ADVERTISING AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
AS MODELS OF THE PRESS:
A STUDY OF THREE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS
by
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Thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in Political Science

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July, 1994
Blacksburg, Virginia
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(ABSTRACT)

Concentration of media ownership in the United States has increased throughout the 20th century and threatens to dilute competition between press outlets and to reduce the quality of news coverage available to the audience as a result. Several scholars have identified mass advertising as a major culprit in this concentration as well as in the resulting superficiality of news coverage.

In the 1940s, a group of scholars formed the Commission on Freedom of the Press (COFOP) to discuss the perceived problem of irresponsible media and to prescribe remedies in the form of greater emphasis on the issues of the day and greater access to the press for individuals and groups not normally allowed a voice. Since COFOP published its recommendations, some scholars have argued that the press has adopted the "social responsibility" doctrine, thus replacing libertarianism. Others argue that an advertising model has become the natural heir to libertarianism in the press.

Unfortunately, few studies have tested whether either the advertising model or the social responsibility model
more accurately describes actual news coverage. This thesis is an attempt to design and implement such a test. Interviews with newspaper personnel and content analysis of three of the larger local newspapers in the Southwest Virginia region are used to study the effects of advertising on coverage of the 1993 statewide election campaign in Virginia.

This thesis uses the level of advertising revenue as the independent variable and tests its effects on eight dependent variables measuring the level and prominence of different types of coverage and the degree of access by outsiders to news content. The test is meant to determine if advertising revenue may predict consistency with either of the two models. Such a test may produce results generalizable elsewhere and may shed light on whether either model of the press is applicable to actual news coverage.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been both the culmination of two years of study and a starting point for yet more study. I owe several people special thanks for their part in this very collaborative effort.

As for my thesis committee, thanks to Matt McAllister for his advice and especially for taking the time to check my coding and to point me in the right direction at the genesis of this project. My gratitude also goes to Charles Walcott, whose guidance especially during the executive branch seminar in my first year in the graduate program helped me form my thoughts and rediscover American government, from which I had strayed.

Special thanks go to my chairperson Karen Hult, whose wisdom, support and unending patience with my unending questions were irreplaceable.

My strongest gratitude, however, goes to my best friend and wife, Cheryl. This project would never have been finished, and probably would not even have begun, without the love, advice and occasional kick in the rear I sometimes needed from her to keep me working.

Finally, I owe my new daughter Rachel a word of thanks, because she never let me forget what in life really matters. This thesis is dedicated to her in the hope that she may never tire of asking the question "Why?"
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Chapter 1

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

A newspaper is a private enterprise owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk.

-- William Peter Hamilton, the Wall Street Journal¹

An over-all social responsibility for the quality of press service to the citizen cannot be escaped; the community cannot wholly delegate to any other agency the ultimate responsibility for a function in which its own existence as a free society may be at stake.

-- The Commission on Freedom of the Press (COFOP)²

These two views represent opposite poles in the debate over what the press owes the American public and the constitutional democracy that grants the press its freedom. Key concepts in this argument include the philosophical and economic basis for freedom of the press, the media's chief purpose in a modern democracy, and who may have access to

¹In Peterson (1963), p. 73.
²COFOP (1947), p. 126.
The first of these concepts, basis, is concerned with the question of why the press operates the way it does. The second concept, purpose, deals with what types of coverage one might find as a result of the basis of the press. And thirdly, access is concerned with who is given a voice in the press.

This thesis is an exploratory study of these concepts using two models of the press. This introductory chapter will first justify the study and the use of the models describing the news media in the United States. I shall then briefly outline the two models I use in this thesis and the research question that guides the study. I then describe the newspapers studied and the methods used, and end with a preview of what follows.

**Review of the problem**

The debate over the press's basis, its purpose, and its accessibility has intensified in the 20th century due to the rapid changes in the technological, social and political environment in the United States and the rest of the world. Technologically, the development of new media such as radio

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³For clarity, all references to the press are meant to apply chiefly to the print media, especially newspapers in the U.S., unless otherwise noted.
and television and new devices such as facsimile machines, as well as advances in printing, raises questions about the true boundaries of the First Amendment and the rights of freedom of speech and the press.

