From "Pockets of Poverty" to Potential Prosperity in Appalachia: Examining Mass Media Narratives of Poverty Stereotypes in Appalachia

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Abstract

This research examined poverty stereotypes in Appalachia that were portrayed in a national newspaper, The New York Times, and a local newspaper, The Mountain Eagle in Whitesburg, Kentucky. The study looks at framing through narrative and content analysis for January 2014, the period in which the media revisited the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty. The research also compared these findings with the coverage of these papers in January 1964, when Lyndon Johnson declared the War on Poverty in Eastern Kentucky. The research found national media primarily focused on economic issues and used more negative language in 1964, in comparison with the local newspaper. The study found that the two newspapers switched their coverage pattern 50 years later.

I. Introduction

Three years ago, the researcher drove through green hills into the town of Whitesburg, Kentucky, population 2,078 (2012 census), although the old Royal Crown Cola-sponsored welcome sign will tell you, "1,534 friendly people plus 2 grouches." Inside Appalshop, a local media, arts, and education center, a man sat cross-legged on a simple wooden stage. Introducing himself as Derek Mullins, he told the story that inspired this research: "I never knew I was poor until outsiders came in and told me I was poor; it was only then that I became ashamed of my roots and identity."

This version of self-othering—of not only allowing external definitions to isolate a particular group, but also influencing a sort of internal exploitation by the groups themselves—can affect how these levels of truths can blur the lines between who holds and produces knowledge. This research asks, who has the power to tell the stories of communities, and what are the responsibilities of the storyteller? How have regions such as Appalachia been misrepresented by the circulation of stereotypes in visual culture?

General public discourse suggests Appalachian people are often trapped in an ideological construct of a hillbilly stereotype in American culture. This research examines media narratives of poverty stereotypes in Eastern Kentucky and asks, how do local media frame issues of poverty in Appalachia compared to national media?

The research compares the framing of the media coverage through narrative analysis and content

analysis of a national newspaper, *The New York Times*, and a local Appalachian newspaper, *The Mountain Eagle*, in Whitesburg, Kentucky for January 2014, the period in which the media revisited the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty. For comparison, the research also analyzes the framing of the media coverage for January 1964, the month Lyndon Johnson declared the War on Poverty in Eastern Kentucky.

This research asks, how do local media visualize and frame topics of poverty and the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty in Eastern Kentucky compared to national media? The study examines the factors in national and local newspaper coverage that may influence poverty stereotypes of Appalachian people. Local media are more likely to use positive language and visuals than national media when reporting on the War on Poverty. In addition, national media are more likely to focus on the economics of poverty than local media, who are more likely to focus on social and cultural aspects of poverty.

II. Literature Review

The 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty that was celebrated in January 2014 garnered much media attention and brought Appalachia's economic standing into the national spotlight as did President Lyndon Johnson's declaration on an "unconditional" War on Poverty on the footsteps of a home in Eastern Kentucky in January 1964. The anniversary prompted a wide-ranging debate on whether the war has succeeded or failed, or is even ongoing. The Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector called it a "catastrophe," while the White House claimed the war "lived up to our best hopes as a people who value the dignity and potential of every human being" (Matthews, 2014, p. 1). As scholars study the changing values of the U.S. official poverty line since its definition in the 1960s, there is renewed debate about whether Appalachia is still considered the face of poverty in America.

Context on the War on Poverty and the Culture of Poverty

When Johnson promised to "bring rural America into the mainstream of American prosperity" in 1964, it also meant drawing Appalachia into the mainstream of American media (Bowler, 1985, p. 239). According to March (1966), "The 'war on poverty' is a landmark in the focusing of public concern on the broad range of social problems and programs which affect people, and in developing new and more effective approaches for concerting resources and action to strike at the root causes of poverty" (p. 115). Prior to the War on Poverty, there was little media attention about poverty in America; in fact, there was not a poverty heading in the index of *The New York Times* until the declaration (Bowler, 1985).

Furthermore, the War on Poverty led to the construction of Oscar Lewis' concept of the culture of poverty, which explains the persistence of poverty in terms of presumed negative qualities within a culture: family disorganization, group disintegration, personal disorganization, resignation, and fatalism (Harvey & Reed, 1996). Appalachia has been used as a prime example of the systematic construct of the culture of poverty, facing lingering images of poverty-stricken "hillbillies" (Bowler, 1985; Price et al., 2000; Sarnoff, 2003). Consequently, an outside-inside dichotomy emerged, and the idea of blaming mountain people and viewing them as separate from the rest of American culture predominated in popular media culture. For instance, in a Fox News program on February 13, 2009, conservative commentator Bill O'Reilly criticized the "culture of poverty" and "culture of ignorance" in Appalachia by saying that Appalachian culture harmed children because of alcoholic parents and the widespread drug influences among other "irresponsibility" (Cooper, Knotts & Livingston, 2010, p. 26).

Appalachian Stereotypes in Media

In a 1976 Appalachian case study, Seltzer noted that among minority groups commonly excluded from journalist news networks, such as women, racial minorities, ethnic groups, low-income people, and groups challenging powerful interests, "hillbillies" received the worst media treatment (Speer, 1993). Academics have observed that while most Appalachians do not want to separate themselves from their regional link because of geographical identifiers, they are often superficially and externally assigned to stereotyped limitations of the region through media characterizations of Appalachians in American visual culture. It is only when these stereotypes are discarded that Appalachians feel authentically Appalachian (Snyder, 1982; Massey, 2007; Ferrence, 2012).

Maggard (1983-84) observes two general frames that characterize images of Appalachia in the national media: (1) Misleading reporting and a lack of in-depth analysis dominate media, and (2) Reporters often fail to grasp the historical context, the economic context, and the motives of key actors on opposing sides. Because of their limited contact with the region, national journalists often overlook the mountain middle class and rich. Instead they search for images that fit their preconceived notions about rural poverty (Bowler, 1985; Ferrence, 2012). In the same sense, former Congressman William C. Cramer from Florida said, "By selecting certain pockets of poverty and eliminating other parts of the country, [federal aid to Appalachia] can be used in a discriminatory manner for political expediency, executive favoritism, and vote buying on a grand scale" (in Bowler, 1985, p. 246). These portrayals create gross generalizations of Appalachia in which selected images by mass media do not represent the whole.

