . . .

It is only after a great deal of agonizing consideration that I am able to talk of these unpleasant matters to anyone except my closest friends. As I've said before these last few days have been very trying and very hard for me and it hasn't just been the last few days this week. It has actually been over a month now that I have been under the strain of this issue.

Telling the world is the most difficult experience of my life, but it is very close to having to live through the experience that occasioned this meeting. I may have used poor judgment early on in my relationship with this issue. I was aware, however, that telling at any point in my career would adversely affect my future career. And I did not want early on to burn all the bridges to the EEOC.

As I said, I may have used poor judgment. Perhaps I should have taken angry or even militant steps, both when I was in the agency or after I left it. But I must confess to the world that the course that I took seemed the better as well as the easier approach.

I declined any comment to newspapers, but later when Senate staff asked me about these matters I felt I had a duty to report. I have no personal vendetta against Clarence Thomas. I seek only to provide the committee with information which it may regard as relevant.

It would have been more comfortable to remain silent. I took no initiative to inform anyone. But when I was asked by a representative of this committee to report my experience, I felt that I had to tell the truth. I could not keep silent.

Mr. Chairman, Sen. Thurmond, members of the committee. As excruciatingly difficult as the last two weeks have been, I welcome the opportunity to clear my name today.

The first I learned of the allegations by Professor Anita Hill was on Sept. 25, 1991, when the FBI came to my home to investigate her allegations. When informed by the FBI agent of the nature of the allegations and the person making them, I was shocked, surprised, hurt and enormously saddened. I have not been the same since that day.

For almost a decade, my responsibilities included enforcing the rights of victims of sexual harassment. As a boss, as a friend and as a human being, I was proud that I had never had such an allegation leveled against me, even as I sought to promote women and minorities into non-traditional jobs.

In addition, several of my friends who are women have confided in me about the horror of harassment on the job or elsewhere. I thought I really understood the anguish, the fears, the doubts, the seriousness of the matter. But since Sept. 25th, I have suffered immensely as these very serious charges were leveled against me. I have been racking my brains and eating my insides out trying to think of what I could have said or done to Anita Hill to lead her to allege that I was interested in her in more than a professional way and that I talked with her about pornographic or X-rated films.

Contrary to some press reports, I categorically denied all

of the allegations and denied that I ever attempted to date Anita Hill when first interviewed by the FBI. I strongly reaffirm that denial.

Throughout the time that Anita Hill worked with me I treated her as I treated my other special assistants. I tried to treat them all cordially, professionally and respectfully, and I tried to support them in their endeavors and be interested in and supportive of their success. I had no reason or basis to believe my relationship with Anita Hill was anything but this way until the FBI visited me a little more than two weeks ago.

I find it particularly troubling that she never raised any hint that she was uncomfortable with me. She did not raise or mention it when considering moving with me to EEOC from the Department of Education, and she'd never raised it with me when she left EEOC and was moving on in her life. And to my fullest knowledge, she did not speak to any other women working with or around me who would feel comfortable enough to raise it with me.

During my tenure in the executive branch as a manager, as a policy maker and as a person, I have adamantly condemned sex harassment. I cannot imagine anything that I said or did to Anita Hill that could have been mistaken for sexual harassment.

But with that said, if there is anything that I have said that has been misconstrued by Anita Hill or anyone else to be sexual harassment, then I can say that I am so very sorry and I wish I had

known. If I did know, I would have stopped immediately, and I would not, as I've done over the past two weeks, have to tear away at myself, trying to think of what I could possibly have done.

As if the confidential allegations themselves were not enough, this apparently calculated public disclosure has caused me, my family and my friends enormous pain and great harm. I have never in my life felt such hurt, such pain, such agony. My family and I have been done a grave and irreparable injustice.

When I stood next to the president in Kennebunkport being nominated to the Supreme Court of the United States, that was a high honor; but as I sit here before you 103 days later, that honor has been crushed.

I have **complied with the rules**. I responded to a document request that produced over 30,000 pages of documents, and I have testified for five full days under oath. I have endured this ordeal for 103 days. Reporters sneaking into my garage to examine books I read. Reporters and interest groups swarming over divorce papers looking for dirt. Unnamed people starting preposterous and damaging rumors. Calls all over the country specifically requesting dirt.

This is not American; this is Kafkaesque. It has got to stop. It must stop for the benefit of future nominees and our country. Enough is enough.

