THE ICONOCLAST: A READERSHIP SURVEY AND A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF AN UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER

THESIS

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By

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The problem of this study was an audience analysis of Dallas' weekly underground newspaper Iconoclast. A readership survey was mailed to 200 randomly selected subscribers to Iconoclast. Data were taken from the ninety useable questionnaires of those returned.

The study is organized into four chapters. Chapter I discusses problems, procedures, introductory material and recent and related studies. Chapter II is a history of Iconoclast. Chapter III is an analysis of data. Chapter IV presents summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

The data revealed the typical subscriber as having a mean age of 28.7, some college education, and higher than $10,000 yearly income. He obtains both exclusive and supplementary information from Iconoclast, and considers it an important but biased news source.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

One phenomenon resulting from the various protesting groups of Americans in search of alternate life styles, beginning in the 1960's, has been the upsurge of the underground or alternate press. Robert J. Glessing says that this has resulted from a number of forces at work in our society: (1) technological advancement, (2) political upheaval, (3) anti-establishment movements, and (4) social-intellectual change (10, p. xi).

The first force Glessing names, technological advancements, is the result of cheaper and easier printing methods such as offset printing and justifying typewriters. Political upheaval and antiestablishment movements are tied together by these new journalistic advocates asking all consuming questions of life, especially the nature of justice. And finally, Glessing cites the social phenomenon of declining individualism in this country in relation to his category of social-intellectual change (10, p. xii-xiii).

The number of newspapers which fit the definition of underground press varies according to source. One estimate of the largest number of the genre to be in existence in the late 1960's is 6,000 (8, p. 139). However, many of these newspapers may have had only one or a few issues printed. An estimate of the total number of stable publications of the
genre is 400 to 500 (8, p. 139). Glessing lists over 450 of these in his book (10, p. 6).

Another statistic that varies according to source is the number of readers of underground newspapers. Only the Los Angeles Free Press and Village Voice have circulation figures carried by the Audit Bureau of Circulation. Glessing estimates the total circulation of the genre at nearly five million (10, p. 10), but he quotes other estimates from other sources numbering 2 million, 4.6 million, and over 30 million. The last estimate, from the Underground Press Service, was their estimate of how many persons actually read the newspapers (10, p. 120). However, Glessing claims it is not how many readers there are, but who the readers are that is significant (10, p. 121).

One view of the readers of underground newspapers is that they are a subculture that had become more educated and thus was more in need of its own communication medium (10, p. 12). Another study indicates "The underground press is a communication medium for young people who are seeking alternative life styles. Often these persons feel alienated from the message of conventional media" (10, p. 12).

Another writer maintains, "Quite simply, an underground newspaper is written by the alienated for the alienated" (10, p. 122). The readers in the beginning days were a ready audience made up of "Street people and hippies, drug addicts and poor whites joined with college students, black militants,
poets and intellectuals . . ." according to Glessing (10, p. 12). Roszak calls this counterculture audience ". . . an aggregate of persons, ideologies, and activities, politically left, technologically conservative . . ." (19, p. 18).

One of the underground newspapers, East Village Other, conducted a readership survey of 1,200 of its 65,000 subscribers. The survey's results included the findings that "Seventy-one per cent had attended college, 14 per cent had gone to graduate school . . ." (10, p. 121).

A picture of the reader of the underground press begins to emerge, but no accurate study has indicated much in the way of data. However, many writers consider some aspects of this audience to be significant as far as being involved in their environment in advocating changes, or as Dennis and Rivers sum it up, "The underground press readers are often the activists who openly advocate change in social interaction" (8, p. 136).

The lumping of underground newspapers into one classification is another problem in defining or identifying the audience. Many of the underground newspapers in various parts of the United States are not aimed at any sort of general audience, but instead specialize. Examples would be publications like Kiss, Screw, and Pleasure, aimed at those primarily interested in pornography; Rat, Movement, or New Left Notes, which contain primarily radical politics; Crawdaddy, and Distant Drummer, aimed at persons interested in musical
interpretation of mostly rock music; and so on (10, p. 122-123).

Many of the specialty sheets have ceased publication because of the competition, and others have tended to try to satisfy their audiences by becoming more general in story content. These would include Village Voice (New York), Los Angeles Free Press, Great Speckled Bird (Atlanta), and Iconoclast (Dallas).

Glessing says many of the readers of the underground press read the genre because the other media forms do not satisfy the needs of the readers, suggesting, however, that those readers do use other media forms to seek more information. Glessing believes that the reason many of these publications began was that many individuals could not get information they knew to exist, but which went unreported in other media (10, p. 126-135).

Another finding is the change the genre has gone through in the past few years. Dennis and Rivers describe these changes as taking place in three major "shaping periods:"

1. The hippie period, 1964-1967, when the papers were primarily known for psychedelic art and essays on drug use, sexual freedom and Eastern Religion.

2. The radical period, 1967-1970, when the hippies became more political, merging with the New Left and other radical groups. The newspapers were filled with articles about political folk heroes and political organizers of the time. They took the position of counter culture versus the straights.
3. The period of internal dissension and new complexity since 1970, when the once clear-cut issues became more complicated with many staff splits, debates on stance, writing style and newspaper appearance—which is moving closer to conventional standards (8, p. 139).

Johnson also discusses these changes in the underground press. He says the papers began in late 1967 to drift away from gentleness toward more bitter political interests, more militant radicalism, and more shock-value sex (12, p. 139). Glessing also notes these changes in the underground press, including the battle for advertising, staff changes, and the change toward a more traditional press (12, pp. 153-160).

Most of those who have studied the underground press consider it an important force in its effects on the community and its readers. Mills concludes in his study that "the so-called radical press is becoming an increasingly important journalistic force" (14, p. 147). Glessing says, "... the underground press will continue to question a society whose major media seems unwilling or unable to ask the necessary embarrassing questions about American values and American life styles," and "Each underground newspaper has ... lent its strength to the continuing battle to improve the quality of American life..." (10, p. 160). Dennis and Rivers suggest that it may be those persons who are over thirty years old who will constitute a large part of the counterculture press audience of the future (8, p. 167). Pember feels that the underground press is an important medium meeting
the need of a fragmented portion of the society (17, pp. 358-359).

The implications are that the underground press has gone through changes since its inception which have mirrored the changes in its audience. As the audience grows older, the underground press continues to become more like the conventional press to keep those readers and retain its own personality and polemics as much as possible. The underground press is trying to gain new readers in the process and to continue to have some influence on all readers. The underground press has been described as the only medium communicating with subcultures with an interest in affairs too local for city newspapers to cover (17, p. 354). This may add some strength to the previously mentioned fragmentation of society theory. Should this fragmentation continue, the underground press and its audience may increase in strength in the future as well as in numbers.

Because of the relative newness and instability of the underground press, there has been little analysis of the relative importance it has in the affairs of its readers. There has also been little analysis of the readers to try and determine the characteristics and preferences of the readers.

There has been some theorizing as to the internal changes in publications in the underground press; however, no detailed analysis of this has been done for any single publication.
Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to conduct an audience analysis of the weekly Dallas underground newspaper *Iconoclast* by using the method of a readership survey of randomly selected subscribers to determine some characteristics and preferences concerning the newspaper of the readers. The study also traces the short history of *Iconoclast* to determine the internal changes it has undergone.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study were (1) to determine some characteristics of subscribers of *Iconoclast*, (2) to examine some reasons subscribers read *Iconoclast*, (3) to ascertain some of the opinions the subscribers have concerning *Iconoclast*, and (4) to determine what internal changes *Iconoclast* has gone through in its brief history.

Hypotheses

To carry out the purposes of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. A majority of the subscribers of *Iconoclast* use the publication to find information not carried in other media sources.

2. A majority of the subscribers of *Iconoclast* read the publication to supplement information learned in other media sources.
3. The higher percentage of the subscribers will consider themselves politically liberal.

4. When compared with other media, Iconoclast will rank high as an important news source to subscribers.

5. A high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast a biased news source when compared to other media sources.

6. A high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast a believable news source when compared to other media sources.