In social and political terms, many critics of modern industrialized democracies have focused their attention on continuing class, race and gender inequality and the resulting threat to freedom, despite the protection of civil liberties such as freedom of speech and press. The possibility of human progress has been questioned. The global upheavals from the Great Depression, the Second World War and the collectivization of the Soviet Union encouraged a rethinking of the organization of society itself and of its institutions, including the media. These trends and events, along with the rise of the U.S. as a great military and economic world power and the cynicism accompanying modern democracy, all have contributed to renewed debate over the principles upon which a free press should be based. This debate has in part focused on the role of advertising in the U.S. economic system and as underwriter of the press.

The trend toward increasing corporate influence and more concentrated ownership of many areas of the economy in

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5Ibid.
the U.S. also has characterized ownership of the media and has increased concern over the effects of media conglomeration and concentration.\(^6\) Although the total circulation of U.S. newspapers has more than doubled since the early 20th century, and the American population has nearly tripled in the same period, the number of daily newspapers has steadily declined from a pre-World War I peak of over 2,400\(^7\) to about 1,570 in 1993.\(^8\) The year preceding February 1, 1993, saw a net loss of 16 dailies in the U.S.\(^9\) The number of U.S. cities with only one daily newspaper rose from 1,092 in 1940 to 1,402 in 1986, and the number of competing daily newspapers declined in the same period from 181 to about 44, of which 19 were published under joint ownership agreements.\(^10\)

Concentration of newspaper ownership into fewer hands also has continued. About 60\% of U.S. daily newspapers are

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\(^6\)Bagdikian (1992), pp. xxv-xxxi.


\(^8\)E & P Yearbook (1993), "Memo from the publisher. . . ."

\(^9\)Ibid.

now owned by chains\textsuperscript{11}; the largest chain, Gannett, owned about 93 papers, including \textit{USA Today}, in 1992\textsuperscript{12} as well as eighteen radio stations, eight television stations, and "the second largest billboard-advertising firm in the United States."\textsuperscript{13} One of the potential dangers chain-newspaper ownership poses is its use of profits. Locally owned newspapers are more able (though not necessarily more likely) to plow profits back into the newsroom for hiring more reporters or upgrading personal computers, whereas chains are more likely to use profits for stock dividends or new media acquisitions.\textsuperscript{14}

Ben Bagdikian and other observers criticize the overlapping nature of corporate and media ownership that has increasingly become characteristic of the U.S. media:

\begin{quote}
As the world becomes more volatile, as changes accelerate and create new problems that demand new solutions, there is an urgent need for broader and more diverse sources of public information. But the reverse is happening.

Today there is hardly an American industry that does not own a major media
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11}COFOP (1947), p. 42, defines chain ownership as "the ownership of more than one newspaper or other mass medium in one or several cities by a single person or corporation."

\textsuperscript{12}Jamieson and Campbell (1992), p. 27.


\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
outlet, or a major media outlet grown so large that it does not own a firm in a major industry. These media report the news of industries in which they either are owners or share directors and policies.\textsuperscript{15}

Another concern scholars have identified is newspapers' increasing reliance on advertising for profits, as opposed to other revenue sources, such as subscription or single-copy sales (circulation revenues). According to one estimate, advertising revenue has risen faster (1,508 percent) than the U.S. gross national product (1,403 percent) from the Second World War until the early 1980s.\textsuperscript{16}

Bagdikian illustrates both the relative unimportance of the level of circulation revenue compared to advertising revenue as well as the trend toward "one-newspaper towns" in his description of the deaths of the Washington Daily News and the Washington Star. Because of the larger circulation of the Washington Post, it was able to charge advertisers higher rates for space in its pages, while offering lower per-subscriber advertising costs than the other two newspapers. Despite the fact that in the early 1970s the circulation of the News was about 200,000 and that of the Star was about 300,000 (levels below which other papers are

