

**Appendix to Chapter 10,
entitled
“Engendering and Reinforcing Distrust of Mainstream Media,”
from
*Echo Chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the Conservative Media
Establishment***

[Appendix 10.1](#) (see page 164 of *Echo*)
Distribution of PTR Listeners: 1996, Waves 1-5 (same as Appendix 5.1)

[Appendix 10.2](#) (see page 165 of *Echo*)
Mistrust of Mainstream Media by PTR Group, 1996

[Appendix 10.3](#) (see page 168 of *Echo*)
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[Appendix 10.4](#) (see page 172 of *Echo*)
Exposure and Attention to Mainstream News by PTR Group, 1996

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[Appendix 10.6](#) (see page 173 of *Echo*)
Mistrust of Mainstream News on Exposure to News, 1996

[Appendix 10.7](#) (see page 174 of *Echo*)
Exposure to Mainstream News by PTR Group, 2004

Appendix 10.1 (see page 164 of *Echo*)
Distribution of PTR Listeners: 1996, Waves 1-5
(same as Appendices 5.1 and 5.2)

Appendix 10.2 (see page 165 of *Echo*) Mistrust of Mainstream Media by PTR Group, 1996

The following analyses are pertinent to [Figure 10.1](#), found on page 165 of *Echo Chamber*.

At wave 1 of the 1996 PTR Survey respondents were asked, “Thinking about the major news media today – national television news, the daily newspaper you are most familiar with, and news magazines – would you say that the news media help society solve its problems Or the news media get in the way of society solving its problems?” About 6% said “both equally” and so the outcome was scaled from 1 to 3 with 3 most cynical. Analyses dropping the volunteered response and employing logistic regression produced substantively similar results.

Table A10.2.1. ANCOVA for mistrust of mainstream news media (Wave 1): PTR groups plus controls.

MSMM Help society solve its problems or get in the way

Source	df	F	p	B (SE)
Intercept	1	199.28	<.001	2.29 (.18)***
PARTY	2	6.32	0.002	
Democrat versus Republican				-.20 (.07)**
Moderate versus Republican				.005 (.06)
LISTENING GROUP	3	4.26	0.005	
NL versus Limbaugh				-.275 (.08)***
Conservative PTR versus Lim				-.195 (.11)#
Lib/Mod PTR versus Limbaugh				-.20 (.09)*
AGE	1	1.02	0.313	.002 (.002)
IDEOLOGY (5=strong conservative)	1	13.54	<.001	.105 (.03)***
WHITE	1	6.87	0.009	-.18 (.07)**
MALE	1	3.74	0.053	-.096 (.05)#
EDUCATION	1	2.16	0.142	-.04 (.03)
Total	N=1506	R ² (adj) = .04		

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

The following analyses are pertinent to [Figure 10.2](#), found on page 165 of *Echo Chamber*.

At wave 3 of the 1996 PTR Survey respondents were asked, “I’d like to ask your opinion of some places where people get news. For each one I read please tell me how fair and balanced it is. Use any number between 1 and 7 with one LEAST fair and balanced and 7 being MOST fair and balanced. First how about ...” Respondents assessed 6 sources, three of which are presented here and in [Figure 10.2](#) on page 166 of *Echo Chamber*, including the news and editorial sections of your newspaper, the national evening TV news, and political talk radio. Scores for each ranged from 1 to 7 with 7 most fair and balanced.

Are the MSMM fair and balanced during the primary? Newspapers

Table A10.2.2. ANCOVA for fairness and balance in mainstream PRINT news (Wave 3): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B (SE)
Intercept	1	225.55	<.001	4.34(.38)
LISTENING GROUP	3	2.43	0.06	
Non-Listeners				.364 (.17)*
Conservative PTR				.172 (.23)
Liberal/Mod PTR				.008 (.20)
WHITE	1	1.68	0.19	.20(.15)#
SEX (Male)	1	0.63	0.43	-.09(.11)#
EDUCATION	1	15.74	<.001	-.26(.06)***
AGE	1	1.12	0.29	-.004(.003)#
PARTY	2	4.61	0.01	
Democrat v. Republican				.40(.15)**
Moderate v. Republican				.04(.14)#
IDEOLOGY (1-5=Conservative)	1	0.97	0.32	-.08(.08)#
Total N	N=835 R ² (adj) = .044			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

Are the MSMM fair and balanced? Television Range is 1 to 7 with 7 being most fair and balanced.

Table A10.2.3. ANCOVA for fairness and balance in mainstream TELEVISION news (Wave 3): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	297.08	<.001	4.57(.38)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	9.41	<.001	
Non-Listeners				.88(.17)***
Conservative PTR				.48(.23)*
Liberal/Mod PTR				.57(.21)**
WHITE	1	4.64	0.032	-.33(.15)*
SEX	1	2.41	0.121	-.17(.11)
EDUCATION	1	14.14	<.001	-.24(.064)***
AGE	1	0.72	0.398	-.003(.003)
PARTY	2	11.09	<.001	
Democrat v. Republican				.67(.16)***
Moderate v. Republican				.16(.14)
IDEOLOGY	1	0.28	0.596	-.04(.08)
Total N	N=843 R ² (adj) = .115			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

Is PTR fair and balanced?

Range is 1 to 7 with 7 being most fair and balanced.