Recent and Related Studies

The readership survey has been used as a tool in mass communications research for some time. It allows the researcher to survey many factors in the analysis of a reading audience. The readership survey can identify an audience based on various demographic data. Further, the readership survey can indicate some audience behavior patterns, including attitudes and opinions about themselves, and criticisms concerning the publication in question and its relation to the reader and to other media sources.

Abstracts and research guides indicate little has been done in researching the audience(s) of underground newspapers. In most materials, only opinions and surmises have been used to postulate identity factors of such audiences.

John Tebbel in, "What's Happening to the Underground Press," wrote that standard marketing readership surveys have been
applied to the alternative press in only a few scattered and generally unreliable cases, and there is no way of telling accurately just who is reading these journals (24, p. 89). Richard Stone writes that a study by the Wall Street Journal indicated that many of the subscribers of the alternate Los Angeles Free Press come from several of the middle- and upper-income areas around Los Angeles. Stone also quotes the survey by the underground East Village Other which questioned 1,200 of its 65,000 readers. The survey indicated that 71 per cent of the readers had attended college and 14 per cent had gone to graduate school (18, p. 1).

The bulk of readership survey have been used for audience analyses of daily or weekly conventional newspapers. One of the most massive studies conducted is "What They Read in 130 Daily Newspapers," by Charles E. Swanson (23). Data were collected for this study for eleven years, from 1939 to 1950, questioning approximately 50,000 readers.

From his study, Swanson formulated a list of articles found to be read mostly by males, and another list read mostly by females. He also listed the ten most-read and ten least-read types of articles. Swanson found that after the cartoon pages the ten most-read categories were war, defense, fire-disaster, human interest, weather, individuals, major crime, social significance, consumer information, and science invention. The ten categories that were least read were finance, agriculture, county correspondence, religion, minor crime, state
government, sports, fine arts, social relations, and taxes (22, p. 412).

In the area of weekly newspaper readership surveys is the Merrit Ludwig and Wilbur Schramm study in 1951, "The Weekly Newspaper and Its Readers" (13). Using such criteria as various reading habits, Ludwig and Schramm concluded that the weekly newspaper is a powerful force of socialization for the community (13, p. 313).

A study by Bob J. Beames of readers of the Texas Outlook led him to conclude that the staff of a publication should frequently examine editorial content to determine if the publication is providing relevant material for the readers (2, p. 61).

In questioning the changes readers might want a newspaper to undertake, William Claude Penn found in his readership study of the Sulphur Springs Daily News-Telegram that the readers wanted the newspaper to "advocate higher moral standards, better law enforcement, governmental integrity, patriotism, and local improvements in the county and local school system" (18, p. 282).

Certain various types of material and items carried in the newspaper may have greater impact than other types. Ryan concluded in his 1971 study of news content and readers that state public affairs type stories in newspapers have a believability factor over other stories (21, p. 61). Clyde's 1968 study indicates that "unpleasant news seems to
attract significantly more readership than most others [types of news] used for comparison" (6, p. 536).

Regarding the question of believability of newspapers as compared to other media, Jacobson found in his 1969 study that his respondents ranked newspapers second only to television in believability, but the same respondents also rated newspapers significantly less unbiased than either radio or television (11, pp. 23-25). In his discussion, Jacobson says that this could be interpreted to mean that some respondents want bias in the medium which carries news to them, presumably especially if the bias coincides with their own (11, p. 27).

Lending support to this viewpoint is Brehm and Lipsher's study of communicator-communicatee discrepancies and trustworthiness, which indicates the closer the value system of the source of news is perceived to be to the value system of the receiver, the more trustworthy the source is in the judgment of the receiver (5, p. 360).

Wiebe's study of mass media and man's relationship to his society goes further in discussion of man's ego-involvement with media. Wiebe states, "... the experience of reality lies in one's membership, one's commitment to participation in the scene and its sequels," and further, "... unless it is perceived as being one's own scene, it is not experienced as fully real" (26, p. 428). Wiebe also discusses the fact that that the increase in size and power of the media may put them out of
reach of the average citizen, making the media more difficult to relate to (26, p. 430).

Also commenting on the importance of an individual's involvement in an event and the surrounding media usage were Becker and Preston, who found a positive correlation between media usage and intent in an election (3, p. 134). Fathi reiterated the importance of ego-involvement on how much media usage the individual maintains. Fathi says:

> It is not unreasonable to hypothesize that the more an individual is ego involved in an event, the more he tends to check the validity of the news about that event; the more talk about it; the more he is apt to receive the news from another person, learn more information about it and hear the news before others (9, p. 499).

A variety of factors has also been indicated as important in individuals and their relation to mass media in several studies. Turpin found in his research that criticism of editorial content appeared to increase with education and income (25, p. 225). Block found a definite relation between formal education and reading habits, and a relation between age and a limited number of mass media experiences (4, p. 11). Roby found newspaper subscribers more active in their community and groups they belong to than other individuals tested (19, p. 296).

These related studies all explore some aspect of identification of individuals using various related media.
Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study the following definitions were formulated:

Alternate or Underground Newspaper--Both terms are used to describe newspapers that carry news, advertising, and articles of interest devoted to the special interests of the counterculture society having its beginnings as part of the American drug culture and anti-establishment groups of the 1960's.

Subscribers--Persons who receive Iconoclast by paying for an annual subscription.

Limitations

The study was limited exclusively to the subscribers of Iconoclast. The design of the study assumed that subscribers are the most regular readers of the newspaper and therefore were better able to answer questions concerning Iconoclast. Since the questionnaire was sent to randomly selected subscribers, and excluded those readers buying Iconoclast from the news stand, it was not a survey of the entire readership of the newspaper.

A further limitation of the study was the impersonal nature of the data collection because of the use of mailed questionnaires, thus making a full explanation of the intent of the questions impossible.
Basic Assumptions

It was assumed that the respondents would respond to the questionnaire as accurately as they could and interpret the questions as intended.

Instruments

A questionnaire (see Appendix B) was used to gather data from a random sample of subscribers to Iconoclast. The questions concerning personal information allowed categorization of respondents utilizing various demographic data. Personal information questions asked the respondents how they would describe themselves politically.

Other questions attempted to discover from the respondents how much Iconoclast is read, the importance of the newspaper to the respondents, and their opinions of some of the newspaper's content.

The questionnaire was mailed with a cover letter (see Appendix A) explaining the intent of the questionnaire.

Procedures for Collecting Data

A cover letter, questionnaire, and postage-paid return addressed envelope were sent to 200 subscribers who were randomly selected from Iconoclast's subscription list.

The questionnaire consisted of twenty-two questions that sought personal data from the subscribers and their opinions and attitudes concerning the content of Iconoclast.
The 200 subscribers chosen to receive the questionnaire were selected by choosing every twenty-fifth name from the *Iconoclast*'s subscription list. The sample was sufficient based on the newspaper's circulation of 5,000. Of the 200 questionnaires mailed, ninety, or forty-five per cent, were returned in usable form. The questionnaire was pretested personally by ten subscribers of *Iconoclast*. Based on the pretest, no changes were made in the questionnaire.

The historical data concerning *Iconoclast* were gathered by studying past issues of *Iconoclast* and its predecessors using different names, by reading articles concerning the newspaper, and by interviewing the managing editor of *Iconoclast* who was a founder of the newspaper that eventually became *Iconoclast*.

**Procedures for Analysis of Data**

After the questionnaires were returned, the data were tabulated. Respondents' responses were separated by question recorded together. Tables were constructed for visual illustration of the results. These contingency tables give close examination of the relationships between various categories, also.

Part of the analysis consisted of testing the validity of the various hypotheses. The analysis also included presentation and study of data describing various demographic factors relating to respondents. Respondents' opinions and reading habits were used for other analysis.
Organization of the Study

The thesis is arranged in four chapters. Chapter One, the introduction, explains the purpose of the study, states the hypotheses, gives information on recent and related articles, relates limitations of the study, states procedures used for collection of data and the analysis, and tells what instruments are used.

Chapter Two discusses the history of Iconoclast and how it has mirrored the changes in its readers throughout the years since it began publication.

Chapter Three provides an analysis of the data collected by the measuring device.