\textsuperscript{15}Bagdikian (1983), p. 4.

able to thrive), the Post (at 500,000) could offer advertisers more subscribers as targets and charge less for each of them, thus providing a better value for the advertising dollar (as long as the advertiser could afford the higher absolute rate the Post charged). Largely as a result, the News ceased operations in 1972; the Star, with a circulation of about 335,000, died in 1981. The Post was left as the sole main daily in Washington.\textsuperscript{17} Afterward, as Bagdikian notes,

\begin{quote}
. . . the Post's circulation rose to 700,000, reducing even more its production costs per paper. And its advertising rate had been raised, as every monopoly's ad rate is raised. Two years after the Star folded, the Post's ad rate had risen 58 percent (and was four times higher than the year before the News dropped out of the race).\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

These trends raise concerns that as newspapers consolidate, merge or die, both the lack of competition within markets and the concentration of control of the press nationwide (and even worldwide) will lead, or has already led, to an oligopolistic situation in which a few private

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid, p. 261; Bagdikian (1992), pp. 118, 122-123. The Post was soon to receive competition from Rev. Moon's Washington Times, founded shortly thereafter.

\textsuperscript{18}Bagdikian (1992), p. 123.
corporations control the sources of information.\textsuperscript{19} Also, the dependence on advertising revenue may compromise the press's independence from powerful and narrower economic interests.\textsuperscript{20} Arguably, these trends endanger important foundations of democratic society -- the free flow of information and the vigorous competition of ideas.

Two models of the press

Given these concerns, the questions of how the media in the U.S. operate and what service they provide for democracy may be central to the future of a free press in this country. Two models, advertising and social responsibility, prescribe separate and distinct views of the basis of the press, what its purpose should be, and who should have access to it.

These models are considered ideal types. This study examines the extent to which actual news coverage fits them. One therefore assumes this degree of fit will be less than perfect for either model.

An advertising model of the press

The advertising model is based on the libertarian


\textsuperscript{20}Bagdikian (1992), p. 151.
theory as described by Fred S. Siebert,\textsuperscript{21} with some modifications laid out in more detail in Chapter 2.

This model reflects a press that J. Herbert Altschull has described as the primary facilitator of the distribution of goods through the advertising function.\textsuperscript{22} Having replaced political parties as the main means of financial support for newspapers in the 19th century, advertising not only is the long-standing bread and butter of the press\textsuperscript{23} but provides critical support for the economy as a whole by bringing together sellers and buyers of goods and services.\textsuperscript{24} The press and the economic system in which it operates are both dependent on advertising.

The basis of the press in this model is the market of goods and services and the information needed to move them from producer to distributor to consumer.\textsuperscript{25} The chief purpose of the press is, as suggested above, to provide the link between them.

\textsuperscript{21}Siebert (1963), pp. 39-71.

\textsuperscript{22}Altschull (1984), p. 123.

\textsuperscript{23}Jamieson and Campbell (1992), p. 150. Up to 80 percent of a newspaper's total revenues may come from selling space to advertisers.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid, pp. 158-9. Of over $200 billion spent on advertising in 1990, over one-third of the total went to newspapers.

\textsuperscript{25}Altschull (1984), p. 123.
The purpose is more complex than that, however. In order to attract advertising dollars, newspapers must deliver an audience to the advertiser. The audience, or readership, is the ultimate target of the advertiser. And in order to attract that readership, the paper must provide something the readers will want other than advertising, so that they will buy the paper, boost circulation, and keep advertising rates high enough for the paper to make money. Entertainment and news coverage are often that something, but again "informing and entertaining are only means to the end of delivering a mass audience to advertisers."\textsuperscript{26}

Access to the press is limited under this model to those groups or individuals with the economic means to own and publish a newspaper, and to the advertisers who have the financial resources to buy space for their message. As a corollary, access may be granted to others by the owners and operators at the latter's discretion. Therefore, access is controlled by the owners and the advertisers.

In this model, freedom of the press is a negative freedom, guaranteed by "freedom from" government interference. The press is without obligation to cede access to anyone who cannot pay for it.

