

Appendix to Chapter 12,  
entitled  
“Balkanization of Knowledge and Interpretation,”  
from  
*Echo Chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the Conservative Media  
Establishment*

[Appendix 12.1](#) (see page 195 of *Echo*)  
Creation of Five Comparison Groups, 1996

[Appendix 12.2](#) (see page 196 of *Echo*)  
Knowledge Questions from Presidential Campaign, 1996

[Appendix 12.3](#) (see page 196 of *Echo*)  
Knowledge Questions from Primary Period, 1996

[Appendix 12.4](#) (see page 197 of *Echo*)  
Balkanization Effects (Figure 12.1), 1996

[Appendix 12.5](#) (see page 198 of *Echo*)  
Distortion of Candidates’ Views (Items), 1996

[Appendix 12.6](#) (see page 199 of *Echo*)  
Creation of Five Comparison Groups, 1996 (same as appendix 12.1)

[Appendix 12.7](#) (see page 199 of *Echo*)  
Distortions of Candidates’ Views by PTR Group, 1996 (Figures 12.2  
a&b)

[Appendix 12.8](#) (see page 204 of *Echo*)  
Interpretation of Political Events by Media Groups, 1996

[Appendix 12.9](#) (see page 210 of *Echo*)  
Attributions about the Outcome of 1996 the Presidential Campaign

[Appendix 12.10](#) (see page 212 of *Echo*)  
Perceived Accuracy of Swift Boat Ads by PTR Group, 2004

## Appendix 12.1 (see page 195 of *Echo*) Creation of Five Comparison Groups, 1996

### *Sample and Procedure*

The data used in this study were drawn from our 5-wave, longitudinal telephone survey carried out in 1996 by Princeton Research Associates. Details about this survey are available in Appendices 5.1 and 5.2. News media groups were created for the primary period and for the election period in 1996.

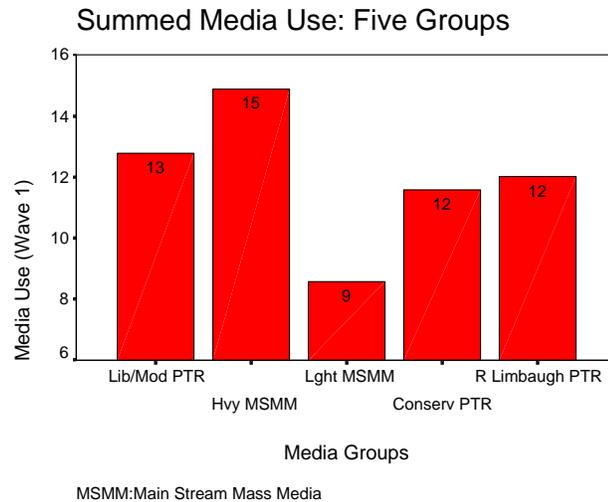
### *Measures*

*Media groups (primary period).* Listeners to PTR programs were identified as “regulars” if they listened to one or more shows at least two times per week (N=630). They either reported listening to Rush Limbaugh alone (N=213), or to a conservative (N=139), moderate (N=194), or liberal (N=86) program. The small sample size for liberal programs required grouping the liberal and moderate programs together (N=283). Non-listeners are those listening to no PTR or listening fewer than two times per week.

The non-listening group (N=988) was further divided into those consuming mainstream mass media heavily (N=296) and those not (N=691). At the wave 1, people were queried about their use of various types of mainstream news media: (a) the news or editorial sections of a daily newspaper, (b) national TV evening news programs on ABC, CNN, NBC, or CBS, (c) news magazines such as *Time*, *U.S. NEWS*, or *Newsweek*, (d) C-Span, (e) National Public Radio, and (f) the NewsHour on PBS. Conversation with others about politics was added to this list on the theory that people will interact with those of similar political views reinforcing their exposure to partisan positions in PTR. In fact, in this sample, of those who do talk about politics with other people only 20% “often disagree,” while the remainder sometimes or never disagrees. For news media outlets, people were asked if they typically used these sources regularly, sometimes, hardly ever, or never. A sum of all possible measures was taken excluding exposure to PTR. Heavy users were identified as those who fell into the top third of the distribution on news media use; light users in the bottom two-thirds.

The five groups differed on political discussion and media use sharply ( $F(4, 1617) = 250.5, p < .001$ ). Their differences are displayed in table A12.1.1. below. The light mainstream mass media (MSMM) users are extremely different from the other four groups. The heavy MSMM group is also significantly higher in news consumption than the other four groups by Scheffe’s tests. But since the index of media use does not include political talk radio use and the three PTR groups are all regular listeners, the overall consumption of news and information across the PTR and heavy mass media groups is about the same overall.

Figure A12.1.1. Mainstream media use and interpersonal discussion about politics for five media groups: PTR regulars and two groups of non-listeners at wave 1, PTR Survey 1996.



Scheffe's tests for homogeneous subgroups were carried out on education, political involvement, ideology, and party identification. The four high media groups are homogenous on education and political involvement while the light MSMM group is significantly less involved and has less education. Party affiliation and ideology are as expected with the most liberal and democratic groups being those listening to liberal/moderate PTR, then heavy MSMM users, and becoming increasingly Republican and conservative with the conservative PTR group and Limbaugh's group most conservative and Republican.

These five subgroups provide ready comparison between PTR consumers and non-consumers of PTR who are also heavy consumers of MSMM. Since the PTR groups in 1996 – before the ready availability of news networks such as FOX – are also consumers of mainstream news and newspapers, the differences among the four consuming groups are primarily ideological rather than relating to motivation to consume political information. Obviously the group consuming MSMM media less frequently is sharply different in overall consumption of news, education, and political involvement.

*Media groups (election period).* In the election period (wave 4, October 17-24, 1996), our criterion for news consumption changed to focus more specifically on news about the election. Questions asked respondents to report their news consumption in the "last seven days" and to report how much attention they paid to news about the campaign for president.

The same PTR groups as defined during the primary period were used during the election period: regular listeners to Limbaugh, conservative (other than Limbaugh), and liberal/moderate shows. At the wave 4, the groups were determined on the basis of the product of people's exposure to a daily newspaper and national TV news programs in the week prior to measurement and their attention to the campaign for president in the media. People were asked both questions "on how many days did you read (or watch) a

daily newspaper (or national TV news programs? (scale: none(0) to seven days(7))" and "how much attention did you pay to [those media] about the campaign for president (scale: no attention(1) to a lot of attention(4))?"

Two studies were conducted to assess the value of using a product term involving attention and exposure rather than exposure and attention as separate predictors. One study used the data from our experiment on PTR (see appendix 5.3) and the second employed data from waves 4 and 5 of the 1996 presidential election (see appendix 5.2). Both studies sought to predict close following of politics, an index of civics knowledge, and an index of more current political knowledge. Main effects for exposure and for attention were entered first and then product terms for attention to news by exposure. In all six tests the changes in  $R^2$  were significant at  $p < .05$  at least. These results suggest that the product of attention and exposure adds unique variance to predictions of outcomes pertinent to political information acquisition -- close following of politics, civics knowledge, and current knowledge of politics (policy positions of presidential candidates during 1996 in one study and knowledge of issues covered in the PTR experiment, 1996). Although the increases in explained variance were small when added to the main effects, the variance explained by the product of attention and exposure in the absence of main effects was substantial ranging from a low of 1.5% to a high of 29%. Results from these two studies suggest that a measure of media exposure that weights exposure by attention to the source carries significant additional variance over and above that due to the additive components alone.

For wave 4 news exposure, the product of attention and exposure was employed to create the same kind of groups created at wave 1 from exposure-only measures. Five groups were created at wave 4 that paralleled the five groups at wave 1.

Those falling in the top one-third of the distribution for television news (weighted by attention) and the top third for newspaper news (weighted by attention) were separated out. Four sub-groups of non-listeners to PTR were created: Low News consumers (lower 2/3 in television and lower 2/3 in newspapers); High TV news consumers (high in television news consumption but low in consumption of newspapers for news); High Newspaper news consumers; High News consumers (top 1/3 in newspaper and television but non-consumers of PTR). Those high on any component of the index must not only exhibit substantial levels of exposure during the presidential campaign but must also be attentive to the news they consume.