Table A10.2.4. ANCOVA for fairness and balance in PTR programs (Wave 3): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	146.04	<.001	4.72(.42)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	6.39	<.001	
Non-Listeners				-.81(.19)***
Conservative PTR				-.63(.25)**
Liberal/Mod PTR				-.64(.22)**
WHITE	1	0.24	0.624	
SEX	1	0.04	0.84	.02(.12)
EDUCATION	1	40.45	<.001	-.45(.07)***
AGE	1	0.67	0.412	.003(.004)
PARTY	2	0.94	0.39	
Democrat v. Republican				-.11(.17)
Moderate v. Republican				-.21(.15)
IDEOLOGY	1	1.14	0.286	.097(.09)
Total N	N=793		R ² (adj) = .075	

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

The following Tables support the figures in 10.3 on page 167 of *Echo Chamber*

Wave 4, Mistrust of TV and NP during the election: Tell what people need to know versus too much time on campaign strategies

Table A10.2.5. ANCOVA for mistrust of mainstream TELEVISION news (Wave 4): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	378.9	<.001	2.38(.14)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	3.43	.017	
Non-Listeners				-.19(.07)**
Conservative PTR				.008(.104)
Liberal/Mod PTR				-.095(.09)
IDEOLOGY	1	.000	.99	.0001(.04)
Education	1	.02	.88	.004(.03)
SEX	1	5.30	.02	.11(.05)*
WHITE	1	.47	.49	.05(.07)
PARTY (1 to 5 = Republican)	2	4.34	.04	.07(.03)*
Total N	N=1279		R ² (adj) = .017	

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

Table A10.2.6. ANCOVA for mistrust of mainstream PRINT news (Wave 4): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	297.49	<.001	2.45(.16)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	3.94	.008	
Non-Listeners				-.18(.08)*
Conservative PTR				-.19(.16)
Liberal/Mod PTR				-.35(.10)**
IDEOLOGY	1	.001	.98	-.001(.04)
Education	1	2.45	.12	-.05(.03)
SEX	1	.18	.67	.02(.05)
WHITE	1	.15	.70	-.03(.08)
PARTY (1 to 5=Republican)	2	2.23	.14	.06(.04)
Total N	N=1279		R ² (adj) = .011	

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

The following tables support figures 10.4 of page 167 in *Echo Chamber*

Post-election NP & TV bias and fairness

Table A10.2.7. ANCOVA for mistrust of mainstream news (Wave 5): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	94.81	<.001	1.99(.212)
LISTENING GROUP	3	2.99	0.03	
Non-Listeners				-.27(.09)**
Conservative PTR				-.20(.13)
Liberal/Mod PTR				-.29(.12)*
EDUCATION	1	7.57	0.006	-.10(.04)**
IDEOLOGY (Strg Conservative=5)	1	2.32	0.128	.08(.05)
PARTY (1 to 5=Republican)	1	20.52	<.001	.20(.05)***
SEX (Male)	1	3.31	0.069	-.12(.06)#
WHITE	1	1.86	0.173	-.14(.10)
AGE	1	0.58	0.446	.002(.002)
Total N	N=920 R ² (adj) = .063			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

Table A10.2.8. ANCOVA for judgments mainstream news as unfair and imbalanced (Wave 5): PTR groups plus controls.

Source	df	F	p	B(SE)
Intercept	1	56.67	<.001	4.85(.63)
LISTENING GROUP	3	8.795	<.001	
Non-Listeners				-1.29(.28)***
Conservative PTR				-.32(.40)
Liberal/Mod PTR				-1.20(.36)**
EDUCATION	1	7.68	.006	.31(.11)**
IDEOLOGY	1	5.68	.017	.35(.15)*
PARTY	1	19.11	<.001	.58(.13)***
SEX (male)	1	1.897	.17	.26(.19)
WHITE	1	.78	.38	.27(.30)
AGE	1	.45	0.50	.004(.01)
	N=929 R ² (adj) = .107			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

Appendix 10.3 (see page 168 of *Echo*)

Adherence to Instructions: PTR 1996 Experiment

See Appendix 5.3 for details about procedures and design of the PTR Experiment 1996.

The materials that follow concern a portion of the experimental data pertinent to perceptions of the mainstream news media after exposure to a week of PTR of different types.

Perceptions of Mainstream Media

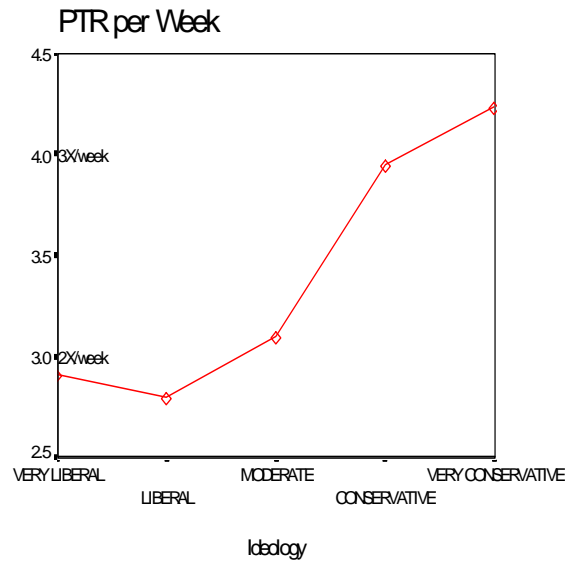
Some hosts in PTR see themselves as antidotes to the biased and infectious influences of the mainstream print and broadcast news media. Limbaugh in particular answers questions about the need for balance in his presentations with claims that he is the balance to what is otherwise an imbalanced and biased news media.

One of the issues we wanted to evaluate in our experiment was whether exposure to PTR would affect the audience's evaluations of mainstream news media. To get at this question, a number of questions were asked about newspapers and national TV news in both the pre-test and final questionnaires. These items fell into several groups. In the pre-test, questions about people's favorability toward newspapers and national TV news were asked as were questions about whether the news media help society solve its problems or get in the way. The latter was a forced choice question with a "strongly" or "not so strongly" intensifier asked as a follow-up. Also, five questions about fairness and balance in five news sources evaluated were asked. The sources included the "news and editorial sections of your newspaper"; "PTR"; "programs on National Public Radio, like All Things Considered"; "national TV evening news programs on NBC, ABC, CBS, & CNN"; C-SPAN.