\textsuperscript{26}Jamieson and Campbell (1992), p. 127. See also COFOP (1947), pp. 53-56.
A social responsibility model of the press

Near the end of the Second World War, in response to growing concern that the press was not fulfilling its responsibility to the public, a group of American scholars met as the Commission on Freedom of the Press (COFOP). They proposed a new framework that would prescribe a different role for the press from that of the advertising model.

Dubbed "social responsibility" by Theodore Peterson, this model is derived from his description of the principles and recommendations in the COFOP report.²⁷ The social responsibility model prescribes the following role for the press.

The basis of the press is partly in the market system outlined above, but not entirely.²⁸ Because in this second model the responsibility of the press is not to itself but to the democratic society that it serves, institutions other than the press may be required to provide a basis for more responsible media if the media themselves fail to do so. Resting on a view of individuals as neither rational nor irrational, but simply "lethargic,"²⁹ the social responsibility model would provide a basis for protection of

²⁷ Peterson (1963), pp. 73-103.
²⁸ Ibid, p. 74.
²⁹ Ibid, p. 100.
the individual from those in the press such as "demagogues, advertising pitchmen, and others who would manipulate him for their selfish ends."\(^{30}\)

According to Peterson, professional journalism codes are a primary agent in social responsibility, although COFOP criticized the codes, which arose in the 1920s and 1930s, for not going far enough.\(^{31}\) As a result, independent watchdog agencies\(^{32}\) and even the national government\(^{33}\) might be needed to step in and drive the press toward more social responsibility. Although outside monitors might not always be desirable, it is the threat of their interference which COFOP argued should propel the press to be more responsible.\(^{34}\) Therefore, incentives other than just economic ones should propel the press toward the social responsibility model.

In this vein, unlike the advertising model, the purpose of the press in the social responsibility model is to provide the public with a full picture of political, social and economic issues, not simply the most entertaining or

\(^{30}\)Ibid.

\(^{31}\)Ibid, pp. 85-87.

\(^{32}\)COFOP (1947), pp. 100-102.

\(^{33}\)Ibid, pp. 80-90.

\(^{34}\)COFOP (1947), pp. 82-90, 100-102.
dramatic features that are attractive to the widest audience of consumers. Among the responsibilities the press has in fulfilling its purpose are presenting a picture of "constituent groups" that promotes understanding among different groups of people\textsuperscript{35} and "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society."\textsuperscript{36} The media "must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive."\textsuperscript{37}

Finally, access to the press -- who may by right use the media to communicate -- is not limited to those who can afford to own or rent space in a media outlet. Though the press cannot be regulated as a "common carrier"\textsuperscript{38} of information and still remain free, nevertheless the press should provide access to "all who have something worth saying to the public."\textsuperscript{39} This idea of freedom of the press approaches positive freedom. The simple negative right to a free press "is a somewhat empty right for the person who

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{38} McIntyre (1987), pp. 148-150.
\textsuperscript{39} COFOP (1947), p. 129.
lacks access to the mass media."  

Summary of the debate and the research question

Peterson argued in 1963 that the libertarian theory underlying the advertising model was being replaced by social responsibility and that those who hung on to the ideal of the libertarian press were "a diminishing breed, lonely and anachronistic."  More recently, Altschull has suggested that by the 1950s "the U.S. press community had adopted the social responsibility thesis as if it, like freedom of the press and the public's right to know, had been handed down from some journalistic Mount Sinai."  

Ethicist John Merrill, while more critical of the philosophy underlying social responsibility, also claimed it was overtaking the philosophy underlying the advertising model:

... American journalism is becoming so institutionalized and professionalized and so immersed with the nascent concept of "social responsibility," that it is voluntarily giving up the sacred tenet of libertarianism--'editorial self-determinism' --and is in grave danger of becoming one

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40 Peterson (1963), p. 94.
41 Ibid, p. 103.
vast, gray, bland, monotonous, conformist
spokeisman for some collectivity of society. 43

This thesis will seek to find evidence that the social
responsibility model described by Peterson is more than a
"fringe" 44 doctrine and that it is more characteristic of
the press today than the advertising model. The question
guiding the study is: which of these two models better
describes actual press operations?

