

THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS

**— A Report on an Investigation of
Public Attitudes Toward the Press —**

Conducted For:

TIMES MIRROR

Conducted By:

**THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, INC.
53 Bank Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08542**

G085108

March 1986

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SUMMARY OF SURVEY METHODOLOGY

For this research project, personal and telephone interviews were conducted among adult Americans on four separate occasions. The following is a brief description of the methodology for each phase of the interviewing.

The Pilot Telephone Survey

Between May 28-31, 1985, Gallup interviewed a national sample of 253 adults by telephone. This pilot study served to test the efficacy of the proposed questionnaire for the principal survey and its adaptability to a telephone interview methodology. It also provided a preview of what the eventual segmentation analysis was likely to show.

The Principal Personal Interview Survey

Face-to-face, personal interviews were conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,104 adults for this, the main survey component. The sampling and interviewing methodology employed is identical to the procedures used for all Gallup Poll public opinion surveys. Interviews were conducted during the period June 22 - July 13, 1985. The margin of error due to sampling for the total sample of 2,104 respondents is ± 3 percentage points.

The August "Re-Check" Survey

To test what effect, if any, the Beirut hostage crisis might have had on responses to the first national survey, a second personal interviewing survey was conducted from August 17-25, 1985. For this "re-check" survey, a newly-drawn, nationally-representative sample of 1,018 adults were asked a short series of questions drawn from the questionnaire used in June and July. The questions selected were those considered to be most likely to detect the effect of a hostage crisis on public opinion toward the press.

The November "Double Back" Survey

Between October 31 and November 12, 1985 Gallup successfully recontacted and interviewed by telephone 1,002 of the original respondents from the first national survey. This "double back" survey allowed us to test our hypotheses for the inconsistencies in public opinion of the press which were uncovered in the principal survey.

DETAILED FINDINGS

I. Public Knowledge/Conceptualization About The Press

Most Americans know how news organizations go about gathering and reporting the news. Substantial majorities of survey respondents indicate familiarity with the term "press release," know who the White House Press Secretary reports to, and recognize the wire services as newspapers' primary source of national and international news. Beyond the basics of process, however, public knowledge about the news media is very limited, particularly among the non-college educated segment of the population. Questions about the business side of the news media -- dealing with ownership, organizational hierarchy, and government regulation -- were answered correctly by, at most, only about half of those interviewed. A significant lack of knowledge is also found on the topics of journalistic credentials and constitutional protection of press freedom. Perhaps the most surprising finding on knowledge and conceptualization is the inability of the majority of the public to demonstrate familiarity with the term "editorial." (See pages 15-16)

As expected, the knowledge questions tend to correlate with educational status and other socioeconomic measures, such as income, occupation, stock ownership, etc. The extent to which a person uses the news media (news consumption) also bears a relationship to knowledge. The question-by-question analysis which follows highlights differences in knowledge and conceptualization by education and news consumption.*

*See the Technical Appendix for a description of how the news consumption index was created.

Familiarity With The Term "Press Release"

More than four in five respondents (85%) identified a press release as a written statement given to reporters rather than a news piece written by a reporter. As shown in the following table, even among the less well educated and those who make only limited use of the news media, a substantial majority define the term correctly.

The Question: *In your opinion, what is a press release: is it a short news piece written by a reporter, OR is it a written statement given out to reporters by an official?*

	<u>Definition of "Press Release"</u>				
	<u>Written Statement Given to Reporters</u> %	<u>News Piece Written By Reporter</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	85	12	3	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	93	7	*	100	(431)
Other college	89	9	2	100	(391)
High school graduate	87	12	1	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	76	16	8	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	90	9	1	100	(353)
B	89	10	1	100	(772)
C	83	13	4	100	(661)
D -- Light	78	16	6	100	(318)

The Role of TV Network Anchorpersons

Close to four in five survey respondents (79%) recognize a TV network anchorperson as someone who primarily reads new stories collected by others, rather than as someone who goes out to get stories on a day-to-day basis. High school graduates are about as likely as college graduates to be informed on the anchorperson's role.

The Question: *People who read the news and introduce news segments on TV news shows are often called anchorpersons. Thinking about network TV anchorpersons, such as Dan Rather. . . To the best of your knowledge, on a day-to-day basis, do these network TV anchorpersons generally go out and get stories on their own OR do they mostly present news stories that others get for them?*

	Network TV Anchorpersons			Total %	Number of Interviews
	Present Stories Get For Them %	Get Stories Themselves %	Don't Know %		
Total Sample	79	15	6	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	88	10	2	100	(431)
Other college	83	13	4	100	(391)
High school graduate	82	14	4	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	65	22	13	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	85	12	3	100	(353)
B	85	12	3	100	(772)
C	75	19	6	100	(661)
D -- Light	69	17	14	100	(318)

Knowledge of the White House Press Secretary's Role

Three-fourths of those surveyed (75%) identified the White House Press Secretary as working for the President, rather than for the news media. Although the college educated are somewhat more likely than the non-college educated to be informed on this question, even among the group with the least formal education, a solid majority (60%) correctly identified the relationship between the President and the White House Press Secretary.

The Question: *Do you happen to know whether the White House press secretary is employed by the president or by the news organizations who cover the president?*

	<u>Employer of White House Press Secretary</u>			<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
	<u>President</u> %	<u>News</u> <u>Organizations</u> %	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u> %		
Total Sample	75	20	5	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	90	9	1	100	(431)
Other college	84	15	1	100	(391)
High school graduate	74	23	3	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	60	29	11	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	86	13	1	100	(353)
B	79	19	2	100	(772)
C	74	23	3	100	(661)
D -- Light	61	25	14	100	(318)

Awareness of the Wire Services

Roughly three-fourths of respondents (76%) correctly identified the wire services, like AP and UPI, as smaller newspapers' main source for national and international news. Even among the groups least interested in news -- those without a high school diploma, and those whose news diet is lightest -- solid majorities know about the wire services.

The Question: *Newspapers have to get their news from somewhere. Big newspapers like The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times have reporters and offices around the world to collect that news. But how about smaller newspapers. . . how do you think they get most of the national and international news that goes into their papers? In your opinion, on which one of these possible sources do they most rely:*

Other newspapers? Television news? The wire services, like AP and UPI? Their advertisers?

Source of National and International News for Smaller Newspapers:

	<u>Wire Services</u> %	<u>Other Response</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	76	15	9	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	90	4	6	100	(431)
Other college	81	13	6	100	(391)
High school graduate	77	16	7	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	63	21	16	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	87	9	4	100	(353)
B	83	13	4	100	(772)
C	73	18	9	100	(661)
D -- Light	59	22	19	100	(318)

Familiarity With the Term "Newspaper Chain"

A bare majority of respondents (55%) correctly identified a newspaper chain as a group of newspapers owned by a single company. Familiarity with term is very high among college graduates (79%) and heavy consumers of news (68%). Less than a majority of the non-college educated and those who make little use of the news media, however, know what a newspaper chain is.

The Question: *Recently, there has been some talk about newspaper chains. In your opinion, which of the following best describes what a newspaper chain is?*

Definition of the Term "Newspaper Chain"

	<u>Group of Papers Owned by a Single Company</u> %	<u>Other Response</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	55	35	10	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	79	20	1	100	(431)
Other college	61	34	5	100	(391)
High school graduate	51	41	8	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	40	39	21	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	68	29	3	100	(353)
B	55	38	7	100	(772)
C	56	33	10	100	(661)
D -- Light	43	39	18	100	(318)

Ownership of Time and Newsweek Magazine

While the large majority of respondents were familiar enough with Time and Newsweek to rate their credibility*, they are largely unfamiliar with the ownership of the two leading news magazines. When asked whether the two magazines were owned by the same company or by different companies, 60% of respondents indicated they were not sure, and 13% responded incorrectly.

Those who were not sure about ownership were asked for their best guess -- combining the results of the initial question and the "guess" question, we still find only about half (52%) responding that the two magazines are owned by different companies. Typical of the pattern seen for many other informational questions, the likelihood of giving a correct answer rises sharply with level of formal education and the degree to which one uses the news media.

The Question: *Do you happen to know whether Time and Newsweek magazines are owned by the same company, or by different companies?*

*See pages 54-57.

Ownership of Time and Newsweek

	<u>Different Companies</u> %	<u>Same Company</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	52	30	18	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	69	24	7	100	(431)
Other college	58	30	12	100	(391)
High school graduate	48	35	17	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	43	26	31	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	66	25	9	100	(353)
B	52	30	18	100	(772)
C	51	32	17	100	(661)
D -- Light	44	30	26	100	(318)

Awareness of Government Regulation

Less than half of respondents (45%) are aware that television stations are more closely regulated by the federal government than newspapers. About two-thirds of college graduates (64%) understand that television stations are subject to greater regulation. However, among the non-college educated there is a tendency to feel television stations and newspapers experience about the same amount of government regulation.

The Question: *In your opinion, which are more closely regulated by the federal government: newspapers or television stations? -- OR would you say the federal government regulates newspapers and television stations about the same?*

	<u>More Closely Regulated by Federal Government</u>					
	<u>Television Stations</u> %	<u>News- papers</u> %	<u>Same</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	45	8	39	8	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	64	5	27	4	100	(431)
Other college	50	7	37	6	100	(391)
High school graduate	44	9	40	7	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	29	8	46	17	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>						
A -- Heavy	55	3	38	4	100	(353)
B	49	8	39	4	100	(772)
C	42	8	40	10	100	(661)
D -- Light	33	10	38	19	100	(318)

Newspaper Organizational Hierarchy

The majority of respondents were not familiar with a typical newspaper's organizational hierarchy. Only 39% knew that the publisher ranks highest in the organization, followed by the editor and lastly the reporters. The college-educated and those who are heavy consumers of news are considerably more likely than other respondents to be knowledgeable about newspapers' pecking order.

The Question: *Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about newspapers and how they operate. I will read you the titles of some people who work in a newspaper organization. Tell me, in your opinion, which generally ranks highest in the organization and which ranks second highest. The titles are editor, publisher and reporter.*

Hierarchy in a Newspaper Organization

	<u>Publisher, Editor</u> %	<u>Editor, Publisher</u> %	<u>Reporter Ranked 1st or 2nd</u> %	<u>All Other Responses</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	39	25	30	6	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	57	20	21	2	100	(431)
Other college	50	22	23	5	100	(391)
High school graduate	35	28	32	5	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	23	27	38	12	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>						
A -- Heavy	54	20	24	2	100	(353)
B	42	25	29	4	100	(772)
C	36	25	32	7	100	(661)
D -- Light	23	29	33	15	100	(318)

Formal Requirements for News Reporters

The public appears to be largely unaware that news reporters do not need to meet any formal requirements to practice their profession. The sample was divided in half to test knowledge of whether newspaper reporters (sample A) and television journalists (sample B) needed formal journalistic training. Among those asked about newspaper reporters, fully half (50%) felt such requirements existed and only one-third (33%) correctly indicated that there were no requirements. Similarly, respondents asked about TV news people, by 55% to 27%, generally had a mistaken impression about credentials.

The better educated are a great deal more likely than the less well educated to be aware that reporters do not need formal journalistic credentials.

The Questions: *All lawyers are required to take certain courses before they practice their profession. Do you happen to know whether or not newspaper reporters must have any formal journalistic training before they can practice their profession?*

All lawyers are required to take certain courses before they practice their profession. Do you happen to know whether or not TV news people must have any formal journalistic training before they can practice their profession?

	<u>SAMPLE A</u> <u>Newspaper</u> <u>Reporters</u> %	<u>SAMPLE B</u> <u>Television</u> <u>News People</u> %
<u>Need Formal Journalistic Training?</u>		
Yes, must have	50	55
No, no formal requirements	33	27
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>
Total	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1049)	(1055)

	<u>Sample A</u>		<u>Sample B</u>	
	Aware Newspaper Reporters Need No Formal Training	Number of Interviews	Aware TV News People Need No Formal Training	Number of Interviews
	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	
Total Sample	33	(1049)	27	(1055)
<u>Education</u>				
College graduate	56	(214)	51	(217)
Other college	45	(214)	40	(177)
High school graduate	26	(396)	19	(413)
Less than high school graduate	20	(221)	15	(246)
<u>News Consumption</u>				
A -- Heavy	43	(180)	49	(173)
B	36	(375)	24	(397)
C	31	(330)	24	(331)
D -- Light	26	(164)	20	(154)

First Amendment Protection

Less than half of the respondents (45%) were able to identify the First Amendment specifically (30%) or The Bill of Rights generally (15%) as the part of the U.S. Constitution that mentions freedom of the press. While roughly two-thirds of college graduates (68%) indicate an awareness of this fundamental guarantee of press freedom, only 39% of high school graduates and 29% of those without a high school diploma have such knowledge.

The Question: *During the past few years, there has been a lot of discussion concerning freedom of the press. Do you happen to know which part of the U.S. Constitution mentions freedom of the press?*

	<u>Section of Constitution that Mentions Freedom of the Press</u>					
	<u>Specified First Amendment</u> %		<u>Bill of Rights</u> %	<u>Did Not Mention Either</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	30	-45-	15	55	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	42	-68-	26	32	100	(431)
Other college	42	-57-	15	43	100	(391)
High school graduate	26	-39-	13	61	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	18	-29-	11	71	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>						
A -- Heavy	46	-62-	16	38	100	(353)
B	30	-49-	19	51	100	(772)
C	30	-44-	14	56	100	(661)
D -- Light	17	-28-	11	72	100	(318)

Definition of an Editorial

Asked to define an editorial, less than half of respondents (41%) correctly identified it as an opinion piece representing the official position of the newspaper on an issue. The majority (53%) mistakenly identified an editorial as an opinion piece stating the views of reporters (22%), syndicated columnists (19%) or prominent citizens (11%). While the majority of college graduates (59%) are able to correctly define an editorial, only two in five (39%) high school graduates can do so.

The public's inability to understand the term editorial is particularly significant given that the majority call themselves regular newspaper readers. And even among the regular paper readers groups, less than half (46%) recognize the correct definition of an editorial.

The Question: *Most newspapers include editorials. In your opinion, which of the following statements comes closest to what an editorial is:*

An opinion piece written by a prominent citizen? An opinion piece written by a syndicated columnist? An opinion piece which reflects how the reporters feel about an issue? An opinion piece which represents the official position of the newspaper on an issue?

Definition of an Editorial

	Represents Official Position of Newspaper %	Other Response %	Don't Know %	Total %	Number of Interviews
Total Sample	41	53	6	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	59	40	1	100	(431)
Other college	43	54	3	100	(391)
High school graduate	39	57	4	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	30	57	13	100	(467)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	57	41	2	100	(353)
B	46	52	2	100	(772)
C	38	57	5	100	(661)
D -- Light	26	58	16	100	(318)
Regular Newspaper Reader	46	51	3	100	(1338)

Demographic Analysis Of Knowledge/Conceptualization

To examine differences in knowledge/conceptualization of the press among various population groups, an index of overall knowledge was created*. The public was divided into four nearly equal sized groups ranging from those most knowledgeable to those least knowledgeable. Those most knowledgeable tend to be well educated (55%), upscale (42% have an income of \$40,000 or more; 45% are in a business or professional household), and heavy consumers of news (48%). Men (32%) are somewhat more likely than women (20%) to score high on knowledge/conceptualization, and people in their 30's and 40's tend to be better informed than older or younger people. Jews, people with a military background, and those who live in the top 10 U.S. media markets are overrepresented in the high knowledge group.

The low knowledge group, in contrast, is disproportionately black, Hispanic, less well educated, and low income. This group also tends to live outside of the 100 largest media markets and to make only limited use of the various news media.

*For a description of how this index was created, see the Technical Appendix.

	<u>Overall Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					<u>Number of Interviews</u>
	<u>High A</u> %	<u>B</u> %	<u>C</u> %	<u>Low D</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	
Total Sample	25	24	25	26	100	(2104)
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	32	23	22	23	100	(1048)
Female	20	24	27	29	100	(1056)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>						
White Protestant	25	26	26	23	100	(1095)
White Catholic	31	25	22	22	100	(438)
Jewish	50	16	14	20	100	(57)
Black	13	21	24	42	100	(183)
Hispanic	10	23	29	38	100	(151)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	55	23	15	7	100	(431)
Other college	37	29	20	14	100	(391)
High school graduate	17	27	30	26	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	9	16	27	48	100	(467)
<u>Age</u>						
Under 30	20	24	27	29	100	(422)
30 - 49	32	25	22	21	100	(814)
50 +	23	22	26	29	100	(864)
<u>Household Income</u>						
\$40,000 and over	42	27	22	9	100	(391)
\$30,000 - \$39,999	30	29	23	18	100	(404)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	28	25	25	22	100	(481)
\$10,000 - \$19,999	17	24	28	31	100	(484)
Under \$10,000	11	12	24	53	100	(287)

Overall Knowledge/Conceptualization

	High A %	B %	C %	Low D %	Total %	Number of Interviews
<u>Occupation of Chief Wage Earner</u>						
Professional and business	45	28	17	10	100	(608)
Other white collar	17	23	33	27	100	(118)
Blue collar	19	24	28	29	100	(765)
Farmer	28	13	36	23	100	(50)
Non-labor force	16	21	26	37	100	(511)
<u>Region</u>						
East	30	22	27	21	100	(545)
Midwest	23	24	28	25	100	(597)
South	23	25	22	30	100	(579)
West	27	23	23	27	100	(383)
<u>ADI</u>						
Top 10	30	23	24	23	100	(699)
11 - 100	23	26	26	25	100	(1107)
Non-top 100	22	18	22	38	100	(258)
<u>Labor Union</u>						
Union household	30	26	22	22	100	(421)
Non-union	25	23	25	27	100	(1662)
<u>Military Service</u>						
Self/Spouse	32	25	25	18	100	(743)
Neither	22	23	25	30	100	(1330)
<u>News Consumption</u>						
A - Heavy	48	24	15	13	100	(353)
B	27	27	27	19	100	(772)
C	20	26	27	27	100	(661)
D - Light	13	15	25	47	100	(318)

II. Salience of the Press

Few Americans say journalists sometimes are a subject of their conversations. Journalists ranked near the bottom of a list of groups tested in the survey for the salience of their profession. While journalism per se does not appear very salient to the public, individual news media personalities attract significant attention. More Americans can name a favorite journalist or news person than can name a favorite political leader or athlete -- even though athletes and politicians in general are much more commonly talked about than journalists.

Not surprisingly, it is the highly visible television anchorpersons who command the greatest attention in the news field. Network TV anchorman dominate the list of Americans' favorite journalists, with Dan Rather, anchor of the top-rated CBS Evening News, heading the list. That is not to say, however, that the individual TV anchormen are universally recognized. Three anchormen who appear on network TV on a daily basis were tested in the survey (respondents were shown photographs of Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, and Ted Koppel) and not one of them was recognized by as many as half of those interviewed. A question-by-question analysis for the questions dealing with salience follows.

Saliency Measure I: Journalists As a Subject of Conversation

Journalists ranked eighth on a list of nine professional groups as a subject of people's conversations. Roughly one in five (22%) respondents say they sometimes talk about journalists with their friends and acquaintances. As a group, only scientists (17%), registered lower on this saliency measure. At the top of the list are political leaders (61%), entertainers (58%), doctors (53%), and professional athletes (52%). Only one respondent in a hundred say they talk about journalists as a group most often.

The Question: *Here is a list of some different groups of people. After you read through this list, tell me which, if any, of these groups you sometimes talk about with your friends and acquaintances.*

Professional athletes; Business executives; Clergymen; Doctors; Entertainers; Journalists; Political leaders; Lawyers; Scientists.

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Sometimes Talk About</u> %	<u>Talk About Most Often</u> %
Political leaders	61	21
Entertainers	58	19
Doctors	53	13
Professional athletes	52	17
Lawyers	31	4
Clergymen	29	5
Journalists	22	1
Scientists	17	1

Saliency Measure II: Favorite Journalist

When asked to name their favorite journalist, two-thirds of respondents (66%) provided a name. In comparison questions, only 54% named a favorite political leader and 52% named a favorite athlete. Analysis shows that even among men -- who tend to be more interested in sports and politics than women -- a favorite journalist (67%) is more often named than a favorite athlete (62%) or political leader (59%). Among women the difference is much more pronounced (see table).

The Questions: *Who is your favorite athlete? (ASKED OF SAMPLE A)*
Who is your favorite political leader? (ASKED OF SAMPLE B)
Who is your favorite journalist or news person?

BASED ON TOTAL SAMPLE

		SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
	<u>Favorite Journalist/ News Person</u>	<u>Favorite Athlete</u>	<u>Favorite Political Leader</u>
	%	%	%
Offered a name	66	52	54
None/Don't have one	29	42	41
Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1049)	(1055)

BASED ON MEN

		SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
	<u>Favorite Journalist/ News Person</u>	<u>Favorite Athlete</u>	<u>Favorite Political Leader</u>
	%	%	%
Offered a name	67	62	59
None/Don't have one	28	37	37
Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1048)	(477)	(571)

BASED ON WOMEN

		SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
	<u>Favorite Journalist/ News Person</u>	<u>Favorite Athlete</u>	<u>Favorite Political Leader</u>
	%	%	%
Offered a name	65	45	50
None/Don't have one	30	46	45
Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1056)	(572)	(484)

Demographic Analysis of Salience

In order to compare the various segments of the population on salience of the press and press issues*, an index was created which took into account respondents' answers to multiple question items. A demographic analysis of salience reveals the following:

- The press is more salient to upscale groups -- the better educated, those in professional and business households, and upper income people.
- Press saliency correlates strongly with interest in public affairs.
- Two groups traditionally seen as friends of the press -- Jews and people with very liberal political views -- score high on press saliency.
- Blacks and Hispanics are particularly likely to score low on press salience.
- Older people (50 years and older) are more likely than young people to find the press to be highly salient.
- Those in military households have somewhat higher scores on press saliency than do those with no military experience in their family.

*See Technical Appendix for a description of how the saliency index was created.

Overall Salience of the Press

	High A %	B %	C %	Low D %	Total %	Number of Interviews
Total Sample	27	20	23	30	100	(2104)
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	29	21	21	29	100	(1048)
Female	25	18	25	32	100	(1056)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>						
White Protestant	28	20	24	28	100	(1095)
White Catholic	22	25	25	28	100	(438)
Jewish	43	17	23	17	100	(57)
Black	30	14	13	43	100	(183)
Hispanic	19	14	27	40	100	(151)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	38	22	21	19	100	(431)
Other college	30	20	25	25	100	(391)
High school graduate	24	22	24	30	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	23	13	22	42	100	(467)
<u>Age</u>						
Under 30	23	16	23	38	100	(422)
30-49	26	19	24	31	100	(814)
50+	31	22	22	25	100	(864)
<u>Household Income</u>						
\$40,000 and over	34	19	25	22	100	(391)
\$30,000 - \$39,999	26	25	18	31	100	(404)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	30	19	27	24	100	(481)
\$10,000 - \$19,999	26	18	24	32	100	(484)
Under \$10,000	19	19	21	41	100	(287)

Overall Salience of the Press

	High <u>A</u> %	B <u>B</u> %	C <u>C</u> %	Low <u>D</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
<u>Occupation of Chief Wage Earner</u>						
Professional and business	33	21	24	22	100	(608)
Other white collar	36	19	14	31	100	(118)
Blue collar	21	19	24	36	100	(765)
Farmer	19	25	10	46	100	(50)
Non-labor force	28	20	24	28	100	(511)
<u>Region</u>						
East	29	20	17	34	100	(545)
Midwest	25	19	26	30	100	(597)
South	25	19	24	32	100	(579)
West	31	22	24	23	100	(383)
<u>ADI</u>						
Top 10	31	20	21	28	100	(699)
11 - 100	27	20	23	30	100	(1107)
Non-top 100	20	16	25	39	100	(258)
<u>Military Service</u>						
Self/Spouse	32	22	22	24	100	(743)
Neither	25	19	23	33	100	(1330)
<u>Party I.D.</u>						
Republican	27	20	26	27	100	(625)
Democrat	29	19	21	31	100	(762)
Independent	26	20	22	32	100	(717)

Overall Salience of the Press

	High A %	B %	C %	Low D %	Total %	Number of Interviews
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>						
Strong conservative	29	20	25	26	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	26	21	23	30	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	27	19	27	27	100	(459)
Strong liberal	39	19	20	22	100	(270)
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>						
Most of the time	39	21	23	17	100	(810)
Some of the time	28	24	23	25	100	(733)
Hardly at all	14	13	22	51	100	(539)

Favorite Journalist: Individuals and Media Types Named

Television news personalities top the list of respondents' favorite journalists and news people. While 55% overall name someone in TV news, only 9% name a non-TV person (mostly print journalists). Moreover, among the TV news personalities named, network anchorpersons predominate. Overall, 41% named a network newsperson with Dan Rather (11%) the leader by a significant margin. If we sum the responses for Rather, Walter Cronkite, his predecessor, rival network anchors Peter Jennings and Tom Brokaw, plus Ted Koppel, ABC Nightline anchor, then fully 29% of respondents named a current or former network anchorperson as their favorite journalist. (Even Barbara Walters, at 3%, is a former anchorperson but is best known currently for her interviews with prominent people.)

Looking at these responses another way, 47% named a national journalist while only 17% named a local journalist. Among those who named a local journalist, television news people were again the overwhelming choice (14% vs. 3%).

The Question: *Who is your favorite journalist or newsperson?*

<u>Favorite Journalist/News Person</u>	<u>Total Sample</u> %
Network TV News Person	41
Dan Rather	11
Walter Cronkite	6
Peter Jennings	6
Tom Brokaw	4
Barbara Walters	3
Ted Koppel	2
Other	9
Local TV News Person	14
National, Non-TV journalist	6
Local, Non-TV journalist	3
Not ascertained	2
No favorite	<u>34</u>
	100

Demographic Analysis of Favorite Journalist

The tendency to name a network TV news person as one's favorite journalist is seen across all demographic groups with the exception of blacks. Blacks are as likely to name a local TV journalist as a favorite (23%) as they are to name a network TV journalist (21%). College graduates and those who score high on the press knowledge/conceptualization index are more prone to name a non-TV (i.e., print) journalist. Even among these more sophisticated groups, however, the overwhelming choice for favorite journalist is a network anchor or reporter.

	<u>Network TV News Person</u> %	<u>Local TV News Person</u> %	<u>Non- TV</u> %	<u>Not Ascertained</u> %	<u>No Favorite</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	41	14	9	2	34	(2104)
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	40	15	11	1	33	(1048)
Female	42	13	8	1	36	(1056)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>						
White Protestant	46	11	10	2	31	(1095)
White Catholic	44	13	11	1	31	(438)
Jewish	40	12	5	2	41	(57)
Black	21	23	3	3	50	(183)
Hispanic	28	19	9	*	44	(151)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	48	8	16	3	25	(431)
Other college	48	12	12	2	26	(391)
High school graduate	41	14	8	1	36	(809)
Less than high school graduate	30	19	5	2	44	(467)
<u>Age</u>						
Under 30	36	16	8	2	38	(422)
30 - 49	43	13	10	*	34	(814)
50 +	43	13	10	2	32	(864)
<u>Household Income</u>						
\$40,000 and over	47	13	12	*	28	(391)
\$30,000-\$39,999	41	13	13	*	33	(404)
\$20,000-\$29,999	42	14	10	1	33	(481)
\$10,000-\$19,999	42	14	7	2	35	(484)
Under \$10,000	32	15	6	3	44	(287)

	<u>Network TV News Person</u> %	<u>Local TV News Person</u> %	<u>Non- TV</u> %	<u>Not Ascertained</u> %	<u>No Favorite</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Occupation of Chief Wage Earner</u>						
Professional and business	49	9	14	2	26	(608)
Other white collar	44	21	4	*	31	(118)
Blue collar	35	16	8	1	40	(765)
Farmer	49	6	12	*	33	(50)
Non-labor force	42	13	7	2	36	(511)
<u>Region</u>						
East	38	12	8	2	40	(545)
Midwest	41	16	12	2	29	(597)
South	43	12	9	1	35	(579)
West	42	15	8	3	32	(383)
<u>ADI</u>						
Top 100	37	18	9	1	35	(699)
11 - 100	42	13	11	1	33	(1107)
Non-top 100	48	6	5	1	40	(258)
<u>Labor Union</u>						
Union household	39	17	11	2	31	(421)
Non-union	42	13	9	1	35	(1662)
<u>Military Service</u>						
Self/Spouse	48	12	10	2	28	(743)
Neither	37	15	9	2	37	(1330)

	<u>Network TV News' Person</u> %	<u>Local TV News Person</u> %	<u>Non- TV</u> %	<u>Not Ascertained</u> %	<u>No Favorite</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>						
Most of the time	53	12	14	2	19	(810)
Some of the time	41	16	8	1	34	(733)
Hardly at all	26	13	6	1	54	(539)
<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>						
A - High	50	8	18	2	22	(588)
B	44	14	9	1	32	(519)
C	41	16	6	2	35	(498)
D - Low	30	17	5	1	47	(499)

Salience of the Press as an Institution

To see to what extent the press is thought to command national power and attention, respondents were asked about a situation in which President Reagan received four calls simultaneously -- from the Editor-in-Chief of the Washington Post, the Chairman of IBM, the top religious leader in the Episcopal Church, and the President of Harvard. The press wins this test of institutional salience, as a plurality of respondents said the President both would and should take the Post editor's call first.

Answers to the question of which call the President would take bear a relationship to one's general attitude toward Ronald Reagan. Those who disapprove of his job performance are about as likely to say he would talk to the business leader (35%) and the news media executive (37%). Those who approve of Reagan, however, are far more likely to choose the Post editor (45%) than the IBM Chairman (17%).

Answers to the question of which call the President should take do not appear to be related to perceptions of Reagan. On this question, the Post editor competes primarily with the Episcopal Bishop as the public's choice. The press figure is the clear choice over the religious leader in all categories analyzed except the following: blacks, people under 30, those who never finished high school, Southerners, and blue collar households. Among these groups mentions of the news media executive and the religious leader are roughly equal.

	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>Reagan's Job Performance Rating</u>	
		<u>Approve %</u>	<u>Disapprove %</u>
<u>Call the President Would Take:</u>			
The Editor-in-Chief of the Washington Post	41	45	37
The Chairman of the Board of IBM	23	17	35
The Principal Bishop of the Episcopal Church	15	18	9
The President of Harvard	8	8	8
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
<u>Call the President Should Take</u>			
The Editor-in-Chief of the Washington Post	36	37	35
The Chairman of the Board of IBM	13	14	13
The Principal Bishop of the Episcopal Church	23	23	24
The President of Harvard	10	10	10
Don't know	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1277)	(617)

Photo Identification of Television Newsmen

The survey measured to what extent Americans recognize the faces of some prominent television journalists. On an individual basis, none of the three anchormen tested who appear on network TV on a day-to-day basis -- Dan Rather, Ted Koppel, and Tom Brokaw -- were recognized by as many as half of those interviewed. (Rather, however, came close, registering a 47% recognition level.) But two-thirds (66%) of respondents were able to identify at least one of these men and ability to recognize a TV journalist's face is strongly related to TV news show preferences. People tend to recognize the anchors on their favorite news programs or networks: 65% of CBS Evening News viewers correctly identified Dan Rather's photograph, 61% of ABC Nightline viewers knew Ted Koppel's face, and 60% of NBC Nightly News viewers knew Tom Brokaw.

The television journalist recognized by the largest number of respondents -- over three-fourths (77%) of those interviewed -- was Barbara Walters. Although Walters has served as a network evening news anchor for ABC and on NBC's Today show, she is probably best known today for soft news rather than hard news, receiving prime time exposure interviewing celebrities on ABC 20/20 and in specials bearing her name. Public recognition levels for Barbara Walters, media personality, are actually higher than those recorded for prominent politicians -- in this case Vice President George Bush (68%) and 1984 Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro (70%). (The hard news anchors, identified by 35% - 47% of respondents score recognition levels well below Bush and Ferraro but score higher than the Reagan Cabinet member tested -- Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who was correctly named by 24% of respondents.)

Somewhat more surprisingly, 60 Minutes host Mike Wallace was recognized by only 36% of respondents -- on par with Koppel and Brokaw. Wallace's recognition level might have been expected to be higher given Wallace's long association with the top-rated program and the fact that 52% of survey respondents described themselves regular viewers of 60 Minutes. We might speculate that his relatively limited on-camera time -- compared to anchors -- may result in lower photo identification levels.

