

CHAPTER 12

The Media

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

In this chapter you examine the historical evolution and current status of relations between the government and the news media—how the media affect government and politics and how government seeks to affect the media.

After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Describe the evolution of journalism in American political history, and describe the differences between the party press and the mass media of today.
2. Demonstrate how the characteristics of the electronic media have affected the actions of public officials and candidates for national office.
3. Describe the effect of the pattern of ownership and control of the media on the dissemination of news, and show how wire services and television networks have affected national news coverage. Discuss the influence of the national press.
4. Describe the rules that govern the media, and contrast the regulation of electronic and print media. Describe the effect of libel laws on freedom of the press and of government rules on broadcasters.
5. Assess the effect of the media on politics, and discuss why it is difficult to find evidence that can be used to make a meaningful and accurate assessment. Explain why the executive branch probably benefits at the expense of Congress.
6. Describe the adversarial press and how reporters use their sources. Describe how an administration can develop tactics to use against the adversarial press.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
 - A. New media v. the old media
 1. New media: television and the Internet
 2. Old media: newspapers and magazines
 3. New media getting stronger
 - a) 60 Minutes story on Bush and the National Guard
 - b) Bloggers rebuttal
 - c) Young people and the Internet
 - B. Media and public officials
 1. Love-hate relationship
 - a) The media advance careers and causes
 - b) But the media also criticize, expose and destroy

2. Relationship shaped by laws and understandings that accord tremendous degree of freedom for the media
 - a) Cross national study of freedom of press
 - (1) Comparisons with Great Britain
 - (a) Libel law in Great Britain
 - (b) Official Secrets Act (Great Britain)
 - (c) Freedom of Information Act (United States)
 - (d) Government regulation of press in other nations (Austria, France, Italy)
 - b) The media landscape in the United States
 - (1) Long tradition of private ownership
 - (2) No licensing for newspapers
 - (3) Licenses and F.C.C. regulation for radio and television
 - (4) Potential limits to freedom
 - (a) The need for profit
 - (b) Media bias
- II. Journalism in American political history
- A. The party press
 1. Parties created and subsidized various newspapers
 2. Circulation was small, newspapers expensive, advertisers few
 3. Newspapers circulated among political and commercial elites
 - B. The popular press
 1. Changes in society and technology made the press self-supporting and able to reach mass readership
 - a) High-speed press
 - b) Telegraph
 - c) Associated Press, 1848; objective reporting
 - d) Urbanization allowed large numbers to support paper
 - e) Government Printing Office; end of subsidies in 1860
 2. Influence of publishers, editors created partisan bias
 - a) “Yellow journalism” to attract readers
 - b) Hearst foments war against Spain
 3. Emergence of a common national culture
 - C. Magazines of opinion
 1. Middle class favors new, progressive periodicals
 - a) *Nation*, *Atlantic*, *Harper’s* in 1850s and 1860s on behalf of certain issues
 - b) *McClure’s*, *Scribner’s*, *Cosmopolitan* later on
 2. Individual writers gain national followings through investigative reporting
 3. Number of competing newspapers declines, as does sensationalism
 4. Today the number of national magazines focusing on politics accounts for a small and declining fraction of magazines
 - D. Electronic journalism
 1. Radio arrives in the 1920s, television in the 1940s
 2. Politicians could address voters directly but people could easily ignore them
 3. But fewer politicians could be covered.
 - a) President routinely covered
 - b) Others must use bold tactics
 4. Recent rise in the talk show as a political forum has increased politicians’ access to electronic media
 - a) Big Three networks have made it harder for candidates by shortening sound bites