Some of the most popular media images of Appalachian people include people living without electricity or children without shoes. Other general representations of Appalachian differences often refer to physical traits that signify "otherness," including illnesses, deformities, ragged clothing, unkempt appearances, poor dental hygiene, and prematurely aged men and women with sluggish postures and blank stares (Sarnoff, 2003; Scott, 2009). In *The New York Times*, the Consultant to the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, Benjamin Chinitz, wrote, "The immigrants from Appalachia do not assimilate very readily to modern urban industrial society in northern metropolitan areas" (Chinitz, 1964, p. A1).

While images of desolation can attract public interest and catalyze actions to tackle poverty, they can also reaffirm the marginalization that allows the exploitation of marginalized communities (Snynder, 1982; Scott, 2009). In a television review in *The New York Times*, journalist Jack Gould wrote about CBS's Charles Kuralt, who showed an Appalachian Christmas segment juxtaposing the celebration of Christmas in other parts of America with an abandoned coal mining community in Eastern Kentucky:

> The camera showed the worn faces and discouragement in the eyes of the adults, the children who have scant prospects of gaining any education, the broken remnants of buildings that serve as homes and the cold and dirt of the ever-gray surroundings. (Gould, 1964, p. A1)

Scholars have linked images and individuals' perceptions of them directly to the construction of internal identities and senses of self (Snyder, 1982; Lacan 2004; Massey, 2007). When scholars consider how images contribute to the definitions, relations, and perceptions of how people connect to their environment and interpret the lessons of an image, they ask the crucial questions: What can a disempowered people do if they do not want their pictures taken? What does it do to people when they are made the objects of the nation's pity? (Wang, 1999; Price et al., 2000).

Main Goals

The purpose of this research is to examine how media narratives of poverty stereotypes from the 1960s can affect Appalachian people today through emic and etic perspectives. An emic approach includes accounts expressed by the research participants or the native members of the culture being studied, and an etic approach includes accounts expressed by scientific observers who apply existing theories and cultural frameworks to the setting (Lett, 1990). The research compares the framing of the two newspapers through narrative analysis and content analysis for January 2014, the period in which many media organizations revisited the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty. The study then connects research on the framing of the media coverage through media analysis for January 1964, the month Lyndon Johnson declared the War on Poverty in Eastern Kentucky.

III. Methods

The research employs quantitative and qualitative research methods, including a content analysis to compare local and national media coverage during January 1964 and January 2014. An underlying hypothesis is that local community members and media are more likely to use positive language and visuals than national media when reporting on the War on Poverty. In addition, national media are more likely to focus on the economics of poverty than local community members and media, who are more likely to focus on social and cultural aspects of poverty than on the economics of poverty.

Framing theory suggests that the presentation of a topic, or the frame by which information is stra-

tegically organized to structure social meanings, influences the perception, beliefs, and ideas of the audience (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). Frames are used as an interpretive device to help people make sense of a topic by emphasizing specific features rather than trying to process all available information. Examples of framing techniques that are particularly relevant to this research include stories, or the framing of subjects through memorable anecdotes; and spin, or the discussion of an idea with a positive or negative connotation (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). Framing is a beneficial analysis tool because understanding the frames employed by particular organizations or groups distinguishes what they consider important, so researchers can achieve a better understanding of how and why people interpret situations and ideas. This research seeks to understand the ways different types of mass media focus on various issues in Appalachia, which will shed light on how the poverty stereotypes of Appalachia have developed, and more importantly, how these general perceptions affect the identity, discrimination, and marginalization of Appalachian people.

Framing theory is helpful in studying media narratives because the media can influence public opinion by focusing on salient aspects of a news story. These frames help viewers decide who or what is responsible for the cause or solution of an issue, whether it can be looked at from broader social factors and institutional accountability or personal responsibility (Entman, 1993). This research focuses on thematic news frames, or frames that place public issues in a broader context by focusing on general conditions or outcomes (Inyengar, 1991). For example, the way a news organization might frame a person living in an impoverished community in Appalachia could affect whether the public sees the individual as "lazy" or as a victim of a larger, problematic societal system.

While journalists generally attempt to follow fair and balanced reporting practices, there may still be a dominant framing of news that the media use to influence public opinion. Developed by scholars Max McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) in a study of the 1968 presidential election to understand the degree to which the media determines public opinion, agenda-setting theory describes the ability of the news media to influence the salience of public agenda topics. Agenda setting theory suggests the media can not only reflect reality but also determine reality by presenting topics in a manner designed to attract the public and policy makers (Miller & Krosnick, 1996). Agenda setting theory focuses on the idea that the media does not tell the public what to think, but rather, what to think about. Consequently, the news media are primary agenda-setting agents because of their ability to set the agenda for how the public reacts and how policy makers respond through legislation (Entman, 1993; Miller & Krosnick, 1996).

In this research, two news outlets are examined to compare the media coverage and framing of the coverage on Appalachian poverty stereotypes: a national outlet, *The New York Times*; and a local Appalachian newspaper, *The Mountain Eagle* in Whitesburg, Kentucky, near where Johnson launched the War on Poverty in January 1964. The research observes how each outlet portrayed people in Eastern Kentucky by analyzing articles and visuals from the media coverage and developing categories through emergent coding to identify themes associated with Appalachian people.