George Will, despite his ubiquitousness in the media -- as a commentator on ABC World News Tonight, and as a panelist on This Week With David Brinkley, in addition to his syndicated newspaper column and his biweekly column in Newsweek -- is recognized by only about one in eight Americans (12%). As will be demonstrated further in this report, news analysts and commentators are much less salient to mass audiences than are news anchors. Thus, despite Will's multi-media exposure -- he has been described as reaching the largest audience of any journalist in the country* -- the overwhelming majority simply cannot place his face.

The Question: *Here are some photos of well known Americans and some people who are less well known. As I read off the number corresponding to each photo, tell me if you happen to know this person's name and who he or she works for.*

- George Bush
- Dan Rather
- Ted Koppel
- Geraldine Ferraro
- Tom Brokaw
- Mike Wallace
- Caspar Weinberger
- George Will
- Barbara Walters

*Fred Barnes, "Media Realignment" in The New Republic, May 6, 1985.

	<u>Total Sample %</u>
<u>Photo Identification of TV Newsmen</u>	
Barbara Walters	77
Dan Rather	47
Ted Koppel	37
Mike Wallace	36
Tom Brokaw	35
George Will	12
Identified Rather, Koppel, or Brokaw	66
<u>Photo Identification of Political Figures</u>	
Geraldine Ferraro	70
George Bush	68
Caspar Weinberger	24
Number of Interviews	(2104)

A demographic analysis finds that recognition levels for Barbara Walters are high among virtually all groups -- even the less well-educated (63%), least knowledgeable (60%), and the lightest consumers of news (62%) can identify her face. Sharper demographic differences are seen when the recognition test is applied to the network anchormen:

- Whites (68%) are more likely than blacks (56%) or Hispanics (52%) to identify Rather, Koppel, or Brokaw.
- College graduates (89%) are more likely than the less well educated (55%) to identify an anchor.
- People over 50 (70%) are more likely than young people (55%) to identify an anchor.

Differences are especially pronounced among those with varying levels of news consumption and knowledge about the media:

- Among heavy consumers of news 82% can identify an anchor, compared with 45% among light consumers.
- Among the most knowledgeable, 83% can identify an anchor, compared with 47% of the least knowledgeable.

Even among the best educated, most knowledgeable, and most tuned in groups, photo identification levels for George Will, the lone commentator tested, are not very high: around a fourth of the high knowledge (24%) and high news consumption groups (27%) know Will's face. About one-third (32%) of Jews -- who consistently measure high on interest in the media -- identified Will.

Who does recognize Will? The survey finds it is those who read his newspaper column (58%). In contrast, only about one in five ABC World News Tonight viewers (21%) and Newsweek readers (18%) recognize him. The audience of This Week, a more select audience than that of the network evening news, shows a photo identification level for Will of 41%. Thus, despite his TV appearances Will's most attentive audience continues to be readers of his long running newspaper column.

This analysis is not intended to suggest that George Will is somehow failing in his job as an ABC News commentator. Instead, it is intended to show that the contributions of commentators like Will, Bill Moyers, of CBS, etc., can go almost unnoticed by television's mass audiences. Commentators, who interpret the news, do not enjoy the celebrity status and high recognition levels accorded to the anchors, the "stars" of the network broadcasts.

	<u>Identified Barbara Walters</u> %	<u>Identified Rather, Koppel, or Brokaw</u> %	<u>Identified George Will</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	77	66	12	(2104)
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	72	69	14	(1048)
Female	81	64	10	(1056)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>				
White Protestant	77	69	11	(1095)
White Catholic	81	70	14	(438)
Jewish	87	86	32	(57)
Black	67	56	10	(183)
Hispanic	73	52	7	(151)
<u>Education</u>				
College graduate	88	80	22	(431)
Other college	84	71	15	(391)
High school graduate	76	65	8	(809)
Less than high school graduate	63	55	8	(467)
<u>Age</u>				
18-24	72	55	7	(210)
25-29	80	64	10	(212)
30-49	83	68	10	(814)
50+	70	70	17	(864)
<u>ADI</u>				
Top 100	79	65	13	(699)
11-100	76	68	11	(1107)
Non-top 100	71	60	13	(258)

	<u>Identified Barbara Walters</u> %	<u>Identified Rather, Koppel, or Brokaw</u> %	<u>Identified George Will</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>				
A -- High	89	83	24	(588)
B	84	72	10	(519)
C	74	64	6	(498)
D -- Low	60	47	8	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>				
A -- Heavy	87	82	27	(353)
B	80	76	15	(772)
C	77	61	7	(661)
D -- Light	62	45	2	(318)
<u>Will's Potential Audience</u>				
Watch ABC World News Tonight	87	76	21	(414)
Watch This Week With David Brinkley	86	83	41	(180)
Read Newsweek	80	70	18	(382)
Read Will's column	88	92	58	(286)

The survey finds that most Americans who are able to photo-identify a particular television journalist also associate that person with the correct television network or program: the majority of those identifying Dan Rather (71%), Ted Koppel (72%), Tom Brokaw (62%), Mike Wallace (85%) and Barbara Walters (59%) passed this knowledge test. (Although there appears to be higher than average uncertainty about which networks Brokaw and Walters work for.) Very few respondents (3% - 6%) associated any of these network journalists with a local TV station.

George Will, the multi-media journalist, is most often identified with television, rather than print media. Overall, 65% name a television outlet (including 42% who mention ABC) while 21% mention print only.

BASED ON THOSE PHOTO IDENTIFYING EACH TV NEWSPERSON

	<u>Dan Rather</u> %	<u>Ted Koppel</u> %	<u>Tom Brokaw</u> %	<u>Mike Wallace</u> %	<u>Barbara Walters</u> %
Correct network or program	71	72	62	85	59
Named station or channel, no mention network	4	4	6	3	4
Incorrect network	5	8	8	3	11
TV News - not sure which organization	13	10	18	6	17
Other, DK	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>George Will</u> %	
ABC	42	} 65
Named station or channel, no mention ABC	5	
Incorrect network	7	
TV News not sure which organization	11	
Washington Post/Newspaper syndicate	18	(21% mention print only)
Newsweek	7	
Other/DK	14	

III. Press Favorability and Credibility

The overwhelming majority of the public are favorably disposed toward the press, although relatively few express highly favorable views. For the types of news media which reach the largest audiences -- local TV news, network TV news, local daily newspapers, and radio news -- the ratio of favorable to unfavorable ratings among those expressing an opinion is almost 9:1. News organizations score higher favorability ratings than all other institutions tested in the survey. As one might expect, people particularly like the types of news media that they themselves use. For each category of organizational type, those respondents who make up the audience for that medium rate it somewhat higher than those who are not tuned in. This difference is more pronounced for some organizations which reach smaller segments of the population, such as news magazines and large nationally influential newspapers.

Just as the public generally likes the press, they also tend to believe what the news media reports. In fact, a strong correlation is found between believability and favorability. Again, people tend to most believe those news organizations they themselves use. While the mass media, including the networks, radio news, and local dailies get decent ratings, certain organizations with smaller audiences distinguish themselves as highly credible among those familiar with the organization. These would include The Wall Street Journal and The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour, among others. The only types of media which receive low credibility ratings are those which deal mostly with soft news, entertainment, and features. Not surprisingly, The National Enquirer scored the lowest believability scores. Rolling Stone, Parade and People also scored much lower credibility scores than did organizations dealing with "hard news."

News personalities scored even higher believability ratings than did specific institutions. Network news anchors -- present and former -- all received higher ratings than their organizations. As other surveys have shown, Walter Cronkite, despite his retirement as the CBS anchor, enjoys a status above all other journalists. In fact his believability ratings are almost "off the charts" with a majority of the public saying you can believe nearly all of what he says. Cronkite's successor, Dan Rather, has a slight edge over all active network anchors and reporters in believability ratings. Details on the favorability and credibility findings follow.

Favorability Ratings

The public rates three forms of mass news media virtually identically: among those rating local TV news (89%) network TV news (89%) and their most familiar daily newspaper (88%), close to nine in ten rate them favorably. Public opinion of the press, however, lacks intensity. Fewer than three in ten give local TV news (29%), network TV news (27%) and their daily newspaper (27%) very favorable ratings. Radio news, the only other type of institution rated by more than 85% of those interviewed, also receives positive ratings from nine in ten respondents (90%), although it is less often given highly positive favorability ratings (22%) than the other forms of mass media.

For all types of news media analyzed, those who make up the media types' audience tend to give it more favorable ratings than those who are not part of the audience. (These differences, however, are not always statistically significant.) Two forms of national print media tested -- news magazines and nationally influential papers -- get somewhat lower favorability ratings than the media types with larger audiences. For news magazines and national papers, the differential between favorability ratings of the audience and non-audience segments of the population are more sizeable than for mass consumption news media organizations. For example, among their audiences -- those who read The New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times -- nationally influential newspapers receive a larger proportion of highly favorable ratings than any other medium (35%). But although the non-audience segment also generally regards national papers favorably, highly positive reviews are much less common (17%), and one in five (21%) has an unfavorable opinion.

C-Span, the cable news organization which covers Congress in session, was also tested for favorability in the survey. Few respondents (18%), however, were able to rate C-Span. Among those who did rate C-Span, favorable ratings outnumbered unfavorable ones by 4 to 1.

Percent Who Rated		Favorability Ratings*				Number of Interviews
		Very Favorable %	Mostly Favorable %	Un- favorable %	Total %	
<u>Local TV News</u>						
95%	Total	29	60	11	100	(2104)
98%	Audience	32	60	8	100	(1456)
89%	Non-audience	23	59	18	100	(648)
<u>Network TV News</u>						
94%	Total	27	62	11	100	(2104)
97%	Audience	31	61	8	100	(1295)
90%	Non-audience	20	66	14	100	(809)
<u>Most Familiar Daily Newspaper</u>						
93%	Total	27	61	12	100	(2104)
98%	Audience	29	59	12	100	(1338)
85%	Non-audience	24	63	13	100	(766)
<u>Radio News</u>						
89%	Total	22	68	10	100	(2104)
94%	Audience	25	65	10	100	(1233)
81%	Non-audience	19	70	11	100	(871)
<u>News Magazines</u>						
76%	Total	21	65	14	100	(2104)
93%	Audience	29	64	7	100	(644)
70%	Non-audience	17	65	18	100	(1460)

<u>Percent Who Rated</u>		<u>Favorability Ratings*</u>				<u>Number of Interviews</u>
		<u>Very Favorable</u> %	<u>Mostly Favorable</u> %	<u>Un- favorable</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	
	<u>Large, Nationally Influential Newspapers</u>					
59%	Total	20	61	19	100	(2104)
96%	Audience	35	55	10	100	(268)
54%	Non-audience	17	62	21	100	(1836)
	<u>C-Span**</u>					
18%	Total	21	58	21	100	(2104)

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

**Audience figures for C-Span not shown because of small audience size.

To put the news media favorability ratings in perspective they can be compared with other institutions or persons rated in the survey. The types of news organizations familiar to the public at large each received higher ratings than any of the other institutions or persons tested, including President Reagan and the military. The news organizations get roughly the same proportion of highly positive ratings as the President, while at the same time receiving substantially fewer negative ratings.

Favorability Ratings Based on Total Sample

	<u>Very Favorable</u> %	<u>Mostly Favorable</u> %	<u>Unfavorable</u> %	<u>Didn't Rate</u> %	<u>Total</u> %
Local TV News	27	57	11	5	100
Ronald Reagan	26	43	28	3	100
Network TV News	25	59	10	6	100
Most familiar daily newspaper	25	56	11	8	100
The military	24	53	18	5	100
The nuclear freeze movement	21	32	36	11	100
Radio News	20	60	9	11	100
The women's movement	19	44	30	7	100
The Congress	9	58	26	7	100
Labor Unions	9	37	47	7	100
Business corporations	8	50	31	11	100

A demographic analysis of news media favorability reveals some distinct patterns:

- Blacks are disproportionately likely to give local TV news very favorable reviews (37% vs. 29% overall).
- Jews are more likely than average to have a highly favorable opinion of newspapers, both the local daily and nationally influential papers.
- The mass consumption news media organizations -- television news, radio news, and local dailies -- are viewed somewhat more favorably by the less well educated than by college graduates.
- As might be expected, nationally influential papers are more likely to receive positive ratings from those living in the East and West than from Southerners and Midwesterners.
- People who live in small media markets give lower than average favorability ratings to their local daily newspapers.
- Republicans are less likely than Democrats to express a favorable opinion of all types of news media, excepting local dailies.
- Strong liberals (33%) are a great deal more likely than strong conservatives (19%) to have highly favorable views toward nationally influential newspapers.
- The same patterns in favorability ratings are seen among knowledge/ conceptualization categories that are evident among educational classifications: those with low information levels about the media are a great deal more likely than the well informed to have highly favorable opinions of local TV news, network TV news, radio news, and local dailies.

Percent Very Favorable/Percent Favorable Among Those Who Rated Item:

	<u>Network TV News</u> %	<u>Local TV News</u> %	<u>Nationally Influential Papers</u> %	<u>Most Familiar Daily</u> %	<u>Radio News</u> %	<u>News Magazines</u> %
Total Sample	27/89	29/89	20/81	27/88	22/90	21/86
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	25/88	28/87	20/79	27/87	22/87	22/85
Female	28/91	30/91	21/84	27/88	23/92	20/86
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>						
White Protestant	27/90	29/91	18/80	26/87	21/90	19/86
White Catholic	27/91	25/88	22/84	29/88	22/89	24/89
Jewish	26/92	26/87	38/96	40/90	21/86	24/86
Black	32/95	37/93	19/83	32/93	24/92	24/86
Hispanic	26/92	31/85	20/75	33/93	27/96	25/86
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	19/85	15/79	23/86	20/81	17/83	21/90
Other college	23/83	22/86	23/81	22/85	17/91	22/83
High school graduate	30/92	35/92	18/79	30/89	24/91	22/85
Less than high school graduate	30/94	34/92	19/81	32/93	27/92	20/84
<u>Age</u>						
Under 30	28/90	33/88	23/83	31/90	23/90	22/84
30-49	24/88	25/87	20/81	24/86	21/89	23/87
50+	28/91	29/92	19/81	28/88	23/90	18/87

Percent Very Favorable/Percent Favorable Among Those Who Rated Item:

	<u>Network TV News</u> %	<u>Local TV News</u> %	<u>Nationally Influential Papers</u> %	<u>Most Familiar Daily</u> %	<u>Radio News</u> %	<u>News Magazines</u> %
<u>Region</u>						
East	26/88	24/84	23/86	29/87	20/89	21/84
Midwest	27/88	31/90	17/76	26/85	24/88	25/88
South	29/92	32/92	18/77	26/82	21/91	18/81
West	24/89	28/87	22/85	27/92	25/90	22/92
<u>ADI</u>						
Top 100	24/86	24/85	24/83	29/92	23/88	23/86
11 - 100	28/91	31/91	19/81	28/86	22/90	21/85
Non-top 100	27/91	27/88	17/80	19/84	19/92	17/84
<u>Labor Union</u>						
Union household	26/90	28/88	17/80	23/86	19/89	24/89
Non-union	27/89	29/89	21/82	28/88	23/90	21/85
<u>Military Service</u>						
Self/Spouse	28/89	29/90	18/81	26/85	24/89	21/88
Neither	26/90	29/88	22/82	28/89	22/90	21/84
<u>Party</u>						
Republican	24/89	26/89	16/79	28/89	18/88	16/89
Democrat	30/92	32/91	26/84	30/89	23/91	24/84
Independent	25/88	28/87	19/80	24/86	24/89	23/85

Percent Very Favorable/Percent Favorable Among Those Who Rated Item:

	<u>Network TV News</u> %	<u>Local TV News</u> %	<u>Nationally Influential Papers</u> %	<u>Most Familiar Daily</u> %	<u>Radio News</u> %	<u>News Magazines</u> %
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>						
Strong conservative	22/84	24/87	19/75	26/85	22/87	18/84
Moderate conservative	28/90	30/90	17/82	28/89	23/91	20/88
Moderate liberal	28/93	27/89	19/84	26/90	17/89	23/87
Strong liberal	27/91	31/87	33/86	29/87	24/90	26/83
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>						
Most of the time	28/87	28/86	23/82	28/86	24/87	25/88
Some of the time	25/91	27/91	19/82	26/89	20/90	19/87
Hardly at all	28/90	32/89	18/80	26/90	23/91	18/80
<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>						
A - High	17/84	18/83	22/83	19/82	16/85	20/86
B	22/87	25/88	14/80	24/86	16/89	17/86
C	34/92	33/89	20/81	29/92	24/92	23/86
D - Low	34/93	40/95	24/81	37/92	32/92	25/84
<u>News Consumption</u>						
A - Heavy	22/89	21/84	26/87	28/88	21/92	25/93
B	31/90	33/89	22/82	32/88	26/88	24/86
C	28/91	30/91	18/79	26/88	24/90	18/86
D - Light	18/86	23/90	14/76	17/88	12/89	16/74

Organizational Believability Ratings

The public considers the major types of news organizations to be generally believable, although less than a majority of Americans are willing to believe all or nearly all of what they report. The news media types familiar to nearly all Americans -- local TV news, network TV news, radio news, and local daily newspapers -- are each given positive believability ratings by roughly 85% of respondents. While local and network TV news organizations receive slightly more high believability ratings (a "4" on a 4-point scale) than do radio news and local newspapers, there is in fact very little variation in evaluations of the various media types. About one-third of respondents rated the individual network TV news organizations as highly believable; slightly over a third so rated local TV news organizations, while just below a third rated radio news and local newspapers as highly believable. The degree to which the public does not differentiate between the networks on credibility is remarkable. No statistically significant differences are seen in ratings of CBS News, ABC News, and NBC News (see table following text).

As seen for favorability ratings, believability ratings tend to be higher among those who are part of the regular audience of a specific media type than among those who are not regular users. (The only exception is the most familiar daily newspaper, which is rated identically by the audience and non-audience segments.)

The public is not quite as familiar with the news magazines and nationally influential papers as they are with the other basic media types. The news-magazines get very positive ratings among their audiences -- close to half of regular readers of Time (47%) and Newsweek (44%) give the magazine the highest

rating on the believability scale. The overall ratings for Time (35% highly positive) and Newsweek (31%) are less impressive due to the tendency of the non-audience segments to rate the magazines positively, but not highly positively. These findings cast doubt on the contention that the public finds electronic media inherently more believable than print media. Among their audiences, the news magazines receive higher ratings than local or network TV news.

Large nationally influential newspapers rate lower than the other major media organization types on believability. Even so, close to four in five (78%) rate them positively. Among their relatively small audience, national papers get ratings comparable to network and local TV news -- over one-third (36%) give them the highest rating and close to nine in ten (87%) rate them positively. The non-audience segment, however, which constitutes the vast majority of the public, is considerably more skeptical about the believability of large papers -- about one-fourth (24%) give them negative ratings.

		<u>Believability Ratings*</u>				
<u>Percent Who Rated</u>		<u>Highly</u>		<u>Not</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
		<u>Believable</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Believable</u>		
		<u>4</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>2, 1</u>	<u>%</u>	
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Local TV News</u>					
95%	Total	36	49	15	100	(2104)
97%	Audience	38	50	12	100	(1456)
89%	Non-audience	31	48	21	100	(648)
	<u>CBS News</u>					
96%	Total	34	53	13	100	(2104)
99%	Audience	39	52	9	100	(563)
95%	Non-audience	33	53	14	100	(1541)
	<u>ABC News</u>					
96%	Total	34	53	13	100	(2104)
99%	Audience	39	54	7	100	(414)
95%	Non-audience	32	54	14	100	(1690)
	<u>NBC News</u>					
96%	Total	32	54	14	100	(2104)
99%	Audience	41	50	9	100	(315)
95%	Non-audience	31	54	15	100	(1789)
	<u>Radio News</u>					
89%	Total	30	54	16	100	(2104)
96%	Audience	33	53	14	100	(1233)
79%	Non-audience	25	56	19	100	(871)
	<u>Most Familiar Daily Newspaper</u>					
95%	Total	29	55	16	100	(2104)
99%	Audience	29	55	16	100	(1338)
87%	Non-audience	29	55	16	100	(766)

Believability Ratings*

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable	Total %	Number of Interviews
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %		
	<u>Time</u>					
77%	Total	35	50	15	100	(2104)
98%	Audience	47	46	7	100	(377)
73%	Non-audience	32	51	17	100	(1727)
	<u>Newsweek</u>					
74%	Total	31	55	14	100	(2104)
97%	Audience	44	50	6	100	(382)
70%	Non-audience	28	56	16	100	(1722)
	<u>Large, Nationally Influential Newspaper</u>					
65%	Total	25	53	22	100	(2104)
97%	Audience	36	51	13	100	(268)
60%	Non-audience	23	53	24	100	(1836)

*Percentage based on those who rated item.

The survey also obtained believability ratings on a number of specific print and electronic media organizations, most of which were less familiar to the public than the basic types of news organizations. Two print and two electronic news organizations scored very high ratings on believability among those who were able to rate them: The Wall Street Journal (45% rate it as highly believable), The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour (43%), Reader's Digest (40%), and Cable News Network (38%). The Journal and MacNeil Lehrer receive very large proportions of "highly believable" ratings (55% and 68%, respectively) among their sophisticated audiences, and also garner better than average ratings among the non-audience segments (38% and 43%, respectively). On the other hand, Reader's Digest receives high believability ratings among its large but more mainstream audience (57% rate the magazine as highly believable) but gets generally low ratings among those who are not regular readers (only 30% rate it highly believable and 26% feel it is not believable). CNN shows a similarly large disparity between the proportion of high believability ratings among its audience (54%) and non-audience segments (32%).

The Associated Press, USA Today, and National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" receive less impressive believability ratings. Their ratings are similar to those received by nationally influential papers -- the AP's ratings are somewhat higher, while ratings for USA Today and "All Things Considered" are somewhat lower.

The media types which receive the lowest believability ratings are those that deal primarily with personalities, features, and "soft" news, rather than "hard" or "serious" news. Predictably, The National Enquirer rated lowest (87% rated it not believable), followed by Rolling Stone (72%), People (57%) and the Sunday newspaper supplement Parade (47%).

Again this analysis suggests that print media is no more or less credible in general than electronic media. Seemingly, it is the content rather than medium itself which determines believability.

Believability Ratings for Selected
Print Media*

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable	Total %
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %	
56%	Wall Street Journal	45	42	13	100
84%	Reader's Digest	40	41	19	100
74%	Associated Press	28	54	18	100
54%	USA Today	25	48	27	100
50%	Parade	12	41	47	100
69%	People	12	31	57	100
42%	Rolling Stone	8	20	72	100
76%	National Enquirer	5	9	86	100

Believability Ratings For Selected
Electronic Media*

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable	Total %
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %	
42%	MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour	43	40	17	100
52%	CNN	38	46	16	100
42%	All Things Considered (NPR)	25	50	25	100

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

Personality Believability Ratings

Television network anchormen score highly both in terms of familiarity among the public and in terms of overall believability. Walter Cronkite, who reigned for years as the highest rated network evening news anchorman while active, remains highly credible in retirement. Cronkite receives higher believability ratings than any personality or organization tested: a 57% majority of those rating Cronkite (and only one in twenty were unable to rate him) gave him the highest believability rating. Cronkite's successor at CBS, Dan Rather, has a slight edge in believability ratings over other active anchors but does not approach Cronkite's scores. Rather gets positive believability ratings from 89% of those polled; he receives highly positive believability ratings from 44%.

The survey finds the public evaluating the believability of present and former network anchormen very similarly. CBS's Rather, with 44% high believability scores, is followed closely by ABC's Ted Koppel (41%) and Peter Jennings (40%). Two former and one present NBC anchorman follow the ABC duo, with John Chancellor (39%), David Brinkley (38%) and Tom Brokaw (37%) rated statistically equally.

Mike Wallace and Barbara Walters, who host their respective network's magazine-format news shows, are rated somewhat below the anchors in terms of believability. Each receives significantly more negative ratings (17% and 22%, respectively) than the anchors.

Believability Ratings of Well-Known
Television Journalists*

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable	Total
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %	
94%	Walter Cronkite	57	35	8	100
91%	Dan Rather	44	45	11	100
72%	Ted Koppel	41	47	12	100
82%	Peter Jennings	40	50	10	100
79%	John Chancellor	39	50	11	100
87%	David Brinkley	38	52	10	100
78%	Tom Brokaw	37	51	12	100
86%	Mike Wallace	35	48	17	100
93%	Barbara Walters	30	48	22	100

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

To put the network anchors' believability ratings in perspective, they can be compared with the ratings of some other widely known personalities in the media and politics. Network anchors, who of course must be credible to keep their jobs, receive a large share of highly positive believability ratings and few negative ratings -- setting them apart from other personalities tested. Rather, Jennings, and Brokaw, for example, are regarded as believable to a much greater extent than President Reagan is. Almost one-third of Reagan's ratings are negative, compared to only about one-tenth of the anchors' ratings. Conservative radio broadcaster Paul Harvey, who has a strong appeal in middle America, gets roughly the same proportion of highly positive ratings as the anchors but receives significantly more negative ratings (24%).

As was seen for media organizations, media personalities who deal with soft news and features -- in this case Phil Donahue and Ann Landers were tested -- score well below purveyors of serious news.

Believability Ratings of Network Anchors
Compared to Other Well-Known Personalities

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable	Total
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %	
91%	Dan Rather	44	45	11	100
82%	Peter Jennings	40	50	10	100
72%	Paul Harvey	38	38	24	100
78%	Tom Brokaw	37	51	12	100
98%	Ronald Reagan	28	40	32	100
89%	Phil Donahue	23	37	40	100
88%	Ann Landers	17	32	51	100

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

The popularity of network anchors -- and their importance to their organizations -- is demonstrated by comparing the institutional believability rating with the personality rating among the audiences for the three network evening news programs. As shown below, the anchor is rated higher than the network itself in all three cases. The differential is particularly impressive for Dan Rather and Peter Jennings, who receive believability ratings roughly 15 percentage points higher than their networks.

NETWORK/ANCHOR CREDIBILITY RATINGS AMONG EVENING NEWS AUDIENCES

	<u>CBS Evening News Viewers</u>		<u>ABC World News Tonight Viewers</u>		<u>NBC Nightly News Viewers</u>	
	<u>CBS News</u> %	<u>Dan Rather</u> %	<u>ABC News</u> %	<u>Peter Jennings</u> %	<u>NBC News</u> %	<u>Tom Brokaw</u> %
4 - Highly Believable	39	53	39	55	41	48
3	52	38	53	37	50	38
2, 1 - Not Believable	8	7	7	6	8	7
Can't rate	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(563)	(563)	(414)	(414)	(315)	(315)

The tendency of audiences to regard the anchor more favorably than the network also holds for Ted Koppel, Nightline host, and David Brinkley, who anchors This Week, the leader among the Sunday morning news shows. Interestingly, this relationship is not seen for Mike Wallace, host of 60 Minutes.

	<u>60 Minutes</u> <u>Viewers</u>		<u>Nightline</u> <u>Viewers</u>		<u>"This Week"</u> <u>Viewers</u>	
	<u>CBS</u> <u>News</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Mike</u> <u>Wallace</u> <u>%</u>	<u>ABC</u> <u>News</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Ted</u> <u>Koppel</u> <u>%</u>	<u>ABC</u> <u>News</u> <u>%</u>	<u>David</u> <u>Brinkley</u> <u>%</u>
4 - Highly Believable	34	37	36	49	37	55
3	53	43	53	38	51	39
2, 1 - Not Believable	11	13	10	5	11	5
Can't rate	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1149)	(1149)	(436)	(436)	(180)	(180)

The public is considerably less familiar with television network reporters and commentators than they are with anchors. In general, those who go out and get the story, or offer a point of view, are regarded as less credible than those who read the news. Investigative reporter Geraldo Rivera, ABC White House correspondent Sam Donaldson, 60 Minutes reporter Diane Sawyer, and commentators Bill Moyers and George Will receive similar ratings. Their believability ratings are actually somewhat lower than those accorded to their respective networks.

Interestingly, all these network television journalists fared better in their ratings than the newspaperman tested -- muckraker Jack Anderson.

Believability Ratings of Less Well-Known TV Journalists*

Percent Who Rated		Highly Believable		Not Believable		Total %
		<u>4</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>2, 1</u> %		
59%	Geraldo Rivera	31	43	26	100	
56%	Sam Donaldson	30	49	21	100	
60%	Diane Sawyer	28	52	20	100	
54%	Bill Moyers	28	49	23	100	
30%	George Will	26	48	26	100	
49%	Jack Anderson	17	45	38	100	

*Percentages based on those who rated item. Jack Anderson, newspaper columnist, is included in this table for comparison.

Believability Ratings Among the Informed

To determine how informed opinion on the believability of news media organizations and personalities differed from overall opinion, the ratings for the one-fourth of respondents scoring highest on knowledge/conceptualization about the media were compared with the ratings of the total sample. The following two tables summarize the differences observed. As for organizations, the informed group rates McNeil-Lehrer a great deal more positively than the general public. MacNeil-Lehrer and The Wall Street Journal are clearly the elite, in the opinion of the informed, with all other organizations rated considerably less positively. Their ratings of Reader's Digest, local TV news, and the networks are well below the norm.

As for personalities, we see the informed group is less prone than the average American to rate the evening news anchors highly -- particularly Rather and Jennings. However, they give Walter Cronkite basically the same lofty evaluations that he gets overall, with 54% giving him the highest possible rating. The informed group rates Paul Harvey, Mike Wallace, Geraldo Rivera, and Barbara Walters significantly below their average scores. Only one media personality is actually accorded higher believability ratings by the informed group -- Bill Moyers.

Believability Ratings of High Knowledge Group
 Compared With Total Sample *
 (Percent Who Rated Item "4" -- Highly Believable)

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>High Knowledge Group</u> %	<u>Difference In % Points</u>
MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour	43	53	+10
Wall Street Journal	45	46	+1
CNN	38	32	-6
All Things Considered (NPR)	25	32	+7
Reader's Digest	40	28	-12
Time	35	28	-7
Newsweek	31	26	-5
Large, nationally influential newspapers	25	25	0
CBS News	34	25	-9
ABC News	34	25	-9
NBC News	32	23	-9
Local TV News	36	23	-13
Radio News	30	22	-8
Most familiar daily newspaper	29	21	-8
USA Today	25	20	-5
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(539)	

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

Personality Believability Ratings of High
 Knowledge Group Compared With Total Sample*
 (Percent Who Rated Item "4" -- Highly Believable)

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>High Knowledge Group</u> %	<u>Difference In % Points</u>
Walter Cronkite	57	54	-3
Ted Koppel	41	36	-5
John Chancellor	39	35	-4
Dan Rather	44	33	-11
David Brinkley	38	32	-6
Peter Jennings	40	31	-9
Bill Moyers	28	31	+3
Tom Brokaw	37	30	-7
Paul Harvey	38	27	-11
George Will	26	27	+1
Sam Donaldson	30	26	-4
Mike Wallace	35	25	-10
Diane Sawyer	28	24	-4
Geraldo Rivera	31	21	-10
Barbara Walters	30	18	-12
Phil Donahue	23	17	-6
Jack Anderson	17	12	-5
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(539)	

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

IV. Public Attitudes Toward the Press

When asked, on an unaided basis, for their views on how news organizations do their job, Americans have more good things than bad things to say about press performance. At the same time, however, there are well defined areas where majorities or near majorities of the public are critical of the press and how they operate. Public support for the press is qualified to a larger extent than the overall favorability and believability ratings would suggest.

The survey focused on five areas of possible criticism about the press: accuracy, independence, fairness, intrusiveness and bad news.

- Accuracy ranks, with independence and fairness, as one of the public's top concerns about journalism. But while the public is generally critical of the press on independence and fairness, the majority (55%) of the public believe the press usually gets the facts straight. More informed, better educated consumers are particularly likely to feel the news they read, see, or hear is basically accurate.
- Independence, or freedom from outside influence, is a concern about the press shared by the majority of the news-consuming public. Specific sources of influence range from the federal government, corporations and advertisers to the political parties, ideological partisans, labor unions, blacks and the military. When asked why news organizations sometimes fail to live up to journalistic standards, the public most often cites external pressures -- to attract big audiences, and to please advertisers and special interests.
- Fairness on coverage of social and political issues is an area where the press is often criticized. Strong conservatives are prone to see a liberal bias in the reporting, but criticism on fairness is not limited to those with a particular ideological viewpoint. A majority of the public (53%) think the public plays favorites on the issues and a plurality (45%) characterize news reporting as being politically biased.

