

Narrative Power: How the Civil Rights Movement Overthrew Jim Crow

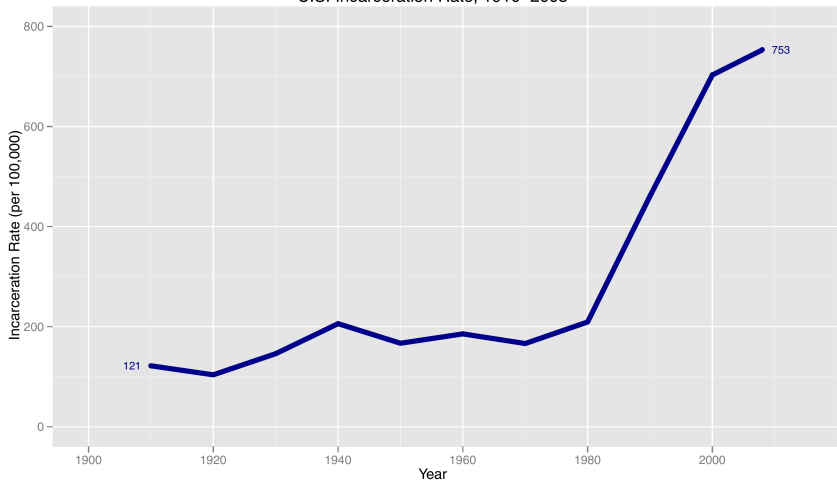
Omar Wasow
Asst Prof, Political Science
UC Berkeley

Projecting Power
April 8, 2025

Overview

- ▶ **Introduction**
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

U.S. Incarceration Rate, 1910–2008





The Department of Statistics Congratulates the Class of 2012

Ph.D.

o Du
Yeon Kwon
nwyn Loong
rtin Lysy
giy Nesterko
ssandra Pattanayak
Zhu

A.M.

ossein Azari Soufiani
rnab Bhattacharya
eqi Chen
igel Delaney

A.M. (cont.)

Ana Catarina Melica
Sunghwan Moon
Kyung Baek Nam
Hyunyong Noh
Iain Osgood
Jie Quan
Maya Sen
Yu Shi
Sobambo Sosina
Hyung Suk Tak
Audrey Lynn Thompson
Tong Tong
Lazhi Wang
Omar Thomas Wasow
Fan Iris Wu

A.B./A.M.

Yang Ge
Catherine Winnie Yang
Zhuo Ming Yang

A.B.

Ashlee Ne'Cole Adams
Michael Yangyang Chen
Obinna Ekekezie
Kristen Brooke Hunter
Liyun Jin
William Karlson
Meng Li
Andrew Lin
Anthony Mabonga

Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ **Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists**
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion



How do the few persuade the many?

- ▶ “Neither [the civil rights] movement nor the country’s twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States.”
— Bayard ?



How do the few persuade the many?

- ▶ “Neither [the civil rights] movement nor the country’s twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States.”
— Bayard ?
- ▶ “My theory is, strong people don’t need strong leaders.”
— Ella Baker (?)



How do the few persuade the many?

- ▶ “Neither [the civil rights] movement nor the country’s twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States.”
— Bayard ?
- ▶ “My theory is, strong people don’t need strong leaders.”
— Ella Baker (?)
- ▶ “The only time I hear people talk about nonviolence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people...[Black people] have already been nonviolent too many years.”
— Stokely ?



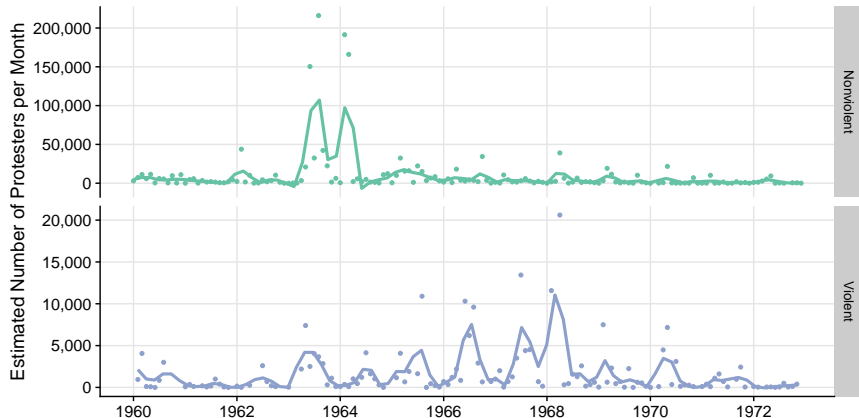
How do the few persuade the many?

- ▶ “Neither [the civil rights] movement nor the country’s twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States.”
— Bayard ?
- ▶ “My theory is, strong people don’t need strong leaders.”
— Ella Baker (?)
- ▶ “The only time I hear people talk about nonviolence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people...[Black people] have already been nonviolent too many years.”
— Stokely ?
- ▶ “Because of the way this society is organized, because of the violence that exists on the surface everywhere, you have to expect that there are going to be such explosions.”
— Angela Davis (1971)

Data from 1960s allow us to test these competing approaches

- ▶ About 2,854 nonviolent black-led protest events (Dynamics of Collective Action data)
- ▶ About 819 violent black-led protest events (DCA data)
- ▶ About 753 violent black-led protest events (Carter data)

Significant variation in 1960s protest activity



Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ **Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists**
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

How do marginal groups advance interests?

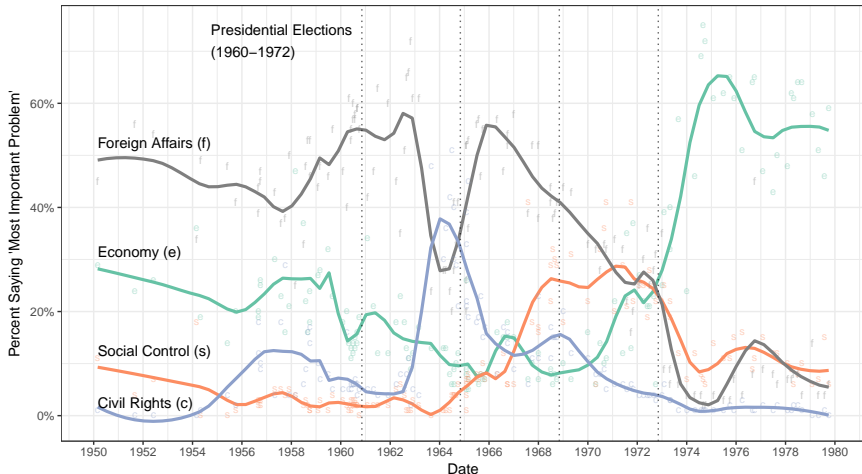
► Elite model

- Elites dominate (e.g., ???)
- “An emerging consensus...that public opinion is shaped primarily, if not exclusively, by political elites” (?, 45)
- “Mass-based interest groups and average citizens have little or no independent influence,” ?, 565.

► Pluralistic model

- Mass interest groups can shape attitudes and policy (e.g., ??)
- “Oppositional counterpublics are critical sites for emergence of non-elite influence on mass opinion,” ?, 19; (?).
- Protests send an informative cue to elites (??)

Both sets of models fail to explain significant variation in “Most Important Problem”



Data sources: ??