Newspapers studied and methods

This thesis will present the design and results of an
exploratory study of three local newspapers in the New River
Valley of Southwest Virginia, all of which are group-owned
newspapers with three distinct parent corporations. These
newspapers circulate issues in the same geographical area
and range in type from a weekly small town newspaper (paid
circulation about 4,000), 45 to a regional daily newspaper
with a circulation (above 100,000) that puts it in 100th
place in the U.S. in readership. 46 Because the units of

45 E & P Yearbook (1993). Circulation figures are for
46 Ibid.
analysis (individual newspapers) of the study are limited in scope to one region of the country, and the time frame and type of coverage studied are limited, the results will not be generalizable. However, it is hoped that the methods used have produced data and results that may be replicated elsewhere. An advantage of the limited focus was that it allowed for controlling for geographic area and for the tapping of a greater range of variables than would otherwise have been possible for a master's thesis.

I employ interviews and quantitative content analysis\(^{47}\) to explore the two models of the press as they may apply to these three newspapers. The concepts listed at the beginning of this chapter will provide the foundation for the variables used to compare the models: the philosophical *basis* of the media, chief *purposes* of the media, and the right to *access* to a voice in the press.

**What follows**

I shall argue that the results of this study indicate that dependence on advertising for revenue may lead to more consistency with the advertising model than with the social responsibility model, at least when one looks at some of the relationships among *basis*, *purpose* and *access*. At the very

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\(^{47}\)I also provide brief qualitative descriptions in Chapter 4's analysis where appropriate.
least there is no evidence that any of the newspapers has adopted the social responsibility model.

The next chapter lays out the theories, concepts and models in more detail, and propose some general propositions about the relationships among the concepts. Chapter 3 discusses the newspapers studied and presents the research design and how it was used to tap the two models with specific variables and hypotheses.

Chapter 4 discusses the mixed results of the quantitative data analysis. I include qualitative descriptions of the articles studied and possible alternative hypotheses where appropriate. Finally, Chapter 5 draws some conclusions about the concepts basis, purpose and access and their relationships, and discusses the applicability of the two models. This final chapter also includes some suggestions for future research.
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: CREATING THE MODELS

The two models of the press guiding this research are the advertising and social responsibility models. I shall first describe the concepts studied and then how they apply to each model in turn. Each section relating the concepts with the model will begin with a description of the genesis of the theory behind the model. The final section will list the propositions guiding this study.

Concepts in press theory

The first concept, basis of the press, is "the philosophical principles which provide the basis for the social and political structure within which the media operate."¹ The basis of the press is therefore both the social and political system in which the press functions and the philosophical underpinnings of that system. It follows that the other two concepts studied here, purpose of the press and access to the press, depend to some extent on the basis of the press.

The purpose of the press pertains to the basic function

the press serves as part of a modern democracy. That is, the press exists in modern democratic society to perform certain functions, whether they be to link producers and consumers or to promote conflict resolution. It will be argued that the basis of the press may be used to predict its purpose. Each model of the press below prescribes distinct purposes that the press should seek to fulfill.

Access to the press pertains to the question "Who has the right to use the media?" This concept deals with the problem of what legitimate barriers, if any, there are to expressing oneself in the media. The theories underlying the models below differ on the question of access; the models reflect the distinction. Again, access varies depending on the basis of the press.

**Libertarian theory to the advertising model**

The advertising model is a modification of the libertarian theory of the press as described by Siebert. Siebert argues that libertarianism has been the philosophical underpinning of the American press since before the Revolution. The writings of philosophers such as John Milton and John Locke and American revolutionaries such

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as Thomas Jefferson prescribed a press based on individual freedom and independence from government control. In the late eighteenth century, the two official obstacles to the press in the colonies were the law of seditious libel (which died with the expiration of the Sedition Act in 1801), and restrictions by the colonial government on coverage of its activities.