- b) But politicians have more sources: cable, early morning news, news magazine shows
 - c) These new sources feature lengthy interviews
 - 5. No research on consequences of two changes:
 - a) Recent access of politicians to electronic media
 - b) “Narrowcasting,” which targets segmented audiences
 - 6. Politicians continue to seek visuals even after they are elected
 - E. The Internet
 - 1. Ultimate free market in political news
 - 2. Increasingly important role in politics
 - a) Fund raising efforts
 - b) Blogs, discussion and criticism
 - c) Candidate web sites
 - 3. Voters and political activists can now communicate with each other
- III. The structure of the media
 - A. Degree of competition
 - 1. Newspapers
 - a) Number of daily newspapers has declined significantly
 - b) Number of cities with multiple papers has declined
 - (1) 60 percent of cities had competing newspapers in 1900
 - (2) Only 4 percent in 1972
 - (3) Joint Operating Agreements allow same company to own the major papers of different cities
 - c) Newspaper circulation has fallen in recent years
 - d) Most people now get most of their news from television
 - e) Age and newspaper readership
 - (1) Made little difference in the 1940s and 1950s
 - (2) Radical change by the 1970s
 - 2. Radio and television
 - a) Intensely competitive, becoming more so
 - b) Composed mostly of locally owned and managed enterprises, unlike Europe
 - c) Orientation to local market
 - d) Limitations by FCC; widespread ownership created
 - B. The national media
 - 1. Existence somewhat offsets local orientation
 - 2. Consists of
 - a) Wire services
 - b) National magazines
 - c) Television networks—some with news around the clock
 - d) Newspapers with national standing and readership because
 - (1) They sell many copies
 - (2) They are closely followed by political elites
 - (3) Radio and television often consult such papers in their own reporting
 - (4) They provided background, investigative, or interpretive stories about issues and politics
 - 3. Roles played
 - a) Gatekeeper: what is news, for how long
 - (1) Auto safety
 - (2) Water pollution
 - (3) Prescription drugs
 - (4) Crime rates

- b) Scorekeeper: who is winning or losing
 - (1) Attention to Iowa, New Hampshire
 - (2) Free publicity for winners and momentum for subsequent primaries
 - c) Watchdog: investigate personalities and expose scandals
 - (1) Hart's relationship with Donna Rice in 1987
 - (2) Watergate (Woodward and Bernstein)
- IV. Rules governing the media
- A. Newspapers versus electronic media
 - 1. Newspapers almost entirely free from government regulation; prosecutions only after the fact and limited: libel, obscenity, incitement
 - 2. Radio and television licensed, regulated
 - B. Confidentiality of sources
 - 1. Reporters want right to keep sources confidential
 - 2. Most states and federal government disagree
 - 3. Supreme Court allows government to compel reporters to divulge information in court if it bears on a crime
 - 4. Myron Farber jailed for contempt
 - 5. Police search of newspaper office upheld
 - C. Regulating broadcasting
 - 1. FCC licensing
 - a) Seven years for radio
 - b) Five years for television
 - c) Stations must serve "community needs"
 - d) Public service, other aspects can be regulated
 - 2. Recent movement to deregulate
 - a) License renewal by postcard
 - b) No hearing unless opposed
 - c) Relaxation of rule enforcement
 - 3. Radio broadcasting deregulated the most
 - a) Telecommunications Act of 1996 permits one company to own as many as eight stations in large markets (five in smaller ones)
 - b) Results:
 - (1) Few large companies now own most of the big-market radio stations
 - (2) Greater variety of opinion and shows on radio
 - 4. Deregulation and the content of broadcasting
 - a) Fairness Doctrine (eventually abandoned)
 - b) Equal Time Rule
 - D. Campaigning
 - 1. Equal time rule applies
 - a) Equal access for all candidates
 - b) Rates no higher than least expensive commercial rate
 - c) Debates formerly had to include all candidates
 - (1) Reagan-Carter debate sponsored by LWV as a "news event"
 - (2) Now stations and networks can sponsor
 - 2. Efficiency in reaching voters
 - a) Works well when market and boundaries of state or district overlap
 - b) More Senate than House candidates buy TV time
- V. Are the national media biased?
- A. What are the views of members of the national media?
 - 1. More self-described liberals than in the general public
 - 2. Higher voting for Democratic candidates than in the general public