- Bad news or negativity is another common complaint about the news media. A 60% majority say the news media pays too much attention to bad news. The public is particularly sensitive to coverage of violent crime and to the news media's prying into the personal problems of famous people. Television is often identified as an offender on bad news. The public appears to be less concerned about bad news, however, than it is about independence and fairness.
- Intrusiveness, like bad news, is a criticism of press practices that is primarily directed at television. Close to three-fourths of the public (73%) feel the news media often invades people's privacy. Although this criticism is widespread, it appears to lack the intensity of some other complaints about the press.

Although the public is critical of the press in many areas on their practices and performance, the public expresses few doubts about the character of the press. News organizations are generally characterized as moral, professional, and caring about the quality of their work.

A question-by-question analysis of the public attitudes toward news organizations and how they do their job follows.

Public Perceptions of How the Press Does Its Job

The public has more positive than negative things to say about news organizations' performance when asked to give their views on an unaided basis. For each of the six basic types of news organizations tested, larger proportions cited something they liked most about the news reporting than cited something they liked least.

Network TV news, local TV news, and local daily newspapers register higher in salience on this question than the other media types tested, based on the very high percentages (roughly 80%) expressing an opinion of these news media types. More than three respondents in four have positive things to say about the news reporting of television news and local dailies. (The proportion offering any criticism of network TV news (67%), local TV news (60%) and local dailies (55%) is somewhat lower.)

The ratio of positive to negative comments is particularly favorable for radio news and news magazines. Sixty percent have something good to say about radio news while only 37% offer a criticism. And by almost a 2-to-1 margin (54% vs. 28%), favorable comments outnumber unfavorable comments about news magazines.

Large, nationally influential newspapers register lowest on salience; only about half express an opinion on their strengths and weaknesses. As with other types of news media, positive comments outweigh negative ones (43% vs. 35%), albeit only slightly in this case.

The Questions: (ALL IN SAMPLE A WERE ASKED):

What do you like most (like least) about the way network TV news organizations do their job?

What do you like most (like least) about the way large, nationally influential newspapers do their job?

What do you like most (like least) about the way national weekly news organizations do their job?

(ALL IN SAMPLE B WERE ASKED):

What do you like most (like least) about the way local TV news organizations do their job?

What do you like most (like least) about the way the daily newspaper you are most familiar with does its job?

What do you like most (like least) about the way radio news organizations do their job?

	Network TV News %	Local TV News %	Most Familiar Daily Newspaper %	Radio News %	News Magazines %	Large, Nationally Influential Newspapers %
<u>Like Most About Reporting</u>						
Net positive comments	81	78	76	60	54	43
Don't like anything	5	8	7	8	4	5
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>52</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Like Least About Reporting</u>						
Net negative comments	67	60	55	37	28	35
Don't dislike anything	17	23	23	29	22	13
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>52</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1049)	(1055)	(1055)	(1055)	(1049)	(1049)

An examination of the detailed responses to these questions provides insight into which qualities the public values most in news coverage. Looking at the positive attributes cited by those expressing an opinion about the six basic media types, we find the following:

- Accuracy of reporting stands out as the one specific positive characteristic of new coverage cited across all categories of news organizations.
- Broadcast media -- network and local TV news and radio news -- are valued first and foremost for their timeliness.
- Television scores points for its packaging of the news, being described by many as attractively presenting the news.
- National print media, on the other hand, are valued for the variety and breadth of their coverage and for the detail they provide. (Both the news magazines and large nationally influential newspapers are so reviewed.)
- Local daily newspapers are, not surprisingly, most often valued for local coverage. Local TV news is also often cited for coverage of the local scene.
- The short, condensed nature of radio news clearly has an appeal to the public -- it is cited as a positive characteristic of radio news second only to its timeliness.

POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES OF NEWS REPORTING CITED FOR ORGANIZATION TYPES**

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Network TV News</u> %	<u>Local TV News</u> %	<u>Most Familiar Daily Newspaper</u> %	<u>Radio News</u> %	<u>News Magazines</u> %	<u>Large, Nationally Influential Newspapers</u> %
Timeliness	22	16	8	23	13	8
Presented well	14	12	7	5	6	6
Accurate/Factual reporting	10	9	8	7	12	11
Variety/Broad coverage	9	7	11	4	14	16
Do a good job (general)	9	10	9	10	5	7
Detailed, in- depth coverage	8	7	8	3	27	21
On-location coverage	7	5	*	2	1	1
National/ International coverage	6	2	5	1	4	4
Short, condensed	6	3	3	18	7	1
Pictures/ Photography	3	2	*	0	7	*
Local coverage	1	14	15	4	*	1
Proportion expressing opinion	(86%)	(86%)	(83%)	(68%)	(58%)	(48%)

*Less than one-half of one percent.

**Partial table, based on those who expressed an opinion of media type.
Attributes mentioned by fewer than 5% for all media types are not shown.

The public most often cites four areas of serious criticism about how the news media do their job. These are sensationalism, bias in reporting, intrusiveness, and inaccuracy. Two other frequent criticisms -- repetition and lack of detail in radio news -- appear less serious and due more to the nature and economic necessities of the particular medium. The following are the patterns in criticism of the six basic types of news organizations:

- Network TV news, followed by local TV news and national papers, received the most criticism for sensationalism.
- Large, nationally influential newspapers were most often criticized for bias, among those offering a criticism. Network TV news, local dailies and news magazines received a fair amount of criticism for bias, but such views were expressed infrequently about local TV and radio news.
- Network TV news received the most criticism for intrusiveness, or the tendency to invade people's privacy.
- Large, important newspapers and the networks were most often cited for inaccurate and misleading reporting.

CRITICISMS OF NEWS REPORTING CITED FOR BASIC MEDIA TYPES*

<u>Criticisms</u>	<u>Network TV News</u> %	<u>Local TV News</u> %	<u>Most Familiar Daily Newspaper</u> %	<u>Radio News</u> %	<u>News Magazines</u> %	<u>Large, Nationally Influential Newspapers</u> %
Blow things out of proportion/ Sensationalize	13	9	5	2	6	9
Too biased	11	5	11	3	12	17
Invade people's privacy/ Insensitive	10	4	1	1	2	6
Repetition	9	9	1	9	2	2
Inaccurate, misleading reporting	9	4	6	3	4	10
Lack of depth, detailed infor- mation	6	5	4	11	4	2
Too much bad news	5	5	4	2	1	2
Too much advertising	4	4	6	7	6	4
Proportion expressing opinion	(84%)	(83%)	(78%)	(66%)	(50%)	(48%)

*Partial table, based on those who expressed an opinion of media type.
Criticisms mentioned by fewer than 5% for all media types are not shown.

Accuracy

The majority of the public (55%) feels news organizations usually get the facts straight in their reporting. Roughly one-third (34%) are critical on accuracy -- saying the news media is often inaccurate. Public attitudes toward news media accuracy appear relatively stable in recent years, judging from Gallup comparison data since 1979. The 1979, 1984, and 1985 surveys show little variation in the proportion of the public who feel the press gets the story wrong.

The Question: *In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?*

<u>Accuracy of News Organizations</u>	<u>Current</u> %	1984 (Gallup Newsweek Poll)* %	1979 (Gallup Poll)* %
Get facts straight	55	46	47
Inaccurate	34	37	34
Can't say	<u>11</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100

*The question wordings differed in the two surveys shown for comparison. The wordings were as follows:

What has been your experience: in the things you know about personally, have the news media got the facts straight or have they been inaccurate? (1984)

What has been your experience in the things you know about personally, has your newspaper got the facts straight, or has it been inaccurate? (1979)

Criticism of the press on accuracy runs higher among the older (41%) and more politically conservative (40%) elements of society. Among the more sophisticated segments of society, however -- college graduates (70%), those highly knowledgeable about the news media (64%), and heavy consumers of news (62%) -- there is a strong tendency to view the press as basically accurate.

Public attitudes on press accuracy correlate strongly with degree of social alienation. Those who take a dim view of their fellow man -- the most alienated -- are a great deal more likely than those scoring lowest on the scale to see the press as inaccurate (47% vs. 21%).

Accuracy of News Organizations

	<u>Get Facts Straight</u> %	<u>Inaccurate</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	55	34	11	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	70	24	6	100	(431)
Other college	56	33	11	100	(391)
High school graduate	55	34	11	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	42	43	15	100	(467)
<u>Age</u>					
Under 30	60	30	10	100	(422)
30-49	59	32	9	100	(814)
50+	46	41	13	100	(864)

Accuracy of News Organizations

	<u>Get Facts Straight</u> %	<u>Inaccurate</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	51	40	9	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	52	37	11	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	62	29	9	100	(459)
Strong liberal	62	27	11	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A - High	64	29	7	100	(588)
B	56	33	11	100	(519)
C	52	37	11	100	(498)
D - Low	46	38	16	100	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A - Heavy	62	31	7	100	(353)
B	57	35	8	100	(772)
C	53	35	12	100	(661)
D - Light	46	36	18	100	(318)
<u>Social Alienation</u>					
A - Most alienated	44	47	9	100	(449)
B	51	37	12	100	(649)
C	58	30	12	100	(636)
D - Least alienated	70	21	9	100	(370)

Media Types Cited For Accuracy and Inaccuracy

Among those who see the news media as accurate, network TV news (47%) is most often cited as the type of news organization doing a particularly good job of getting the story straight. No one media type stands out as a focus for the criticism of those who see the press as inaccurate. Network TV news (21%), local TV news (24%) and local daily newspapers (22%) are cited about equally. However, network TV receives more criticism on accuracy among strong conservatives (28%) than among strong liberals (19%), and is criticized by the highly knowledgeable (32%) more often than by the least knowledgeable (20%). Criticism of local TV news on accuracy increases with a person's level of knowledge and extent of media usage.

The Question: *Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (get the facts straight/inaccurate)?*

<u>Media Types Especially Likely to Get Facts Straight/Be Inaccurate</u>	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Get Facts Straight</u> %	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Inaccurate</u> %
Network TV news	47	21
Local TV news	19	24
Nationally influential newspapers	23	15
Most familiar daily newspaper	16	22
Radio news	12	16
News magazines	21	13
Other	*	*
All the same	18	19
Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
	161**	138**
Number of Interviews	(1197)	(696)

*Less than one-half of one percent.

**Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

Fairness on Social and Political Issues

The majority of the public (53%) is critical of news organizations on the fairness of their coverage of social and political issues. Only about one-third (34%) feel the press deals fairly with all sides. Comparison data from more than 15 years ago indicates that criticism of the press on fairness is not a new phenomenon. A 1969 Gallup Poll found a plurality of the public (45% vs. 37%) critical of newspapers on fairness in their news coverage.

The Question: *In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?*

	<u>Current</u> %	Gallup Poll <u>1969*</u> %
<u>Fairness of News Organizations on Social and Political Issues</u>		
Deal fairly with all sides	34	37
Favor one side	53	45
Can't say	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

*The 1969 Gallup Poll asked about the fairness of newspapers rather than news organizations.

Criticism of the press on fairness is more prevalent among whites than among blacks and Hispanics, among conservatives than among liberals, and among Republicans than among Democrats. But criticism of the news media on fairness is not merely an ideological or sociopolitical phenomenon. Notably, the more sophisticated, better informed population groups tend to evaluate news organizations negatively on fairness:

- College graduates (61%) are more likely than the least well educated group (46%) to feel the press is unfair.
- Those with a high information level about the news media (61%) are more likely than the uninformed (44%) to see the press as unfair.
- Heavy consumers of news (63%) are more likely than light consumers (45%) to be critical on fairness.

Interestingly, residents of northeastern states, where the media are more concentrated, are less critical of the news media on fairness than are those who live in other regions of the country. Possibly, this reflects middle America's suspicion of the Eastern media establishment.

Fairness of News Organizations on Social and Political Issues

	<u>Deal Fairly With All Sides</u> %	<u>Favor One Side</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	34	53	13	100	(2104)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>					
White Protestant	32	60	8	100	(1095)
White Catholic	37	51	12	100	(438)
Jewish	29	53	18	100	(57)
Black	36	35	29	100	(183)
Hispanic	36	38	26	100	(151)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	33	61	6	100	(431)
Other college	32	58	10	100	(391)
High school graduate	36	51	13	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	34	46	20	100	(467)
<u>Region</u>					
East	39	45	16	100	(545)
Midwest	32	60	8	100	(597)
South	33	50	17	100	(579)
West	32	59	9	100	(383)
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	32	60	8	100	(625)
Democrat	36	48	16	100	(762)
Independent	34	52	14	100	(717)

Fairness of News Organizations on Social and Political Issues

	<u>Deal Fairly With All Sides</u> %	<u>Favor One Side</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	33	60	7	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	35	52	13	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	34	57	9	100	(459)
Strong liberal	37	47	16	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A - High	33	61	6	100	(588)
B	30	59	11	100	(519)
C	38	49	13	100	(498)
D - Low	35	44	21	100	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A - Heavy	30	63	7	100	(353)
B	36	55	9	100	(772)
C	36	51	13	100	(661)
D - Light	30	45	25	100	(318)

Media Types Cited for Fairness and Unfairness

Americans who feel that press treatment of political issues is fair and even-handed most often specify network TV news (42%) as the type of organization which does a particularly good job in this area. Those critical of journalists' fairness cite network TV news (27%), local TV news (28%) and daily papers (30%) about equally as exemplifying unfairness in news coverage. Sophisticated critical groups, however -- college graduates, the well informed, and heavy users of the news media -- cite network TV news and nationally influential newspapers far more often than any other media type.

The Question: *Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (deal fairly with all sides/favor one side)?*

<u>Media Types Especially Likely To Be Fair/Favor One Side</u>	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Fair</u> %	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Favor One Side</u> %
Network TV news	42	27
Local TV news	18	21
Nationally influential newspapers	22	28
Most familiar daily newspaper	13	30
Radio news	10	8
News magazines	13	14
Other	1	*
All the same	23	19
Can't say	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	142**	152**
Number of Interviews	(720)	(1126)

*Less than one-half of one percent.

**Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

Why News Organizations Are Fair

Those who expressed the view that news organizations are fair were queried further about why they think the press is fair. This perceived fairness was most often attributed to competition (38%) and fear of lawsuits (35%). About one-fourth (26%) felt journalists' training was important in explaining fairness, while journalists' general inclination to be fair (19%) and fear of government regulation (13%) rated as less important reasons.

The Question: *Which of the reasons on this card best describes why you think news organizations generally deal fairly with all sides of an issue? (The reasons are listed in the table below.)*

<u>Reasons News Organizations Are Generally Fair</u>	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Fair</u> %
Competition with other news organizations	38
Fear of lawsuits	35
Journalists' training	26
Journalists are fair-minded people	19
Fear of government censorship or regulation	13
None of these reasons	1
Other reason	1
Don't know	<u>4</u>
	137*
Number of Interviews	(720)

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

Fairness Toward the Reagan Administration

While the public may be critical of news organizations on political fairness, they do not feel the press is unfair to Ronald Reagan. Nearly four in five Americans (78%) believe the news organizations they know best treat the Reagan Administration fairly. Although groups more favorably disposed toward the President tend to be somewhat more critical of the press on this question, even among Republicans and the very conservative, substantial majorities feel the press is fair in its coverage.

As a historical footnote, a Gallup Poll taken roughly fifty years ago found a similar majority of the public feeling that newspapers were fair to FDR's Administration.

The Question: *Are the news organizations you are most familiar with fair or unfair to the Reagan Administration?*

Fairness of News Organizations to Reagan
Administration

	<u>Fair</u> %	<u>Unfair</u> %	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
Total Sample	78	12	10	100	(2104)
<u>Reagan Job Performance</u>					
Approve	75	17	8	100	(1277)
Disapprove	85	6	9	100	(617)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	69	22	9	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	77	13	10	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	86	8	6	100	(459)
Strong liberal	85	7	8	100	(270)
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	72	20	8	100	(625)
Democrat	81	7	12	100	(762)
Independent	79	12	9	100	(717)

Independence of the News Media

The majority of the public (53%) sees the press not as an independent institution, but rather as an institution subject to powerful outside influences. Fewer than two in five (37%) view the press as basically independent. For all the subgroups analyzed, only among blacks (43% vs. 35%), easterners (47% vs. 42%), and the least socially alienated grouping (51% vs. 41%) did the view that the press is independent predominate over the view that the press is influenced. Another group which is generally regarded as friends of the press -- Jews -- divide evenly on the issue of press independence. And a plurality of strong liberals take the view that the press is influenced (49% vs. 43%).

Although most groups of Americans, including the most sophisticated and heaviest consumers of news, tend to see the press as influenced, certain groups distinguish themselves as particularly likely to take this view:

- White Protestants (58%)
- Residents of Midwestern (62%) and Western states (58%)
- People who live in smaller media markets (62%)
- Republicans (57%) and those with very conservative political views (57%)
- Social alienates (62%)

The Question: *In general, do you think news organizations are pretty independent, or are they often influenced by powerful people and organizations?*

Independence of News Organizations

	<u>Pretty Independent</u> %	<u>Often Influenced</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	37	53	10	100	(2104)
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>					
White Protestant	34	58	8	100	(1095)
White Catholic	44	50	6	100	(438)
Jewish	42	42	16	100	(57)
Black	43	35	22	100	(183)
Hispanic	34	48	18	100	(151)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	44	52	4	100	(431)
Other college	38	52	10	100	(391)
High school graduate	37	54	9	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	33	50	17	100	(467)
<u>Region</u>					
East	47	42	11	100	(545)
Midwest	32	62	6	100	(597)
South	37	50	13	100	(579)
West	33	58	9	100	(383)
<u>ADI</u>					
Top 10	42	49	9	100	(699)
11 - 100	37	53	10	100	(1107)
Non-top 100	24	62	14	100	(258)

Independence of News Organizations

	<u>Pretty Independent</u> %	<u>Often Influenced</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	36	57	7	100	(625)
Democrat	38	48	14	100	(762)
Independent	37	54	9	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	35	57	8	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	38	52	10	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	40	53	7	100	(459)
Strong liberal	43	49	8	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	42	53	5	100	(588)
B	37	55	8	100	(519)
C	38	52	10	100	(498)
D -- Low	32	51	17	100	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	41	54	5	100	(353)
B	41	52	7	100	(772)
C	37	52	11	100	(661)
D -- Light	28	54	18	100	(318)
<u>Social Alienation</u>					
A -- Most alienated	30	62	8	100	(449)
B	31	58	11	100	(649)
C	42	47	11	100	(636)
D -- Least alienated	51	41	8	100	(370)

Media Types Cited as Independent/Influenced by the Powerful

Those who see the media as independent most often cite the networks (33%) as the type of news organization best described in this manner. Those who take the opposite view and regard the press as influenced most often cite network TV (31%) and nationally influential newspapers (34%) as the focus of their criticism. Better educated, better informed, and heavier consumers of news are particularly likely to think in terms of the networks and large national papers when questioned about independence.

The Question: *Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (be independent/be influenced by the powerful)?*

	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Independent</u> %	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Often Influenced</u> %
<u>Media Types Especially Likely to Be Independent/ Be Influenced by Powerful</u>		
Network TV news	33	31
Local TV news	19	14
Nationally influential newspapers	23	34
Most familiar daily newspaper	18	19
Radio news	13	9
News magazines	13	15
Other	1	1
All the same	18	22
Can't say	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	148*	153*
Number of Interviews	(778)	(1120)

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

Specific Groups and Institutions Seen As Influencing the Press

Substantial majorities of the public feel the press is often influenced by the power structure -- business and government -- in their news reporting. Seventy-three percent see the federal government as exerting an influence, 70% see business corporations as influential, and 65% name advertisers on this regard. Smaller, but still sizable majorities see the two major political parties (60% GOP; 58% Democratic Party) and labor unions (62%) as pressure groups which affect news coverage.

Sizable proportions, though not a majority, of the public subscribe to the view that the military (50%), liberals (48%), conservatives (45%) and blacks (44%) often succeed in influencing journalists. Among the groups tested, Catholics (35%) and Jews (33%) were least often identified as pressure groups.

The belief that the power structure controls the press appears to be independent of one's socioeconomic status, partisanship, and ideology. (Although, it should be noted that blacks are less likely than whites and Hispanics to feel business and government often influence news reporting.) The belief that ideological groups and the parties are influential, however, varies with one's own political views. Conservatives tend to see liberals and Democrats pushing the media around, while liberals tend more to point the finger at conservatives and Republicans.

Those who view the media overall as influenced rather than as independent express basically the same views on the specific groups as the population as a whole. However, the percentage naming each group as influential is higher than the overall figures.

The Question: *Now I will read a list of some different groups. As I read each one, tell me whether you feel this group often influences news organizations in the way they report the news, or not. First...*

- Advertisers
- Blacks
- Business Corporations
- Catholics
- Conservatives
- Democrats
- The Federal Government
- Jews
- Labor Unions
- Liberals
- The Military
- Republicans

<u>Groups Which Often Influence News Organizations</u>	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>Independence of News Organizations</u>	
		<u>Pretty Independent %</u>	<u>Often Influenced %</u>
The federal government	73	66	82
Business corporations	70	57	83
Advertisers	65	56	75
Labor unions	62	53	74
Republicans	60	50	72
Democrats	58	45	71
The military	50	43	60
Liberals	48	40	59
Conservatives	45	39	54
Blacks	44	38	52
Catholics	35	27	44
Jews	33	29	39
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(778)	(1120)

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Bad News

A majority of Americans (60%) see the news media as too attentive to bad news. The bad news criticism is seen across the broad range of subgroups, with older, more conservative, and better educated Americans particularly likely to criticize the press on negativity. Importantly, the more knowledgeable and heavier consumers of news are more likely than uninformed and infrequent news consumers to see the press as overemphasizing bad news.

The Question: *In general, do you think news organizations pay too much attention to good news, too much attention to bad news, or do they mostly report the kinds of stories they should be covering?*

News Organizations and Bad News

	<u>Too Much Bad News</u> %	<u>Not Too Much Bad News</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	60	36	4	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	67	31	2	100	(431)
Other college	62	37	1	100	(391)
High school graduate	62	35	3	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	51	41	8	100	(467)
<u>Age</u>					
Under 30	54	42	4	100	(422)
30 - 49	61	35	4	100	(814)
50+	63	33	4	100	(864)

News Organizations and Bad News

<u>Party</u>	<u>Too Much Bad News</u> %	<u>Not Too Much Bad News</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Republican	62	36	2	100	(625)
Democrat	56	38	6	100	(762)
Independent	62	34	4	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	68	30	2	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	59	38	3	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	60	35	5	100	(459)
Strong liberal	52	43	5	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	67	32	1	100	(588)
B	63	34	3	100	(519)
C	59	37	4	100	(498)
D -- Low	50	42	8	100	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>					
A -- Heavy	63	34	3	100	(353)
B	62	36	2	100	(772)
C	58	39	3	100	(661)
D -- Light	56	35	9	100	(318)

Media Types Cited For Overemphasizing Bad News

The public sees television as the primary offender in presenting too much bad news. Overall, 31% of those interviewed name network TV news and 25% name local TV news as a main source of bad news. Among those critical of the news media on the bad news issue, the tendency to identify network TV news (40%) and local TV news (31%) as guilty parties is even more pronounced.

The Question: *In general, do you think news organizations pay too much attention to good news, too much attention to bad news, or do they mostly report the kinds of stories they should be covering?*

	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Are Too Attentive to Bad News %</u>
<u>Media Types Especially Likely to Pay Too Much Attention to Bad News</u>		
Network TV news	31	40
Local TV news	25	31
Nationally influential newspapers	14	17
Most familiar daily newspaper	17	21
Radio news	10	13
News magazines	11	11
Other	1	*
All the same	24	25
Can't say	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>
	146**	162**
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1268)

*Less than one-half of one percent.

**Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

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Types of News Stories Receiving Too Much Attention

The public most often names news stories about violent crime (50%) and about the personal problems of famous people (47%) as the topics given too much attention by the news media. Interestingly, mentions of news reports on fires and disasters (24%) rate well down the list as topics given excessive coverage, and relatively few complain about the news media's reporting on corruption in government (19%) or environmental problems (11%).

Those who criticize the media on bad news join with the public as a whole in complaining most often about the media exploiting violence in its crime reporting and prying too much into celebrities' personal lives.

The Question: *Which, if any, of the topics listed on this card do you think get too much attention by news organizations?*

(ITEMS LISTED IN TABLE ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

<u>Topics Receiving Too Much Attention From News Organizations</u>	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Too Attentive to Bad News</u> %
Violent crime	50	60
Problems in the personal lives of famous people	47	51
The federal budget deficit	24	25
Fires, accidents, and disasters	24	31
Violence in families	24	29
International disputes	21	25
Unemployment and bad economic conditions	20	23
Corruption in government	19	21
Environmental problems	11	13
None of these	6	1
Other	1	1
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	251*	282*
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1268)

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

Intrusiveness

Nearly three quarters of Americans (73%) take the view that news organizations often invade people's personal lives in getting the story. Only one in five (21%) feels that news organizations generally respect people's privacy. The tendency to see the press as intrusive is particularly prevalent among better educated and informed Americans.

The Question: *Do you feel news organizations often invade people's privacy or do they generally respect people's privacy?*

Intrusiveness of News Organizations

	<u>Invasiveness</u> People's Privacy %	<u>Respect</u> People's Privacy %	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
Total Sample	73	21	6	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	81	16	3	100	(431)
Other college	79	19	2	100	(391)
High school graduate	72	23	5	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	65	24	11	100	(467)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	85	12	3	100	(588)
B	73	23	4	100	(519)
C	72	25	3	100	(498)
D -- Low	63	25	12	100	(499)

Media Types Cited For Intrusiveness

Television is seen as the media type most likely to invade people's privacy. Overall, 30% name network TV news and 27% name local TV news as most intrusive. Among those who generally characterize the media as intrusive, the networks (36%) and local TV news (33%) also top the list as the primary offenders. Better informed and heavier consumers of news in particular view television in this light.

The Question: *Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to invade people's privacy?*

<u>Media Types Especially Likely To Invade People's Privacy</u>	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>All Who Feel News Organizations Invade People's Privacy %</u>
Network TV news	30	36
Local TV news	27	33
Nationally influential newspapers	17	20
Most familiar daily newspaper	15	17
Radio news	4	5
News magazines	17	19
Other	2	2
All the same	21	22
Can't say	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>
	133*	158*
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1556)

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

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Most Important Concern About The News Media

Of the five key areas tested in our survey, accuracy, independence, and fairness register higher level of concern than do intrusiveness and bad news. When respondents were asked their opinion of which issue concerned them most about the press, they cited concerns about the accuracy of the reporting (22%), influence on the press by powerful groups (20%), and fairness in the coverage of social and political issues about equally (20%). Respondents less often voiced such a level of concern about the tendency of the news media to violate individual privacy (15%) and to give bad news too much play (14%).

The Question: *Listed on this card are some issues relating to news organizations which we have discussed. Which one of these issues, if any concerns or troubles you most? Which would you rate second? Which would you rate third?*

- *News organizations not getting the facts straight.*
- *News organizations not dealing fairly with all sides of a political or social issue.*
- *News organizations often being influenced by powerful people and organizations.*
- *News organizations paying too much attention to bad news.*
- *News organizations not respecting people's privacy.*

	Most Important Concern <u> </u> %
News organizations not getting the facts straight	22
News organizations often being influenced by powerful people and organizations	20
News organizations not dealing fairly with all sides of a political or social issue	20
News organizations not respecting people's privacy	15
News organizations paying too much attention to bad news	14
None of these	5
Don't know	<u>4</u>
	100

Better educated, more knowledgeable, and heavier users of the news media are significantly more likely to name fairness as a top concern than are more uninformed, less interested people. Republicans (28%) are also more likely than Democrats (15%) to be troubled by the fairness issue. Ideologically, those with the most extreme views -- whether very liberal or very conservative -- are more likely than those expressing more moderate views to be most concerned about fairness.

One group distinguishes itself as being concerned about media independence, above all other issues -- those who live in the nation's smallest media markets. Three in ten (29%) of those living in these smaller, relatively isolated areas rank suspicion about news organizations being influenced by powerful groups at the top of their list of media criticisms.

Most Important Concern

	<u>Accuracy</u> %	<u>Influence By Powerful Groups</u> %	<u>Fairness On Political/ Social Issues</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	22	20	20	(2104)
<u>Education</u>				
College graduate	18	23	24	(431)
Other college	24	21	21	(391)
High school graduate	22	19	21	(809)
Less than high school graduate	23	20	13	(467)
<u>ADI</u>				
Top 100	24	18	21	(699)
11 - 100	23	19	19	(1107)
Non-top 100	17	29	20	(258)
<u>Party</u>				
Republican	18	18	28	(625)
Democrat	22	23	15	(762)
Independent	26	19	18	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>				
Strong conservative	21	17	26	(458)
Moderate conservative	23	21	19	(771)
Moderate liberal	22	22	17	(459)
Strong liberal	20	22	23	(270)

Most Important Concern

	<u>Accuracy</u> %	<u>Influence By Powerful Groups</u> %	<u>Fairness On Political/ Social Issues</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>				
A -- High	21	21	30	(588)
B	22	18	22	(519)
C	23	22	15	(498)
D -- Low	22	19	11	(499)
<u>News Consumption</u>				
A -- Heavy	20	20	29	(353)
B	19	21	23	(772)
C	24	21	16	(661)
D -- Light	25	17	11	(318)

Relationship of Specific Press Criticism and Favorability Ratings

The responses of those who offered a specific criticism about a particular media type were examined to determine which criticisms were most strongly associated with unfavorable overall ratings. This analysis shows that criticisms on accuracy are more often associated with negative ratings than are other criticisms. The tendency of criticism on accuracy to be a better predictor of unfavorable attitudes than other specific criticisms holds for four of the six media types tested -- network TV, local TV, nationally influential newspapers, and local newspapers.

RELATIONSHIP OF MEDIA CRITICISMS AND FAVORABILITY RATINGS FOR
BASIC MEDIA TYPES*

(Percentage of those offering a specific criticism who describe overall opinion toward media type as unfavorable)

<u>Media Type</u>	<u>Critical on Accuracy</u> %	<u>Critical on Fairness</u> %	<u>Critical on Influence by Powerful</u> %	<u>Critical on Bad News</u> %	<u>Critical On Intrusiveness</u> %
Network TV news	29	20	17	16	14
Local TV news	25	19	14	18	12
Nationally influential newspapers	27	21	16	21	16
Most familiar daily	30	18	17	19	17
Radio news	19	11	15	14	18
News magazines	18	11	22	19	16

*HOW TO READ THIS TABLE: Among those who say network TV news is particularly likely to be inaccurate, 29% have an unfavorable opinion of network news. Among those citing the networks as unfair, 20% have an unfavorable opinion of this media type.

Reasons the News Media Sometimes Fails in Their Job

The public largely attributes the failings of the news media to external pressures, rather than to deficiencies of journalists themselves. Economic pressures are cited most often -- almost one in four (23%) sees pressure to sell their publications or to earn high ratings ("attracting big audiences") getting in the way of quality journalism, and another 8% feel pressure from advertisers detracts from the quality of the reporting. Secondly, one in five (21%) feels pressure from special interest groups is the most important factor explaining journalistic failings. Government control keeping the media from getting the real story is identified by one in ten (11%) as the most important factor.

Journalists' inability to keep their personal biases out of their reporting is the "internal" factor most often cited as the main reason for inferior work -- 17% take this view. Few Americans think lack of proper skills on the part of journalists (6%) or unwillingness to spend the money necessary for quality (3%) are major factors.

The Question: *We've talked about some things which news organizations do well and not so well. Here are some possible reasons why news organizations sometimes don't do as good a job as they should. Which of these reasons do you think best explains why news organizations sometimes don't do such a good job? Which one of these reasons is most important?*

(LIST OF ITEMS APPEARS IN THE TABLE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE)

Reasons News Media Sometimes Fail To Do A Good Job

News organizations are so interested in attracting a big audience that they don't do a good job

Special interest groups put pressure on news organizations that keeps them from doing a good job

The government keeps news organizations from getting the real story.

Advertisers put pressure on news organizations that keeps them from doing a good job.

News people can't keep their opinions from showing up in their reporting

News people lack the skills and background to do a good job.

News organizations don't want to spend the money to do things right.

Other

Don't know

Most Important Reason
%

23

21

11

8

17

6

3

*

11

100

63% External Factors

26% Internal Factors

The pressures of the marketplace -- to sell newspapers or attract viewers and listeners -- is the explanation for journalistic failings that sophisticated groups tend to believe most often. Roughly one-third of college graduates (32%) and those best informed about the news business (32%) take this view. In contrast those in the lowest education (12%) and knowledge (15%) categories express this opinion much less often.

Personal biases of the news reporters is an explanation cited most often by Republicans (21% vs. 14% of Democrats) and ideologues of both the left and the right. The belief that the government places controls on the press runs highest among those on the extreme left of the political spectrum (15%).