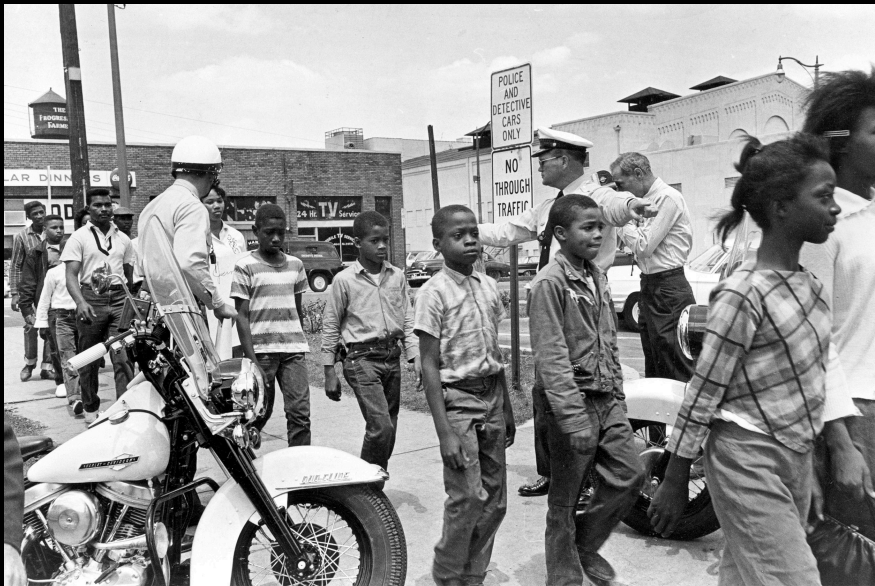
Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ **Theory: Narrative Power**
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

My model: Narrative power

► Theory

- Media set agendas and favor elite narratives but also seek profits and dramatic stories (???)
- Methods like “staging protests” to “dramatize injustice” allow subordinate groups to seed news agendas (???)
- Strategies like nonviolent or violent disruption create tiny “morality plays” that help frame media coverage (??)
- Nonviolent or violent tactics will, on average, produce differential effects (????)
- Depending on strategy, *agenda seeding* moves median dominant group elites and masses towards status quo or egalitarian coalition







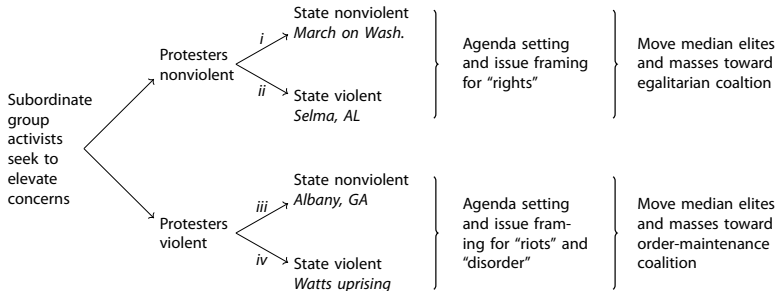
My model: Narrative power

1. Subordinate group:
agenda seeding

2. State:
counter-action

3. Media:
agenda setting,
issue framing

4. Elites & masses:
elite discourse,
public opinion, voting



Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ **Cases: March on Washington**
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

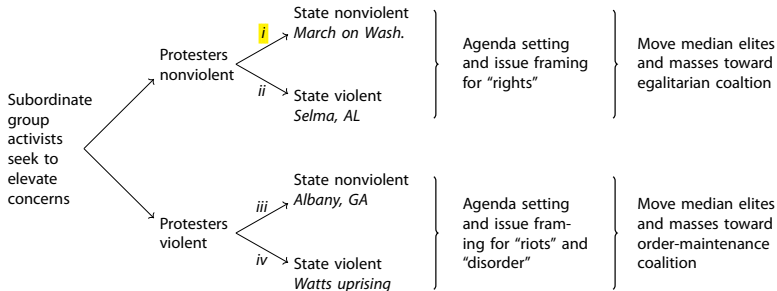
Agenda seeding: Protesters & state nonviolent

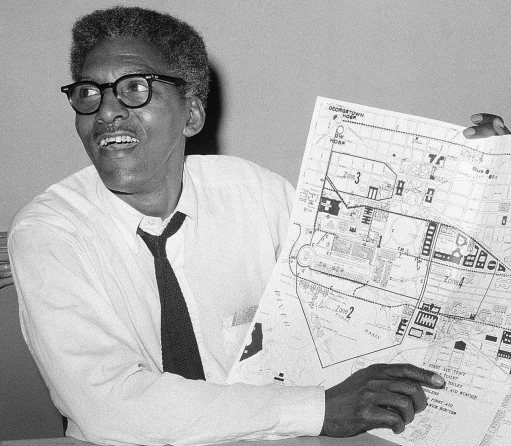
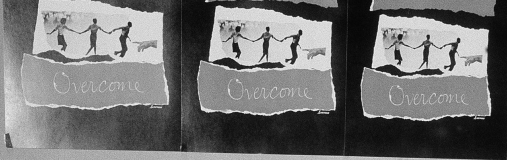
1. Subordinate group:
agenda seeding

2. State:
counter-action

3. Media:
agenda setting,
issue framing

4. Elites & masses:
elite discourse,
public opinion, voting









President Signs Rights Bill Into Law, Makes TV Appeal for End to Hatred

Pay Bill Is Adopted By Senate, Includes Raise for Congress

By Mike Causey
Staff Reporter

After nearly six hours of oratory and amendments, the Senate yesterday approved the \$540-million Federal pay raise bill by a 58-to-21 vote.

The bill would boost the pay of 1.7 million Federal executives and classified and postal employees from 3 to 22 per cent, effective July 1. Members of Congress would get a \$7500 increase next Jan. 1.

About 260,000 Federal and District government employees in the Washington area are affected by the bill. Classified and related employees would get an average 4.3 increase and postal workers an average 3.6 per cent increase.

Legislative employees would get an average raise of 9 per cent. Five executive salary levels would be established and executives assigned to each of them. Cabinet members would be raised \$10,000 to \$55,000.

Ike-Scranton Story Traced To Phone Call

By Morton Mintz
Staff Reporter

Plot of Amendments

Despite the lipoidal tally, there were many bruised feelings after the final vote had been taken. Sen. Frank Lausche (D-Ohio), who offered

A mysterious phone call in the night became a key element yesterday in the surprising report that former Presi-



Long Battle in Congress Ends With House Voting 289 to 126 for Passage

Lawmakers Set Several 'Firsts' During Debate

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

The House gave final congressional approval to the landmark civil rights bill yesterday after a one-hour debate in which leaders urged national acceptance and restraint.

The vote of 289 to 126 by which the House accepted the Senate bill and brought the year-long struggle to a close had been foreordained. But the event was historic.

It marked the first time since Reconstruction days that Congress had enacted a truly comprehensive civil rights bill. Bills passed in 1875 and

Collins to Direct New Community Relations Service

By Laurence Stern
Staff Reporter

As a solemn assemblage of congressional, religious and civil rights leaders looked on, President Johnson signed into law last night the Nation's strongest civil rights act.

"Let us close the springs of racial poison," entreated the President as he put his pen to the bill. "Let us lay aside irrelevant differences and make one Nation whole."

The climax to the year-long struggle for the civil rights law came in the ornate East Room of the White House some five hours after it had cleared its tortuous path through Congress.

President Johnson stressed that the new law "does not restrict the freedom of any American, so long as he respects the rights of others."

Roll-call vote in House on rights bill.

Page A10
Goldwater concerned that the civil rights situa-

Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ **Cases: Watts Uprising**
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

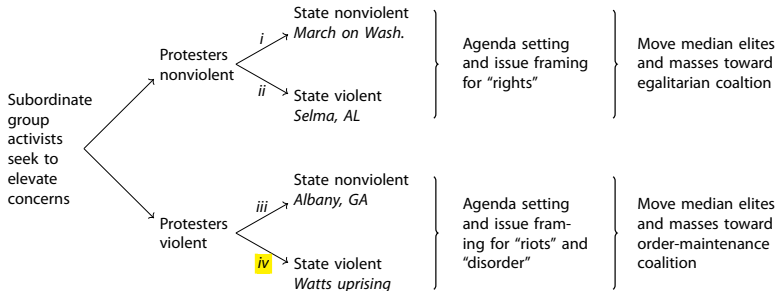
Agenda seeding: Protesters & state violent

1. Subordinate group:
agenda seeding

2. State:
counter-action

3. Media:
agenda setting,
issue framing

4. Elites & masses:
elite discourse,
public opinion, voting





ACLA M55-1429-b540-237050-05

KODAK SAFETY FILM



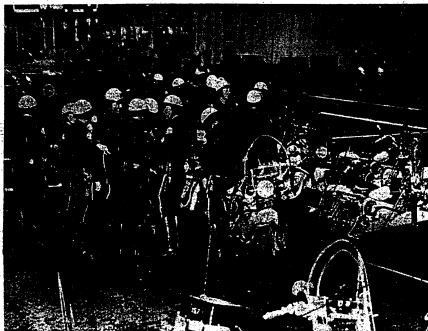
1,000 RIOT IN L.A.

Police and Motorists Attacked



CASUALTY—Los Angeles police officer C. K. Williams shows his injured elbow to fellow officer. Williams suffered injury in violent rioting in Watts.

Times photo



STRATEGY—Police officers seal off eight-block area around 116th St. and Avalon Blvd. to halt rioting.

Times photo

Routine Arrest of 3 Sparks Watts Melee; 8 Blocks Sealed Off

An estimated 1,000 persons rioted in the Watts district Wednesday night and attacked police and motorists with rocks, bricks and bottles before some 100 officers attempted to quell the five-hour melee by sealing off an eight-block area.