The Mountain Eagle was selected as the local newspaper because it is based in Eastern Kentucky and was one of the only local newspapers in the area at the time to cover Johnson's tour of Appalachia. *The New York Times* was selected as the national newspaper because it was one of the first newspapers to cover Johnson's War on Poverty. The keywords "Johnson" and "Poverty" were used to search archives of *The Mountain Eagle* for January 1964, yielding 12 relevant articles; the keyword "Appalachia" was used to search the archives of *The New York Times*, during the same period, yielding 11 relevant articles. The month of January 1964 was selected because it is the month in which President Johnson officially declared the War on Poverty in his State of the Union address to the Congress. From there, he toured Appalachia to promote awareness of poverty, and emphasized Eastern Kentucky as an area in which poverty was particularly prevalent. After reading through the newspaper articles and recognizing patterns, I coded for tone and rhetoric, characteristics in reference to Appalachian people, functions, and visuals. This process was repeated, with a few additional categories developed through emergent coding, for the comparison between the two newspapers in their coverage of the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty in January 2014, when Appalachia was once again brought into national media spotlight.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe open coding as the "process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (p. 61). The coding sheet developed in this research followed a protocol by Creswell (1998) for recording information from data and identifying key categories related to the ideas and concepts based on the research questions. The content analyses were conducted according to the constant comparative method, or the process of comparing information from data collection to previously iden-

tified categories (Creswell, 1998). The coding sheets were based on an eight-step guide by Tesch (1990): (1) Read through all of the data carefully, recording ideas as they come to mind; (2) Pick one document and ask what the underlying meaning is, writing thoughts in the margin; (3) Make a list of all topics, or cluster similar topics, and form them into columns that might be grounded as major topics, unique topics, and leftovers; (4) Take this list and return to the data, abbreviating topics as codes and writing the codes next to corresponding segments in the data, trying out the preliminary organizing scheme to check for emerging categories/domains and codes; (5) Refine the organizing system; (6) Make a final decision on the abbreviations and alphabetize these codes; (7) Assemble the data material belonging to each category together and perform a preliminary analysis; and, (8) Recode the existing data if necessary.

IV. Findings

January 1964: War on Poverty Media Analysis

The coverage included a total of 12 articles from *The Mountain Eagle* and 11 articles from *The New York Times* related to the War on Poverty. All five of *The Mountain Eagle's* weekly publications in the month of January contained the keywords "Poverty" and "Johnson," indicating that Johnson's War on Poverty was a significant event in the region. On the other hand, only a small portion of *The New York Times* articles mentioned the keyword, "Appalachia," and every keyword for Appalachia was linked to poverty.

The research found that the local newspaper used more positive language toward Appalachian people than the national newspaper; the national newspaper used more unfavorable characteristics than the local newspaper, and the local newspaper was more likely to criticize federal efforts than encourage action in the Appalachian region, while the national newspaper mostly encouraged action. The following categories discuss the findings for the codes: tone and rhetoric, characteristics in reference to Appalachian people, functions, visuals, and themes (See Appendix C for a full table of results).

Tone and Rhetoric

Each newspaper had 16 words or phrases coded for tone and rhetoric in *The Mountain Eagle* and *The New York Times*. Sixty-three percent of the codes in *The Mountain Eagle* identified positive language, and 38 percent identified negative language; conversely, 14 percent of the codes in *The New York Times* identified positive language, and 89 percent identified negative language (See Appendix C for more detail).

The articles in *The Mountain Eagle* primarily used positive language because they focused on the progress in the region and its future potential for economic and social growth. One editorial listed the significant accomplishments of the previous seven years: the doubling of teachers' salaries; the construction of new buildings, stores, and restaurants; the remodeling of older buildings; and the increase in business and merchandising communities (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A4). Examples of keywords and/or phrases coded as positive language in an editorial are italicized below:

> We feel that at long last the long-heralded new day is *dawning* for the area. (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A4)

> The closing decades of the Twentieth Century can still be *a period of glory* for the area if we, the people of Eastern Kentucky, will *take our future into our own hands*, chart our course and recognize no barriers. (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A6)

Negative language in the local news articles was mostly used to express some of the frustrations from Appalachian people, including a dependence on welfare funds for survival and a lack of effort from President Johnson in planning development programs for Appalachia, which was described in news articles as "the nation's worst pocket of poverty" and in "chronic depression" in *The New York Times* (Bigart, 1964, p. 2A).

Appalachia was cited as the standard comparison for areas that had "grinding poverty" and "blighted villages" or was a "swath of deprivation containing some rural slums" (Bigart, 1964, p. 2A). Examples of keywords and/or phrases coded as negative language in an editorial in *The Mountain Eagle* and a news article in *The New York Times*, respectively, are italicized below:

> At other times as we watch when those words and promises are translated into action we feel

totally both *hopeless* and *helpless*. (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A6)

One new legislative proposal, planned by Mr. Kennedy, was that Mr. Johnson called 'a special effort in the chronically distressed areas of Appalachia.' This referred to the Appalachian Mountain areas like Eastern Kentucky and some parts of West Virginia where *pockets of poverty and depression have defied all efforts to eliminate them*. (Wicker, 1964, p. 17A)

Characteristics

The Mountain Eagle used only favorable characteristics to describe the Appalachian region and people, whereas *The New York Time*s used only unfavorable characteristics (See the second table in Appendix C for more detail). The word "potential" in an editorial in *The Mountain Eagle* is italicized to show the positive language used in describing the construction of a new economy in Eastern Kentucky and stressing the vast potential of the area's resources: "the mineral resources, water resources, the resource of our outdoor recreation *potential*, the resource of our electric power *potential*, and the resource of our land and its many possible uses aside from those agricultural in nature" (1964, p. A3). Some of the unfavorable characteristics used to describe people in Appalachia included poor or uneducated. For example, in a letter to the editor in *The New York Times*, Benjamin Chinitz, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission Consultant and Chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of Pittsburgh, mentioned phrases that related to unfavorable characteristics: "The *low average income* of Appalachians reflects their *low average educational attainment* more than it does the low productivity of the region's resources" (Chinitz, 1964, p. A1).

Functions

The articles in the newspapers were coded for the functions of "encourage action" or "criticize." *The Mountain Eagle* was more likely to criticize (79 percent of total functions) federal efforts in Appalachia than to encourage action (21 percent of total functions) from organizations and people outside of Appalachia. On the other hand, *The New York Times* printed only "encourage action" items (See the third table in Appendix C).