In the final questionnaire, there were two 7-point agree-disagree questions about media cynicism ("help solve society's problems" and "get in the way"); two questions evaluating print and TV news favorably on 7-point scales; four favorability questions about specific sources (NY Times; Washington Times; Peter Jennings; Jim Lehrer). These sources are frequently cited in PTR discussions invoking news media.

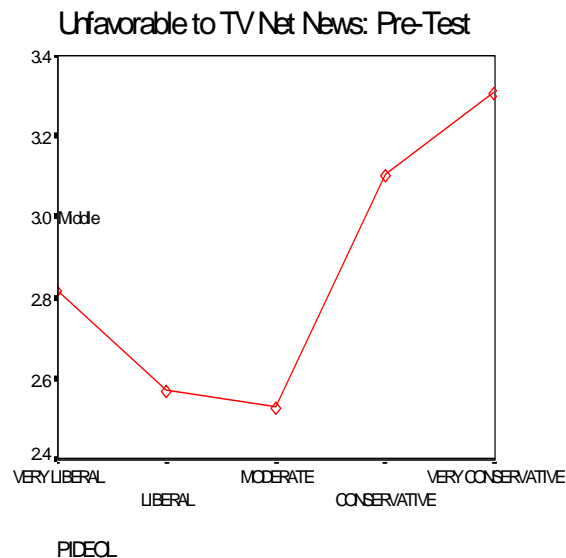
Ideology is significant in the attitudes our participants expressed toward the mainstream news media. Unsurprisingly, the conservatives in our sample consumed more PTR than any other group ($F(4,429) = 6.89, p < .0001$). Post-hoc tests indicate that those reporting they are conservative and very conservative consume significantly more PTR per week than liberals, moderates, and strong liberals. The behavior of conservatives and the messages they are likely to hear from PTR about the mainstream media suggest that they will evaluate these outlets less favorably than their more liberal and moderate counterparts.

Figure A 10.3.1. Mean consumption of PTR per week by political ideology.



Indeed, conservatives are more unfavorable to both network evening news shows and to newspapers' reporting of news than are liberals and moderates. Conservatives are more unfavorable toward TV news than are liberals and moderates ($F(4,417)=3.99, p < .003$) with the conservative and very conservative groups significantly more unfavorable than the other three groups ($p < .05$ in all cases). Conservatives locate themselves on the unfavorable side of the scale while liberals and moderates position themselves on the favorable side.

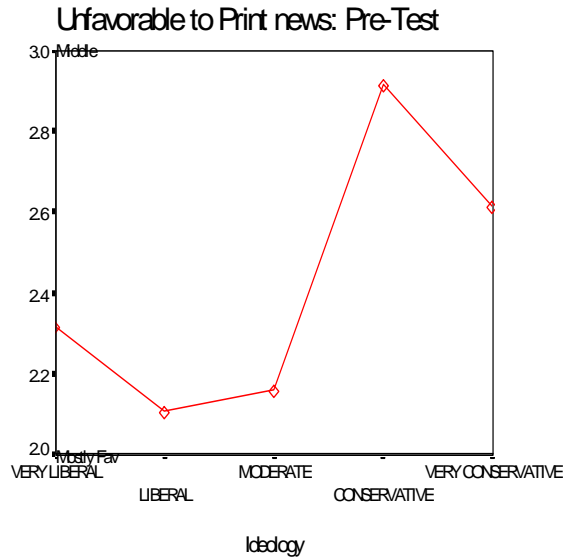
Figure A 10.3.2. Mean unfavorability to TV network news by political ideology.



Unfavorable reactions to newspapers show similar but not identical patterns ($F(4, 417)= 7.09, p < .0001$). The means for all groups are on the "favorable" side of the scale but the liberals are much more favorable than are the conservatives. The very liberal and very conservative groups are not as extreme as their liberal and conservative

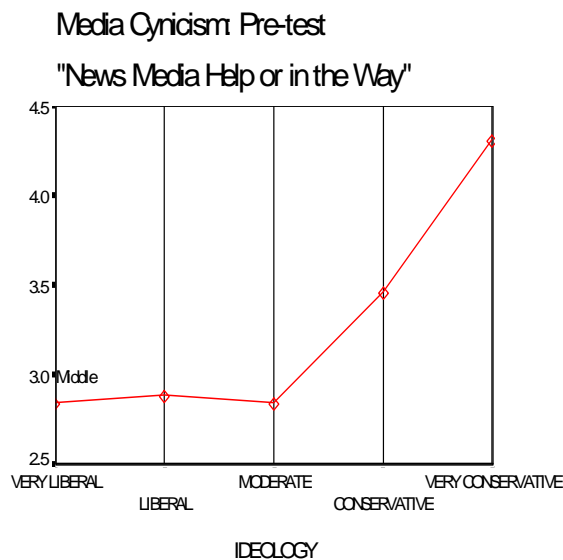
counterparts. The consequence is that the significant differences are between the conservative group and the liberal and moderate groups. These are differences in favorability because the means are on the favorable side of the scale.

Figure A10.3.3. Mean unfavorability to daily newspapers by political ideology.



The five-point measure of media cynicism shows results consistent with favorability judgments ($F(4,417) = 4.66, p < .001$). The conservative groups are more cynical about the media believing it to be more likely to get in the way of society solving its problems (scores above 3) while liberal and moderate groups average just below the mid-point. The differences between the two conservative and three liberal and moderate groups are significant ($p < .05$) individually.

Figure A10.3.4. Mean cynicism toward mainstream news media by political ideology.



In the sample available for the experiment self-reported ideology distinguished the degree of cynicism attributed to the mainstream news media and the audience's disfavor with these groups. Conservatives are more unfavorable and more cynical about the role of the mainstream news media in society. They express this in the attributions they make and in their use of alternative sources such as PTR.

Table A10.3.1. Means and standard deviations for pre-test judgments of fairness and balance by political ideology: Five news outlets.