Why News Organizations Fail

	<u>Too Interested in Attracting Big Audiences</u> %	<u>Pressure From Special Interests</u> %	<u>Can't Keep Personal Opinions Out Of Reporting</u> %	<u>Government Controls the Press</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	23	21	17	11	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	32	18	17	8	(431)
Other college	26	21	18	9	(391)
High school graduate	24	22	17	11	(809)
Less than high school graduate	12	21	15	12	(467)
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	24	23	21	7	(625)
Democrat	21	22	14	12	(762)
Independent	24	17	16	12	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	27	24	22	6	(458)
Moderate conservative	21	22	14	10	(771)
Moderate liberal	23	21	16	13	(459)
Strong liberal	23	15	20	15	(270)
<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	32	19	20	9	(588)
B	26	22	17	10	(519)
C	19	23	14	13	(498)
D -- Low	15	19	16	10	(499)

Perceived Characteristics of the News Media

The responses to a series of descriptive items serve to highlight some areas of public criticism toward the press, while at the same time demonstrating the extent to which people say good things about news organizations. Taking the criticisms first, we find the press viewed, on balance, as uncaring (48% feel they don't care about the people they report on), defensive (55% feel they cover up, rather than admit to their mistakes), and politically biased (45%). They are much more often seen as having a liberal (41%) rather than a conservative (19%) point of view.

On the positive side, substantial majorities feel the press cares about the quality of their work (79%) and is highly professional (72%). Majorities also describe news organizations as moral (54%), a positive influence on democracy (54%) and pro-American (52%). On an essentially neutral item, more than three in five (63%) see news organizations growing in influence.

Those who are particularly knowledgeable about the press are more critical of the press on bias and patriotism than are uninformed Americans. One half of knowledgeable respondents characterized news reporting as politically biased and this group divided nearly equally on whether the press was basically pro-American (42%) or too critical of America (39%). Similarly, Republicans are more critical of the press on bias and pro-Americanism than are Democrats.

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>		<u>Party</u>	
		<u>Most Knowledge</u> %	<u>Least Knowledge</u> %	<u>Republican</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %
<u>Perceived Characteristics of News Organizations</u>					
Care about people they report on	35	30	40	34	37
Don't care	48	56	38	52	44
Neither	10	11	7	7	10
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Willing to admit mistakes	34	35	31	33	35
Try to cover up	55	55	58	56	52
Neither	4	5	4	4	5
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Politically biased in reporting	45	50	38	49	43
Careful no bias in reporting	36	38	31	36	37
Neither	7	7	9	8	7
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>		<u>Party</u>	
		<u>Most Knowledge</u> %	<u>Least Knowledge</u> %	<u>Republican</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %
Liberal	41	46	35	52	34
Conservative	19	16	19	18	22
Neither	20	29	15	16	21
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>23</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Growing in influence	63	66	57	66	60
Declining in influence	17	17	15	16	16
Neither	7	10	6	8	7
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Care about quality	79	83	71	85	76
Don't care	11	11	13	8	13
Neither	4	3	3	4	3
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Highly professional	72	76	64	73	74
Not professional	11	12	11	11	11
Neither	9	9	8	10	5
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>		<u>Party</u>	
		<u>Most Knowledge</u> %	<u>Least Knowledge</u> %	<u>Republican</u> %	<u>Democrat</u> %
Moral	54	52	52	56	55
Immoral	13	14	12	15	13
Neither	20	29	16	20	18
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Protect democracy	54	58	51	55	57
Hurt democracy	23	22	20	27	20
Neither	13	16	11	10	13
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Stand up for America	52	42	58	52	56
Too critical of America	30	39	23	34	25
Neither	10	16	5	10	10
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(588)	(499)	(625)	(762)

Liberal Bias

One survey question asked respondents whether or not they felt news reporting was politically biased. A second question asked respondents to characterize the press as either "liberal" or "conservative." By looking at the responses to these two question items in combination, we can obtain a reading on the proportion of Americans who believe the press has a liberal bias. As shown in the table below, 45% overall see the press as politically biased; this includes 22% who see a liberal bias, 9% who see a conservative bias, and 14% who see bias but don't define it in liberal or conservative terms.

	<u>Total Sample</u> %
<u>Opinion on Bias in News Reporting</u>	
Total who feel reporting is politically biased	45
See press as liberal	22
See press as conservative	9
Don't see a particular slant	14
Feel press is careful to keep bias out of reporting	36
No opinion on bias	<u>19</u>
	100

Predictably, Republicans (31%) are more likely than Democrats (17%) to be believers in the liberal bias. Similarly, people with strongly conservative political views (37%) are a great deal more likely than political liberals (17%) to feel news reporting slants to the left.

Those most informed about the news media also tend to be more likely than the uninformed to say reporting has a leftward tilt.

Political Bias of the News Media

	<u>Liberal Bias</u> %	<u>Con- servative Bias</u> %	<u>No Particular Slant Indicated</u> %	<u>No Bias</u> %	<u>No Opinion on Bias</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	22	9	14	36	19	100	(2104)
<u>Party</u>							
Republican	31	7	11	36	15	100	(625)
Democrat	17	10	16	36	21	100	(762)
Independent	21	9	13	35	22	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>							
Strong conservative	37	9	11	30	13	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	21	8	13	38	20	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	17	9	16	39	19	100	(459)
Strong liberal	17	10	16	41	16	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>							
A -- High	27	8	15	38	12	100	(588)
B	27	10	13	35	15	100	(519)
C	18	8	16	38	20	100	(498)
D -- Low	17	9	12	31	31	100	(499)

The Role of the Press in Influencing Public Policy

Roughly one-half of the public at large (52%), as well as substantial majorities of more sophisticated publics -- two-thirds (67%) of college graduates and over two-thirds (69%) of those highly informed about the press -- feel the news media has an agenda-setting influence on public affairs. (That is, they feel news selection and manner of presentation influence government policy.) Another one-quarter (25%) feel the news media influences policy -- but merely by presenting the facts rather than by setting an agenda.

Republicans (59%) and the very conservative (61%) are more likely than Democrats (47%) and liberals (52%) to feel the press influences policy through its choice of topics of type of coverage.

The Question: *Some people feel that news organizations have almost no effect on national policy and public affairs. Others feel that news organizations affect policy and public affairs mainly by presenting the facts. Still others feel that news organizations affect policy and public affairs mainly by what news stories they decide to cover and how they present them. Which position is closest to your opinion?*

News Media's Effect on National Policy

	<u>Affect Policy Through News Selection</u> %	<u>Affect By Presenting Facts</u> %	<u>No Effect on Policy</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	52	25	7	16	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	67	22	5	6	100	(431)
Other college	57	24	10	9	100	(391)
High school graduate	53	27	7	13	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	38	24	7	31	100	(467)
<u>Party</u>						
Republican	59	25	6	10	100	(625)
Democrat	47	25	8	20	100	(762)
Independent	53	24	7	16	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>						
Strong conservative	61	26	4	9	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	51	25	10	14	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	52	25	7	16	100	(459)
Strong liberal	52	27	11	10	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/ Conceptualization</u>						
A -- High	69	19	5	7	100	(588)
B	56	26	7	11	100	(519)
C	48	29	8	15	100	(498)
D -- Low	36	26	9	29	100	(499)

The Press as a Watchdog on Political Leaders

The public heavily approves of the press acting as a watchdog on our political leaders. Two-thirds of those interviewed (67%) said news organizations' criticism of political leaders serves to keep them honest, rather than prevents them from doing their job (17%). The "watchdog" function receives support from all segments of American society. Although Republicans (22%) and strong conservatives (23%) are somewhat more likely than Democrats (14%) and strong liberals (13%) to view news media criticism of politicians negatively, Americans at both ends of the political spectrum are basically in agreement on this question. Even those who view the news media negatively feel that press criticism keeps the politicians honest. Majorities of those with unfavorable opinions for network TV news (56%) and local newspapers (65%) like the "watchdog" function.

The Question: *Some people think that by criticizing political leaders, news organizations keep political leaders from doing their job. Others think that such criticism is worth it because it keeps political leaders from doing things that should not be done. Which position is closer to your opinion?*

News Media Criticism of Political Leaders

	<u>Keep Political Leaders From Doing Job</u> %	<u>Keep Political Leaders From Doing Wrong</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	17	67	16	100	(2104)
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	22	65	13	100	(625)
Democrat	14	71	15	100	(762)
Independent	17	64	19	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	23	66	11	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	18	67	15	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	14	72	14	100	(459)
Strong liberal	13	75	12	100	(270)
<u>Opinion of Network TV News</u>					
Very favorable	19	71	10	100	(521)
Mostly favorable	14	69	17	100	(1251)
Unfavorable	31	56	13	100	(229)
<u>Opinion of Most Familiar Daily Newspaper</u>					
Very favorable	19	70	11	100	(506)
Mostly favorable	16	69	15	100	(1197)
Unfavorable	22	65	13	100	(263)

The Press as a Check on the Military

Half of the public (51%) believes that press criticism of the military helps to strengthen the nation's defenses, while 31% feel such criticism weakens our defense. About one-fifth (18%) have no opinion on this issue. The best educated (63%) and most well informed (58%) segments of the population are particularly likely to value the press as a check on the military. However, not all groups come down clearly on the side of the press on this issue. Groups which have a strong pro-military inclination -- Southerners, those who live in small (rural) markets, those who have served in the armed forces, Republicans, and strong conservatives -- are closely divided over whether press criticisms positively or negatively affects national security.

News Media Criticism of the Military

	<u>Weakens Our Defenses</u> %	<u>Helps Keep Nation Prepared</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	31	51	18	100	(2104)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	20	63	17	100	(431)
Other college	34	53	13	100	(391)
High school graduate	33	50	17	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	35	39	26	100	(467)
<u>Region</u>					
East	27	54	19	100	(545)
Midwest	32	52	16	100	(597)
South	35	43	22	100	(579)
West	29	55	16	100	(383)

News Media Criticism of the Military

	<u>Weakens Our Defenses</u> %	<u>Helps Keep Nation Prepared</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>ADI</u>					
Top 10	28	54	18	100	(699)
11 - 100	31	52	17	100	(1107)
Non-top 100	38	37	25	100	(258)
<u>Military Service</u>					
Self/Spouse	36	50	14	100	(743)
Neither	29	50	21	100	(1330)
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	40	47	13	100	(625)
Democrat	27	55	18	100	(762)
Independent	28	49	23	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	40	46	14	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	35	50	15	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	24	58	18	100	(459)
Strong liberal	22	58	20	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	24	58	18	100	(588)
B	37	47	16	100	(519)
C	33	50	17	100	(498)
D -- Low	32	46	22	100	(499)

Most Important Objectives of Journalism

The public's view of what the objectives of journalism should be is very basic and uncomplicated. Overwhelmingly, they feel reporting facts and events is the most important objective (77% feel this way). Second most often, they select checking into corruption (34% place it at or near the top) as a duty of the press. Other objectives tested, including teaching values, analyzing trends, and evaluating products rated well below straight factual reporting and the "watchdog" function.

In fact, a fair amount of resistance is found among the public against the press getting into the area of opinion at all. Many would prefer that the press stick to the facts. Over one-fourth (27%) say the press should not be endorsing candidates for office, while only 4% think endorsements are one of the most important things the press should be doing. And as many oppose the press taking positions on issues (11%) as feel this should be an important objective (10%).

The Question: *On this card is a list of objectives for journalism. In your opinion which one is the most important objective in the list? Which is the second most important? Are there any items on this list you feel should not be an objective of journalism?*

(LIST OF ITEMS APPEARS IN THE TABLE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE)

	<u>An Important Objective*</u> %	<u>Most Important Objective</u> %	<u>Should Not Be An Objective</u> %
Reporting facts and events	86	77	1
Checking into corruption	34	6	2
Teaching values	19	5	14
Analyzing trends	19	2	4
Evaluating and reviewing products and services	12	2	5
Suggesting positions on issues	10	1	11
Endorsing candidates for office	4	2	27
None of these/Don't know	5	<u>5</u>	<u>36</u>
		100	100

*Percentages in this column indicate all who selected item as first or second most important objective of journalism.

Perceived Importance of Groups to News Executives

The majority of Americans believe that the editor and publisher at their local newspaper consider their readers (38%) or the general public (29%) more important than the newspaper's stockholders (23%). Overwhelmingly, they also feel these groups -- the readers (49%) and the public at large (40%) -- should be most important. Only 4% think the news executives should be most concerned about the stockholders.

Those highly knowledgeable about the press (30%) are more likely than the ill-informed (16%) to feel that news executives place the stockholders above their readers and fellow citizens.

The Question: *Which group do you think is most important to the editor and publisher of the newspaper you read most often: their readers, their stockholders, congressional representatives, or the general public?*

<u>Groups</u>	Group Most Important to Newspaper's Editor/Publisher %	Group That Should Be Most Important %
Their readers	38	49
General public	29	40
Their stockholders	23	4
Congressional representatives	2	1
Other	1	1
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100

V. A Public Opinion Segmentation

A principal objective of this study was to look for common strains of thinking about the press so as to isolate and segment groups of people who think alike on press issues. We attempted to identify inter-related attitudes toward news organizations and news practices, for it was our hope that by finding such common ways of thinking about the press we would be better able to structure public opinion and find a framework to explain some of the anomalies of public attitude toward the press.

The effort to find commonalities of thought started with group sessions where hypotheses were developed about what factors stood behind the views expressed by the small panels of respondents interviewed. Based on these group sessions, questionnaires were developed for pre-tests and pilot studies. A key objective of the development was to find items and measures which tested hypotheses about underlying factors.

The small scale pilot survey conducted among 253 adults indicated that there were indeed inter-related sets of attitudes toward news organizations. As a consequence, the main questionnaire was refined to tap these dimensions. One such dimension of thought that emerged almost from the very first group session was the issue of whether the press is independent from outside influence in its reporting. At the outset of our study this question was not one to which we attached much importance, but the more data we collected the more we saw that a significant issue in the minds of the public was whether the press was independent or influenced by other groups and forces in society.

Our data analysis techniques in both the pilot survey and the June survey suggested two common ways of thinking about the independence of news organizations:

1. News Organizations and Their Reporting Are Often Influenced by Special Interest Groups.

When the public was asked whether news organizations are influenced by a variety of groups, a very strong inter-relationship was found between believing that the press is influenced by such elements as blacks, Catholics, Jews, liberals, Democrats, conservatives, and Republicans. Believing that any one of these groups influences the press was highly associated with feeling that other special interest groups influenced how the press does its job. It is important to bear in mind that this strain of thought doesn't single out any one group or side of the ideological spectrum, but rather rests on the conviction that the press is often influenced by groups with "a point of view."

2. News Organizations and Their Reporting Are Often Influenced by the Power Structure.

A second strain of thinking not necessarily associated with the first is that the way news is reported is often influenced by powerful groups such as advertisers, business corporations, and the federal government. In our group sessions this view was frequently expressed by less sophisticated respondents and seemed to be associated with a fair degree of societal alienation, but as shall be shown, this is not a view limited to a small group of malcontents nor just to the unsophisticated, but a relatively widely held one.

A third common strain of thinking to emerge from our surveys was an amalgam of more familiar complaints about the press. Principally, this included seeing the press as politically biased, unfair, uncaring, intrusive and paying too much attention to bad news. Those who criticized the press in any of these areas tended to criticize it in the others. The focal point of this dimension seems to be press performance.

A final dimension to emerge from the data went beyond criticism of the press for its performance. It was more addressed to a negative perception of the character of the press, including seeing the press as immoral, not caring how good a job it does, unprofessional, harmful to democracy and too critical of America. This way of thinking about the press is more than a critique of its performance and speaks to the nature of the press and the consequences of that character. It is important to keep in mind that this dimension and all other dimensions are independent of each other. That is, being critical of the press performance may or may not be associated with resentment about its basic character or its independence for that matter.

The dimensions which were evident in both the small scale pilot survey and the major survey in June were the basis of our data analysis. From these dimensions emerged six groups of people who are relatively homogeneous in their ways of thinking about news organizations.

MCST. IMPORTANT RESPONSES IN EACH FACTOR

● Special Interest Groups Often Influence the Way the News is Reported

a) Liberal	.71
b) Democrats	.71
c) Republicans	.69
d) Conservatives	.68
e) Jews	.64

● The Power Structure Often Influences the Way the News Is Reported

a) Federal Government	.59
b) Business Corporations	.56
c) Advertisers	.42
d) Military	.41

● Criticisms of Press Performance

a) Press politically biased	.48
b) Press favors one side	.47
c) Press uncaring	.43
d) Press too critical of America	.41
e) Press covers up mistakes	.38

● Criticisms of Press Character

a) Press doesn't care about quality of its work	.58
b) Press harms democracy	.53
c) Press unprofessional	.51
d) Press too critical of America	.41
e) Press immoral	.38

Groups With A Positive Orientation Toward the PressReflexive Supporters of the Press

This group represented 21% of our sample. It views the press as accurate, professional, caring about people, unbiased in its reporting and a positive influence on democracy. Reflexive Supporters hold almost no reservations about news organizations and their practices. The only criticism this group levels at the press is that it invades people's privacy. This group divides about evenly over whether or not news organizations pay too much attention to bad news. Support given to the press by Reflexive Supporters is basically unqualified, but it would not appear to be all that meaningful. This group contains many who are light consumers of news and possess little knowledge of the press, and for the most part news organizations are not salient to Reflexives.

Like other positive groups, Reflexive supporters are slightly more likely to be female than the population at large, and are inclined to identify with the Democratic Party. This group has a particularly Democratic character — it tends to be pro-labor, and includes the largest minority representation of the six groups. About one-fourth are black or Hispanic.

This group watches more television than the norm, but does not report higher than average viewership of television news. They have little interest in national affairs and are light consumers of national and international news stories. About one in four are non-newspaper readers.

Empathetic Supporters of the Press

This group constitutes roughly one-fourth (26%) of the population. They are distinguished by both a positive attitude toward the press and a relatively sophisticated and knowledgeable view of the press and public affairs. Majorities of Empathetic Supporters see the press as accurate, unbiased, caring about people, willing to admit its mistakes, moral, a protector of democracy, professional, pro-American and a good check on the politicians and the military. Unlike the Reflexive Supporters, however, this group is not uniformly positive in its attitudes -- it has some reservations about the news media.

Like most Americans, this group criticizes the press for paying too much attention to bad news and for intrusiveness. However, the reservation about the press which most defines this segment of the public is its concern for the independence of the press from outside influence. When asked a general question on whether the press is often influenced by powerful people or whether news organizations are independent, this group divides about equally (45% independent; 49% influenced); but when asked about the influences of a range of institutions on the press, large majorities see the press as influenced by special interest groups and by the power structure in the way it reports the news. Moreover, this group is more likely to attribute press failings to pressure from outside influences than to poor performance or character flaws on the part of journalists.

Empathetic Supporters are the best educated (42% college trained), most informed, and most involved of the press positive groups. They have a relatively good understanding of how the press operates. News organizations are both credible and salient to such people. This is a group which gives particularly high credibility ratings to national news organizations. They find television news people from all three major networks to be highly

credible -- particularly the evening news anchors. Nonetheless, Dan Rather is clearly the anchor most watched by this group. This is one of the two groups most likely to read nationally influential newspapers. In fact, they use all forms of national print media to a greater extent than the other positive groups. Politically, Empathetic Supporters are the most liberal of the six groups. They give higher than average ratings to the nuclear freeze and women's movements, while giving the CIA and Jesse Helms especially unfavorable ratings.

Finally, Empathetic Supporters are the only group that believes that Ronald Reagan both would and should take a call from the Washington Post executive editor over calls from other national figures.

Ambivalent Supporters of the Press

This group represents close to one-fourth of the population (23%). Overall it has some reservations about the press on the performance dimensions, but expresses no criticism of the press with regard to character. Ambivalent Supporters tend to be among those least knowledgeable and caring about the press. This group has limited interest in public affairs and hard news. While Ambivalent Supporters see the press as accurate, they also see it as too negative, favoring one side and intrusive. The group divides over whether the press is politically biased and whether it is willing to admit its mistakes. On the character items, the press is seen by large majorities as moral, professional, caring about quality, pro-American and a beneficial to democracy.

As with all press positive groups, it includes a higher proportion of women than the population at large, is slightly younger than the Empathetics and has a lower socio-economic profile. Only 13% have college degrees. This group tends to be blue collar, but it is not as ethnic in character as the other positive groups -- over half are white Protestants.

Overall the attitudes of Ambivalents are less favorable toward the press than those of other positive groups, and one of their distinguishing characteristics is a tendency to see the press as being influenced by the power structure -- groups such as advertisers, business corporations, and the government. As many as 57% feel the press is often influenced by powerful people and institutions. This group, however, does not feel that special interest groups exert much influence over the way news organizations report the news.

Ambivalents tend to be light users of news with local rather than national public affairs interests. This group contains the largest proportion of consumers whose media use is principally news features. Phil Donahue and The Weather Report are TV programs which especially attract these people. They are more likely to read the National Enquirer and big city tabloids than to read nationally influential newspapers.

Groups With A Negative Orientation Toward The PressMain Street Critics of the Press

This group represents 15% of the population. Like all press negative groups it contains more men than women. It is also predominately white, Protestant, Republican, and politically conservative, with a higher than average socio-economic profile. Main Street Critics tend to live in smaller markets located outside the media centers of the east and west coasts. This group faults the media for its performance; in particular, it sees the press as inaccurate, favoring one side in its reporting of social affairs, influenced by both power structure and special interest groups, intrusive, negative, not caring about people, liberal, and unwilling to admit its mistakes. But on character items it does not see the press as immoral, and is divided over whether it hurts or protects democracy. This group feels the press is professional and cares about quality, yet feels it is too critical of America.

Despite its relatively critical view of the press, it has a general favorable view of Dan Rather and clearly prefers CBS network news over the other two networks. The Reader's Digest and Paul Harvey radio news are particularly popular among this group. Main Street Critics are higher than average in their knowledge of the press and the degree of news consumption. The press is comparatively salient to this group. Compared with the Vociferous Critics, however, Main Street Critics are much less national in their news orientation.

Embittered Critics of the Press

Ten percent of our sample fall into this heavily male, lower socio-economic status and Southern group. This group of Embittered Critics has the highest average age and contains many veterans, blacks, and respondents exhibiting a high degree of social alienation. It is critical of the press on just about every question asked in the survey. It sees the press as inaccurate, unfair, influenced by special interest groups and by the power structure, intrusive, uncaring, biased, immoral, harmful to democracy and too critical of America. It especially stands out on these last two dimensions where 80% see the press as harming democracy and 75% too critical of America. This group differs from all others in its view of the press as unprofessional and unconcerned about the quality of its work.

This is a socially conservative group yet it has more ties to the Democratic Party than to the Republican Party. This group, however, represents a diversity of ideological viewpoints and contains angry people from both political extremes. For example, it includes both high proportions expressing very favorable and unfavorable opinions of the nuclear freeze. It has a fairly high proportion of non-whites (15%) who generally support the press, but obviously, do not do so in this case. Its orientation towards news tends to be local, and it is a fairly light consuming group. The press is not so salient to respondents in this group as are sports personalities.

The Embittered are the only group critical of the media who do not, in turn, give Reagan strong support (41% disapprove). This probably reflects an unfavorable disposition to Ronald Reagan, and also a distrust of politicians in general. In fact, one of the only positive things this group says about the press is that press criticism keeps politicians honest rather than prevents them from doing their job. It gives The Wall Street Journal and USA Today, publications rated quite highly by other negative groups, their lowest believability scores.

With regard to media habits, the group is surprisingly likely to view Sunday morning news shows and is a fan of ABC's 20/20, but does not otherwise depart from national norms on network television news preferences or viewership. Despite their socio-economic character, Embittereds report fairly high levels of newspaper readership -- perhaps a reflection of their older age profile. This group has a relatively unfavorable view of just about all social and political figures. The military, which they view extremely favorably, is the only exception to this rule.

Vociferous Critics of the Press

They are only 5% of the sample, but are perhaps the most significant group in the entire population with regard to the press. Vociferous Critics are by far the most knowledgeable about press operations, show the strongest national news orientation, and have the heaviest news consumption profile. They are second only to the Embittered in their dislike of news organizations. They are critical of the press on just about all performance dimensions; however, they do see the press as getting the facts straight and, most importantly, they do not feel that the press is controlled by the power structure. Vociferous Critics see the press as exploited by special interest groups, particularly liberals, labor unions, Democrats, and blacks. They are the group most likely to criticize the press for liberal bias and, on the character dimensions, they see the press as harmful to democracy and too critical of America. They also show a tendency to see the press as immoral and to feel that press criticism of the military weakens our defenses. Unlike the Embittered, however, the Vociferous see the press as professional and caring about the quality of their work.

In its demographic characteristics, this is clearly the most upscale group. It is disproportionately male, white collar, conservative, Republican, pro-Reagan and also, despite the demographics, fairly socially alienated. This is not a group, however, that is explained solely by wealth -- another group, the Empathetic Supporters have as high an average income as the Vociferous Critics. In contrast to the Main Street Critics, this group tends to live in large media markets -- particularly in the urbanized East.

With regard to media habits, Vociferous Critics are heavy consumers of all sorts of national and elite press, particularly The Wall Street Journal and business magazines. In fact, The Wall Street Journal stands out for its high believability ratings among this group. The Vociferous are clearly fans of Peter Jennings and ABC News over the other networks and their anchors. They also give above average believability ratings to USA Today and Paul Harvey. Nationally influential newspapers and Phil Donahue, on the other hand, receive particularly low ratings from this group.

Vociferous Critics make up a disproportionate share of the audience for public broadcasting and for public affairs programming, even though this group ranks lowest in overall time spent watching television. They are also the group most interested in newspaper editorials and political commentary. Nearly half read William F. Buckley's column, and they report high levels of readership for columns by James J. Kilpatrick, George Will, and others.

Finally, Vociferous Critics are so named because they speak with the loudest voice of any of the six groups. They are the group most likely to have written a letter to the editor; most likely to have been quoted or mentioned in a news story; and most likely to have complained to a news organization about a story.

The table below illustrates how the cluster segments scored on each of the four attitude dimensions.

<u>Dimension</u>	SEGMENTATION GROUPS					
	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u>	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u>	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u>	<u>Main Street Critics</u>	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u>	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u>
Press influenced by special interest groups	Low	High	Low	High	High	High
Press influenced by power structure	Low	Mod.	High	Mod.	High	Low
Critical of press performance	Low	Low	Mod.	High	High	High
Critical of press character	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	Mod.

RESPONSES OF ATTITUDE CLUSTERS TO INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Accuracy</u>						
Facts straight	62	66	58	38	27	51
Inaccurate	18	23	34	56	65	42
Can't say	20	11	8	6	8	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Fairness on Social/ Political Issues</u>						
Fair	48	44	38	7	20	11
Favor one side	26	43	51	92	69	85
Can't say	26	13	11	1	11	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Independence</u>						
Independent	60	45	32	11	18	40
Influenced	17	49	57	87	74	58
Can't say	23	6	11	2	8	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflexive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Influential Groups</u>						
Federal Government	26	91	94	90	81	21
Business Corporations	12	87	89	97	79	43
Advertisers	23	75	78	86	74	58
Labor Unions	17	86	58	89	67	71
Republicans	10	97	46	85	70	51
Democrats	9	94	40	84	63	67
The Military	10	79	53	63	55	23
Liberals	10	87	12	78	53	75
Conservatives	8	85	15	68	53	50
Blacks	10	71	20	69	50	68
Catholics	5	62	15	58	47	35
Jews	5	61	8	49	43	58
<u>Bad News</u>						
Too much	44	54	60	77	76	72
Not too much	47	43	37	22	23	25
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Intrusiveness</u>						
Invade privacy	58	66	75	92	87	84
Respect privacy	31	28	20	7	10	13
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
Care about people	43	51	37	16	15	13
Don't care	31	28	47	75	80	79
Neither	10	14	9	6	4	6
Don't know	16	7	7	3	1	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Admit mistakes	50	45	33	11	12	11
Cover up	29	45	52	83	86	83
Neither	5	5	4	3	1	3
Don't know	16	5	11	3	1	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Politically biased in reporting	24	30	39	86	64	80
Careful no bias	46	48	37	11	23	18
Neither	9	10	9	2	8	1
Don't know	21	12	15	1	5	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Liberal	32	33	31	63	50	84
Conservative	16	22	20	18	25	7
Neither	21	29	22	11	10	6
Don't know	31	16	27	8	15	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
Growing in influence	55	66	66	76	35	78
Declining in influence	12	14	12	17	54	14
Neither	9	10	8	3	3	3
Don't know	<u>24</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Care about quality	81	90	88	87	19	78
Don't care	2	2	3	4	80	12
Neither	3	3	4	6	1	5
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Highly professional	77	81	79	73	26	58
Not professional	3	3	4	8	70	20
Neither	5	11	9	11	3	10
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Moral	59	66	57	46	29	33
Immoral	4	2	7	24	49	35
Neither	18	22	23	22	14	20
Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
Protect democracy	64	72	62	35	10	29
Hurt democracy	7	6	11	45	80	64
Neither	12	15	14	12	7	5
Don't know	17	7	13	8	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stand up for America	59	66	68	30	15	16
Too critical	15	14	15	60	75	76
Neither	12	13	11	7	7	6
Don't know	14	7	6	3	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Feel Press has Liberal Bias	10	10	14	54	32	66
<u>Primary Concern About News Media</u>						
Accuracy	19	22	3	19	26	15
Influence by powerful	10	25	16	23	17	20
Fairness	15	18	25	29	20	36
Bad news	18	14	23	14	9	12
Intrusiveness	17	15	16	13	23	16
None of these	11	4	14	1	3	0
Don't know	10	2	3	1	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Reasons News Media Sometimes Fails</u>						
Too interested in attracting big audiences	21	22	24	23	26	27
Pressure from special interest groups	14	26	18	26	15	27
Can't keep personal bias out of reporting	18	13	15	21	15	27
Government control	10	10	15	7	13	3
Pressure from advertisers	5	10	9	9	9	3
News people lack skills	6	7	4	6	8	5
Won't spend money	3	3	2	1	6	2
Other/Don't know	<u>23</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>News Media Effect on National Policy</u>						
Through news selection	32	51	50	73	68	71
By presenting facts	30	28	26	16	19	14
No effect	8	11	7	4	5	5
Don't know	<u>30</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Criticism of Politicians</u>						
Keeps from doing job	12	14	16	20	31	22
Keeps honest	60	74	69	70	57	68
Can't say	<u>28</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Criticism of Military</u>						
Weakens defenses	22	23	28	<u>52</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>43</u>
Keeps nation prepared	<u>51</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>55</u>	36	43	41
Can't say	<u>27</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

DEMOGRAPHIC AND PSYCHOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF ATTITUDE CLUSTERS

	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	44	46	45	54	54	58
Female	56	54	55	46	46	42
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>						
White Protestant	42	43	51	66	49	59
White Catholic	18	22	19	17	15	20
Jewish	3	6	3	1	2	1
Black	17	5	10	6	12	12
Hispanic	10	10	7	3	8	3
Other/Undesignated	10	14	10	7	14	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Education</u>						
College graduate	15	26	13	17	12	27
Other college	14	18	17	23	15	23
High school graduate	39	35	42	41	43	33
Less than high school graduate	32	21	28	18	30	17
Undesignated	0	0	0	1	0	0
<u>Age</u>						
Under 30	28	25	29	25	19	21
30 - 49	37	39	36	36	35	43
50+	35	36	35	39	46	36
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Income</u>						
\$40,000 and over	14	23	17	20	19	22
\$30,000 - \$39,999	22	21	13	19	19	21
\$20,000 - \$29,999	20	18	28	24	18	24
\$10,000 - \$19,999	23	23	23	25	25	18
Under \$10,000	16	14	15	10	16	10
Undesignated	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Occupation of Chief Wage Earner</u>						
Professional and business	26	29	21	31	26	47
Other white collar	5	7	5	5	11	5
Blue collar	41	37	47	39	33	29
Farmer	1	2	2	3	5	3
Non-labor force	23	21	22	19	23	12
Undesignated	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Region</u>						
East	27	23	28	20	22	32
Midwest	23	25	26	30	30	22
South	34	29	24	30	35	34
West	<u>16</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>ADI</u>						
Top 10	33	34	34	29	29	37
11 - 100	51	53	54	53	62	47
Non-top 100	12	11	11	17	7	12
Undesignated	4	2	1	1	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Labor Union</u>						
Union household	19	17	21	17	18	11
Non-union	81	83	79	83	82	89
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Military Service</u>						
Self/Spouse	26	33	29	38	41	38
Neither	74	67	71	62	59	62
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Reagan Approval</u>						
Approve	52	56	60	74	54	79
Disapprove	30	32	30	21	41	13
No opinion	18	12	10	5	5	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Party</u>						
Republican	25	28	26	40	23	43
Democrat	41	36	37	25	41	22
Independent	34	36	37	35	36	35
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Reflexive</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Empa-</u> <u>thetic</u> <u>Sup-</u> <u>porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv-</u> <u>alent</u> <u>Sup-</u> <u>porters</u> %	<u>Main</u> <u>Street</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Embit-</u> <u>tered</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif-</u> <u>erous</u> <u>Critics</u> %
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>						
Strong conservative	19	17	19	32	22	35
Moderate conservative	33	36	37	34	33	36
Moderate liberal	19	25	25	17	21	19
Strong liberal	15	16	11	10	15	7
No answer	14	6	8	7	9	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Social Alienation</u>						
A -- Most alienated	15	19	24	26	33	29
B	29	27	34	34	35	29
C	37	30	29	29	23	27
D -- Least alienated	19	24	13	11	9	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>						
Most of the time	27	37	29	47	40	53
Some of the time	34	35	36	28	30	32
Now and then/ Hardly at all	37	27	34	23	29	13
Undesignated	2	1	1	2	1	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization*</u>						
A -- High	18	30	20	31	27	41
B	24	21	23	29	24	21
C	25	25	29	22	23	18
D -- Low	33	24	28	18	26	20
	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Orientation*</u>						
A -- National	18	22	18	22	25	33
B	51	44	38	47	38	40
C -- Local	31	34	44	31	37	27
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>News Consumption*</u>						
A -- Heavy	12	17	12	19	13	23
B	30	37	33	37	39	44
C	33	31	37	28	24	21
D -- Light	25	15	18	16	24	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Salience of Press*</u>						
A -- High	19	30	24	34	26	43
B	17	21	18	20	24	21
C	19	25	24	25	23	21
D -- Low	45	24	34	21	27	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

*See Technical Appendix for a description of how the various indices were created.