But the sporadic rioting continued early today as crowds of rock-throwing demonstrators broke through police lines while turning the area around 116th St. and Avalon Blvd. into a scene of near chaos.

An undetermined number of persons was injured, including at least 12 police officers and two newsmen. One officer was knocked from his motorcycle when hit by a brick and another was stabbed. A reporter was beaten in the back by a rioter.

30 Cars Damaged

At least 10 persons were arrested in the rioting and at least 50 autos were reported damaged. A bus had nearly all of its windows knocked out.

A fire truck that answered a call of a burning auto, a television news unit, was damaged by rocks and reportedly was unable to fulfill its mission.

Shells and screams, the most riotous time of the evening.

Avalon Blvd., which is lined mostly with apartments and homes in the area, was littered with debris. A few buildings were damaged.

"It was just a night to throw rocks at policemen," said Dep. Chief Roger Murock, who was in charge of the riot squads.

The incident began with a minor disturbance about 9:15 p.m. when California Highway Patrol officers Lee Minikus and Bob Lewis stopped an auto near 116th St. and Avalon Blvd.

The officers said they attempted to arrest driver Marquette Frye, 21, of 11620 S. Towner St., on suspicion of drunk driving along with his brother, Ronald, 22.

Mother Intervenes

But their mother, Rena, 43, who lives near by, approached the scene and began scolding her sons, the officers said.

The two suspects began testine arrest and their





Newsweek

AUGUST 30, 1965 35c

THE RIOTS IN COLOR

BECKY HIEBOLD
GILLOUGH HL
CREIGHTON UNIV
01294
MEX 0000 ZZZ AB 09450 E



Los Angeles: Why?

REAGAN TRIUMPHS

GOP Scores Heavily in Nation



Finch Beats Anderson; Other Democrats in Tough Battles

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

California voters said Tuesday it is time for a change in Sacramento and gave Republican Ronald Reagan a smashing triumph in the race for governor.

The 55-year-old Reagan, making his first try for public office, turned back the third-term bid of Democratic Gov. Brown, a veteran of 23 years of public office.

With 22,791 of the state's 28,573 precincts reporting, the count stood:

Reagan 2,641,912

Brown 1,528,278

Reagan, whose victory vaults him into national political prominence, also spread his cocktails for other GOP nominees, and there was evidence that they were broad enough to upset a number of veteran Democratic office-holders.

Robert H. Finch, Los Angeles lawyer and GOP nominee for lieutenant governor, pulled ahead of Democratic incumbent Glenn M. Anderson and the Democrat conceded defeat at 10:45 p.m.

With 8,875 of the state's 28,573 precincts reporting, the count stood:

Finch 933,898

Anderson 730,632

Other Democrats who had been swept into statewide office eight years ago when Brown scored a million-vote triumph also were having tough fights.

And in any number of races for congressional and state legislative offices, Republicans were running stronger than had been expected.

STATEWIDE RETURNS

By Associated Press

Governor

22,791 Precincts out of 28,573
Reagan (R) 2,641,912
Brown (D, Inc.) 1,528,278

Lieutenant Governor

8,875 Precincts out of 28,573
Finch (R) 933,898
Anderson (D, Inc.) 730,632

Secretary of State

8,875 Precincts out of 28,573
Jordan (R, Inc.) 893,144
Schlei (D) 708,494

Controller

8,584 Precincts out of 28,573
Cranston (D, Inc.) 863,018
Flournoy (R) 696,417

Treasurer

8,584 Precincts out of 28,573
Betts (D, Inc.) 798,700
Priest (R) 742,983

Attorney General

8,184 Precincts out of 28,573

Role of White Backlash

Computer analysts reported that the white backlash voters—those motivated by Negro demonstrations and demands—played an important part in the Brown defeat.

Early computations showed that white voters were giving Brown only 36% of their ballots, compared to the 48% he got in 1962 when he defeated former Vice President Richard M. Nixon in the race for governor.

Similarly, Brown appeared to have lost 3% of the labor vote he got four years ago, but got 3% more of the Negro vote. A vote analysis showed that Brown was getting 96% of the Negro vote.

Low income voters were going for Brown—75%—but that was 3% less than he got in 1962.

Brown's campaign manager, Don Bradley, told newsmen the white backlash vote unquestionably had a lot to do with Brown's defeat.

Role of White Backlash

Computer analysts reported that the white backlash voters—those motivated by Negro demonstrations and demands—played an important part in the Brown defeat.

Early computations showed that white voters were giving Brown only 36% of their ballots, compared to the 48% he got in 1962 when he defeated former Vice President Richard M. Nixon in the race for governor.

Similarly, Brown appeared to have lost 3% of the labor vote he got four years ago, but got 3% more of the Negro vote. A vote analysis showed that Brown was getting 96% of the Negro vote.

Low income voters were going for Brown—75%—but that was 3% less than he got in 1962.

Brown's campaign manager, Don Bradley, told newsmen the white backlash vote unquestionably had a lot to do with Brown's defeat.

Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ **Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?**
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

Overview of Research Designs

Questions

Methods

Explanatory
variables & data

Outcome variables
of interest

Outcomes:

Q1. Do protests sway voters?

(a) Protest → voting

Regression
(panel , OLS, IV)

Nonviolent (DCA) &
Violent protest
(DCA & Carter)

Change in county-level
Democratic vote share

Voting Analysis

- ▶ Units
 - ▶ 3093 U.S. counties (Hawaii & Alaska dropped)
- ▶ Response variable
 - ▶ County-level Democratic Presidential vote share
- ▶ Explanatory variables
 - ▶ Protest 'Treatment'
- ▶ Controls
 - ▶ Lagged Democratic vote share
 - ▶ 1962, 1972 and 1983 censuses of counties

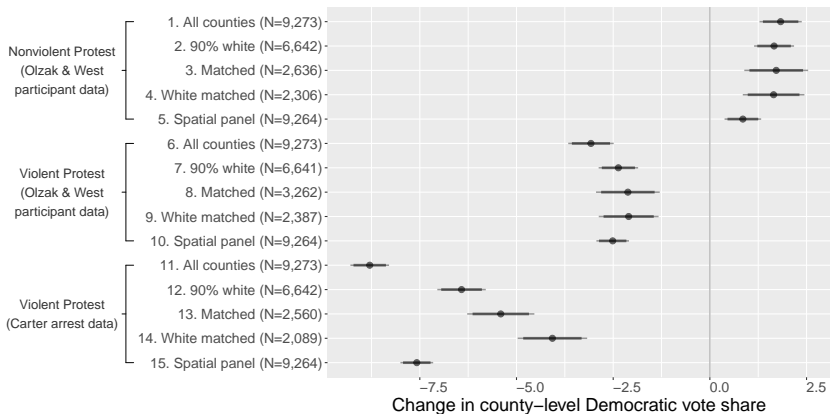
County Data

- ▶ Control variables from censuses include
 - ▶ median age
 - ▶ median income
 - ▶ per capita local government expenditures
 - ▶ percent black & (percent black)²
 - ▶ percent of housing owner occupied
 - ▶ percent of population foreign born
 - ▶ percent population growth
 - ▶ percent unemployed
 - ▶ percent urban
 - ▶ percent with high school or more education
 - ▶ total population

Protest 'Treatment'

- ▶ Components of Protest 'Treatment'
 - ▶ Intensity:
 - ▶ Protest participants ≥ 10 (DCA data) or
 - ▶ Protest arrests ≥ 10 (Carter data)
 - ▶ Distance:
 - ▶ County & protest ≤ 100 miles
 - ▶ Time:
 - ▶ Protest & election ≤ 730 days

Panel models of effect of protest on presidential Democratic vote share, 1964-1972



Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ **Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?**
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

Overview of Research Designs

Questions	Methods	Explanatory variables & data	Outcome variables of interest
Outcomes:			
Q1. Do protests sway voters?			
(a) Protest → voting	Regression (panel, OLS, IV)	Nonviolent (DCA) & Violent protest (DCA & Carter)	Change in county-level Democratic vote share