		Descriptive Statistics				
Ideology		newspaper: fair&balanced? F(4,401)= 9.21, p < .0001	talk radio: fair&balanced? F(4,357)<9.65, p=.0001	NPR: fair&balanced? F(4,302)=4.58, p < .001	Natl TV news: fair&balanced? F(4,420)=9.39, p<.0001	C-SPAN: fair&balanced? F(4,200)<1, p=ns
VERY LIBERAL	Mean	4.3571	2.7059	5.3824	4.6667	4.4286
	Std. Deviation	1.5589	1.5281	1.3929	1.6479	1.5353
	N	42	34	34	42	21
LIBERAL	Mean	4.1786	2.9381	5.2000	4.4655	4.8000
	Std. Deviation	1.4533	1.5466	1.3870	1.5460	1.4983
	N	112	97	85	116	50
MODERATE	Mean	4.0000	3.0915	4.6143	4.4359	4.7368
	Std. Deviation	1.4589	1.4264	1.5940	1.6340	1.7937
	N	188	165	140	195	95
CONSERVATIVE	Mean	2.9608	4.1481	4.4250	3.3051	4.9667
	Std. Deviation	1.5743	1.8774	1.5506	1.7932	1.4259
	N	51	54	40	59	30
VERY CONSERVATIVE	Mean	2.7692	4.6923	3.8750	2.7692	4.3333
	Std. Deviation	1.4233	1.9315	1.8851	1.6909	2.5495
	N	13	13	8	13	9
Total	Mean	3.9163	3.2293	4.8176	4.2588	4.7366
	Std. Deviation	1.5405	1.6341	1.5549	1.7001	1.6800
	N	406	362	307	425	205

They also tend to find mainstream media more unfair and imbalanced. In Table A10.3.1., five sources of news are compared in terms of fairness and balance as a function of the evaluator's ideology. Four of the five are strongly related to ideology with conservatives judging TV, print, and NPR news to be less fair and balanced than liberals and moderates do. By contrast, PTR is seen as more fair and balanced among conservatives than among liberals and moderates. Only C-SPAN is unrelated to ideology, averaging above the mid-point for all groups.

None of this is particularly surprising. Conservatives in this sample are very unhappy with television and print news, seeing it as part of the problem facing society rather than part of the solution. Liberals are more favorable to the mainstream media although their evaluation of it as a solution or a problem is about at the mid-point on average.

The interesting question, however, is whether exposure to PTR has any effects on altering these perceptions of the mainstream news media, either activating or

depressing cynical responses or modifying positive and negative feelings. Five questions were used to ascertain the audience's reactions to mainstream media after exposure to PTR. They were:

Seven-point favorable-unfavorable questions on:

The daily newspaper you are most familiar with
Network TV News

Seven-point agree-disagree responses to:

The major news media – national television news and daily newspapers – mostly help society solve its problems.

The major news media – national television news and daily newspapers – mostly get in the way of society solving its problems.

The media treat liberals and liberal causes more sympathetically than they treat conservatives and conservative causes.

In all cases, participants were given the option to indicate that they were unfamiliar with the particular medium.

The two favorability items did not show any differences across experimental conditions even with appropriate controls for pre-test levels of favorability. No interactions with ideology or with previous PTR experience were detected.ⁱ Similarly, the positively worded media cynicism question showed no effects due to PTR group or interactions with ideology, party, or prior PTR experience. This question asks whether the major news media help society solve its problems. In our previous research on cynicism, questions inviting cynical reactions tended to be more readily altered by messages activating cynical responses than their opposite – but positively worded – counterparts.

Two significant effects emerged. The first was for media cynicism. The table and graph below summarize the effects. A significant interaction effect emerges between political ideology and PTR group explaining about 5% of the variance in media cynicism. The control group means for each ideological subgroup are essentially identical after controlling out the effects of pre-test cynicism. But as liberals and conservatives are exposed to various types of PTR their cynicism about the media is altered, sometimes in unpredictable directions. Exposure to conservative PTR leads conservatives to be more and liberals to be less cynical about mainstream media. After exposure to 5 days of Rush Limbaugh, conservatives have elevated levels of media cynicism but so do liberals, contrary to their reaction to conservative PTR. Perhaps most perplexing is the conservatives' response to TOTN. Cynicism is elevated here possibly because they are reminded that TOTN is like the liberal news media despised by conservative groups.

Table A10.3.2. ANCOVA results for mainstream media cynicism: PTR group, ideology, and pre-test media cynicism.

PTR group, ideology, pre-test media cynicism

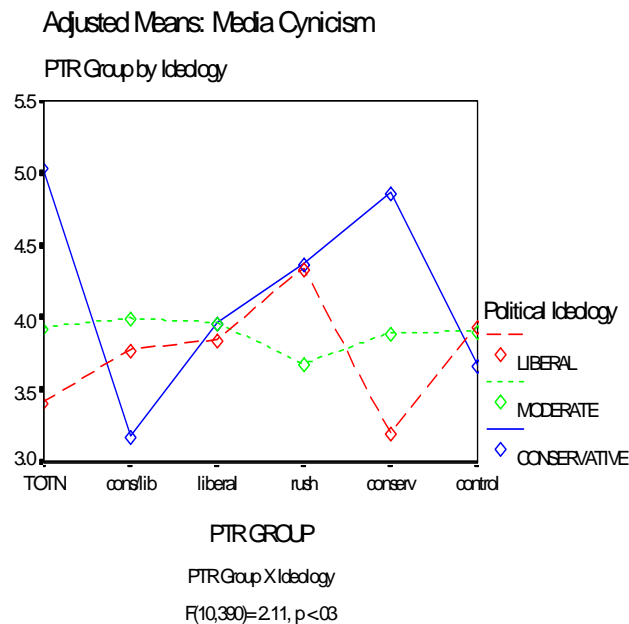
Dependent Variable: Media Cynicism

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta Squared
Corrected Model	406.595 ^b	18	22.589	10.123	.000	.318
Intercept	352.444	1	352.444	157.950	.000	.288
Ideology	8.178	2	4.089	1.832	.161	.009
PTR Group	8.544	5	1.709	.766	.575	.010
Ideol*PTR Group	47.112	10	4.711	2.111	.023	.051
Pretest Media Cyn	307.797	1	307.797	137.941	.000	.261
Error	870.232	390	2.231			
Total	7458.000	409				
Corrected Total	1276.826	408				

a. Computed using alpha = .05

b. R Squared = .318 (Adjusted R Squared = .287)

Figure 10.3.5. Mean media cynicism (adjusted) by PTR group and ideology.