I'm not going to allow myself to be further humiliated in order to be confirmed. I will not allow this committee or anyone else to probe into my private life. This is

Rich, C. (1994). Writing and Reporting News. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

not what America is all about. To ask me to do that would be to ask me to go beyond fundamental fairness.

I am proud of my life, proud of what I have done and what I have accomplished, proud of my family, and this process, this process is trying to destroy it all. No job is worth what I have been through, no job. No horror in my life has been so debilitating. Confirm me if you want. Don't confirm me if you are so led, but let this process end.

I never asked to be nominated. It was an honor. Little did I know the price, but it is too high.

I enjoy and appreciate my current position, and I am comfortable with the prospect of

returning to my work as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

Instead of understanding and appreciating the great honor bestowed upon me, I find myself here today defending my name, my integrity, because somehow select portions of confidential documents dealing with this matter were leaked to the public.

I am a victim of this process. My name has been harmed. There is nothing this committee, this body or this country can do to give me my good name back. Nothing.

I will not provide the rope for my own lynching or for further humiliation. I am not going to engage in discussions, nor will I submit to roving questions of

what goes on in the most intimate parts of my private life or the sanctity of my bedroom.

This is not an opportunity to talk about difficult matters privately or in a closed environment. This is a circus. It's a national disgrace. And from my standpoint as a black American, as far as I'm concerned, it is a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves, to have different ideas, and it is a message that unless you kowtow to an old order, this is what will happen to you. You will be lynched, destroyed, caricatured by a committee of the U.S. Senate rather than hung from a tree.

**2 Press conference:** Write a story based on excerpts from the following press conference as though you were covering it; use today or yesterday for your time frame. When you write the story, include material from both the prepared remarks and the questions and answers. You may use any material from the facts boxes or the background. You also should consider the graphics and facts boxes you would include.

**Background:**

Earvin "Magic" Johnson Jr., a basketball superstar who played for the Los Angeles Lakers, stunned the nation in 1991 when he announced that he was retiring from the game because he had contracted the AIDS virus, meaning he had tested positive for AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). The 32-year-old player ended his 12-year career with the National Basketball Association in a press conference at the Forum in Inglewood, Calif., the Lakers' home court (see Exhibit 21-1). Johnson, who is 6 feet 9 inches tall, was drafted by the National Basketball Association in 1979 after playing basketball for two years at Michigan State University in his original home town of East Lansing, Mich.

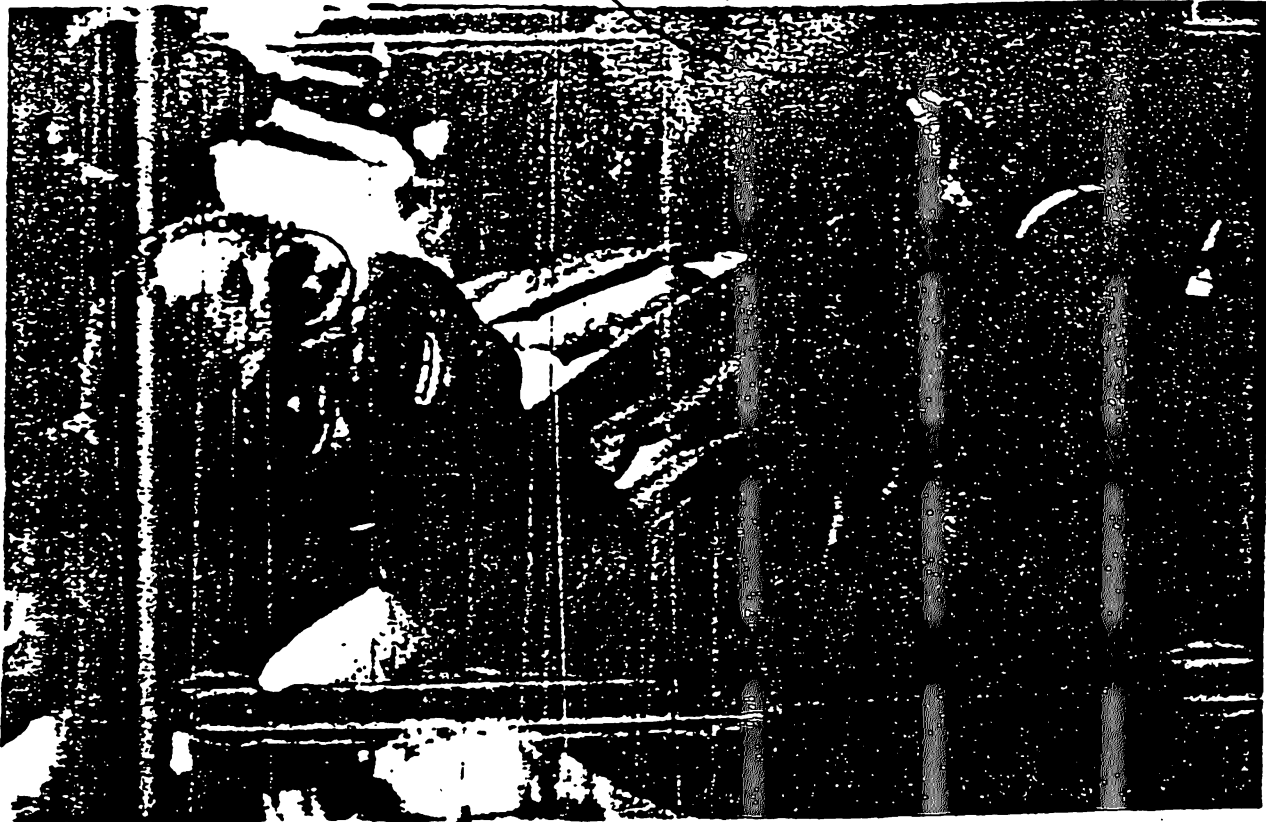
He announced his retirement in November 1991. He had been married a few months earlier, on Sept. 14, to Earletha "Cookie" Kelly, who was seven weeks pregnant at the time of his press conference. He said his wife did not have the AIDS virus.