Warmer		Thermometer	
11:00 A.M.	42°	11:00 A.M.	42°
12:00 P.M.	44°	12:00 P.M.	44°
1:00 P.M.	46°	1:00 P.M.	46°
2:00 P.M.	48°	2:00 P.M.	48°
3:00 P.M.	50°	3:00 P.M.	50°
4:00 P.M.	52°	4:00 P.M.	52°
5:00 P.M.	54°	5:00 P.M.	54°
6:00 P.M.	56°	6:00 P.M.	56°
7:00 P.M.	58°	7:00 P.M.	58°
8:00 P.M.	60°	8:00 P.M.	60°
9:00 P.M.	62°	9:00 P.M.	62°
10:00 P.M.	64°	10:00 P.M.	64°
11:00 P.M.	66°	11:00 P.M.	66°
12:00 A.M.	68°	12:00 A.M.	68°
1:00 A.M.	70°	1:00 A.M.	70°
2:00 A.M.	72°	2:00 A.M.	72°
3:00 A.M.	74°	3:00 A.M.	74°
4:00 A.M.	76°	4:00 A.M.	76°
5:00 A.M.	78°	5:00 A.M.	78°
6:00 A.M.	80°	6:00 A.M.	80°
7:00 A.M.	82°	7:00 A.M.	82°
8:00 A.M.	84°	8:00 A.M.	84°
9:00 A.M.	86°	9:00 A.M.	86°
10:00 A.M.	88°	10:00 A.M.	88°
11:00 A.M.	90°	11:00 A.M.	90°
12:00 P.M.	92°	12:00 P.M.	92°
1:00 P.M.	94°	1:00 P.M.	94°
2:00 P.M.	96°	2:00 P.M.	96°
3:00 P.M.	98°	3:00 P.M.	98°
4:00 P.M.	100°	4:00 P.M.	100°
5:00 P.M.	102°	5:00 P.M.	102°
6:00 P.M.	104°	6:00 P.M.	104°
7:00 P.M.	106°	7:00 P.M.	106°
8:00 P.M.	108°	8:00 P.M.	108°
9:00 P.M.	110°	9:00 P.M.	110°
10:00 P.M.	112°	10:00 P.M.	112°
11:00 P.M.	114°	11:00 P.M.	114°
12:00 A.M.	116°	12:00 A.M.	116°
1:00 A.M.	118°	1:00 A.M.	118°
2:00 A.M.	120°	2:00 A.M.	120°
3:00 A.M.	122°	3:00 A.M.	122°
4:00 A.M.	124°	4:00 A.M.	124°
5:00 A.M.	126°	5:00 A.M.	126°
6:00 A.M.	128°	6:00 A.M.	128°
7:00 A.M.	130°	7:00 A.M.	130°
8:00 A.M.	132°	8:00 A.M.	132°
9:00 A.M.	134°	9:00 A.M.	134°
10:00 A.M.	136°	10:00 A.M.	136°
11:00 A.M.	138°	11:00 A.M.	138°
12:00 P.M.	140°	12:00 P.M.	140°
1:00 P.M.	142°	1:00 P.M.	142°
2:00 P.M.	144°	2:00 P.M.	144°
3:00 P.M.	146°	3:00 P.M.	146°
4:00 P.M.	148°	4:00 P.M.	148°
5:00 P.M.	150°	5:00 P.M.	150°
6:00 P.M.	152°	6:00 P.M.	152°
7:00 P.M.	154°	7:00 P.M.	154°
8:00 P.M.	156°	8:00 P.M.	156°
9:00 P.M.	158°	9:00 P.M.	158°
10:00 P.M.	160°	10:00 P.M.	160°
11:00 P.M.	162°	11:00 P.M.	162°
12:00 A.M.	164°	12:00 A.M.	164°
1:00 A.M.	166°	1:00 A.M.	166°
2:00 A.M.	168°	2:00 A.M.	168°
3:00 A.M.	170°	3:00 A.M.	170°
4:00 A.M.	172°	4:00 A.M.	172°
5:00 A.M.	174°	5:00 A.M.	174°
6:00 A.M.	176°	6:00 A.M.	176°
7:00 A.M.	178°	7:00 A.M.	178°
8:00 A.M.	180°	8:00 A.M.	180°
9:00 A.M.	182°	9:00 A.M.	182°
10:00 A.M.	184°	10:00 A.M.	184°
11:00 A.M.	186°	11:00 A.M.	186°
12:00 P.M.	188°	12:00 P.M.	188°
1:00 P.M.	190°	1:00 P.M.	190°
2:00 P.M.	192°	2:00 P.M.	192°
3:00 P.M.	194°	3:00 P.M.	194°
4:00 P.M.	196°	4:00 P.M.	196°
5:00 P.M.	198°	5:00 P.M.	198°
6:00 P.M.	200°	6:00 P.M.	200°
7:00 P.M.	202°	7:00 P.M.	202°
8:00 P.M.	204°	8:00 P.M.	204°
9:00 P.M.	206°	9:00 P.M.	206°
10:00 P.M.	208°	10:00 P.M.	208°
11:00 P.M.	210°	11:00 P.M.	210°
12:00 A.M.	212°	12:00 A.M.	212°
1:00 A.M.	214°	1:00 A.M.	214°
2:00 A.M.	216°	2:00 A.M.	216°
3:00 A.M.	218°	3:00 A.M.	218°
4:00 A.M.	220°	4:00 A.M.	220°
5:00 A.M.	222°	5:00 A.M.	222°
6:00 A.M.	224°	6:00 A.M.	224°
7:00 A.M.	226°	7:00 A.M.	226°
8:00 A.M.	228°	8:00 A.M.	228°
9:00 A.M.	230°	9:00 A.M.	230°
10:00 A.M.	232°	10:00 A.M.	232°
11:00 A.M.	234°	11:00 A.M.	234°
12:00 P.M.	236°	12:00 P.M.	236°
1:00 P.M.	238°	1:00 P.M.	238°
2:00 P.M.	240°	2:00 P.M.	240°
3:00 P.M.	242°	3:00 P.M.	242°
4:00 P.M.	244°	4:00 P.M.	244°
5:00 P.M.	246°	5:00 P.M.	246°
6:00 P.M.	248°	6:00 P.M.	248°
7:00 P.M.	250°	7:00 P.M.	250°
8:00 P.M.	252°	8:00 P.M.	252°
9:00 P.M.	254°	9:00 P.M.	254°
10:00 P.M.	256°	10:00 P.M.	256°
11:00 P.M.	258°	11:00 P.M.	258°
12:00 A.M.	260°	12:00 A.M.	260°
1:00 A.M.	262°	1:00 A.M.	262°
2:00 A.M.	264°	2:00 A.M.	264°
3:00 A.M.	266°	3:00 A.M.	266°
4:00 A.M.	268°	4:00 A.M.	268°
5:00 A.M.	270°	5:00 A.M.	270°
6:00 A.M.	272°	6:00 A.M.	272°
7:00 A.M.	274°	7:00 A.M.	274°
8:00 A.M.	276°	8:00 A.M.	276°
9:00 A.M.	278°	9:00 A.M.	278°
10:00 A.M.	280°	10:00 A.M.	280°
11:00 A.M.	282°	11:00 A.M.	282°
12:00 P.M.	284°	12:00 P.M.	284°
1:00 P.M.	286°	1:00 P.M.	286°
2:00 P.M.	288°	2:00 P.M.	288°
3:00 P.M.	290°	3:00 P.M.	290°
4:00 P.M.	292°	4:00 P.M.	292°
5:00 P.M.	294°	5:00 P.M.	294°
6:00 P.M.	296°	6:00 P.M.	296°
7:00 P.M.	298°	7:00 P.M.	298°
8:00 P.M.	300°	8:00 P.M.	300°
9:00 P.M.	302°	9:00 P.M.	302°
10:00 P.M.	304°	10:00 P.M.	304°
11:00 P.M.	306°	11:00 P.M.	306°
12:00 A.M.	308°	12:00 A.M.	308°
1:00 A.M.	310°	1:00 A.M.	310°
2:00 A.M.	312°	2:00 A.M.	312°
3:00 A.M.	314°	3:00 A.M.	314°
4:00 A.M.	316°	4:00 A.M.	316°
5:00 A.M.	318°	5:00 A.M.	318°
6:00 A.M.	320°	6:00 A.M.	320°
7:00 A.M.	322°	7:00 A.M.	322°
8:00 A.M.	324°	8:00 A.M.	324°
9:00 A.M.	326°	9:00 A.M.	326°
10:00 A.M.	328°	10:00 A.M.	328°
11:00 A.M.	330°	11:00 A.M.	330°
12:00 P.M.	332°	12:00 P.M.	332°
1:00 P.M.	334°	1:00 P.M.	334°
2:00 P.M.	336°	2:00 P.M.	336°
3:00 P.M.	338°	3:00 P.M.	338°
4:00 P.M.	340°	4:00 P.M.	340°
5:00 P.M.	342°	5:00 P.M.	342°
6:00 P.M.	344°	6:00 P.M.	344°
7:00 P.M.	346°	7:00 P.M.	346°
8:00 P.M.	348°	8:00 P.M.	348°
9:00 P.M.	350°	9:00 P.M.	350°
10:00 P.M.	352°	10:00 P.M.	352°
11:00 P.M.	354°	11:00 P.M.	354°
12:00 A.M.	356°	12:00 A.M.	356°
1:00 A.M.	358°	1:00 A.M.	358°
2:00 A.M.	360°	2:00 A.M.	360°

119th YEAR—NO. 343

40 PAGES

ST. PAUL, MINN., FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1968

C-2

WABH-TV
11:00 P.M.