VI. Implications and the Attitude Segmentation Analysis

Beyond describing public opinion, what does the segmentation tell us about the nature of public opinion toward news organizations and news practices? The following is a list of implications which will be refined and expanded through further analysis and subsequent studies.

- The segmentation analysis identified six attitude clusters, three with a positive orientation and three with a negative orientation toward the press. Orientation toward the press, as defined by the segmentation analysis, is highly correlated with attitudes toward government control of the press. In fact, if the 6 clusters are combined to form 2 cluster groupings -- based on whether their orientation is positive or negative -- the resulting 2-category press orientation variables is more strongly associated with attitudes toward government control of the press than are the individual items from which the clusters were constructed (see table below).

	Strength of Relationship To Government Control Index <u>(Log Odds Ratio)*</u>
PRESS ORIENTATION CLUSTER GROUPINGS	.57
<u>INDIVIDUAL ITEMS**</u>	
Q. 41e Trend in Press Influence	.55
Q. 41h Professionalism	.52
Q. 41i Pro- or Anti-America	.50
Q. 41c Liberal/Conservative	.44
Q. 41b Effects on Democracy	.41
Q. 41d Morality	.40

INDIVIDUAL ITEMS**

Q. 29	Fairness on Social/Political Issues	.35
Q. 35d	Catholics as an Influence	.33
Q. 41b	Willingness to Admit Mistakes	.28
Q. 27	Accuracy	.27
Q. 35	Corporations as an Influence	.27
Q. 35	Democrats as an Influence	.26
Q. 35	Labor Unions as an Influence	.26
Q. 41j	Political Bias	.26
Q. 35	Blacks as an Influence	.25
Q. 33	Independence	.23
Q. 35	Federal Government as an Influence	.23
Q. 35	Advertisers as an Influence	.22
Q. 35	Jews as an Influence	.13
Q. 39	Intrusiveness	.13
Q. 41a	Care About People	.12
Q. 41g	Care About Quality	.12
Q. 35	Republicans as an Influence	.12
Q. 35	Liberals as an Influence	.11
Q. 36	Bad News	.07
Q. 35	The Military as an Influence	.05
Q. 35	Conservatives as an Influence	.02

*Using this measure, the value '0' indicates no relationship. Values greater than '0' suggest association: the higher value, the greater the association. Since the analysis is being used to demonstrate strength of association, but not direction, signs (+ or -) are not shown on the table.

**Two measures used in creating the clusters do show a strong relationship to the government control index (i.e., a higher odds ratio) than the clusters themselves: Q. 48, the press as a watchdog on politicians (.69) and Q. 49, the press as a watchdog on the military (.85). These two items, however, are concerned directly with the issue of press rights in conflict with government, the dependent variable. Moreover, those two items appear to play a very minor role in differentiating the clusters from one another.

• The segmentation clustering is more related to opinion about government control of press than are traditional favorability and credibility measures. There is only 7-percentage points difference in the proportion scoring high on the government control index between those most favorable and least favorable toward the median on the overall favorability measure. In contrast, more than 10 percentage points separate the most positive and most negative attitude clusters.

Press Favorability Index

	Most Favorable		Least Favorable	
	A %	B %	C %	D %
<u>Government Control Index</u>				
A - Most repressive	31	31	38	38
B	30	29	26	28
C - Least repressive	38	39	35	34
	100	100	100	100

Attitude Clusters

<u>Government Control Index</u>	<u>Reflexive Supporters</u>	<u>Empathetic Supporters</u>	<u>Ambivalent Supporters</u>	<u>Main Street Critics</u>	<u>Embittered Critics</u>	<u>Vociferous Critics</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A - Most repressive	32	30	33	46	38	43
B	22	30	30	29	31	26
C - Least repressive	46	40	37	25	22	31
	100	100	100	100	100	100

• The segmentation analysis indicates that public opinion about press runs counter to a number of basic axioms of public opinion. Notably the following:

1. Compared to light users, heavy users of a product generally have more favorable opinions of the product. Not so in press opinion. (See table below.)

Positive Groups

<u>News Consumption</u>	<u>Reflexive</u>	<u>Empathetic</u>	<u>Ambivalent</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Supporters</u>	<u>Supporters</u>	<u>Supporters</u>	<u>Positive</u>
	%	%	%	%
A - Heavy	12	17	12	14
B	30	37	33	33
C	33	31	37	34
D - Light	<u>25</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100

} 47

Negative Groups

<u>News Consumption</u>	<u>Main Street</u>	<u>Embittered</u>	<u>Dedicated</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Critics</u>	<u>Critics</u>	<u>Critics</u>	<u>Negative</u>
	%	%	%	%
A - Heavy	19	14	23	18
B	37	39	44	39
C	28	24	21	25
D - Light	<u>16</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100

} 57

2. Generally, those most favorably disposed to a product know more about it than those unfavorably disposed. Not so in press opinion.

Positive Groups

<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>	<u>Reflexive</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Empathetic</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Ambivalent</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Positive</u> %
A - High	18	30	20	23
B	24	21	23	23
C	25	25	29	26
D - Low	<u>33</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>
	100	100	100	100

Negative Groups

<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>	<u>Main Street</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Embittered</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Vociferous</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Negative</u> %
A - High	31	27	41	32
B	29	24	21	26
C	22	23	18	21
D - Low	<u>18</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100	100	100

3. Generally, those most favorably disposed to a product feel the product is more salient or important to them than do those who hold negative views. Again, this is not so in press opinion.

Positive Groups

<u>Salience</u>	<u>Reflexive</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Empathetic</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Ambivalent</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Positive</u> %
A - High	19	30	24	25
B	17	21	18	19
C	19	25	24	22
D - Low	<u>45</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>
	100	100	100	100

Negative Groups

<u>Salience</u>	<u>Main Street</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Embittered</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Vociferous</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Negative</u> %
A - High	34	26	43	33
B	20	24	21	21
C	25	23	21	24
D - Low	<u>21</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100	100

● The bottom line of all this axiom breaking is that, overall, those groups who have a negative orientation toward the press tend to hold more intense and crystalized opinions about the press than do those with a positive orientation.

Note that 67% of the negative groups gave almost no equivocal answers to attitude questions, while only 44% of the positive groups responded so intensely.

Frequency of Giving Equivocal Answers
(Neither, DK) to 10 Attitude Questions
About the Press

<u>Number of Equivocal Answers</u>	<u>Positive Groups</u> %	<u>Negative Groups</u> %
0	27	44
1	17	23
2	15	16
3	13	8
4-5	16	4
6+	12	5
	100	100

Brackets on the right side of the table indicate cumulative percentages:

For Positive Groups: 0 and 1 are bracketed together as 44; 0, 1, 2, 3, 4-5, and 6+ are bracketed together as 56.

For Negative Groups: 0 and 1 are bracketed together as 67; 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6+ are bracketed together as 33.

• Groups with a negative orientation also care more about the stock and trade of the press -- public affairs and current events. Close to half (46%) of the negative groups, with fewer than a third (31%) of the positive groups say they follow public affairs "most of the time."

Positive Groups

	<u>Reflexive Supporters</u> %	<u>Empathetic Supporters</u> %	<u>Ambivalent Supporters</u> %	<u>Total Positive</u> %
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>				
Most of the time	27	37	28	31
Some of the time	34	35	36	35
Only now and then/ Hardly at all	37	27	34	33
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100

Negative Groups

	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embittered Critics</u> %	<u>Vociferous Critics</u> %	<u>Total Negative</u> %
<u>Follow Public Affairs</u>				
Most of the time	47	30	53	46
Some of the time	28	40	32	29
Only now and then/ Hardly at all	23	29	13	23
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100

- Press negative groups have louder voices than press positive groups.

This, in part, may account for the media's perception that the public doesn't like it. The Vociferous Critics have the loudest voices of all.

Positive Groups

	<u>Reflexive</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Empathetic</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Ambivalent</u> <u>Supporters</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Positive</u> %
Wrote a letter to an editor	8	16	10	12
Have been quoted in the press	16	21	17	18
Registered to vote	67	76	73	72
Took a journalism course	6	7	5	6
Know a journalist	9	13	8	10

Negative Groups

	<u>Main Street</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Embittered</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Vociferous</u> <u>Critics</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Negative</u> %
Wrote a letter to an editor	23	12	26	20
Have been quoted in the press	23	19	26	22
Registered to vote	78	81	84	80
Took a journalism course	6	6	13	8
Know a journalist	15	5	14	11

- With regard to specific media, press critical groups have a more negative opinion of national media -- especially network TV news -- than do press positive groups.

Organizations Cited for Favoring One Side
On Social/Political Issues Among Those Who
Feel the Press is Unfair

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Positive Groups</u> %	<u>Negative Groups</u> %
Network TV News	27	23	31
Local TV News	21	24	18
Nationally Influential Papers	28	26	31
Most Familiar Daily	30	33	27
Radio News	8	8	7
News Magazines	14	13	15
Number of Interviews	(1126)	(598)	(528)

Organizations Cited for Being Subject to
Influence Among Those Who Feel The Press
Is Influenced by the Powerful

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Positive Groups</u> %	<u>Negative Groups</u> %
Network TV News	31	25	40
Local TV News	14	13	15
Nationally Influential Papers	34	30	40
Most Familiar Daily	19	20	18
Radio News	9	2	9
News Magazines	15	14	17
Number of Interviews	(1120)	(625)	(495)

● On the other hand, certain news media, publications and journalists stand out as credible with negative groups.

Journalists and Organizations Receiving
High Believability Ratings Among Negative
Groups

	Mean Rating (4 = Highest) %	Proportion Rating Item Very Positively/ Positively* %
Walter Cronkite	3.4	48%/89%
Readers Digest	3.2	37%/84%
David Brinkley	3.2	32%/87%
Peter Jennings	3.2	29%/88%
Ted Koppel	3.2	27%/89%
Wall Street Journal	3.2	24%/89%
Paul Harvey	3.1	33%/83%
Dan Rather	3.1	33%/83%
Local TV News	3.1	32%/81%
Tom Brokaw	3.1	26%/86%
CNN	3.1	19%/90%
MacNeil-Lehrer	3.1	17%/89%

*Percentages based on those who rated item.

● We know less about the "independence" component of the segmentation analysis except that it probably means different things to different people.

- To Empathetic Supporters it probably reflects their view that the press must fend off a variety of external pressures in doing their job.
- To Embittered Critics lack of press independence is just another element in this socially alienated group's conspiratorial view of the world.
- To Vociferous Critics the press is not seen as influenced by the power structure which this group champions, but rather is thought to be influenced by special interest groups, which manipulate the press.

For further analysis on the "independence" issue, see Part XI of the detail findings section -- The November "Double Back" Survey.

In summary, the segmentation tells us a great deal about public opinion toward the press. Independent of the favorability ratings it also shows that a majority of the public hold a positive view of the press, but qualified that finding by showing that many press supporters are less informed, less caring and less involved in the issues central to public opinion about the press. As is shown in other sections of this report, the segmentation provides a basis for exploring a number of seeming contradictions in public opinion about the press, especially regarding government control of the press.

VII. The Press and Government

The survey shows that public opinion is very much pro-media on some issues involving press freedom, but more supportive of government control of press on other issues. Opinion is divided on whether the First Amendment protects news organizations or the public interest more. Attitude segments with a negative orientation toward the press generally see such constitutional protection primarily helping news organizations, while press-positive groups see the public interest benefiting more. Both press partisans and detractors, though, interpret "freedom of the press" to mean the public's right to hear all sides of an issue rather than the news media's right to report what it chooses.

The press gets overwhelming support from the public that they should be allowed to keep their sources confidential in order to get a story. The public also generally likes the policy that makes prior restraint of news stories very difficult. The public basically agrees with the Supreme Court decision not to block publication of the Pentagon Papers. (However, on the matter of an article describing how to build a nuclear bomb, most of the public, even the Empathetic Supporters, would block publication.)

Public opinion is mixed on the subject of whether the government should impose "fairness-enhancing" legislation on the press to require equal time for political candidates or to require fair coverage of controversial issues. However, the anti-press groups and those who believe the press is unfair are not significantly more likely than press positive groups to favor government intervention to enforce fairness. And the most educated and informed segments of the population tend to oppose such regulation of news reporting.

On matters of national security, sharp differences are found among the attitude segments on whether the government's right to censor should take precedence over the press' right to report. The Main Street and Vociferous Critics, both conservative and pro-military in character, solidly side with the government. Only the Empathetics lean clearly toward the side of the press on this issue.

The public appears least supportive of press freedom when it perceives the news media interfering with the election process. Only the Reflexives feel the networks should be free to make early calls on election night. Unlike many other press issues which are of limited interest to the public, early election projection is an issue that the majority of Americans say they care about. Many Americans also feel newspapers should not be allowed to endorse candidates during election campaigns, further demonstrating their sensitivity to the impact of press on elections.

While the public has mixed views on government regulation and censorship of the press, their views on libel laws are very clear. Although their knowledge of libel law is very limited, and their beliefs about how they should work are rather simplistic, the public likes libel law as a means of keeping press excesses in check. Despite this view, the public doesn't attribute the recent increase in libel cases against media organizations by prominent people to the press becoming less responsible -- they see it resulting from public officials' greater willingness to fight.

A question-by-question analysis of the survey items dealing with attitudes toward press freedom and regulations of the press follows.

Public Attitudes Toward Freedom of the Press

Overall, the public is almost evenly divided on whether the public interest (39%) or news organizations themselves (36%) benefit most from constitutional protection of freedom of the press. This question produces a sharp division between the attitude clusters with a basically positive orientation toward the press and those with a negative orientation. Pluralities of Reflexive, Empathetic, and Ambivalent Supporters see freedom of the press primarily benefiting the public interest, while pluralities of Main Street, Embittered, and Vociferous Critics think such constitutional protection works most to the advantage of news organizations.

Regardless of their orientation, however, the public tends to interpret the term "freedom of the press" to mean the public's right to hear all points of view, rather than the press' right to report what it chooses.

The Question: *Some people feel that the freedom of the press portion of the Constitution mainly protects news organizations and their interests. Others feel that the freedom of the press portion protects the people and the public interest more. Which position is closer to your opinion?*

What does "freedom of the press" mean to you? Does it mean:

*That the public has a right to hear all points of view?
That the press can cover and report what it chooses?, or
Something else?*

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
Familiar with First Amendment protection for freedom of the press	30	24	33	26	36	26	44
<u>Most Protected By Freedom of Press Portion of Constitution</u>							
News organizations	36	27	32	31	50	50	45
Public interest	39	39	44	39	36	32	32
Both equally	16	17	17	18	11	14	10
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Personal Perceptions of Freedom of the Press</u>							
Public has right to hear all points of view	61	56	63	62	63	59	57
Press can report what it chooses	23	22	24	23	22	22	30
Both	7	6	7	7	6	10	4
Other	5	4	4	5	7	5	7
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

News Reporters and Confidential Sources

The survey finds massive public support for the right of news reporters to keep their sources of information confidential in order to get a story. Overall nearly four in five (78%) felt it is sometimes acceptable for a reporter not to disclose an information source if that is the only way the information can be obtained. Broad support for maintaining confidentiality of sources is found among the press negative groups as well as the press positive groups.

A 1981 Gallup/Newsweek survey found similar support for confidentiality (13% -- always reveal; 83% -- sometimes keep confidential) in a reading of public opinion in the aftermath of the Janet Cooke affair.

The Question: *Some people feel a news reporter should always reveal the source of his story to his readers. Others feel that sometimes a reporter should be allowed to keep his source confidential if that is the only way he can get his information. Which position is closer to your opinion?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	Total %	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Reporters and Their Sources</u>							
Should always reveal	15	14	16	10	15	21	17
Sometimes keep confidential	78	72	80	81	82	76	79
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Press Rights and National Security

Americans are closely divided on how the rights of the press and government should be balanced in cases involving national security concerns. Among all respondents, 44% believe the government's right to censor stories it feels threaten national security outweighs the right of the press to report stories it feels are in the public interest; four in ten (38%) side with the news media on this issue. A Gallup/Newsweek survey taken in October 1984 found the public more often taking the side of the news media (50%) than government (38%) in such situations. There is not enough solid evidence, however, to interpret these results as representing a meaningful trend in the public's appetite for government censorship. Other survey results suggest that responses to this question are subject to both events occurring at the time of the interview and to the context in which the questions were asked.*

Responses to this question by the six attitude clusters are quite revealing. The press gets its largest margin of support (45% vs. 37%) among the Empathetic Supporters, the group which appears to most appreciate the role of the press in society. All three groups with a negative orientation tend to side with government. The Main Street Critics and the Vociferous Critics, however, are more solid in their support for government than are the Embittereds, who distrust nearly all institutions, including government. A plurality of the Ambivalent Supporters, the positive group with the most reservations about press practices, side with the government, setting themselves apart from the other positive groups. Finally, Reflexive Supporters narrowly side with the press, but perhaps their most distinguishing response pattern is their high percentage of "don't know" -- many probably haven't thought much and don't care much about this issue.

*See "Results of the August Re-Check Survey," page 217.

The Question: *Which is more important to you: that the government be able to censor news stories it feels threaten national security OR that the news media be able to report stories they feel are in the national interest?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>More Important Concern on News Stories Related to National Security</u>							
Government able to censor	44	34	37	45	62	48	58
Press able to report	38	38	45	39	28	36	26
Both equal	9	11	12	9	7	7	6
Can't say	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Public Attitudes Toward the Equal Time Provision

A plurality of Americans (50% vs. 42%) oppose, in principle, the equal time provision, which requires that political candidates have an equal chance to buy advertising on television. Little difference is seen in the response patterns of the better informed and the poorly informed and between people with opposing political philosophies.

A split-sample technique was used on this question to determine whether the public regarded television any differently than newspapers with regard to such fairness-enhancing legislation. Apparently, they do not, as the half of the sample asked about a proposed equal access provision for newspapers gave very similar responses to those asked about a provision affecting television.

The Question: (ASKED OF SAMPLE A)

Some people think that the government should ensure that political candidates have an equal chance to buy political advertising on television if they have the money. Others feel that the government should not get involved in this matter. Which position is closer to your opinion?

(ASKED OF SAMPLE B)

Some people think that the government should ensure that political candidates have an equal chance to buy political advertising in newspapers if they have the money. Others feel that the government should not get involved in this matter. Which position is closer to your opinion?

The responses of the six individual attitude clusters differ little from the totals for the public as a whole on this question. Interestingly though, the Embittered Critics are particularly likely to oppose requiring that political candidates get equal access to TV time. This may be a reflection of their disdain for politicians in general.

	<u>Attitude Clusters</u>						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
(SAMPLE A)							
<u>Opinion of Equal Time Provision for Television</u>							
Government should ensure equal access	42	42	44	40	46	38	42
Should not get involved	50	40	50	53	49	59	48
Can't say	<u>8</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1049)	(200)	(271)	(254)	(179)	(91)	(54)

Public Attitudes Toward the Fairness Doctrine

On balance, the public is opposed (48% vs. 42%) to the concept of a general fairness doctrine that would apply to all news organizations. (The existing legislation referred to as the fairness doctrine affects television but not newspapers.) Looking at responses by the attitude clusters, only one group -- the Main Street Critics -- tilts slightly in favor of government control on this question (48% vs. 45%). The tendency of the Dedicated Critics to oppose government intervention in this instance -- despite their overwhelming tendency to see the press as unfair -- may reflect a laissez-faire philosophy on the part of these thoughtful conservatives. The inclination of the Embittered Critics to see the press reigned in on the fairness issue may be mitigated by their general distrust of government.

The Question: *Some people feel the government should require that news organizations give coverage to all sides of a controversial issue. Other people feel the government should not be involved in how much news coverage should be given to any side of an issue. Which position is closer to your opinion?*

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Opinion on a General Fairness Doctrine</u>							
Government should require all sides receive coverage	42	38	43	42	48	44	39
Should not get involved	48	45	51	48	45	50	52
Can't say	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Like the issue of equal time for political candidates, the issue of the fairness doctrine does not concern most Americans. Again, however, those in favor of government involvement find this issue more salient (54%) than do those who oppose such involvement.

The Question: *While this issue may concern some people, is it one that particularly concerns you, or not?*

Opinion of a Generalized Fairness Doctrine

<u>Importance of Issue</u>	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>Government Should Require That All Sides Receive Coverage %</u>	<u>Should Not Get Involved %</u>
Concerns personally	44	54	37
Does not	48	42	60
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

It should be noted that those who feel the press is unfair on social and political issues are not more likely than those who think the press is fair to favor fairness-enhancing legislation. This may be explained in part by the finding that both the belief that the press is unfair and opposition to the fairness doctrine increases with one's level of education and knowledgability.

Attitude Toward Fairness of
News Organizations

<u>Opinion on a General Fairness Doctrine</u>	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Deal Fairly With All Sides</u> %	<u>Favor One Side</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %
Government should require that all sides receive coverage	42	45	43	31
Should not get involved	48	48	50	42
Can't say	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(720)	(1126)	(258)

<u>Education</u>	<u>Feel News Organizations Are Unfair</u> %	<u>Oppose Government Involvement On Fairness</u> %
Total Sample	53	48
College graduate	61	62
Other college	58	50
High school graduate	51	45
Less than high school graduate	46	37

Public Attitudes Toward Early Election Projections

By a 51% to 42% margin, the public would like to see the government stop the TV networks from projecting election winners before the polls have closed. The three negative attitude clusters come down solidly against the networks on this issue. And they are joined by two positive groups including the Empathetics who, despite their appreciation of a free press, opt in favor of government intervention on this issue (51% vs. 43%). Only the "knee-jerk" Reflexives tend to side with the networks (47% vs. 37%).

The Question: (ASKED OF SAMPLE A)

Some people feel the government should require that the TV networks make no projections on the outcome of elections on election night until the polls have closed and everyone has voted. Others feel that the government should not be involved in deciding when and how to report about elections. Which position is closer to your opinion?

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Dedi- cated Critics</u> %
(SAMPLE A)							
<u>Opinion on Early Election Projections By TV Networks</u>							
Government should not allow	51	37	51	49	62	55	63
Should not get involved	42	47	43	44	34	44	31
Can't say	7	16	6	7	4	1	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1049)	(200)	(271)	(254)	(179)	(91)	(54)

The public cares more about the issue of early election calls than they do about any of the other press issues tested in the survey. Half of those interviewed said they were personally concerned about early projections. People who favor government intervention (71%) are a great deal more likely than those opposing (33%) to care about this issue.

The Question: *While this issue may concern some people, is it one that particularly concerns you, or not?*

(SAMPLE A)

Opinion on Early Election Projections

<u>Importance of Issue</u>	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Government Should Not Allow</u> %	<u>Should Not Get Involved</u> %
Concerns personally	50	71	33
Does not	41	28	64
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

While half our sample were asked about whether or not the government should take steps to outlaw early election projections, the other half were asked about the relative importance of the network's right to tell their viewers what they know versus possible influences early projections might have on voters. On this second question, the public overwhelmingly takes the view that the network's right to report must be subordinated to concerns that early election calls might discourage some people from voting.

The Question: (ASKED OF SAMPLE B)

Some people feel that if the TV networks can project the winner of an election before the polls have closed they have the right to report the projected winner. Other people feel that projecting winners before the polls close discourages some people from voting. Which is more important: networks being able to tell their viewers who has won the election as soon as they think they know, or not discouraging some people from voting?

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
(SAMPLE B)							
<u>Considered More Important Regarding Early Projections</u>							
Right to report projected winner	18	20	19	15	19	15	24
Not discouraging people from voting	72	60	74	77	80	74	63
Can't say	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1055)	(230)	(288)	(229)	(143)	(108)	(57)

Public Attitudes Toward Prior Restraint

Americans generally endorse current law that makes prior restraint -- or pre-censorship of news stories -- very difficult. The majority (54%) think this is a good policy, while only one in four (26%) disagree. Both those with positive and negative orientations toward the press tend to share this view.

The Question: *Current law makes it very difficult to block -- that is, to pre-censor -- news stories of almost any type before publication. In your opinion, is this a good policy or a bad policy that makes it very difficult for the government to pre-censor news stories?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Opinion on Policy Making Pre- Censorship of News Difficult</u>							
Good policy	54	49	59	56	52	51	52
Bad policy	26	20	25	20	34	40	34
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

In order to test under what circumstances the public believes prior restraint is acceptable, respondents were presented with two scenarios and asked to act as they judge in each case. Case A, which presented a basic outline of the Pentagon Papers case, found the public solidly siding with the news media (66%) over the wishes of the government to block publication (21%). But in Case B, a presentation of the facts in the Progressive magazine case, the public favors, by 52% to 35%, restraining the magazine from publishing an article about how to build a nuclear weapon, which the government maintained might harm the U.S. Clearly, in the public mind, national security concerns take precedence over possible embarrassment of political leaders as a justification for prior restraint.

Interestingly, even the Empathetic Supporters, the more thoughtful supporters of the press, would favor censorship in Case B. They are, however, much more closely divided in their opinion than the other groups.

The Question:

In the U.S., the power to pre-censor news belongs to judges. Imagine that you are a federal judge deciding how to balance the rights of a free press against the rights of the government or private citizens. For each of the two cases I'm going to read you, please tell me whether you would block the story outright, OR allow the story to run and let those complaining make their case against the news organization after publication.

CASE A: During Vietnam, a newspaper obtains background documents about how the U.S. got involved in Vietnam. The newspaper thinks it is important to the public that the information be published. The government wants you, the judge, to block publication on the grounds that the documents were originally classified and that the information might be damaging to the reputations of the political leaders mentioned in the documents. As judge, do you decide:

- To block publication, OR*
- To allow the story to be published?*

CASE B: A magazine wants to publish an article based on publicly available information. The article describes some important points on how to build a nuclear weapon. The government argues that under the law it has the right to block through the courts any communication which contains information about nuclear weaponry which might harm the U.S. The magazine argues that all of the factual material has already appeared in published material, much of it in encyclopedias. As judge, do you decide:

- To block publication, OR*
- To allow the story to be published?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
CASE A:							
<u>Opinion on a Case Like the Pentagon Papers</u>							
To block publication	21	20	19	17	28	25	23
To allow story to be published	66	56	73	69	66	66	62
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
CASE B:							
<u>Opinion on a Case Like Progressive Magazine Story on Building the Bomb</u>							
To block publication	52	49	48	50	55	60	63
To allow story to be published	35	30	42	34	39	33	23
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

To analyze patterns in public attitudes toward government control of the press, an index was created which took into account responses to five questions in the survey which spoke to this issue.* This analysis reveals the following:

- As expected, the negative attitude clusters are all more in favor of the government placing controls on the press than are the positive attitude clusters.
- Although the Embittered and the Vociferous Critics appear more intensely negative in their attitudes toward press practices and journalists' character, it is the Main Street Critics who appear to be the group most in favor of government control over the news media.
- The most educated (college graduates) and most informed groups distinguish themselves as being significantly less likely to favor the government reigning in the press.
- People in their 30's and 40's have less repressive attitudes than do older and younger people.
- Americans who live in the nation's larger media markets are more prone to favor government control of the press than are residents of small markets.
- Political conservatives are more in favor of government control than are the liberals.

*For a description of how the government control index was created, please see the Technical Appendix.

Government Control Index

	Most Repressive	B %	Least Repressive	Total %	Number of Interviews
	A %		C %		
Total	35	28	37	100	(2104)
<u>Attitude Clusters</u>					
Reflexive Supporters	32	22	46	100	(430)
Empathetic Supporters	30	30	40	100	(559)
Ambivalent Supporters	33	30	37	100	(483)
Main Street Critics	46	29	25	100	(322)
Embittered Critics	38	31	31	100	(199)
Vociferous Critics	43	26	31	100	(111)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	26	27	47	100	(431)
Other college	34	29	37	100	(391)
High school graduate	39	31	30	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	36	24	40	100	(467)
<u>Age</u>					
Under 30	37	29	34	100	(422)
30 - 49	31	29	40	100	(814)
50+	38	26	36	100	(864)
<u>ADI</u>					
Top 10	37	27	36	100	(699)
11 - 100	35	30	35	100	(1107)
Non-top 100	29	23	48	100	(258)

Government Control Index

	Most Repressive	B %	Least Repressive	Total %	Number of Interviews
	A %		C %		
<u>Party</u>					
Republican	39	28	33	100	(625)
Democrat	34	29	37	100	(762)
Independent	33	26	41	100	(717)
<u>Self-Described Ideology</u>					
Strong conservative	41	24	35	100	(458)
Moderate conservative	40	29	31	100	(771)
Moderate liberal	31	29	40	100	(459)
Strong liberal	30	32	38	100	(270)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	24	31	45	100	(588)
B	37	30	33	100	(519)
C	42	28	30	100	(498)
D -- Low	38	23	39	100	(499)

The Public's View of Libel Laws

Although the majority (58%) of the public say they are at least "fairly certain" of the meaning of the term "libel" -- including 13% who describe themselves as "absolutely certain" -- the survey data suggests that only a small portion of the public knows much about libel laws. In a test of how well versed they were with libel laws, respondents were asked if the same laws applied whether a public official or a private citizen were suing a news organizations. Nearly three-quarters (73%) flunked this knowledge test, and even among the "absolutely certain" group there was an inclination to incorrectly say the same laws (47%), rather than different laws (41%), applied.

Greater familiarity with libel is found among college graduates and among the better informed, but even among these groups fewer than half could demonstrate a knowledge of libel law.

The Questions: *Some people know a lot about libel laws while others know very little. How certain are you of the actual legal meaning of the term "libel": absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?*

Do you happen to know if the libel laws are the same whether a public official or a private citizen is suing a news organization -- OR are the libel laws different for public officials and private citizens?

Libel Laws Affecting Public Officials and
Private Citizens

	<u>Same Laws</u> %	<u>Different Laws</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Total Sample	32	27	41	100	(2104)
<u>Asserted Knowledge of Legal Meaning of Libel</u>					
Absolutely certain	47	37	16	100	(277)
Fairly certain	42	35	23	100	(1005)
Not certain	18	15	67	100	(822)
<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>					
A -- High	37	41	22	100	(588)
B	38	24	38	100	(519)
C	31	24	45	100	(498)
D -- Low	24	19	57	100	(499)
<u>Education</u>					
College graduate	41	37	22	100	(431)
Other college	38	27	35	100	(391)
High school graduate	33	27	40	100	(809)
Less than high school graduate	23	19	58	100	(467)

The public overwhelmingly feels there is a need for libel laws -- nine in ten (89%) endorse this legal restriction on the press. The public's preferences for how libel laws should operate is very basic and uncomplicated. First, the large majority (75%) feel the laws should be the same for both public officials and private citizens. Second, they would not penalize a news organization if a highly critical story turned out to be completely factual (75%), but third, they would hold the news organization up to a very strict standard of accuracy. Two-thirds (67%) would make the news organizations pay damages in a case where some facts were false, even if the news organization could demonstrate that they believed the story to be true at the time of publication.