Chapter Four presents the summary and conclusions of the study.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE ICONOCLAST

The short history of the Iconoclast, like many of its contemporaries of the genre, paralleled the changes in the counterculture movement in the United States as has been suggested by Dennis and Rivers (23, p. 139).

The newspaper lived through three name changes and numerous staff changes since its founding as Notes From The Underground in 1967 (1). The alternative press in Dallas started March 17, 1967 (27, p. 1), somewhat later than many of its counterparts around the nation; notably the Los Angeles Free Press and the Berkeley Barb in 1964 (23, p. 138).

The underground newspapers served as alternatives to local community newspapers and to student newspapers in the early days. Most of these alternative newspapers remained tied to the university establishment (23, p. 139). Notes From The Underground was typical of this type during the newspaper's inception, originally being published as an alternative voice of a group of Southern Methodist University (SMU) students who were unhappy with their university in general and their campus newspaper in particular (26, p. 6). To underscore this affiliation, the newspaper was subtitled the SMU Off Campus Free Press (27, p. 1).
Doug Baker, a cofounder of *Notes From The Underground* and present publisher of *Iconoclast*, said, "We originally started *Notes* as an alternative to the SMU school paper. We were even given $200 by the Student Senate to publish the paper, and promised $600 more if we got out at least nine issues" (1).

Baker indicated he had problems with the SMU administration from the very beginning. He said the Student Senate was forced by the administration to renege on its promise of more money (1).

After the spring semester of 1967 ended at SMU, the newspaper staff decided to leave the campus and seek a wider readership (1), and the publication soon lost its parochial preview of the SMU campus, beginning to report and analyze material for an audience outside the university (26, p. 6).

The first nine issues were nothing more than Xeroxed copies on letter-sized sheets (26, p. 6). After that, the publication used an offset printer, as did most of the alternative publications of the time.

Early issues were free to the public as long as SMU was subsidizing the newspaper, but, after the newspaper moved off campus, issues were sold for twenty-five cents per copy (27, p. 1).

The newspaper began having trouble with the SMU administration and other authorities almost from the beginning of publication. Southern Methodist University President Dr.
Willis M. Tate began playing an elaborate game, Baker said, telling the newspaper staff they could use various methods of distribution, then telling them to change to other methods, and so on, according to Baker (1; 25, p. 5). Finally, Tate told Baker that no staff members of the newspaper could attend SMU (27, p. 2), and university officials attempted to ban it from the campus (26, p. 6).

*Notes From The Underground* began publishing just at the end of the "hippie period" in the alternative media as described by Dennis and Rivers:

1. The hippie period, 1964-1967, when the papers were primarily known for psychedelic art and essays on drug use, sexual freedom and Eastern Religion.

2. The radical period, 1967-1970, when the hippies became more political, merging with the New Left and other radical groups. The newspapers were filled with articles about political folk heroes and political organizers of the time. They took the position of counter culture versus the straights.

3. The period of internal dissension and new complexity since 1970, when the once clear-cut issues became more complicated with many staff splits, debates on stance, writing style and newspaper appearance--which is moving closer to conventional standards (23, p. 139).

For the most part, *Notes From The Underground* never really fit into the "hippie period," except for some individual feature and news stories concerning psychedelic art, sexual freedom, Eastern Religion, and drugs. All of these things could be found on the newspaper's pages, and still can to some extent, but the early days in 1967 were more concerned with
politics and the radical movement.

Baker indicated that the "establishment," which seemed to be against him, quickly evolved into a much larger group than just the administration at Southern Methodist University.

"We had police problems from the very first," Baker said. "The U. S. Marshal's Office monitored our mail. Envelopes would come in saying, 'Opened by the U. S. Marshall's Office, Dallas, Texas.' At least it was very out front." (1).

Early issues of the paper give some indication of the editorial policies concerning material to be used what was the same sort used for more than two years by the newspaper.

The twenty-four-page issue of November, 1967, reflected the left-wing, revolutionary attitude. It carried stories concerning a march on the Pentagon, lionizing Cuba's Che Guevera, concerning Radio Cuba, and the banning of Notes From The Underground from the SMU campus (a story which appeared with regularity and little change for many issues) (7).

Also in the November issue were hippie cartoons, music and book reviews, a fantasy short story, and like items. One of the lead articles concerned the Texas Southern University riots in Houston, Texas. That story said 400 to 600 policemen surrounded the campus dormitories and fired 2,000 to 6,000 rounds of ammunition at the buildings (7).

The newspaper's classified advertising had some sexually suggestive material such as " Wanted, open minded, attractive
girl. Apply . . ." and the like (7). This free-wheeling, sexually liberated and open style imitated many of the newspapers of the genre that had been around longer, such as the Los Angeles Free Press, commonly called the Freep, and the Berkeley Barb, although Notes From The Underground and others of the same genre that had different names under the same editors never became quite as explicit. Dennis and Rivers' comment on this advertising is, "Human bodies are listed like used cars . . ." (23, p. 147).

This early issue mentioned above, like those to follow for some time, was twenty-four tabloid pages, using offset methods, and had three ragged right columns in 12-point type (7).

The issues in December, 1967, January, 1968, and early February, 1968, were generally the same in style, material, and makeup, with the exception of the December 8 issue. It was devoted entirely to the coverage of staff member J. D. Arnold's suspension from SMU for selling the newspaper on campus. That issue was four pages long, and was designated Volume 1, No. 20 1/2 (8).

The final issue in February, 1968, was subtitled "Notes on Pot," sixteen pages devoted almost entirely to drug-related stories, primarily those concerning marijuana (9). The newspaper seemed still to be searching for an identity.

Baker said that during this period the newspaper staff was under constant harassment by both government officials and citizens: "We were always having our tires flattened, and
somebody shot the engine block of Brent Stein's [pen name: Stony Burns] car up with a .45 caliber pistol. We were always harrassed" (1).

The first March, 1968, issue saw the first "permanent" name change for the newspaper brought about by its staff. The new name was Dallas Notes. The makeup remained much the same, with some use of four-column and two-column layout on the inside pages. The same types of stories as those carried by Notes From The Underground were used (indeed, only the name seemed changed), dominated by antiwar materials (17). Another item to make a first appearance was a criticism of other Dallas media. This became another recurring theme throughout the years of publication and continues today (2).

This criticism of other media in Dallas may not be totally unfounded. A comment by O'Conner (26, p. 7) was that Baker's newspaper carried important articles the downtown dailies do not have the room--or the nerve--to carry. Examples mentioned by O'Conner were an interview with former television newsman Don Harris, in which Harris discussed news management and the Dallas Establishment in candid terms; comments by Police Chief Frank Dyson of Dallas; and an interview with Black Panther Bobby Seale, who was virtually ignored by the other Dallas media even though he was a strong contender for mayor of Oakland, California (26, p. 7).

The Dallas Notes name change marked the beginning of the era under the editorship of Brent Stein (also known as Stoney
Burns), when the newspaper entered one of its most tumultuous periods, fraught with threats, angry writing, and, often, actual violence.

Baker left Dallas in the summer of 1968, for personal reasons, he said, and went to California. He subsequently sent articles to Stein that were published under a pen name (27, p. 2). Baker said that for various unspecified reasons he had to deny any association with the newspaper (2).

Dallas Notes continued to be published every two weeks, edited by Stein. The stories were in much the same vein as before for several issues, but then the language and stories became more violent and antiestablishment. One issue began a tirade against law enforcement officers, all of whom were referred to as "pigs" (18), a popular revolutionary term for most members of officialdom.

This type of coverage continued throughout the summer of 1968. The writing style remained angry, striking out at the police, government (including local, state, and federal), the Vietnam War, antidrug policies, and anything else the editors and writers of the paper did not like (19). Much coverage during this time was given to the Chicago Riots during the Democratic Convention that year in that city. The Chicago police and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley were berated by Dallas Notes, as might be expected (20).

In October, 1968, a special issue of Dallas Notes called for people not to vote in the upcoming national election.
Stein had 50,000 copies of this issue printed and distributed. Because of the *Dallas Notes'* stand on this and other issues, anonymous letters were sent to the newspaper's advertisers threatening a boycott of their stores if they continued to advertise in the newspaper (27, p. 2).