The "encourage action" function includes urging public mobilization for the amelioration of social and economic injustices in the region. Examples of phrases coded as "encourage action" in an editorial by editors Tom and Pat Gish are italicized below:

The march of 100,000 Negroes in Washington demanding civil rights has made civil rights the No. 1 domestic issue in the nation. The contagious poverty of Eastern Kentucky and the Appalachians threatens to infect many other areas of the nation and is no less a national problem*. Couldn't we organize such a march?* (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A4)

The job of rescuing Eastern Kentucky from its seemingly certain fate rests largely upon the shoulders of Eastern Kentuckians. We must insist that Frankfort and Washington permit Eastern Kentuckians themselves *a voice in the planning of their own future.* (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A4)

One of the biggest criticisms against government efforts was that those in office could not grasp the realities of Eastern Kentucky, and that the aid that people were receiving was insufficient to their needs. For instance, in a news article in *The Mountain Eagle*, reporter Tom Wicker points out the President's budget appropriation to start a special Appalachian Area Development Program was only "enough to build a couple miles of road in each county, but no more" (Wicker, 1964, p. 4A). Examples of keywords or phrases coded for the function of "criticize" in an editorial in *The Mountain Eagle* by Tom and Pat Gish are italicized below:

We also foresee many more glowing plans and promises of action to be forthcoming from Frankfort and Washington during the next seven years, but the *total inadequacy* of the President's winter relief program, the *extreme weakness* of the Roosevelt-Appalachia area development program, *indicate clearly very little* in the way of effective action will come our way. (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A6)

The burning question of the moment is whether we will do so [take future into own hands] or whether we will *leave our fate in the hands of incompetents in Frankfort and Washington.* (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A6)

Visuals

While no visuals were found in the January 1964 edition of *The Mountain Eagle*, five visuals were

found in *The New York Times*. Visuals from relevant articles in the December 1964 edition of *The Mountain Eagle* were used instead to compare the use of photographs in both media outlets. *The Mountain Eagle* showed people smiling and looking directly into the camera, which indicates a level of comfort and confidence in Appalachian people according to the body language of the subjects in the images. In an image in *The New York Times*, the children were seen with their eyes downcast and turned in a profile view, indicating a sense of hopelessness. Some of the images also included Johnson smiling, shaking hands with officials, giving a speech, or engaging in another activity that showed his level of influence and power. Likewise, in an image of Mrs. Johnson's visit to Appalachia in *The New York Times*, she is shown at a higher angle than the children, smiling and holding her arms out to small Appalachian children, whose mouths are turned downwards, implying that they could be unhappy or helpless (Robertson, 1964, p. 1A).

Themes

Several themes emerged from the narratives in the newspapers regarding the culture of poverty and stereotypes of people in Appalachia. First, there was a sense of "us versus them," in which media narratives marginalized Appalachian people from the rest of America. In an editorial in *The Mountain Eagle*, the editors asked, "Will the area continue to fall into an abyss of total poverty, or will it begin the long hard climb toward equality with the rest of the United States?" (Gish & Gish, 1964, p. A6). Patterns of feeling powerless in the planning of the future of the research and sensing an increased urgency to gain status also emerged.

Second, there was a theme of an "other" within an "other" in that the local newspaper had to clarify the distinction between Eastern Kentucky and Kentucky, whereas the national newspaper tended to group both regions into "Appalachia." In one instance in *The Mountain Eagle*, a reporter commented on Kentucky's Department of Commerce and Department of Public Information's proposal to rename Eastern Kentucky as a development area instead of a depressed area:

> Eastern Kentucky has had enough of such foolishness. We have suffered too long already because the rest of Kentucky has refused to recognize that our problems exist … Until the state lives up to its obligations to the third of its people and begins as an effective program of help for them, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Public Information can pretend all they want to that what they smell in Eastern Kentucky is the perfume of roses, but another sniff will show them it is the stench of poverty, neglect and indifferent politicians. (Wicker, 1964, p. 2A)

Third, there was a dichotomy between insiders and outsiders in the misunderstanding of the local culture. In an editorial in *The Mountain Eagle*, an anonymous writer said:

> Well-meaning efforts on the part of President Johnson's administration in Washington as well as those of numerous state and private organizations to build a new economy in Eastern Kentucky and thus to wipe out one of the nation's 'pockets of poverty' are severely handicapped by a fundamental misunderstanding of the way of life in the mountains. (1964, p. A4)

> A false label is bringing about a false cure. In other words, President Johnson is being led into a false cure for our ills because no one has explained to him the exact nature of our illness. (1964, p. A4)

This sense of separation between federal and state administrations and local community members in identifying key issues in the region suggests a need for increased collaboration and greater efforts to understand the different cultures and respond accordingly.

January 2014: 50th Anniversary of the War on Poverty Media Analysis in comparison with January 1964

The 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage included one article from *The Mountain Eagle* and nine articles from *The New York Times.* The articles in the month of January 2014 were found using the keywords, "War on Poverty" and "Poverty," from archives. The month was chosen to stay consistent with the previous January 1964 coding.

The research found that *The New York Times* used more positive language than *The Mountain Eagle*, and was more likely to encourage action than express frustration. Political, economic, and social issues received equal weight in the coverage in *The New York Times* and *The Mountain Eagle*. The top three identified themes in *The Mountain Eagle* were children/youth, education, and family, while the top three identified themes in *The New York Times* were children/youth, education, and unemployment. Overall, *The Mountain*

Eagle declared the War on Poverty a failure because of the persistence of poverty and the rising economic inequality, while *The New York Times* focused on the success and progress of the War on Poverty since the 1960s. The following categories discuss the findings for the codes: language, narrative, characteristics, functions, topics, themes, and the success or failure of the War on Poverty (See Appendix D for a full table of results).

Language

While the results from the media analysis of the War on Poverty coverage from January 1964 showed *The New York Times* was more likely to focus on negative language than *The Mountain Eagle*, the media analysis of the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage showed the opposite. A hypothesis was that local media was more likely to use positive language than national media, but *The New York Times* articles paid more attention to the progress made through initiatives created as a result of the declaration. *Times* op-ed columnist Nicholas Kristof wrote, "In fact, the first lesson of the war on poverty is that we can make progress against poverty, but that it's an uphill slog" (2014, p. A1). The single article in *The Mountain Eagle* used negative language, while 67 percent of the articles in *The New York Times* used positive language, and 33 percent of the total codes for language included negative language.