The Questions: *What do you think -- compared to private citizens, should it be more difficult for a public official to sue a news organization for libel OR should the libel laws against news organizations be the same for public officials and private citizens?*

Some people feel that in a free society news organizations should be able to say anything about a person, whether true or false, without having to face libel suits. Others believe that even in a free society news organizations should be subject to libel suits if they say critical things about people that are false . . . Which position comes closer to your opinion?

In your opinion, should a news organization have to pay damages for a highly critical story about a public official if all the facts in the story were true?

What about if the facts in the story about a public official turned out to be false, but the news organization believed the facts were true at the time of publication -- should the news organization have to pay damages or not?

	<u>Total Sample</u> %
<u>Should News Organizations Face Libel Suits?</u>	
News organizations can say anything	4
Should face libel suits for outright falsehood	89
Don't know	<u>7</u>
	100
<u>Pay for Damages if Critical Story Turned Out to be True?</u>	
Yes, should pay	17
No, should not	75
Don't know	<u>8</u>
	100
<u>Pay for Damages if News Organization Believed Facts True at the Time</u>	
Yes, should pay	67
No, should not	19
Don't know	<u>14</u>
	100
<u>Libel Laws Affecting Public Officials and Private Citizens</u>	
Should be different	14
Should be same	75
Don't know	<u>11</u>
	100

Most Americans don't see the increasing number of libel cases as the press' fault for becoming less responsible in their work. The majority (53%) attribute this increase to public officials' greater willingness to fight. Nonetheless, the public believes, by a wide margin (49% ca. 29%), that the rising number of litigants against the press is a good thing, not a bad thing for journalism. Just as the public likes to see the press act as a check on politicians, they like the pressure of lawsuits as a check on the press.

Each of the attitude clusters tends to view the increase in libel cases as a good thing, but the Vociferous Critics particularly so.

	<u>Attitude Clusters</u>						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Interpretation of Increasing Number of Libel Suits</u>							
News organizations less responsible	15	13	13	15	18	20	17
Public officials more willing to fight	53	42	55	54	56	55	60
Something else	10	9	14	7	13	11	5
Dont' know	<u>22</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Effect of Libel Suits on News Organizations</u>							
Good thing	49	45	49	47	55	44	69
Bad thing	29	24	32	27	32	38	23
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Editorial Endorsements During Election Campaigns

Almost half of the public (48%) feels newspapers should not be allowed to take sides in their editorials during election campaigns (44% think such editorial endorsements should be permitted). Majorities of the Embittered (61%) and Main Street Critics (57%) want to put a stop to newspapers taking sides. Interestingly, though, the Vociferous Critics join the two most pro-media groups, the Reflexives and the Empathetics, by leaning in direction of allowing editorial endorsements. This may be explained, in part, by the relationship found between knowledgeability and attitudes regarding editorials. Among those who know what an editorial is, 51% feel editorial endorsements should be permitted, while only 38% of those misinformed about the meaning of the word "editorial" take this position. Nonetheless, 41% of those who can correctly define the term "editorial" don't feel newspapers should endorse candidates during political campaigns. This suggests that many feel such endorsements adversely affect the objectivity of the reporting, or that such endorsements constitute interference with the election process.

The Question: *Do you think that newspapers should be allowed to take sides in their editorials during election campaigns?*

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
Know What An Editorial Is	41	35	43	37	46	46	51
Should Newspapers Be Allowed to Take Sides in Their Editorials During Elections							
Yes, should be allowed	44	43	49	44	40	32	51
No, should not	48	40	45	50	57	61	47
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Formal Licensing Requirements for Journalists

A plurality of Americans (45%) feel that formal licensing requirements would improve the quality of journalism. Almost as many (41%), however, don't think these requirements would have such a positive effect, and 14% don't know or don't care about this issue. The more sophisticated critics of the press -- the Vociferous Critics -- are less likely than the public at large to favor this approach to upgrading journalism. In interpreting the responses to this question, it should be noted that majorities or near majorities of Americans already think newspaper reporters and television news people must meet formal requirements to practice their profession (see pages 12-13).

The Question: *There has been some talk about having formal licensing requirements for journalists. What's your opinion -- do you think formal licensing would improve the quality or worsen the quality of journalism?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	Total %	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
Effect Formal Licensing Require- ments Would Have On Journalism							
Improve	45	38	47	48	54	47	35
Worsen	13	10	12	9	17	20	16
No effect	28	30	29	28	21	24	34
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Legal Limitations on Newspaper Ownership by a Single Company

The public generally doesn't support placing legal limits on the number of newspapers a single company can own. Overall 40% feel such legal limitations would improve journalism, but 46% don't see this leading to improvement. A high proportion (14%) have no opinion whatsoever on this issue. Critical groups don't appear to respond much more favorably than do press positive groups to this proposal.

The Question: *There has been some talk about legally limiting the number of newspapers that a single company can own. What's your opinion -- do you think this would improve or worsen the quality of journalism?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	Total %	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Effect of Limit- ing Number of Newspapers Owned on Journalism</u>							
Improve	40	29	46	41	46	36	42
Worsen	20	16	15	17	28	30	25
No effect	26	31	28	28	16	24	23
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

VIII. Public Attentiveness to Press Issues

The public pays little heed to many of the press issues and controversies which journalists themselves would consider to be major. Apparently the public is not concerned about the influence Australian publisher Rupert Murdoch on American journalism, as the majority has never even heard of Murdoch. And while the majority indicates that they have heard of media entrepreneur Ted Turner, most hold no opinion about him, despite his year-long attempt to take over CBS.

Similarly, Jesse Helms' bid to put CBS in the hands of conservatives has gone unnoticed by nearly seven in ten Americans. While the majority indicates they had heard about General William C. Westmoreland's heavily publicized libel suit, only about one in four Americans apparently followed the case closely enough to know Westmoreland was suing CBS.

Importantly, it is the most sophisticated and vocal press negative group -- the Vociferous Critics -- who stand out as the group most likely to pay attention to these press issues and controversies. Moreover, as a whole, the press negative groups have more interest in such matters than the press supportive groups. The question-by-question analysis follows.

Public Attitudes Toward Ted Turner and Rupert Murdoch

While many journalists may perceive Ted Turner, cable television entrepreneur and founder of Cable News Network and Rupert Murdoch, the Australian publisher who owns newspapers throughout the world, as serious threats to the media establishment and to quality journalism, most of the public expresses no opinion on these two men. In fact, three in five (59%) say they've never even heard of Rupert Murdoch. While Ted Turner would appear to be much better known, nonetheless only 44% express an opinion of Turner.

Among the attitude clusters, the Vociferous Critics more often rate Turner and Murdoch than do the other groups.

	Attitude Clusters						
	Total %	Reflexive Supporters %	Empathetic Supporters %	Ambivalent Supporters %	Main Street Critics %	Embittered Critics %	Vociferous Critics %
<u>Ted Turner</u>							
All who rated	44	37	47	34	55	47	61
Heard of him, can't rate	27	31	27	31	21	19	20
Never heard of him	<u>29</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Rupert Murdoch</u>							
All who rated	16	13	20	11	16	17	29
Heard of him, can't rate	25	27	27	26	24	18	25
Never heard of him	<u>59</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>46</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Among those expressing an opinion, Ted Turner is generally liked (roughly two-thirds have a favorable opinion) although relatively few (15%) have a very favorable opinion of him. On the other hand, to know Rupert Murdoch is, in most cases, to dislike him: roughly two-thirds of those who rated Murdoch described their opinion as unfavorable.

	<u>Ted Turner</u> %	<u>Rupert Murdoch</u> %
<u>Overall Opinion of Person*</u>		
Very favorable	15	6
Mostly favorable	52	28
Mostly unfavorable	23	36
Very unfavorable	<u>10</u>	<u>30</u>
	100	100
Number of Interviews	(960)	(356)

*Based on all who rated that person.

Preferences for Newspaper Ownership

The public does not appear to be concerned about the growth of newspaper chains. Asked for their preference for newspaper ownership, respondents tended to say they prefer to read a paper run by a one-paper operation (36%) rather than to read one owned by a chain (20%). However, the largest proportion (44%) said it would make no difference or expressed no opinion at all on this issue. The negative groups are more likely than the positive ones to say they prefer single ownership.

The Question: *All things considered, would you prefer to read a newspaper run by a company that owns only one newspaper, OR would you prefer to read a newspaper that is owned by a company which operates a group of newspapers?*

	Attitude Clusters						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Preference for Newspaper Ownership</u>							
One paper company	36	27	36	35	43	42	43
Newspaper chain	20	17	20	20	26	15	26
Makes no difference	38	43	39	40	28	37	28
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

Jesse Helms' Attempt to Buy CBS

Only three Americans in ten (31%) have heard about Senator Jesse Helms' campaign to buy a major news organization. Still fewer (19%) know that Helms is targeting CBS, Inc. Again, the Vociferous Critics are the group most attentive to this press issue: half of this group say they've heard about Helms' efforts in this regard and more than a third (36%) specify CBS as the news organization he would like to buy.

The Question: *Have you heard or read anything about a group led by Senator Jesse Helms trying to buy a controlling interest in a major news organization?*

Do you happen to know which major news organization Senator Helms is trying to buy? (IF YES, ASK: Which one?)

	Attitude Cluster						
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u> %	<u>Main Street Critics</u> %	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u> %	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u> %
<u>Jesse Helms' CBS Buyout Attempt</u>							
Heard or read about Helms' attempt to buy a news organization	31	22	35	27	39	33	50
Aware CBS is the organization	19	17	20	13	23	21	36
Aware organization is TV network, not aware CBS	2	1	3	2	3	2	2
Unaware of situation	<u>69</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>50</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Even among those who show some familiarity with the takeover bid, relatively few are aware of Helms' stated reason for his action. Only one-fourth (24%) mentioned "bias" or "liberal bias" in CBS news reporting as motivating Helms, and an additional 10% mentioned Dan Rather, a frequent target of anti-CBS advertising.

The Vociferous Critics once more establish themselves as the group most tuned into media controversies -- one-half of those in this group aware of the Helms' situation mentioned CBS bias or liberal bias as the reason behind the takeover attempt.

The Question: *Why do you think Senator Helms is trying to do this?*

Attitude Clusters

	<u>Total**</u>	<u>Reflex- ive Sup- porters</u>	<u>Empa- thetic Sup- porters</u>	<u>Ambiv- alent Sup- porters</u>	<u>Main Street Critics</u>	<u>Embit- tered Critics</u>	<u>Vocif- erous Critics</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Reasons Helms is Trying to Buy CBS</u>							
More power/control	30	24	30	38	29	43	20
CBS bias/Liberal bias	24	20	18	19	30	15	50
Political reasons	12	7	12	11	21	8	9
Personal reasons	10	6	17	8	9	8	2
Any mention of Rather	10	13	8	4	13	13	10
Anti-Helms comments	3	1	5	2	1	6	4
Other	3	2	2	2	4	10	1
Can't say	<u>16</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	108*	101	106	105	118	108	106
Number of Interviews	(509)	(85)	(150)	(84)	(96)	(51)	(43)

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

**Based on all aware that Helms is trying to buy out CBS or a TV network.

The Westmoreland Libel Suit

A solid majority (61%) of those interviewed say they had heard or read about General William C. Westmoreland's libel suit that went to court earlier this year. But relatively few (27%) were able to recall CBS as the organization that General Westmoreland had bought suit against. The Vociferous Critics stand apart from the other groups as most likely to remember something about the case.

The Questions: *Earlier this year, there was a major libel suit in New York involving General William C. Westmoreland. Do you remember hearing or reading anything about General Westmoreland's libel suit?*

Do you happen to remember which news organization he sued for libel?

	Attitude Clusters						
	Total %	Reflex- ive Sup- porters %	Empa- thetic Sup- porters %	Ambiv- alent Sup- porters %	Main Street Critics %	Embit- tered Critics %	Vocif- erous Critics %
<u>Westmoreland Libel Suit</u>							
Total who heard or read about it	61	49	67	56	71	58	85
Aware he was suing CBS	27	22	28	22	32	26	44
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(430)	(559)	(483)	(322)	(199)	(111)

IX. Media Usage

Americans get their news from a variety of sources. Majorities of those interviewed told us that they regularly watch local TV news (67%), regularly read a daily newspaper (60%), regularly watch network evening news (59%) and use the radio as a news source (57%). The public uses the national print media at levels well below these three major news sources. Close to three in ten (28%) regularly read a weekly news magazine. About one in ten reports at least occasional readership for nationally influential newspapers (12%), The Wall Street Journal (9%) and USA Today (10%). Three in ten read Reader's Digest, which might be better classified as a general interest magazine rather than as a news source, but which receives believability scores from the public on par with those accorded to "hard" news sources.

Significant differences are found between the media usage patterns of college graduates and non-college graduates. The non-college groups tend to rely more heavily on television -- local TV and the networks -- as a news source. The better educated, on the other hand, differ in their media usage in the following ways:

- Higher usage of print media, particularly the national print media. They are more likely than the non-college group to read a daily newspaper (72% vs. 57%), and a great deal more likely to be reading a nationally influential paper (25% vs. 10%), The Wall Street Journal (23% vs. 6%) and news magazines (43% vs. 25%). Sixteen percent read business magazines and 10% read elite magazines that cover politics and public affairs.
- Greater use of public broadcasting. About one in six (17%) sometimes listen to news on National Public Radio, while 13% are regular viewers of MacNeil-Lehrer and 10% regularly watch Wall Street Week. Only about half as many non-college graduates use these public broadcasting news sources.
- Use of the radio as a news source. Two-thirds (67%) of the college group reported using the radio for news compared with 55% of the non-college group.

<u>Regularly Read</u>	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>College Graduates</u> %	<u>Non- College Graduates</u> %
A daily newspaper	60	72	57
A nationally influential newspaper (New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times)*	12	25	10
USA Today*	10	14	9
Wall Street Journal*	9	23	6
Reader's Digest	30	29	31
A news magazine (Time, Newsweek or U.S. News)	28	43	25
A business magazine (Business Week, Fortune or Forbes)	9	16	8
An elite political/public affairs magazine (The Atlantic, Harpers, National Review, New Yorker, New Republic)	4	10	3

*Figures shown represent percent who "sometimes" read or read "most often."

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>College Graduates</u> %	<u>Non- College Graduates</u> %
<u>Regularly Watch</u>			
Local TV news	67	60	68
Network TV evening news (ABC, CBS, NBC)	59	60	58
ABC News Nightline	19	21	19
Cable News Network	15	20	14
MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour	7	13	6
Independent Network News	5	4	5
60 Minutes	52	54	52
20/20	42	36	43
Sunday morning news show (This Week, Meet the Press, Face the Nation)	17	17	17
Wall Street Week	5	10	4
Washington Week in Review	4	8	3
Frontline	2	5	2
C-Span	2	3	2
<u>Radio News Usage</u>			
Radio news listener	57	67	55
Paul Harvey radio news*	25	24	25
Local radio news talk shows*	24	32	22
A local "all news" station*	14	18	13
News programs on National Public Radio*	8	17	6

*Figures shown represent percent who "sometimes" listen.

As one would expect, news stories that typically make the front page of a newspaper command more attention from the public than do the features, sports, and soft news that fill up the middle and back of a newspaper. Large majorities of those interviewed said they usually spent some time reading the local news (74%), national news (68%) and international news (62%) when they pick up a newspaper. By contrast, only 37% said they usually read the sports, another 36% turn to the comics and crosswords, and 37% read the section about food and cooking. The editorial and op-ed pages are less often read than the factual reporting, but nonetheless they rank close to the sports page in readership among men and close to the cooking and consumer information sections in readership among women. The business section clearly has a specialized audience -- 53% of college graduates compared with 31% of the less well-educated usually read the business news.

The Question: *I'm going to read you some different parts of a daily newspaper. For each, tell me which category on this card best describes how closely you usually read this part of the paper.*

(ITEMS APPEAR IN THE TABLE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE)

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Men</u> %	<u>Women</u> %	<u>College Graduates</u> %	<u>Non- College Graduates</u> %
<u>Parts of the Newspaper Spend A Lot of Time/ Some Time With</u>					
News stories about your city, town or region	74	75	73	87	71
National news stories	68	72	65	86	64
International news stories	62	69	61	84	61
The editorial and opinion pages	49	50	47	63	45
Consumer tips on purchasing products and services	39	30	49	45	39
Information and schedules for TV shows, movies, and other entertainment	37	56	19	41	36
The sports section	37	56	19	41	36
Articles about food, diet, cooking and the like	37	17	55	37	37
Features, such as comics, puzzles, and games, the daily horoscope, and so forth	36	36	37	36	36
The business and financial news	36	45	26	53	31
Personal advice columns like Dear Abby or Ann Landers	33	23	42	30	33
News stories and columns about religion	30	24	35	32	29
The advertisements	28	25	31	21	29
The obituaries	27	23	30	19	29
The society pages -- including weddings, engagements, and birth announcements	21	11	29	18	21
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1048)	(1056)	(431)	(1667)

An examination of viewer interest in topics on television news reveals patterns similar to those seen for newspaper readership. Interestingly though, the weather report (87%) ranks right at the top in viewer interest, alongside local news (87%), national news (85%) and international news (80%). (A weather item was not included in the newspaper list.)

The Question: *We're interested in how much attention you pay to various items in television newscasts. I will read you a list of items. For each, tell me whether you pay this a great deal of attention, some attention, very little attention, or no attention.*

(ITEMS APPEAR IN THE TABLE BELOW)

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>Men</u> %	<u>Women</u> %	<u>College Graduates</u> %	<u>Non- College Graduates</u> %
<u>Items In TV Newscast Paid A Lot/Some Attention</u>					
News about your city, town, or region	87	86	88	89	87
The weather report	87	84	89	86	87
National news	85	86	83	91	83
International news	80	82	77	89	77
News about entertainers and well known personalities	52	41	61	45	53
Sports news	50	70	32	50	50
Analysis and commentary by TV news persons	50	53	46	64	46
News about purchasing products and services	45	38	52	52	44
Business and financial news	41	50	32	61	36
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(1048)	(1056)	(431)	(1667)

Roughly half of our sample (52%) indicated that they read one or more nationally syndicated newspaper columnists. Roughly three-quarters (76%) of college graduates did so, compared to fewer than half (47%) of the non-college group. Among the columnists listed in the survey, Art Buchwald (27%), William F. Buckley (27%) and Jack Anderson (26%) tested as the most widely read. James J. Kilpatrick was close behind the leaders in readership (20%). The other columnists tested did not approach these four in size of audience.

The Question: *Here is a list of some writers of nationally syndicated newspaper columns. Please read through the list and tell me which of these columnists, if any, you sometimes read.*

(ITEMS APPEAR IN THE TABLE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE)

	<u>Total Sample</u> %	<u>College Graduates</u> %	<u>Non- College Graduates</u> %
<u>Readership of Any Nationally Syndicated Columnist</u>			
Read any columnist	52	76	47
Don't read any	<u>48</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>53</u>
	100	100	100
<u>Columnists Read</u>			
Art Buchwald	27	48	22
William F. Buckley	27	45	23
Jack Anderson	26	44	22
James J. Kilpatrick	20	35	16
George Will	12	24	9
Mike Royko	12	21	9
Carl Rowan	7	12	6
Bob Greene	7	10	6
James Reston	7	17	5
William Safire	6	14	5
Ellen Goodman	6	12	4
Roland Evans and Robert Novak	4	9	4
Mary McGrory	4	8	3
David Broder	3	6	2
Joseph Kraft	2	3	2
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(431)	(1667)

Gary Trudeau's Doonesbury comic strip has yet to overtake some of the more traditional comics in popularity among mass audiences. Overall, one-fourth (24%) of our sample said they sometimes read Trudeau's opinionated and often politically controversial strip. This placed it behind Blondie (32%) and Beetle Bailey (30%) and well behind Peanuts (43%), which rated highest in popularity among the comics tested. Nonetheless, Doonesbury has a big following (45%) among the better educated segment of the population. Other politically and socially-conscious comic strips which showed higher than average rates of readership among the college group include Cathy (21%), Bloom County (20%) and The Far Side (17%).

The Question: *Here is a list of some comic strips that appear in many newspapers across the country. Please read through the list and tell me which of these, if any, you sometimes read.*

(ITEMS APPEAR IN THE TABLE BELOW)

<u>Comics Readership</u>	<u>Total Sample %</u>	<u>College Graduates %</u>	<u>Non- College Graduates %</u>
Peanuts	43	54	41
Blondie	32	30	33
Beetle Bailey	30	34	30
Doonesbury	24	45	19
Nancy	15	15	15
Cathy	11	21	9
Bloom County	10	20	8
Dick Tracy	10	7	10
The Far Side	7	17	5
Number of Interviews	(2104)	(431)	(1667)

— The Gallup Organization, Inc. —

X. Results of the August Re-Check Survey

The period of interviewing for the June survey coincided in part with the TWA hostage crisis in Beirut. Hostage crises tend to result in greater public attentiveness to the news, and certainly in this case, discussion of what role the press should or should not be playing in the situation. In order to make sure that the hostage situation did not create an environment which distorted public attitudes toward the press, a re-check survey was conducted in August with a newly drawn personal interview sample.

The results of the re-check survey were consistent with those obtained in June. In both surveys, large majorities of the public expressed generally favorable views toward the basic types of news organizations. The press was viewed in both surveys as generally accurate and professional, but often unfair, intrusive, uncaring and subject to outside influences.

In general, a comparison of the June and August results shows that Americans held slightly more favorable attitudes during the hostage crisis than they did in August:

- The proportions expressing favorable views of network TV news (84% vs. 77%) and their local daily newspaper (81% vs. 77%) were marginally higher in August than in June.
- The June sample cited the press for accuracy (55% vs. 50%), independence (37% vs. 31%), professionalism (72% vs. 65%) and pro-Americanism (52% vs. 45%) somewhat more often than the August sample.

On the issue of government censorship for national security, however, the press received more public support in August, after the crisis, than they did in June (44% vs. 38%). In weighing national security concerns against freedom of the press, the public may tend to respond to the most recent government/press

crisis. A September 1984 survey, when the frame of reference may have still been the press blackout during the Grenada operation, found the public more solidly siding with the news media.

Finally, analysis suggests that the few media use measures included in the August survey should not be directly compared with the June survey because of a loss of context. The June survey obtained information in the context of very detailed questioning about media usage. The August survey simply focused on television news and only included a few news topics. However, it is interesting to note that interest in "international news" decreased by 3 percentage points between June and August*, while interest in other news topics stayed about the same or showed an increase.

*That is, the percentage who said they paid "a great deal" or "some" attention to international news (79% vs. 76%).

RESULTS FROM RE-CHECK SURVEY

1. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, how would you describe your opinion of (READ ITEM)?

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
Ronald Reagan	28	38	15	15	1	3 = 100
	26	43	18	10	--	3 = 100
The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	25	52	10	5	0	8 = 100
	25	56	8	3	*	8 = 100
Large nationally influential news- papers - such as the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times	12	27	8	4	2	47 = 100
	12	36	8	3	1	40 = 100
News magazines	16	42	7	4	1	30 = 100
	16	49	8	3	*	24 = 100
Network TV news	29	48	12	5	*	6 = 100
	25	59	8	2	*	6 = 100
Your local TV news	30	51	8	4	*	7 = 100
	27	57	9	2	*	5 = 100
Radio news	20	54	9	4	*	13 = 100
	20	60	8	1	*	11 = 100

1ST LINE = AUGUST
2ND LINE = JUNE

2. In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
50	55	1]Get facts straight
38	34	2]Inaccurate
<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	0]Can't say
100	100	

3. In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

<u>News papers*</u>	<u>TV Networks</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
38	40	31	34	1]Fairly with all sides
50	52	59	53	2]Favor one side
<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	0]Can't say
100	100	100	100	

(MAY-
NBC)

*The daily newspaper you are most familiar with. (SPLIT SAMPLE RESULTS FROM AUGUST SURVEY)

4. In general, do you think news organizations are pretty independent, or are they often influenced by powerful people and organizations?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
31	37	1]Pretty independent
58	53	2]Often influenced by the powerful
<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	0]Can't say
100	100	

5. Do you feel news organizations often invade people's privacy or do they generally respect people's privacy?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
70	73	1]Invade people's privacy
22	21	2]Respect people's privacy
<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	0]Don't know
100	100	

6. I'm going to read you some pairs of opposite phrases. After I read each pair, tell me which one phrase you feel better describes news organizations generally. If you think that neither phrase applies, please say so. (READ)

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
34	35	a. 1[]Care about the people they report on? <u>or</u>
46	48	2[]Don't care about the people they report on?
13	10	3[]NEITHER APPLIES
<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	0[]Don't know
100	100	
65	72	b. 1[]Highly professional? <u>or</u>
16	11	2[]Not professional?
13	9	3[]NEITHER APPLIES
<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	0[]Don't know
100	100	
45	52	c. 1[]Stand up for America? <u>or</u>
34	30	2[]Too critical of America?
15	10	3[]NEITHER APPLIES
<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	0[]Don't know
100	100	

7. Which is more important to you: that the government be able to censor news stories it feels threaten national security OR that the news media be able to report stories they feel are in the national interest?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
42	44	1[]Government able to censor
44	38	2[]News media able to report
8	9	3[]Both equal (VOLUNTEERED)
<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	0[]Don't know
100	100	

8a. We're interested in how often people watch the major TV network evening news programs -- by this we mean ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings, CBS Evening News with Dan Rather and NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw. Do you happen to watch network TV evening news programs regularly, or not?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
64	59	1[]Yes
35	39	2[]No
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	0[]Don't know/No answer
100	100	

8b. Do you sometimes watch network TV evening news programs, or do you hardly ever watch them?

<u>August</u>	<u>June</u>	
17	18	1[]Sometimes
13	18	2[]Hardly ever
5	4	3[]Never (VOLUNTEERED)
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	0[]Don't know/No answer
100	100	

9. We're interested in how much attention you pay to various items in television newscasts. I will read you a list of items. For each, tell me whether you pay this a great deal of attention, some attention, very little attention, or no attention. (READ LIST)

	<u>A Great Deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>	
a. National news	50	34	9	4	3	= 100
	45	40	9	4	2	= 100
b. News about your city, town or region	62	24	9	2	3	= 100
	50	37	7	3	3	= 100
c. International news	41	35	17	4	3	= 100
	38	41	12	6	2	= 100
d. Analysis and commentary by TV persons	24	34	28	11	3	= 100
	13	37	30	17	3	= 100

XI. Results of the November "Double Back" Survey

In November 1985, Gallup interviewers "doubled back" to conduct follow-up interviews with more than 1,000 of the respondents who had participated in the principal survey. The "double back" survey sought to find answers to questions about public opinion toward the media that could not be adequately answered by analyzing the original data set.

Explaining Public Favorability Toward Press Despite Criticisms

A principal objective of this follow-up survey was to discover why such large segments of the public maintain a favorable disposition toward news organizations despite holding serious criticisms of their performance and, to a lesser extent, their character and consequences to the nation. The group sessions and analyses of the principal survey suggested the following possible solutions to this major contradiction in public opinion:

- The public can live with press abuses as long as it sees the press as providing basically accurate information.
- The public maintains a favorable opinion of the press because of the value it places on the role of the watchdog.
- The public accepts press transgressions because it recognizes the practical difficulties inherent in journalism -- good reporting leads to doing some unpleasant things.
- The public accepts some journalistic failings as due simply to human fallibility -- it's impossible to keep personal biases completely out of one's news reporting.
- The public likes the news and accepts press frailties in exchange for a product it enjoys.

In order to test these hypotheses, survey questions were designed to tap attitudes relating to each hypothesis. For this analysis, respondents were grouped by the degree to which they offered specific criticisms about news organizations in the principal survey. In classifying respondents based on their criticisms of the news media, four survey items were taken into account:

1. Whether or not news organizations are seen as favoring one side in presenting news dealing with social and political issues.
2. Whether or not news organizations are thought to often invade people's privacy.
3. Whether or not news organizations are viewed as "immoral."
4. Whether or not news organizations are believed to "hurt democracy."

For the purpose of this analysis, only those who expressed two or more of these criticisms (61% of total sample) were considered. Responses to the individual items were tabulated by the favorability ratings for network TV and the most familiar daily newspaper in order to determine which attitudes were most often associated with maintaining a favorable view of the press in the face of widely ranging criticisms of its performance.

As demonstrated in the following tables, this analysis indicates that more than any other factor, enjoying the news -- that is, looking forward to it each day and liking the people on TV who present it -- seems to maintain press favorability among those holding strong criticisms of press performance.

- 91% of those who enjoy TV news personalities "a great deal" have a favorable opinion of network TV news compared with 64% of those who enjoy TV news personalities "not much" or "not at all"
- 88% of those who enjoy the news itself "a great deal" have a favorable opinion of network TV news compared with 59% of those who enjoy the news itself "not much" or "not at all"
- 89% of those who look forward to watching TV news "a great deal" have a favorable opinion of network TV news compared with 72% of those who look forward to watching TV news "not much" or "not at all"
- 86% of those who look forward to reading the newspaper have a favorable opinion of their local newspaper compared with 72% who look forward to reading the paper "not much" or "not at all"

Survey analysis finds that valuing "watchdog" effect plays some role in counteracting criticisms of practices and maintaining favorability for network TV news. Among those who agree that "for all its problems the press is worth it because it keeps the politicians honest, 87% have a favorable opinion of network TV news; this compares with 76% of those who disagree with the statement. No such relationship, however, is found with regard to favorability ratings for local daily newspaper.

On the other hand, the willingness to accept press transgressions as long as the reporting is perceived as basically accurate, is found to play a role in maintaining favorability for local newspapers, but not for network TV news. Among those who agree with the statement "as long as news organizations get the facts straight, I can put up with the things they don't do so well," 83% have a favorable opinion of their most familiar daily paper; but only 70% of those who disagree with the statement are similarly favorable.

The public's tendency to feel that unpleasant tasks are inherent in journalism may play some small role in maintaining overall favorability for newspapers and TV news in the face of press criticisms. For both network TV news and local daily newspapers, we find higher favorability scores among those who agree that "it's hard to be a journalist without doing unpleasant things" than among those who disagree. These differences, however, are not statistically significant within the margin of survey sampling error.

One hypothesis that the survey evidence rejects outright as playing any role in counteracting press criticisms is human fallibility and journalism. No relationship is found between responses to the statement "no matter how hard they try, journalists will never succeed in keeping their personal biases completely out of their reporting," and overall favorability toward network TV news and local daily newspapers.

BASED ON ALL WITH 2 OR MORE CRITICISMS OF NEWS MEDIA*

	<u>Opinion of Network TV News</u>				<u>Number of Interviews</u>
	<u>Favorable</u> %	<u>Unfavorable</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	
<u>Enjoyment of TV News Personalities</u>					
A great deal	91	5	4	100	(154)
A fair amount	86	12	2	100	(338)
Not much/Not at all	64	26	10	100	(104)
<u>Enjoyment of the News Itself</u>					
A great deal	88	9	3	100	(263)
A fair amount	85	14	1	100	(268)
Not much/Not at all	59	25	16	100	(81)
<u>Look Foward to Watching News...</u>					
A great deal	89	9	2	100	(227)
A fair amount	82	14	4	100	(273)
Not much/Not at all	72	20	8	100	(112)

*The four areas of criticism considered are listed on page 224.

Opinion of Network TV News

	<u>Favorable</u> %	<u>Unfavorable</u> %	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
<u>Sometimes Don't Agree With How News Organizations Operate, But Like to Keep Up With News</u>					
Strongly agree	80	16	4	100	(173)
Agree	84	12	4	100	(408)
Total disagree	74	21	5	100	(34)
<u>Its Hard to Be A Journalist Without Doing Unpleasant Things</u>					
Strongly agree	85	12	3	100	(118)
Agree	83	12	5	100	(427)
Total disagree	75	25	0	100	(59)
<u>For All Its Problems, Press Is Worth It Because It Keeps Politicians Honest</u>					
Strongly agree	87	9	4	100	(57)
Agree	87	11	2	100	(289)
Total disagree	76	17	7	100	(247)
<u>Journalists Will Never Succeed in Keeping Personal Biases Out of Reporting</u>					
Strongly agree	75	21	4	100	(97)
Agree	84	12	4	100	(421)
Total disagree	82	12	6	100	(86)
<u>As Long as News Organizations Get Facts Straight, I Can Put Up With Things They Don't Do Well</u>					
Strongly agree	74	14	12	100	(68)
Agree	84	12	4	100	(425)
Total disagree	81	17	2	100	(114)

BASED ON ALL WITH 2 OR MORE CRITICISMS OF NEWS MEDIA*

Opinion of Most Familiar Daily Newspaper

	<u>Favorable</u> %	<u>Unfavorable</u> %	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
<u>Look Forward to Reading</u> <u>The Newspaper...</u>					
A great deal	86	12	2	100	(255)
A fair amount	82	16	2	100	(186)
Not much/Not at all	72	20	8	100	(173)
<u>Sometimes Don't Agree</u> <u>With How News Organizations</u> <u>Operate But Like to Keep</u> <u>Up With News</u>					
Stongly agree	81	16	3	100	(173)
Agree	80	15	5	100	(408)
Total disagree	81	13	6	100	(34)
<u>It's Hard to be a Journalist</u> <u>Without Doing Unpleasant</u> <u>Things</u>					
Strongly agree	80	19	1	100	(118)
Agree	82	13	5	100	(427)
Total disagree	66	25	9	100	(59)

*The four areas of criticism considered are listed on page 224.