3. More secular
 4. Some evidence that levels of liberalism are increasing
 5. Public perception of a liberal bias
 6. Existence of conservative media outlets—talk radio
 - a) Rapid growth
 - b) Explanations for conservative dominance
 - (1) High ratings
 - (2) More self-described conservatives than liberals in this country
 - (3) Conservatives do not feel other media outlets reflect their views
 - (4) Liberal audience is divided into racial and ethnic groups which are loyal to media outlets which are more narrow in their orientation
- B. Do the beliefs of the national media affect how they report the news?
1. American ideal of neutrality and objectivity
 2. Opportunity for bias varies with the type of story reported
 - a) Routine stories
 - b) Feature stories
 - c) Inside stories
 3. Trends in American history
 - a) Early newspapers emphasized opinion
 - b) With technological change (telephone, telegraph, AP) came emphasis on routine stories
 - c) With radio, television and round the clock news came an emphasis on feature and insider stories
 4. Research on media beliefs and reporting
 - a) *Times* and *Post* stories covering 12 years
 - (1) Conservatives much more likely to be identified as such
 - (2) Ideological labeling might influence readers
 - b) Study of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine
 - (1) Focus on stories concerning nuclear power
 - (2) Scientists and engineers in the field were avoided
 - (3) Magazines were opponents of nuclear power
 - c) Coverage of economic news by top ten newspapers
 - (1) Varied depending on whether a Democrat or Republican was in office of the presidency
 - (2) Headlines were more positive with Democratic presidents
 - d) Assessment of the *Times* by its public editor
- C. Does what the media write or say influence how their readers and viewers think?
1. Selective attention complicates our understanding
 2. Study of 60 Senate contests over five year period
 - a) Newspapers that endorsed incumbents gave them more positive coverage
 - b) Voters were more positive about endorsed incumbents
 3. Study of the impact of FOX news aired at different times in different cities
 4. CN and NC studies showing influence of media on public beliefs about issues
 - a) Influence may be mitigated by personal experience—unemployment, crime, gasoline prices, etc.
 - b) Where there is lack of personal knowledge, influence may be greater—American foreign policy, the environment, etc.
 5. Best evidence of media impact: name recognition and popularity and support
 - a) Estes Kefauver
 - b) Importance of a media presence
 - c) Impact on television commentary on presidential popularity

- VI. Government and the news
- A. Prominence of the president
 1. Theodore Roosevelt: systematic cultivation of the press
 2. Franklin Roosevelt: press secretary a major instrument for cultivating press
 3. Press secretary today: large staff, many functions
 4. White House press corps is the focus of press secretary
 5. Unparalleled personalization of government
 - B. Coverage of Congress
 1. Never equal to that of president; members resentful
 2. House quite restrictive
 - a) No cameras on the floor until 1978
 - b) Sometimes refused to permit coverage of committees
 - c) Gavel-to-gavel coverage of proceedings since 1979
 3. Senate more open
 - a) Hearings since Kefauver; TV coverage of sessions in 1986
 - b) Incubator for presidential contenders through committee hearings
 - C. Why do we have so many news leaks?
 1. *Constitution*: separation of powers
 - a) Power is shared, decentralized
 - b) Branches of government compete
 - c) Not illegal to print most secrets
 2. Adversarial nature of the press since Vietnam War, Watergate
 - a) Press and politicians distrust each other
 - b) Media are eager to embarrass officials
 3. Cynicism created era of attack journalism
 - a) Many people do not like this kind of news
 - b) People believe media slant coverage
 - c) Public support for idea of licensing journalists or fines to discourage biased reporting
 4. Public confidence in big business down and now media are big business
 5. Drive for market share forces media to use theme of corruption
 6. Increased use of negative advertising
 - D. Sensationalism in the media
 1. Prior to 1980, sexual escapades of political figures not reported
 2. Since 1980, sex and politics extensively covered
 3. Reasons for change
 - a) Sensationalism gets attention in a market of intense competition
 - b) Sensational stories are often cheaper than expert analysis and/or investigation of stories about policy or substantive issues
 - c) Journalists have become distrusting adversaries of government
 - d) Journalists are much more likely to rely on unnamed sources today and, as a result, are more easily manipulated
 4. Impact of 9/11
 - a) Public interest in national news
 - b) Greater confidence and trust in news organizations, for about a year
 - E. Government constraints on journalists
 1. Reporters must strike a balance between
 - a) Expression of views
 - b) Retaining sources
 2. Abundance of congressional staffers makes it easier

3. Governmental tools to fight back
 - a) Numerous press officers and press releases (canned news)
 - b) Controlling form of communication
 - (1) On the record
 - (2) Off the record
 - (3) On background
 - (4) On deep background
 - c) Skipping over national media and going local

KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. British legislation to punish officials who divulge private government business | a. adversarial press |
| 2. U.S. legislation guaranteeing citizens access to certain government documents | b. Associated Press |
| 3. Role of the media which involves influencing what subjects become national political issues and for how long | c. attack journalism |
| 4. An organization founded for the telegraphic dissemination of news in 1848 | d. blog |
| 5. Sensationalized news reporting | e. canned news |
| 6. Filmed stories for evening television news | f. community needs |
| 7. The government agency charged with regulating the electronic media | g. equal time rule |
| 8. A series, or log, of discussion items on a page of the World Wide Web | h. fairness doctrine |
| 9. Information from a government official who can be quoted by name | i. FCC |
| 10. Information from an official that cannot be printed | j. feature stories |
| 11. Information from an official that can be printed but not attributed to the official by name | k. Freedom of Information Act |
| 12. Information from an official that can be printed but not attributed at all | l. Gatekeeper |
| 13. The tendency of the national media to be suspicious of officials and eager to reveal unflattering stories about them | m. insider stories |
| 14. A court standard for finding the media guilty of libeling officials | n. loaded language |
| | o. market (television) |
| | p. Official Secrets Act |
| | q. off the record |
| | r. on background |
| | s. on deep background |
| | t. on the record |
| | u. reckless disregard |
| | v. routine stories |
| | w. Scorekeeper |
| | x. selective attention |
| | y. sound bite |

15. An official criterion for the renewal of broadcast licenses
 16. A principle that formerly obligated broadcasters to present both sides of an issue
 17. An obligation for broadcasters to give all candidates equal access to the media
 18. An area easily reached by one television signal
 19. The tendency of people to see what they like and ignore what they do not like
 20. Reporters regularly assigned to cover the president
 21. Role of the media which concerns the making of political reputations by providing coverage and mentioning candidates
 22. Public events regularly covered by reporters
 23. Public events not regularly covered by reporters
 24. Events that become public only if revealed to reporters
 25. Press releases or other news items prepared for reporters
 26. Journalism that seizes on information that might question the character or qualifications of a public official
 27. Words that reflect a value judgment, used to persuade the listener without making an argument
 28. A brief statement no longer than a few seconds used on a radio or television broadcast
 29. Information provided to the media by an anonymous source as a way of testing the reaction to a potential policy or appointment
 30. Allows one company to own as many as eight radio stations in large markets (five in smaller ones) and as many as it wishes nationally
- z. Telecommunication Act of 1996
 - aa. trial balloon
 - bb. visuals
 - cc. White House Press Corps
 - dd. “yellow journalism”

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F Our media enjoy a greater degree of freedom than that found in almost any other nation.

2. T F It is more difficult for politicians to sue newspapers for libel in Great Britain than it is in America.

3. T F Leaks are punished in Great Britain via the Official Secrets Act.

4. T F America has a long tradition of privately owned media.

5. T F In the early years of the Republic, newspapers were relatively unbiased and placed a premium on reporting “just the facts.”

6. T F Randolph Hearst used his newspapers to agitate for war.

7. T F The majority of today’s magazines focus on entertainment and leisure activities.

8. T F In 1992, Ross Perot declared his willingness to run for the presidency on the television program “Meet the Press.”

9. T F The text suggests one way to capture the media spotlight is to be supportive of the president.

10. T F When Howard Dean ran for the presidency in 2004, most of the money he raised was from Internet appeals.

11. T F Due to the lack of regulation, there has been an increase in the number of daily newspapers that serve large communities.