Some examples of progress include a decrease in infant mortality rates, an increase in college completion rates, an increase in the number of women who enter the work force, and a decrease in malnutrition (Lowrey, 2014, p. 2A).

Narrative

There were three narratives identified in both newspapers in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty media coverage. The narratives were coded for personal narratives, meaning the narrative related to the speaker's personal experiences with the subjects of poverty and stereotypes; and other narratives, meaning the speaker included a description of a narrative he or she had heard elsewhere, whether it was through a family, friend, or acquaintance. The narratives that did appear in the media coverage were narratives of others, meaning the participants recounted experiences of their friends and families. For example, a narrative that appeared in *The New York Times* was related to the "Cadillac-driving welfare queen," a tale used to illustrate cases of excessive welfare fraud as coined by Ronald Reagan in his 1976 presidential campaign (Krugman, 2014, p. A3). Another narrative that appeared in a news article in *The Mountain Eagle* was the story of community member Rosanna Troyer, who was coping with a drop in monthly federal food assistance by purchasing cheaper foods at the grocery store (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 1A). Troyer said there was not a day she did not see someone pushing strollers or a cart down the street, trying to find soda cans to take in to get change, focusing on the larger picture that poverty is still prevalent in many Appalachian communities (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 1A).

Characteristics

There were no stereotypical characteristics of Appalachian people mentioned in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty media coverage in *The New York Times*, which was notable compared to the high number of unfavorable characteristics found in the January 1964 coverage of *The Times*. Most of the January 2014 articles, about 75 percent, focused on the overall progress of the region as a whole, rather than specifically observing the plight of the Appalachian region. On the other hand, *The Mountain Eagle* mentioned how the programs created in response to the War on Poverty were created for parts of Appalachia that had been described as "third-world conditions" (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 2A). The same article discussed how the dependence caused by food stamps and other assistance also led to the devaluing of education among some recipients and contributed to drug abuse in the region. Likewise, in a news article in *The New York Times*, journalist Jared Bernstein mentioned a widely known counterargument: "Don't blame the economy; the poor themselves have made life choices that consigned them to poverty, like not getting enough schooling, single parenthood, or having children out of wedlock" (Bernstein, 2014, p. 3A). This argument directs the problem of poverty at the level of the impoverished individual, rather than the underlying structural and economic issues. In a news article in *The Mountain Eagle*, Jason Bailey, the Director of the Kentucky Center for Economic Policy in Frankfort noted the myriad narratives that discuss the magnitude of this issue: "The gap between central Appalachia and the rest of the country has not closed. In a relative sense, it's just as big" (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 2A).

Functions

In the January 1964 coding, a low percentage of *The New York Times* articles encouraged readers to take action (18 percent), while more than half of the articles (67 percent) from January 2014 encouraged public participation to decrease, or eliminate, the rate of poverty. In his assessment of the shortfalls of the War on Poverty, Ron Haskins of the Brookings Institution said, in a news article in *The New York Times* encouraging people to mount an effective war against poverty, "we need changes in the personal decisions of more young Americans" (Lowrey, 2014, p. 2A). Perhaps one of the factors affecting the increase in economic upward mobility is the convenience in speaking up as a result of technology advancements, especially with the advent of social media. In a letter to the editor in *The New York Times*, Willie Dickerson from Snohomish, Washington wrote, "Speak up, citizens: call, write, text, tweet, Facebook or visit your elected representatives and tell them that it is time to successfully end the war on poverty" (2014, p. A4).

Topics

Based on the emphasis on economics of poverty in the media coverage of the War on Poverty in January 1964, a hypothesis was that national media were more likely to focus on the economics of poverty than local media, which were more likely to focus on social and cultural aspects of poverty when covering the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty. However, the findings revealed a different proportion in the four categories in both newspapers. In *The Mountain Eagle*, each of political, economic, social, and health topics accounted for 25 percent of the total topics coded. In *The New York Times*, each of political, economic, and social topics accounted for 32 percent of the total topics coded, while the topic of health accounted for four percent of the total topics coded.

The 1964 media articles in both newspapers primarily focused on politics when referencing President Johnson and his influence in the War on Poverty. Conversely, the media articles from the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty focused on acknowledging the need to fight poverty. They also underscored a political divide in the differing solutions for tackling poverty between the Republican and Democratic parties. President Obama called this inequality the "defining challenge of our time" and urged states to expand their Medicaid programs to poor, childless adults, and stressed an increase in minimum wage, but conservatives such as Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin said the government misspent its safety-net money and should focus less on support, and more on economic and job opportunities (Lowrey, 2014, p. 1A). Reporter Jeremy Peters, pointing out problems within each side's argument, said, "Democrats could push the rich-versus-poor theme too far, alienating middle-class voters and wealthy donors. Republicans may find themselves painted in the same box as Mitt Romney was in 2012, when many voters saw him as indifferent to the concerns of working Americans" (Peters, 2014, p. 1A). He explained that most of the Republicans are suggesting adding work requirements to safety-net programs, streamlining federal offices, improving training and education initiatives, and offering tax breaks to the needy, while most of the Democrats are urging an extension of unemployment benefits and an increase in the federal minimum wage (Peters, 2014, p. 1A).

A prevalent economic issue in media narratives was food assistance programs, which, according to Republican State Sen. Robert Stivers, "helped some people break the cycle of poverty, but left others 'accustomed to it and created a cycle of dependence'" (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 3A). In a news article in *The Mountain Eagle*, Barrouquere referenced the cuts in food assistance programs: "Nearly 900,000 people who need food stamps saw a proposed cut of $40 billion from [Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program] SNAP" (2014, p. 3A). An article in *The New York Times* also acknowledged that although the American labor force has become better educated and more skilled, there are still high poverty rates; some of the reasons for the causes of persistent poverty include technological changes, globalization, the decline of labor unions, the high inequality of market income, and the falling value of minimum wage (Lowrey, 2014, p. 2A-3A).