### APPENDIX III<sup>9</sup>

Photographs Discussed in the Analysis  
of the  
Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas  
Sexual Harassment Hearings  
(In order by discussion)

OCTOBER 7, 1991



Accusations by a University of Oklahoma Law Center professor that she was sexually harassed by Judge Clarence Thomas were made public two days before the Senate is to vote on his nomination to the Supreme Court. Judge Thomas during the confirmation hearings.   
 Paul Hest/rea/The New York Times



Associated Press  
Anita Hill, law professor, has accused Judge Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Scott Anderson for The New York Times

Anita F. Hill at a news conference yesterday in Norman, Okla.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Senator John C. Danforth, Judge Thomas's chief patron, at a news conference at which he defended Mr. Thomas's reputation.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Grant Anderson for The New York Times

Anita F. Hill at a news conference yesterday at the University of Oklahoma College of Law, where she is a tenured professor. At rear was David Swank, dean of the law school.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Lisa Berg for The New York Times

Judge Clarence Thomas arrives at his home in Virginia on the eve of the confirmation vote by the Senate.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Joseph R. Biden Jr., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, received information regarding allegations of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas on Sept. 12; it did not reach the White House until Sept. 23.

OCTOBER 8, 1991



Photographs by Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, left, and Senator Orrin G. Hatch at a Senate Judiciary meeting last month. Senator Hatch suggested yesterday that Senator Metzenbaum had disclosed the accusation of sexual harassment by Anita F. Hill to a reporter.



OCTOBER 9, 1991



Scott Anderson for The New York Times

**"I will fully cooperate with the efforts of the Senate," said Prof. Anita F. Hill, who has accused Judge Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment. "I intend to cooperate and to go to Washington if it is requested." She spoke yesterday at a news conference in Norman, Okla.**

October 9, 1991



Paul Heston/The New York Times

**Barbara Boxer leading Congresswomen to the Senate side of the Capitol yesterday to seek a delay in vote on the Thomas nomination.**

OCTOBER 9, 1991



CHN via Associated Press

**George J. Mitchell, Senate majority leader, during debate on postponing the vote on the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas.**

OCTOBER 9, 1991



Senator Edward M. Kennedy, left, conferring yesterday with opponents of Judge Clarence Thomas. Paul Hinkley/The New York Times

OCTOBER 9, 1991



Paul Hsu  
Lobbyists opposed to the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas waiting in a Senate reception room for news. The vote was

OCTOBER 9, 1991



Joe W. Leger/The New York Times

Senator John C. Danforth, at a news conference yesterday, held the telephone logs kept by Judge Clarence Thomas that showed that Prof. Anita F. Hill had telephoned the judge 11 times from 1984 to 1990.

OCTOBER 10, 1991



President Bush meeting with Judge Clarence Thomas yesterday in the White House.

