

THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS

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Ordinary Americans More Cynical Than Journalists News Media Differs with Public and Leaders on Watchdog Issues

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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

A full decade ago, Times Mirror embarked on an ambitious effort to learn more about what Americans think about the news media. Since then we have continually and comprehensively studied the issues that have been of the greatest importance to the press community, exploring the attitudes and opinions of members of the media and of influential American leaders, as well as those of the public.

Recent Times Mirror surveys have documented growing public concern with news media practices. This new survey looks comparatively at the views of the press, the public and its leaders to better understand this trend. We hope that it will serve as a useful resource for our colleagues in the media, as well as those in the public who are concerned with questions relating to the press and public policy.

Robert F. Erburu
Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer
Times Mirror

FOREWORD

The purpose of this study was to explore comparative views about the news media among the public, the press, and national and local leadership groups.

We began the project with a series of background discussions and focus groups in January and February of this year which brought together members of national news organizations to explore the issues of greatest concern to the press community today. The participants came from both print and broadcast media, and they ranged from top news executives to reporters and correspondents.

The discussions, which were held in Washington and New York, covered a broad range of subjects and provided background and context for our report. These in-depth discussions highlighted certain issues which were of primary importance to members of the media. This helped us frame our study around the following issues:

- (1) How differently do the press and the public judge the news media's performance?
- (2) How does the press feel about frequently voiced public criticisms of its practices?
- (3) How does the news media evaluate its coverage of the Clinton Administration and the 104th Congress?

A total of 515 telephone interviews were conducted with members of the press community during the period of March 8 to March 30, 1995. Two distinct samples were compiled. One consisted of 248 members of the national media, the other of 267 members of the local media. Those samples were partitioned on two major dimensions: job level and type of news organization. Of the 248 national media interviews, 28 were with respondents employed at the executive level including presidents, publishers, CEOs, vice presidents, and other high level executives; 83 were at the executive producer or managing editor level; and 137 were at the correspondent or reporter level. Of the 267 local media interviews, 37 were with executive level respondents; 115 were at the top management level; and 115 were at the correspondent or reporter level.

The breakdown for the national sample by media type was 80 for newspapers, 19 for radio, 92 for television, 18 for news services, 19 for news magazines, and 20 for wire services. The breakdown for the local sample was 131 for newspapers and 136 for television.

During the period of March 8 to April 21, 1995, 243 interviews were conducted with influential national and local leaders. This group was concentrated in three basic areas: government, business, and local community.

More than one hundred interviews were conducted with government leaders, including 24 members of Congress, 32 mayors, and 50 state legislative leaders. The sample of business leaders was drawn from the Fortune 500 industrial and service companies, and is based on interviews with 33 chief executive officers of those companies. In addition, 104 interviews were conducted with local community leaders from around the nation, including 55 Chamber of Commerce presidents and 49 local school board presidents and superintendents.

To measure current attitudes of the general public, Times Mirror conducted a nationally representative telephone survey of 1,819 adults, age 18 or older, during the period of March 22-26, 1995. The survey methodology section at the end of this report gives a fuller description of the design of the various samples.

This survey was designed, fielded, analyzed and reported by a Times Mirror Center project team that included: Don Kellermann, Robert C. Toth, Carol Bowman and Kim Parker. Media columnist Ken Auletta, who served as a consultant to the Center, helped refine the specific survey issues and participated in all of the background sessions that preceded the interviewing.

Andrew Kohut
Director
Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press

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OVERVIEW

Ordinary Americans More Cynical Than Journalists

NEWS MEDIA DIFFERS WITH PUBLIC AND LEADERS ON WATCHDOG ISSUES

American journalists have a different view of the way they do their job than does the public they serve and the leaders they cover. The outside world strongly faults the news media for its negativism. Journalists at all levels are equally adamant in rejecting this charge. They are no more adversarial than they should be, newspeople insist, and no more focused on wrongdoing and the personal failures of public figures than is required to play a watchdog role.

Top business executives, members of Congress, and local leaders from all around the country also think the press is more critical of them than it has been in the past. The public goes so far as to say that the press gets in the way of society solving its problems, an opinion that is even shared by many leaders.

Print and broadcast journalists concede that they may grow cynical on the job and that there is more opinion in news stories than there should be. They admit that they do not cover complex stories well, and that they do not adequately cover good news. However, the news media has a generally positive view of itself in the watchdog role, ranging from the way it feels it has covered Bill Clinton, to the way it sees its own ethics.

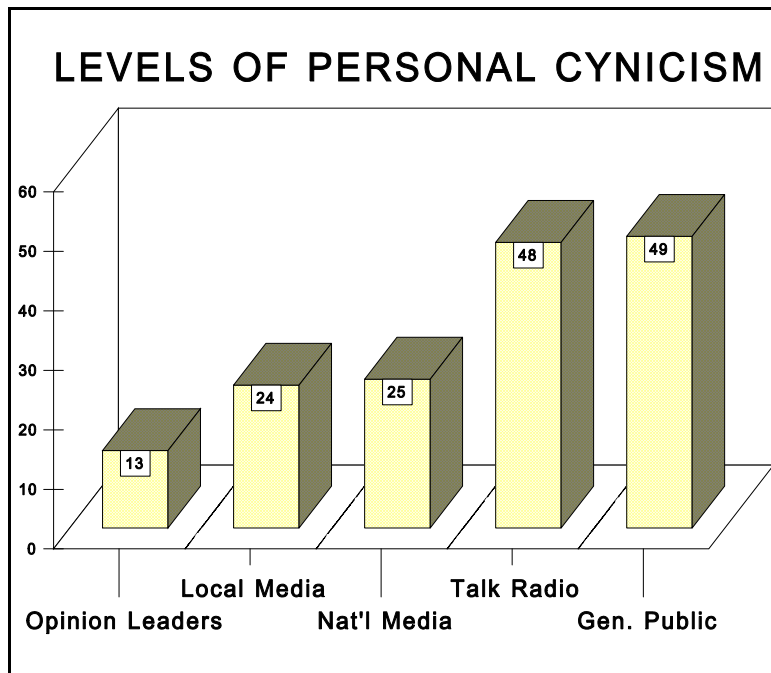
These are among the findings of a major *Times Mirror Center* survey which explored comparative views of the news media and press issues among samples of the public, the press and national and local leadership groups. The major objective of the survey was to get different perspectives on the burgeoning public discontent with the news media that has been reflected in recent Times Mirror surveys and other public opinion polls.

One of the most dramatic findings to emerge from the survey underscores the tension between the press and its audiences over the question of negativity. The polling found that average citizens are considerably more cynical and mistrustful than journalists.

Even though mistrust of politicians is one of the biggest charges leveled against the press, newspeople more often than average citizens think that politicians are honest and ethical. And it is not just officeholders that people distrust. The public is more distrusting of business executives, the military and even religious leaders than are newspeople.

Ordinary Americans also have a more jaundiced view of the world than do members of Congress, business executives, and community leaders from around the country. Talk show hosts are the only group of influentials to match the cynicism expressed by the American public in this survey. Analysis of the survey revealed that middle-aged people - the Vietnam-Watergate generation - were more cynical than younger people and older people. This generational pattern was apparent in *both* the public survey and in the survey of the press as well.

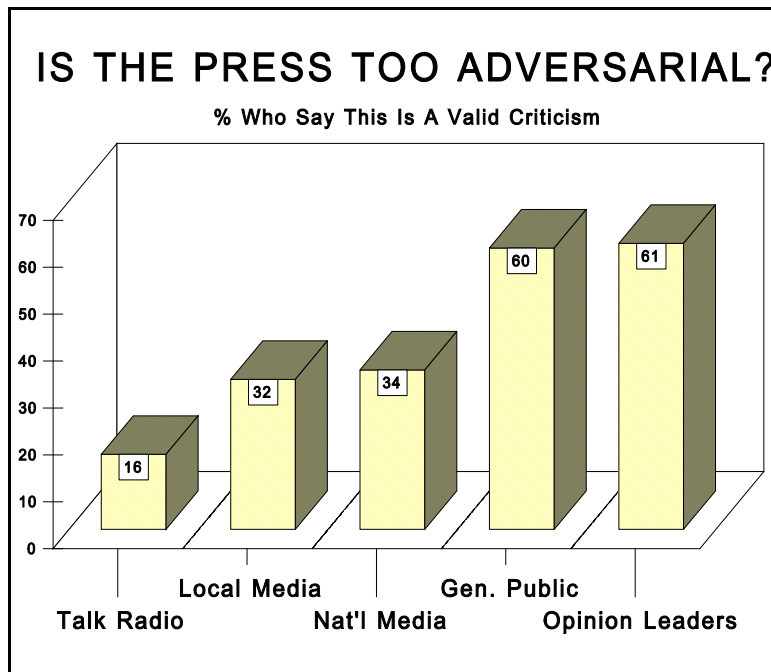
The public's profound distrust of influential groups, greater than the press and national and local leaders, raises deep new questions about the causes and consequences of public cynicism. Have elite groups and the public increasingly different world views? Is the press to blame? Can the press continue to play an effective watchdog role if the public is so skeptical of it and all other elites? The fuller findings of this survey suggest that the press, the public and its leaders all might have different answers to these questions.



Not Too Focused On Wrong Doing

Two thirds of the public and comparable percentages of leaders think that journalists these days are too focused on the misdeeds and failings of public figures. But larger percentages of press respondents believe that newspeople are *not* pre-occupied with wrongdoing. A similar gap between public and press exists on the question of whether the national and local news media are more adversarial than they should be. Fully 60% of the public thinks they are, while 64% of the national media people interviewed think not, as do 66% of local media respondents.

Both the surveys, and a series of in-depth interviews that preceded the polling reveal how much the press and the rest of the world differ on the question of whether the press is an over-zealous watchdog. The survey of the press found a majority of newspeople thinking that public anger with the press is, at least in part, justified. But journalists who believe public anger at the media stems from its negativity are much less likely to believe that anger is justified, than are those who feel the public is angry over sensationalism, bias or lack of relevance. More than inadequate coverage, some journalists do not believe good news has much of a place in the media. As one Washington editor put it in a background session that preceded the survey: *"Our function in a democracy is to hold up to the public things that they have the ability to change, through their votes or pressures on their public officials. We don't need to tell people that their roads are okay, because they don't need to do anything about that. What do people most need to know? Things that they can change through civic action ... People don't know the reality in a lot of the things they want to change."*



The
its watchdog
bolstered by its

media's view of
role is
conviction that

most reporters are more ethical than the public officeholders they cover. Close to two-thirds of the local media (63%) held this view, as did 54% of those employed by the national news organizations. Neither the public nor the leaders surveyed held such a lofty view of the press. Most thought the press was about as ethical as the politicians about whom they report. That was the opinion of 79% of the local politicians and 63% of members of Congress interviewed for this project.

Yes, Too Cynical

Although the press vigorously defends its adversarial posture, it does acknowledge that it is too cynical. Majorities of the newspeople interviewed believed that journalists are more cynical than people from similar backgrounds in different kinds of jobs, and that criticism of the news media on this score is valid. Journalists see their cynicism as a consequence of the work they do and a natural reaction to the kind of people they cover. *"Talk about what makes reporters cynical, it's the company they keep," joked a New York network executive. "They see people lie a lot." Added a White House correspondent: "Clinton says, 'Stop taking money from lobbyists. But oh, I just remembered. I've been taking money from lobbyists for my own defense fund. Sorry about that.' I spend 90% of my time seeing the underside, the cynical parts of this town."*

Relatedly, most media respondents acknowledge that journalists think it is better to be seen as too tough on one's subjects than as too soft. Perhaps reflecting what one learns on the

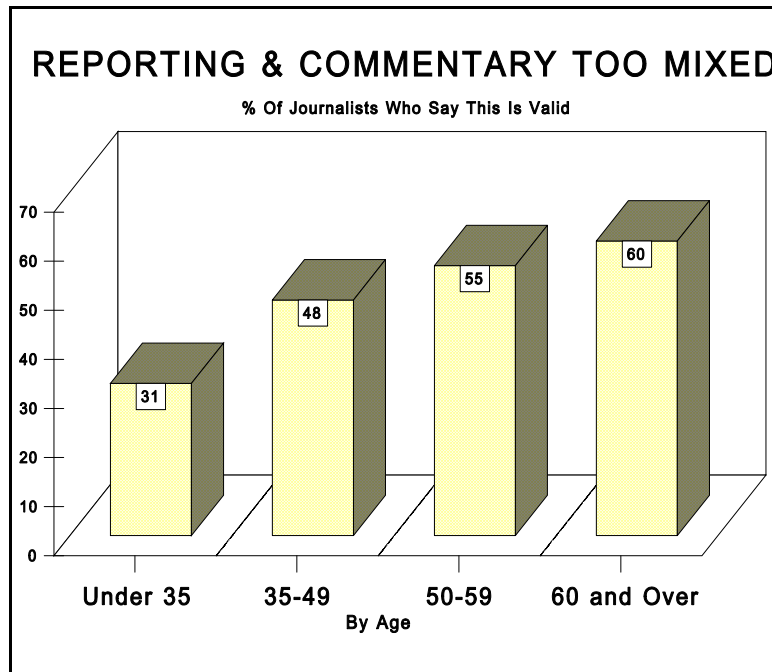
job, over time, the poll found younger newspeople less often saying that journalists are more cynical than people in other kinds of jobs, and more often saying that journalists worry about being seen as too tough on their subjects.

Besides cynicism, other criticisms of the media resonate with the press, and on many of these issues older journalists are more self critical than younger media people. The poll found large majorities of journalists thinking that the press pays too little attention to complex issues. Equally large percentages of the business, political and community leaders also subscribed to this view.

The Fact and Opinion Lines Blur

Although members of both the national and local media reject the idea that news accounts are increasingly full of factual errors and sloppy reporting, many of the journalists interviewed believe the distinction between reporting and commentary is eroding. Older journalists saw much more truth in this than did younger media people. Older newspeople, especially those 60 and

older, also tended to see the press as more adversarial than it should be. Fully 53% of journalists 60 years of age and older took this view compared to 33% of younger media people.



Finally, many but *not* most journalists think that in covering the personal scandals of politicians, news organizations drive the controversies rather than just report them. As many as 41% of national media respondents subscribed to this view. But 74% of the public and comparably large or larger percentages of the leadership groups sampled think the news media does more than report the news in these instances.

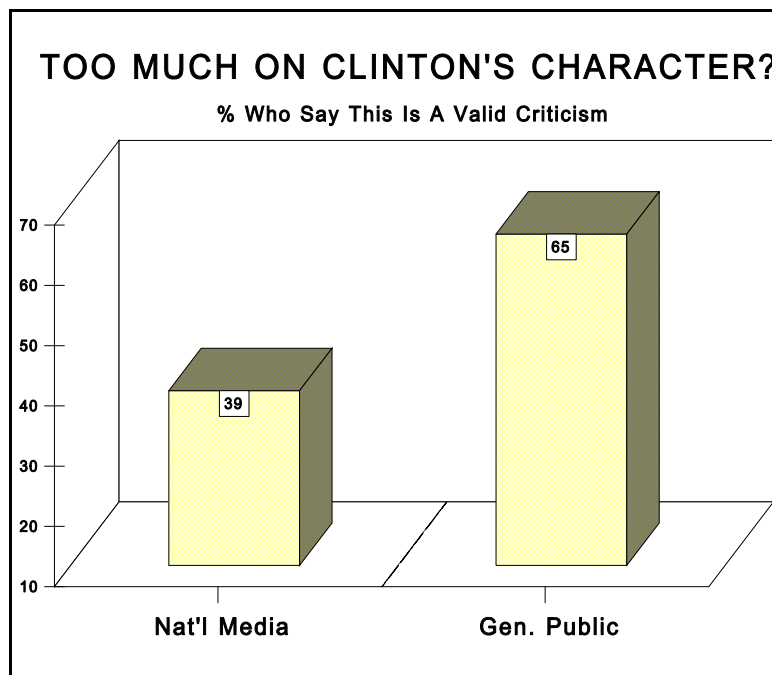
Clinton Coverage ... 'B' from the Press, 'C' from the Public

The gulf between the people and the press plays out broadly in the judgments made about coverage of the Clinton Administration. The public is critical of the press, feeling it has made too much of Bill Clinton's character problems and too much of Whitewater. Yet at the same time, many Americans express strong reservations about Bill Clinton's character. The press generally thinks it has done a good job in covering this administration. Moreover, it feels that Bill Clinton has a character problem that has not been over-covered, and Whitewater has been well handled.

A startling 84% of the journalists interviewed from national news organizations felt that the national media saw Clinton's character as weak. Most of these respondents (50%) believed that coverage of the administration was shaped by this perception, while only a minority (34%) believed that the coverage was not affected by this view of Clinton.