PRICE 10 CENTS

St. Paul Pioneer Press

First Newspaper in Minnesota

In the
Sunday
Pictorial
Magazine

Carver's Cave
Re-Explored
Carver's Cave was discovered
120 years ago by a British
explorer, was lost for three
decades in the last century
and was found again in 1913.
See the report of this dis-
covery.

MARTIN LUTHER KING SLAIN IN MEMPHIS; RIOTING IN ST. LOUIS

An Editorial

This brave man, Dr. Martin Luther King, so foolishly assassinated, must have known that while he preached nonviolence, personal danger was always his companion.

Whether or not one was always ready to go along with Dr. King's full philosophy, there always was great admiration for his courage and for his mission.

And now we have another national tragedy, a disgrace, a shame to bear. For while our country has not covered the market, the warped, the criminal and the bigoted, we have indeed maintained the conditions that made it necessary for Dr. King to struggle on, to annoy us sometimes and eventually make us aware of our national sickness.

While we might be inclined to say here in Minnesota that we are not responsible for some affliction in Memphis, it simply won't go down.

This is one country. We have to share this burden. We let idiots have guns. We tolerate conditions that make demonstrations necessary.

How much can we stand before this country decides either to come to his senses or to perish?

PHONES MRS. KING

Johnson Asks Prayers, 'Understanding' in Nation

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Lyndon Johnson spoke Thursday night on an "American shock and saddened" by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King as he condemned violence, lawlessness and distrust.

In a brief, solemn message to the nation, Johnson disclosed that because of the slaying at Memphis he had canceled plans for his public appearance Thursday night and postponed until today his

scheduled midnight departure for Hawaii and a Vietnam strategy conference.

"The President appeared in the doorway of the White House office, stern-faced and spoke on all television and radio networks."

"I ask every American citizen," he said, "to reject the blind violence that has struck down Dr. King, who lived by nonviolence."

The President urged pray-

ers for peace and understanding in the land and said:

"We can achieve nothing by lawlessness and divisiveness among the American people."

He said he hopes all Americans would search their hearts.

At that point he said he was canceling all plans for the evening and postponing until today his planned take-off for Hawaii and conferences there on problems of war and peace in Vietnam.

He was to have attended a Democratic fund-raising dinner at a Washington hotel Thursday night and was only minutes from leaving the White House when the tragic news came from Memphis.

The White House said Johnson had telephoned Mrs. King at her home in Atlanta and



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
Victim of Assassination in Memphis

RIGHTS LEADER PRAISED

Local Leaders Express Concern Over King Death

By JACKIE GERDMANN and
JERRY MONTGOMERY

Staff Writers

The shooting death of Dr. Martin Luther King Thursday evening prompted comments of disbelief and concern from Twin Cities and state leaders. Bradford Benson, president of the St. Paul chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said the organization's board meeting, which began shortly after the



Raskas Hammarberg Whitaker Benson

these calls from citizens who "He was completely, all-out effort to

White Sniper Sought; Guard Is Called Out

MEMPHIS (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who carried the dreams of mil-

lions of Negroes in his nonviolent battle for racial freedom, was slain by a white sniper Thursday and violence erupted in the ghettos of the South.

Bloody rioting wracked Memphis after the 39-year-old Nobel Peace Prize winner lay dying on the balcony of his motel room, a geyser of blood wound in his neck.

Word of Dr. King's assassination touched off violence in Nashville, Raleigh, Jackson and Birmingham.

Police in Tallahassee said Negroes at Florida A&M were shooting and throwing at everything in sight.

President Lyndon Johnson pleaded for calm.

All of Tennessee's 11,000 National Guardsmen were alerted early today.

Authorities said 196 fires were reported in Memphis in the first five hours following the shooting.

There were demonstrations and outbreaks of violence in Winston-Salem, Wilmington, New Bern and Greensboro, N.C.; Jackson, Miss.; Birmingham and Huntsville, Ala.

Police issued a bulletin for a young, dark-haired white man who dashed out of the Negrohouse across the street from Dr. King's motel, brandishing a semi-automatic Browning rifle on the sidewalk and fled in a car.

Police Chief Frank Holmes said, "We have no definite lead we can report at this time regarding the assassin."

Two policemen were cut by flying glass when Negro snipers opened fire on their car.

"We are in a most critical time," said Holmes.

Detective Chief W. P. Holton amplified this.

"Apparently they are rising all over town, taking potshots at white people," he said.

Dr. King, who walked with death on dark southern streets and unshaken southern bigotry as his 39-year battle as the nation's most prominent civil rights leader, was standing on the second-floor balcony of his room at the Lorraine motel at dusk, talking to some of his followers on the street.

He asked a band leader from one of his Chicago projects to play "Precious Lord," a spiritual, later, and smilingly agreed he had feared the demands that he put on his breast.

Dr. King was in Memphis to prove that he could lead a nonviolent march.

With his massive "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, perhaps the largest demonstration he ever planned—set for this month, Dr. King led a relatively small march in Memphis last Thursday.

Young Negroes broke away from him and turned the march into a riot that left one dead and 60 injured.

Dr. King's critics—and many of his friends—expressed fear that he could not keep the Washington march from likewise turning to violence.

Dr. King insisted he could, and came back to Memphis Wednesday to prove it.

He had set up a march—8,000 strong—for Monday. He told a rally Wednesday night that "like anybody, I would

Other stories and pictures on Pages 2, 3, 4, 6 and the back of 8 pages following Page 4.

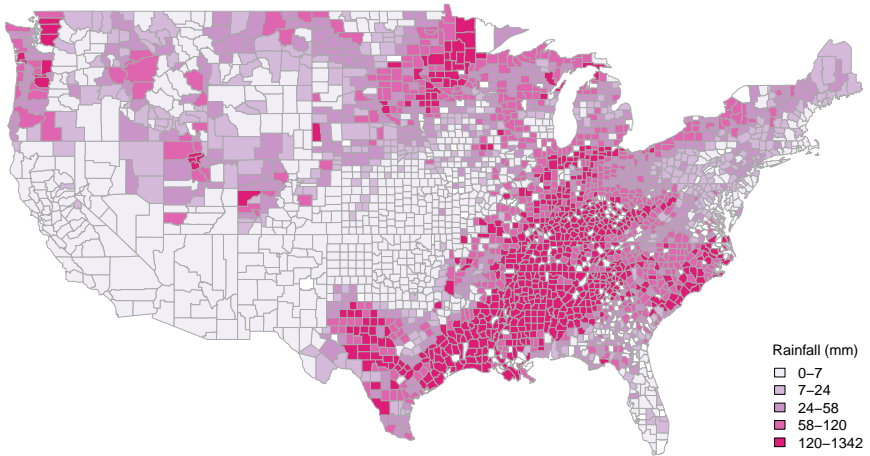
"I like to live a long life . . . but I'm not concerned about that. . . I've seen the Promised Land," he told his followers on the eve of his death. "I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will still get to the Promised Land."

His lieutenants said the massive campaign on Washington would go on as planned.

Police rushed to the Lorraine, a combination hotel-motel, seconds after Dr. King's assassin fled. They snuffed off a five-block area around the motel.

Humphrey All But Says Yes

Rainfall, April 4th through April 10th, 1968



Does rainfall influence protest activity?

Heavy downpour dampens protest

NATCHEZ, Miss. (UPI) — More than 400 freedom fighters marched silently through the main street of a little town near here Friday in a Christmas Eve demonstration in the rain.