While there was little to no coverage on social topics in the January 1964 coding in *The New York Times*, 32 percent of the total topics coded in January 2014 related to social issues. Narratives suggested the War on Poverty had failed because antipoverty programs did not reduce poverty; therefore, poverty in America was a social disintegration problem—"a problem of broken families, crime and culture of dependence that was only reinforced by government aid. And because this narrative was so widely accepted, bashing the poor was good politics, enthusiastically embraced by Republicans and some Democrats, too" (Krugman, 2014, p. A1-A2). Thus, poverty was a problem of values and social cohesion rather than money. In an opinion piece in *The New York Times*, Krugman commented on the lack of economic opportunity:

> If progress against poverty has been disappointing over the past half century, the reason is not the decline of the family but the rise of extreme inequality. We're a much richer nation than we were in 1964, but little if any of that increased wealth has trickled down to workers in the bottom half of the income distribution. (2014, p. 2A)

However, when Lowrey looked at economical and sociological trends to help explain why people face poverty, she listed factors such as high incarceration rates, more infants born out of wedlock, and single parenthood (Lowrey, 2014, p. 2A-3A). Kristof agreed, saying that programs that encourage jobs, especially for most at-risk groups, and earned-income tax credit are the most successful efforts to help the working poor; he said one of the most basic successful social programs is family planning assistance programs for at-risk teenage girls, citing that the "teenage birthrate has fallen by half over roughly the last 20 years" (2014, p. A2). Other programs he mentioned included parent coaching to get pregnant women to drink and smoke less and encouraging at-risk moms to talk to their children more through programs such as Healthy Families America and Nurse-Family Partnership (Kristof, 2014, p. A3).

Increased focus on education also strengthened the need for funding social programs. An op-ed columnist for *The New York Times* listed organizations, such as Playworks, that work to create safe and inclusive play opportunities in public schools nationwide: "When researchers from Mathematica Policy Research and Stanford University examined the program . . . they found something that many educators overlook: children's emotional and physical well being is immediately connected with their cognitive development" (Bornstein, 2014, p. 2A). Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan, Martha Bailey said in a discussion board in *The New York Times* that the War on Poverty also offered lessons for increasing opportunities to racial minorities through the federal funds that encouraged desegregation in schools and hospitals (2014, p. A1). She also said improvements in black infant health led to better test scores for black teenagers through the 1980s; joined with other initiatives, these policies have decreased the black/white poverty gaps, and consequently, had vast benefits for society (Bailey, 2014).

For the topic of health, there was only one article in each of the newspapers related to health in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage. In *The Mountain Eagle*, community member Rosanna Troyer said senior citizens are forced to decide between buying medication and paying for food, and that "a lot of them do without medicines because they can't afford them" (Barrouquere, 2014, p. 3A). In *The New York Times*, op-ed columnist Paul Krugman argued that the success of the War on Poverty can be seen in the improvements of lives of the American poor and that lower-income Americans are healthier and better-nourished than they were in the 1960s (2014, p. A2).

Themes

The coded themes included children/youth, education, media, unemployment, environmental issues, and family. Beginning with children/youth, images from *The New York Times'* 1964 War on Poverty coverage showed children with downcast eyes and mouths turned down at corners, ostensibly to evoke a sense of sympathy from the reading public. The mention of children/youth was also one of the top three themes coded in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage, accounting for 33 percent of the total themes coded in *The Mountain Eagle* and 24 percent of the total themes coded in *The New York Times*. Nicholas Kristof of *The Times* commented on this use of children in poverty:

> In contrast, children are voiceless, so they are the age group most likely to be poor today. That's a practical and moral failure. In part, that's because when kids are deprived of opportunities, the consequences can include a lifetime of educational failure, crime, and underemployment. (2014, p. A2)

Associate Professor of Economics at University of Michigan Martha Bailey added the troubling statistic that 1 in 5 children are poor and increasingly falling behind their peers due to the neighborhood location (2014, p. A1). In the same article, she argued that the early childhood programs from the War on Poverty helped combat trends in children and youth from the cyclical nature of poverty.

Children and youth were also commonly referenced with education, which was one of the top three themes mentioned in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty media coverage results, accounting for 33 percent of the total themes coded in *The Mountain Eagle* and 24 percent of the total themes coded in *The New York Times*. In an article in *The New York Times*, Representative Eric Cantor of Virginia, the House majority leader, spoke at Brookings to argue that education reform was the surest way to break "the vicious cycle

of poverty" (2014, p. 2A). Although the share of adults with higher education attainment had risen significantly, there was also a need for a higher emphasis on education programs, specifically early education programs (Bernstein, 2014, p. 3A). For example, programs such as Head Start have linked higher high school graduation and college attendance rates with higher chances of employment (Kristof, 2014, p. A3).

Although there were only four references of information channel in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage in *The New York Times* and no references in *The Mountain Eagle*, it is worth noting the subtle ways information channels have influenced poverty dialogues. For instance, in his article in *The New York Times* on the progress in the War on Poverty, Kristof mentioned a comment by "a reader named Frank" on his Facebook page, and used Frank's argument that government aid was wasted because it did not focus on parent education to set the foundation for the rest of his article (2014, p. A3). In 1964, the primary way to gauge public opinion standing on Johnson's visit was to read published letters to the editor. Since then, media platforms have evolved and there has been a rise in social media and other online networks as discursive forums that exist outside print media. For instance, in the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty coverage, one of the many communication outlets included a "Room for Debate" discussion on *The New York Times* website, in which Martha Bailey set the tone by writing a recap of the War on Poverty today, and encouraged people to post directly on the online forum. Other influences included attack ads on television related to poverty by the Democratic and Republican parties and blogs (Kristof, 2014, p. A3).

Ideas from these virtual channels for discourse can also be incorporated into classroom discussions. Instructional coach and teacher mentor at The Learning Network, a blog that uses content from *The Times* to create educational lesson plans, Michael Gonchar created a lesson plan for teachers to incorporate poverty and economic inequality in America, as well as research as many possible solutions as the students propose a new war on poverty for 2014 (2014, p. 1A-7A). Some of the lesson plan options included interactive maps showing the distribution of poverty in neighborhoods, participatory videos on YouTube about wealth inequality, and articles on minimum wage and social mobility.