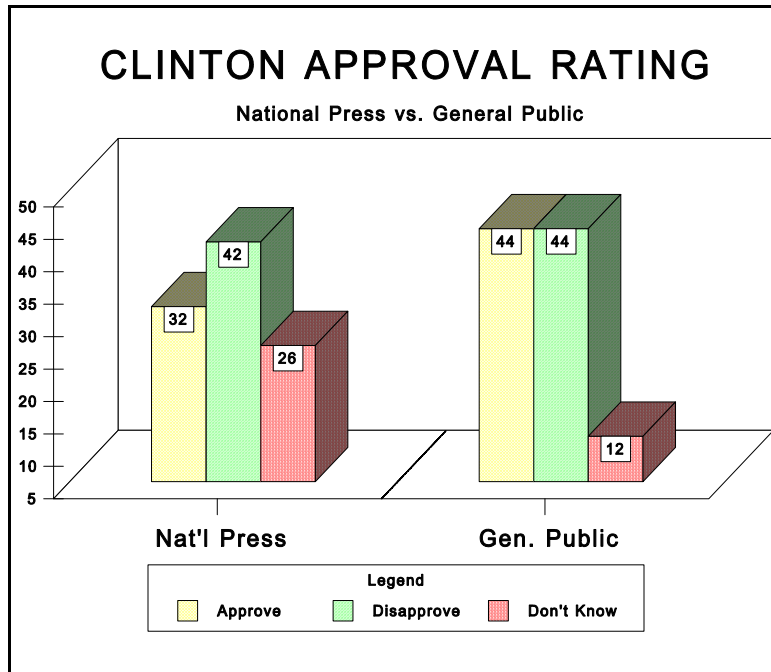
Nonetheless, nearly two-thirds of journalists employed by national news organizations denied the charge that Clinton's character problems have been over-covered. Further, a majority feel the press has made neither too much nor too little of Whitewater. Overall, members of both the national media and local news organizations give the press a solid grade of 'B' for its Clinton coverage overall. The press is even given good grades by most of those journalists who think the media coverage of the administration has been shaped by the view that Clinton's character is weak.

The public again sees it differently. They give the press a 'C' grade for Clinton coverage. Fully 65% believe Clinton's character problems have been overdone by the news media. Even two-thirds of Republicans think national news organizations have over-covered Bill Clinton's character problems.



If nothing else, opinions of the news media about Bill Clinton debunk the old notion of liberal bias. Clinton's job performance rating was lower among the press at the time of the

survey than it was among the general public. Older newspeople disapproved of his performance much more often than younger journalists. But journalists from national news organizations of all ages have some second thoughts as to whether they have under-covered Clinton's achievements. As many as 48% think so, while 49% believe that the President's successes have been adequately aired. Media people who approve of Clinton's performance in office were much more inclined to think that the press has under-covered his achievements than those who disapprove. Two-thirds of approvers think Clinton's successes have received short shrift, while only one-third of disapprovers take that point of view.



No To Newt 's Charges Too

While the press is sympathetic to some criticisms of its coverage of the Clinton administration, it rejects out of hand Newt Gingrich's charges that it has been too cynical, too negative and nit picked too much in its coverage of the Congress. Fully 81% of the sample of media people employed by national news organizations rejected this charge as did 74% of local media. There was much more agreement from media respondents that the press has not adequately covered the potential consequences of elements of the Contract with America. About half of both local and national media respondents took this view. The survey found that even a majority of media people who described themselves as conservative thought that the Contract consequences had been given too little coverage.

In that regard, the poll found only a few more liberals among journalists employed by national news organizations (22%) than in the general public (19%) or among the leadership groups sampled. However, there were decidedly fewer self-identified conservatives in the national media (5%) compared to the public (39%), talk show hosts (36%), business leaders (42%), local politicians (39%) or community leaders (35%). Media respondents more often described themselves as political moderates than did the other groups surveyed. Within the media, relatively more liberals were employed by national newspapers (26%), and more conservatives were employed in local TV (24%).

A Values Gap

The ideological differences between the media and the public are even more pronounced with regard to social and cultural values, and many in the media acknowledge the difficulty this creates for news organizations. Opinions on the issue of homosexuality illustrate the values gap between the media and the public. The public is divided as to whether homosexuality should be accepted (41%), or discouraged (53%), as are members of Congress, top business executives and local community leaders. But members of the national media feel it should be accepted by a 83% to 4% margin, and this view is almost as prevalent among the local media (75% to 14%).

Many in the national and local media (47% and 56%, respectively) agreed with the charge that the personal values of people in the news media make it difficult for them to understand and cover such things as religion and family values. Two-thirds of the public and majorities of each of the leadership groups concurred.

Summary Judgments.

Many of the problems that journalists see with the news media they attribute to television news, especially local television news. People in local television point their fingers at local newspapers. The national newspapers are well rated by both print and broadcast journalists, at all levels.

The public, however, likes local television news much better than network news, and somewhat better than newspapers. The political leaders and business executives surveyed were much more critical of network news than local news. To the extent it has a judgment about them, the public is more positive about national newspapers than about local papers. Leadership groups from Congress to local community leaders also have a better regard for national newspapers than for other types of news media, but they are not as harsh in their judgments about local television as are most journalists.

HOW THEY RATED THE PRESS								
	National Media	Local Media	Public	Talk Hosts	Congress	Business Leaders	Local Pols	Community Leaders
<u>% Rated Each 'A' or 'B'</u>								
Network TV	51	50	59	39	<u>9</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33</u>	52
Local TV	15	40	<u>68</u>	38	59	47	44	58
National Newspapers	<u>95</u>	87	67	71	64	61	67	71
Local Newspapers	41	47	60	39	33	17	34	44
News Magazines	66	69	68	60	55	56	61	69
Your News Organization	90	83						

Journalists rate their own news organizations very highly. Working journalists are slightly more self critical than the higher-ups. But top people and those below them do differ very much on the consequences of bottom line financial pressures that have beset most news organizations in recent times. Publishers, top editors and their broadcast equivalents do not think that these pressures are hurting the quality of journalism, but pluralities of middle level print and broadcast journalists strongly disagree.

These concerns notwithstanding, journalists at all levels thought their own news organizations were doing a good job in dealing with the problems that most arouse the press's

critics. However, significant percentages of media respondents thought their own organization could do a better job of covering complex stories and of adequately covering the positive developments.

FINDINGS IN DETAIL

*Oh would some Power the gift give us,
To see ourselves as others see us!
It would from many a blunder free us,
And foolish notion. -- Robert Burns*

I. EVALUATIONS

The press grades its major national newspapers highest of all segments of the media, and local television news lowest, with the rest of the various media types -- network news, local newspapers, and news magazines -- rated in between. But the public likes television news best of all, and particularly likes local television news. This disconnect between how differently the public and journalists see the media emerges as a dominant and recurring theme throughout this report.

Opinion leaders as well as the public like local TV news. This was particularly true for members of Congress who grade it four times higher than network television news (58% gave local television an 'A' or 'B', but only 13% gave those grades to national television). An indication of the low regard toward local television by the national media was this scathing remark during one of several background meetings with national print and broadcast journalists:

"Last night on the ten o'clock news," said one national journalist, "it was 15 minutes into the program before they got past the murders, the rapists, the kiddie didlers and the fires. This is the kind of news the people are getting (from local news programs)."

When asked to consider the media as a whole, the press grades itself fair to good overall, a 'C+', which is also the average grade it receives from the leadership groups. Local broadcast journalists grade the media's overall performance highest (64% gave it 'A' or 'B'), while national and local print journalists gave it the lowest grades (59% and 60%, respectively, said 'C', 'D' or 'F'). Very few 'A' grades were given in any case, either by the professionals or by the leadership groups asked to evaluate the media. Three out of five members of Congress gave the media a flat 'C', and 33% graded it 'B'. Local politicians were more negative as well as more nuanced, with 72% grading the media 'C', 'D' or 'F'. Business and financial leaders were close behind with 64% marking it 'C' or lower.

In a generational difference that reappeared throughout the survey, younger journalists graded the media higher than the older ones, particularly in rating television news. Almost two out of three (64%) of those under 35 years of age graded network news 'A/B', while slightly more of those age 60 and older gave it a 'C/D/F' (66%). Similarly, 51% of the younger journalists graded local television 'A/B', while 72% of those over 35 gave it 'C/D/F'. A gender

difference was also found: men judged the media as a whole better than did women (50% vs. 41% 'A/B').

Judging the Media Piece by Piece:

Network television news got a 'B' from broadcasters but only a 'C' from print journalists. Nearly two out of three members of Congress (62%) gave network news a 'C'. Local politicians gave it mostly 'C's' (46%) but also a significant number of 'D's' (15%). Most 'D's' came from business and financial leaders (24%), who also gave it the most 'F's' (6%); added together, nearly one in three of this economic leadership group gave the network news shows either a poor or failing grade. On the other hand, the public gave network news its most 'A's' (15%), as well as the most 'B's' (42%), adding up to a 'B+' grade from its most important audience. Among professionals, local broadcasters were most complimentary of their national brethren (68% 'A' or 'B') whom they presumably emulate and seek to replace. Among the lowest grades came from local print journalists (65% 'C/D/F').

Local television news got bad grades from the national journalists, both broadcast and print, as well as from every other professional group except the local TV broadcasters themselves (63% of whom said they deserved an 'A' or 'B'). All of the leadership groups gave local broadcast news higher grades than they gave national network news, however. As mentioned earlier, most enthusiastic were members of Congress (58% 'A' or 'B'). Fully 67% of the public gave high grades to local TV (22% 'A', 45% 'B'). Among local TV's biggest critics were local print colleagues (85% 'C/D/F').

*Major national newspapers*¹ were given the highest grades by majorities of all professional categories as well as by all leadership groups -- but not the public. Over 90% of the national and local media, except local broadcasters (who registered 81%), gave the papers an 'A' or 'B', for a cumulative 'B/B+'. National broadcast journalists gave the papers more than twice as many 'A' grades as did the national print journalists (34% to 14%). A majority of every leadership group gave the newspapers an 'A' or 'B'. Only one in three of the public (36%) agreed with such high grades, however, while half that number rated the papers 'C', 'D', and 'F' (18%). But barely over half of the public felt they were familiar enough with the national papers to offer a judgment: 46% said they "can't say" what grade to give. In comparison, merely 4% of the

¹Described to the public respondents as "large nationally influential newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times."

public said they could not grade national television news and 2% could not grade local television news programs.

The *typical daily newspaper*² was graded 'C+' for the most part. Local print journalists were most satisfied with their own product, while national print journalists were least complimentary. Among leadership groups, business and finance was most critical, with more than one out of four giving the local papers a 'D' (24%) or 'F' (6%). But again, the public disagreed. Fully 58% graded their local papers 'A' or 'B' which while high, was still lower than their rating of local television news (67% 'A/B').

News magazines got a 'B' from both print and broadcast journalists, with at least 60% grading them 'A' or 'B'. Most leadership groups gave them a 'B', with business and financial leaders marginally favoring the higher grades (54% 'A/B') rather than the lower grades (42% 'C/D/F'). The public was relatively strong in approval of the magazines: 48% 'A/B', 22% 'C/D/F', with 30% unable to offer an evaluation.

Finally, asked about "*your own organization*," members of the press gave themselves a solid 'B', with news executives especially proud of their own product. More than one in three national executives (36%) gave their organization an 'A', and almost one in four local executives (24%) did the same.

²Described to the public as "the daily newspaper you are most familiar with."

II. PERCEPTIONS

Ten years ago, Times Mirror commissioned a Gallup survey of the media focused on whether a "credibility gap" existed. The conclusion was it did not, but the poll found that the public had conflicting views of the press: it was criticized as too sensational, too cynical, too intrusive, too adversarial, but it was also praised as democracy's "watchdog." Subsequent polls found increasing criticism in much of the same areas, suggesting that the press's "bad manners" have gotten worse in the public's eyes.

Of six broad criticisms often made against the media today, all endorsed by the public and the leadership groups in this survey, the professionals accepted one, rejected two, and were split on three. In particular, the journalists:

- Accepted the complaint that too little attention is given to complex issues.
- Denied the old stereotypical criticism, which cuts deepest into their chief *raison d'etre*, that they are increasingly inaccurate; and on average, also denied the newer criticism that they are unnecessarily adversarial, although older journalists narrowly agreed with this complaint (53% to 47%).
- Divided among themselves -- sometimes by generation, sometimes along print/broadcast lines, sometimes by gender -- about whether they are too cynical, whether they inadequately cover positive developments, and whether they mix fact and opinion.

They also offered their own criticisms of themselves and their organizations which, not surprisingly, did not coincide with the view of the public and of leadership groups. In general, members of the press focused most complaints about their business on issues of quantity while the public and the leadership groups griped about quality of coverage. The "misconnection" between the press and the public, as one Washington journalist put it, comes in part because when the media provides sophisticated and in-depth coverage,

"It does not always correspond with the times and the ways people are ready for or want to absorb it." But he also pointed to an unresolved "paradox" within the press that contributes to public confusion. "We want to be recognized as serious, high-minded, sophisticated professionals who do important work for the country," he said, "but also we want the freedom to peer into rape victims bedroom windows and put in the paper what is on the night stand. We want to be both scholar journalist and police reporter."

The News Media's Complaints...

Constraints on resources were overwhelmingly the most cited complaints of the media: first, too little time or space to tell a story; and second, too little money and people to cover it. Broadcasters, and particularly local broadcasters, felt the money/people pinch more than print journalists. The third most common complaint was about quality: too shallow coverage. Fully 20% of the local media and 14% of the national press volunteered this self-criticism.

Fourth was about choice of stories -- too much time and money spent on some issues while others were ignored -- and appeared aimed primarily at senior executives who make those calls. National broadcasters cited this at least twice as often as their local broadcast and print colleagues. Fifth was the trend toward sensationalism, also called "fluff" and "tabloidization," which again seems aimed at choices made by senior executives who decide what gets into newspapers and on the air. National journalists, both print and broadcast, complained more than local journalists, with local broadcasters complaining least on this score. Local news executives, in fact, led all other journalists in a rare admission: 30% said they had "no complaints."

... And Some Self-Plaudits

Asked about what is improving these days in their own organizations, the media cited different successes, reflecting their different audiences, but two of the top three items were the same. Local media cited more and better coverage of local and community affairs most often; the national press mentioned most often the appearance of more in-depth coverage and more explanatory pieces, an issue the local press mentioned second most often. Expansion of resources, personnel, affiliates and greater focus on what the viewer/reader wants were among the other top items cited.

When the volunteered responses were categorized by subject, 51% of the national media and 54% of the local media spoke of improved quality of coverage; 33% and 30%, respectively, mentioned the improved quality of personnel; and 11% and 20%, respectively, mentioned technical improvements.

"I think we're doing most things pretty well," said a network executive. "We're covering things better, and we're covering more subjects. We never used to cover the economy at all because we thought it wasn't a story that could be done on television. The investigative work I think we're doing better and better."

The Public's Complaints

The public view is very different: 37% said no improvements had occurred or could cite none, while another 15% offered negative comments about news coverage (although the question asked what was improving). Yet another 15% had no answer at all. All told, two out of three (67%) members of the public had nothing or nothing good to say about the media. Of the public who cited improvements, 26% spoke of improved quality of coverage (including 14% who mentioned more in-depth and explanatory coverage), 4% of technological improvements (including better graphics), and 1% of improved quality of personnel.

But the leadership groups did not do much better. More than half of the members of Congress and local politicians said no improvements had occurred or had negative remarks about changes, with business and local community leaders only marginally behind in this respect. When they did cite improvements, in-depth coverage was most often mentioned by all groups except business leaders (who cited the speed and immediacy of news coverage most often). In broad terms, these groups mentioned improvements in the quality of coverage about as often as the public, but cited quantitative and technical improvements more often.

The public complained twice as often as the national media about sensationalism (22% vs. 11%), its top criticism. Its other complaints were: biased news coverage (16%), too much negative news (14%), and too much time and money spent covering certain issues (11%). Most leadership groups also put sensationalism and bias as their top two complaints. Other gripes of leadership groups were shallow coverage and overemphasis on negative news.

Of the more specific charges against the media, the vast majority of journalists agreed that they give too little attention to complex issues (80% of the national press, 75% of the local press). Here the press is in step with leadership groups, and in fact, this criticism was accepted by more of the press than by most of those groups.

But the media with strong majorities rejected the charges of increasing inaccuracy in their coverage (65% of national press, 59% of local press) and being more adversarial than necessary (64% and 66%, respectively). Majorities in all age groups rejected the inaccuracy charge, but younger and older journalists (those under 35 years old and those 60 and over) did it more narrowly than their middle-aged colleagues. Older journalists broke ranks with all of their colleagues on the adversarial question, however, narrowly accepting the criticism as valid (53% to 47%). Majorities of business and local leadership groups thought inaccuracy was a valid criticism, but members of Congress did not. Even stronger majorities of business and local leadership groups agreed the press was overly adversarial, as did 60% of the public, but again,

most Congressional leaders did not. Despite the denials by a majority of the media on these issues, they resonated with a senior network executive in New York. To appreciate the public complaint, he said,

"It really helps to have gone through vilification in the press yourself, to read about yourself, most of which is wrong, to realize how well-meaning, intelligent people (i.e., journalists) can get things wrong. And if what is printed about yourself is wrong so often, you have reason to believe that (name of top correspondent deleted) gets it wrong or that (name deleted) or (name deleted) gets it wrong."