12. T F The typical American newspaper has more local than national news in it.

13. T F The wire services provide most of the national news that local papers publish.
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14. T F Newspaper reporters have less freedom to develop their own stories than radio and television reporters.
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15. T F Newspapers and magazines need no license to publish in the United States.
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16. T F In general, your name and picture can be printed without your consent if they are part of a news story of some conceivable public interest.
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17. T F If a paper attacks you in print, it has a legal obligation to allow you space to reply.
-
18. T F Licenses for radio stations must be renewed every seven years.
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19. T F Licenses for television stations must be renewed every five years.
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20. T F Television broadcasting has been deregulated more than radio.
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21. T F A few large corporations now own most of the big-market radio stations.
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22. T F Today, stations and networks can sponsor debates, but they must invite all candidates.
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23. T F Members of the House are more likely to use television ads than members of the Senate.
-
24. T F Members of the media are more likely to support Democratic candidates for President.
-
25. T F The public perception is that the news media are conservative.
-
26. T F Talk radio is predominately conservative.
-
27. T F In France and Great Britain, newspapers often identify with one party or another.
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28. T F A study of the *Times* and the *Post* revealed liberal members of Congress were much more likely to be labeled “liberal” than conservative members were to be labeled “conservative.”
-
29. T F Public distrust of the media has grown.
-
30. T F What the press covers affects the policy issues that people think are important.
-
31. T F Congress did not allow live coverage of committee hearings until the House considered the impeachment of Richard Nixon.
-
32. T F American government is one of the least leakiest in the world.
-
33. T F There are fewer leaks to members of the media where governments are more decentralized.
-
34. T F Today, journalists are far less willing to accept at face value the statements of elected officials.
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35. T F Most Americans oppose the idea of imposing fines for inaccurate or “biased” reporting.
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36. T F The texts suggests “negative” attack ads are used because they work.
-
37. T F Research indicates “negative” ads are associated with increased voter turnout.
-
38. T F Newspapers knew that Franklin Roosevelt had a romantic affair in the 1930s but did not report it.
-

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. When *CBS News* ran a story claiming President Bush performed poorly during his time in the National Guard, _____ produced evidenced that the documents underlying the report were forgeries.
- NBC
 - Fox News
 - White House lawyers
 - Republican media consultants
 - bloggers

2. Politicians have become more heavily dependent on the media as
 - a. the public has become better educated.
 - b. the federal bureaucracy has enlarged itself.
 - c. public affairs have become much more complex.
 - d. the scope of government has expanded.
 - e. political party organizations have declined.
3. Which of the following was a milestone in the development of a reasonably nonpartisan and unbiased press?
 - a. The establishment of the *Gazette of the United States* during the Washington administration
 - b. The establishment of the Associated Press in 1848
 - c. The creation of the *National Intelligence* by Jacksonian Democrats
 - d. The rise of magazines of opinion in the late 1800s
 - e. The rise of competition from radio in the 1920s
4. Which of the following was *not* among the achievements of the mass-based press, exemplified by Hearst and Pulitzer?
 - a. Instituting responsible and unbiased journalism
 - b. Beginning the creation of a national political culture
 - c. Proving the feasibility of a press free of government subsidy or control
 - d. Revealing public scandal
 - e. Criticizing public policy
5. The invention of radio was a politically important media development because it
 - a. allowed public officials to reach the public in a less-filtered manner.
 - b. gave rise to the era of mass politics and a large electorate.
 - c. rendered image more important than substance in seeking political office.
 - d. more than doubled the number of persons who followed politics with interest.
 - e. reinforced the influence of political parties when it was first introduced.
6. In 2000, the average sound bite of a presidential contender was _____ the average sound bite of such contenders in 1968.
 - a. considerably longer than
 - b. about the same length as
 - c. considerably shorter than
 - d. more controversial than
 - e. less complex than
7. Politicians wishing to make news are well advised to criticize
 - a. the president.
 - b. Congress
 - c. the Supreme Court.
 - d. the federal bureaucracy.
 - e. state government.
8. Joint Operating Agreements are important to consider when assessing the competition and diversity of viewpoint among newspapers because they
 - a. encourage the hiring of minorities.
 - b. have increased the sales of newspapers in major metropolitan areas.
 - c. are usually biased in a conservative direction.
 - d. allow businesses to own more than one paper in a large city.
 - e. do not allow the expression of political opinion without prior consent.