Also as a result of his writing in the newspaper, Stein was beaten several times by unknown assailants (27, p. 2). Baker had returned for a visit at about this time, and he recounted one incident:

> I had been contributing things, but it was not the same as being here and being subjected to the psychological terror that he [Stein] was. Some of the things may have been imagined, but some of the things were very real. I came back from California for the Texas Pop Festival, well, Brent [Stein] had the shit beat out of him by a couple of black dudes. After these dudes beat him up, they said they knew them because they had seen pictures of people like Dick Gregory in the paper, but this guy had hired them to beat him [Stein] up. They stayed around because they wanted to meet him [Stein], they said. Which is a heavy trip and everything . . . and he was beaten several other times (2).

Later in October, 1968, the Dallas Police raided the newspaper office and hauled away two tons of material in what they called an obscenity raid. The newspaper's office was torn apart twice by police in search of pornographic materials. The police confiscated four typewriters, cameras, darkroom and graphic equipment, business records, books, posters, a desk, a drafting table, everything that could be carted off, and arrested staff members for possession of pornographic materials (28, p. 104). The charges filed both these times were also
rejected in the courts (27, p. 3). Nevertheless, the confiscated materials were not returned.

Despite the loss of machinery, arrests, and other setbacks, Stein still managed to print and distribute the newspaper, usually every two weeks. Distribution methods followed the pattern of many of the genre: street sales. Many of the youths who were a part of the counterculture movement could not or would not get regular jobs, so they made their livelihood by selling Dallas Notes on street corners. They would buy the newspaper from the editorial office for 15 cents and sell it for 25 cents. Baker said, "The system was undependable. Hell, one week a street salesman could sell several hundred copies and make himself some good cash, but then he would score [obtain illegally, in this case in reference to narcotics] some dope and be too stoned to show up for a long time" (1).

The newspaper continued to print much the same material as before: nationally covering protests, so-called police brutality, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other antiestablishment groups, racial unrest, "rock" shows; and locally covering much the same, especially busts (arrests) for illegal possession of narcotics (21).

Baker returned to the newspaper in February, 1970, rejoining the staff as coeditor with Burns (27, p. 3). This heralded for the Dallas Notes the beginning of the period of dissension as suggested by Dennis and Rivers (23, p. 139).
Baker explained this as the difference in the way he and Stein approached the same subjects. Baker said, "It was basically stylistic. Brent was into doing more sensational things, and the second thing was he did not want to do as complete coverage as I did. Also, Brent was not really up to giving me half, mainly because he had been put through so much personal suffering" (3).

The split finally came, according to Baker, when Stein went to California for a vacation and Baker was responsible for one issue. Baker said:

Well, the story I did was when Roger Jones got naked. I thought it was a funny story; the "magic christian" getting naked--and like the guy was serious! That issue was very strong because it had the Collins' kickback story, the airline pilots being concerned about the height of those new buildings in the approach to the field. There was also an article in that particular issue about a Tenants Association being formed up; and the combination of doing all these things but not while Brent was here or doing it his way is what he didn't like (3).

Baker said that he was spending a great deal of time working on different things, and there was limited communication between him and Stein, and splinter groups were forming on the newspaper. He said, "There were a lot of crazy people around. Everything was going wrong. The girl that was responsible for the subscription list and the guy she was living with had a fight and he tossed her in the shower along with the subscription list which was on gummed labels and it got all fucked up" (3).
Baker said he left because there were too many problems which could not be solved. He said a power play was beginning within the various groups on the Dallas Notes staff that would cause severe problems he wanted to avoid. He left what he said was "a lot of stuff I set up, and lost a lot of stuff in the deal" (3).

On August 12, 1970, Baker published the first issue of Dallas News, a sixteen-page tabloid in which Baker said, "It's the ambition of Dallas News to be the alternative daily newspaper in Dallas, except on Sundays" (11).

The first issue and subsequent issues contained many art-event reviews, racial problems stories, and other material much the same as Dallas Notes. However, differences between Dallas Notes and Dallas News became evident. Baker, in Dallas News, avoided terms such as pigs for police, and avoided the overuse of obscenity for the sake of shock. Baker's use of women's liberation material was also a type of story that had rarely appeared in Dallas Notes. For the most part, makeup was much the same as Dallas Notes (11).

Dallas News did not last long as a daily newspaper for various reasons. Baker had no capital other than that provided by himself and a small staff. The newspaper could not obtain sufficient advertising to support it as a daily. And, even though Baker said in Dallas News' first issue that his intent was to complement Dallas Notes (11, p. 2), the two newspapers still were in competition for the advertising
dollar. Dallas News was being published every two weeks by the August 26 issue (12), a more realistic approach considering the costs of producing a newspaper even this size.

At this same time, several factions began to vie for control of Dallas Notes, and Stein was having serious problems. By the September 16 issue, Stein had been replaced as editor by J. R. Compton (22).

The next changes in Dallas Notes are not clearly documented, and those involved say that things happened so fast they are not certain of the events. One radical group took control of the newspaper and produced an issue entitled Mad Coyote (6). This name appeared only once and was a four-page newspaper produced by a "White Panthers" radical group that allegedly stole the production equipment from the Dallas Notes Office (2).

Dallas News proclaimed the demise of Dallas Notes. A Dallas News story said the other newspaper died when Stein left the staff in November, 1970 (14, p. 1).

Baker began a search for the identity of his newspaper, which had replaced Dallas Notes completely by early 1971. He, too, was under pressure from various groups to beat the drum for whatever cause each might be supporting.

By May, 1971, the newspaper became a weekly publication, as it remains today. At that time, the makeup was much the same as Notes From The Underground and Dallas Notes, its predecessors. Story content continued with an antiestablishment attitude, but in a less angry manner, and included much
in-depth study in local matters (zoning, police action), and national and international stories (Cambodia, Mid-East). The newspaper continued art-event coverage and instituted a calendar of events in and around Dallas as a continuing feature (13).

Baker attempted to appease the various groups seeking to use his newspaper as a mouthpiece. The July 9, 1971, issue was subtitled "Gay Pride Issue" (15). The August 6, 1971, issue was subtitled as a "sisters" issue and featured women's liberation stories.

A lawsuit was filed against Dallas News by a local Dallas daily newspaper, The Dallas Morning News, requesting a name change in Baker's newspaper (2). Baker dropped the name Dallas News in favor of Iconoclast in late August, 1971 (4).

The period of dissension (23, p. 139) has continued to plague Iconoclast. Baker indicated that style and makeup remained the same through the fall of 1974. The only major changes have been in staff, and, since Baker became publisher in July, 1973, he experienced problems in retaining editors (3). In an attempt to further strengthen the image of the newspaper, he hired Jay Milner, a forty-six-year-old journalist who had been a staff member of the New York Herald Tribune, a journalism educator, and, a novelist (24, p. 18).

Milner said later what he was trying to do with the newspaper was to build up the arts in Iconoclast--" ... sort of a magazine within a magazine. Music, books, records, interviews ... we'll always cover some local news and have an
editorial page, just to have a viewpoint different from the local dailies" (24, p. 18).

However, Baker did not completely agree with Milner's methods. Milner was subsequently fired (10). Baker complained that Milner was turning the newspaper into a "shit-kicker" (referring to too much coverage of country/western related items) and was leaving out important items, and that Milner was editorializing too much in news stories rather than being objective (2).

Baker hired and fired two other editors since Milner, finally hiring a woman editor. The reason Baker gives for firing the others is that they made attempts to take control of the newspaper from him (2).

Baker cites distribution as another of the main obstacles he has had to overcome. Distribution agreements with Southland Corporation for the 7-Eleven stores recently helped keep the newspaper in the 5,000-circulation bracket and helped show some improvement in circulation.

Baker said harassment is not as bad as the late 1960's and early 1970's, but some incidents continue to occur. "Just last week, someone threw a brick through the windshield in my car," he said (2).