As for the adversarial complaint, he mused: "I can't imagine a worse job than being the briefer of the White House press corps everyday. Because they are cynical about everything. And I think it almost becomes a schoolyard kind of mentality that says: in front of your peers, if you appear to buy what the President of the United States says, you're a wimp... I think it's part of where the (negative) perception about journalists comes from."

Divisive Criticisms

More contentious were the final three charges:

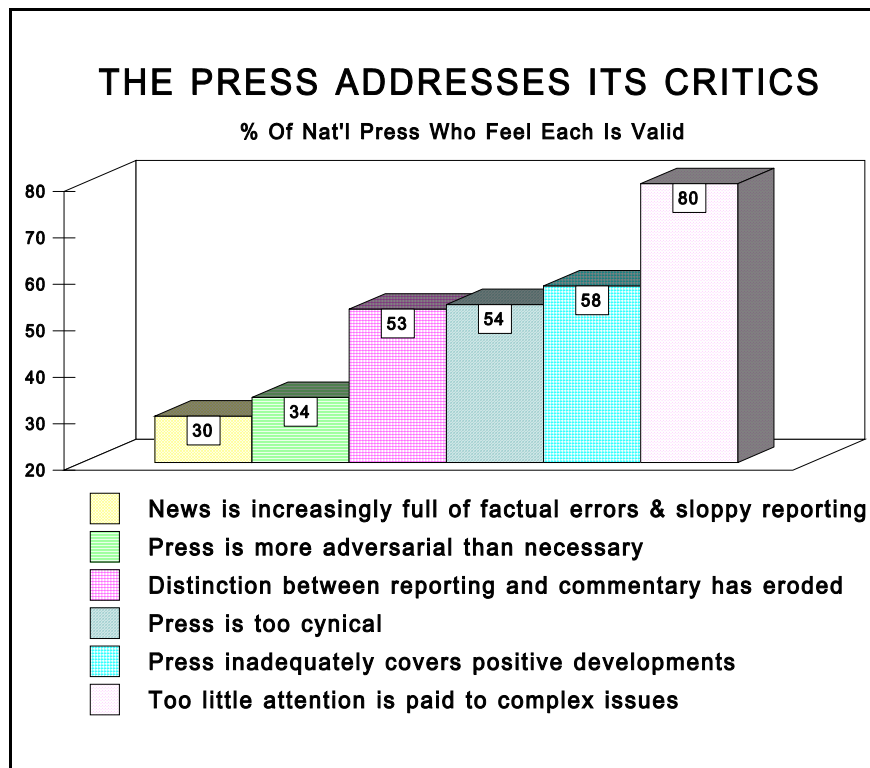
- Inadequate coverage of positive news: the broadcasters and print journalists split. National and local newspaper people agreed with the criticism (67% and 56%, respectively), while most local broadcasters disagreed (54%) and national broadcasters were evenly divided (48% vs. 48%). All leadership groups overwhelmingly agreed with the complaint. Younger journalists (under 35) narrowly accepted the charge, 51% to 49%, while a strong majority of older journalists (60 and over) accepted it, 62% to 34%. An editor commented on a Barney Frank op-ed which took after reporters on this charge.

"You people celebrate failure and not success. Nothing is as irresponsible about government as the reporting of it." I've used those two comments as a text for a number of discussions with our editors and reporters."

- The distinction between reporting and commentary has seriously eroded: the national and local media split. A slim majority of the national press agreed (53% to 44%), while an equally slim majority of the local press disagreed (44% to 53%). Local broadcasters disagreed by the largest margin (38% to 58%), and national broadcasters were dubious (49% agreed, 48% disagreed). A majority of Washington-based journalists agreed (59%), compared to a minority of New York-based journalists (44%). The largest gender gap appeared on this issue: a majority of women journalists agreed (54% to 44%) while a majority of men disagreed (47% to 50%). Another generational gap was found: those 60 years old and older agreed by a huge margin (60% to 40%) that facts and opinion get mixed, while those under 35 disagreed by an even larger margin (31% to 64%). All leadership groups agreed by margins of 80% and higher.

"There is a growing level of interpretation and analysis in our stories and on our front pages," admitted a Washington journalist, "because we do not report the news first to very many people anymore. They are getting it on CNN, on the radio, in local TV news. We assume the audience already has the facts and we have to do more than that. But sometimes we get to the interpretation in our stories before we get to the facts, and the public picks up on that."

- The Press is too cynical: major split again between print and broadcast journalists. National and local print agreed by significant margins (61% and 56%, respectively), while local broadcasters were evenly divided (50% to 49%), and most national broadcasters disagreed (45% to 51%). Women agreed in larger proportions than men (58% and 52%, respectively), and middle-aged journalists (35 to 59 years old) agreed more than their younger and older colleagues. Majorities of all leadership groups agreed, with the strongest agreement coming from members of Congress and local political leaders (71% and 65% agreed, respectively), as well as the public (56%).



The pet peeves held by the various leadership groups are also noteworthy. Beyond the overwhelming criticism by all groups for not seeing or reading enough about positive developments in the media, members of Congress and business leaders condemned the press most strongly for mixing fact and opinion, while local political leaders were most upset about inadequate attention to complex issues and positive developments. And it is worth repeating the finding that most members of Congress did not agree that the press was too adversarial, and moreover, that the much debated cynicism of the media was not the biggest complaint among any group.

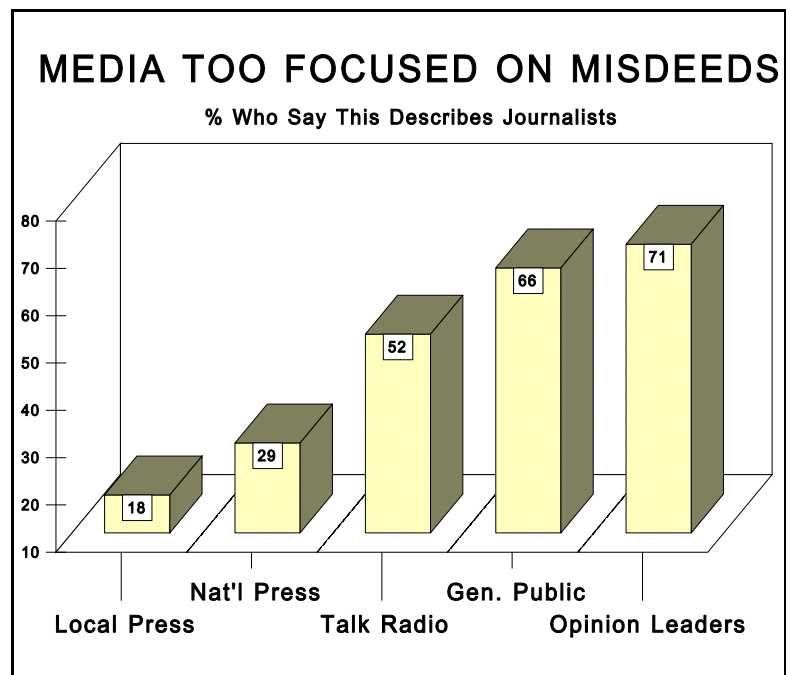
III. SELF IMAGE AND PUBLIC IMAGE

Press Image of the Press

The national and local media subscribe to the stereotype of newsmen as hard-nosed and cynical, but to different degrees. Almost three-fourths (74%) of the national press saw members of their news organization as more concerned about being too soft than too hard on the people they cover; 57% of the local press thought the same. Equal majorities of both (54%) believed fellow journalists were more cynical than people like themselves who work in other professions. The national and local media divided on how broad or narrow their colleagues are, however. A majority of the national press (66%) said their colleagues are well-informed and have a broad perspective on a wide range of subjects, but only a minority of the local press (45%) said the same; instead, most of the local media (53%) felt their colleagues were well informed only about a limited range of subjects. But both the national and local media strongly denied (68% and 81%, respectively) that they are more focused than necessary on reporting the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures.

One top editor disagreed that his reporters are too tough, but in another context. "We're too soft most of the time in pursuing stories hard enough, long enough. There was Iran-Contra, for example... We should have been tougher on the (Mexican) peso story... It's the casual toughness that I object to, guard against."

The press broadly denied that in covering the personal and ethical behavior of politicians, it is driving the news rather than only reporting it. The local press denies it strongly (61% say reporting the facts, 33% say driving the controversy) while the national press is not so certain (48% reporting the facts, 41% driving the story), with the national print press almost evenly split on the issue (46% to 45%, respectively).



Men more than women (38% vs. 33%) and blacks much more than whites (50% vs. 37%) said news organizations drive the scandals.³ And older journalists acknowledge the same (45% of those over 60, compared to 27% of those under 35).

The journalists overwhelmingly said they write primarily for the general public (76% of local media, 72% of the national press), but broadcasters said this much more often than print journalists (86% of local broadcasters vs. 66% of local print journalists; 84% of national broadcasters vs. 61% of national print media). National newspeople were more likely than locals to say they write or broadcast mainly for their editors or bosses (21% vs. 13%), for insiders in the areas they cover (20% vs. 15%), or for their fellow journalists (14% vs. 11%).⁴

Men said they wrote for their editors or bosses more often than did women (18% vs. 12%). Blacks said they wrote for insiders more than whites (25% vs. 17%), and for the general public more than whites (81% vs. 74%). Newspeople under 35 said they wrote for the general public significantly more often than older journalists (87% vs. 75% aged 50 and over). New York-based newspeople said the same (82% vs. 68% in Washington and elsewhere).

"When you live and work in Washington," said one reporter, "there is a distant feeling between who you are writing for. When you live in the community you write about, it is very, very different because you know the school, the neighborhood, the church. Every place I'd go people read what I wrote everyday, and there was much more pressure to be responsible."

Both gender and generational differences emerged on some of these issues. Women more often than men thought their colleagues were well informed (63% vs. 54%), while men more than women thought their colleagues preferred to be too hard rather than too soft (67% vs. 59%). Middle-aged newspeople (35 to 59 years old) were more willing to see their colleagues as more cynical than others, compared to both their younger and older counterparts (58% for those age 35 to 59 vs. 40% for those under 35 and those 60 and older). And the younger journalists were less

³The small number of African Americans in the sample, 16, cautions against putting too much reliance on the precise number in this and other instances in the survey.

⁴Percentages add up to more than 100 because multiple answers to the question were permitted.

willing to agree that they were overly focused on misdeeds and personal scandal than were those 60 years old and older (22% vs. 32%).

Public Image of the Press

The public, surprisingly, thought the press is less cynical than the press itself thought it is. By a narrow 49% to 45% margin, the public said the media is *no more cynical* than people like themselves (i.e., like newspeople) in other professions. (We shall also see below that the public is itself more cynical than the press and indeed, more cynical even than leadership groups.) Local community leaders were evenly split on the degree of press cynicism, while majorities of all other leadership groups said that the press was *more cynical* than others. Most talk radio hosts also agreed that the press was more cynical than others (58%).

But the public disagreed strongly with the press on whether it is too focused on misdeeds and failures: two-thirds (66%) said it was. So did all of the other leadership groups, often by huge margins. Print and television newspeople differ on who's to blame.

"A lot of the tone of television news is very troublesome to me," said a New York editor, "the standard stand-upper which ends with ... a cynical signoff. It affects the public perception, and it infects print journalists who appear on some of the discussion shows. There is this sense of a smart alecky belief -- basically television people -- standing there calling balls and strikes and enjoying the failure of politicians and the crises of society."

"I don't see (the problem) as an on-the-air attitude," countered a network newsmen. "What I'm talking about (as the problem) is: What is my role? Is my role to educate people in this country about what the White House has done this day, or what the president's position is as opposed to Dole's position? Or is it my role to puncture that balloon and to show him up for what he really is? I don't think (the problem of the press) is posturing on camera as much as what they see their function is."

Press Image and Public Anger

The media, asked why the public is angry toward it, fell back defensively on some old chestnuts and largely ignored some much-discussed concerns. Among the old excuses was that the messenger is always blamed for bad news. Not mentioned by the press among its top ten reasons for public anger was the press's relatively new intrusiveness and disregard for personal privacy.⁵ But the media did agree with many of the telling reasons put forward by scholars and by the public itself.

⁵Nor were some other well-identified problems, such as the impact of competitiveness on accuracy, the pressure of advertisers to soft-pedal critical stories, and the pressure on "investigative" reporters to find wrong-doing rather than right-doing.

In particular, the reason given most often by both the national and local press for the public's anger was the sensationalism, "tabloidism," and "after the dirt" trend in the media (although interestingly, journalists deny that their own organization is guilty of going too far in this respect). Second was blame-the-messenger syndrome. Third was a category that included negativism, cynicism, and the bad news emphasis of the media. Fourth was the perception that the press is too liberal. Fifth was recognition that the press is doing a poor job of covering relevant issues. On the next five reasons, the national and local media differed on their priority but not on their substance. They were: the public belief that the press is disconnected from the people and too connected to politicians; the public belief that the media is out of touch with mainstream America; generalized anger as well as anger at institutions and the popularity of press bashing; general loss of press credibility; and shallowness of reporting.

For whatever reason, however, significant majorities of both the national and local media believe that the public anger is justified. Of the national press, 68% agreed including 46% who qualified their answer by saying yes "to some extent." Of the local press, 73% agreed including 43% with qualified answers. Several subgroups stood out. News magazine personnel were most inclined to agree (84%), while national print personnel were least inclined to agree (64%) that the public's anger is justified. Women were slightly more willing to agree than men, and older newspeople (60 and over) were less inclined to agree than younger people.

IV. CLINTON, THE NEW CONGRESS AND THE CONTRACT

The national media said coverage of the Clinton presidency deserves a solid 'B'. This is somewhat higher than the 'C+' awarded by their local colleagues and the public at large, and considerably higher than they got from leadership groups. In fact, excepting the business group, roughly one out of four members of the other groups gave the national press a 'D' or 'F' for its coverage of the presidency.

Most of the press felt that President Clinton's investment in Whitewater has been covered "about the right way" but of those who don't, far more believe the issue has gotten too much attention rather than too little. Among the national press, seven times more journalists said the story has been over-covered rather than under-covered (35% vs. 5%); among the local press, the ratio is more than two to one (31% vs. 12%). Radio talk show hosts led in wanting more coverage of Whitewater (42%). The leadership groups are less certain on this score. Local politicians and community leaders side with the press in seeing too much coverage, but more than one-fourth of the Congressional group and almost one-fifth of business leaders seem to want more: among members of Congress, 29% said there has been too little coverage while 29% said too much; and among business leaders, 18% said too little while 27% said too much.

Nearly half of the media agree that too little coverage has been given to achievements of the Clinton administration (48% of the national press agreed, and 43% of the local press) while almost none of the press said too much (2% national, 3% local). But a significant share of the public (22%) said administration successes have gotten *too much attention* (35% said too little), and the leadership groups are divided. Almost half of the members of Congress (46%) said Clinton's achievements have been under-covered, and only 4% said over-covered. Local politicians and community leaders also seem to want more on administration successes (over 40% said too little coverage so far). More business leaders complain about too much coverage than too little (24% vs. 6%), however.

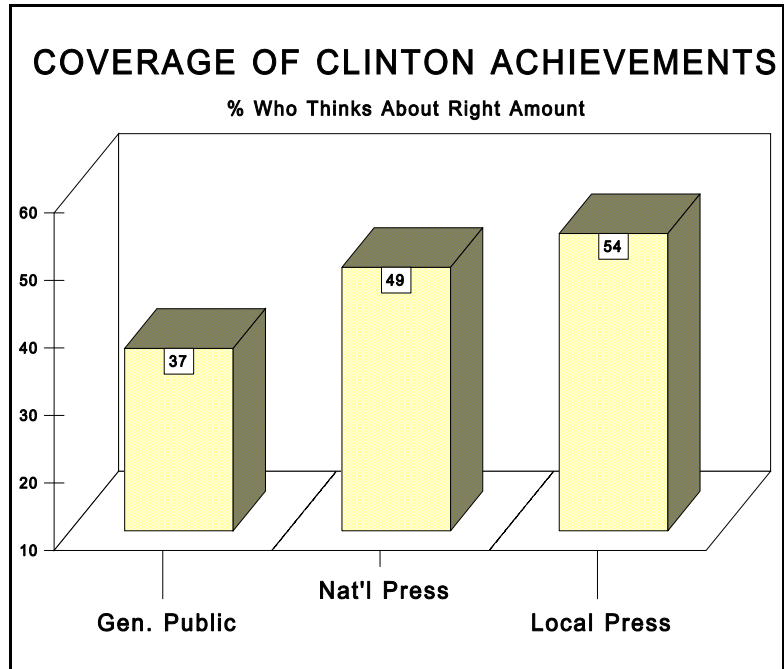
"I think this (under-coverage) has something to do with the rocky start and rocky road this administration has had," said a New York television executive. "This administration hasn't enjoyed one six-week period of a kinder, steady, uncontroversial running of the work or its own shop. It's changed course in so many areas of foreign affairs and domestic policy. Its agenda has been influx or being redefined. And it's been hounded by controversy."