Table A12.1.1. displays the frequencies of PTR listening and news consumption groups. Notice that the PTR regular listeners tend to have slightly higher numbers of people who are regular consumers of news from the other media than is the case for the non-listening group. This is consistent with past research (through 1996) and reflects a greater interest in politics and social affairs within the PTR groups generally. Notice further that the differences among PTR groups in consumption of mainstream news are small at best. The sub-groups defined in this table allow comparison between the heavier consumers of news and those who are less exposed and attentive. Importantly, PTR regulars can be compared to other regular consumers of mainstream news and not just to the mixed group of non-listeners. Seven groups are used: the four news groups among those non-regular listeners to PTR (these are the groups in the top row of Table 12) and the three PTR groups. For simplicity the seven groups were reduced to five by lumping three of the no-PTR groups into one group low on either

television or print news consumption (or low on both). This group was dubbed the low MSMM group. The high MSMM group was at the high end on both print and television news consumption.

Table A12.1.1. PTR listening groups by consumption of mainstream news.

**PTR Listening Groups by TV and Newspaper News Consumption**

			TV & Newspaper News Groups				Total
			lo TV, lo NP	hi TV, lo NP	lo TV, hi NP	hi TV, hi NP	
PTR Groups	Non-listener	Count % within PTR Groups	442 51.5%	119 13.9%	139 16.2%	158 18.4%	858 100.0%
	Oth reg con	Count % within PTR Groups	40 36.0%	11 9.9%	31 27.9%	29 26.1%	111 100.0%
	Oth reg lib/mod	Count % within PTR Groups	90 45.0%	39 19.5%	29 14.5%	42 21.0%	200 100.0%
	Limbaugh	Count % within PTR Groups	77 37.2%	35 16.9%	38 18.4%	57 27.5%	207 100.0%
Total		Count % within PTR Groups	649 47.2%	204 14.8%	237 17.2%	286 20.8%	1376 100.0%

## **Appendix 12.2 (see page 196 of *Echo*)**

### **Knowledge Questions from Presidential Campaign, 1996**

Below is a list of knowledge questions asked of respondents at wave 4 of the 1996 PTR survey. The questions were chosen to reflect topics that were under discussion during the presidential campaign and that were dissected in coverage by various news media outlets including PTR.

The introduction read “Next I am going to read you some proposals that have been discussed during this year’s presidential campaign. As I read each one, tell me whether you think Bill Clinton or Bob Dole favors this proposal. Please try to answer to the best of your knowledge, but if you’re not sure that’s okay – just let me know. First as far as you know does Bill Clinton or Bob Dole favor ...?”

- 15a: Reducing spending on Medicare, the program that pays health care bills for the elderly and disabled? (both BD & BC)
- 15b: Developing an anti-missile defense system (BD)
- 15c: Increased federal funding for job training programs (BC)
- 15d: A 15% across the board tax cut (BD)
- 15e: A ban on cigarette advertising that might reach children (BC)
- 15f: Eliminating the US Department of Education (BD)
- 15g: Permitting late term abortions, using the so-called “partial birth” abortion method when the life or health of the mother is at risk (BC)
- 15h: Legalizing same-sex marriages (neither BC nor BD)

## **Appendix 12.3 (see page 196 of *Echo*) Knowledge Questions from Primary Period, 1996**

The following knowledge questions were taken from the 1996 PTR survey waves 1 through 3, the primary period of the election. Although other knowledge questions were asked, the ones below are those which received some attention by the candidates and, hence, by the news media.

### **Wave 1, 1996 PTR Survey**

In Bosnia, do you happen to know whether US troops will make up most of the NATO peace-keeping forces there, about half of the peace-keeping forces, or less than half of the peace-keeping forces? (Correct = less than half)

Presidential candidate Steve Forbes is talking about a flat income tax. Do you happen to know whether the tax rate he is discussing is closer to 10%, 17%, 24%, OR 31%? (Correct = 17%)

### **Wave 2, 1996 PTR Survey**

Which candidate wants to put a stop to legal immigration for the next five years? Is it ...Bob Dole, Pat Buchanan, Steve Forbes (Correct = Pat Buchanan)

Which candidate has been described as being a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a 33rd degree mason, a member of the Trilateral Commission, and a supporter of the New World Order? Is it ...Bob Dole, Pat Buchanan, Steve Forbes (Correct = Bob Dole)

Which candidate is closest to reaching the legal limit for how much he can spend in the primaries? Is it ...Bob Dole, Pat Buchanan, Steve Forbes (Correct = Bob Dole)

Do you happen to know if the amount of goods the US exports to other countries has increased, decreased, or remained the same over the last few months? (Correct = increased)

And what is your best guess of the number of abortions in the United States each year? Is it about half a million, one and one-half million, 3 million, or 5 million (Correct = 1.5 million)

### **Wave 3, 1996 PTR Survey**

Do you happen to recall who Ron Brown was – the government official killed in a plane crash. Was he Secretary of Commerce, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Secretary of State? (Correct = Secretary of Commerce)

Ted Kaczynski, the alleged Unabomber, was especially concerned about which of the following issues: (a) the rights of the unborn, (b) the right to own guns, (c) the environment? (Correct = environment)

## **Appendix 12.4 (see page 197 of *Echo*) Balkanization Effects (Figure 12.1), 1996**

*Knowledge Measures.* Across the primary and election periods, we asked a variety of questions testing citizens' knowledge. The only questions considered here are ones raised in the campaign by the candidates and receiving some coverage in one or more media outlets. This criterion excludes purely factual questions, such as which party currently holds the majority in the House of Representatives. When asked during the primary season this is a factual question that has been known at least since the previous mid-term elections. When asked at the end of the campaign, it is an election outcome that tests current knowledge of election outcomes. See appendices 12.3 and 12.2 for a list of questions addressing campaign issues.

*Controls.* Basic demographic information about the survey participants as well as information about the participants' political orientation and party affiliation was collected during initial interviews. To ascertain their political orientation, participants were asked, "in general, would you describe your political views as very liberal, liberal, moderate, conservative, or very conservative?" To measure party affiliation, participants were asked whether they considered themselves a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent. In order to clarify further the survey respondents' positions, those who indicated a formal party affiliation were asked if they were "a strong [Republican/Democrat] or not a strong [Republican/Democrat]." Those who identified themselves as independents were asked which party they leaned toward most. Other controls for education, age, sex, and race were included in all analyses because of variation between media groups on these factors.

*Analysis.* To complete the analysis, listening groups were coded as categorical variables in a general linear model with extensive control variables as covariates. Appendix 12.1. describes creation of the media groups for this analysis. Limbaugh listeners were the comparison group. Age, sex, race, education level, political ideology, and party affiliation were controlled for in each comparison of audiences' evaluations of the election explanations.

To test hypotheses, differences between Limbaugh listeners and other groups are evaluated. Specifically, if polarization is present, we should find differences between Limbaugh listening group and heavy consumers of mainstream mass media, between Limbaugh and other PTR groups, and between PTR groups in general and the heavy MSMM group.

*Knowledge.* During the primary, participants responded to nine questions pertinent to the campaign. These questions are listed in the Appendix 12.3. Of these nine, four exhibited patterns directly relevant to the enclave hypothesis. Two of the others exhibited no significant differences at all across media groups (number executed for murder in US each year and percentage of mothers on welfare 3 years or more in a row). Three showed patterns of knowledge such that the four media groups – three PTR groups and one non-PTR group heavily consuming MSMM – had similar levels of knowledge and all were greater than the light MSMM group.

Enclave effects for four questions are displayed in Table A12.4.1. and Figure A12.4.1. The table presents means, standard deviations, sample sizes, and betas from regressions comparing the Limbaugh group to the other four media groups. The means

in Table A12.4.1. are the original, uncorrected means while those in the figures are means adjusted for covariates used as controls in the regressions.