OCTOBER 10, 1991



**Prof. Anita F. Hill, who has accused Judge Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, arriving last night in Washington. She is expected to testify tomorrow when the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings resume.**



OCTOBER 10, 1991



George J. Mitchell, the Senate majority leader, persuaded several Democrats to change their votes if Republicans would not agree to a postponement.



Joe B. Legros/The New York Times

Confronted with a list of 10 Democrats whose vote switches would most certainly doom the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas, Byron Dole, left, the Senate minority leader, and Senator John C. Danforth agreed to a postponement of a confirmation vote.

OCTOBER 10, 1991



Judge Clarence Thomas leaving his home in Alexandria, Va., to meet with President Bush. With him were his wife, Virginia, and Senator John C. Danforth, his staunchest supporter.

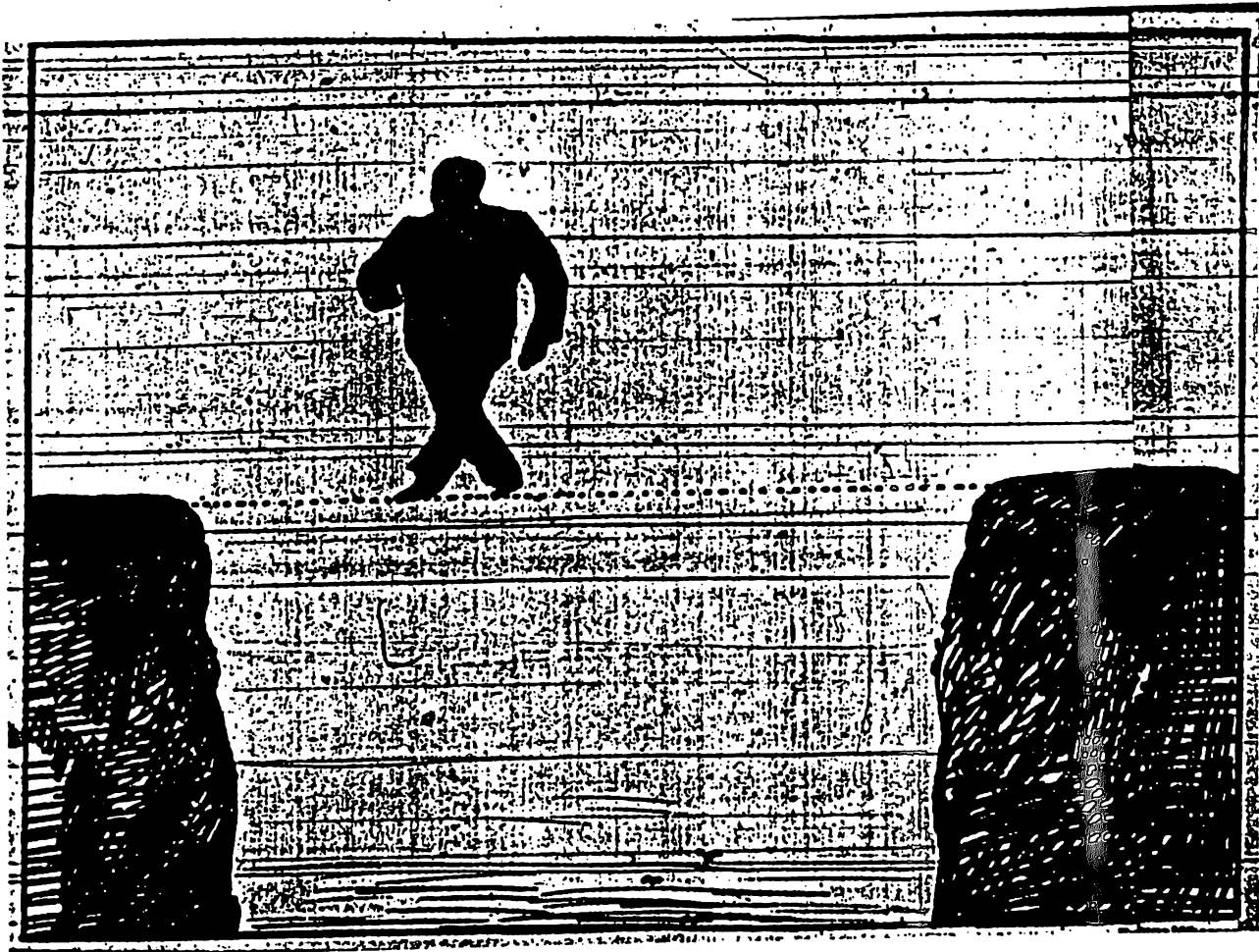
OCTOBER 11, 1991



Picture collected for The New York Times

On the eve of further confirmation hearings, Clarence Thomas walked outside his home in Alexandria, Va.