The other significant effect was found with a question about liberal bias in the major news media. This is a favorite mantra of many conservative PTR hosts, especially Limbaugh. The table and graph below indicate the significance and direction of effects.

Again political ideology plays a significant role in moderating the effects of PTR exposure on liberal bias. Although the interaction effect is not significant by normal standards it does explain almost 4% of the variance in liberal bias. An effect for PTR underlies the interaction. The graph shows that the control group exhibits large differences in perceived bias in the media depending on political ideology. This is so because we had no pre-test measure of liberal bias and, unlike other analyses we conducted, no control for pre-test levels was possible.

Table A.10.3.3. ANOVA results for attributed liberal bias: PTR group and political ideology.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Liberal Bias in News

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta Squared
Corrected Model	368.301 ^b	17	21.665	8.603	.000	.269
Intercept	6427.409	1	6427.409	2552.356	.000	.865
Ideology	298.824	2	149.412	59.332	.000	.230
PTR Group	28.498	5	5.700	2.263	.048	.028
Ideol* PTR Grp	39.277	10	3.928	1.560	.116	.038
Error	1002.254	398	2.518			
Total	8375.000	416				
Corrected Total	1370.555	415				

a. Computed using alpha = .05

b. R Squared = .269 (Adjusted R Squared = .237)

The interaction effect is due solely to the conservatives. Conservatives listening to TOTN, liberal PTR, and a liberal/conservative mix were less likely to say there was a liberal bias in the mass media than was the case for those in the control (or those hearing conservative or Limbaugh programming). If we ignore the marginal interaction effect, the main effect for PTR exposure is still significant, explaining almost 3% of the variance. It is due to the TOTN, liberal, and liberal/conservative exposures having lowered levels of attributed liberal media bias.

Figure A10.3.6. Mean attributed liberal bias in mainstream news by PTR group and political ideology.

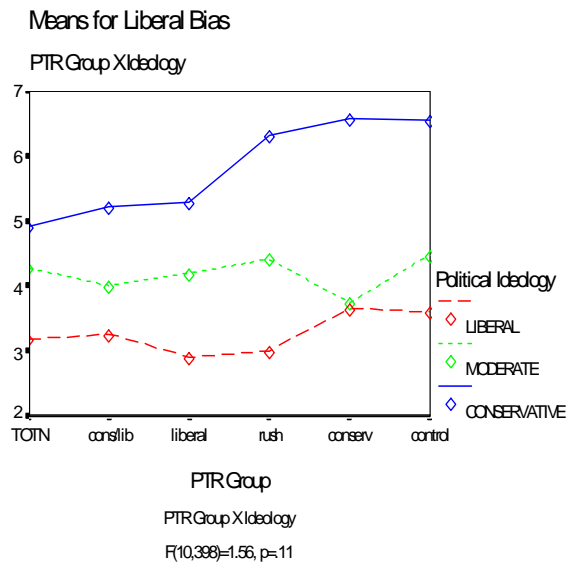
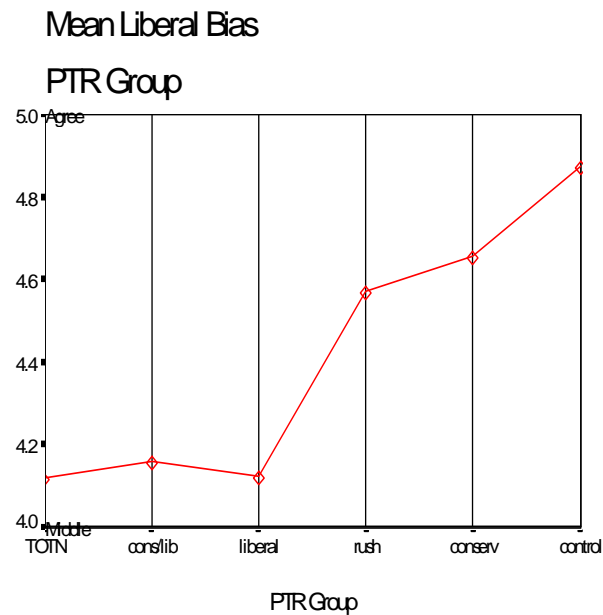


Figure A.10.3.7. Mean attributed liberal bias in mainstream news media by PTR group.



The PTR programs we gave our participants did not allocate much of their talk to the media per se. Despite this, two of the most important questions we asked in follow-up produced differences in response. Differences between conservatives and liberals in assumed liberal bias were reduced when audiences heard a liberal or balanced message. Differences between conservatives and liberals in media cynicism increased in response to conservative, liberal/conservative, and TOTN programs.

**Appendix 10.4 (see page 172 of *Echo*)
Exposure and Attention to Mainstream News by PTR Group, 1996**

During wave 1 of our 1996 PTR survey we queried listeners and non-listeners about their consumption of mainstream news as well as other sources of political information. Table A10.4.1. presents percentages of those responding “regularly” to questions about news consumption. Other response alternatives included sometimes, hardly ever, or never. Although the question “how often do you talk with other people about politics?” is not about news consumption, it does reflect motivation to discuss issues about politics often rehearsing topics gleaned from other news sources.