9. Research suggests _____ especially have turned their interests away from political news.
 - a. those living in rural America
 - b. religious persons
 - c. professionals
 - d. college educated persons
 - e. young people
10. Which of the following statements concerning national newspapers is *incorrect*?
 - a. They distribute millions of copies on a daily basis.
 - b. They are carefully followed by political elites.
 - c. Radio and television stations look to such papers for cues on reporting.
 - d. The reporters for such papers have higher levels of education than their local counterparts.
 - e. none of the above.
11. One of Jimmy Carter's signal achievements in dealing with the press in the 1976 primary campaign was
 - a. keeping a low profile.
 - b. taking newsworthy positions on important issues.
 - c. defusing an initial bias against him among reporters.
 - d. refusing to buckle under the pressure of special interests.
 - e. getting himself mentioned with great frequency.
12. The emphasis the media places on its role as "scorekeeper" might come at the cost of attention to
 - a. which candidates are not viable.
 - b. which candidates might be gaining momentum.
 - c. who is actually ahead.
 - d. the horse race.
 - e. policies.
13. In the late 1980s the "watchdog" function of the media was notable in the case of the front-running Democratic presidential nominee, Gary Hart, who was accused of
 - a. having an extra marital affair.
 - b. using illegal drugs.
 - c. income tax evasion.
 - d. lying to congressional committees.
 - e. falsifying draft registration records.
14. An irony concerning government regulation of the news media is that
 - a. American media are less regulated than foreign media despite the greater need for regulation here.
 - b. legislation designed to intimidate the media has in fact made them more hostile toward officials.
 - c. the least competitive part of the media is almost entirely unregulated, whereas the most competitive part is substantially regulated.
 - d. the most influential media, the broadcast media, show highly concentrated patterns of ownership by a few large corporations.
 - e. all of the above.
15. Once something is published, a newspaper may be sued or prosecuted if the material
 - a. is libelous.
 - b. is obscene.
 - c. incites someone to commit an illegal act.
 - d. all of the above.
 - e. none of the above.

16. For a public official in the United States to win a libel suit against the press, he or she must prove that
 - a. what was printed was untrue.
 - b. the material was untrue and was printed maliciously.
 - c. the material caused “emotional duress.”
 - d. his or her privacy was violated.
 - e. the printing of the material in question has done “substantial harm” to the public interest.
17. In general, the Supreme Court has upheld the right of government to compel reporters to divulge information as part of a properly conducted criminal investigation if
 - a. the president has pardoned a defendant for contempt of court.
 - b. a jury is unable to reach a decision.
 - c. it has not been reported publicly.
 - d. it has been reported publicly.
 - e. it bears on the commission of a crime.
18. The text suggests that, if the Fairness Doctrine had stayed in place,
 - a. there would be more competition among radio and television stations.
 - b. political advertising would be available to all candidates regardless of party or viewpoint.
 - c. there would be no Rush Limbaugh.
 - d. Congress would have developed the law on libel more meticulously.
 - e. the Supreme Court would have received more news coverage.
19. Since the 1980s, studies of media bias have reached the same conclusion, that members of the national press are
 - a. more liberal than the average member of the public.
 - b. more conservative than the average member of the public.
 - c. more moderate than the average member of the public.
 - d. generally objective, and without political bias.
 - e. without noticeable, systematic bias.
20. Research suggests members of the national news media are generally more _____ than the average member of the public.
 - a. conservative
 - b. alienated
 - c. secular
 - d. moderate
 - e. patriotic
21. Conservative dominance in talk radio can be best explained by the fact that
 - a. liberal hosts have never had big corporate sponsors.
 - b. conservatives flooded the market first and left little room for competition.
 - c. the Fairness Doctrine gave an advantage to conservatives.
 - d. media owners are not tolerant of liberal viewpoints.
 - e. liberal hosts have never attained high ratings.
22. Early in American history, newspapers had virtually no _____ stories.
 - a. routine
 - b. feature
 - c. insider
 - d. opinion-based
 - e. editorial-driven

23. A study of the top ten newspapers and the Associated Press found news items concerning _____ were more likely to be interpreted in a negative fashion when there was a Republican president.
- Supreme Court decisions
 - social issues
 - government economic reports
 - immigration
 - mid-term elections
24. The potential impact of the media coverage is certainly well illustrated by the case of Estes Kefauver who, in the 1950s, became a “household name” by
- leading members of the House and Senate in a protest march through the White House.
 - chairing a Senate committee investigating organized crime.
 - submitting a law which attempted to eliminate the influence of interest groups in elections.
 - dropping thousands of leaflets from a plane while flying over the White House.
 - refusing to give up his Senate seat, even after having lost his bid for re-election.
25. The first president to engage in the systematic cultivation of news reporters was
- Theodore Roosevelt.
 - Franklin Roosevelt.
 - Woodrow Wilson.
 - John F. Kennedy.
 - Richard Nixon.
26. Which of the following presidents first made his press secretary a major instrument for dealing with the press?
- Herbert Hoover
 - Franklin Roosevelt
 - Dwight Eisenhower
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Ronald Reagan
27. The president of the United States is unlike the chief executive of other nations with regard to the
- hostility with which he is normally treated by the press.
 - use of the press secretary as an instrument for dealing with the press.
 - extreme difficulty that the press experiences in covering his activities.
 - close physical proximity between the press and the center of government.
 - manner in which he is required to conduct press conferences.
28. In an age in which the media are very important, who of the following is best positioned to run for president?
- A House member
 - An innovative person with a business background
 - A senator
 - A state governor
 - A big-city mayor
29. The text suggests American government is the “leakiest” in the world, in large part, because of
- the centralized nature of power in the federal system.
 - cordial relations between media and most government officials.
 - the rise of cable news networks.
 - the emergence of the Internet.
 - the separation of powers.