The present pattern indicates that Iconoclast is definitely in the period of internal dissension (exemplified by the frequent changes in staff) and the period of new complexity. Baker admits that all the answers to a better world are not as
clear-cut as they seemed in 1967. The writing style has changed along with the more traditional look in newspaper makeup. Now, both resemble a conventional newspaper more closely. The size is still tabloid, and artwork sometimes takes the entire front page (reminiscent of the New York Daily News). Inside, the newspaper takes on a modern magazine look, with heads centered, flush left and flush right; and artwork and photography are used extensively. Headlines also range from all-capital letter heads and upstyle heads to all-lower case standing heads in the "art" sections. Columns have been justified on the right since the addition of equipment in 1974, and pages carry five columns almost exclusively (5).

Iconoclast uses a leftist-liberal stance of local news combined with a calendar of entertainment and reviews to keep readers interested (26, p. 6).

The name Iconoclast has been retained, reflecting Baker's approach to journalism, he says. He said he has seen the newspaper through many changes, and he has brought the publication beyond the early days as an underground sheet to its position among the Dallas media and as an active member of the Texas Press Association (3).

Baker said the Iconoclast carries alternatives to many stories carried by other media, in that the coverage is more complete in some cases, includes material not found in other media, and gives another side not available elsewhere (3).
In another sense, Baker said, *Iconoclast* is supplemental to other area media; "... the big dailies cover much of the civic opera, the symphony, and things like that; but our coverage of entertainment is wider in scope. Rock music, country music, country and western, folk, classical, and all theatre" (3).

Baker believes he can build the newspaper to 50,000 circulation in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex area, and envisions the possibility of a statewide *Iconoclast* read by a large audience in major Texas cities (3).

O'Conner indicates, however, that *Iconoclast* may have to change its image, content, and appearance to capture a larger audience. She said she believes much of the news is so highly politicized that most Dallas readers would not believe it. O'Conner also said *Iconoclast* is geared toward a specialized audience, and drug-related stories will turn off Dallas' Middle Americans (26, p. 7).

*Iconoclast* has lived through tumultous times, name changes, personnel changes, and style changes. Publisher Baker has optimistic hopes for expansion of his newspaper, whereas critics cite many facets of the newspaper they say will have to be changed before such expansion can be a reality.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


18. Dallas *Notes*, July 1, 1968.


CHAPTER III

A READERSHIP SURVEY OF ICONOCLAST

A readership survey was employed to carry out the purposes of the study, primarily to partially identify the audience subscribers through collection of various demographic data, and further to arrive at some conclusions concerning the importance and role of Iconoclast in relation to the subscribers. Questionnaires were mailed to 200 randomly selected subscribers to determine some facts about the subscribers as well as some of their likes and dislikes concerning the newspaper. Some of the questions asked for opinion on other subjects. Of the 200 questionnaires mailed to subscribers, ninety, or 45 percent, were returned in usable form.

Because of the relatively recent rapid growth of this form of journalism in recent years in this country, emphasis is placed on comparing the only representative of the genre in Dallas (Iconoclast) to other forms of media which are readily available to residents in the area. It was hypothesized in the study that a majority of the subscribers of Iconoclast use the publication to find information not carried in other media sources available in the area, and a majority of these same subscribers read the publication to supplement information learned from these other media sources.

Table I is a mathematical indication relating to Hypothesis One, which states that a majority of the subscribers of
Iconoclast use the publication to find information not carried in other available media sources.

**TABLE I**

**DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSCRIBERS' USAGE OF ICONOCLAST TO FIND INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE IN OTHER MEDIA SOURCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do Use Iconoclast To Find Information</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unavailable in Other Media Sources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Use Iconoclast To Find Information</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unavailable in Other Media Sources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data presented in Table I clearly support Hypothesis One, with 54.4 per cent of the subscribers indicating the affirmative on using the publication as a source of material unavailable elsewhere. These data support the statement of Von Hoffman, who said, "At their best, underground papers have been an alternative medium giving us information we couldn't get elsewhere" (2, p. 138).

Another question on the questionnaire relating to this question asked respondents if they found products advertised in Iconoclast that they did not see in other newspapers and
magazines. Table II shows that a majority of the respondents indicated they found advertising information in *Iconoclast* they did not see presented in other newspapers and magazines.

**TABLE II**

**DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSCRIBERS WHO FIND PRODUCTS ADVERTISED IN ICONOCLAST THAT ARE NOT FOUND IN OTHER NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do Find Products Advertised in <em>Iconoclast</em> That Are Not Found in Other Newspapers and Magazines</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>69.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Find Products Advertised in <em>Iconoclast</em> That Are Not Found in Other Newspapers and Magazines</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table II indicate that this one form of information (advertising) is available to *Iconoclast* subscribers only in that publication, according to 62, or 69 per cent of the respondents. One cause of this could be that much of the advertising is of items directly related to the subculture movement, i.e. drug paraphernalia, homosexual materials, posters, hippie clothes, and various other underground bric-a-brac. These data lend further support to Hypothesis One.

Another part of the questionnaire was designed to test the second hypothesis, which stated that a majority of the
subscribers of *Iconoclast* read the publication to supplement information learned in other available media sources. The data in Table III show subscribers' responses in relation to Hypothesis Two.

**TABLE III**

**DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSCRIBERS' USAGE OF ICONOCLAST TO SUPPLEMENT INFORMATION LEARNED IN OTHER AVAILABLE MEDIA SOURCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do Use <em>Iconoclast</em> To Supplement Information Learned in Other Media Sources</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Use <em>Iconoclast</em> To Supplement Information Learned in Other Available Media Sources</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III clearly shows that the data gathered support Hypothesis Two, with 62.2 per cent of the subscribers used in the data indicating they used *Iconoclast* as a supplement to information learned in other available media.

In other questions on the questionnaire, subscribers readily indicated they did use other media. Table IV shows how many of the respondents said they read another newspaper regularly and how many did not read another newspaper regularly.
Table IV shows that 74, or 82.2 per cent, of the respondents read another newspaper regularly. Another part of this question asked for the subscriber to name other newspapers read regularly. Sixty-seven, or 90.5 per cent, of the 74 affirmative respondents to the question of reading another newspaper named one of the two major daily Dallas newspapers. Twenty-five, or 33.8 per cent, of those also indicated they read regularly both major daily Dallas newspapers. This is a positive indicator that the print media in more than one form are used regularly by the respondents.

Hypothesis Three stated that the highest percentage of the subscribers will consider themselves politically liberal in comparison with other category choices. A question designed to let the respondents rate themselves politically covered the spectrum of political classification responses. Table V shows the responses in relation to Hypothesis Three.
Table V shows that the highest percentage, a number which is even a total majority of the respondents who are subscribers of Iconoclast, classify themselves as liberal. Those classifying themselves as liberal totaled 49, or 54.4 per cent of the respondents. This clearly supports the third hypothesis. Other categories include 15 respondents, or 16.7 per cent, classifying themselves as moderate; 12 respondents, or 13.3 per cent, classifying themselves as extremely liberal; and 8 respondents, or 8.9 per cent, classifying themselves as conservative. Of the remaining 6 respondents, 2, or 2.2 per cent classifying themselves as extremely conservative and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely Conservative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely Liberal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 respondent, or 1.1 per cent, indicated the not sure category. Of those remaining 8, the last 3, or 3.3 per cent, checked the category marked other, giving their own classification by filling in the blank space. Two of those respondents indicated "I don't care" and the other wrote in "I don't give a shit."

A fourth hypothesis stated that when compared to other media, Iconoclast will rank high as an important news source to subscribers. A multipart question on the questionnaire was designed to test this hypothesis. Table VI is a mathematical indication of subscribers' responses to the testing of the fourth hypothesis.

**TABLE VI**

**DISTRIBUTION BY ICONOCLAST SUBSCRIBERS OF THEIR MOST IMPORTANT NEWS SOURCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Newspaper</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iconoclast</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Magazine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data illustrated in Table VI do not support the fourth hypothesis. The highest number of respondents, 29, or 32.2 per cent, indicated television as their most important news source. Twenty-eight respondents, or 31.1 per cent, chose the daily newspaper. The third largest grouping, 15 respondents, or 16.7 per cent, indicated radio as their most important news source, and finally, 10 respondents, or 11.1 per cent, indicated Iconoclast as their most important news source. It may be significant that a combination of those who indicated either daily newspaper or Iconoclast totaled 38, or 42.2 per cent, of the respondents. It is possible that if either the daily newspaper or Iconoclast category were deleted, the other might significantly gain in the number of respondents choosing it, since both are print media which carry some local news. Three respondents, or 3.3 per cent, indicated news magazines as their most important news source. Five, or 5.6 per cent of the total, indicated other choices as their most important news source. Of these, 3 respondents indicated another weekly newspaper as their most important news source, 2 respondents indicated women's awareness meetings as their primary news source, and 1 respondent indicated a church newsletter as his primary news source.