On the controversial issue of Clinton personally, most journalists deny that too much emphasis has been given to the

President's character and personality in their coverage. The national media is stronger in this view than the local press (61% vs. 53%). But clearly, significant minorities believe this issue has been overly stressed (39% and 46%, respectively). The public certainly thinks so: 65% agreed that this is a valid criticism of the media. So do most local political and community leaders. But Congressional members and the business leaders side with the press: at least 75% of both groups said this issue has not been emphasized too much. One thoughtful Washington journalist explained the media's quandary on this point:

"A lot of scholars of the media and the presidency have said for years that we need to look more at presidential character, because it is a definer of success of programs and leadership. And now in the last 15 years we have tried to get into the character of presidents, even of nominees. But the result has been we are heading toward becoming the National Inquirer. We don't know how quite to do it without stepping way over the line into stuff not necessarily relevant to the presidency."

Fully 50% of the national press said most members of the national media believe that Clinton's personal character is weak and moreover, that this has very much affected how they cover his administration. Of the local press, 45% believe the same thing about the national media. However, one in three of both media groups (34% and 35%, respectively) said that while the national press believes Clinton is weak, it has *not* affected the coverage. Perhaps equally striking is that at least 80% of American media believe that the national press considers Clinton to be a weak man, irrespective of its effect on coverage.



"It's a bit like (former vice president) Dan Quayle," said a New York television executive. "He was victimized because he said some stupid things. But he also said some very bright things. For example, on 'Murphy Brown' he was right on the money (in criticizing the television sit-com star) who is a successful, powerful woman, a role model, for having a baby without any discussion of who the father might be. But his (Quayle's) image was so set in reporters' mind and in the public mind ... that he never could get a hearing on this legitimate question. It took two years before anybody finally said he might be right. And with Clinton -- it must drive him crazy, because he really has accomplished a lot of things. (But) it gets taken over by his propensity to stick his foot in his mouth or transfer the attention somewhere else ... to things that are sexier than he can claim for his accomplishments... Somewhere in the country there should be a doctor he could put into an innocuous job like surgeon general that would not cause a controversy from coast to coast."

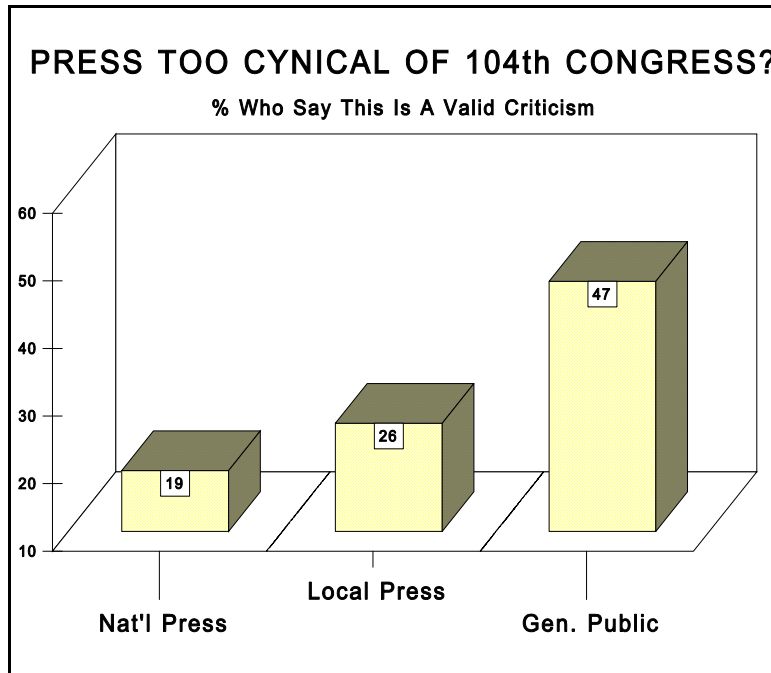
Clinton's approval rating among the media is lower than among the public -- 32% among the national press and 38% among the local press vs. 44% among the public. But his disapproval rating is closer to the public view (42% and 47%, respectively, vs. 44% for the public). However, a high proportion of media respondents did not answer this question. More than one in three (35%) national broadcast journalists fell into this "don't know/refused" category, as did 19% of national print journalists and 15% of local journalists. Talk radio hosts were not reluctant to answer: 58% disapproved, 39% approved, 3% said don't know or refused.

The news media sharply denied Newt Gingrich's charge that it has been too cynical and negative in covering the new Congress. Fully 81% of national journalists and 74% of local journalists rejected the complaint. The public bought it, however, by a narrow margin: 47% yes, 43% no. Most business and local political leaders also agreed (58% and 50%, respectively). Most members of Congress disagreed with the House Speaker: 58% to 42%.

The news media is less certain that it has adequately covered the potential consequences of the GOP's Contract With America, splitting closely on the issue. Perhaps this is not surprising since the press overwhelmingly admitted that it pays too little attention to complex issues; the possible consequences of legislation can easily be considered a complex issue. Fully 49% of the national press and 55% of the local press agreed that the coverage has been inadequate. Most of the public (54%) agreed, as did all of the leadership groups except business.

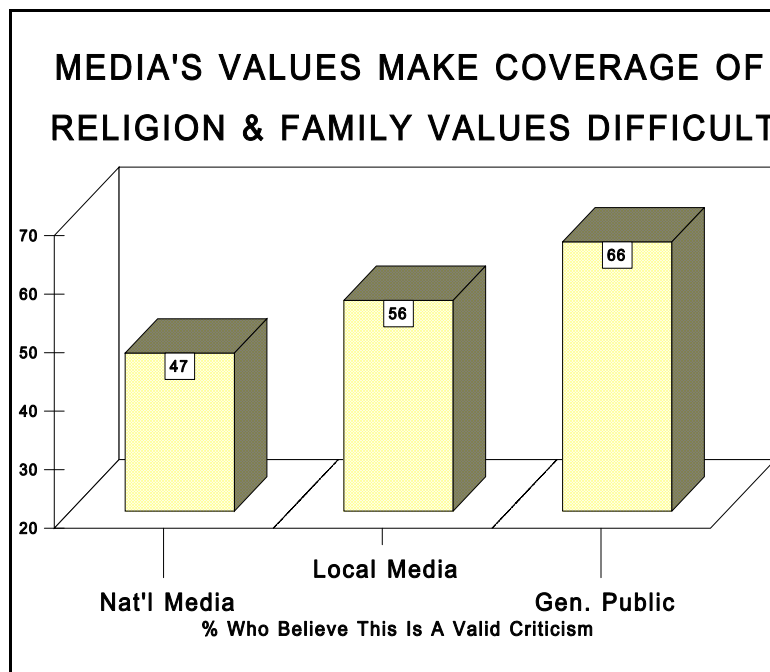
But some network executives are sympathetic to Gingrich's complaints.

"If you watch Gingrich's press briefings on television every morning, he sits in an area not much bigger than this (room) and there are 15 or 20 reporters with all their tape recorders, all badgering him about his mother or Hillary Clinton or whatever, and he's trying to talk about the Congress and put his spin on it, of course. But I don't blame him for getting pissed off. Because the process is an unpleasant process."



V. VALUES AND THE PRESS

A significant difference was found between local and national journalists on whether the personal values of members of the media make it difficult for them to understand and cover such things as religion and family values. Local newspeople were more likely to agree (55%) than were the national media (47%). Executives were more likely to agree than were those who worked for them, including correspondents and reporters. Local executives were most certain of all (65%) that this was a valid criticism.

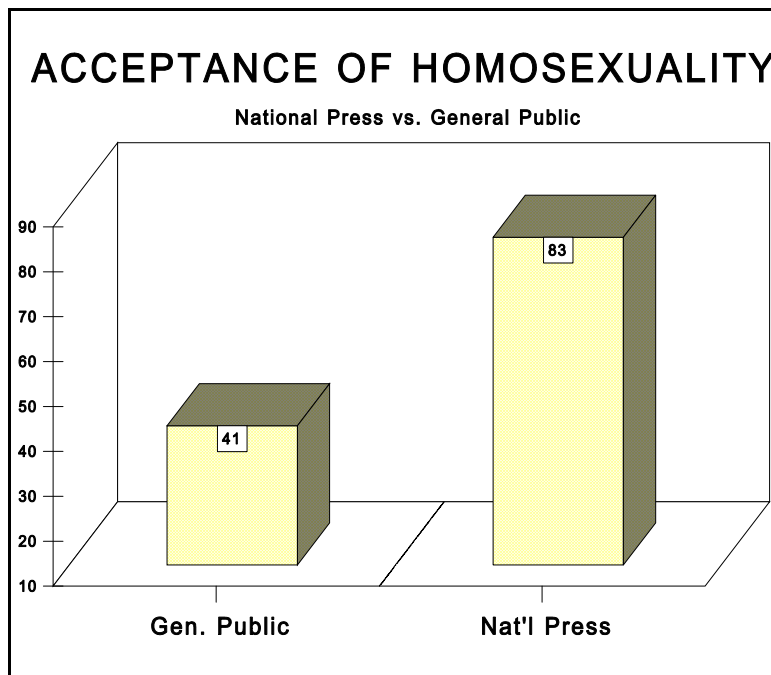


Among the various subgroups of the media, national radio correspondents and wire service reporters were most skeptical: 58% and 55%, respectively, disagreed. Men more than women in the news business agreed with the criticism (54% vs. 42%). More younger newspeople under 35 disagreed than agreed (49% to 45%), while a majority of those over 35 agreed by a narrow margin (52% vs. 47%).

Two-thirds of the public (66%) felt this was a valid criticism, as did all leadership groups by significant majorities. Business and financial leaders and members of Congress led the pack (67%) while local politicians were least in agreement (53%).

Nowhere do press values differ from public values more strikingly than on homosexuality. While the public is split on whether the homosexual lifestyle should be accepted or discouraged (41% vs. 53%, respectively), the media overwhelmingly said that lifestyle is

acceptable. National respondents were more positive than their local colleagues (83% and 75% agreed, respectively), but even among the most conservative media group, local executives, a strong majority of 62% said homosexuality should be accepted rather than discouraged. Local politicians and community leaders were split evenly on the issue, but more business leaders and members of Congress said homosexuality should be accepted rather than discouraged (46% vs. 30%, and 46% vs. 33%, respectively). In both of these latter groups, however, an abnormally large proportion of respondents (24% and 21%, respectively) said "neither" or "don't know" or refused to answer.



This social liberalism is highest among younger newspeople (86% of those under 35) and decreases with age (72% among those 50 and older).

Political Labelling

In terms of political ideology, the overwhelming majority (64%) of both national and local newspeople called themselves moderates. The national press was considerably more liberal than the local press (22% vs. 14%, with 2% of both groups saying they were "very liberal").

Conversely, the local newspeople are much more conservative than the national press (18% vs. 5%, with 1% in both groups saying they were "very conservative"). Said a network executive:

"There are some people that you just don't put on stories because you know what they bring. There are a lot of bright young people who went to college in the Sixties and have never outgrown that mentality. Some are involved with causes, usually liberal causes, all big business is bad, always nefarious plots. But not always liberal, some people are the other way. And then there are others who have outgrown (the Sixties mentality) and become terrific journalists."

The public is significantly more conservative than the media. In a July 1994 survey⁶, 39% of the public said they were conservative (7% very conservative), and 19% said they were liberal (4% very liberal). Only two in five Americans (39%) said they were moderate, significantly fewer than among the press. In the current survey, most leadership groups mirrored the ideological division of the public, with two exceptions: members of Congress were more conservative (46%, of whom 17% said very conservative); and all other leadership groups had fewer liberals than the public (and virtually no very liberal respondents).

Among the media, women were twice as likely to say they were liberal than were men (31% vs. 15%), and blacks were much more liberal than whites (31% vs. 18%). In terms of age, newspeople under 35 years old were only marginally more likely to be liberal than their older colleagues (22% vs. 16% of those 50 and over).

A final word on values: radio talk show hosts appeared to be sometimes fish and sometimes foul, looking at times like the press and at times like the public, on these measures. They were closer to the media in accepting homosexual lifestyles; closer to (but no more conservative than) the public in their political ideology; and in between the two on whether the personal values of the press interfere with coverage of religion and family values. But as discussed later, the hosts matched the level of cynicism of the public much closer than that of the press or any of the leadership groups. The results suggest that the ideology of radio talk hosts is rooted more in politics than in social and ethical beliefs, and secondarily, confirm how different they are from working journalists. As one Washington newsman commented cuttingly:

"Talk radio is under no obligation to ever use facts."

⁶"The New Political Landscape," Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, October 1994, Washington, D.C.

VI. CYNICISM: THE PRESS, THE PUBLIC AND ITS LEADERS

Although press cynicism is widely accepted as rampant, the public is *more cynical than the media* about the honesty and ethical standards of six categories of influential persons tested, including religious leaders, and more cynical than the leadership groups about those influential persons.

The discrepancy is greatest between the public and the press on attitudes toward public officials in Washington. About three times as many of the national press who cover these officials rated their honesty and integrity high compared to the public (53% vs. 18%), and almost twice as many local media rated them high compared to the public (35% vs 18%). Very large differences were also found in attitudes toward religious leaders: 76% of the national press and 82% of the local press gave them a high rating compared to 55% of the public. A similar difference was found regarding the Chief Executive Officers of major companies (52% of the national media sample and 62% of the local sample vs. 33% of the public gave them a high rating). Even military leaders, whom the public holds in very high regard, were graded better by the press than the public for honesty and integrity (81% national, 82% local press vs. 63% of the public gave military leaders a high rating). The same was true for Wall Street executives (30% and 38% vs. 20%, respectively). Of all influential groups tested, "state and local officials in your home area" received the best ratings in this respect by the public (43% high), but nonetheless, this was lower than their rating by the local press who cover those officials (56%) and virtually the same as the national press (42%).

Every one of the leadership groups -- members of Congress, business and financial leaders, local political leaders, and local community leaders -- rated every one of the influential categories higher than did the public. All leadership groups gave fairly high ratings to CEOs and decent ones to Wall Street executives, and all ranked religious and military leaders highest among the influential categories.

Radio talk show hosts come closer to the public than the press or the leadership groups in their level of cynicism toward all of the influential categories. The hosts and the public were virtually identical in their dismal attitudes toward CEOs and Wall Street executives. The hosts were higher than the public in their regard for Washington officials (by 11 percentage points), for military leaders (8 points), and religious leaders (6 points), but lower in their estimate of local and state officials (by 8 points).

The media is split on whether members of Congress have a more exclusive focus on getting reelected now or about the same focus as 20 years ago. Of the national media, a majority

said the focus was the same rather than greater (52% vs. 44%); of the local media, a majority said the focus was greater (53% vs. 42% the same). Those newspeople under 35 believed the focus is greater now by more than two to one (66% said more, 31% said the same), while most of those 50 years old and older thought the emphasis was the same (53% vs. 43% said greater). Fully 60% of the public said the politicians are more focused on reelection now, while most of the leadership groups marginally felt the emphasis was the same. Interestingly, almost one in five members of Congress (17%) said there was less focus on reelection today, greater than any other group in this respect.

The press was more convinced that Washington politicians are more responsive these days to special interest groups than they were 20 years ago: 55% of both national and local media said more, 39% said the same. Again, more than twice as many journalists under 35 years old said more responsive (64% vs. 29% said the same), while most of those over 60 said the responsiveness was the same (53%, vs. 38% who said more). Most of the public also believes Washington politicians are more responsive to special interests now (51%), while the leadership groups are widely scattered: most business leaders (61%) felt the responsiveness was unchanged, while nearly a third of members of Congress (29%) believed the responsiveness had declined.

As for press ethics, most members of the media (54% of the national press, 63% of the local press) saw reporters as *more ethical* about conflicts of interest than the public officials they cover. Less than half as many public respondents saw reporters as more ethical (22%), although this was marginally more than the leadership groups. A similar 22% of the public said reporters were less ethical, again marginally more than the leadership groups. Much as it was not surprising to find the media viewing itself as more ethical than public officials, public officials in Congress and at the local level refused to see the media as more ethical than themselves; only 8% and 5%, respectively, rated reporters that highly.