Another popular theme that emerged in *The New York Times* that related to topics of poverty was unemployment, which accounted for 24 percent of the total themes coded. In an op-ed piece on fighting the War on Poverty, Krugman summarized the shift in narratives about unemployment between 1964 and 2014:

> The trouble is that the American right is still living in the 1970s, or actually a Reaganite fantasy of the 1970s; its notion of an anti-poverty agenda is still all about getting those layabouts to go to work and stop living off welfare. The reality is that lower-end jobs, even if you can get one, don't pay enough to lift you out of poverty just hasn't sunk in. And the idea of helping the poor by actually helping them remain anathema. (2014, p. A2)

Lowrey cited the poverty rate for full-time workers as three percent, and 33 percent for those who are unemployed (Lowrey, 2014, p. 4A). Other arguments included considering not only the absence of employment, but also low wage jobs, and a greater need to examine the underlying structural problems in the economy that affect poverty (Bernstein, 2014, p. 4A; Krugman, 2014, p. A3).

The Mountain Eagle and *The New York Times* shared two popular themes, children/youth and education, but differed in their third most prevalent theme: "unemployment" was prevalent in *The New York Times,* while "family" was in *The Mountain Eagle*.

Finally, it is worth noting that although "environmental issues" was included in the coding because of research predictions, there was no mention of environmental issues in either phases of the media coverage.

War on Poverty – Success or Failure?

The majority of the opinions in *The New York Times*, about 75 percent, would consider the War on Poverty a success because of the progress that has been made since 1964, while the article in *The Mountain Eagle* called it a failure. Mark Updegrove, the director of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library summarized the popular sentiment in a news article in *The New York Times*:

> Ultimately the War on Poverty was just the first in a roll call of achievements – civil rights, education, health care, immigration, the arts and humanities, the environment – that, taken together, equaled nothing less than a new American revolution of opportunity and equality. (2014, p. 1A)

Looking at the overall rates of poverty, in 1967, about 26 percent were poor compared to 15 percent in 2014 (Bernstein, 2014, p. 2A). Likewise, Social Security, a New Deal program that was expanded in the 1960s,

reduced the elderly poverty rate from 44 percent without counting Social Security benefits to nine percent (Bernstein, 2014, p. 2A).

In the articles, there was broad consensus by authors that social welfare programs created since the War on Poverty have improved living conditions for low-income Americans (Lowrey, 2014, p. 1A). A Columbia University study suggested that without government benefits, the poverty rate would have soared to 31 percent by 2012 (Kristof, 2014, p. A2).

Other successes are in the shift of the victim-blaming. For a long period, people considered the War on Poverty a failure, saying, "It was the fault of the poor themselves. But what everyone knew wasn't true, and the public seems to have caught on" (Krugman, 2014, p. A3).

One of the reservations about the success on the War on Poverty is that people had to work harder in the face of increasing economic challenges facing low-income families. On the other hand, other authors focused on the success stories, such as the effectiveness of food stamps, Medicaid, and earned-income tax credit. In the Room for Debate Discussion on *The New York Times* website, Bailey wrote that a renewed commitment to the War on Poverty would increase opportunities for people and strengthen the economy (2014). While the content in the online discussion board was not coded among the other articles, it was included in this dialogue to gauge public opinion on the evolution of the War on Poverty. A commenter on the discussion board, Michael O'Neill replied, saying:

> The thing we must remember is that a rising tide lifts all boats. It isn't the masts that are floating in the water, it is the keel. If we wish our economy to do well we need to make sure the bottom quintile does well.

Six of *The Times* articles, or 75 percent, focused on the overall small victories in the War on Poverty, rather than the failures. The few that did consider the War on Poverty a failure cited the famous words of Ronald Reagan, "We fought a war on poverty, and poverty won" (Lowrey, 2014, p. 1A), and argued the alternate narrative that America needs a war on inequality, rather than on poverty (Bailey, 2014).

V. Discussion and Conclusions

To address the research question of how local media visualize and frame issues of poverty in Appalachia compared to national media, in the January 1964 coverage, the national media were more likely to focus on economic issues, which also meant the national media used primarily negative language when describing conditions in Appalachia, while the local media used primarily positive language. In this regard, the hypothesis that local media and community members are more likely to use positive language and visuals than national media was partially correct. However, there was a shift in the January 2014 media coverage where the local media used negative language and the national media used mostly positive language, focusing on the progress in the Appalachian region. This change correlated with the findings that the national media provided equal coverage of political, economic, and social issues in the January 2014 media coding, which did not support the hypothesis that national media would focus primarily on economic issues rather than social and cultural topics.

In the January 2014 media analysis, the top three themes identified in *The Mountain Eagle* were children/youth, education, and family, and the top three themes identified in *The New York Times* were children/youth, education, and unemployment. It is interesting to note that the national media articles that focused on social or cultural topics were more likely to use positive language, while those focused solely on structural or economic topics were more likely to use negative language to depict poverty.

There was only one article related to the War on Poverty in *The Mountain Eagle* in January 2014 and one article in February 2014. The single comment issued by the newspaper in February mentioned this year marked the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty, and reposted an editorial that appeared in 1964 as nations and reporters turned their cameras toward Eastern Kentucky (2014, p. A1). The editorial encouraged community members to welcome assistance and publicity from outsiders to show the necessity for the War on Poverty and increase federal aid, citing the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was brought in response to the attention from magazines and newspapers, as an example of how other organizations can help Whitesburg (2014, p. A1).

The editorial said the reaction against outsiders reached a climax when two county officials threat-

ened to put a group of British television reporters and photographers in jail if they took more pictures of what they considered to be poverty. However, it countered popular opinion by saying:

We have seen hardened reporters and photographers, those who have seen conditions all over the world, with tears in their eyes as they told us of some of the living conditions they had seen in Letcher County. Without exception, the ones to whom we have talked have been fired with desire to do something to help. And they do the thing they know how to best—they show in words and pictures the disgraceful and heartbreaking way many Letcher County residents have to live. This they do in an effort to convince other Americans who live in far better circumstances that their duty is to see that things are bettered here. (2014, p. A1)

Although the editorial was a rare voice in 1964 because it encouraged outside journalists to cover topics of poverty in the area and criticized the negative reactions from Letcher County to the War on Poverty, which varied "only in the intensity of their condemnation," it seems its opinion is a narrative that is becoming increasingly popular in Appalachia today. *The Mountain Eagle's* decision to repost this editorial attests to the potential changing nature of using community voices to discuss why previous federal and state efforts have failed, and how better moral and ethical efforts can be made in the future through a change in the language and framing of the region.