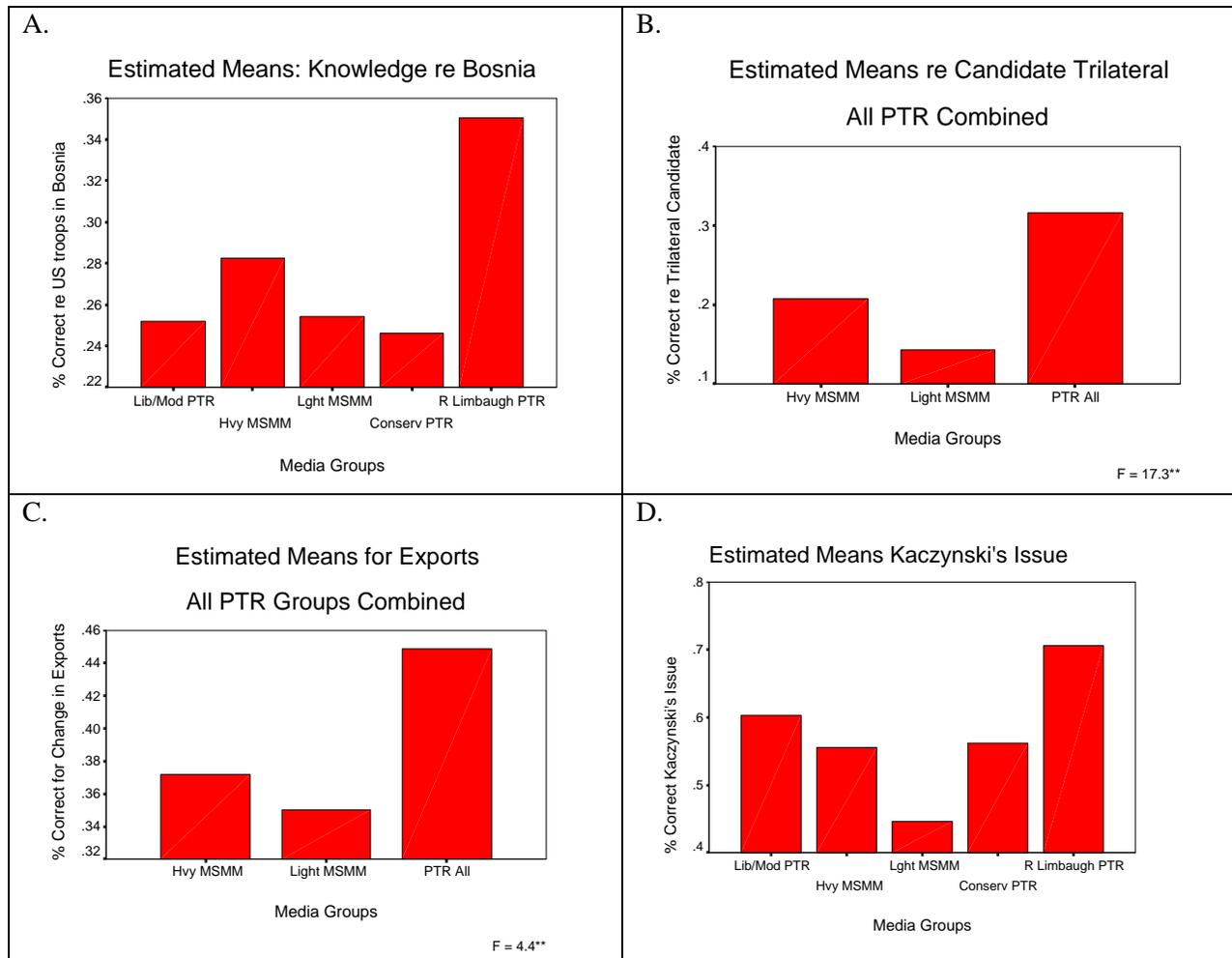
Table A12.4.1. Means (SDs) and betas from regression of knowledge scores by media groups: Primary period 1996.

Media Group	Bosnia (W1)		Trilateral Commission (W2)		Exports (W2)		Kaczynski (W3)	
	Mean (SD) N	Beta	Mean (SD) N	Beta	Mean (SD) N	Beta	Mean (SD) N	Beta
<b>Liberal /Mod</b>	.26 (.44) 269	-.098*	.3842 (.49) 190	.132**	.474 (.50) 190	.033	.623 (.48) 154	-.103
<b>Hvy MSMM</b>	.289 (.45) 287	-.068	.209 (.41) 210	-.031	.371 (.48) 210	-.040	.564 (.50) 172	-.150**
<b>Lght MSMM</b>	.245 (.43) 648	-.096**	.136 (.34) 403	-.097*	.320 (.467) 403	-.062	.422 (.49) 334	-.259**
<b>Conserv PTR</b>	.250 (.43) 132	-.105*	.315 (.47) 92	.065	.532 (.50) 92	.101	.579 (.49) 76	-.144*
<b>Limbaugh PTR</b>	.356 (.48) 202		.247 (.43) 150		.447 (.50) 150		.716 (.45) 116	
<b>Total</b>	.271 (.44) 1538	F=1.96 @	.228 (.42) 1045	F=10.6**	.395 (.49) 1045	F=2.82*	.542 (.49) 852	F=6.7**

Note: \* =  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; @  $p < .10$ . All results from univariate GLM with ideology, party, education, age, sex, and gender controlled. F values in row total are for the entire group factor. Limbaugh group is comparison.

The pattern of results is best seen graphically. For convenience, they are displayed here just as they are in Chapter 12 of *Echo Chamber*.

Figure A12.4.1. Adjusted means for four knowledge questions from primary campaign 1996: Media groups.



In cases B and C (Bob Dole's association with various international groups and knowledge about exports), the PTR groups are significantly different from both the light and heavy MSMM users. Light users, of course, are less interested and involved in politics so their limited knowledge is not surprising. However, heavy users consume a great deal of political information from MSMM and so should be as well informed as PTR consumers and, in many cases they are. However, in these two cases, PTR groups have significantly greater knowledge than either MSMM group. The betas for cases B and C are all significant at  $p < .05$  at least. In cases A and D, Limbaugh listeners are more accurate than most other groups although not significantly so in the case of Limbaugh versus heavy MSMM users (Bosnia) and not so in the case of Limbaugh versus Liberal/Moderate PTR users in the case of Kaczynski.

## **Appendix 12.5 (see page 198 of *Echo*) Distortion of Candidates' Views (Items), 1996**

### Candidates' Positions

One set of questions asked in the wave 4 survey in 1996 focused on the presidential candidates' positions on issues. Eight questions were asked about "proposals that have been discussed during this year's election." People answered whether Bob Dole or Bill Clinton favored the proposal. Three were Dole proposals, three Clinton, one was both, and one neither. The questions focused on:

- "reducing spending on Medicare ..."
- "developing an anti-missile system"
- "increased federal funding for job training ..."
- "a 15% across the board tax cut"
- "a ban on cigarette advertising that might reach children"
- "eliminating the US Dept. of Education"
- "permitting late term abortions ..."
- "legalizing same-sex marriages"

The specific format of the questions is described in appendix 12.2. Later in the interview the same set of questions was asked of the interviewee using the "Now I'd like your own views" format.

All of the differences in knowledge are not explored here but three questions produced interesting results especially in contrast to the knowledge differences produced during the primary period. In table A12.5.1. below, a three-item index of knowledge about the candidates' positions on federal funding for job training, legalizing same-sex marriages, and banning cigarette advertising is presented ( $\alpha = .71$ ). The results show that Limbaugh listeners are more accurate than light news consumers (as would be expected) but less accurate than heavy consumers of mainstream media and less accurate than listeners to liberal/moderate PTR.

Table A12.5.1. Regression (B's, SEs,  $\beta$ ) of media groups on knowledge of Clinton Campaign issues during fall campaign 1996.

	Outcome = Knowledge Index <sup>a</sup>	
	<u>B</u> ( <u>S.E.</u> )	<u><math>\beta</math></u>
<b>Demographics</b>		
Age	.000 (.001)	.01
Gender	-.02 (.05)	-.02
Education	.09 (.01)	.16***
Party	-.16 (.02)	-.24***
<b>Dummy Variables<sup>d</sup></b>		
Lib/Mod PTR	.21 (.09)	.08**
Conservative PTR	.14 (.10)	.04
Regular Media	.12 (.07)	.07 <sup>^</sup>
Non-regular Media	-.23 (.08)	-.12**
	R <sup>2</sup> = .13 N = 1347	

Note: <sup>a</sup> Knowledge index 1: a) increased federal funding for job training, b) a ban on cigarette advertising, c) legalizing same-sex marriage (*Reliability  $\alpha = .71$* ).