DISTRUST OF VARIOUS TYPES OF LEADERS AMONG:

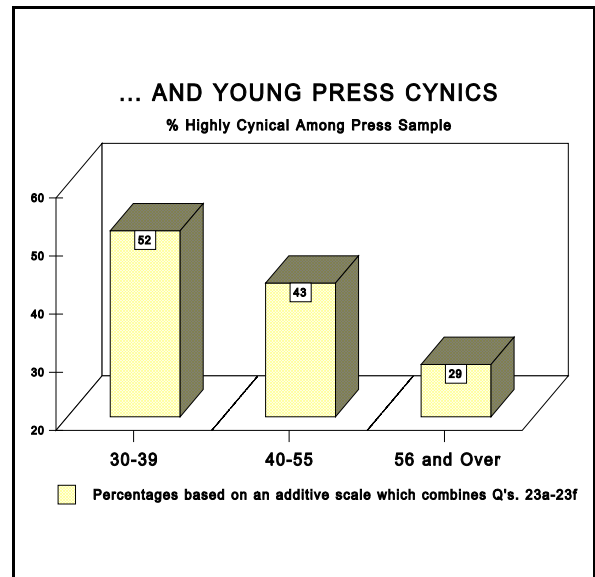
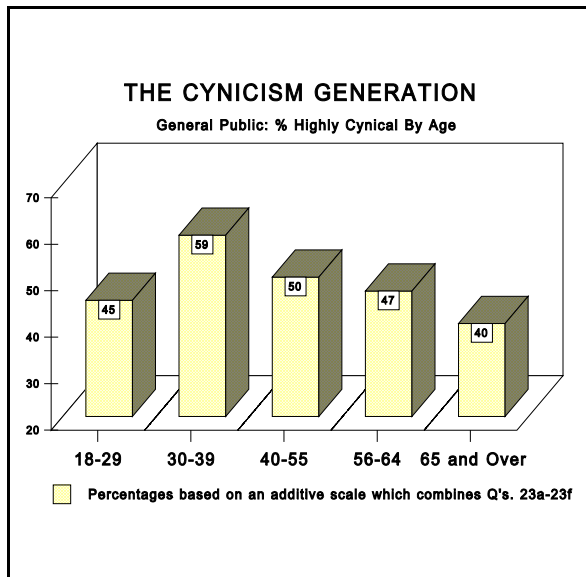
<i>% Gave Each a Low Rating For Honesty and Ethics:</i>	<u>National Media</u>	<u>Local Media</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Hosts</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Business Leaders</u>	<u>Local Politicians</u>	<u>Community Leaders</u>
Public Officials in Washington	40	62	77	65	4	39	28	56
State and Local Officials	49	41	52	58	23	39	7	26
CEO's of Major Companies	31	30	51	55	9	6	13	20
Top Wall Street Executives	48	43	50	55	32	24	31	34
Religious Leaders	11	12	36	29	9	6	12	25
Military Leaders	9	10	27	13	5	0	7	14

Although the focus of this survey was the media, our findings with regard to public cynicism were so striking that they merited further examination. We first looked to see whether the attitudes of more affluent and better educated Americans more closely mirrored those of the press, assuming a certain level of sophistication might dampen cynical tendencies. This did not prove to be the case. In fact "middle class" Americans (high school graduates with annual incomes between \$30,000 and \$50,000) appeared to be *less cynical* overall than the more affluent group, particularly with regard to government officials.

Next we analyzed public cynicism by age. Here we found some striking generational differences. By creating a composite measure of cynicism based on the survey questions described above, we found that middle-aged Americans were significantly more cynical than younger and older Americans. Specifically, the most cynical members of the public were aged 30 to 39 years, followed by those aged 40 to 55 years. These two groups could be called the Vietnam-Watergate generation. They were socialized during a time of great turbulence in U.S. history, and many came of age politically when the credibility of the American government was broadly doubted across the land. The age group 56 to 64 years was less cynical than those two middle-aged groups, although also more cynical than the younger Americans (18 to 29) and those 65 and older.⁷

⁷Analysis of two previous Times Mirror surveys confirms these correlations between age and cynicism in the public. See International Media survey, March 1994, and New Political Landscape survey, October 1994.

A similar pattern was found among the U.S. news media. Although less cynical than the public overall, journalists aged 30 to 39 were the most cynical of the press, followed by the 40 to 55 year olds. The generation gap among newspeople can be seen most clearly in attitudes toward public officials in Washington. Among those 30 to 39 years old, 66% rated the honesty and ethical standards of these officials low or very low. This compares with only 38% of those 56 and older. [Among the public in this age bracket, the greatest gap can be seen in ratings of Wall Street executives: 60% of those 30 to 39 years old gave these executives low or very low ratings compared to 36% of those 65 and older.] Least cynical among the press, far and away, were American journalists 56 years old and older. This generation gap was considerably sharper among the press than among the public.



VII. MISCELLANY

Bottom line pressure: Members of both the national and local media agree that increased pressure on news organizations to show a financial profit is affecting quality of coverage. But they are split over whether it is hurting or just changing coverage. The national press were more likely to see it hurting (41%, vs. 38% just changing), while locals saw it the other way (33% hurting, 50% changing). Mid-level journalists, both national and local, were more apt to admit the pressure was hurting than were their bosses.

Tabloidization: The media overwhelmingly denies (81% of national press, 95% of the local media) going too far in the tabloid direction in an effort to attract and hold audiences. Mid-level national journalists are most likely to admit to creeping sleaze (23%). Local broadcasters were almost unanimous in denying the charge (98%).

TABLES

Ratings of the Press and Evaluations of News Media Practices

(N=515)

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----							
	---- <i>Local</i> ----						<i>News-</i>			<i>News</i>	<i>News</i>		<i>News-</i>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u><35</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>60+</u>	<u>paper</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>Service</u>	<u>Mags.</u>	<u>Wire</u>	<u>paper</u>	<u>TV</u>
<i>Rating the Press:</i>														
Grade for media overall														
A/B	50	41	64	45	49	53	40	47	51	45	42	35	39	64
C/D/F	48	56	34	53	49	45	59	47	42	56	58	65	60	35
Grade for own news organization														
A/B	84	82	87	84	79	87	89	95	85	67	90	90	80	83
C/D/F	13	14	11	14	15	9	8	5	10	28	5	5	18	16
Grade for network news														
A/B	49	46	64	50	45	28	37	53	62	22	37	60	30	68
C/D/F	47	46	33	45	52	66	55	37	34	78	58	35	65	32
Grade for local TV news														
A/B	27	26	51	25	20	26	10	11	17	33	0	15	14	63
C/D/F	70	68	47	71	78	64	86	79	76	67	89	75	85	35
Grade for major national newspapers														
A/B	89	91	91	89	89	89	94	95	97	83	95	90	90	81
C/D/F	9	8	7	9	10	6	5	0	2	17	5	5	10	15

* Sex and age based on national and local media combined.

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----								
	---- <i>Local</i> ----						<i>News-</i>				<i>News</i>	<i>News</i>		<i>News-</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i><35</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60+</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Mags.</i>	<i>Wire</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>TV</i>	
<i>Press Practices and Criticisms:</i>															
Distinction between reporting and commentary has eroded.															
Valid criticism	47	54	31	48	55	60	54	42	48	67	79	50	50	38	
Not a valid criticism	50	44	64	49	43	40	45	58	48	33	21	45	48	57	
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?															
Excellent	45	48	62	42	49	40	33	58	53	56	11	80	28	63	
Good	43	34	36	42	39	47	50	37	34	39	37	20	56	31	
Only fair/Poor	10	17	0	14	11	11	15	5	9	5	42	0	16	6	
News reports are increasingly full of factual errors and sloppy reporting.															
Valid criticism	35	34	46	36	26	34	31	26	28	17	37	35	36	44	
Not a valid criticism	62	62	53	61	71	57	65	63	66	72	63	60	63	55	
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?															
Excellent	35	30	20	34	41	28	31	42	49	33	63	65	16	32	
Good	57	60	75	54	55	70	59	53	45	61	37	35	72	58	
Only fair/Poor	8	8	5	10	3	2	8	5	3	6	0	0	12	9	

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----							
	---- <i>Local</i> ----						<i>News-</i>			<i>News</i>	<i>News</i>		<i>News-</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i><35</i>	<i>35-49</i>	<i>50-59</i>	<i>60+</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Mags.</i>	<i>Wire</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>TV</i>
Too little attention is paid to complex issues.														
Valid criticism	77	79	78	81	75	62	89	68	79	78	68	75	70	80
Not a valid criticism	20	20	22	16	23	34	11	26	17	22	26	20	28	17
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?														
Excellent	17	12	5	14	19	32	26	42	20	17	32	10	12	6
Good	40	43	42	40	39	45	48	21	37	50	47	50	37	40
Only fair/Poor	42	44	53	45	41	21	25	37	41	33	16	40	49	54
The press is too cynical														
Valid Criticism	52	58	44	56	55	47	68	53	44	56	63	35	57	50
Not a valid criticism	46	39	53	43	44	51	32	47	51	44	37	65	40	49
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?														
Excellent	18	14	18	15	22	21	11	21	21	17	11	40	13	21
Good	57	59	71	57	55	53	55	63	57	33	42	50	59	64
Only fair/Poor	22	20	9	24	21	23	29	16	15	45	47	10	27	14
The press is more adversarial than necessary														
Valid criticism	34	30	33	29	37	53	35	21	33	39	37	40	34	30
Not a valid criticism	65	64	62	70	62	47	61	79	65	61	63	60	64	68
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?														
Excellent	23	24	31	23	22	21	23	42	29	28	21	50	13	24
Good	57	58	60	56	58	62	56	58	51	50	53	45	61	60
Only fair/Poor	17	12	7	17	17	15	15	0	14	22	21	5	24	13

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----							
	---- <i>Local</i> ----						<i>News-</i>			<i>News</i>	<i>News</i>		<i>News-</i>	
	<u><i>Male</i></u>	<u><i>Female</i></u>	<u><i><35</i></u>	<u><i>35-49</i></u>	<u><i>50-59</i></u>	<u><i>60+</i></u>	<u><i>paper</i></u>	<u><i>Radio</i></u>	<u><i>TV</i></u>	<u><i>Service</i></u>	<u><i>Mags.</i></u>	<u><i>Wire</i></u>	<u><i>paper</i></u>	<u><i>TV</i></u>
The press inadequately covers positive developments.														
Valid criticism	55	52	51	53	58	62	65	32	51	72	84	50	57	46
Not a valid criticism	43	46	49	45	41	34	33	68	44	22	16	50	42	54
How good a job is your organization doing in dealing with this?														
Excellent	22	22	36	20	20	26	13	16	12	11	5	20	21	42
Good	44	48	38	47	42	45	56	68	46	33	16	40	44	41
Only fair/Poor	32	25	26	31	36	28	29	16	38	50	79	35	34	17

How Journalists See Themselves

(N=515)

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----							
	---- <i>Local</i> ----		<u><35</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>60+</u>	<u>News- paper</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>News Service</u>	<u>News Mags.</u>	<u>Wire</u>	<u>News- paper</u>	<u>TV</u>
Journalists are well informed and have a broad perspective on a wide range of subjects <i>OR</i> They are only well informed about a limited range of subjects	54	63	55	56	55	51	56	79	70	72	63	70	44	47
Journalists are more cynical than people like themselves who work in other professions <i>OR</i> They are no more cynical than other people like themselves outside of the news business	54	57	40	58	57	40	58	42	52	67	63	45	64	45
Journalists are more concerned about being seen as too soft on people they cover <i>OR</i> They are more concerned about being seen as too hard on those they cover	66	59	45	69	67	60	78	63	69	89	100	55	70	45
	14	23	42	14	9	11	7	5	6	0	0	0	10	40

* Sex and age based on national and local media combined.

	<i>Sex*</i>		<i>Age*</i>				----- <i>National</i> -----							
	---- <i>Local</i> ----						<i>News-</i>			<i>News</i>	<i>News</i>		<i>News-</i>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u><35</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>60+</u>	<u>paper</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>Service</u>	<u>Mags.</u>	<u>Wire</u>	<u>paper</u>	<u>TV</u>
Journalists are too focused on reporting the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures	24	20	22	24	19	32	29	37	26	28	42	25	14	22
<i>OR</i>														
They are no more focused than they should be in reporting about the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures	74	77	73	74	79	68	70	63	70	72	47	70	84	78
Some have charged that the personal values of people in the news media often make it difficult for them to understand and cover such things as religion and family values.														
Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?														
Yes	54	42	45	53	51	53	50	37	45	50	58	45	60	51
No	45	56	49	46	49	45	49	58	53	50	42	55	40	47
Don't know	1	2	6	1	0	2	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	2

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

DESIGN OF THE GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,819 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period March 22-26, 1995.

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The margin of error due to sampling is as follows for various sample sizes:

Sample Sizes	Margin of Error
1800	2.5
1500	3
1000	3
500	5
300	6
200	8
100	11

DESIGN OF THE PRESS SAMPLE

Two samples were drawn for the press portion of this survey: a national media sample and a local media sample. Both the national and local samples were divided into print and broadcast. For the national sample the broadcast category encompasses television and radio networks. The national print category includes newspapers, magazines, wire services and news services. For the local sample broadcast includes television stations from the top 100 markets. The local print category includes newspapers from a listing of the top 100 ranked by circulation, excluding those selected for the national sample. Within the print and broadcast groupings, persons holding specific professional titles were selected. The specific sampling procedures are outlined below.

The complex sample design for this survey involved measurement of three dimensions of the media:

1. Importance of medium in terms of audience size of market/influence upon populace or other media
2. Type of medium, e.g. television, newspaper, radio
3. Level of responsibility of the individual sample member

The three dimensions were sub-divided as follows:

1. Audience size/market
 - a. National audience
 - b. Local audience, top 100 markets/circulation (excluding newspapers selected for the national sample)
2. Type of medium
 - a. Television stations and networks
 - b. Radio stations and networks
 - c. Newspapers
 - d. News magazines
 - e. Wire services
 - f. News services
3. Level of responsibility
 - a. "Executive" - broadly defined as executive level managers
 - b. "Top" - broadly defined as senior editors, news directors
 - c. "Middle" - broadly defined as correspondents and reporters

The specific sampling frames employed to select organizations were Editor and Publisher International Yearbook 1994, Broadcasting and Cablecasting Yearbook 1994, 1995 Media Encyclopedia: Working Press of the Nation, and News Media Yellow Book Fall 1994.

Examination of the sampling frames and other sources suggested a two stage sampling strategy. Media organizations were first selected according to the criteria outlined below.

MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS SAMPLED

NATIONAL MEDIA

Broadcast

Television:

Networks - ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, C-SPAN, PBS

Chains with Washington, D.C. Bureaus - Gannett, Cox, Conus, Hearst

Radio (Stations/Networks):

Associated Press Radio Networks

ABC Radio Networks

CBS Radio Networks

Westwood One (NBC, Mutual Broadcasting)

Black Radio Network

National Public Radio

Print

Newspapers (Top Circulation/Regional):

Wall Street Journal

USA Today

New York Times

Los Angeles Times

Washington Post

Long Island/New York Newsday

Chicago Tribune

Detroit Free Press

San Francisco Chronicle

Boston Globe

Dallas Morning News

Miami Herald

Magazines:

Newsweek

Time

U.S. News and World Report

Wire Services:

Associated Press

Reuters

News Services:

Copley
Cox Newspapers
Gannett
Harte-Hanks Newspapers
Hearst
Knight-Ridder
McClatchy Newspapers
Newhouse
Scripps-Howard
States News Service

LOCAL MEDIA

Broadcast

Television Stations - random sample of all stations listed in the top 100 markets

Print

Newspapers - top 100 ranked by circulation, excluding those selected for the national sample

PROFESSIONAL TITLES SAMPLED AT EACH SAMPLED ORGANIZATION

NATIONAL MEDIA

Executive Level

Broadcast:

President/CEO, Vice President, General Manager, Station Manager

Print:

Publisher, President/CEO, Vice President

Top Level

Broadcast:

News division executive, executive producer

Print:

Managing Editor, Executive Editor

Middle Level

Broadcast:

Washington D.C. Bureau Chief, Senior Producer, Correspondent, Anchor

Print:

Political Editor, Correspondent or Reporter, Washington D.C. Bureau Chief, Senior Editor

LOCAL MEDIA

Executive Level

Broadcast:

President/CEO, Vice President, General Manager, Station Manager

Print:

Publisher, President/CEO, Vice President

Top Level

Broadcast:

News Director

Print:

Managing Editor, Executive Editor, Senior Editor

Middle Level

Broadcast:

Producer, Correspondent

Print:

National Editor, Editor, Reporter

The final selected samples from the national media and the local media were each divided into six subsamples. Each subsample was split into replicates and quotas were set for number of completed interviews from each subsample. These quotas were set because the sampling frame for "Executive" level respondents was somewhat smaller than for the other groups represented in the sample. In order to ensure adequate representation of these smaller groups in the final sample of complete interviews it was necessary to set quotas. The subsamples and quotas for each are listed below.

SUBSAMPLE

QUOTA

National Broadcast Executive Level	8
National Broadcast Top Level	43
National Broadcast Middle Level	68
National Print Executive Level	20
National Print Top Level	40
National Print Middle Level	69
Local Broadcast Executive Level	21
Local Broadcast Top Level	55
Local Broadcast Middle Level	60
Local Print Executive Level	16
Local Print Top Level	60
Local Print Middle Level	55
TOTAL	515

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter. The letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. Approximately one week after the letter was mailed specially trained interviewers began calling the individual sample members and conducting the survey or setting up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date.

Interviewers for the survey were experienced, executive interviewers specially trained to ensure their familiarity with the questionnaire and their professionalism in dealing with media professionals of this level. The interviewing was conducted from March 8, 1995 through March 30, 1995.

Prior to the sample interviewing period in March, a series of focus groups was convened to provide background and context for the project. The focus groups were held during January and February 1995 in New York and Washington. They included prominent journalists and correspondents from print and broadcast media.