30. The adversarial nature of the modern press has probably made _____ more socially acceptable.
- negative campaign advertising
 - political corruption
 - frivolous campaigns
 - bipartisan coalitions
 - fruitless congressional investigations
31. Which of the following does the text suggest is one of the consequences of intense competition in media today?
- Reporters are more easily manipulated by sources than once was the case.
 - The requirements for citation of sources are more rigorous than ever.
 - There are few incentives to rely on sensational news stories.
 - Reporters are less confrontational with public officials than they once were.
 - None of the above.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

- What events and circumstances enabled the transition from the party press of the Early Republic to the popular press?
- Describe competition in the newspaper industry and in radio and television.
- What are some reasons why papers like the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* have national standing?
- Identify and explain the three roles that are played by the national news media.
- Summarize the rules government the publication and content of newspapers and magazines.
- Discuss how the Supreme Court has ruled on the issue of confidentiality of sources with references to the specifics of particular cases.
- What explanations does William G. Mayer give for why conservative talk shows are so common on radio?
- What evidence might one emphasize to make the argument that the liberal beliefs of members of the national news media are reflected in their work?
- Summarize what we know about the actual influence that the media have on voting, approval ratings, concern with issues and name recognition.
- How has television coverage differed in the House and the Senate and what particular events in American politics have played a role in that coverage?
- Explain why American government is the leakiest in the world.

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

1. p
2. k
3. l
4. b
5. dd
6. bb
7. i
8. d
9. t
10. q
11. r
12. s
13. a
14. u
15. f
16. h
17. g
18. o
19. x
20. cc
21. w
22. v
23. j
24. m
25. e
26. c
27. n
28. y
29. aa
30. z

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. F It is easier for public officials to sue for libel in Great Britain and they win with some frequency.
3. T
4. T
5. F The early papers were sponsored by parties and politicians. Objectivity was not a goal.
6. T
7. T
8. F Perot declared his candidacy on the Larry King show.
9. F Actually, the individual who wants media attention is advised to be critical of the president as he is the constant focus of news and news reports.
10. T
11. F There has been a significant decrease in the number of newspapers and the number of competing newspapers in big cities.
12. T
13. T
14. F Newspaper reporters have much greater freedom in this regard.
15. T
16. T
17. F It has no such obligation.
18. F Such licenses must be renewed every 5 years.
19. T
20. F Radio has regulated much less, even though there is less competition in that environment.
21. T
22. F They do not have to invite all candidates. They can invite only “major” candidates.
23. F Members of the Senate are more likely to use television because the decision of a House member might be shaped by complex considerations of “the market.”
24. T
25. F The public generally perceives the media as being liberal.
26. T
27. T
28. F Conservative members of Congress are much more likely to be labeled “conservative” than are liberal members.
29. T
30. T

- 31. T
- 32. F We are actually one of the leakiest governments in the world because of separation of powers, freedom of press and the adversarial nature of the press.
- 33. F Decentralization tends to increase the opportunities for leaks.
- 34. T
- 35. F 70 percent favor such punishment.
- 36. T
- 37. F Negative ads are associated with a decrease in vote turnout.
- 38. T

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

- 1. e
- 2. e
- 3. b
- 4. a
- 5. a
- 6. c
- 7. a
- 8. d
- 9. e
- 10. e
- 11. e
- 12. e
- 13. a
- 14. c
- 15. d
- 16. b
- 17. e
- 18. c
- 19. a
- 20. c
- 21. a
- 22. a
- 23. c
- 24. b
- 25. a

- 26. a
- 27. d
- 28. c
- 29. e
- 30. a
- 31. a