**Appendix 12.6 (see page 199 of *Echo*)  
Creation of Five Comparison Groups, 1996**

**(See appendix 12.1)**

## **Appendix 12.7 (see page 199 of *Echo*) Distortions of Candidates' Views by PTR Group, 1996 (Figures 12.2 a&b)**

During the presidential campaign period the 1996 PTR survey assessed people's perceptions of candidates' positions on eight issues as well as their own position on each issue. Three were proposals put forward by Bob Dole, three by President Clinton, one was espoused by both candidates, and one by neither. The issues were:

- 15a: Reducing spending on Medicare, the program that pays health care bills for the elderly and disabled (both BD & BC)
- 15b: Developing an anti-missile defense system (BD)
- 15c: Increased federal funding for job training programs (BC)
- 15d: A 15% across the board tax cut (BD)
- 15e: A ban on cigarette advertising that might reach children (BC)
- 15f: Eliminating the US Department of Education (BD)
- 15g: Permitting late term abortions, using the so-called "partial birth" abortion method when the life or health of the mother is at risk (BC)
- 15h: legalizing same-sex marriages (neither BC nor BD)

Respondents were asked whether Bill Clinton or Bob Dole favors the proposal and they could respond both or neither or don't know. Later they were asked whether they generally favored or opposed the proposal. Since the campaigns had been discussing these proposals at length we were also able to know the candidates' actual positions on these issues (see positions above). So three measures are available for each issue: the candidate's actual position, the respondent's perception of the candidate's position, and the respondent's position in favor or opposed.

Several measures were created based on perceived similarity and actual similarity. Perceived similarity is the similarity between the person's position on the issues and what they thought the candidate's position was. This measure had a score from 0 to 8. Actual similarity measures the similarity between the person's position and what the candidate's stated position was during the campaign. From these two, four indices were created.

The first pair subtracts perceived similarity from actual similarity, creating a distortion index. For example, distortion of Bill Clinton's positions compares an individual's perceived similarity to Clinton with his or her actual similarity to Clinton. When this score is zero, the person perceived herself to be as similar to Clinton as her stated positions actually are. When the score is positive, she thinks Bill Clinton's positions are more similar to hers than they actually are – a distortion toward assimilation in the language of social judgment theory. When the score is negative, she thinks her positions are more different from Bill Clinton's than they actually are – a distortion toward contrast or rejection in the language of social judgment theory.

The same measure of distortion for Bob Dole's positions is also made for each person. In addition to these directional measures of distortion, we also created a non-directional measure of difference between perceived similarity and actual similarity. This measures the absolute distortion regardless of direction. The reason for this is that within any group of people, the direction of distortion may not be systematic even

though the amount of distortion may be large. Ten people with strong assimilation and ten with strong contrast effects produces a group mean of zero when in fact the total distortion is large.

What the distortion and absolute distortion measures give is a way to see how campaign issues are getting through to various groups with different patterns of media consumption. We were interested in ideological groups and specific PTR audiences. Does the PTR environment encourage accuracy or inaccuracy in processing candidate's positions?

### *Defining Media Groups*

Comparisons between PTR and other media groups were carried out in three different ways – with seven media groups, five groups, and four groups. In *Echo Chamber*, comparisons are presented for four media groups – Limbaugh, all other PTR (conservative, moderate, and liberal), light MSMM, and heavy MSMM. See appendix 12.1. for a description of the procedures followed in forming these groups. Analyses not reported here were done with seven media groups – three PTR groups, low MSMM no PTR, hi print low TV no PTR, lo print high TV no PTR, and high TV and print no PTR – and with five media groups where the conservative-liberal-moderate PTR group is split into conservative and liberal-moderate. No substantive differences emerged from across these three analyses. Only the four group analysis is presented in this appendix.

Analyses employed multivariate analysis of variance to control for dependency among the measures of distortion for Clinton and for Dole. The analysis controlled for political party identification, education, political ideology, testing for the association between civics knowledge, media group, and their interaction on the four distortion variables. Civics knowledge ( $F(4,1329)= 15.5, p< .001$ ), media group ( $F(12,3393)= 4.4, p< .02$ ), and their interaction ( $F(12,3393)= 2.8, p< .01$ ) were all multivariate significant by Pillai's trace.

The adjusted means are presented in Table A12.7.1. and the individual analyses of covariance are presented in Tables 12.7.2.(a) and (b). The key result is the presence of a significant interaction between civics knowledge and media group such that for Limbaugh listeners less ready to pick up political information (that is are low knowledge in general) they have greater distortion of Clinton's views on the issues than other politically oriented groups. Yet these same differences are not present for distortions of Bob Dole's positions. These data are highly suggestive of a unique role played by Rush Limbaugh in ensuring (or at least reinforcing) distortions in Bill Clinton's positions in a direction that increases a sense of "being unlike me" among his listeners.

Table A12.7.1. Adjusted means and SEs on measures of directional and total distortion for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole: Media group by civics knowledge.

		NL Low MSMM	NL High MSMM	PTR Non-Limbaugh	PTR Limbaugh
<b>Directional Distortion Clinton</b>	Incorrect (M, SE, N)	-1.58 (.13) (N=152) <sup>a</sup>	-1.04 (.17) (N=84)	-.84 (.25) (N=42)	-1.92 (.28) (N=34)
	Correct (M,SE,N)	-1.00 (.10) (N=269)	-.52 (.09) (N=326)	-.62 (.10) (N=266)	-.46 (.13) (N=170)
<b>Total Distortion Clinton</b>	Incorrect	2.11 (.10)	1.59 (.13)	1.61 (.18)	2.27 (.20)
	Correct	1.63 (.07)	1.26 (.06)	1.31 (.07)	1.10 (.09)
<b>Directional Distortion Dole</b>	Incorrect	-.97 (.12)	-.12 (.15)	-.77 (.22)	-.35 (.24)
	Correct	-.18 (.09)	-.19 (.08)	-.06 (.09)	-.36 (.11)
<b>Total Distortion Dole</b>	Incorrect	1.60 (.08)	1.13 (.11)	1.27 (.16)	1.39 (.17)
	Correct	1.05 (.06)	.90 (.06)	.90 (.06)	.99 (.08)

Note. Controls include party ID, ideology, education

<sup>a</sup> Sample sizes are listed for only one of the outcome measures; same for all others

Table 12.7.2. (a) and (b). Analyses of covariance for directional and total distortion for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole: Fs, Bs, SE, and significance levels.

	Directional Distortion Clinton		Total Distortion Clinton	
	F	B (SE)	F	B(SE)
Intercept	1.21	.77 (.27)	65.4***	.72 (.19)***
Civics Knowledge (1=correct)	32.6***	-1.46 (.30)	40.33***	1.17 (.22)***
Party ID (Republican)	69.3***	-.51 (.06)	17.03***	.19 (.045)***
Ideology (Conservative)	19.9***	-.30 (.07)***	8.19**	.14 (.05)**
Education	12.2***	.10 (.03)***	10.18***	-.07 (.02)***
Media Group (Limbaugh is base)	7.3***		9.12***	
NL, Low MSMM		-.54 (.16)***		.54 (.12)***
NL, High MSMM		-.06(.16)		.16 (.11)
PTR, non-Limbaugh		-.16 (.16)		.22 (.12)#
Limbaugh				
Civics X Media	3.4*		4.0**	
NL, Low MSMM*Civics		.88 (.34)**		-.70 (.25)**
NL, High MSMM*Civics		.93 (.36)**		-.84 (.26)***
PTR, non- Limbaugh*Civics		1.235 (.40)**		-.87 (.29)**
	R <sup>2</sup> (adj)= .16 N= 1343		R <sup>2</sup> (adj)= .11 N= 1343	