Another question on the questionnaire asked the respondents to give their opinion of whether Iconoclast reports news events in detail or not. The rating subscribers gave Iconoclast on this question indicates their opinion concerning Iconoclast's
coverage of news stories. Table VII illustrates the opinions the respondents gave on this question.

**TABLE VII**

SUBSCRIBERS' OPINIONS CONCERNING WHETHER ICONOCLAST REPORTS NEWS EVENTS IN DETAIL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All of the Time</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the Time</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table VII indicate that a majority of the subscribers of Iconoclast feel Iconoclast reports news events in detail either all of the time or most of the time. Seventeen respondents, or 18.9 per cent, indicated all of the time, and 36 respondents, or 40 per cent, indicated most of the time. This is a total of 53, or 59.9 per cent, of all the respondents.

To determine the validity of Hypothesis Five, a multipart question concerning that hypothesis was included on the questionnaire, asking respondents to rate news sources on the bias they believe is in various news sources. Table VIII shows
the range of opinion indicated by respondents to this question.

TABLE VIII

SUBSCRIBERS' OPINIONS CONCERNING WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE LEAST BIASED AND MOST BIASED NEWS SOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Most Biased</th>
<th></th>
<th>Least Biased</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Newspaper</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iconoclast</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Magazine</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table VIII support the fifth hypothesis, which states a high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast a biased news source when compared to other media sources. As indicated in Table VIII, 20 respondents, or 22.2 per cent of the total, indicated they considered Iconoclast the most biased news source. Only one larger group of subscribers, 30, or 33.3 per cent, indicated the choice of news magazine as the most biased news source. This same question included in the questionnaire asked respondents to rate the news source they considered the least biased. Table VIII shows clearly the direct relationship between those news...
sources indicated by the respondents as least biased and those news sources indicated as most biased. An indicator of this is television as a news source. Television as a news source was indicated by the largest number of respondents, 38, or 42.2 per cent, as the least biased; and the same medium was also indicated by the fewest number of respondents, 8, or 8.9 per cent, as the most biased news source. Another example for comparison would be news magazine as a news source. Thirty respondents, or 33.3 per cent, indicated news magazines as the choice they considered the most biased news source; and only 4 respondents, or 4.4 per cent, indicated news magazines as the choice for least biased news source. A combining of the responses of daily newspaper and Iconoclast would have the effect of changing the results somewhat; however, television would still maintain its position as the response chosen as the least biased by the largest number of subscribers.

Hypothesis Six stated a high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast more believable when compared to other media sources. Another multipart question on the questionnaire was designed to test this sixth hypothesis. Table IX is an illustration of the data concerning this question.

The data in Table IX lend only partial support to the sixth hypothesis. The data show Iconoclast was indicated as the most believable news source by 17 respondents, or 18.9 per cent. Although the data do not give complete support to Hypothesis Six, there is the possibility again of the using
TABLE IX
SUBSCRIBERS' OPINIONS CONCERNING WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE MOST BELIEVABLE AND THE LEAST BELIEVABLE NEWS SOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Most Biased</th>
<th>Least Biased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Newspaper</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iconoclast</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Magazine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of another local print medium news source such as the daily newspaper along with Iconoclast as a choice, causing a split in those who would have chosen one of these media forms had only one appeared on the questionnaire. Twenty-four respondents, or 26.7 per cent, indicated daily newspaper as the most believable news source. Combining the two forms of local print medium news sources would yield 41 respondents, or 45.6 per cent, of the total. Also, it should be noted, Iconoclast was chosen only as less biased a media news source than news magazines, yet it was indicated by those same respondents as more believable than both news magazines and radio.
Although there might appear to be a contradiction of the date, or even a contradiction between the fifth and sixth hypotheses, the data in Table IX combined with the data in Table VIII support the findings of Jacobson's study, which indicated that respondents may rank newspapers high in believability, but those same respondents also ranked the newspapers significantly less unbiased (3, pp. 23-25). Jacobson indicated this could be interpreted to mean respondents want bias that agrees with their own bias in their own news sources (3, p. 27).

Material was included on the questionnaire to gather other demographic indicators in an effort to further identify various characteristics of the subscribers of Iconoclast. Subscribers were asked questions concerning their age, sex, education, level of income, and other related data to further identify these readers and make some inferences about them.

Table X is a distribution according to age groups of the respondents. Dennis and Rivers, in finding common characteristics of the counterculture they say spawned and nurtured the underground press, said that most of its members were young (2, p. 136). Porter and Stevens also identify the audience of the underground press as the alienated youth (4, p. 30).

Data in Table X show the largest groupings of respondents in the 25-29 and 30-34 age brackets. Twenty-seven respondents, or 30.0 per cent, indicated they were in the 25-29 age bracket,
and 22 respondents, or 24.4 per cent, indicated they were in the 30-34 age bracket.

The material in Table X has more meaning when the data are used to calculate the mean. Table XI shows the calculation of the mean from a frequency distribution.

The mean of 28.7 may indicate the readers of Iconoclast do not fit the youth mold of underground press audience, as suggested by Dennis and Rivers (2, p. 136) and Porter and Stevens (3, p. 30). In all fairness, however, they have made no real effort at a definition of youth as indicated in their various studies. Also, Iconoclast's audience may differ from
TABLE XI

CALCULATION OF THE MEAN AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group Intervals</th>
<th>Mid Points (X)</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>(f x X)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 And Over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum f x X}{N} = \frac{2580}{90} = 28.7
\]

that of other underground newspapers in makeup, which could give a variation in demographic data from what might be the norm.

Data gathered from the questionnaire also indicated Iconoclast has a much larger number of male subscribers than female. Of the respondents, 66, or 73.3 per cent, were male, and 24, or 26.7 per cent were female.

Part of the questionnaire concerned the education level obtained by the respondents in order to further identify them.
Table XII is an indication of the educational level. Table XII indicates that the subscribers of *Iconoclast* are a fairly well-educated sample. The data in Table XII illustrate that 66, or 73.3 per cent, attended college, with 35, or 38.9 per cent, of the total respondents having been graduated from college. Twelve, or 13.3 per cent, of the respondents indicated they had some postgraduate study.

**TABLE XII**

**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SUBSCRIBERS TO *ICONOCLAST***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grades 0-8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 9-12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended College</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated From College</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate Study</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A demographic factor included on the questionnaire for consideration was the question concerning subscribers' annual income. Five yearly income grouping brackets were included, and the results are tabulated in Table XIII.

Taking the data in Table XIII further illustrates that 56, or 62.2 per cent, of the respondents earn more than
$10,000 per year in income. Twelve, or 13.3 per cent, are in the less than $5,000 per year income bracket. The largest group is the $10,001-15,000 income bracket. Although not an extremely high income bracket, this bracket could well include many professional job areas such as teaching, social work, midmanagement, and others. This would tend to fit in with the rather high education level and mean age of 28.7 of the respondents.

### TABLE XIII
APPROXIMATE YEARLY INCOME OF ICONOCLAST SUBSCRIBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Bracket</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $5,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000-10,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,001-15,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,001-20,000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $20,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A question was used to determine the length of time respondents had subscribed to Iconoclast. This question is important considering the short life of Iconoclast, and its numerous identity changes. It is rather difficult for a newspaper to build a solid readership when the identity has been
in question and publication at times has been sporadic. Another factor to consider is that no great effort was put forth on gaining subscriptions until the last two or three years (1). Data in Table XIV illustrate length of subscription by the respondents.

**TABLE XIV**

**LENGTH OF SUBSCRIPTION OF ICONOCLAST BY RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Subscription</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less Than One Year</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 Years</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 Years</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 Years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table XIV indicate the number of subscribers to *Iconoclast* has been steadily increasing. This may be an indication of the gaining of identity of the publication as well as the result of increased effort to gain subscribers by the newspaper staff.