Opinion of Most Familiar Daily Newspaper

	<u>Favorable</u> %	<u>Unfavorable</u> %	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Number of</u> <u>Interviews</u>
<u>For All Its Problems, Press Is Worth it Because It Keeps Politicians Honest</u>					
Strongly agree	80	20	*	100	(57)
Agree	80	15	5	100	(289)
Total disagree	81	16	3	100	(247)
<u>Journalists Will Never Succeed on Keeping Personal Biases Out of Reporting</u>					
Strongly agree	76	16	8	100	(97)
Agree	81	14	5	100	(421)
Total disagree	77	21	2	100	(86)
<u>As Long as News Organizations Get Facts Straight, I Can Put Up With Things They Don't Do Well</u>					
Strongly agree	83	13	4	100	(68)
Agree	83	12	5	100	(425)
Total disagree	70	28	2	100	(114)

Evaluating the Favorability Ratings as Predictors of Critical Behavior Toward the Press

The favorability ratings for the news media obtained in the principal survey found, on average, roughly 90% of those expressing an opinion saying they held a favorable view of each type of news organization. In contrast, majorities of respondents, in another part of the same survey, expressed one or more serious criticisms of news organizations and how they do their job. Given this disparity, we sought to find out whether the favorability ratings were indeed meaningful as measurement of people's disposition toward the press.

To reach this objective, respondents in the follow-up interview were asked whether they had taken any specific actions "because (they) objected to the way a news organization was dealing with or presenting a story." Responses were then analyzed based on favorability ratings for network TV news, the local daily newspapers as well as for the degree to which respondents expressed specific criticisms.

This analysis finds that the favorability ratings are useful predictors of various types of critical behavior toward news organizations. Moreover, the favorability ratings appear to be at least as likely as specific criticisms to predict the various critical behaviors.

For example, 34% of those with an unfavorable opinion of network TV news, compared with 22% holding an unfavorable opinion, say they "stopped watching a particular news program" because of how the news organization handled a story. Similarly, 28% of those unfavorable toward network TV news have "turned off the news in anger," compared with 17% of those with an overall favorable view of network TV news.

Looking at two items which can apply directly to newspapers, those with an unfavorable opinion of their local daily are significantly more likely than those with a favorable opinion to say they "wrote or phoned a station or paper to complain" (20% vs. 9%) and "cancelled a subscription to a paper or magazine" (18% vs. 8%).

	Opinion of Network TV News		Opinion of Most Familiar Daily Paper		Criticisms Of Press ¹		
	Total Sample %	Favor- able %	Unfavor- able %	Favor- able %	Unfavor- able %	Less Than 2 %	2+ %
<u>Actions Taken Because Objected to News Organizations Handling of a Story</u>							
Stopped watching a particular news program	23	22	34	23	26	18	26
Turned off the news in anger	18	17	28	18	20	14	21
Wrote or phoned a station/paper to complain	10	9	18	9	20	7	12
Cancelled sub- scription to a paper/magazine	10	9	19	8	18	5	13
Tried to avoid the news	9	7	17	8	10	7	10
Threw away a paper/magazine in anger	7	6	13	7	7	4	8
None/DK	<u>51</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>46</u>
Totals**	128	122	164	125	145	113	136
Number of Interviews	(1002)	(839)	(121)	(804)	(445)	(381)	(621)

** Totals exceed base because of multiple responses.

1

Based on the four areas of criticism listed on page .

Determining How The Public Feels the Powerful and Special Interest
Groups Influence News Organizations

A majority (53%) of those interviewed in the principal survey told Gallup interviewers that they believed the press was "often influenced by powerful people and organizations." Moreover, majorities of these same respondents expressed the view that advertisers (65%), the Federal government (73%), labor unions (62%), Democrats (58%) and Republicans (60%) often influenced news organizations in the way they report the news.

The November follow-up interview sought to further explore public attitudes toward this issue of press dependency. Specifically, respondents were re-interviewed to determine the ways in which the public feels the news media are influenced by the various groups, and how the news reporting is thought to be affected. This analysis focused on four types of potential influential groups: 1) advertisers, 2) the government, 3) political groups, and 4) minority and ethnic groups. Respondents were only questioned about the two types of groups they perceived as having the most negative effect on news reporting.

The ways in which the public sees the various groups influencing news organizations vary -- some tend to be seen as having a direct control over what is reported, while others are thought to have a more subtle effect.

- Among those who see the government having an important negative effect, 51% say that government exerts its influence through manipulation of the news media.
- Those who cite political groups for negatively influencing news reporting also cite manipulation (37%) more often than any other means of influence.
- Advertisers, on the other hand, are more often seen as having an indirect influence on reporting -- 44% say that "news organizations try to please them."
- Respondents who see minority and ethnic groups as having an important negative influence tend to cite three means of influence all of which fall short of direct manipulation: 35% say "news organizations are afraid to offend them," 32% say "news organizations try to please them" and 28% say "people in news organizations sympathize with their point of view."

Questioned about the results of this influence exerted on news organizations by pressure groups, respondents cite the variety of press shortcomings generally expressed by the public -- sensationalism, bias, lack of respect for privacy, inaccuracy, but especially cover-ups. More often than any other negative outcome, respondents cite "covering up certain stories" as the result of outside influence. Most often associated with cover-ups is press influence by government (49%). As might be expected, bias is more often cited as an outcome of influence by political groups (26%) than by any other type of group.

Groups Perceived as Influential

<u>How Group Influences News Organizations</u>	<u>Advertisers</u> %	<u>The Government</u> %	<u>Political Groups</u> %	<u>Minority and Ethnic Groups</u> %
News organizations are afraid to offend it (them)	29	15	14	35
News organizations are manipulated by it (them)	27	51	37	14
People in news organizations sympathize with its (their) point of view	9	18	22	28
News organizations try to please it (them)	44	22	28	32
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
Total**	119	117	110	117
 <u>Main Result Of Influence</u>				
Sensationalism	17	12	17	21
Bias	16	15	26	21
Disrespect for people's privacy	21	21	21	21
Inaccuracy	15	18	18	20
Covering up certain stories	30	49	35	30
Other	2	1	1	2
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	111	121	122	123
Number of Interviews	(410)	(303)	(531)	(355)

**Totals exceed base because of multiple responses.

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF THE INDICES USED IN THE ANALYSIS

Six indices were used in the survey data analysis, each of which classified respondents on the basis of their responses to multiple question items. The indices are as follows:

1. News Consumption Index
2. Knowledge/Conceptualization Index
3. Saliency Index
4. Social Alienation Index
5. News Orientation
6. Government Control Index

This section describes in detail how each index was created.

1. News Consumption Index

This additive index classified respondents on the basis of how many forms of the news media they use, and reported frequency of use. Respondents scored points based on their answers to specific questions, assigned as follows.

<u>Maximum Possible Points</u>		<u>Question #'s</u>
	<u>Newspaper Readership</u>	74a, 74b
2	Regularly read a paper = 2 pts. Sometimes read = 1 pts.	
	<u>Multiple Newspaper Readership</u>	74c
4	Read <u>New York Times</u> , <u>Washington Post</u> or <u>L. A. Times</u> in addition to local paper = 2 pts. Read <u>Wall Street Journal</u> in addition to local paper = 2 pts.	
	<u>Readership of National Columnists</u>	76
1	Read any nationally syndicated columnist = 1 pt.	
	<u>Readership of News Magazines</u>	78
2	Read <u>Time</u> , <u>Newsweek</u> , or <u>U.S. News and World Report</u> = 2 pts.	
	<u>Readership of Elite Political/Public Affairs Magazines</u>	78
2	Read <u>The Atlantic</u> , <u>Harpers</u> , <u>National Review</u> , <u>The New Republic</u> , or <u>The New Yorker</u> = 2 pts.	
	<u>Readership of Business Magazines</u>	78
2	Read <u>Business Week</u> , <u>Fortune</u> , or <u>Forbes</u> = 2 pts.	

<u>Maximum Possible Points</u>		<u>Question #'s</u>
	<u>Radio as a News Source</u>	81
2	Use radio mostly for news and information = 2 pts.	
	<u>Listen to Radio News Programming</u>	82
1	Sometimes listen to news talk shows, Paul Harvey news, "all news" stations or NPR = 1 pt.	
	<u>Local TV News Viewership</u>	84a, 84b
2	Regularly view local TV news = 2 pts. Sometimes view = 1 pt.	
	<u>Network TV News Viewership</u>	85ab
2	Regularly watch network TV evening news = 2 pts. Sometimes view = 1 pt.	
	<u>Use of Television News Programs/Cable Services</u>	87
12	Regularly view <u>Nightline</u> = 2 pts. Regularly view <u>60 Minutes</u> or <u>20/20</u> = 1 pt. Regularly view CNN or C-Span = 2 pts. Regularly watch <u>This Week</u> , <u>Meet the Press</u> , or <u>Face the Nation</u> = 1 pt. Regularly watch <u>Frontline</u> = 1 pt. Regularly watch <u>Independent Network News</u> = 2 pts. Regularly watch <u>MacNeil-Lehrer</u> = 2 pts. Regularly watch <u>Wall Steet Week</u> or <u>Washington Week in Review</u> = 1 pt.	

32 = Maximum Total Score

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After examining the distribution of scores for the total sample, respondents were classified as follows:

<u>News Consumption</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A -- Heavy (14 pts. or more)	15	(353)
B (9 - 13 pts.)	35	(772)
C (5 - 8 pts.)	31	(661)
D -- Light (0 - 4 pts.)	<u>19</u>	(318)
	100	

2. Knowledge/Conceptualization Index

This additive index classified respondents on the basis of the number of correct responses in the knowledge section of the questionnaire (Q's. 16-26).

The following describes how their responses were scored:

<u>Maximum Possible Points</u>		<u>Question #'s</u>
	<u>Newspaper Organization Hierarchy</u>	16
2	Aware publisher ranks first, followed by editor and reporters = 2 pts.	
	Not aware correct hierarchy, but did not rank reporter over publisher or editor = 1 pt.	
	<u>Wire Service as News Source</u>	17
1	Aware that smaller papers depend on wire services for most national/international news = 1 pt.	
	<u>Newspaper Chain Definition</u>	18
1	Recognize as group of papers under single owner = 1 pts.	
	<u>Press Release Definition</u>	19a, 19b
1	Known as statement given to reporters = 1 pt.	
	<u>Editorial Definition</u>	20
1	Recognize as official position of newspaper - 1 pt.	
	<u>Time/Newsweek Ownership</u>	21a, 21b
1	Aware owned by different companies = 1 pt.	

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Maximum
Possible
Points

Question #'s

	<u>Journalists' Credentials</u>	22
1	Aware journalists need no formal training = 1 pt.	
	<u>TV News Anchormen</u>	23
1	Aware they don't get stories themselves = 1 pt.	
	<u>White House Press Secretary</u>	24a, 24b
1	Aware he reports to President = 1 pt.	
	<u>Federal Regulation</u>	25
1	Aware television subject to greater regulation than newspapers = 1 pt.	
	<u>First Amendment Protection</u>	26
2	Aware freedom of the press mentioned in First Amendment = 2 pts.	
	Not aware First Amendment, but cite Bill of Rights = 1 pt.	

13 = Maximum Total Score

After examining the distribution of scores for total sample, respondents were classified as follows:

<u>Knowledge/Conceptualization</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A -- High	25	(588)
B	24	(519)
C	25	(498)
D -- Low	<u>26</u>	(499)
	100	

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3. Saliency Index

This additive index classifies respondents on the basis of the salience of journalists and press issues in their personal lives. Values were assigned as follows:

<u>Maximum Possible Points</u>		<u>Question #'s</u>
	<u>Journalism as a Conversation Topic</u>	2
4	Talk about journalists most often = 4 pts.	
	Talk about sometimes, not most often = 1 pt.	
	<u>Equal Time Provision</u>	52
1	Concerned about issue = 1 pt.	
	<u>Fairness Doctrine</u>	54
1	Concerned about issue = 1 pt.	
	<u>Early Election Projections</u>	58
1	Concerned about issue = 1 pt.	

7 = Maximum Total Score

After examining the distribution of scores, for the total sample, respondents were classified as follows:

<u>Saliency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A -- High	27	(572)
B	20	(410)
C	23	(484)
D -- Low	<u>30</u>	(638)
	100	

4. Social Alienation Index

For this additive index, respondents were classified by degree of social alienation, based on their responses to Q's. 98a-e. The values assigned to the responses for each of these questions are shown in the following table:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a	4	3	2	1	2.5
b	4	3	2	1	2.5
c	1	2	3	4	2.5
d	4	3	2	1	2.5
e	1	2	3	4	2.5
g	4	3	2	1	2.5

The range of possible scores was 4 - 24. The distribution of scores for all respondents was examined and they were classified as follows:

<u>Social Alienation</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A -- Most alienated (18+)	22	(449)
B (16 - 17)	31	(649)
C (14 - 15)	31	(636)
D -- Least alienated (13 or less)	<u>16</u>	(370)
	100	

5. News Orientation

This measure classifies respondents based on their reported interests in local vs. national news stories in newspapers and on television. Positive values were assigned to responses associated with viewership of national news:

Q. 75a National News Stories In Newspapers

Spend a lot of time reading = 2

Spend some time = 1

All other responses = 0

Q. 88a National News Stories on TV

Pay them a great deal of attention = 2

Pay some attention = 1

All other responses = 0

Negative values were assigned to responses associated with local news:

Q. 75n Local News Stories

Spend a lot of time reading = -2

Spend some time = -1

All other responses = 0

Q. 88a National News Stories

Pay them a great deal of attention = -2

Spend some time = -1

All other responses = 0

Respondents' scores for the four question items were added. Using this formulation, a positive sum would indicate a national orientation and a negative sum would indicate a negative orientation. Those with equal interest in both or no interest in either would result in a value of '0'. The following is the distribution for this measure:

<u>Orientation</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A -- National (+1, +2, +3, +4)	21	(467)
B (0)	44	(922)
C -- Local (-1, -2, -3, -4)	<u>35</u>	(715)
	100	

6. Government Control Index

This additive index classifies respondents on the basis of their disposition toward government censorship and regulation of the press. Respondents were assigned one point each if they chose the "repressive" alternative in the following five questions:

1. Q. 50: Governments Ability to Censor News Stories Takes Precedence (category 1)
2. Q. 51: Government Should Ensure Equal Time for Political Advertising (category 1)
3. Q. 53: Government Should Require Fairness on Controversial Issues (category 1)
4. Q. 72, CASE A: Block publication in Pentagon Papers-type case (category 1)
5. Q. 72, CASE B: Block publication in Progressive magazine-type case (category 1)

After a review of the overall distributions, scores were classified as follows:

<u>Government Control</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
A - Most repressive (3, 4, 5)	35	(738)
B (2)	28	(595)
C - Least repressive (1, 0)	<u>37</u>	(771)
	100	

PROCEDURES FOR THE ATTITUDE SEGMENTATION

The first stage of the segmentation consisted of a factor analysis which described the dimensions that underlay the general attitudes towards the press. Iterated principal factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed*. The optimal factor solution produced four factors representing the following basic dimensions:

- Perceived influence of special interest groups on the way news is reported
- Perceived influence of the power structure on the way news is reported
- Attitudes toward press performance
- Perceptions of the character of the press

The next stage was to isolate groups of survey respondents that were most similar to each other on the attitudinal factors. Factor scores were calculated for each respondent using the standardized scoring coefficients. These scores were then analyzed using a cluster analysis technique to yield six groups of respondents. Respondents were assigned to a specific group so that the differences between the groups would be maximized and the differences within each group would be minimized. The attitudinal, behavioral, and demographic characteristics of each group were then profiled to describe the six segments.

*The following attitudinal questions were analyzed: Q's. 27, 29, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41 (a-j), 48 and 49.

SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary, 95 per cent of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage:

Recommended Allowance For Sampling Error of a Percentage

	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)*							
	<u>Sample Size</u>							
	<u>2100</u>	<u>1500</u>	<u>1000</u>	<u>750</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>100</u>
Percentages near 10	2	2	2	3	3	4	5	8
Percentages near 20	2	3	3	4	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 30	3	3	4	4	4	6	8	12
Percentages near 40	3	3	4	4	5	6	8	13
Percentages near 50	3	3	4	4	5	6	9	13
Percentages near 60	3	3	4	4	5	6	8	13
Percentages near 70	3	3	4	4	4	6	8	12
Percentages near 80	2	3	3	4	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 90	2	2	2	3	3	4	5	8

The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say a reported percentage is 33 for a group which includes 1500 respondents. Then we go to row "percentages near 30" in the table and go across to the column headed "1500". The number at this point is 3, which means that the 33 per cent obtained

* The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus 3 points. Another way of saying it is that very probably (95 chances out of 100) the average of repeated samplings would be somewhere between 30 and 36, with the most likely figure the 33 obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples, such as, for example, men and women, the question arises as to how large must a difference between them be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points which must be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for is between those shown in the two tables:

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error
of the Difference

In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level)*

TABLE A		<u>Percentages near 20 or percentages near 80</u>				
Size of Sample	<u>1000</u>	<u>750</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>200</u>	
1000	5					
750	5	5				
600	5	6	6			
400	6	6	7	7		
200	8	8	8	8	10	

TABLE B		<u>Percentages near 50</u>				
Size of Sample	<u>1000</u>	<u>750</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>200</u>	
1000	6					
750	6	6				
600	7	7	7			
400	8	8	8	9		
200	10	10	10	11	13	

Here is an example of how the tables would be used: Let us say that 50 per cent of men respond a certain way and 40 per cent of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? The sample contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

* The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750" which is also in the row designated "750". We find the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for error should be 6 points, and that in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between 4 and 16 points higher than the percentage among women we should be wrong only about 5 per cent of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least 4 percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to 22 per cent, say, and women's 24 per cent, we consult Table A because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the 2-point difference is inconclusive.

THE DESIGN OF THE SAMPLE

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, eighteen years and older, living in the United States, except for those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated, probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Approximately three hundred sampling locations are used in each survey. Interpenetrating samples can be provided for any given study when appropriate.

The sample design included stratification by these four size-of-community strata, using 1970 Census data: (a) cities of population 1,000,000 and over; (b) 250,000 to 999,999; (c) 50,000 to 249,999; (d) all other population. Each of these strata was further stratified into seven geographic regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, East Central, West Central, South, Mountain, and Pacific. Within each city size-regional stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities were selected in each zone, with probability of selection of each locality proportional to its population size in the 1970 Census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Within localities so selected for which the requisite population data are reported, subdivisions were drawn with the probability of selection proportional to size of population. In all other localities, small definable geographic areas were selected with equal probability.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviews are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home, which means on weekends, or if on weekdays, after 4:00 P.M. for women and after 6:00 P.M. for men.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a "times-at-home" weighting* procedure rather than by "call-backs". This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from under-representation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The pre-stratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. Also minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment by men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey) and by age.

* Politz, A. and Simmons, W., "An Attempt to Get the 'Not at Homes' into the Sample without Callbacks", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, Volume 44 (March, 1949), pp. 9-31

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
<u>Sex</u>		
Male	48.0	(1048)
Female	<u>52.0</u>	<u>(1056)</u>
	100.0	(2104)
<u>Race</u>		
White	87.5	(1891)
Black	9.8	(183)
Other	<u>2.7</u>	<u>(30)</u>
	100.0	(2104)
<u>Age</u>		
18-29 years	25.7	(422)
30-49 years	37.3	(814)
50 years and older	36.9	(864)
Undesignated	<u>0.1</u>	<u>(4)</u>
	100.0	(2104)
<u>Education</u>		
College graduate	17.8	(431)
Other college	17.9	(391)
High school graduate	39.0	(809)
Less than high school graduate	25.1	(467)
Undesignated	<u>0.2</u>	<u>(6)</u>
	100.0	(2104)

<u>Region</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
East: Maine, News Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia	24.9	(545)
Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri	25.8	(597)
South: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana	30.1	(579)
West: Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii	19.2	(383)
	100.0	(2104)

THE QUESTIONNAIRES



Gallup Survey

IDENTIFY COB5108

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DATE June 18, 1985

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Time started _____

Time ended _____

Length _____

INTRODUCTION: Good morning (afternoon, evening). My name is (YOUR NAME) and I'm an interviewer for the Gallup Poll in Princeton, New Jersey. We're taking a national survey on a current topic of interest.

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

- 1() Approve
- 2() Disapprove
- 0() No opinion

Now on another subject. . .

2. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Here is a list of some different groups of people. After you read through this list, tell us which, if any, of these groups you sometimes talk about with your friends and acquaintances. Just call off the letter or letters. RECORD RESPONSES IN 1ST COLUMN BELOW. (IF MORE THAN ONE, ASK: Which one group do you talk about most often? RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN BELOW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)

	Sometimes Talk About	Talk About Most Often
a. Professional athletes	1()	1()
b. Business executives	2()	2()
c. Clergymen	3()	3()
d. Doctors	4()	4()
e. Entertainers	5()	5()
f. Journalists	6()	6()
g. Political leaders	7()	7()
h. Lawyers	8()	8()
i. Scientists	9()	9()
NONE	1()	
CAN'T SAY	0()	0()

3. Who is your favorite athlete?

1() Offered name (SPECIFY) _____

8() None/Don't have one

0() Don't know

4a. Who is your favorite journalist or news person?

1() Offered name (SPECIFY) _____

8() None/Don't have one

0() Don't know

IF RESPONDENT OFFERS NAME IN Q. 4a, ASK Q. 4b:

4b. Does the person you just named work for television news, a newspaper, a magazine, or radio news?

1() TV news

2() Newspaper

3() Magazine

4() Radio news

5() Other (SPECIFY): _____

5a. Here is a different kind of question. . . if President Reagan had the following four calls at the same time waiting for him, which call do you think he would take first? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B, RECORD IN 1ST COLUMN BELOW)

	Q. 5a	Q. 5b
The President of Harvard	1()	1()
The Chairman of the Board of IBM	2()	2()
The Editor-in-Chief of the Washington Post	3()	3()
The Principal Bishop of the Episcopal Church	4()	4()
DK	0()	0()

5b. (RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD B) In your opinion, which call should he take first? (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN ABOVE)

9. 'HAND RESPONDENT PHOTOS 1-9) Here are some photos of well known Americans and some people who are less well known. As I read off the number corresponding to each photo, tell me if you happen to know this person's name and who he or she works for.

a. (PHOTO 1)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }George Bush	1 }U.S./Federal Gov't/President
2 }Other response	2 }Other response
0 }DK	0 }DK

b. (PHOTO 2)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Dan Rather	1 }CBS/CBS News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or Station (No mention of CBS)
0 }DK	3 }60 Minutes
	4 }NBC, ABC, CNN
	5 }TV news, not sure which organization
	6 }Other response
	0 }DK

c. (PHOTO 3)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Ted Koppel	1 }ABC/ABC News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or station (No mention of ABC)
0 }DK	3 }Nightline
	4 }CBS, NBC, CNN
	5 }TV news, not sure which organization
	6 }Other response
	0 }DK

d. (PHOTO 4)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO SHE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Geraldine Ferraro	1 }U.S. Congress (Formerly)/Democratic Party/Walter Mondale
2 }Other response	2 }Other response
0 }DK	0 }DK

e. (PHOTO 5)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Tom Brokaw	1 }NBC/NBC News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or station (No mention of NBC)
0 }DK	3 }ABC, CBS, CNN
	4 }TV News, not sure which organization
	5 }Other response
	0 }DK

f. (PHOTO 6)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Mike Wallace	1 }CBS/CBS News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or Station (No mention of CBS)
0 }DK	3 }60 Minutes
	4 }NBC, ABC, CNN
	5 }TV news, not sure which organization
	6 }Other response
	0 }DK

g. (PHOTO 7)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Casper Weinberger	1 }U.S./Federal Government/Defense Dept./Reagan Cabinet/Pentagon
2 }Other response	2 }Other response
0 }DK	0 }DK

h. (PHOTO 8)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO HE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }George Will	1 }ABC/ABC News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or station (No mention of ABC)
0 }DK	3 }NBC, CBS, CNN
	4 }TV News, not sure which organization
	5 }Washington Post/Newspaper Syndicate
	6 }Newsweek magazine
	7 }Other response
	0 }DK

i. (PHOTO 9)

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>WHO SHE WORKS FOR:</u>
1 }Barbara Walters	1 }ABC/ABC News
2 }Other response	2 }Named TV channel or station (no mention of ABC)
0 }DK	3 }20/20
	4 }NBC, CBS, CNN
	5 }TV news, not sure which organization
	6 }Other response
	0 }DK

7. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD C) I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably, there will be some people and organizations on this list that you have never heard of. First, how would you describe your opinion of (READ ITEM)?

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
Ronald Reagan	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Ted Kennedy	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Jesse Helms	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The Congress	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The Moral Majority	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The CIA	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Labor Unions	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Business Corporations	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The nuclear freeze movement	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The women's movement	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The military	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
The daily newspaper you are most familiar with*	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Large nationally influential newspapers — such as the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
News magazines	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Network TV news	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Your local TV news	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Radio news	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
C-Span	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Ted Turner	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()
Rupert Murdoch	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	0()

*INTERVIEWER: ASK THE FOLLOWING AFTER RESPONDENT RATES THIS ITEM: What is the name of the daily newspaper you are most familiar with?

NAME

9() NOT FAMILIAR WITH ANY (VOL.)

0() DK/NA

8. I am going to read another list. This time please rate how much you think you can believe each organization I name on a scale of 4 to 1. On this 4-point scale, "4" means you can believe all or most of what they say and "1" means you can believe almost nothing of what they say. How would you rate the believability of (READ ITEM) on this scale of 4 to 1?

	<u>Believe</u>				<u>Cannot Believe</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
	4	3	2	1			
The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Large nationally influential newspapers — such as the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
The Wall Street Journal	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
USA Today	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
The Associated Press	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Time Magazine	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Parade magazine	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
People magazine	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Readers Digest	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Rolling Stone magazine	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Newsweek	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
The National Enquirer	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
NBC News	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
ABC News	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
CBS News	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
CNN — Cable News Network	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Your local TV news	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
Radio news	4	3	2	1		5()	0()
"All Things Considered" on National Public Radio	4	3	2	1		5()	0()

9. Next, please rate the believability of the following people, using this same scale of 4 to 1. (READ)

	<u>Believe</u>			<u>Cannot Believe</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
Ronald Reagan	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Jack Anderson	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
David Brinkley	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Tom Brokaw	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
John Chancellor	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Walter Cronkite	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Phil Donahue	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Sam Donaldson	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Paul Harvey	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Peter Jennings	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Ted Koppel	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Ann Landers	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Bill Moyers	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Dan Rather	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Geraldo Rivera	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Diane Sawyer	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Mike Wallace	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
Barbara Walters	4	3	2	1	5()	0()
George Will	4	3	2	1	5()	0()

10. What do you like most about the way network TV news organizations do their job?

11. What do you like least about the way network TV news organizations do their job?

12. What do you like most about the way large, nationally influential newspapers do their job? (IF RESPONDENT ASKS FOR DEFINITION, READ THE FOLLOWING: I am referring to newspapers like the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times.)

13. What do you like least about the way large, nationally influential newspapers do their job?

14. What do you like most about the way national weekly news magazines do their job? (IF RESPONDENT ASKS FOR A DEFINITION, READ THE FOLLOWING: I am referring to Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report.)

15. What do you like least about the way national weekly news magazines do their job?

16. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about newspapers and how they operate. I will read you the titles of some people who work in a newspaper organization. Tell me, in your opinion, which generally ranks highest in the organization and which ranks second highest. The titles are editor, publisher and reporter. (RECORD ONE ANSWER IN EACH COLUMN)

	Rank Highest	Rank Second
Editor	1	1
Publisher	2	2
Reporter	3	3
Don't know	0	0

17. Newspapers have to get their news from somewhere. Big newspapers like The New York Times or The Los Angeles Times have reporters and offices around the world to collect that news. But how about smaller newspapers... how do you think they get most of the national and international news that goes into their papers? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D) In your opinion, on which one of these possible sources do they most rely?

- 1|]A. Other newspapers
- 2|]B. Television news
- 3|]C. The wire services, like AP and UPI
- 4|]D. Their advertisers
- 5|]Other (SPECIFY): _____
- 0|]DK

18. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) Recently, there has been some talk about newspaper chains. In your opinion, which of the following best describes what a newspaper chain is? Just call off the letter.

- 1|]A. A group of newspapers that get together to share services and reporters
- 2|]B. A group of newspapers that are owned by a single company
- 3|]C. A group of newspapers which specialize in one particular type of news — for example, business news
- 4|]D. A group of newspapers which operate in the same part of the country
- 5|]NEVER HEARD OF A NEWSPAPER CHAIN (VOL.)
- 0|]NO ANSWER

19a. In your opinion, what is a press release: is it a short news piece written by a reporter, OR is it a written statement given out to reporters by an official?

- 1|]News piece written by reporter
- 2|]Written statement given to reporters
- 0|]Not sure

GO TO Q. 20

19b. What is your best guess — do you think a press release is a short news piece written by a reporter, OR is it a written statement given out to reporters by an official?

- 1|]News piece written by reporter
- 2|]Written statement given to reporters
- 0|]No answer

20. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD F) Most newspapers include editorials. In your opinion, which of the following statements comes closest to what an editorial is: Just call off the letter.

- 1) 1A. An opinion piece written by a prominent citizen
 - 2) 1B. An opinion piece written by a syndicated columnist
 - 3) 1C. An opinion piece which reflects how the reporters feel about an issue
 - 4) 1D. An opinion piece which represents the official position of the newspaper on an issue
 - 5) OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 0) DK

21a. Do you happen to know whether Time and Newsweek magazines are owned by the same company, or by different companies?

- 1) Same company
 - 2) Different company
 - 0) Not sure
- GO TO Q. 22

21b. Just your best guess -- do you think Time and Newsweek are owned by the same company or by different companies?

- 1) Same company
- 2) Different company
- 0) No answer

22. All lawyers are required to take certain courses before they practice their profession. Do you happen to know whether or not newspaper reporters must have any formal journalistic training before they can practice their profession?

- 1) Yes, must have formal training
- 2) No, no formal requirements
- 0) DK

23. People who read the news and introduce news segments on TV news shows are often called anchorpersons. Thinking about network TV anchorpersons, such as Dan Rather. . . To the best of your knowledge, on a day-to-day basis, do these network TV anchorpersons generally go out and get stories on their own OR do they mostly present news stories that others get for them?

- 1) Get stories themselves
- 2) Mostly present stories others get for them
- 0) DK

24a. Do you happen to know whether the White House press secretary is employed by the president or by the news organizations who cover the president?

- 1) President
 - 2) News organizations
 - 0) Not sure
- GO TO Q. 25

24b. What is your best guess -- do you think the White House press secretary is employed by the president or by the news organizations who cover the president?

- 1) President
- 2) News organizations
- 0) No answer

25. In your opinion, which are more closely regulated by the federal government: newspapers or television stations? -- OR would you say the federal government regulates newspapers and television stations about the same?

- 1) Newspapers
- 2) Television
- 3) Same
- 0) DK

26. During the past few years, there has been a lot of discussion concerning freedom of the press. Do you happen to know which part of the U.S. Constitution mentions freedom of the press? (IF YES, ASK: Which part is that?)

- 1) Yes, First Amendment
- 2) Yes, Bill of Rights
- 3) Yes, other (SPECIFY): _____
- 4) CONSTITUTION MAKES NO MENTION OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS (VOL.)
- 0) No, don't know

Next, I'd like to ask some more general questions to get your views on how well news organizations do their job.