	Directional Distortion Dole		Total Distortion Dole	
	F	B (SE)	F	B(SE)
Intercept	27.0***	-.95 (.24)***	82.3***	1.03 (.17)***
Civics Knowledge (1=correct)	10.5***	.01 (.27)	25.4***	.40 (.19)*
Party ID (Republican)	6.9**	.14 (.05)**	2.62	.06 (.038)
Ideology (Conservative)	.07	-.016 (.06)	3.10	.075 (.043)#
Education	7.9**	.072 (.025)**	15.0***	-.069 (.018)***
Media Group (Limbaugh is base)	4.55**		5.47**	
NL, Low MSMM		.18 (.14)		.057 (.10)
NL, High MSMM		.17 (.14)		-.094 (.10)
PTR, non- Limbaugh		.30 (.14)*		-.094 (.10)
Limbaugh				
Civics X Media	6.21***		1.38	
NL, Low MSMM *Civics		-.80 (.30)**		.15 (.21)
NL, High MSMM*Civics		.07 (.32)		-.17 (.22)
PTR, non- Limbaugh*Civics		-.72 (.36)*		-.03 (.25)
	R <sup>2</sup> (adj)= .057 N= 1343		R <sup>2</sup> (adj)= .081 N= 1343	

Does civics knowledge indicate ‘habitual media reception’? In 30 of 32 comparisons, those with more civics knowledge – those presumably more receptive to media news -- have less total distortion for Dole and Clinton and are more likely to see the candidates’ positions as similar when they are and dissimilar when they are not. This single item question does a good job of separating the more and less accurate receivers in the groups

In Table A12.7.3., we check the magnitude of television and newspaper news exposure and attention for the four PTR groups at two levels of civics knowledge. If Zaller (1992) is correct about civics knowledge as an indicator of habitual media use, then each PTR group should be higher in media news attention and exposure for higher civics knowledge. This is correct for three of the four groups with Liberal/Moderate PTR actually the opposite. For this group, those getting the civics question wrong tend to be the ones with greater attention and exposure to news sources. So the fact that those

with correct scores on civics were also likely to have less distorted perceptions could be attributed to the fact that they also consumed and attended to more election news in the mainstream.

Party, ideology, and education are significant predictors of distortion of Clinton's positions. Being Republican, conservative, and having less education is linked with more total distortion of Clinton's views. The direction of the distortion is such that Republicans, conservatives, and those with lower educational attainment see his views as more different from their own than they actually are.

So what can we conclude about Limbaugh's regular listeners? Are they misled about Clinton's positions? Part of the answer lies in Table A12.7.3. below. This table shows that the high civics knowledge Limbaugh regulars are heavy consumers of both television and newspaper news and pay attention to it. The low civics knowledge Limbaugh listeners do not. One likely explanation of the distortion differences among Limbaugh listeners is the balancing effect of other news media. Regular consumers of Limbaugh's harangue against President Clinton carry away distorted views if they ignore other coverage of news. This group is clearly most susceptible to influence by Limbaugh. Limbaugh may present distorted or ambiguously framed descriptions of Clinton's views. In the absence of more balanced description (low civics knowledge), the distorted views are accepted or the ambiguous descriptions are distorted to seem more unlike the audience's.

Alternatively, influence does not have to be through direct misrepresentation of Clinton's positions. Instead it can occur through a mechanism such as attitudinal distortion. Limbaugh's consistent attack on Clinton, from his alleged sexual peccadilloes to his sympathetic demeanor, may produce more negative views of him among the low civics Limbaugh regulars. According to cognitive theories of judgment (Judd & Brauer, 1995), attributions to Clinton for those with more extremely negative evaluations of him would be distorted as more different from the evaluator's positions than for those with less extreme evaluations. This explanation does not work however. Those Limbaugh regulars with unfavorable attitudes toward Clinton are below expectation for those with low civics knowledge (16 observed versus 26.9 expected) and above expectation for those with high civics knowledge.

Thus we are left with alternative news sources as the explanation. The high civics Limbaugh regulars show less distortion because they have exposure to other news media for their information. Those without such additional, balanced information distort Clinton's position more and think his views are less like their own than they actually are.

Distorting Dole's positions. Distortions of Dole's positions are more complicated. Total distortion is related to education and marginally to party and ideology. The more educated the less the distortion but Republicans and conservatives exhibit marginally more distortion than Democrats and liberals. Republicans more than Democrats tend to think that Dole's views are more similar to their own than they actually are. Similarly for the more as opposed to less educated.

Total distortion of Dole's positions is less for those with more civics knowledge and for those with some news exposure. The no News, non-listening group shows more distortion than each of the other news and listening groups (with Limbaugh group marginal). In contrast to distortions of Clinton's positions by a sub-group of the

Limbaugh listeners, no similar effect occurs with Dole. Instead the difference between the high and low civics group is roughly the same among Limbaugh listeners as in the other news groups.

For directional distortion, the interaction between civics knowledge and news group is significant. Those with low civics knowledge who are regular listeners of Liberal/Moderate and Conservative PTR and those who consume little mainstream news tend to think that Dole's positions are more different from their own than they actually are. The other groups have more accurate perceptions. The high civics knowledge group had relatively high accuracy about Dole and so did the lows if they also listened to Rush Limbaugh or consumed mainstream news.

Listening to Limbaugh helped to close the distortion gap between the high and low civics knowledge listeners. Listening to Conservative or to Liberal/Moderate PTR created distortion problems for those not typically good receivers of political news and information.

Table A12.7.3. Adjusted means for exposure to TV and print news weighted by attention to presidential election news: From regression of “Habitual Media Use” (Civics Knowledge) and PTR group.

<b>PTR Regular Listening Groups</b>	<b>Civics Know</b>		<b>TV News Wted Exposure (M, SE)</b>	<b>Print News Wted Exposure (M, SE)</b>
<b>Non-Listener</b>	<b>Incorrect</b>		1.08 .084	.943 .085
	<b>Correct</b>		1.62 .054	1.48 .055
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>Incorrect</b>		1.03 .367	1.27 .374
	<b>Correct</b>		1.79 .134	1.97 .136
<b>Liberal/Moderate</b>	<b>Incorrect</b>		1.83 .241	1.68 .228
	<b>Correct</b>		1.66 .102	1.52 .104
<b>Limbaugh</b>	<b>Incorrect</b>		1.30 .223	1.15 .228
	<b>Correct</b>		1.99 .101	1.84 .103

Note. News exposure measures are exposure weighted by attention to news about the election.

### Summary

Republicans tended to show more total distortion of Bill Clinton’s and Bob Dole’s campaign views than did Democrats during the peak of the election in October. Those identifying with neither party exhibited the greatest distortion. The effects for Clinton were quite strong; less so for Dole.

The mainstream news media seemed to be effective in reducing distortions. Those exposing themselves to news and attending to it were more accurate than were low consumers. Listeners to PTR were exposed to partisan coverage. Those hearing Limbaugh on a regular basis and who were less able to receive news exhibited more distortion of Clinton’s positions than other groups. Limbaugh’s continuous assault on the Clinton campaign and presidency paid off with this segment of his audience. They thought Clinton’s positions were more different from their own than they actually were. At the same time, Limbaugh’s audience did not show the same distortion in judging Bob Dole’s positions. In fact, the high and low civics groups were equal in accuracy. Those hearing Conservative and Liberal/Moderate PTR and low in civics knowledge exhibited more distortion of Bob Dole’s positions than was true of the comparable Limbaugh group.

## **Appendix 12.8 (see page 204 of *Echo*)**

### **Interpretation of Political Events by Media Groups, 1996**

Late in the primary of 1996 (April 25 through May 7) participants in the PTR survey were asked a series of questions about events that had occurred recently which had been spun differently by representatives of political parties. Media groups covered the events and their fall-out.

The questions were introduced as follows: "Now I am going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right." After this introduction two general questions were asked about business corporations and about immigrants to the US.