Table A10.4.1. Percentage of listeners using and attending to different news sources: Wave 1, February-March 1996.

	Limbaugh Regulars	Other PTR Regulars	Non-Listeners
National TV News Regularly^a	63%	64%	58%
Daily Newspaper Regularly	53%	51%	38%
News Magazines Regularly	22%	23%	15%
C-SPAN Regularly	20%	16%	8%
NPR Regularly	14%	22%	8%
PBS News Hours Regularly	7%	14%	6%
Talk Politics Often^b	48%	46%	26%

Note. ^a Only those responding that they are regular consumers. ^b Only those responding “often.” Unweighted.

During October of the presidential campaign of 1996, we queried survey participants about their consumption of national news from TV newscasts and from daily newspapers, as well as their attentiveness to news about the presidential campaign from these sources. They were also asked about their exposure to political talk radio. The questions were as follows:

In the past seven days, on how many days – if any – did you watch NATIONAL:
TV newscasts or news programs? This is different from local TV news

about the area where you live. Responses were from none to seven (or everyday).

How much attention did you pay to national TV news about the campaign for president? Responses were a lot, some, only a little, or no attention at all.

In the past seven days on how many days – if any – did you read a daily newspaper for national news?

How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for president?

Response options were the same for the latter two questions as for the former two. The PTR question only asked about “listening to any political talk radio shows” in the past seven days.

Table A10.4.2. Percentage of listeners using and attending to different news sources: Wave 4, October 1996.

	Limbaugh Regulars	Other PTR Regulars	Non-Listeners
National TV News 5+ days past week	44%	36%	33%
Daily Newspaper 5+ days past week	46%	41%	33%
Attention National TV News^a	64%	62%	51%
Attention Newspaper articles^a	50%	54%	37%
PTR 2+ days past week	60%	62%	15%

Note. ^a Those answering a lot or some. Unweighted.

As other data that we have reported show, listeners to PTR, especially listeners to Rush Limbaugh, are cynical and mistrustful of what they perceive to be bias and lack of balance in the mainstream news sources. Their mistrust is strong and consistent but is it associated with withdrawal from mainstream sources? The raw percentages uncontrolled for confounders above would suggest they did not withdraw during the 1996 primary and election periods.

To test these impressions more carefully, multivariate analyses of variance were carried out for data at wave 1 and at wave 4 of the 1996 PTR Survey. At wave 1 four types of analyses were completed: (1) seven sources of political information separately (see Table A10.4.1. above for the sources); (2) an index of all sources aggregated so that regular exposure is coded 1 and all other responses 0; (3) an index of the mainstream news sources only (television, daily newspaper, and news magazines) coded 1 for regular use and 0 otherwise; (4) the same three analyses including an interaction term between PTR group and media cynicism from wave 1.

The results are consistent throughout the analyses for wave 1. There is no evidence that Limbaugh listeners have lower levels of exposure to mainstream news sources; they are either equal to other groups or higher. There is no evidence that cynicism about the mainstream news media interacts with listening group or is associated with exposure to mainstream or other sources of political information. The absence of a significant interaction – while hardly definitive – suggests that the elevated levels of mistrust and cynicism they express about mainstream news sources are not associated with depressed consumption of these sources. The following two tables (Table A.10.4.3. and Table A.10.4.4.) present the effects of listening group, mainstream news cynicism, and their interaction for two indices of news consumption at wave 1 – heavy consumption of political information (regulars =1, 0 otherwise summed over 7 measures) and mainstream consumption only.

Table A10.4.3. ANCOVA of heavy consumption of political information during early primary period 1996 (Wave 1): PTR groups, media cynicism and controls.

Source	df	F	P	B (SE)
Intercept	1	174.4	<.001	3.21 (.35)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	1.71	0.16	
NL vs. Limbaugh				-.34 (.29)
Lib/Mod PTR vs. Limbaugh				.12 (.34)
Conserv PTR vs. Limbaugh				-.31 (.40)
EDUCATION	1	53.2	<.001	.31 (.04)***
IDEOLOGY	1	11.75	0.001	-.14 (.04)***
PARTY	2	2.99	0.05	
Dems vs. Republicans				-.006 (.10)
Moderates vs. Republicans				-.18 (.09) *
SEX (male)	1	3.07	0.080	-.12 (.07)#
WHITE	1	7.85	0.005	-.27 (.10)**
AGE	1	20.72	<.001	.010 (.002)***
Media Cynicism	1	1.13	0.29	-.05 (.11)
Cynicism X Group	3	.06	0.98	
Cyn X (NL vs. Limbaugh)				-.02 (.12)
Cyn X (Lib/Mod vs. Limb)				-.005 (.14)
Cyn X (Conserv PTR vs. Lim)				.03 (.16)
Total N	N=1503 R ² (adj)=.089			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10. Media cynicism is a single item forced choice measure about mainstream news asking whether they help society solve its problems or get in the way. Results similar when cynicism treated as categorical.

Table A10.4.4. ANCOVA of index of reported exposure to three mainstream news media sources during early primary period 1996 (Wave 1): PTR groups, media cynicism and controls.

Source	Df	F	P	B (SE) ^a
Intercept	1	296.7	<.001	
LISTENING GROUP	3	1.00	0.39	
NL vs. Limbaugh				
Lib/Mod PTR vs. Limbaugh				
Conserv PTR vs. Limbaugh				
EDUCATION	1	24.2	<.001	.13 (.03)***
IDEOLOGY	1	5.84	0.05	-.076 (.03)*
PARTY	2	3.21	0.05	
Dems vs. Republicans				-.009 (.06)
Moderates vs. Republicans				-.12 (.05)*
SEX (male)	1	1.39	0.24	
WHITE	1	4.00	0.05	-.12 (.06)*
AGE	1	3.06	.08	
Media Cynicism	2	.38	0.68	
Cynicism X Group	6	.51	0.80	
Cyn X (NL vs. Limbaugh)				
Cyn X (Lib/Mod vs. Lim)				
Cyn X (Conserv PTR vs. Lim)				
Total N	N=1505 R ² (adj)=.025			

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10. Media cynicism is a single item forced choice measure about mainstream news asking whether they help society solve its problems or get in the way. ^a Non-significant B's are not presented.