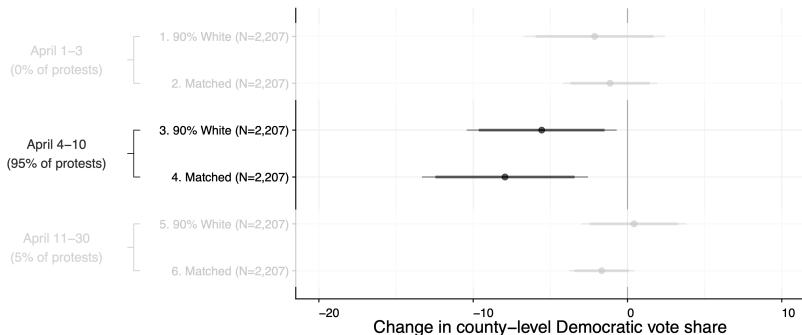
There were no incidents.

Charles Evers, disappointed but not dismayed because the crowd did not reach his anticipated 2,000 figure, led the Fayette marchers who walked down a country road to town.

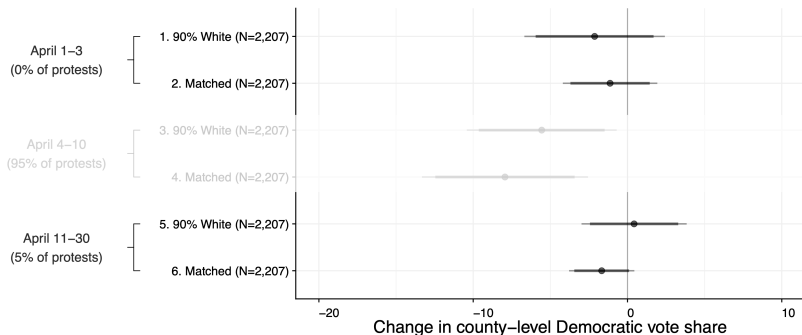
Rain fell steadily before the demonstration was fin-

(Continued on Page 2)

IV models of effect of violent protests in April 1968 on vote share



Placebo effect of violent protests in April 1968 on vote share



Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ **Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?**
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

Overview of Research Designs

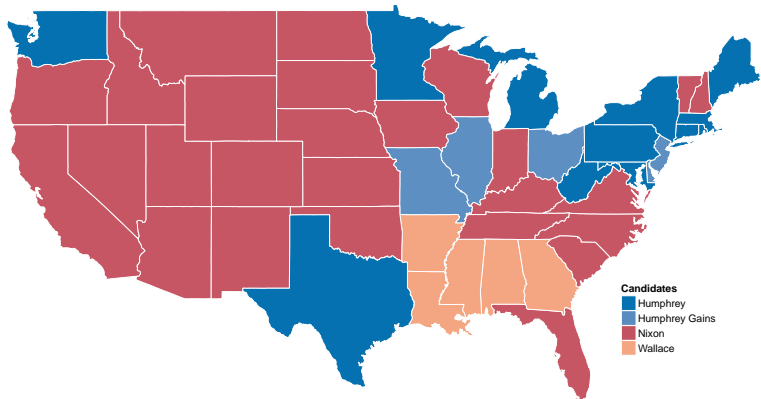
Questions	Methods	Explanatory variables & data	Outcome variables of interest
Outcomes:			
Q1. Do protests sway voters?			
(a) Protest → voting	Regression (panel, OLS, IV)	Nonviolent (DCA) & Violent protest (DCA & Carter)	Change in county-level Democratic vote share
(b) Protest → election	Counterfactual simulation	Violent protest in April 1968 (Carter)	State-level change in 1968 vote share

Counterfactual 1968 Presidential Election

Humphrey Gains	# of Electoral Votes	# of Outcomes	% of Outcomes
NJ, OH	234	22	0
DE, NJ, OH	237	133	1
MO, NJ, OH	246	55	1
DE, MO, NJ, OH	249	285	3
IL, NJ, OH	260	463	5
DE, IL, NJ, OH	263	2,143	21
IL, MO, NJ, OH	272	1,139	11
DE, IL, MO, NJ, OH	275	5,760	58

Table: Results of 10,000 counterfactual simulated elections. Estimated increase is drawn from a random normal distribution with a mean of the original Democratic vote share plus 1.94 percentage points and a standard deviation of 0.25.

Nixon's "Southern Strategy" moved midwest and mid-Atlantic



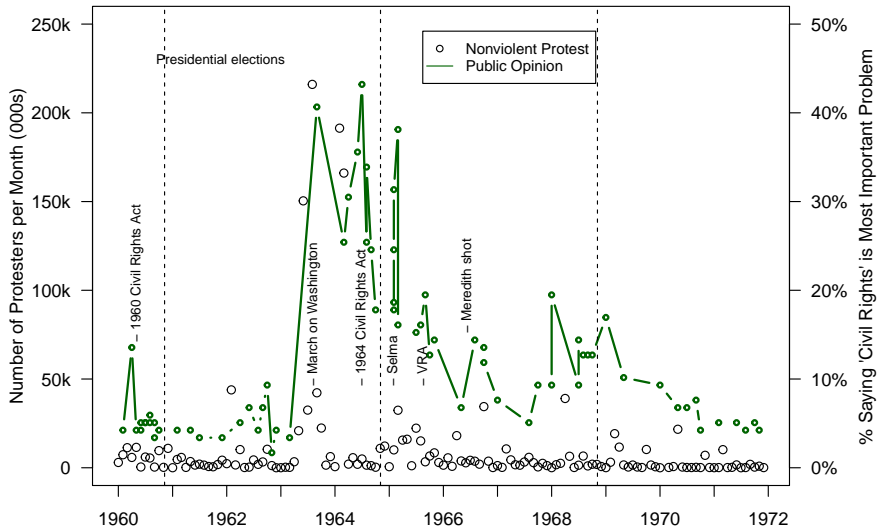
Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ **Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?**
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

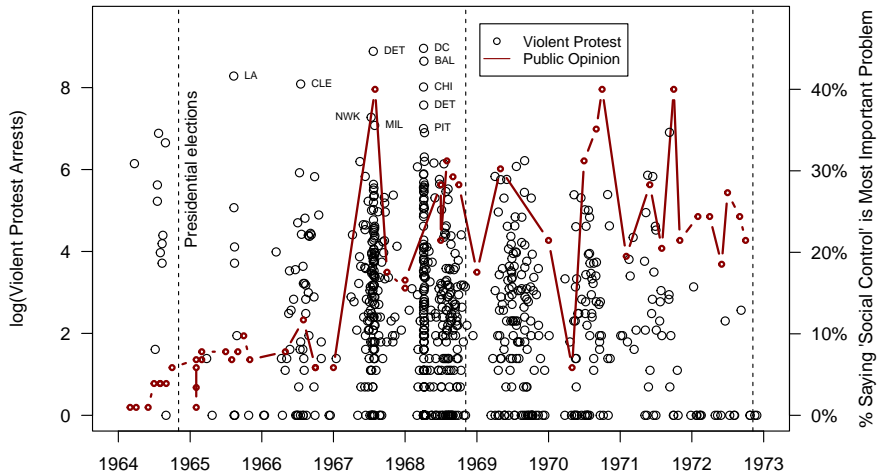
Overview of Research Designs

Questions	Methods	Explanatory variables & data	Outcome variables of interest
Outcomes:			
Q1. Do protests sway voters?			
(a) Protest → voting	Regression (panel, OLS, IV)	Nonviolent (DCA) & Violent protest (DCA & Carter)	Change in county-level Democratic vote share
(b) Protest → election	Counterfactual simulation	Violent protest in April 1968 (Carter)	State-level change in 1968 vote share
Mechanisms:			
Q2. Do activists lead or follow?			
(a) Protest ↔ media	Time series (descriptive plots & Granger causality)	Nonviolent (DCA) & Violent protest (DCA & Carter)	Newspaper headlines, Public opinion, Congressional speech
(b) Protest ↔ polls			
(c) Protest ↔ elites			

Nonviolent protest activity and public opinion on “civil rights”



Violent protest activity and public opinion on "social control"



Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ **Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?**
- ▶ Conclusion