These two were followed by "Now I am going to ask you about some events and would like you to tell me which of two ways of looking at it is closer to your own view." The pairs were:

- 8a: Do you think that the news video of police in Los Angeles hitting immigrants with clubs (a) gives clear evidence of the brutality of some police or (b) tells only one side of the story?
- 8b: Do you think that the positive words said about Ron Brown after his accidental death in a plane crash over Bosnia (a) were managed by the administration and used for political advantage or (b) were a spontaneous outpouring of admiration for a well-liked government official?
- 8c: Republican leaders are opposed to increasing the minimum wage. Do you think this is: (a) more because they feel small businesses will have to cut back on employees, including young people or (b) more because it would hurt the profits of small business owners who support them?
- 8d: President Clinton recently vetoed a bill making late-term abortions illegal. Do you think he did this: (a) more because he did not want to anger feminists who are likely to support him in the election or (b) more because he wanted to guard women against what is dangerous medical treatment?
- 8e: Republicans in Congress brought up a constitutional amendment to require that any tax increase be passed by a 2/3 majority. Do you think they did this: (a) more because they wanted to make sure that Congress lives within its means and holds down the deficit or (b) more because they wanted to contrast "no tax" Republicans against "tax and spend" Democrats?
- 13. Do you think there has been any difference in how the news media have treated Ted Kaczynski compared to how they treated Timothy McVeigh, the alleged Oklahoma City bomber? Do you think that the news stories about Kaczynski have been more favorable than ones about McVeigh, less favorable, or have they been about the same?

*Interpretation of events.* Respondents were asked a variety of questions about their interpretations of specific events. The interpretive options often reflected more and less cynical, more and less self-interested interpretations. For example, during the primary campaign Los Angeles police were videotaped beating illegal immigrants reminiscent of the Rodney King beatings. Respondents were asked if these tapes showed only one side of the event or represented police brutality. Interpretive questions are not to be confused with opinions about general issues not tied to specific events.

For example, “government regulation of business (1) is necessary to protect the public interest or (2) usually does more harm than good” is an opinion about regulation of business in general, not an interpretation of an event occurring in the public’s ken.

*Interpretations.* Of the six interpretive questions, four exhibit results that are consistent with the hypothesis and the other two (on minimum wage and police brutality) exhibit the same pattern but not significantly.<sup>1</sup> The results describing statistical differences between groups are summarized in Table A12.8.1. which includes the original, uncorrected means while those in the figures are means adjusted for covariates used as controls in the regressions.

Table A12.8.1. Means and standard deviations for interpretive reactions to six events by PTR group; Betas comparing four media groups to Limbaugh listeners.

	Liberal/Mod PTR		Heavy MSMM		Light MSMM		Conservative PTR		Limbaugh PTR		Total
	Mean (SD) N	B	Mean (SD) N	B	Mean (SD) N	B	Mean (SD) N	B	Mean (SD) N	B	Mean (SD) N
Police Brutality	-.086 (.98) 152	-.17	-.082 (.98) 171	-.16	-.049 (.99) 329	-.17	.230 (.96) 74	.001	.398 (.91) 113		.023 (.99) 839
Brown’s Death	-.373 (.91) 142	-.42**	-.286 (.94) 168	-.36**	-.413 (.91) 305	-.54**	-.099 (.96) 71	-.29*	.313 (.92) 115		-.247 (.95) 801
Minimum Wage	-.280 (.95) 143	-.15	-.235 (.96) 136	-.15	-.188 (.98) 261	-.13	.055 (.99) 72	-.06	.291 (.92) 103		
Abortion Veto	-.041 (.99) 147	-.23#	-.006 (.98) 164	-.21#	.056 (.99) 324	-.22*	.311 (.93) 74	-.13	.631 (.76) 114		.129 (.98) 823
Tax Amendment	-.320 (.94) 147	-.33**	-.385 (.91) 169	-.40**	-.205 (.97) 312	-.31**	.027 (.99) 73	-.15	.339 (.94) 112		-.167 (.98) 813
UnaBomber Coverage	.197 (.54) 147	-.16*	.195 (.49) 164	-.15*	.165 (.54) 303	-.17**	.189 (.46) 74	-.15*	.325 (.59) 114		.202 (.53) 802

Note: \* =  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; #  $p < .10$ . All results from univariate GLM with ideology, party, education, age, sex, and gender controlled. F values in row total are for the entire group factor. Betas are coefficients comparing the group to Limbaugh listeners.

<sup>1</sup> Responses to this question are fewer (N=715) than for the other questions (where N is closer to 815) because of a glitch in the early phases of interviewing which required the first 100 or so respondents to be dropped. The lower power may explain why the results for this question are not statistically significant, even though they are quite consistent with the other five questions in direction.

## **Appendix 12.9 (see page 210 of *Echo*)**

### **Attributions about the Outcome of 1996 Presidential Campaign**

The measures of the survey respondents' understanding of the causes of the 1996 election results began with an open-ended question. Participants were asked what they thought was "the main reason why Bill Clinton was elected over Bob Dole and the other candidates." Respondents were then presented with a series of 15 one-sentence reasons that could be seen to explain or account for the election results. These inquiries were divided into two series of questions, one of seven and another of eight. The sequence within the two series was randomized to prevent order effects. Each reason was read to the respondents, and they were asked to indicate whether they thought it was a "major reason" (1) why the election turned out as it did, a "minor reason" (2) or "not a reason" (3).

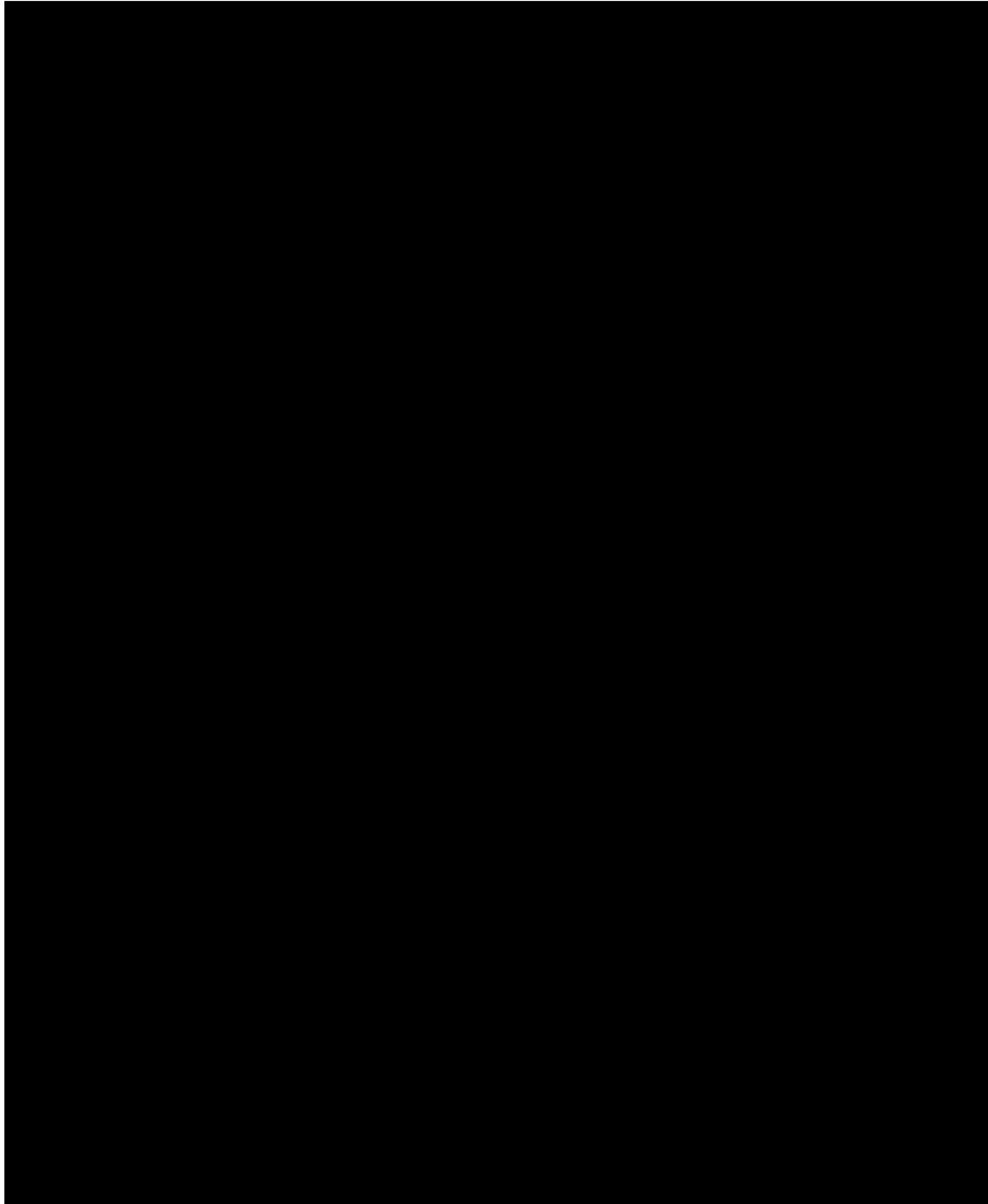
An attempt was made to include substantive explanations of the election results, such as "Clinton has a good record as President during his first term," as well as explanations dealing with the strategies of the campaigns or characteristics of the voting public. Examples of the more strategy-based explanations include "Dole did not stress family values as strongly as he should have" and "Dole doesn't come across as well on television as Clinton." Means of the responses to these questions ranged from a high of 1.49(SD = .69) for a statement dealing with Dole's lack of presence on TV to a low of 2.38(SD = .67) for an item suggesting that the public rebelled against the treatment Clinton was receiving from some PTR hosts. A complete list of these explanations of the election results and their means, which have been weighted to account for the known non-response biases in telephone interview surveys, is presented in Table A12.9.1.