An aspect of the questionnaire concerned the amount of use *Iconoclast* had by each subscriber and other persons using each issue. One method used of answering this question was
to determine approximately how much of each issue was read by the respondents. Table XV is a representation of these data.

**TABLE XV**

**APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF EACH ISSUE OF ICONOCLAST READ BY SUBSCRIBERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Iconoclast Read</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less Than 25 Per Cent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-50 Per Cent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-75 Per Cent</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Than 75 Per Cent</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in Table XV indicate a large portion of each issue of Iconoclast is read by subscribers. This can be considered even more important when coupled with the information concerning how many readers there are of each issue of each subscriber's Iconoclast. This information was gathered as a part of the survey, and results show 41 respondents, or 45.6 per cent, indicated one person other than the subscriber reads the one copy of Iconoclast. Twenty-eight, or 31.1 per cent, said 2-3 persons besides themselves read the one copy of Iconoclast.

A series of questions asked subscribers' opinions concerning the overall writing in Iconoclast, 38, or 42.2 per cent,
said the writing was good, and 25, or 27.7 per cent, said it was fair. Seventeen subscribers answered they considered the writing poor, and only 10 chose excellent as their opinion of the writing in *Iconoclast*. 
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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Characteristics of Subscribers

A review of the material collected through the random sample readership survey revealed certain characteristics that assist in describing the typical respondent subscriber based on various demographic data and other questions. The subscriber could be either male or female, but three of every four will be male. The mean age of the subscriber is 28.7 years, with the chances being he is most likely somewhere between 20 and 34 years old. His education included some college, and there is a 38.9 per cent chance he is a college graduate. His approximate yearly income exceeds $10,000, but is less than $15,000. The typical subscriber reads Iconoclast to find information, including advertising, unavailable in other media sources, as well as to supplement information learned in other media sources. He will be a regular reader of another newspaper, most likely one of the two major daily newspapers in Dallas, Texas. He classifies himself as politically liberal. In his opinion, Iconoclast reports news events in detail either most or all of the time; and he reads more than 75 per cent of each issue even though Iconoclast ranks fourth on his list of most important news sources. He has subscribed to Iconoclast.
for one to three years and finds the publication easy to read and considers the writing in Iconoclast good overall. He considers national news, international news, state news, editorials and columns, and performing arts stories the most important material in the publication. Other items he would like to see covered in more detail by Iconoclast include police and government exposes, art shows and museums in general, and locally oriented columns and editorials.

Summary of the Hypotheses

The questionnaire was designed to test the various hypotheses by using respondents' opinions and reading habits related to various factors. Six hypotheses were formulated, and evaluation of the analysis of the data indicates strong support for four hypotheses and refutes two hypotheses.

Hypothesis One: A majority of the subscribers of Iconoclast use the publication to find information not carried in other media sources. The data collected from the survey indicate this hypothesis is acceptable, with 54.4 percent of the respondents supporting in a direct question, and 69 percent of the respondents supporting it concerning advertising information.

Hypothesis Two: A majority of the subscribers of Iconoclast read the publication to supplement information learned in other media sources. Fifty-six, or 62.2 percent, indicated support for this hypothesis by affirming they did
use Iconoclast to supplement information gained from other sources. To test this further, a question was put to respondents to ascertain if they did, in fact, read other newspapers, as another media source. A total of 82.2 per cent answered they regularly read another newspaper, most often naming one of the two major daily newspapers available in Dallas as their regularly read publication.

Hypothesis Three: The higher percentage of the subscribers will consider themselves politically liberal. This hypothesis was clearly supported by the data. Forty-nine, or 54.4 per cent, of the respondents chose to classify themselves as liberal even when offered a number of categories and a choice of an open-end answer. This group is a majority of the total respondents.

Hypothesis Four: When compared to other media, Iconoclast will rank high as an important news source to subscribers. The data provided by the survey did not support this hypothesis. Given several choices, 10, or 11.1 per cent, of the respondents chose Iconoclast as their most important news source. The most respondents, 29, indicated television as their most important news source. Twenty-eight indicated a daily newspaper, and 15 respondents chose radio. The category of news magazines was picked by 3 respondents as their most important news source.

Hypothesis Five: A high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast a biased news source when compared
to other media sources. The data from the survey support this hypothesis. When compared with other media, Iconoclast was considered the most biased by a large number of subscribers, second only to news magazines. Thirty, or 33.3 per cent, chose news magazines as the most biased media source, and 20, or 22.2 per cent, indicated Iconoclast as most biased. The remainder of the respondents were spread among the categories of television, radio and daily newspaper, with television chosen as the least biased of the choices.

Hypothesis Six: A high percentage of the subscribers will consider Iconoclast a believable news source when compared to other media sources. The data collected from the survey reject the sixth hypothesis. Seventeen, or 18.9 per cent, indicated Iconoclast as the most believable news source. Two other categories of media source, television and daily newspaper, were both indicated as most believable over Iconoclast by respondents. Television was indicated by 33, or 36.7 per cent, and daily newspaper by 24, or 26.7 per cent. Radio with 15 respondents and news magazines with 1 respondent were the other choices indicated as most believable.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Several conclusions may be drawn from the results of the readership survey data. Even in the midst of a large metropolitan area with several newspapers to chose from, including two major daily newspapers, Iconoclast serves an audience
that considers the publication important for several reasons. There is evidence from the survey that a substantial number of subscribers read the publication to find information unavailable from other media sources. This leads to the conclusion that the newspaper has a specialized audience that seeks a certain type of news or information. This would be supported by Sanford, who says, "Underground papers . . . give readers what they want to read; they are a great news business, and far from representing a fundamental critique of American society, are actually full-fledged participants in it" (7, p. 359). The clear indication that a large number of subscribers read advertisements in Iconoclast not available in other media takes on added significance when considering what Johnson says concerning underground newspapers, "... the ads tend to solidify the public which they are addressing and act, with the letters to the editor, as a sort of forum for the paper's audience" (5, p. 5).

Further, this study indicated a large number of the subscribers use Iconoclast to supplement information learned from other sources. The newspaper's weekly publication allows greater lead time on deadlines and more time for in-depth research on various subjects. This would agree with O'Connor, who gave examples of several stories giving more material in Iconoclast on stories than was given in other local media (6, p. 7).
One conclusion is that the audience is primarily a politically liberal grouping. The survey indicated well over the majority placed themselves in categories to the left of center in their political stance. This readily agrees with the view of this underground newspaper audience as suggested by Dennis and Rivers (3, p. 136-144). Others suggest the angry radical left wing movement helped spawn the modern underground press (5, p. 7; 12, p. 353).

The survey failed to show Iconoclast as one of the most important news sources available to its readers when they compared it as a news source to other available media. News source comparisons have been done before, but using two print media sources from one metropolitan area as was done in this study may have caused Iconoclast to be ranked lower by splitting the choices. Ranking higher on respondents' lists was the daily newspaper, and this study indicated a majority of Iconoclast's readers were also regular readers of at least one of the daily Dallas newspapers. Another problem here may be the definition of news or news source. Iconoclast subscribers rate editorials, columns, and performing arts stories high on their lists as important material appearing in the publication, as well as other news stories. It may be that a large group of the audience does not consider these news stories even though they are important to the audience, therefore effecting their ranking of Iconoclast as a news source.
Again, it should be noted the respondents indicated they believed *Iconoclast* did report news events in detail. This would lend some support to the conclusion that there is a relationship between how well a subject is reported on according to a reader, and how much the reporting agrees with the reader's own viewpoint.