DESIGN OF THE LEADERSHIP SAMPLE

The sample for the leadership portion of the survey consisted of several different subsamples which were selected from a variety of sources. Each subsample will be described below and the sources of the sample identified. All sample selections were made on a random basis to ensure that each member of a given sampling frame would have an equal chance of being included in the sample.

As was the case for the media sample, each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter. The letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. Approximately one week after the letter was mailed specially trained interviewers began calling the individual sample members and conducting the survey or setting up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date.

Leadership group samples were selected according to the criteria outlined below.

CONGRESS:

The samples for the Senators and Congressmen were randomly selected from the total universe of Senators and Congressmen currently in office.

BUSINESS:

The sample for the business portion of the survey was drawn from Fortune Magazine's 1994 listing of top industry and service companies. A random sample of businesses was drawn from the Fortune 500 list of industries. A random sample of financial companies was drawn from the Fortune list of service companies in the three categories of commercial banking, diversified financial, and savings and loan institutions. In each case the Chief Executive Officer of the company was interviewed.

LOCAL POLITICIANS:

This portion of the survey combined two sample groups: 1) Mayors and 2) State Legislative Leaders. A random sample of Mayors from U.S. cities with a population of 80,000 or higher was selected from the United States Conference of Mayors' 1994 listing of The Mayors of America's Principal Cities.

A random sample of state legislative leaders was selected from a list of all state legislative leaders from the fifty states obtained from the National Conference of State Legislators.

LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS:

This portion of the survey combined two sample groups: 1) Chamber of Commerce Presidents and 2) School Board Presidents and/or Superintendents. A random sample of Chamber of Commerce Presidents was selected from the World Chamber of Commerce Directory June 1994. As no similar listing was found to exist for school districts around the country, the sample of School Board Presidents and/or Superintendents was assembled by first choosing a random sample of communities from the World Chamber of Commerce Directory and then contacting the School Board office or Superintendent's office in each community directly to obtain the name and number of the School Board President or Superintendent.

For both local leadership sample groups communities of all sizes were included in the sample, in an effort to incorporate grassroots leadership opinion into the survey.

<i>SUBSAMPLE</i>	<i>COMPLETED INTERVIEWS</i>
Congress	24
Business	33
Local Politicians	82
Local Community Leaders	104
TOTAL	243

DESIGN OF THE TALK RADIO SAMPLE

A sample of national radio talk shows in the top 100 markets in the U.S. was selected from "Talk Show Selects," a product of Broadcast Interview Source in Washington, D.C. A total of 31 interviews were completed. In each case the host of the show was interviewed.

THE PRESS QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER PRESS SURVEY
FINAL NATIONAL & LOCAL MEDIA TOPLINE

March 8-30, 1995

N = 515

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research on behalf of the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press in Washington, DC. May I speak with _____ (Name of Respondent)? Is now a convenient time to conduct the interview that Andrew Kohut wrote to you about? **(IF NO, ASK TO SET UP AN APPOINTMENT).**

MY FIRST FEW QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT HOW GOOD A JOB THE PRESS IS DOING THESE DAYS ...

1. First, in what ways, if any, is (Name of Respondent's Organization)'s news coverage improving these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
32	23	More in depth coverage/more explanatory detail	35	29	29	18	36	30	32	11	29	22
24	18	Expansion -- resources, personnel, affiliates, etc.	23	25	17	18	25	24	24	14	16	21
7	29	More/better coverage on local/community level	12	2	33	26	14	6	6	43	32	22
13	11	More focused/more emphasis on policy and issues rather than politics and personality	12	14	11	11	4	7	19	3	10	15
6	16	More focus on what the viewer wants to see/hear	9	3	20	13	7	7	5	14	19	14
6	15	News is more solution-based (i.e. how viewer can/will be affected)	8	3	16	15	11	5	5	3	18	17
7	12	More/better technology	5	10	6	17	7	6	8	22	9	11
13	6	More in-depth investigating/more research done	16	9	7	6	14	12	13	8	6	6

<i>TOTAL</i> <u>National</u>	<i>TOTAL</i> <u>Local</u>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
			<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
11	8	Originality/improved writing/higher journalism standards	12	9	9	6	21	11	8	5	10	6
4	12	More news/increased air time	4	4	7	16	7	2	4	19	11	10
10	6	More aggressive/pro-active in range of coverage	11	8	8	4	14	7	10	5	6	6
9	7	Broader coverage/more topics in general	9	9	10	4	11	10	8	5	7	7
6	9	More knowledgeable/more experienced reporters and personnel	8	3	12	7	11	4	6	19	7	9
12	3	More attention/detail given to Congress	8	17	5	1	7	7	16	0	4	3
5	9	Getting more feedback/input from public	8	2	12	7	7	4	5	16	12	4
4	9	Better presentation/more graphics/more "viewer-friendly"	5	3	13	6	11	2	3	8	11	8
4	6	News is more capsulized/put into better perspective	4	3	8	4	7	5	2	5	4	9
4	4	Faster/there when it happens	3	5	5	4	4	7	2	5	4	4
1	3	More human interest stories	2	0	4	2	0	2	0	3	4	3
0	3	Effort to make news more family oriented/family sensitive	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	5
2	1	More honest reporting/greater commitment to honesty	2	3	1	1	0	5	2	0	1	1

<i>TOTAL</i> <u>National</u>	<i>TOTAL</i> <u>Local</u>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
			<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
*	*	General positive comment/doing a good to fair job in general	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
*	0	Negative comment about news coverage	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	3	None/no improvements/same as always	5	6	4	2	4	5	6	3	1	4
5	2	Other	5	5	2	2	4	4	6	0	3	2
4	2	Don't know/No answer	3	5	1	2	0	4	5	5	1	1
51	54	NET: IMPROVED QUALITY OF NEWS COVERAGE	57	44	56	52	61	45	53	35	59	55
33	30	NET: IMPROVED QUALITY OF REPORTERS/ PERSONNEL; HIGHER PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS	33	33	33	28	43	36	29	35	28	31
11	20	NET: TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS	9	13	18	21	14	8	11	30	18	18

2. And what's your biggest complaint about the way (Name of Respondent's Organization) covers the news these days?

	<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
	<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
23	22	Space/time restraints -- not enough time/ space to cover all or way it should be	28	18	28	17	29	19	24	16	19	27
20	22	Lack of sufficient resources/personnel to cover what needs to be covered	16	25	18	27	21	19	20	8	23	26
14	20	Coverage too shallow	15	13	24	15	25	11	13	16	22	18
13	6	Too much time/money spent on some issues while others ignored	9	18	7	4	7	13	14	8	2	9
11	7	"Fluff"/sensationalism/"tabloidization"	12	10	9	4	4	7	15	0	7	9
7	5	"Follow the herd" too much/don't rely on getting own stories	8	6	7	4	14	5	7	0	8	4
3	6	Not enough coverage of issues that really affect lives of public	5	1	8	4	4	5	2	0	6	7
4	5	Biased/one-sided/twist or interpret one way	5	2	5	4	7	2	4	8	6	3
3	5	Too much emphasis on negative news (violence, crime, etc.)	4	2	2	7	0	5	2	11	3	5
2	4	Need to present/be presented better to public	3	2	6	2	4	5	1	5	6	2
2	4	Not reactionary enough -- don't jump on stories when they break	2	2	6	2	0	2	2	0	6	4
2	3	Too much of the same/"old"/repetitive	2	0	4	2	4	6	0	3	5	1

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>NATIONAL</i>	<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>Exe</i>	<i>Top</i>	<i>Mid</i>	<i>Exe</i>	<i>Top</i>	<i>Mid</i>
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>						
1	4	Need more local news coverage	2	0	6	2	0	4	0	3	4	4
4	1	Not enough follow-up coverage/ no follow-through	4	4	2	1	11	4	3	0	1	2
2	1	Too much political coverage in general	2	3	2	0	0	2	2	0	2	1
1	2	Technology not advanced enough	2	0	0	4	4	0	1	0	4	0
*	0	Overkill	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	9	None/no complaints	6	12	5	13	7	8	10	30	7	4
5	5	Other	6	3	3	7	0	6	5	16	4	3
4	0	Don't know/No answer	3	5	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	0
52	56	NET: NOT ENOUGH COVERAGE	52	51	59	53	71	48	50	32	56	64
35	29	NET: WRONG KIND OF COVERAGE	36	34	33	26	21	41	34	27	26	33

3a. Thinking more generally about the news media, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give network television news for its overall news coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
2	4	A	0	5	2	6	4	1	3	5	2	5
46	45	B	39	54	28	62	46	53	42	43	41	51
38	41	C	43	32	50	32	39	31	41	38	49	35
8	6	D	11	4	13	0	7	5	10	14	6	4
*	1	F	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	Can't say	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B-	B-	Average Grade	C+	B-	C	B-	B-	B-	C+	C+	C+	B-

3b. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give local television news for its overall coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
1	5	A	1	1	0	9	0	2	0	13	2	3
13	34	B	12	14	14	54	14	13	13	32	29	41
37	34	C	36	38	37	31	57	39	32	38	38	28
30	19	D	32	28	36	4	21	31	31	14	22	19
13	6	F	14	12	12	1	4	10	17	3	7	7
<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
C-	C	Average Grade	C-	C-	C-	B-	C-	C-	D+	C+	C	C+

3c. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the major national newspapers for their overall coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
23	17	A	14	34	17	18	21	29	20	24	14	19
71	68	B	78	62	73	63	75	63	75	51	70	70
4	12	C	5	2	9	14	0	5	4	22	12	8
*	1	D	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	2	0
0	0	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B+	B	Average Grade	B	B+	B	B	B+	B+	B+	B	B	B

3d. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the typical daily newspaper for its overall coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
1	2	A	1	2	1	3	3	1	*	3	3	1
35	44	B	29	42	53	36	43	37	33	40	46	43
47	45	C	59	34	40	49	43	45	49	46	43	47
7	7	D	5	8	2	11	4	4	9	11	6	6
*	0	F	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
C+	C+	Average Grade	C+	C+	B-	C+	B-	C+	C+	C+	C+	C+

3e. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give news magazines for their overall coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
8	11	A	4	13	6	16	14	12	4	14	7	15
55	56	B	56	55	61	51	50	52	59	51	59	54
28	24	C	30	25	21	27	25	28	29	22	26	23
5	5	D	5	4	9	2	7	3	5	5	6	4
0	0	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B-	B	Average Grade	B-	B-	B-	B	B-	B-	B-	B	B-	B

3f. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give (Name of Respondent's News Organization) for its overall coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
20	13	A	21	19	8	17	36	22	15	24	8	14
67	69	B	65	68	72	66	61	65	69	70	73	64
9	16	C	9	9	17	15	0	7	12	3	18	17
0	1	D	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	3
0	0	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B+	B	Average Grade	B	B+	B	B	B+	B+	B	B+	B	B

3g. Overall, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the news media as a whole for its coverage these days?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
1	2	A	1	1	0	4	0	1	1	8	2	1
44	50	B	39	49	39	60	61	47	38	49	49	50
49	45	C	55	42	56	35	36	45	54	43	46	45
3	2	D	4	2	4	0	0	5	3	0	2	3
0	0	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
C+	B-	Average Grade	C+	B-	C+	B-	B-	C+	C+	B-	B-	B-

4. In your opinion, is increased bottom line pressure seriously hurting the quality of news coverage these days or is it mostly just changing the way news organizations do things?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
41	33	Hurting	45	37	42	24	22	37	47	13	26	46
38	50	Just changing	31	46	38	62	36	47	33	68	49	45
4	6	Neither/No effect	5	3	6	5	7	5	3	8	9	2
11	7	Both	11	10	9	5	14	10	11	5	9	5
4	2	Other	5	4	3	1	21	1	3	3	2	2
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

5. Polls have shown increased public discontent with the press recently. Why do you think the public is angry with the press?

	<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
	<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
27	29	Sensationalism/"tabloidization"/"after the dirt" tendency has given bad name	27	27	24	33	25	24	29	43	24	30
22	22	"Blame the messenger syndrome"/press is an easy target for blame	17	28	22	21	14	22	24	19	24	20
21	18	Too negative/cynical/perception that press only reports the negative news	26	17	15	21	32	19	20	27	23	10
15	21	Public perceives the press as too liberal	15	16	23	18	11	13	18	24	21	19
15	17	Not covering/poor job covering relevant issues	19	11	19	15	11	17	15	16	17	17
15	10	Public sees press as "connected" with politicians/ not of the people/self-serving	16	15	17	4	18	11	18	5	10	11
12	12	Public feels press is "out of touch"/not listening to mainstream America	17	6	17	7	25	11	10	5	14	11
13	7	Public angry in general/angry at institutions/ popular to hate press, government, etc.	17	9	13	3	21	13	12	11	6	7
8	12	Press has lost its credibility in the eyes of the public	7	9	12	11	11	6	9	14	5	17
9	9	Not enough in-depth reporting/coverage too shallow	10	8	12	7	11	11	7	5	10	10
3	6	Overkill on many stories/issues	4	2	2	11	11	1	2	8	6	6

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
5	5	People feel press is intrusive/no value of personal privacy	7	3	4	5	18	2	4	3	4	6
2	3	Other	2	3	2	3	0	4	2	0	4	3
1	2	Don't know/No answer	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	3

6. Overall, do you think this anger is justified or not?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
22	30	Yes - unqualified	20	24	24	35	25	23	21	30	32	27
46	43	Yes - to some extent	44	47	50	37	46	48	44	51	38	46
29	25	No	31	27	24	26	25	28	31	19	29	24
<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't Know	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PRESS AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ...

7. Overall, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give national news organizations for the way they have covered Bill Clinton's presidency, so far?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
4	4	A	3	5	5	4	7	2	4	9	4	4
61	43	B	57	64	41	45	82	54	60	51	36	47
29	43	C	29	29	42	43	7	37	29	40	46	40
5	9	D	8	1	10	7	0	4	6	0	12	8
*	1	F	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B-	C+	Average Grade	B-	B-	C+	C+	B	B-	B-	B-	C+	C+

8. Do you think that national news organizations have made too much, or too little of Whitewater, or have they covered it in about the right way?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
35	31	Too much	38	32	33	28	32	40	33	35	21	39
5	12	Too little	6	4	11	13	7	3	6	11	10	15
55	53	About right	54	56	50	57	61	52	55	51	65	43
<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

9. Do you think the national press has given too much, too little, or the right amount of coverage to the achievements of the Clinton Administration?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
2	3	Too much	2	2	1	4	4	1	2	8	2	3
48	43	Too little	51	44	44	42	50	46	49	38	42	44
49	54	About right	46	53	55	53	46	53	47	54	56	52
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

10. Some critics have charged that the national news media has put too much emphasis on Bill Clinton's character and personality in its coverage of his administration. Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
32	40	Yes - Unqualified	36	28	34	45	25	31	34	38	34	47
7	6	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	8	5	5	8	7	5	8	11	4	7
61	53	No	55	67	60	46	68	63	58	48	61	46
<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

11. Which one of the three following statements best describes your opinion of most members of the national news media?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
50	45	They believe that Bill Clinton's personal character is weak, and this has very much affected how they cover his administration	57	44	48	42	43	49	53	41	48	44
34	35	They believe that Bill Clinton's personal character is weak, but this hasn't much affected how they cover his administration	34	33	34	36	50	33	31	43	33	34
4	8	They do not think Bill Clinton's personal character is weak	2	6	6	10	0	7	3	11	6	9
<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	Not sure	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

12. Newt Gingrich has charged that the press has been too cynical, too negative and has nit picked too much in its coverage of the new Congress. Is this a valid criticism or not?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
9	20	Yes - Unqualified	9	7	14	25	11	8	8	24	23	15
10	6	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	9	12	6	7	14	10	10	11	5	6
81	74	No	82	81	79	68	75	82	82	64	71	79
<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

13. Others charge that the press has not adequately covered the potential consequences of passage of many elements of the Contract with America? Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
40	46	Yes - Unqualified	39	39	44	48	36	36	42	51	39	51
9	9	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	11	7	10	8	3	10	10	3	9	11
50	44	No	48	53	45	43	61	52	47	43	50	38
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

14. Some have charged that the personal values of people in the news media often make it difficult for them to understand and cover such things as religion and family values. Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

<i>TOTAL</i> <u>National</u>	<i>TOTAL</i> <u>Local</u>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
			<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
38	44	Yes - Unqualified	41	35	45	43	43	35	39	60	44	38
9	12	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	9	9	15	8	7	12	8	5	10	16
51	43	No	49	54	40	47	46	52	52	35	46	43
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

15. I am going to ask you a few questions about some other criticisms made of the press. For each, I would like to know if you feel this is a problem or not, and how well your (paper) (station)(news organization) is doing with it.

A) First, some critics charge that (Read *A Phrase below*).... Overall, do you think this is a valid criticism of the news media, or not?
(Repeat..Some charge that...)