The topics volunteered in the open-ended responses were compared to the results of the closed-ended election explanation questions. By and large, the explanations that were highly ranked in the closed-ended questions were common in the open-ended responses, whereas the closed-ended election explanations that were ranked as unimportant tended to be relatively rare in the open-ended responses.<sup>2</sup> This indicates that, in general, the closed-ended attributions left room for the participants to express their perceptions of the causes of the election results and represented explanations of the election that were present within the public's discourse about the campaign.

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<sup>2</sup> Explanations that were cited in the open-ended responses but which were not included in the closed-ended measures included a variety of issues. Some cited strategic considerations: Perot split the vote, voters attempted to maintain a balance between the President and Congress, Clinton's vice-presidential nominee was preferred, or Clinton was the incumbent. Other explanations included that Clinton was younger and that the public was comfortable with the status quo.

Table A12.9.1. Rankings of the Importance of Explanations of the Election Outcome, 1996  
(1=major reason to 3=not a reason).



Comparisons between Closed- and Open-Ended Questions

The topics volunteered in the open-ended responses were compared to the results of the closed-ended election explanation questions in order to ascertain the extent to which the

closed-ended measures left room for the participants to express their perceptions of the causes of the election results. By and large, the explanations that were highly ranked in the closed-ended questions were common in the open-ended responses. Participants often cited the substantive explanations included in the closed-ended section of the survey. Clinton's record as president (ranked as the 4<sup>th</sup> most important explanation in closed-ended questions) and a preference for Clinton's ideas (5) were commonly advanced to explain Clinton's win. For instance, one participant offered "Clinton's impressive first four years" as a reason, while another explained that "he'd proven his ability to run the country over the last four years." Others said "simply more voters agreed with [Clinton's] ideas" and that "most of his ideas were not as wild as Dole's."

Dole's difficulty in projecting himself well (Reason 1), women's support of Clinton (Reason 2), and the strong economy (Reason 3) were also regularly advanced by the participants. It is noteworthy, however, that in describing Dole's lack of appeal, women's support of Clinton, and the strong economy many participants did not express explanations in terms of media representation or imply a disjunction between image and reality as the closed-ended question phrasing did. For example, although it was suggested that Clinton won "because of the way he looked on TV" or because of his "television persona," other participants said that Clinton's success was due to his being more articulate, a better communicator, or better looking. The latter responses also suggest a difference in the charisma of the two candidates, but do not imply that this difference is an artifact of media coverage or that it exists primarily in relation to the candidates' dealings with the media.

A parallel pattern can be seen in some of the open-ended references to women's influence on the election results. The question wording suggests that women responded to Clinton's style and not, it is implied, his policy. Some respondents did suggest that women were especially easily beguiled by the president's persona. "His charisma on TV with the female voters was good," one participant explained. "He's fairly good-looking," offered another, "so women voted for him." Others, however, simply cited the "women's vote." The reasons for Clinton's disproportionate appeal to women were left unspecified. Similarly, while the economy was credited with influencing the election, it was not always framed as a factor that allowed Clinton's shortcomings to pass unnoticed, as it was in the closed-ended question. In contrast, Clinton was often given credit for the country's economic health. "With Clinton in office," one participant explained, "the state of the economy has improved." Another said, "he's turned the economy around." Coupled with the lack of importance given to the newspaper bias explanation in both the open- and closed-ended responses, this pattern of results suggests that the media and the campaigns are relatively transparent for many members of the public. Their possible impact on the way that the candidates are perceived does not seem to be particularly salient to all viewers. This makes the focus on media bias that marks Limbaugh's programming particularly notable.

The closed-ended election explanations that were ranked as unimportant tended to be relatively rare in the open-ended responses. Citations of Clinton's lying (Reason 13) or stealing ideas from the Republicans (Reason 12), for example, were scarce. No one volunteered PTR as a factor in the election results (Reasons 14 and 15). Explanations that were cited in the open-ended responses but which were not included in the closed-ended measures included a variety of issues. Some cited strategic considerations: Perot split the vote, voters attempted to maintain a balance between the President and Congress, Clinton's vice-presidential nominee was preferred, or Clinton was the incumbent. Other explanations included that Clinton was younger and that the public was comfortable with the status quo. In general, the closed-ended attributions spanned the options offered by participants in the open-ended questions, although the media's role seems less prominent in the open queries than in the closed ones.

**Appendix 12.10 (see page 212 of *Echo*)**  
**Perceived Accuracy of Swift Boat Ads by PTR Group, 2004**

Table 1. Regression Model (Bs, SE, and Beta) predicting perceived accuracy of the Swiftboat Veterans for Truth advertisements: Exposure to Limbaugh and to Fox News.

	Swiftboat Vet advertisement		
	B	Standard Error	Standardized Beta
Constant	2.34	.27	
Gender (Female)	.036	.063	.012
Age	-.003	.002	-.03
Education	-.057	.015	-.088**
Income	-.030	.017	-.04*
Party Identification (Republican)	.690	.076	.224**
Ideology (Conservative high)	.380	.037	.254**
Listen to Rush Limbaugh	.397	.098	.090**
Fox Viewer	.884	.077	.259**
R <sup>2</sup>	.384		

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**Kerry's Vietnam Service & Anti-Vietnam War Statements**  
**2004 NAES**

Data analyses in this section were carried out by Talia Jomini Stroud, PhD

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**Purpose:** To analyze responses to questions about Kerry's Vietnam War service and his anti-Vietnam war statements using multivariate analysis. This updated analysis includes FOX viewers, Limbaugh listeners, and *Wall Street Journal* readers.

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**Data:** NAES 2004 Nat CS. 8/9/04 to 8/29/04. Unweighted.

**CONTROL VARIABLES**

Other recoded variables include

z1 (female=1, male=0)

z2 (age in years)

z10 (Hispanic=1, not=0)

z12 (African-American=1, other categories=0)

z25 (recoded to approximate years of education)

z26 (recoded to the intervals of the income brackets)

h1 (political interest recoded as hardly at all=1, most of the time=4)

f3 (strong=1, not a very strong=0)

f2 (rep=1, other=0)

f2 (dem=1, other=0)

f7 (1=very conservative, 5=very liberal)

p1-network news, p3-cable news, p6-local news viewing, p7-newspaper reading, p8-NPR listening, p9/10-non-NPR talk radio listening, i1-political discussion with friends/family (0 to 7 days in past week), c3/c10 Bush and Kerry favorability (0-10 scale), veterans (z22/z22a/z22b, 1=veteran, 0=non-veteran)

For the above variables, don't know and refused responses were treated as missing.

ADD'L Variables in this analysis:

p4 FOX viewers

p7 WSJ readers

p11\_1 thru p11\_5 Limbaugh listeners

Table A12.10.2. Logistic Regression equation for “During the Viet Nam War, John Kerry was awarded 3 purple hearts, a bronze star and a silver star. Do you believe that Kerry EARNED all of these medals or do you think he did not EARN all of them?” 1 – Kerry earned medals; 0 – Kerry did not earn medals.