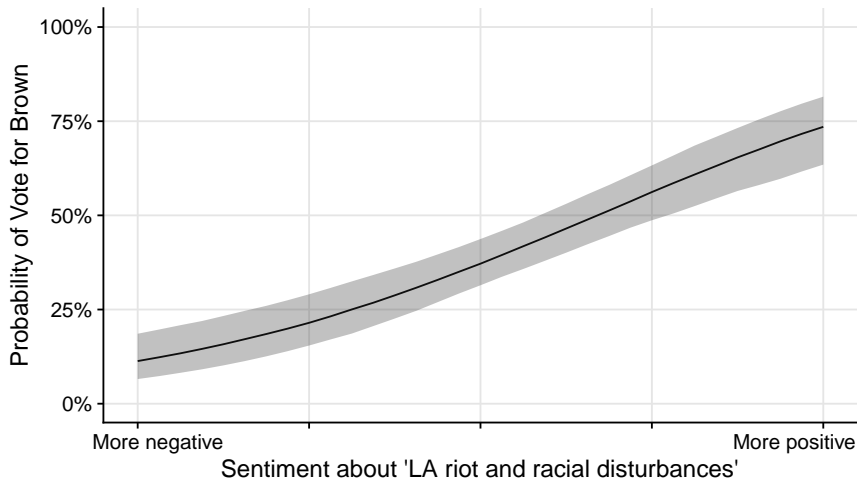
Individual attitudes: 1960s surveys

- ▶ UC Berkeley and Field Research Corporation ran dozens of “California Polls” in 1950s, 1960s and 1970s
 - ▶ In October 1965, surveyed 1,260 California adults
 - ▶ Subjects were asked to ‘agree or disagree with several statements that have been made about the Los Angeles riots and about racial disturbances in general’

California Survey on 'LA Riots,' October 1965

1. One thing the riots did was to bring attention to the bad conditions that exist in Negro slums
2. People are less sympathetic now toward the civil rights movement than they were before the riots
3. The police should crack down harder and faster when Negroes get out of line
4. Most white people don't understand the difficulties Negroes face in trying to better themselves
5. The more concessions people make, the more Negroes demand, they should be satisfied with what they have
6. The only real solution is to do more to improve bad social conditions caused by segregation and poverty
7. The riots prove that Negroes are not yet ready to be accepted in respectable, law-abiding society
8. White people will have to bend over backward to help Negroes improve themselves

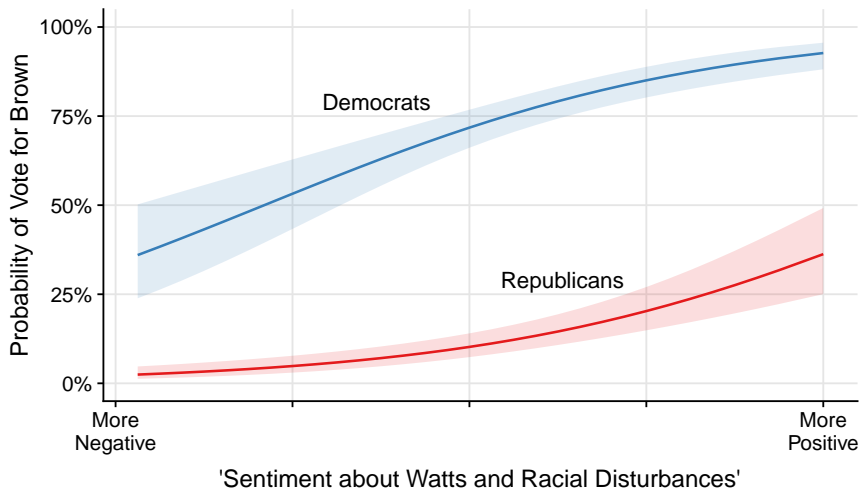
Vote for Brown vs Watts Attitudes



Note: Model controls for race, age, religion, education, income, sex, region of California and home ownership.

Data source: ?.

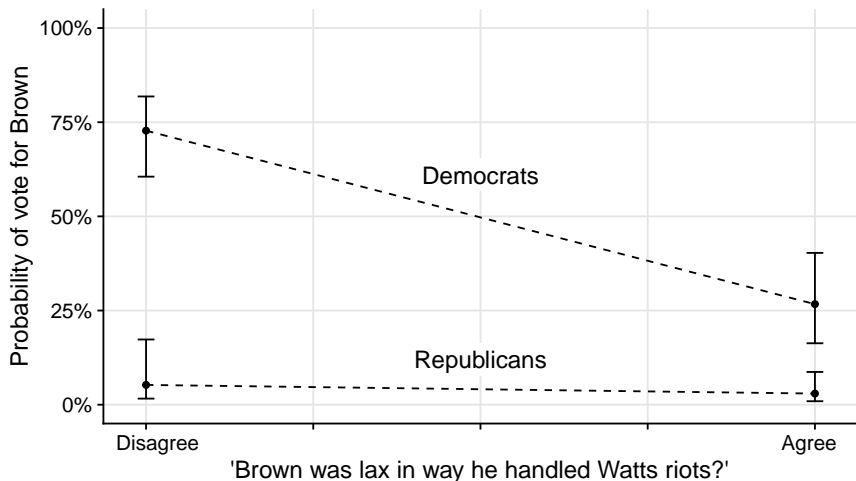
Vote for Brown vs Watts Attitudes, by Party



Note: Model controls for race, age, religion, education, income, sex, region of California and home ownership.

Data source: ?.

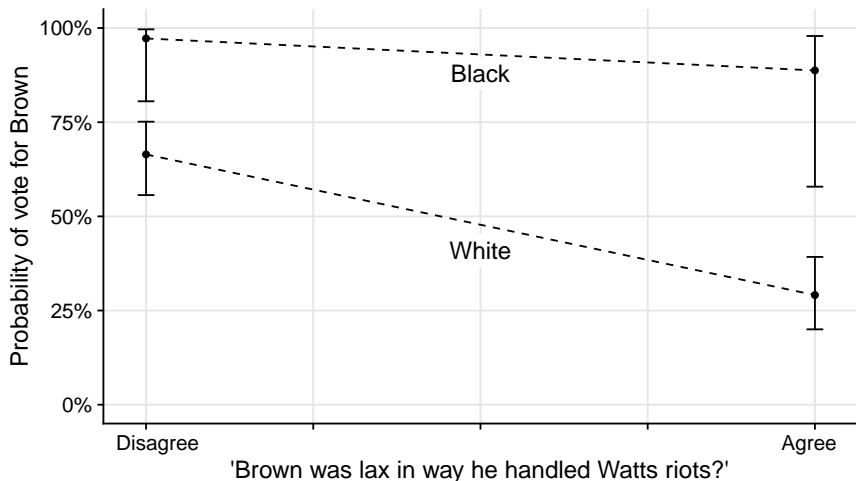
Vote for Brown vs Watts Attitudes, by Party



Note: Model controls for registered party, sex, age, income, religion and union membership.

Data source: ?

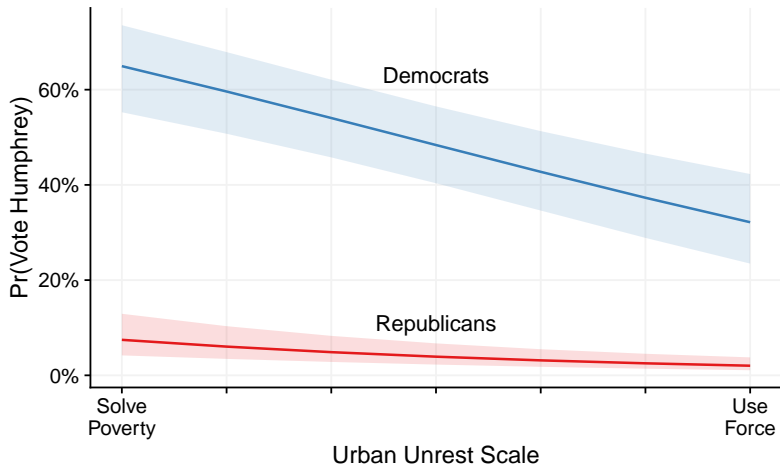
Vote for Brown vs Watts Attitudes, by Race



Note: Model controls for registered party, sex, age, income, religion and union membership.

Data source: ?