B) How good a job does your (paper) (station)(news organization) do (Read *B Phrase below*) Would you say you do an excellent, good, only fair or poor job at this. **(Repeat.. How good a job does...)**

-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
Valid <u>Criticism</u>	Is <u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>

- a. The distinction between reporting and commentary has seriously eroded
- b. Making a clear distinction between commentary and news reporting

Total National	53	44	3=100	46	39	10	2	3=100
National Print	57	41	2=100	37	44	13	3	3=100
National Broadcast	49	48	3=100	56	33	8	0	3=100
Total Local	44	53	3=100	46	43	11	*	*=100
Local Print	50	48	2=100	28	56	15	1	0=100
Local Broadcast	38	58	4=100	62	31	6	0	1=100
National								
Exe	57	36	7=100	50	43	3	0	4=100
Top	54	45	1=100	47	37	11	1	4=100
Mid	52	46	2=100	44	39	12	2	3=100
Local								
Exe	46	54	0=100	51	43	6	0	0=100
Top	43	54	3=100	44	40	15	1	0=100
Mid	44	51	5=100	45	46	8	0	1=100

Q.15 con't ...

	-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
	<u>Valid</u> <u>Criticism</u>	<u>Is</u> <u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. News reports are increasingly full of factual errors and sloppy reporting								
b. Being factually correct								
Total National	30	65	5=100	44	50	4	0	2=100
National Print	29	66	5=100	40	53	5	0	2=100
National Broadcast	29	65	6=100	48	46	3	0	3=100
Total Local	40	59	1=100	24	65	10	1	*=100
Local Print	36	63	1=100	16	72	11	1	0=100
Local Broadcast	44	55	1=100	32	58	9	0	1=100
National								
Exe	25	71	4=100	46	50	0	0	4=100
Top	29	65	6=100	47	52	0	0	1=100
Mid	31	64	5=100	42	48	8	0	2=100
Local								
Exe	40	60	0=100	30	62	8	0	0=100
Top	42	57	1=100	23	61	14	1	1=100
Mid	38	60	2=100	23	70	7	0	0=100

Q.15 con't ...

	-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
	Valid	Is		Only				
	<u>Criticism</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>

- a. Too little attention is paid to complex issues
- b. Reporting comprehensively about complex issues

Total National	80	17	3=100	23	42	29	4	2=100
National Print	81	17	2=100	24	48	24	2	2=100
National Broadcast	79	18	3=100	23	35	35	5	2=100
Total Local	75	22	3=100	9	39	45	6	1=100
Local Print	70	28	2=100	12	37	45	4	2=100
Local Broadcast	80	17	3=100	6	40	45	8	1=100
National								
Exe	75	21	4=100	32	54	14	0	0=100
Top	81	14	5=100	23	48	27	1	1=100
Mid	81	18	1=100	22	36	34	6	2=100
Local								
Exe	67	30	3=100	11	40	46	3	0=100
Top	72	24	4=100	13	36	46	3	2=100
Mid	81	17	2=100	4	40	44	11	1=100

Q.15 con't ...

	-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
	<u>Valid</u> <u>Criticism</u>	<u>Is</u> <u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The press is too cynical								
b. Avoiding cynicism								
Total National	54	44	2=100	18	53	22	2	5=100
National Print	61	39	0=100	15	50	29	2	4=100
National Broadcast	45	51	4=100	21	57	13	3	6=100
Total Local	53	45	2=100	17	61	20	*	2=100
Local Print	56	41	3=100	13	59	27	0	1=100
Local Broadcast	50	49	1=100	21	64	13	1	1=100
National								
Exe	61	36	3=100	18	50	28	0	4=100
Top	49	48	3=100	18	54	21	1	6=100
Mid	55	44	1=100	18	53	21	3	5=100
Local								
Exe	65	32	3=100	16	62	22	0	0=100
Top	60	38	2=100	15	62	21	1	1=100
Mid	42	56	2=100	19	61	18	0	2=100

Q.15 con't ...

	-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
	<u>Valid</u> <u>Criticism</u>	<u>Is</u> <u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The press is more adversarial than necessary								
b. Avoiding being too adversarial								
Total National	34	64	2=100	29	53	12	2	4=100
National Print	37	61	2=100	26	54	13	2	5=100
National Broadcast	31	67	2=100	32	51	11	2	4=100
Total Local	32	66	2=100	18	61	15	3	3=100
Local Print	34	64	2=100	13	61	22	2	2=100
Local Broadcast	30	68	2=100	23	60	10	3	4=100
National								
Exe	25	71	4=100	29	68	3	0	0=100
Top	33	67	0=100	36	45	12	1	6=100
Mid	36	61	3=100	25	55	14	2	4=100
Local								
Exe	54	46	0=100	11	65	16	3	5=100
Top	26	73	1=100	15	57	22	3	3=100
Mid	31	65	4=100	24	63	9	2	2=100

Q.15 con't ...

	-----Overall?-----			-----Your News Organization?-----				
	Valid	Is		Only				
	<u>Criticism</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>

- a. The press inadequately covers positive developments
- b. Reporting about positive developments

Total National	58	39	3=100	13	47	34	3	3=100
National Print	67	30	3=100	13	44	38	2	3=100
National Broadcast	48	48	4=100	12	51	29	4	4=100
Total Local	51	48	1=100	31	43	25	1	*=100
Local Print	56	42	2=100	21	44	33	1	1=100
Local Broadcast	46	54	0=100	42	41	17	0	0=100
National								
Exe	79	18	3=100	7	57	36	0	0=100
Top	59	40	1=100	16	47	34	1	2=100
Mid	53	42	5=100	12	45	34	5	4=100
Local								
Exe	60	40	0=100	32	41	24	3	0=100
Top	50	48	2=100	37	37	25	0	1=100
Mid	49	51	0=100	26	49	24	1	0=100

16. There is a lot of discussion these days about what journalists are like. I am going to read you some pairs of phrases. Please tell me which one phrase comes closest to describing journalists at your (paper) (station)(news organization).

Would you say they are:

<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
		a. Well informed and have a broad perspective on a wide range of subjects,										
66	45	62	70		44	47	68	64	66	43	45	46
		OR are they										
		Only well informed about a limited range of subjects										
31	53	36	27		53	53	29	35	30	54	53	53
<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say										
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		b. More cynical than people like themselves who work in other professions										
54	54	57	51		64	45	50	51	58	65	49	56
		OR are they										
		No more cynical than other people like themselves outside of the news business										
44	44	40	46		34	54	46	47	39	32	49	43
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say										
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.16 con't ...

<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
74	57	c. More concerned about being seen as too soft on the people they cover										
		80	66		70	45	78	69	76	54	56	60
		OR are they										
		More concerned about being seen as too hard on those they cover										
5	25	5	6		10	40	4	8	4	19	23	29
<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	Can't say										
100	100	<u>15</u>	<u>28</u>		<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>
		100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
29	18	d. Too focused on reporting the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures										
		30	28		14	22	25	28	31	30	16	16
		OR are they										
		No more focused than they should be in reporting about the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures										
68	81	68	68		84	78	75	67	66	67	84	82
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say										
100	100	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
		100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

17. Still thinking about the journalists at (Name of Respondent's Organization), generally what audience matters most to them when they write. Would you say they write mostly: (**Allow, but Do Not Encourage Multiple Responses**).

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
			<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
21	12	For their editors or bosses	22	19	14	12	21	18	22	11	13	13
14	11	For their fellow journalists	20	8	18	4	21	13	14	11	17	4
20	15	For insiders in the areas they cover	23	16	24	5	7	30	16	11	18	12
72	76	OR for the general public	61	84	66	86	71	75	71	83	73	78
3	1	Don't know	4	3	2	1	4	4	3	0	3	1

ON ANOTHER TOPIC...

18. Some people say that in covering the personal and ethical behavior of politicians, news organizations are only reporting the news. Others say that news organizations are driving the controversies themselves, by devoting as much coverage to these stories as they do. Which view comes closer to your own?

<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
			<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
48	61	News organizations are only reporting the facts	46	50	59	63	61	51	44	54	59	65
41	33	News organizations are driving the controversy	45	37	33	32	25	39	46	43	36	26
7	4	Neither (VOL.)	6	7	6	3	11	7	5	3	3	7
<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

19. Do you think that most reporters are more ethical, less ethical, or about as ethical with regard to conflicts of interest as public officeholders?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
54	63	More ethical	67	40	66	60	68	54	51	70	66	57
3	3	Less ethical	2	3	1	5	3	2	3	3	2	5
42	33	About as ethical	30	56	32	33	29	44	45	24	32	36
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

20. In attempting to attract readers or viewers, is (Name of Respondent's Organization) going too far in a tabloid direction, or not?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
17	5	Yes	11	23	8	2	7	10	23	5	0	10
81	95	No	87	75	91	98	89	89	75	95	100	89
<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOW, A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF...

21. How would you describe your political thinking. Would you say you are:

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
2	2	Very liberal	2	3	3	1	0	3	2	0	3	3
20	12	Liberal	25	15	15	9	11	18	23	8	11	14
64	64	Moderate	60	67	64	64	61	66	63	57	66	63
4	17	Conservative	4	5	13	21	14	6	2	32	16	12
1	1	Very conservative	2	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	3
<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.22 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
32	38	Approve	33	30	34	42	29	37	29	24	37	43
42	47	Disapprove	48	35	51	43	46	39	43	54	45	47
<u>26</u>	<u>15</u>	Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

23a. Generally, how would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of public officials in Washington these days? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

	<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
	<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
2	*	Very High	2	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	
51	35	High	56	46	42	29	61	46	52	32	39	32	
37	57	Low	32	42	51	63	28	44	34	60	54	59	
3	5	Very Low	2	4	2	7	0	5	3	3	5	4	
<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

23b. What about state and local officials in your home area? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

	<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
	<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
1	3	Very High	2	1	3	2	0	0	2	3	3	3	
41	53	High	46	35	48	57	54	39	40	54	56	49	
43	39	Low	39	47	41	37	32	48	42	40	36	42	
6	2	Very Low	6	7	2	2	0	7	7	3	2	2	
<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

23c. What about CEOs of major companies? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
2	3	Very High	2	2	3	4	7	0	2	11	2	2
50	59	High	60	39	60	58	71	53	44	73	68	45
30	28	Low	26	35	25	31	11	34	31	13	21	40
1	2	Very Low	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	0	2	3
<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

23d. What about top Wall Street executives? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
1	1	Very High	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	5	0	1
29	37	High	33	25	39	35	54	27	26	49	42	28
42	37	Low	42	42	37	38	32	47	41	30	30	48
6	6	Very Low	7	4	4	7	3	7	5	8	5	5
<u>22</u>	<u>19</u>	Don't know	<u>18</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>18</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

23e. What about religious leaders? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
9	9	Very High	11	8	8	10	18	10	7	14	9	8
67	73	High	70	64	70	76	75	75	61	76	76	69
9	11	Low	8	9	13	10	3	3	13	5	8	16
2	1	Very Low	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2
<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

23f. What about military leaders? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
9	7	Very High	10	8	5	8	14	6	9	8	9	3
72	75	High	71	72	77	73	79	75	69	79	75	74
9	10	Low	12	7	9	12	4	10	10	8	8	14
*	*	Very Low	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

24. First, do you think politicians in Washington these days have more of an exclusive focus on getting reelected, less of an exclusive focus on getting reelected, or are they about the same as were politicians 20 years ago?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
44	53	More39	50	46	60	46	39	47	62	46	57	
52	42	Same57	47	45	38	54	55	50	35	51	34	
3	5	Less	3	2	8	2	0	5	2	3	3	8
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

25. Do you think politicians in Washington these days are more responsive to special interest groups, less responsive to special interest groups or about as responsive to special interest groups as was the case 20 years ago?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
55	55	More50	61	53	56	57	48	59	40	55	59	
39	39	Same46	31	41	37	43	45	35	49	41	34	
5	5	Less	3	8	4	7	0	7	5	8	4	5
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

26. Some people feel that homosexuality should be accepted by society. Others feel that homosexuality should be discouraged by society. Which comes closer to your viewpoint, the first position or the second?

<i>TOTAL</i>			<i>NATIONAL</i>		<i>LOCAL</i>		<i>NATIONAL</i>			<i>LOCAL</i>		
<u>National</u>	<u>Local</u>		<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Exe</u>	<u>Top</u>	<u>Mid</u>
83	75	First - accepted	84	83	82	69	86	88	80	62	74	81
4	14	Second - discourage	4	3	9	18	0	4	5	27	12	11
<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	Neither/Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

THE COMPARATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER PRESS SURVEY

FINAL COMPARATIVE TOPLINE

March 8-April 21, 1995

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research on behalf of the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press in Washington, DC. May I speak with _____ (Name of Respondent)? Is now a convenient time to conduct the interview that Andrew Kohut wrote to you about? **(IF NO, ASK TO SET UP AN APPOINTMENT).**

MY FIRST FEW QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT HOW GOOD A JOB THE PRESS IS DOING THESE DAYS ...

1. First, in what ways, if any, is news coverage generally improving these days?⁸

----Media----		-----National-----		-----Local ⁹ -----						
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
				More in depth coverage/more explanatory detail	14	29	21	6	13	19
32	23	35	29							
				Expansion -- resources, personnel, affiliates, etc.	*	16	8	3	4	2
24	18	23	25							
				More/better coverage on local and community level	1	3	8	0	2	5
7	29	12	2							
				More focused/more emphasis on policy and						

⁸ For media sample respondents were asked how their own news organization's news coverage is improving these days.

⁹ The local sample consists of four groups. Politicians = mayors and state legislative leaders; Community = Chamber of Commerce Presidents and School Board Presidents or Superintendents.

13	11	12	14	issues rather than politics and personality	3	7	8	6	4	4
6	16	9	3	More focus on what viewer wants to see/hear	2	7	0	0	0	3

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
6	15	8	3	News is more solution-based (i.e. how viewer can/will be affected)	1	3	0	0	0	0
7	12	5	10	More/better technology	2	13	4	9	6	13
13	6	16	9	More in depth investigating/more research done	3	7	0	6	6	5
11	8	12	9	Originality/improved writing/higher journalism standards	1	3	0	0	0	0
4	12	4	4	More news/increased air time	4	13	13	3	6	8
10	6	11	8	More aggressive/pro-active in range of coverage	2	3	0	0	0	0
9	7	9	9	Broader coverage/more topics in general	5	7	0	3	4	9
6	9	8	3	More knowledgeable/more experienced reporters and personnel	*	0	4	9	1	2
12	3	8	17	More attention/detail given to Congress	1	3	13	3	0	2
5	9	8	2	Getting more feedback/input from public	*	0	4	0	1	2
4	9	5	3	Better presentation/more graphics/more "viewer-friendly"	2	3	0	0	1	1
4	6	4	3	News is more capsulized/put into better perspective	1	13	0	3	0	0
4	4	3	5	Faster/there when it happens	6	13	8	24	10	14

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	3	2	0	More human interest stories	*	0	0	0	0	0
0	3	0	0	Effort to make news more family oriented/ family sensitive	1	0	4	0	0	0
2	1	2	3	More honest reporting/greater commitment honesty	2	3	13	6	10	7
*	*	1	0	General positive comment/doing a good to fair job in general	7	0	0	9	4	7
*	0	0	1	Negative comment about news coverage	15	7	8	15	12	13
5	3	5	6	None/no improvements/same as always	37	16	46	33	45	32
5	2	5	5	Other	3	0	8	9	5	5
4	2	3	5	Don't know/No answer	15	3	0	3	4	5
51	54	57	44	NET: IMPROVED QUALITY OF NEWS COVERAGE	26	48	25	18	21	27
33	30	33	33	NET: IMPROVED QUALITY OF REPORTERS/PERSONNEL; HIGHER PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS	1	19	13	9	5	4
11	20	9	13	NET: TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVE- MENTS	4	16	4	9	7	13

2. And what's your biggest complaint about the way the news is generally covered these days?¹⁰

----Media----				-----National-----		-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>	
23	22	28	18	Space/time restraints -- not enough time/ space to cover all or way it should be	*	0	0	0	2	0	
20	22	16	25	Lack of sufficient resources/personnel to cover all or way it should be	*	0	0	6	7	1	
14	20	15	13	Coverage too shallow	7	36	29	24	39	19	
13	6	9	18	Too much time/money spent on some issues while others ignored	11	29	13	6	7	9	
11	7	12	10	"Fluff"/sensationalism/"tabloidization"	22	36	21	36	38	29	
7	5	8	6	"Follow the herd" too much/don't rely on getting own stories	*	7	4	3	0	5	
3	6	5	1	Not enough coverage of issues that really affect lives of public	2	7	0	3	6	1	
4	5	5	2	Biased/one-sided twist or interpret one way	16	39	33	49	33	29	
3	5	4	2	Too much emphasis on negative news (violence, crime, etc.)	14	7	17	9	10	22	
2	4	3	2	Need to present/be presented better to public	0	0	0	0	0	1	
				Not reactionary enough -- don't jump on							

¹⁰ For media sample respondents were asked their biggest complaint about the way their own news organization covers the news these days.