ASK EVERYONE:

27. In general, do you think news organizations get the facts straight or do you think that their stories and reports are often inaccurate?

- 1) Get facts straight
- 2) Inaccurate
- 0) Can't say -- GO TO Q. 28

INTERVIEWERS: INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q. 27 WHEN READING Q. 28

28. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (get the facts straight/be inaccurate)?

- 1) Network TV news
- 2) Local TV news
- 3) Nationally influential newspapers
- 4) The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
- 5) Radio news
- 6) News magazines
- 7) OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 8) ALL THE SAME (VOL.)
- 0) CAN'T SAY

ASK EVERYONE:

29. In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?

- 1|]Fairly with all sides
- 2|]Favor one side
- 0|]Can't say -- GO TO Q. 32

INTERVIEWERS: INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q. 29 WHEN READING Q. 30

30. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (deal fairly with all sides/favor one side)?

- 1|]Network TV news
- 2|]Local TV news
- 3|]Nationally influential newspapers
- 4|]The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
- 5|]Radio news
- 6|]News magazines
- 7|]OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 8|]ALL THE SAME (VOL.)
- 0|]CAN'T SAY (VOL.)

IF "DEAL FAIRLY WITH ALL SIDES" IN Q. 29, ASK Q. 31

31. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD H) Which of the reasons on this card best describes why you think news organizations generally deal fairly with all sides of an issue? Just call off the letter or letters.

- 1|]A. Journalist's training
- 2|]B. Competition with other news organizations
- 3|]C. Fear of lawsuits
- 4|]D. Fear of government censorship or regulation
- 5|]E. Journalists are fair-minded people
- 8|]NONE OF THESE
- 9|]OTHER (SPECIFY): _____

0|]DK

ASK EVERYONE:

32. Are the news organizations you are most familiar with fair or unfair to the Reagan Administration?

- 1|]Fair
- 2|]Unfair
- 0|]DK

33. In general, do you think news organizations are pretty independent, or are they often influenced by powerful people and organizations?

- 1|]Pretty independent
- 2|]Often influenced by the powerful
- 0|]Can't say -- GO TO Q. 35

INTERVIEWERS: INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q. 33 WHEN READING Q. 34

34. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to (be independent/be influenced by the powerful)?

- 1|]Network TV news
- 2|]Local TV news
- 3|]Nationally influential newspapers
- 4|]The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
- 5|]Radio news
- 6|]News magazines
- 7|]OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 8|]ALL THE SAME (VOL.)
- 0|]CAN'T SAY

ASK EVERYONE:

35. Now I will read a list of some different groups. As I read each one, tell me whether you feel this group often influences news organizations in the way they report the news, or not. First. . . (READ)

	Yes, Often Influences	No, Does Not	Don't Know
Advertisers	1]	2]	0]
Blacks	1]	2]	0]
Business Corporations	1]	2]	0]
Catholics	1]	2]	0]
Conservatives	1]	2]	0]
Democrats	1]	2]	0]
The Federal Government	1]	2]	0]
Jews	1]	2]	0]
Labor Unions	1]	2]	0]
Liberals	1]	2]	0]
The Military	1]	2]	0]
Republicans	1]	2]	0]

36. In general, do you think news organizations pay too much attention to good news, too much attention to bad news, or do they mostly report the kinds of stories they should be covering?

- 1|]Too much attention to good news
- 2|]Too much attention to bad news
- 3|]Report types of stories they should be covering
- 0|]Don't know

37. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to pay too much attention to bad news?

- 1| Network TV news
- 2| Local TV news
- 3| Nationally influential newspapers
- 4| The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
- 5| Radio news
- 6| News magazines
- 7| OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 8| ALL THE SAME (VOL.)
- 0| CAN'T SAY

38. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD I) Which, if any, of the topics listed on this card do you think get too much attention by news organizations? Just call off the letter or letters. (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY IN COLUMN BELOW)

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Corruption in government | 1 |
| B. Violent crime | 2 |
| C. The federal budget deficit | 3 |
| D. Fires, accidents, and disasters | 4 |
| E. Unemployment and bad economic conditions | 5 |
| F. Environmental problems like acid rain and toxic waste | 6 |
| G. Violence in families | 7 |
| H. Problems in the personal lives of famous people | 8 |
| I. International disputes | 9 |
| NONE OF THESE | 1 |
| OTHER (SPECIFY): _____ | 2 |
| _____ | |
| _____ | |
| DON'T KNOW | 0 |

39. Do you feel news organizations often invade people's privacy or do they generally respect people's privacy?

- 1| Invade people's privacy
- 2| Respect people's privacy
- 0| DK

40. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) Are there any specific types of news organizations that you feel are especially likely to invade people's privacy?

- 1| Network TV news
- 2| Local TV news
- 3| Nationally influential newspapers
- 4| The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
- 5| Radio news
- 6| News magazines
- 7| OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 8| ALL THE SAME
- 0| CAN'T SAY

41. I'm going to read you some pairs of opposite phrases. After I read each pair, tell me which one phrase you feel better describes news organizations generally. If you think that neither phrase applies, please say so. (READ)

- a. 1| Care about the people they report on? or
- 2| Don't care about the people they report on?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- b. 1| Willing to admit their mistakes? or
- 2| Try to cover up their mistakes?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- c. 1| Liberal? or
- 2| Conservative?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- d. 1| Moral? or
- 2| Immoral?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- e. 1| Growing in influence? or
- 2| Declining in influence?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- f. 1| Protect democracy? or
- 2| Hurt democracy?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- g. 1| Care about how good a job they do? or
- 2| Don't care about how good a job they do?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- h. 1| Highly professional? or
- 2| Not professional
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- i. 1| Stand up for America? or
- 2| Too critical of America?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know
- j. 1| Politically biased in their reporting? or
- 2| Careful that their reporting is not politically biased?
- 3| NEITHER APPLIES
- 0| Don't know

42. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD J) Listed on this card are some issues relating to news organizations which we have discussed. Which one of these issues, if any, concerns or troubles you most? (RECORD IN 1ST COLUMN) Which would you rate second? (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN) Which would you rate third? (RECORD IN 3RD COLUMN)

	1ST Mention	2ND Mention	3RD Mention
A. News organizations not getting the facts straight	1()	1()	1()
B. News organizations not dealing fairly with all sides of a political or social issue	2()	2()	2()
C. News organizations often being influenced by powerful people and organizations	3()	3()	3()
D. News organizations paying too much attention to bad news	4()	4()	4()
E. News organizations not respecting people's privacy	5()	5()	5()
NONE OF THESE	9()	9()	9()
DON'T KNOW	0()	0()	0()

43. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD K) On this card is a list of objectives for journalism. In your opinion which one is the most important objective in the list? (RECORD IN 1ST COLUMN) Which is second most important? (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN) Are there any items on this list you feel should not be an objective of journalism? (RECORD IN 3RD COLUMN)

	1ST	2ND	Should Not Be An Objective
A. Reporting facts and events	1()	1()	1()
B. Analyzing trends	2()	2()	2()
C. Checking into corruption	3()	3()	3()
D. Suggesting positions on issues	4()	4()	4()
E. Endorsing candidates for office	5()	5()	5()
F. Teaching values	6()	6()	6()
G. Evaluating and reviewing products and services	7()	7()	7()
Other (SPECIFY): _____	8()	8()	8()

None of these	9()	9()	9()
Don't know	0()	0()	0()

44. Some people feel that news organizations have almost no effect on national policy and public affairs. Others feel that news organizations affect policy and public affairs mainly by presenting the facts. Still others feel that news organizations affect policy and public affairs mainly by what news stories they decide to cover and how they present them. Which position is closest to your opinion?

- 1() |Almost no effect on policy
- 2() |Affect policy mainly by presenting the facts
- 3() |Affect policy mainly by news selection and presentation
- 0() |DK

45. Some people feel a news reporter should always reveal the source of his story to his readers. Others feel that sometimes a reporter should be allowed to keep his source confidential if that is the only way he can get his information. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1() |Always reveal
- 2() |Sometimes keep confidential
- 0() |DK

46. Some people feel that the freedom of the press portion of the Constitution mainly protects news organizations and their interests. Others feel that the freedom of the press portion protects the people and the public interest more. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1() |Protects news organizations more
- 2() |Protects public interest more
- 3() |BOTH EQUALLY (VOL.)
- 0() |DK

47. What does "freedom of the press" mean to you? Does it mean: (READ)

- 1() |That the public has a right to hear all points of view?
- 2() |That the press can cover and report what it chooses?, or
- 3() |Something else? (SPECIFY): _____
- _____
- _____
- 4() |BOTH '1' AND '2' (VOL.)
- 0() |DK

48. Some people think that by criticizing political leaders, news organizations keep political leaders from doing their job. Others think that such criticism is worth it because it keeps political leaders from doing things that should not be done. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1() |Keep political leaders from doing job
- 2() |Keep political leaders from doing things that should not be done
- 0() |Can't say

49. Some people think that by criticizing the military, news organizations weaken the country's defenses. Others think that such criticism helps keep our nation militarily prepared. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1) Weakens defenses
- 2) Keeps nation prepared
- 0) DK

50. Which is more important to you: that the government be able to censor news stories it feels threaten national security OR that the news media be able to report stories they feel are in the national interest?

- 1) Government able to censor
- 2) News media able to report
- 3) Both equal (VOL.)
- 0) Can't say

51. Some people think that the government should ensure that political candidates have an equal chance to buy political advertising on television if they have the money. Others feel that the government should not get involved in this matter. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1) Government should ensure equal access
- 2) Should not get involved
- 0) Can't say

52. While this issue may concern some people, is it one that particularly concerns you, or not?

- 1) Concerns
- 2) Does not
- 0) DK

53. Some people feel the government should require that news organizations give coverage to all sides of a controversial issue. Other people feel the government should not be involved in how much news coverage should be given to any side of an issue. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1) Government should require that all sides get coverage
- 2) Should not get involved
- 0) Can't say

54. While this issue may concern some people, is it one that particularly concerns you, or not?

- 1) Concerns
- 2) Does not
- 0) DK

55. Do you think that newspapers should be allowed to take sides in their editorials during election campaigns?

- 1) Yes, should be allowed
- 2) No, should not
- 0) DK

56. We've talked about some things which news organizations do well and not so well (HAND RESPONDENT CARD L). Here are some possible reasons why news organizations sometimes don't do as good a job as they should. Which of these reasons do you think best explains why news organizations sometimes don't do such a good job? (RECORD IN 1ST COLUMN. IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER, ASK: Which one of these reasons is most important?) (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN)

	Best Explains	Most Important
A. News people lack the skills and background to do a good job.	1	1
B. Advertisers put pressure on news organizations that keeps them from doing a good job.	2	2
C. News people can't keep their personal opinions from showing up in their reporting.	3	3
D. News organizations don't want to spend the money to do things right.	4	4
E. News organizations are so interested in attracting a big audience that they don't do a good job.	5	5
F. Special interest groups put pressure on news organizations that keeps them from doing a good job.	6	6
G. The government keeps news organizations from getting the real story.	7	7
OTHER (SPECIFY): _____	9	9

Don't know	0	0

57. Some people feel the government should require that the TV networks make no projections on the outcome of elections on election night until the polls have closed and everyone has voted. Others feel that the government should not be involved in deciding when and how to report about elections. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1) Government should not allow early election projections
- 2) Should not get involved
- 0) Can't say

58. While this issue may concern some people, is it one that particularly concerns you, or not?

- 1) Concerns
- 2) Does not
- 0) DK

On another subject. . .

59a. There has been some talk about having formal licensing requirements for journalists. What's your opinion — do you think formal licensing would improve the quality or worsen the quality of journalism?

- 1| |Improve — ASK Q. 59b
- 2| |Worsen
- 3| |Would not affect (VOL.) — GO TO Q. 60a
- 0| |DK

59b. Do you think formal licensing of journalists would restrict freedom of the press or not?

- 1| |Yes, would restrict
- 2| |No, would not — GO TO Q. 60a
- 0| |DK

59c. Do you think the improvement in the quality of journalism would be worth the possible restriction of press freedom, or not?

- 1| |Yes, worth it
- 2| |No, not worth it
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

60a. There has been some talk about legally limiting the number of newspapers that a single company can own. What's your opinion — do you think this would improve or worsen the quality of journalism?

- 1| |Improve
- 2| |Worsen
- 3| |Would not affect (VOL.) — GO TO Q. 61
- 0| |DK

60b. Do you think that limiting the number of newspapers a company can own would restrict freedom of the press or not?

- 1| |Yes, would restrict
- 2| |No, would not — GO TO Q. 61
- 0| |DK

60c. Do you think the improvement in the quality of journalism would be worth the possible restriction of press freedom, or not?

- 1| |Yes, worth it
- 2| |No, not worth it
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

61. All things considered, would you prefer to read a newspaper run by a company that owns only one newspaper, OR would you prefer to read a newspaper that is owned by a company which operates a group of newspapers?

- 1| |One paper
- 2| |Group
- 3| |Makes no difference (VOL.)
- 0| |DK

On another subject. . .

62a. Have you heard or read anything about a group led by Senator Jesse Helms trying to buy a controlling interest in a major news organization?

- 1| |Yes
- 2| |No — GO TO Q. 63
- 0| |DK

62b. Do you happen to know which major news organization Senator Helms is trying to buy? (IF YES, ASK: Which one?)

- 1| |CBS/Dan Rather
- 2| |TV network (no mention CBS)
- 3| |Other response (SPECIFY): _____
- 0| |DK

IF "CBS" OR "TV NETWORK" MENTIONED IN Q. 62b, ASK Q. 62c:

62c. Why do you think Senator Helms is trying to do this?

Now, a few questions about news organizations and libel laws. . .

63. Some people know a lot about libel laws while others know very little. How certain are you of the actual legal meaning of the term "libel": absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

- 1| |Absolutely certain
- 2| |Fairly certain
- 3| |Not certain

64. Do you happen to know if the libel laws are the same whether a public official or a private citizen is suing a news organization — OR are the libel laws different for public officials and private citizens?

- 1| |Same laws
- 2| |Different laws
- 0| |DK

65. What do you think — compared to private citizens, should it be more difficult for a public official to sue a news organization for libel OR should the libel laws against news organizations be the same for public officials and private citizens?

- 1| |Should be different
- 2| |Should be same
- 0| |DK

66. During the past few years, public officials have become increasingly likely to sue news organizations for libel. In your opinion, does this increasing number of libel suits mean that the press is becoming less responsible, that public officials are becoming more willing to fight, or something else?

- 1| |News organizations less responsible
- 2| |Public officials more willing to fight
- 3| |Something else (SPECIFY): _____

0| |DK

67. Some people feel that the increasing number of libel suits by public officials is a good thing because libel suits make news organizations more responsible. Others feel that more libel suits by public officials is a bad thing because news organizations will be less willing to cover important and controversial stories about public officials. Which position is closer to your opinion?

- 1| |Good thing
- 2| |Bad thing
- 0| |DK

68. Some people feel that in a free society news organizations should be able to say anything about a person, whether true or false, without having to face libel suits. Others believe that even in a free society news organizations should be subject to libel suits if they say critical things about people that are false... Which position comes closer to your opinion?

- 1| |News organizations can say anything
- 2| |Should face libel suits if they say things that are false
- 0| |DK

69a. In your opinion, should a news organization have to pay damages for a highly critical story about a public official if all the facts in the story were true?

- 1| |Yes, should pay
- 2| |No, should not
- 0| |DK

69b. What about if the facts in the story about a public official turned out to be false, but the news organization believed the facts were true at the time of publication — should the news organization have to pay damages or not?

- 1| |Yes, should pay
- 2| |No, should not
- 0| |DK

70a. Earlier this year, there was a major libel suit in New York involving General William C. Westmoreland. Do you remember hearing or reading anything about General Westmoreland's libel suit?

- 1| |Yes
 - 2| |No
 - 0| |DK
- GO TO Q. 71

70b. Do you happen to remember which news organization he sued for libel?

- 1| |CBS/Mike Wallace/The Uncounted Enemy
- 2| |60 Minutes (no mention CBS)
- 3| |TV network (no mention CBS)
- 4| |OTHER (SPECIFY): _____

0| |Don't remember

ASK EVERYONE:

71. Current law makes it very difficult to block — that is, to pre-censor — news stories of almost any type before publication. In your opinion, is this a good policy or a bad policy that makes it very difficult for the government to pre-censor news stories?

- 1| |Good policy
- 2| |Bad policy
- 0| |DK

72. In the U.S., the power to pre-censor news belongs to judges. Imagine that you are a federal judge deciding how to balance the rights of a free press against the rights of the government or private citizens. For each of the two cases I'm going to read you, please tell me whether you would block the story outright, OR allow the story to run and let those complaining make their case against the news organization after publication.

CASE A: During Vietnam, a newspaper obtains background documents about how the U.S. got involved in Vietnam. The newspaper thinks it is important to the public that the information be published. The government wants you, the judge, to block publication on the grounds that the documents were originally classified and that the information might be damaging to the reputations of the political leaders mentioned in the documents. As judge, do you decide: (READ)

- 1| |To block publication, OR
- 2| |To allow the story to be published
- 0| |DK

CASE B: A magazine wants to publish an article based on publicly available information. The article describes some important points on how to build a nuclear weapon. The government argues that under the law it has the right to block through the courts any communication which contains information about nuclear weaponry which might harm the U.S. The magazine argues that all of the factual material has already appeared in published material, such of it in encyclopedias. As judge, do you decide: (READ)

- 1| |To block publication, OR
- 2| |To allow the story to be published
- 0| |DK

73a. Which group do you think is most important to the editor and publisher of the newspaper you read most often: their readers, their stockholders, congressional representatives, or the general public? (RECORD IN 1ST COLUMN BELOW)

	Q. 73a Is Most Important	Q. 73b Should be Most Important
Their readers	1()	1()
Their stockholders	2()	2()
Congressional representatives	3()	3()
General public	4()	4()
Other (SPECIFY): _____	5()	5()

DON'T KNOW	0()	0()

73b. Is your opinion, which group should be most important? (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN ABOVE)

Now, just a few questions about your own reading, viewing and listening habits.

74a. Some people are so busy that they don't get to read a newspaper every day. How about you — do you get a chance to read a newspaper just about every day, or not?

- 1() Yes — GO TO Q. 74c
- 2() No
- 0() DK/NA

74b. Do you sometimes get a chance to read newspapers or do you hardly ever read a newspaper?

- 1() Sometimes
- 2() Hardly ever
- 3() Never read newspapers (VOL.) — GO TO Q. 78
- 0() DK/NA

74c. What daily newspaper do you read most often? (RECORD ONE ANSWER IN 1ST COLUMN) What other newspapers do you sometimes read? (RECORD IN 2ND COLUMN)

	Read Most Often	Some- times Read
The New York Times	1()	1()
The Los Angeles Times	2()	2()
The Wall Street Journal	3()	3()
The Washington Post	4()	4()
USA Today	5()	5()
Other (SPECIFY): _____	9()	9()

DK/NA	0()	0()

75. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD M) I'm going to read you some different parts of a daily newspaper. For each, tell me which category on this card best describes how closely you usually read this part of the paper. (READ)

	<u>Spend A Lot of Time</u>	<u>Spend Some Time</u>	<u>Just Glance At It</u>	<u>Skip It Entirely</u>	<u>THIS IS NOT INCLUDED IN MY PAPER (VOL)</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>
a. National news stories	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
b. The advertisements	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
c. Features such as comics, puzzles and games, the daily horoscope, and so forth.	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
d. The sports section	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
e. The business and financial news	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
f. Personal advice columns like Dear Abby or Ann Landers	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
g. The obituaries	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
h. International news stories	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
i. The society pages — including weddings, engagements, and birth announcements	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
j. Articles about food, diet, cooking, and the like	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
k. Consumer tips on purchasing products and services	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
l. Information and schedules for TV shows, movies and other entertainment	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
m. The editorial and opinion pages	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
n. News stories about your city, town or region	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]
o. News stories and columns about religion	1[]	2[]	3[]	4[]	5[]	0[]

76. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD N) Here is a list of some writers of nationally syndicated newspaper columns. Please read through the list and tell me which of these columnists, if any, you sometimes read.

- 1| |Jack Anderson
- 2| |Art Buchwald
- 3| |William F. Buckley
- 4| |David Broder
- 5| |Rowland Evans and Robert Novak
- 6| |Elles Goodman
- 7| |Bob Greene
- 8| |James J. Kilpatrick
- 9| |Joseph Kraft
- 0| |Mary McGrory
- 1| |James Reston
- 2| |Carl Rowan
- 3| |Mike Royko
- 4| |William Safire
- 5| |George Will
- 8| |OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- _____
- 9| |NONE
- 0| |DK

77. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD O) Here is a list of some comic strips that appear in many newspapers across the country. Please read through the list and tell me which of these, if any, you sometimes read.

- 1| |Beetle Bailey
- 2| |Blondie
- 3| |Bloom County
- 4| |Cathy
- 5| |Dick Tracy
- 6| |Doodlesbury
- 7| |The Far Side
- 8| |Nancy
- 9| |Peanuts
- 1| |NONE
- 2| |OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- _____
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

78. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD P) Which, if any, of the magazines listed on these cards do you read regularly — that is, 3 or 4 out of every 4 issues? Just call out the number or numbers that apply to you. (CIRCLE NUMBER OR NUMBERS BELOW)

01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
02	12	22	32	42	52	62	72
03	13	23	33	43	53	63	73
04	14	24	34	44	54	64	74
05	15	25	35	45	55	65	75
06	16	26	36	46	56	66	76 — NONE
07	17	27	37	47	57	67	00 — DK/NA
08	18	28	38	48	58	68	
09	19	29	39	49	59	69	
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	

IF MORE THAN ONE MAGAZINE CHECKED IN Q. 78, ASK Q. 79

79. Which one of these magazines do you most enjoy reading? (WRITE IN NUMBER CORRESPONDING TO MAGAZINE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)

--	--

00| |Can't say

ASK EVERYONE:

80. Approximately how many hours do you spend listening to the radio on an average weekday — taking into account listening to it at home, in your car, at work, or some other place? Just your best estimate.

_____ hours

00| |Don't listen to the radio — GO TO Q.83

81. Do you listen to the radio: (READ)

- 1| |Mostly for music?
- 2| |Mostly for news and information? OR
- 3| |Mostly for sports?
- 4| |OTHER (SPECIFY): _____

0| |DON'T KNOW

82. Which, if any, of the following do you sometimes listen to on the radio? (READ. CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1| |Local radio news talk shows or call-in shows on news subjects
- 2| |A local radio "all news" station
- 3| |Paul Harvey radio news
- 4| |News programs on National Public Radio, such as "All Things Considered" or "Morning Edition"
- 9| |NONE OF THESE
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

83. Approximately how many hours do you spend watching TV on an average weekday? Just your best estimate.

_____ hours

84a. Do you happen to watch any local TV news programs regularly, or not?

- 1| |Yes -- GO TO Q. 84a
- 2| |No
- 0| |Can't say

84b. Do you sometimes watch local TV news programs or do you hardly ever watch local TV news?

- 1| |Sometimes
- 2| |Hardly ever
- 3| |Never watch local TV news (VOL.)
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

85a. We're interested in how often people watch the major TV network evening news programs -- by this we mean ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings, CBS Evening News with Dan Rather and NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw. Do you happen to watch network TV evening news programs regularly, or not?

- 1| |Yes -- GO TO Q. 86
- 2| |No
- 0| |DK/NA

85b. Do you sometimes watch network TV evening news programs, or do you hardly ever watch them?

- 1| |Sometimes
 - 2| |Hardly ever
 - 3| |Never (VOL.)
 - 4| |DK/NA
- GO TO Q. 87

86. Which one of the network TV evening news programs do you usually watch? (READ CHOICES)

- 1| |ABC with Peter Jennings?,
- 2| |CBS with Dan Rather?, OR
- 3| |NBC with Tom Brokaw?
- 4| |NONE IN PARTICULAR/IT VARIES/SWITCH AROUND (VOL.)
- 0| |Can't say

ASK EVERYONE:

87. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD Q) Which, if any, of the television programs or cable services listed on this card do you view regularly?

- 1| |ABC News Nightline
- 2| |ABC 20/20
- 3| |C-Span
- 4| |Cable News Network (CNN)
- 5| |Entertainment Tonight
- 6| |Face The Nation
- 7| |Frontline
- 8| |Independent Network News
- 9| |The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour
- 0| |Meet the Press
- 1| |The Phil Donahue Show
- 2| |60 Minutes
- 3| |This Week With David Brinkley
- 4| |Wall Street Week
- 5| |Washington Week in Review
- 0| |NONE OF THESE

88. We're interested in how much attention you pay to various items in television newscasts. I will read you a list of items. For each, tell me whether you pay this a great deal of attention, some attention, very little attention, or no attention. (READ LIST)

	A Great Deal	Some	Very Little	None	DK/NA
a. National news	1	2	3	4	0
b. News about your city, town, or region	1	2	3	4	0
c. International news	1	2	3	4	0
d. Sports news	1	2	3	4	0
e. News about entertainers and well-known personalities	1	2	3	4	0
f. The weather report	1	2	3	4	0
g. Business and financial news	1	2	3	4	0
h. News about purchasing products and services	1	2	3	4	0
i. Analysis and commentary by TV news persons	1	2	3	4	0

89. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD R) Here is a list of reasons some people give for following the news. Which one of these reasons best describes why you, yourself, watch, read, or listen to the news? Just call off the letter. (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR THEM)

- 1| |A. To learn about things that might be useful to me
- 2| |B. To have something to talk with friends about
- 3| |C. To be entertained
- 4| |D. To find out about something exciting or interesting
- 5| |E. To help me relax and forget about problems
- 6| |F. To help pass the time
- 7| |G. To feel more involved in what's going on in the world
- 8| |H. To have something to help me in my job
- 1| |NONE OF THESE
- 9| |OTHER (SPECIFY): _____
- 0| |DK

(THERE IS NO Q. 90)

91. Have you, yourself, ever been quoted or mentioned in a news story that was published or aired?

- 1| |Yes
 - 2| |No
 - 0| |DK
- GO TO Q. 94

92. About how many times has this happened to you?

_____ NUMBER OF TIMES

93. Thinking about the last time you were quoted or mentioned in a news story, were you satisfied or dissatisfied overall with the way the story turned out?

- 1| |Satisfied
- 2| |Dissatisfied
- 0| |DK

ASK EVERYONE:

94. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD S) Which, if any, of the items on this card apply to you? Just call off the letter or letters.

- 1| |A. Personally have taken a journalism course in school
- 2| |B. Personally worked for a high school or college newspaper
- 3| |C. Personally worked for a news or media organization since leaving school
- 4| |D. A member of immediate family is employed by a news or media organization
- 5| |E. A personal friend is employed by a news or media organization
- 6| |F. Personally have written a letter to the editor of a newspaper
- 9| |NONE OF THESE
- 0| |DK

95. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD T) This card lists various proposals being discussed in this country today. Would you tell me whether you generally favor or generally oppose each of these proposals? Just read off a number and letter for each one. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER-LETTER.)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
a. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion	1A	1B
b. Allowing homosexuals to teach in the public schools	2A	2B
c. A mandatory death penalty for anyone convicted of murder	3A	3B
d. The ERA — Equal Rights Amendment	4A	4B
e. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools	5A	5B
f. President Reagan's "Star Wars" proposal to develop a space-based defense against nuclear attack	6A	6B
g. Cutting back federal spending for defense and military purposes	7A	7B

96. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD U) Where would you place yourself on this scale in terms of your political views? Please read off the number. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE NUMBER)

CONSERVATIVE							LIBERAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	0 No opinion						

97. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election coming up or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then or hardly at all?

- 1| Most of the time
- 2| Some of the time
- 3| Only now and then
- 4| Hardly at all
- 0| DK

98. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD V) Now I will read you some statements. For each, tell me which category on this card best describes how much you agree or disagree with the statement. (READ)

	Com- pletely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Com- pletely Disagree	Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
b. Money is the most important factor influencing public policies	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
c. Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interests	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Generally speaking, people won't work hard unless they are forced to do so	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Most people really do care what happens to the next fellow	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
f. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>

(THERE ARE NO Q's. 99-999)

And now, just a few questions so that my office will have some information about the background of each respondent.

900. Are you married or single?

- 1| Married
- 2| Single
- 3| Divorced
- 4| Separated
- 5| Widowed

901a. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

- 1| Republican
- 2| Democrat
- 3| Independent
- 4| Other party

901b. Is your name now recorded in the registration book of the precinct or election district where you now live?

- 1| Yes
- 2| No
- 3| Don't have to register
- 0| DK

902a. We are interested in finding out how often people are at home to watch TV or to listen to the radio. Would you mind telling me whether or not you happened to be at home yesterday (last night, last Saturday, last Sunday) at this particular time? (INTERVIEWER: SEE INTERVIEWER'S BULLETIN FOR HANDLING THIS QUESTION)

- 1| Yes, at home
- 2| No, not at home

902b. How about the day (night, Saturday, Sunday) before at this time?

- 1| Yes, at home
- 2| No, not at home

902c. And how about the day (night, Saturday, Sunday) before that at this time? That was _____.

- 1| Yes, at home
- 2| No, not at home

903. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD W) Please tell me which of the categories on this card most nearly describes the kind of work the chief wage earner in your immediate family does. Just call off the letter, please.
(INTERVIEWER: IF THE CHIEF WAGE EARNER IS UNEMPLOYED, ASK WHAT TYPE OF WORK HE/SHE WOULD DO IF EMPLOYED)

- 1| |A
- 2| |B
- 3| |C
- 4| |D
- 5| |E
- 6| |F
- 7| |G
- 8| |H
- 9| |I
- 0| |J
- x| |K
- 1| |L
- 2| |M
- 3| |N
- 4| |O
- x| |Other (SPECIFY) _____
- y| |Can't say

904. Do you own or rent your home?

- 1| |Own
- 2| |Rent
- 0| |Other arrangement

905. What was the last grade or class you COMPLETED in school?

- 1| |None, or grades 1-4
- 2| |Grades 5, 6, or 7
- 3| |Grade 8
- 4| |High school incomplete, Grade 9-11
- 5| |High school graduate, Grade 12
- 6| |Technical, trade or business
- 7| |College, University, incomplete
- 8| |College, University Graduate

906. And what is your age: (RECORD ACTUAL AGE)

- 1 1
- 2 2
- 3 3
- 4 4
- 5 5
- 6 6
- 7 7
- 8 8
- 9 9
- 0

(ANY AGE IN EXCESS OF 99 IS CODED "99")

907. Are you, or is your husband/wife, a member of a labor union?

- 1| |Yes, respondent is
- 2| |Yes, spouse is
- 3| |Yes, both are
- 4| |Neither are

908. Have you, or has your husband/wife, ever served in the military?

- 1| |Yes, respondent has
- 2| |Yes, spouse has
- 3| |Yes, both have
- 4| |Neither have

908a. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish background?

- 1| |Yes
- 2| |No
- 0| |DK

CHECK WHETHER:

908b. 1| |White man

2| |White woman

3| |Black man

4| |Black woman

5| |Other man (SPECIFY): _____

6| |Other woman (SPECIFY): _____

910a. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD X) Would you please give me the letters of the group which best represents the total annual income, before taxes, of all the members of your immediate family living in your household?

- 1| |A
- 2| |B
- 3| |C
- 4| |D
- 5| |E
- 6| |F
- 7| |G
- 8| |H
- 9| |I
- 0| |J
- y| |DK/NA

910b. The answer is:

- 1| |Respondent's answer
- 2| |Interviewer's estimate

911. Which, if any, of the following types of financial assets do you, yourself, have: (READ. CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

- 1| U.S. Savings Bonds
- 2| Common stock
- 3| Corporate bonds
- 4| Municipal bonds
- 0| NONE

912. What is your religious preference -- Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, or an Orthodox Church such as the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church?

- 1| Protestant (include Baptist, Christian Church, Episcopal, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.)
- 2| Roman Catholic
- 3| Jewish
- 4| Orthodox Church
- 5| Other (SPECIFY) _____
- 6| Mormon (include The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)
- 0| NONE

ASK EVERYONE:

913. Does your household have a telephone?

- 1| Yes
- 2| No

ASK EVERYONE:

So that my office can check my work in this interview, if it wants to, may I have your name, address, and telephone number, please.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY & STATE: _____

ZIP CODE: _____

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE: _____ NUMBER: _____

TELEPHONE: 1| Unlisted

2| Refused telephone number

3| No telephone

I HEREBY ATTEST THAT THIS IS A TRUE AND HONEST INTERVIEW.

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

PLACE
BADGE
LABEL
HERE

CARDS

HAND