	B	SE	Sig	Exp(B)
Education	.087	.027	.002	1.090
Income	.000	.001	.868	1.000
Age	-.011	.004	.006	.989
African-American	.245	.269	.363	1.277
Hispanic	.084	.242	.728	1.088
Female	.071	.125	.570	1.074
Veteran	-.167	.137	.222	.846
National news	.016	.025	.522	1.016
Cable news	.027	.023	.240	1.028
Local news	.040	.023	.087	1.041
NPR	.046	.029	.110	1.047
Non-NPR talk radio	-.074	.028	.009	.929
Newspaper	.009	.021	.667	1.009
Political interest	-.115	.078	.141	.891
Political discussion with friends & family	-.019	.028	.485	.981
Republican	.317	.145	.029	1.374
Democrat	.390	.163	.017	1.478
Strength of ideology	.162	.121	.180	1.176
Ideology	.140	.071	.047	1.150
Bush favorability	-.112	.024	.000	.894
Kerry favorability	.356	.025	.000	1.428
FOX viewer	-.561	.140	.000	.571
Wall Street Journal reader	.354	.433	.413	1.425
Limbaugh listener	-.120	.206	.562	.887
Constant	-1.22	.547	.026	.297
Cox & Snell r-square	0.342			
n	2,528			

- Controlling for other variables, those with higher levels of education and younger individuals were more likely to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals.
- Controlling for other variables, those who listen to non-NPR talk radio more often were less likely to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals.
- Republicans and Democrats are more likely than Independents, controlling for other variables, to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals
- Controlling for other variables, those identifying as more liberal on the ideology scale were more likely to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals.
- After controlling for other variables, those with a more favorable opinion toward Bush were less likely to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals. Alternatively, those with a more favorable opinion toward Kerry were more likely to believe that Kerry earned all of his medals.
- Controlling for other variables, FOX viewers were less likely to believe that Kerry earned his medals

Table A12.10.3. Logistic Regression for “Have you seen, heard, or read anti-Vietnam war statements John Kerry made to Congress after returning from service in Vietnam?”  
1 – Yes; 0 – No.

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Education	.199	.038	.000	1.220
Income	.001	.002	.701	1.001
Age	.014	.005	.009	1.014
African-American	-.562	.271	.038	.570
Hispanic	-.525	.320	.101	.591
Female	-.325	.166	.050	.723
Veteran	-.082	.120	.494	.921
National news	.038	.034	.257	1.039
Cable news	.142	.032	.000	1.152
Local news	.004	.032	.912	1.004
NPR	.092	.041	.025	1.096
Non-NPR talk radio	.023	.041	.573	1.023
Newspaper	-.009	.028	.740	.991
Political interest	.492	.105	.000	1.636
Political discussion with friends & family	.169	.038	.000	1.184
Republican	-.068	.236	.772	.934
Democrat	-.182	.205	.373	.833
Strength of ideology	.171	.164	.297	1.187
Ideology	-.053	.094	.574	.948
Bush favorability	-.051	.034	.132	.951
Kerry favorability	-.089	.035	.012	.915
FOX viewer	.228	.226	.315	1.256
Wall Street Journal reader	.032	1.179	.978	1.032
Limbaugh listener	1.124	.424	.008	3.076
Constant	-4.685	.781	.000	.009
Cox & Snell r-square	0.293			
n	1,031			

- Controlling for other variables, those with higher levels of education, older individuals, males, and non-African-Americans were more likely to say that they had seen, heard, or read anti-Vietnam war statements John Kerry made to Congress after returning from service in Vietnam.
- Those who listened to cable news and to NPR were more likely to say that they had seen, heard, or read Kerry’s statements controlling for other variables.
- Those with higher levels of political interest and those who discuss politics with friends and family more often were more likely to have seen, heard, or read Kerry’s statements after controlling for other variables.
- Those with more favorable opinions toward Kerry were less likely to have seen, heard, or read about Kerry’s statements.
- Controlling for other variables, Limbaugh listeners were more likely to have seen, heard, or read about Kerry’s statements.

Table 12.10.4. Regression for “From what you know about it [IF NECESSARY: 'his anti-Vietnam war statements'], do you approve or disapprove of what he said? Is that approve/disapprove strongly or approve/disapprove somewhat?” 1 – Disapprove strongly; 4 – Approve strongly.<sup>3</sup>

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	
(Constant)	2.217	.332		.000
Education	-.022	.015	-.040	.147
Income	.000	.001	.012	.661
Age	-.001	.002	-.009	.760
African-American	.024	.137	.004	.863
Hispanic	.016	.149	.003	.915
Female	.114	.066	.047	.083
Veteran	-.076	.061	-.034	.211
National news	.021	.013	.047	.100
Cable news	-.020	.012	-.047	.099
Local news	-.019	.012	-.041	.124
NPR	.050	.014	.100	.000
Non-NPR talk radio	-.018	.014	-.037	.210
Newspaper	-.014	.011	-.032	.218
Political interest	-.008	.048	-.005	.865
Political discussion with friends & family	.030	.014	.059	.030
Republican	.027	.087	.011	.756
Democrat	.251	.084	.097	.003
Strength of ideology	.006	.069	.002	.930
Ideology	.090	.039	.074	.022
Bush favorability	-.097	.014	-.303	.000
Kerry favorability	.129	.015	.366	.000
FOX viewer	-.026	.082	-.010	.750
Wall Street Journal reader	.176	.307	.014	.567
Limbaugh listener	-.150	.098	-.045	.126
R-square	0.662			
n	594			

- NPR listeners were more likely to approve of Kerry’s statements while non-NPR talk radio listeners were less likely, controlling for other variables.
- Those discussing politics more often with their friends and family were more likely to approve of Kerry’s statements controlling for other variables.
- Democrats and those with more liberal ideologies were more likely to approve of Kerry’s statements, controlling for other variables.

<sup>3</sup> This question was asked only of those who had heard, seen, or read Kerry’s anti-Vietnam war statements.

- Those with more favorable attitudes toward Kerry were more likely to approve of Kerry’s statements while those with more favorable attitudes toward Bush were less likely to approve of Kerry’s statements.

Table A12.10.5. Logistic Regression for “Do you think the Bush campaign is behind television ads attacking Kerry over Vietnam or do you think the ads have been made with no connection to the Bush campaign?” 1 – Yes, Bush campaign behind ads; 0 – No, ads have been made with no connection to the Bush campaign.

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Education	.076	.044	.083	1.079
Income	.003	.002	.073	1.004
Age	.001	.006	.857	1.001
African-American	.065	.361	.858	1.067
Hispanic	-.394	.342	.250	.674
Female	.128	.191	.503	1.137
Veteran	-.042	.167	.803	.959
National news	.029	.039	.458	1.029
Cable news	-.005	.036	.894	.995
Local news	.001	.037	.973	1.001
NPR	-.024	.045	.594	.976
Non-NPR talk radio	-.023	.045	.614	.978
Newspaper	-.019	.033	.573	.982
Political interest	.080	.121	.507	1.083
Political discussion with friends & family	.058	.043	.178	1.060
Republican	-.333	.241	.167	.717
Democrat	-.005	.246	.983	.995
Strength of ideology	.104	.194	.593	1.109
Ideology	.148	.111	.184	1.159
Bush favorability	-.265	.037	.000	.767
Kerry favorability	.182	.038	.000	1.200
FOX viewer	-.620	.240	.010	.538
Wall Street Journal reader	-.163	.923	.860	.850
Limbaugh listener	-.738	.354	.037	.478
Constant	-1.103	.870	.205	.332
Cox & Snell r-square	0.397			
n	926			

- Those with more favorable attitudes toward Kerry are more likely to believe that the Bush campaign is behind the ads, while those with more favorable attitudes toward Bush are more likely to believe that the ads were made with no connection to the Bush campaign, controlling for other variables.
- FOX viewers and Limbaugh listeners are less likely to believe that the Bush campaign is behind the ads, controlling for other variables.