2 4 2 2

stories when they break

0 0 0 0 1 0

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
2	3	2	0	Too much of the same/"old"/repetitive	4	3	0	0	0	4
1	4	2	0	Need more local news coverage	*	0	4	0	2	2
4	1	4	4	Not enough follow-up coverage/no follow through	*	0	4	0	0	2
2	1	2	3	Too much political coverage in general	1	0	0	0	1	0
1	2	2	0	Technology not advanced enough	*	0	0	0	0	0
*	0	1	0	Overkill	9	0	0	3	4	8
0	0	0	0	Pushy/nosey/don't respect other people or their private lives	7	0	4	0	4	5
9	9	6	12	None/no complaints	18	0	0	0	1	4
5	5	6	3	Other	5	0	0	3	4	1
4	0	3	5	Don't know/No answer	3	0	4	0	0	1
52	56	52	51	NET: NOT ENOUGH COVERAGE	8	36	29	27	45	21
35	29	36	34	NET: WRONG KIND OF COVERAGE	61	84	67	91	79	77

3a. Thinking more generally about the news media, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give network television news for its overall news coverage these days?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
2	4	0	5	A	15	0	0	0	0	10
46	45	39	54	B	42	39	13	24	32	41
38	41	43	32	C	31	42	62	46	46	34
8	6	11	4	D	6	19	21	24	15	9
*	1	1	0	F	2	0	4	6	5	3
<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	Can't say	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

3b. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give local television news for its overall coverage these days?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	5	1	1	A	22	3	8	0	4	7
13	34	12	14	B	45	32	50	46	40	47
37	34	36	38	C	24	42	29	21	36	32
30	19	32	28	D	6	10	13	24	17	8
13	6	14	12	F	1	6	0	6	2	1
<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	Can't say	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

3c. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the major national newspapers for their overall coverage these days?¹¹

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
23	17	14	34	A	15	10	21	3	7	14
71	68	78	62	B	21	61	42	55	52	46
4	12	5	2	C	14	19	25	36	21	19
*	1	1	0	D	2	10	8	0	6	2
0	0	0	0	F	2	0	4	0	3	3
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Can't say	<u>46</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>16</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

3d. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the typical daily newspaper for its overall coverage these days?¹²

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	2	1	2	A	20	30	4	0	4	8
35	44	29	42	B	38	35	29	15	30	36
47	45	59	34	C	29	36	50	46	49	43
7	7	5	8	D	6	19	13	24	12	10
*	0	1	0	F	3	7	0	6	5	1
<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>	Can't say	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>

¹¹ The public sample was asked to evaluate "large nationally influential newspapers - such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times."

¹² The public sample was asked to evaluate "the daily newspaper you are most familiar with."

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100 100 100

3e. What grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give news magazines for their overall coverage these days?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
8	11	4	13	A	16	10	4	9	5	16
55	56	56	55	B	32	49	46	46	51	47
28	24	30	25	C	17	32	21	33	27	16
5	5	5	4	D	4	3	17	6	7	5
0	0	0	0	F	1	3	4	3	1	7
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	Can't say	<u>30</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

3f. Overall, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give the news media as a whole for its coverage these days?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	2	1	1	A	n/a	0	0	0	0	7
44	50	39	49	B	n/a	48	33	36	28	45
49	45	55	42	C	n/a	42	59	52	61	38
3	2	4	2	D	n/a	10	8	9	9	9
0	0	0	0	F	n/a	0	0	3	2	1
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	Can't say	<u>n/a</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100	100	100		n/a	100	100	100	100	100

ASK BUSINESS/FINANCIAL AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ONLY:

4F1. Do you think news organizations are covering business leaders more critically, or less critically than, say ten years ago, or don't you think there has been much of a change?

68	More critically
6	Less critically
24	Not much of a change
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused

100

ASK MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ONLY:

4F2. Do you think news organizations are covering members of Congress more critically, or less critically, than say a few years ago, or don't you think there has been much of a change?

54	More critically
9	Less critically
29	Not much of a change
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused

100

ASK STATE LEGISLATORS, MAYORS AND SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENTS/SUPERINTENDENTS ONLY:

4F3. Do you think news organizations are covering state and local elected officials more critically, or less critically than, say ten years ago, or don't you see much of a change?

77	More critically
5	Less critically
15	Not much of a change
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused

100

ASK PRESS AND TALK RADIO SAMPLE ONLY:

5. Polls have shown increased public discontent with the press recently. Why do you think the public is angry with the press?

----Media----		-----National-----			Talk Radio	
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			
27	29	27	27	13	Sensationalism/"tabloidization"/"after the dirt" tendency has given bad name	
22	22	17	28	26	"Blame the messenger syndrome"/press is an easy target for blame	
21	18	26	17	3	Too negative/cynical/perception that press only reports the negative news	
15	21	15	16	32	Public perceives the press as too liberal	
15	17	19	11	26	Not covering/poor job covering relevant issues	
15	10	16	15	10	Public sees press as "connected" with politicians/not of the people/self-serving	
12	12	17	6	13	Public feels press is "out of touch"/not listening to mainstream America	
13	7	17	9	0	Public angry in general/angry at institutions/popular to hate press, government, etc.	
8	12	7	9	10	Press has lost its credibility in the eyes of the public	
9	9	10	8	13	Not enough in-depth reporting/coverage too shallow	
3	6	4	2	0	Overkill on many stories/issues	
5	5	7	3	0	People feel press is intrusive/no value of personal privacy	
2	3	2	3	3	Other	
1	2	0	2	0	Don't know/No answer	

ASK PRESS AND TALK RADIO SAMPLE ONLY:

5a. Overall, do you think this anger is justified or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	
22	30	20	24	55	Yes - unqualified
46	43	44	47	19	Yes - to some extent
29	25	31	27	26	No
<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Don't Know
100	100	100	100	100	

ASK MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ONLY:

5F1. Is the media's coverage of Congress the most important reason why the public is cynical about the institution, or are there other more important reasons for the public's cynicism?

50	Media's coverage one of the most important reasons
50	Other more important reasons
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK OF STATE LEGISLATORS ONLY:

5F2. Is the media's coverage of the state legislature the most important reason why the public is cynical about the institution, or are there other more important reasons for the public's cynicism?

48 Media's coverage one of the most important reasons

42 Other more important reasons

10 Don't know/Refused

100

ASK MAYORS, CHAMBER PRESIDENTS, AND SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENTS:

6. How well would you say the local media in your area addresses the needs and interests of the people in your community? **(READ)**

18 Very well

53 Adequately

27 Only minimally

1 Not at all

1 Don't know/Refused

100

6a. Which of the following two statements about the news media do you agree with ...

----Media----				-----National-----		-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			Talk <u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	The news media helps society solve its problems		33	61	58	36	45	43
OR											
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	The news media gets in the way of society solving its problems		57	32	29	52	38	50
<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	Don't know/Refused		<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			100	100	100	100	100	100

A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PRESS AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ...

7. Overall, what grade A, B, C, D, or F would you give national news organizations for the way they have covered Bill Clinton's presidency, so far?

----Media----				-----National-----		-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			Talk <u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
4	4	3	5	A		12	3	0	3	1	5
61	43	57	64	B		35	29	17	43	29	32
29	43	29	29	C		34	45	58	42	42	40
5	9	8	1	D		11	20	17	9	21	17
*	1	1	0	F		4	3	8	0	5	5
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

8. Do you think that national news organizations have made too much, or too little of Whitewater, or have they covered it in about the right way?

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
35	31	38	32	Too much	n/a	10	29	27	48	44
5	12	6	4	Too little	n/a	42	29	18	13	13
55	53	54	56	About right	n/a	48	42	55	32	41
<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know	<u>n/a</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100		n/a	100	100	100	100	100

9. Do you think the national press has given too much, too little, or the right amount of coverage to the achievements of the Clinton Administration?

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
2	3	2	2	Too much	22	6	4	24	6	11
48	43	51	44	Too little	35	39	46	6	43	45
49	54	46	53	About right	37	52	50	67	51	42
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

10. Some critics have charged that the national news media has put too much emphasis on Bill Clinton's character and personality in its coverage of his administration. Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
32	40	36	28	Yes - Unqualified	56	29	17	18	50	48
7	6	8	5	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	9	13	8	0	13	7
61	53	55	67	No	31	55	75	82	36	44
<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

12. Newt Gingrich has charged that the press has been too cynical, too negative and has nit picked too much in its coverage of the new Congress. Is this a valid criticism or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
9	20	9	7	Yes - Unqualified	41	32	21	52	33	31
10	6	9	12	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	6	10	21	6	17	6
81	74	82	81	No	43	58	58	33	50	58
<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

13. Others charge that the press has not adequately covered the potential consequences of passage of many elements of the Contract with America?
Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
40	46	39	39	Yes - Unqualified	47	52	42	39	48	54
9	9	11	7	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	7	16	21	6	6	9
50	44	48	53	No	30	32	37	49	45	30
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

14. Some have charged that the personal values of people in the news media often make it difficult for them to understand and cover such things as religion and family values. Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
38	44	41	35	Yes - Unqualified	58	52	54	61	44	49
9	12	9	9	Yes - Qualified (VOL.)	8	3	13	6	9	11
51	43	49	54	No	27	42	33	21	39	34
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

15. I am going to ask you a few questions about some other criticisms made of the press. For each, I would like to know if you feel this is a valid criticism or not.¹³

A) First, some critics charge that **(Insert Phrase Below)**.... Overall, do you think this is a valid criticism of the news media, or not? **(Repeat ... Some charge that ...)**

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----						
					Talk						
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>	
				a.	The distinction between reporting and commentary has seriously eroded						
53	44	57	49		Valid Criticism	n/a	74	92	88	80	82
44	53	41	48		Is Not	n/a	26	8	12	15	17
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		Don't know	<u>n/a</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100			n/a	100	100	100	100	100
				b.	News reports are increasingly full of factual errors and sloppy reporting						
30	40	29	29		Valid Criticism	n/a	65	58	76	60	50
65	59	66	65		Is Not	n/a	32	42	15	34	43
<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>		Don't know	<u>n/a</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100			n/a	100	100	100	100	100
				c.	Too little attention is paid to complex issues						
80	75	81	79		Valid Criticism	n/a	77	67	73	86	64
17	22	17	18		Is Not	n/a	23	29	21	12	32
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		Don't know	<u>n/a</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>

¹³ In addition, the media sample was asked "how good a job does your (paper) (station) (news organization) do" in dealing with each of these criticisms. Responses to that question are shown in the media topline.

100 100 100 100

n/a 100 100 100 100 100

Q. 15 con't ...

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
				d.						
54	53	61	45	The press is too cynical						
44	45	39	51	Valid Criticism	56	32	71	52	65	60
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	Is Not	38	68	25	45	33	34
100	100	100	100	Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
					100	100	100	100	100	100
				e.						
				The press is more adversarial						
				than necessary						
34	32	37	31	Valid Criticism	60	16	42	70	65	66
64	66	61	67	Is Not	31	77	54	27	33	32
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
				f.						
				The press inadequately covers						
				positive developments						
58	51	67	48	Valid Criticism	64	61	92	94	90	88
39	48	30	48	Is Not	30	36	8	3	9	12
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

16. Now I'd like your opinion about what journalists are like these days. I am going to read you some pairs of phrases. Please tell me which one phrase comes closest to describing journalists¹⁴.
They are:

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
				b.						
				More cynical than people like themselves who work in other professions						
54	54	57	51		45	58	54	73	56	49
				OR are they						
				No more cynical than other people like themselves outside of the news business						
44	44	40	46		49	36	46	24	39	49
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	Can't say	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
				d.						
				Too focused on reporting the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures						
29	18	30	28		66	52	58	55	74	76
				OR are they						
				No more focused than they should be in reporting about the misdeeds and personal failings of public figures						
68	81	68	68		29	45	38	42	22	23
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁴ For media sample respondents were asked to evaluate journalists at their own news organization.

ON ANOTHER TOPIC...

18. Some people say that in covering the personal and ethical behavior of politicians, news organizations are only reporting the news. Others say that news organizations are driving the controversies themselves, by devoting as much coverage to these stories as they do. Which view comes closer to your own?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
48	61	46	50	News organizations are only reporting the facts	20	29	29	15	14	11
41	33	45	37	News organizations are driving the controversy	74	65	63	82	84	83
7	4	6	7	Neither (VOL.)	*	3	4	3	1	3
<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

19. Do you think that most reporters are more ethical, less ethical, or about as ethical with regard to conflicts of interest as public officeholders?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
54	63	67	40	More ethical	22	23	8	21	5	13
3	3	2	3	Less ethical	22	6	25	18	9	16
42	33	30	56	About as ethical	47	71	63	55	79	71
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK PRESS AND TALK RADIO SAMPLE ONLY:

20. In attempting to attract readers/ viewers or listeners, is (Name of Respondent's Organization/Talk Radio) going too far in a tabloid direction, or not?

----Media----		-----National-----			
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	
17	5	11	23	42	Yes
81	95	87	75	48	No
<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	Don't know
100	100	100	100	100	

NOW, A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF...

21. How would you describe your political thinking. Would you say you are:

----Media----		-----National-----				-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u> ¹⁵	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>	
2	2	2	3	Very liberal	4	3	0	0	0	1	
20	12	25	15	Liberal	15	10	21	3	10	14	
64	64	60	67	Moderate	39	45	33	55	45	48	
4	17	4	5	Conservative	32	29	29	36	34	31	
1	1	2	0	Very conservative	7	7	17	6	5	4	
<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	

¹⁵ Trend is from "The New Political Landscape" survey, Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, September 1994.

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100 100 100

Q.22 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
32	38	33	30	Approve	44	39	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
42	47	48	35	Disapprove	44	58	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<u>26</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>35</u>	Don't know	12	3	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

23a. Generally, how would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of public officials in Washington these days? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Talk Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
2	*	2	2	Very High	*	3	8	0	2	1
51	35	56	46	High	18	26	84	46	61	40
37	57	32	42	Low	53	42	4	36	23	48
3	5	2	4	Very Low	24	23	0	3	5	8
<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

23b. What about state and local officials in your home area? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

----Media----				-----National-----		-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			Talk					
						<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	3	2	1	Very High		4	3	12	3	12	10
41	53	46	35	High		39	32	63	46	75	63
43	39	39	47	Low		40	39	21	30	5	20
6	2	6	7	Very Low		12	19	0	9	2	6
<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	Don't know		<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

23c. What about CEOs of major companies? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

----Media----				-----National-----		-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			Talk					
						<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
2	3	2	2	Very High		2	6	4	21	6	4
50	59	60	39	High		31	26	59	70	70	68
30	28	26	35	Low		39	55	8	6	12	18
1	2	1	1	Very Low		12	0	0	0	1	2
<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>23</u>	Don't know		<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

23d. What about top Wall Street executives? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

---Media---				-----National-----				-----Local-----			
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	1	0	2	Very High		1	0	0	3	1	2
29	37	33	25	High		19	19	42	64	43	39
42	37	42	42	Low		39	48	29	24	27	30
6	6	7	4	Very Low		11	7	0	0	4	4
<u>22</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>27</u>	Don't know		<u>30</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>25</u>
100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

23e. What about religious leaders? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

---Media---				-----National-----				-----Local-----			
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>			<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
9	9	11	8	Very High		10	3	13	18	11	7
67	73	70	64	High		45	58	79	70	67	66
9	11	8	9	Low		26	26	8	6	10	24
2	1	1	2	Very Low		10	3	0	0	2	1
<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	Don't know		<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

23f. What about military leaders? Would you give them a very high rating, a high rating, a low rating, or a very low rating for honesty and ethical standards?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk				<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>		
9	7	10	8	Very High	10	3	13	18	12	9
72	75	71	72	High	53	68	79	76	70	72
9	10	12	7	Low	22	13	4	0	7	13
*	*	0	1	Very Low	5	0	0	0	0	1
<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

24. Do you think politicians in Washington these days have more of an exclusive focus on getting reelected, less of an exclusive focus on getting reelected, or are they about the same as were politicians 20 years ago?

----Media----		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk				<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>		
44	53	39	50	More	60	45	29	39	39	59
52	42	57	47	Same	27	48	50	55	47	36
3	5	3	2	Less	8	7	17	6	10	4
<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

25. Do you think politicians in Washington these days are more responsive to special interest groups, less responsive to special interest groups or about as responsive to special interest groups as was the case 20 years ago?

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
55	55	50	61	More	51	68	25	30	42	59
39	39	46	31	Same	20	26	46	61	41	36
5	5	3	8	Less	24	6	29	9	12	4
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

26. Some people feel that homosexuality should be accepted by society. Others feel that homosexuality should be discouraged by society. Which comes closer to your viewpoint, the first position or the second?

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		<u>Public</u> ¹⁶	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
83	75	84	83	First - accepted	41	74	46	46	45	44
4	14	4	3	Second - discourage	53	19	33	30	43	45
<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	Neither/Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁶ Trend is from the Times Mirror News Interest Index, August 5, 1993.

27. How often, if ever do you listen to radio show that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics ...

---Media---		-----National-----			-----Local-----					
<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Print</u>	<u>Broadcast</u>		Talk					
					<u>Public</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bus/Fin</u>	<u>Politicians</u>	<u>Community</u>
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Regularly	12	n/a	21	15	21	12
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Sometimes	23	n/a	50	24	39	35
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Rarely	26	n/a	29	28	28	34
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Never	39	n/a	0	33	12	19
<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		100	n/a	100	100	100	100