At wave 4, a single multivariate analysis of covariance was carried out using two measures of mainstream news exposure and predictors including PTR listening group, two media cynicism measures, their interaction, as well as covariates (education, sex, race, ideology, party identification, and age). The measure of media exposure employed weighted exposure by attention to news about the presidential campaign for television and print news separately. This combined measure has been shown to have strong and consistent associations to knowledge, close following, and political involvement (see Appendix 12.1 on this website).

Neither PTR listening group (Pillai's trace = .008, F(6, 2498) = 1.63, p = .14), listening group by print media cynicism (Pillai's trace = .005, p = .87), nor listening group by TV news cynicism (Pillai's trace = .006, p = .83) were significant. Only one effect involving cynicism about print news emerged but its direction was such that greater cynicism about print news was associated with greater exposure and attention to mainstream news sources. No evidence emerged that cynical reactions to mainstream news, which characterize Limbaugh listeners more than any other group, affected attention to or exposure to mainstream news sources during the election of 1996.

**Appendix 10.5 (see page 173 of *Echo*)
Mistrust of Mainstream News by PTR Group, post-election 1996**

Post-election media cynicism – do the national TV news, the daily newspaper you are most familiar with, and news magazines help citizens make good decisions among candidates or get in the way of citizens making good decisions?

Table A10.5.1. ANCOVA of media cynicism post-election 1996 (Wave 5): PTR groups and controls.

Source	df	F	p	B (SE)
Intercept	1	94.81	<.001	1.99 (.21)***
LISTENING GROUP	3	2.99	0.03	
NL vs. Limbaugh				-.27(.09)**
Conserv PTR vs. Limbaugh				-.20 (.13)
Lib/Mod PTR vs. Limbaugh				-.29 (.12)**
EDUCATION	1	7.57	0.006	-.10 (.04)**
IDEOLOGY	1	2.32	0.128	.076 (.05)
PARTY	1	20.52	<.001	.20 (.045)***
SEX (male)	1	3.31	0.069	-.12 (.06)#
WHITE	1	1.86	0.173	-.14 (.10)
AGE	1	0.58	0.446	.001 (.002)
Total N	N=920		R2(adj)=.063	

Note. *** p < .001; **p < .01; * p < .05; # p < .10

An identical analysis was carried out about newspapers and TV news fairness in “covering the political campaigns.” Responses were recoded from least fair and balanced (7) to most fair and balanced (1) for newspapers you are most familiar with and for national TV evening news. The index was thus an index of unfair and imbalanced. All the coefficients are not presented here but PTR group was significant $F(3, 919) = 8.8, p < .001$, with Limbaugh listeners higher than nonlisteners ($p < .001$) and than listeners of liberal/moderate PTR ($p < .001$). Listeners to conservative PTR were not different from Limbaugh listeners although they were lower.

Appendix 10.6 (see page 173 of *Echo*)

Mistrust of Mainstream News on Exposure to News, 1996

At wave 1, early in the primary season respondents were asked how often they use certain publications and watch certain TV and radio programs. Specifically, they were asked about the news and editorial sections of their daily newspapers, the national TV evening news, news magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, C-Span, programs on NPR, and "The NewsHour" on PBS. They could respond regularly, sometimes, hardly ever, or never. An index of mainstream news media including television and newspapers was created. Two different regressions were run. The first set included dummy variables for listening groups with Limbaugh listeners the comparison and included controls for race, sex, education, age, ideology, and party identification. There were no significant differences for groups $F(3, 1532) = .62, p = .60$, and no significant differences for Limbaugh versus any of the other groups. In a second regression, mistrust of the mainstream media and an interaction term for media mistrust and listening group were included as predictors of mainstream media use. Neither term was close to significant indicating that mistrust of mainstream media was not a factor predictive of mainstream media use.

However, Limbaugh listeners were heavier consumers of C-Span than non-listeners ($t = 4.36, p < .001$) and less frequent users of NPR and PBS than listeners of conservative talk radio ($p < .05$ in both cases) even in the presence of extensive controls.

During October of the election campaign, media use and media mistrust about the election were obtained from respondents. Two indices were created, one weighting television news exposure about the campaign by attention to TV news and a second parallel one for newspapers news about the election. A multivariate multiple regression accounting for the exposure-attention variables was run using listening group, mistrust of television news and of newspaper news, plus extensive controls for education, sex, race, ideology, and party. Group was statistically significant for television exposure-attention and for newspaper exposure-attention ($F(3, 1261) = 3.19, p < .03$ and $F(3, 1261) = 6.82, p < .001$ respectively). Limbaugh listeners were significantly more attentive and exposed to TV and newspapers about the election than non-listeners and listeners of liberal/moderate PTR. They were no different from listeners to conservative PTR. Mistrust of newspapers was a significant predictor of the attention-exposure measures ($p < .03$ at least) but the direction was such that greater mistrust of these sources was associated with more rather than less exposure-attention.

Exposure to PTR: Post-election 1996

Table A 10.6.1. Post-election exposure to PTR by listening group and mistrust of mainstream media.

Variable	B	Std Error	p
Intercept	2.31	.23	.001
Non-Listening vs. Limbaugh	-1.08	.16	.001
Conservative PTR vs. Limbaugh	-.38	.23	.10
Liberal/Mod PTR vs. Limbaugh	-.48	.19	.02
Mistrust of MSMM	.08	.04	.03
Mistrust X NL Group	-.02	.04	.69
Mistrust X Conserv Group	.07	.06	.27
Mistrust X Lib/Mod Group	.07	.06	.22

Note. Controls are not included in the table but included education, ideology, race, party identification, sex, and age.