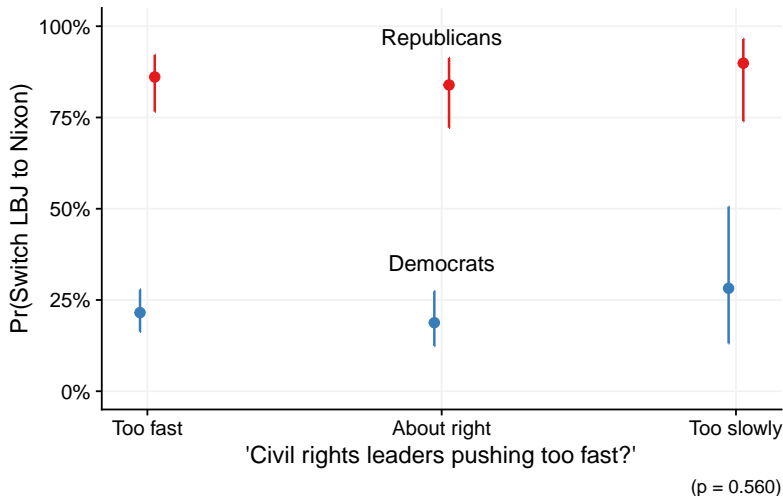
Vote for Humphrey vs Urban Unrest among Whites, by Party ID



($p < 0.001$)

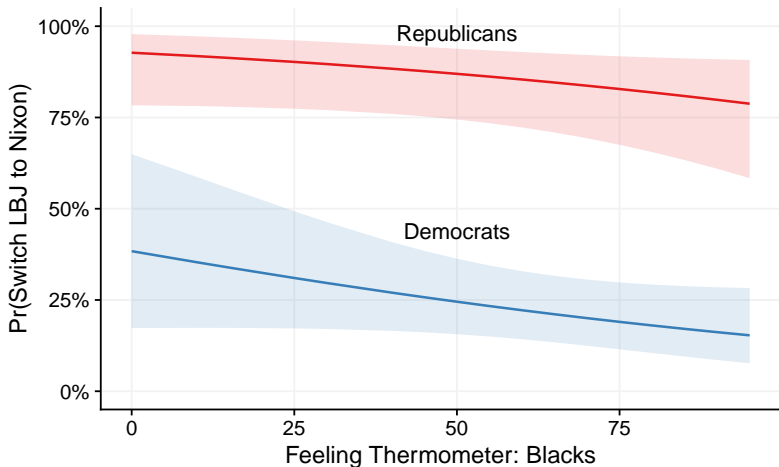
Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

How did White attitudes about civil rights influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

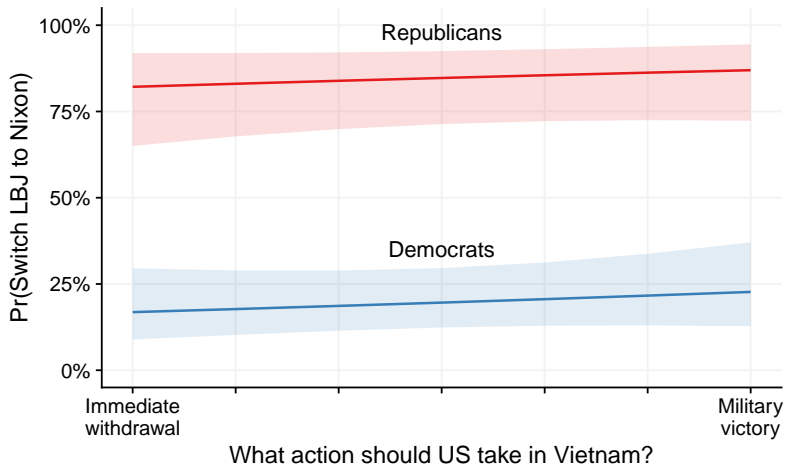
How did White feelings about Blacks influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



($p = 0.108$)

Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

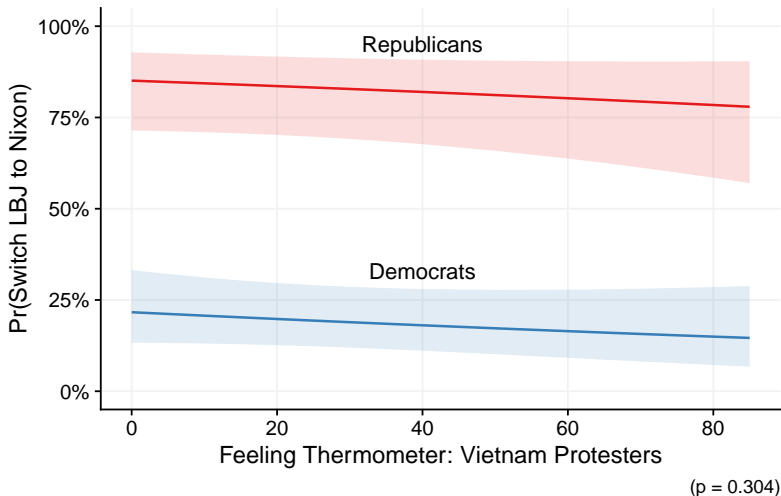
How did White attitudes about Vietnam War influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



($p = 0.426$)

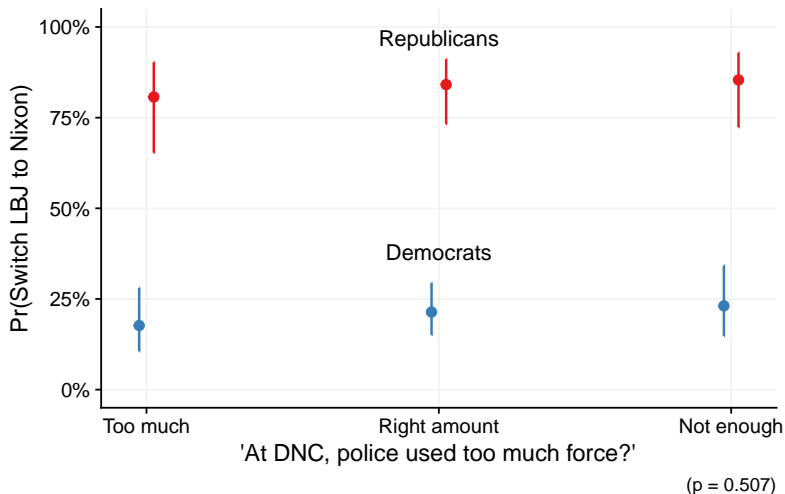
Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

How did White attitudes about anti-war protesters influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



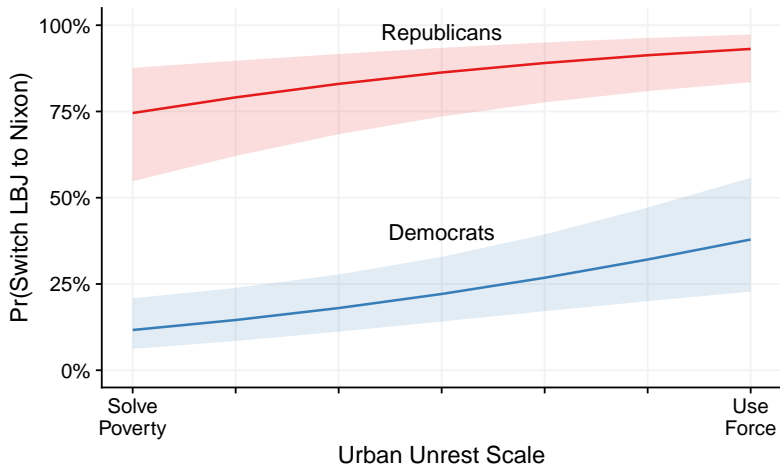
Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

How did White attitudes about Democratic convention influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

How did White attitudes about urban unrest influence LBJ → Nixon voters?



($p < 0.001$)

Data: ANES 1968. Model controls for income + male + education.

Overview

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Activist Debate: Integrationists vs Nationalists
- ▶ Political Science Debate: Elites vs Pluralists
- ▶ Theory: Narrative Power
- ▶ Cases: March on Washington
- ▶ Cases: Watts Uprising
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Move Voters?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Cause Changes in Voting?
- ▶ Outcomes: Do Protests Matter Politically?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Seed Media & Public Opinion?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Construct Media Frames?
- ▶ Mechanisms: Do Protests Sway Individual Attitudes?
- ▶ Conclusion

Implications and contributions

- ▶ Theoretical:
 - ▶ Mass movements, not just elites, can exert influence over public opinion, elite discourse, voting and policy
 - ▶ Tactics matter: in electoral politics, through media, can grow status quo or egalitarian coalitions
- ▶ Methodological:
 - ▶ Fine grained geographic, temporal and intensity measures may offer better estimates of effects of protests

Implications and contributions

- ▶ Empirical:
 - ▶ 1960s protests strongly and substantively influenced elite discourse, mass opinion and mass voting behavior
 - ▶ Violent protests in 1968 likely tipped presidential election from Humphrey to Nixon
- ▶ Political:
 - ▶ Political violence may induce gains from elites but likely counterproductive within electoral politics
 - ▶ Elites dominate political communication but hold no monopoly

Thank you

Questions, comments?

owasow@berkeley.edu