OCTOBER 15, 1991



OCTOBER 11, 1991



Albert and Irma Hill at their home in Morris, Okla., with a 1973 high school graduation picture of their daughter Anita.

OCTOBER 12, 1991



OCTOBER 12, 1991



Professor Anita F. Hill and Judge Clarence Thomas as they were sworn in yesterday before testifying.

Photographs by Jane A. Lopez/The New York Times

OCTOBER 12, 1991



Judge Clarence Thomas as he related his account of his social and professional relationships with Anita F. Hill. Joe R. Caputo/The New York Times



OCTOBER 12, 1991



John H. Johnson/The New York Times

**Professor Anita F. Hill described Judge Thomas as a boss who repeatedly asked her for dates and engaged in sexual conversation.**



Witnesses testifying in defense of **Timothy J. McVey** were, from left, Susan Hoerchner, Ellen M. Wells, John William Carr and Joel Paul.

Paul Hase/Run/The New York Times

OCTOBER 14, 1991

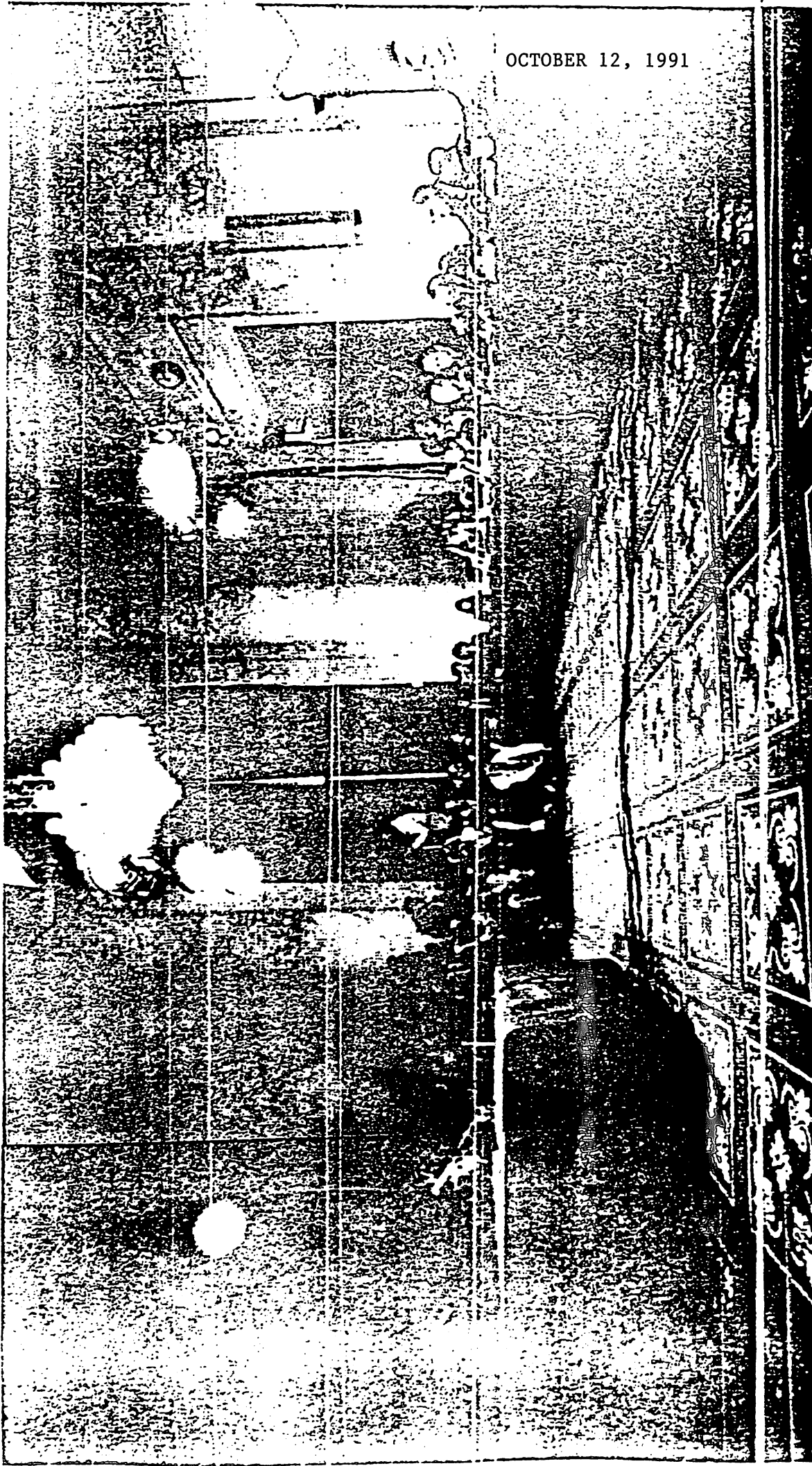


Paul Heston/The New York Times

Witnesses who gave testimony on behalf of Judge Thomas were, from left: J. C. Alvarez, Nancy Elizabeth Fitch, Diane Holt and Phyllis Berry.

OCTOBER 14, 1991

OCTOBER 12, 1991



Seated across from the Senate Judiciary Committee, Judge Clarence Thomas began his testimony in which he disputed the sexual harassment charges leveled by Anita F. Hill.  
Joe R. Lopez/The New York Times

OCTOBER 12, 1991



Agence France Presse

**Virginia Lamp Thomas at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings yesterday during the testimony by her husband, Judge Clarence Thomas.**

OCTOBER 13, 1991



Photographs by Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Senator Orrin G. Hatch as he suggested that ~~the woman~~ concocted her story with details borrowed from a sexual-harassment case in Federal Court and from "The Exorcist," the novel about satanic possession.

OCTOBER 13, 1991



John Solomon/The New York Times  
Demonstrators, mostly women, gathered at Union Square in Manhattan yesterday to argue and discuss issues concerning sexual harassment, the treatment of women in the workplace and the struggle between Judge Clarence Thomas and the Supreme Court.

OCTOBER 15, 1991



Associated Press

Judge Anita F. Hill, Judge Clarence Thomas, waving to supporters at University of Oklahoma after return from Washington.