It has been found in at least one study that readers will indicate a newspaper is more believable than other news sources even though the same readers consider that newspaper more biased than some of those same other news sources in a ranking (4, p. 23-35). The present survey would give the indication *Iconoclast* subscribers rate *Iconoclast* with more bias than only one other media source, news magazines; yet the same readers indicated *Iconoclast* is more believable than both radio and news magazines. Although the percentage of respondents who indicated *Iconoclast* and those who indicated radio as the most believable media source is mathematically close, the fact *Iconoclast*'s rank was changed from one question to the next is significant. This may be in agreement with Jacobsen, when he said respondents want the bias in the medium that carries news to them, presumably especially if the bias coincides with their own (4, p. 27). It is also in agreement with Brehm and Lipsher, who found a direct correlation between the trustworthiness and how close the value system of the source of news is to the receiver's value system in his perception (2, p. 360).
Judging from the length of subscription categories the respondents completed, there is an apparent increase in the number of those who have subscribed within the past two years or less. However, Iconoclast publisher Doug Baker's hopes of building his newspaper to 50,000 circulation (1) may be somewhat optimistic considering the slow percentage increase in subscribers. This may be supported also by O'Conner, who questions whether most Dallas readers would believe the highly politicized news of Iconoclast (6, p. 7). Baker may need to consider the writing, if it is politicized as O'Conner suggests, and alter it somewhat to gain new readers.

Among other considerations Baker and his staff should have when trying to reach their readers are the subscribers' education level and age grouping. At least two thirds of the respondents in the study had attended college, with more than 38 per cent graduating from college. This would indicate a relatively highly literate group. The study's indicated mean age of 29.8 years for the respondents may be of some use to the Iconoclast staff when preparing to present material which will reach their audience with interesting material for that audience.

Advertisers should be interested to learn the income level of more than 62 per cent of the respondents in the study is $10,000 or more per year. Iconoclast may be able to use these figures to attract new advertisers, adding those who may have avoided using the newspaper because of its label as
an underground newspaper. Another aspect of the study which should interest potential and present advertisers is the amount of each issue of Iconoclast read by respondents. Sixty per cent of the respondents indicated they read more than 75 per cent of each issue. This would increase the chances for a reader to see an advertisement in the newspaper. Respondents also indicated more than one person usually read each issue of Iconoclast received by them. Forty-one respondents, or 45.6 per cent, indicated one person other than themselves read the one copy of the newspaper, and 28, or 31.1 per cent, said 2-3 persons besides themselves read the one copy of Iconoclast. The advertising department of Iconoclast may well use these figures to their advantage in finding new clients.

The Iconoclast staff would also find it advantageous to scrutinize the list of items respondents most often indicated as important subject categories they read in Iconoclast. The most often chosen items included national news, international news, state news, editorials and columns, and performing arts. The most often repeated subjects listed by respondents when asked what material they would like to see more of were police and government exposes, art shows and museums in general, and locally oriented columns and editorials. Both of these groupings contain subjects which an earlier study by Swanson indicated were among the ten least-read types of articles when he questioned the readers of
130 daily newspapers (8, p. 412). Those found to be indicated as important by Iconoclast readers and not by the Swanson study were state government and fine arts.

Areas for Further Study

One area for future study would be to compare the staff turnover, especially editorial, of Iconoclast with that of newspapers of the genre in other geographical areas. This could be coupled with a study of the reasons behind these rather rapid personnel changes to ascertain what improvements could be made to allow staffing stability. Baker never seems to keep an editor for any great length of time. Overcoming this turnover could lead to more stability in the overall Iconoclast product.

Another study which would be of interest would be to study the family household units into which Iconoclast is delivered. Advertisers often try to reach specific audiences within a family unit.

A part of the questionnaire attempted to ascertain the respondents' opinions concerning the writing quality in Iconoclast. It would be interesting and informative to delve into this question in greater depth. A breakdown should be made by distinguishing between local and syndicated materials, and opinion and straight news items. Also, a study which might define writing quality better for the respondents would be advantageous.
Much of the material written concerning underground newspapers as a group has lumped them into one category aligned with various defined attributes of a labeled small conglomerate of antiestablishment people. This small conglomerate makes up the newspapers' staff and readers, according to this material. A content analysis of the articles in Iconoclast would help in discovering whether the story content reflects that definition grouping through an objective, systematic, and quantitative study of certain areas of the newspaper.

A comparison of readers of the underground newspapers in various geographic areas would also give some indication of how alike they really are. Newspapers of the genre in several large metropolitan areas of the United States have been published as long as or longer than Iconoclast and could be used for comparison purposes.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


Dear Iconoclast Subscriber:

Your help is needed in conducting a readership survey for the Iconoclast. The enclosed questionnaire is being sent to you to get your opinions concerning the Iconoclast. Your views about the newspaper will be considered in an attempt to serve you better.

This research is also being carried out as partial fulfillment of thesis requirements for my master's degree in journalism at North Texas State. I hope you will be able to complete the questionnaire and return it as soon as possible.

The questionnaire is intended to gather data about Iconoclast readers and their opinions of the newspaper. Of course, all answers will be held in the strictest confidence, and you are not to sign the questionnaire.

Please take a few minutes to complete the enclosed questionnaire, and return it in the postage-paid and addressed envelope. May I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Richard Wells
APPENDIX B

Respondents for this survey were randomly selected from the subscription list of the Iconoclast.

1. What is your age?
   a. 15-19
   b. 20-25
   c. 26-35
   d. 36-45
   e. 46-55
   f. Over 55

2. Sex
   a. Male
   b. Female

3. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
   a. Grades 0-8
   b. Grades 9-12
   c. Attended College
   d. Graduated from College
   e. Post-Graduate Study

4. Occupation (fill in blank)

5. What is your approximate yearly income?
   a. Under $5,000
   b. $5,000-$10,000
   c. $10,000-$15,000
   d. $15,000-$20,000
   e. Over $20,000

6. How long have you subscribed to Iconoclast?
   a. Less than one year
   b. 1-2 years
   c. 2-3 years
   d. 3-4 years

7. How many persons other than yourself read at least some of each issue of your Iconoclast?
   a. None
   b. One
   c. 2-3
   d. More than three

8. Approximately how much of Iconoclast do you read each week?
   a. Less than 25 per cent
   b. 25-50 per cent
   c. 50-75 per cent
   d. More than 75 per cent

9. Do you read Iconoclast to get information that is unavailable through other sources?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not sure

10. Do you read Iconoclast to supplement information you have learned from other sources?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not sure

11. Do you regularly read any other newspaper beside Iconoclast?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   If answer is yes, name other newspaper(s)

12. Rank the following news sources according to their importance to you. On a scale of 1 to 6, 1 will be the most important item and 6 will be the least important.
   a. Daily Newspaper
   b. Iconoclast
   c. Television
   d. Radio
   e. News magazines
   f. Other (describe)
13. Rank the following news sources according to how biased or unbiased you believe they are in their news coverage. On a scale of 1 to 6, 1 will be the most biased and 6 the least biased.
   a. Daily Newspaper
   b. Iconoclast
   c. Television
   d. Radio
   e. News Magazine
   f. Other (describe)

14. Rank the following news sources according to how believable you think they are in their news coverage. On a scale of 1 to 6, 1 will be the most believable and 6 the least believable.
   a. Daily Newspaper
   b. Iconoclast
   c. Television
   d. Radio
   e. News magazine
   f. Other (describe)

15. How would you classify yourself politically? (Check one space)
   a. Extremely Conservative
   b. Conservative
   c. Moderate
   d. Liberal
   e. Extremely Liberal
   f. Not Sure
   g. Other (describe)

16. Do you find Iconoclast hard to read?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not Sure

17. What is your opinion of the overall writing in Iconoclast?
   a. Poor
   b. Fair
   c. Good
   d. Excellent

18. Do you find products advertised in Iconoclast that you do not see in other newspapers and magazines?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not Sure

19. How many advertisements do you look at in each issue of Iconoclast?
   a. Almost None
   b. Less than Half
   c. More than Half
   d. Almost All
   e. Not Sure

20. Do you think Iconoclast reports news events in detail?
   a. All of the time
   b. Most of the time
   c. Rarely
   d. Never
   e. Not Sure

21. Check the items below which you find most important in your reading of Iconoclast.
   a. International News
   b. National News
   c. State News
   d. Photographs
   e. Editorials and columns
   f. Syndicated columns
   g. Store Advertisements
   h. Classified Advertisements
   i. Comics
   j. Sports
   k. Performing Arts (Music, etc.)
   l. Other

22. What type of material would you prefer to see more of in Iconoclast?
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