The observations suggest recommendations that national journalists use findings from local organizations that gather information on attitudes and practices around the target issues so that they can understand the issues identified directly by citizens from local areas. The difference in the representations of Appalachia by the local media and the national media suggests a potential need for greater communication between the people and the organizations representing the people.

Limitations

The first limitation in the local and national media analysis is that only two specific newspapers were analyzed, which do not represent the differences in overall local and national perspectives. This research would have also benefited from incorporating data from a longer period of time so that the patterns observed in a higher number of articles coded in the media analysis could represent a larger perspective. Additionally, many of the articles in the media analysis were editorials, which can be considered a limitation because the view of the author does not fully represent the overall stance of *The New York Times* or *The Mountain Eagle*. However, because of the limited number of available, relevant articles, it was important to include the content from the editorials and opinion pages.

Likewise, there was only one article in *The Mountain Eagle* for the January 2014 coding, compared to nine articles in *The New York Times*. While this proportion is less balanced than the January 1964, which had 11 articles from *The New York Times* and 12 articles from *The Mountain Eagle*, the lack of coverage on the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty, perhaps, echoes the local media's being fatigued from the extensive national media attention to the region.

For the media analysis, another coder was not employed, so the article is vulnerable to the subjectivity. For the coding, two separate coding sheets were used rather than one consistent coding sheet—while the basic coding categories were the same, separate coding sheets were adapted to accommodate the emergent themes that appeared in the separate media narratives.

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Appendix A: Coding Sheet – War on Poverty (1964)

Text	Visuals
War on Poverty	Body Language
WOP: Success	BOD: Open
WOP: Failure	BOD: Closed
Function	**Facial Expressions**
FN: Encourage Action	FAC: Open
FN: Criticize	FAC: Closed
Narrative	**Mood and Tone:**
NAR: Esoteric: Personal Experience of Speaker	TE: Positive
NAR: Exoteric: Description of Other	TE: Negative
Tone and Rhetoric	**Topics**
TE: Positive Language	TOP: Political
TE: Negative Language	TOP: Economic
Characteristics	TOP: Social
CA: Favorable	
CA: Unfavorable	
Themes	
XTM: Us vs. Them	
XTM: Other within Other	
XTM: Discrimination/Stereotyping	
XTM: Culture of Poverty	

Appendix B: Coding Sheet – 50th Anniversary of the War on Poverty (2014)

War on Poverty	Tone and Rhetoric
WOP: Success	TE: Positive Language
WOP: Failure	TE: Negative Language
Function	**Characteristics**
FN: Encourage Action	CA: Favorable
FN: Express Frustration	CA: Unfavorable
Mass Media	**Themes**
MM: Films	XTM: Children/ Youth
MM: General Media	XTM: Education
MM: Images	XTM: Environmental Issues
MM: Online	XTM: Family
MM: Print	XTM: Mention of Media
MM: Radio	XTM: Unemployment
MM: Social Media	**Topics**
MM: Television	TOP: Economic
Narrative	TOP: Political
NAR: Esoteric: Personal Experience of Speaker	TOP: Social
NAR: Exoteric: Description of Other	TOP: Health

Appendix C: Coding Results – War on Poverty (1964)

Tone and Rhetoric

Newspaper	The Mountain Eagle (12)	The New York Times (11)
Positive Language	10 (63%)	2 (14%)
Negative Language	6 (38%)	14 (89%)
Total Coded in Tone and Rhetoric	16	16

Characteristics

Newspaper	The Mountain Eagle (12)	The New York Times (11)
Favorable	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
Unfavorable	0 (0%)	10 (100%)
Total Coded in Characteristics	5	10

Functions

Newspaper	The Mountain Eagle (12)	The New York Times (11)
Encourage Action	3 (21%)	2 (100%)
Criticize	11 (79%)	0 (0%)
Total Coded in Function	14	2

Visuals

Newspaper	The Mountain Eagle (0)	The New York Times: Johnson (4)	The New York Times: Appalachian People (1)
Body Language: Open	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	1 (100%)
Body Language: Closed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Facial Expressions: Open	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)
Facial Expressions: Closed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Mood and Tone: Positive	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)
Mood and Tone: Negative	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)

Appendix D: Coding Results – 50th Anniversary of the War on Poverty (2014)

Language

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Language: Positive	0 (0%)	8 (67%)
Language: Negative	1 (100%)	4 (33%)
Total Coded in Language	1	12

Narrative

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Narrative: Personal	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Narrative: Other	1 (100%)	2
Total Coded in Narrative	1	2

Characteristics

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Characteristics: Favorable	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Characteristics: Unfavorable	1 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total Coded in Characteristics	1	0

Function

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Function: Encourage Action	0 (0%)	6 (67%)
Function: Express Frustration	1 (100%)	3 (33%)
Total Coded in Function	1	9

Topics

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Topic: Political	1 (25%)	8 (32%)
Topic: Economic	1 (25%)	8 (32%)
Topic: Social	1 (25%)	8 (32%)
Topic: Health	1 (25%)	1 (4%)
Total Coded in Topic	4	25

Themes

Theme	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
Children/Youth	1 (33%)	6 (24%)
Education	1 (33%)	6 (24%)
Environmental Issues	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Family	1 (33%)	3 (12%)
Mention of Info Channels	0 (0%)	4 (16%)
Unemployment	0 (0%)	6 (24%)
Total Coded in Themes	3	25

War on Poverty – Success or Failure?

Category	The Mountain Eagle (1)	The New York Times (9)
War on Poverty: Success	0 (0%)	6 (75%)
War on Poverty: Failure	1 (100%)	2 (25%)
Total Coded in War on Poverty	1	8