Exposure to political talk radio remained higher for Limbaugh's listeners after the election than for other listening groups and mistrust of the MSMM was associated with exposure to PTR, although not differently for different listening groups.

**Appendix 10.7 (see page 174 of *Echo*)
Exposure to Mainstream News by PTR Group, 2004**

Rush Limbaugh Listeners more likely to read newspapers and more likely to watch national TV news (including cable news) in 2000.

Rush Limbaugh Listeners/ FOX viewers more likely to read newspapers but less likely to watch national news (including CNN) in 2004.

NAES: General election (11-01-04 cumulative data file); 2000 General election
Bruce Hardy

2000

Dependent Variables:

nattvcab (National News and Cable News Combined): Combined two variables: One asked “How many days in the past week did you watch network national network news on TV – by national news, I mean Peter Jennings on ABC, Dan Rather on CBS, Tom Brokaw on NBC, FOX, or UPN News?” the other asked “How many days in the past week did you watch cable news, such as CNN or MSNBC?”

newspaper: “How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?”

Independent Variables:

Rush: This variable is basically a dummy variable for those who reported listening to Rush Limbaugh in the past week. Those who reported listening to Rush Limbaugh were coded as 1 and those who did not were coded as 0.

Female – female coded as 1, male as 0.

Age – measured in years

Education – recoded to approximate years of education completed

Income – recoded to the intervals of the income brackets

Republican – dummy for Republican Identification

Ideology – Conservative coded high

Results:

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.752	.172		4.372	.000
	female	-.082	.045	-.009	-1.804	.071
	age	.078	.001	.283	55.202	.000
	income	.106	.012	.049	8.507	.000
	educ	.081	.010	.045	7.868	.000
	republican	-.069	.053	-.007	-1.313	.189
	ideo	-.067	.026	-.014	-2.610	.009
	rush	.376	.082	.024	4.557	.000

a. Dependent Variable: nattivcab

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-1.026	.109		-9.412	.000
	female	-.319	.029	-.056	-11.099	.000
	age	.054	.001	.302	60.605	.000
	income	.203	.008	.145	25.725	.000
	educ	.135	.007	.116	20.689	.000
	republican	-.038	.033	-.006	-1.125	.261
	ideo	-.105	.016	-.035	-6.417	.000
	rush	.174	.052	.017	3.332	.001

a. Dependent Variable: newspaper

As the tables show, in 2000 Rush Limbaugh listeners were more likely to use national news and newspapers.

2004:

Dependent Variables:

natTVCNN: (National News and CNN): Combined two variables: One asked “How many days in the past week did you watch network national network news on TV – by national news, I mean Peter Jennings on ABC, Dan Rather on CBS, Tom Brokaw on NBC, and Jim Lehrer NewsHour on PBS?”; the other asked “Which of the cable news networks would you say you watch most often?” Those who reported CNN were then coded as one and those who reported some different channel were coded as zero. This variable was then combined with the national news variable.

newspaper: “How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?”

Rush Limbaugh Listener - This measure was created by combining the 5 **P11** variables. Basically, they asked respondents to list the talk radio programs that they listened to in the last week and recorded up to five responses. Anyone who listed Rush Limbaugh received a score of 1 and those who didn't a score of 0. This was then added with the variable **p12** as which radio host they listened most often.

FOX Viewers.

Recoded **P4** where Fox viewers received a score of 1 and viewers of other cable news stations received a score 0. “Don't Know” and “Refused” were coded as missing.

Other controls:

Female – female coded as 1, male as 0.

Age – measured in years

Education – recoded to approximate years of education completed

Income – recoded to the intervals of the income brackets

Republican – dummy for Republican Identification

Ideology – Conservative coded high

Results:

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.203	.076		2.676	.007
	educ	.044	.005	.039	9.684	.000
	female	.181	.020	.033	9.049	.000
	age	.052	.001	.317	88.086	.000
	income	.013	.005	.010	2.406	.016
	ideology	-.087	.011	-.032	-7.882	.000
	republican	-.270	.024	-.046	-11.453	.000
	Limbaugh	-.389	.039	-.037	-9.849	.000
	FOX	-.730	.025	-.109	-29.045	.000

a. Dependent Variable: naTVCNN

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-1.099	.079		-13.845	.000
	educ	.125	.005	.107	26.542	.000
	female	-.283	.021	-.049	-13.512	.000
	age	.055	.001	.314	88.219	.000
	income	.194	.006	.141	34.575	.000
	ideology	-.137	.012	-.047	-11.791	.000
	republican	-.114	.025	-.018	-4.618	.000
	Limbaugh	.202	.041	.018	4.879	.000
	FOX	.167	.026	.024	6.351	.000

a. Dependent Variable: newspaper

In 2004 we see that Rush and Fox viewers use less national TV (including CNN), however, consistent with 2000, Rush and Fox viewers read more newspaper than non-Rush/Fox fans.

Newspaper analyses on data from 9/01/04 to Election Day.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	-1.099	.159		-6.903	.000
educ	.127	.009	.108	13.588	.000
female	-.248	.041	-.042	-6.028	.000
age	.054	.001	.303	43.378	.000
income	.207	.011	.149	18.639	.000
ideology	-.169	.023	-.058	-7.340	.000
republican	-.088	.049	-.014	-1.803	.071
Limbaugh	.170	.081	.015	2.114	.035
FOX	.132	.051	.019	2.571	.010

a. Dependent Variable: newspaper

There isn't much difference between the full sample and pared sample.

ⁱ Four questions about specific news personalities and sources were also evaluated. No effects due to experimental condition or any interactions were obtained. There was no discussion of media personalities in the PTR programs.