OCTOBER 15, 1991



Judge Clarence Thomas and Anita F. Hill testifying last week before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Photographs by Reuters

OCTOBER 16, 1991



Reuters

**Prof. Anita E. Hill** arriving for classes yesterday on the campus of the University of Oklahoma in Norman.

9.5

OCTOBER 16, 1991



Senators Nancy L. Kassebaum, left, who voted yes, and Barbara A. Mikulski, who voted no.

OCTOBER 21, 1991



George James for The New York Times

"You tried to help everybody," said Phyllis Greenberg, center, to Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., campaigning in Wilmington, Del. Ms. Greenberg, with her friend Betty Sloan, was referring to the Senator's part in the Thomas confirmation hearings.

OCTOBER 18, 1991



Carol Alexander, director of a shelter for battered women, said, "If we minimize the issue of sexual harassment and say it's not a problem, we're sending a very very bad message to the community."

OCTOBER 17, 1991



Scott Anderson for The New York Times

### Her Mood Now

~~She~~ **She** said her testimony had heightened awareness of sexual harassment. Page A22.

OCTOBER 17, 1991



Associated Press

George Clarence Brown, newly confirmed, had a smile yesterday for photographers who waited outside his home in Alexandria, Va.

OCTOBER 19, 1991



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

### **After the Oath, a Hug**

Barbara Bush, hugging Judge Clarence Thomas after he was sworn in yesterday in a ceremony at the White House. Page 8.



OCTOBER 19, 1991



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

**\_\_\_\_\_** cognizing a supporter yesterday as he emerged from the White House, accompanied by his wife, Virginia Lamp Thomas, and Justice Byron R. White, for a swearing-in ceremony.

## VITA

Donna Arnold Oates was born in Brookings, South Dakota, on May 28, 1966, to Dr. James Darrell Arnold and Judy Jones Arnold. She attended H. M. King High School in Kingsville, Texas, and began her college career at Texas A&I University, also in Kingsville, Texas. She completed her Bachelor of Arts Degree at Incarnate Word College in 1988, graduating Magna Cum Laude. Ms. Oates began her graduate studies in 1990. She is employed as a writer.

Permanent Address: 151 Oak Grove Drive  
Boerne, Texas 78006