With these barriers effectively abolished, the press grew and evolved by the late 1800s from being supported primarily by political parties to relying on advertising for financial support.

The advertising model of the press allows for this evolution and therefore differs chiefly from libertarian theory in its descriptions of the philosophical basis and

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5 Ibid, p. 48.
7 Altschull (1984), pp. 38-39, explicitly links the spread of the mass media in the 19th century to the media's reliance on advertising revenue: "The growth of the advertising industry paralleled the growth of the newspaper industry" (p. 38). He argues that the most important factor driving these changes was the industrial revolution, and its corresponding technological advances in transportation and communication. And with the Jacksonian "Age of the Common Man" came the birth of the first mass oriented newspapers (the Penny Press) and the realization by producers that the technology existed to reach the mass public through advertising.
chief purpose of the press in the U.S., while retaining other characteristics of libertarianism.\textsuperscript{8}

\textit{Basis in the advertising model}

The basis of the press -- the system within which it operates and is enmeshed -- is that of the economic marketplace. The market provides freedom for each press outlet to publish a newspaper that produces the highest (mostly short-term) profits possible.\textsuperscript{9} The view of human nature, as distinguished from that of the libertarian theory explained above, is not so much one of the rational individual as it is a reliance on the human desire for entertainment in the press, even in news stories. Therefore, news stories in the mass media will seek to attract maximum readership (and thus increase advertising revenue) by focusing coverage on dramatic events and stories such as conflict and crisis.\textsuperscript{10}

Whereas the notion of the libertarian press is based on

\textsuperscript{8}These similarities are treated separately in the following section.

\textsuperscript{9}Bagdikian (1992), p. 201.

\textsuperscript{10}Fallows (1990), pp. 324-329, argues that at least in coverage of the White House the media are especially attracted to four types of stories: those involving scandal, internal dissension, gaffes, and the election race or opinion poll.
rationalism and the natural rights of individuals,\textsuperscript{11} the advertising model is based on the drive for profit in the marketplace. The advertising model accepts the centrality of the individual in society, but not as a necessarily rational person out to maximize his or her own well-being. Rather, the individual is viewed mainly as a consumer and source of revenue and hence, profit, through the advertising function.\textsuperscript{12} Though the goal of any newspaper may be to reach as many readers as possible, in the advertising model this is only a means to the end of increasing the audience of consumers for the producers searching for markets. Thus, though readership is measured in circulation figures, the real underlying goal of the press in this model is to increase advertising revenue, which is the main source of profit.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Purpose in the advertising model}

The chief purpose of the press in the advertising model also draws on libertarian theory. But in the advertising model, the link the press provides is between producers and consumers, rather than between writers and readers:


\textsuperscript{12}Altschull (1984), p. 258.

\textsuperscript{13}Bagdikian (1992), pp. 122-123. (See discussion in Chapter 1.)
The media become, in fact, the marketplace. Thus, 60 to 70 percent of the daily newspaper is made up of advertisements, and television programs are interrupted every few minutes for commercial messages. If advertising were eliminated from the mass media, they would be forced out of business, or at least forced to operate on handouts from government or the great corporations.\footnote{Altschull (1984), p. 124.}

Although popular American ideology sees the free press as forum for the marketplace of ideas, in the advertising model it is the marketplace of goods and services that is more important. The purpose of coverage in the advertising model would therefore be to attract readers with articles that would at least be acceptable to the advertisers. Such stories would include, for example, coverage of personalities and conflict in short, easily readable stories made attractive with graphic representations and photographs.

According to Philip Meyer, reporters have treated recent political campaigns as "athletic events" or horseraces and have covered them as such:

Coverage concentrated on the score of the contest as registered in public opinion polls, on the personal characteristics of the players, and on the tactics of their managers. Campaign
reporters had fallen into the trap, as beat reporters often do, of resembling the insiders more than their own readers and projecting their interests and those of the insiders onto their audience.\textsuperscript{15}

As noted above, \textit{purpose} in the advertising model is somewhat evolved from purpose in libertarianism. Mainly, the purpose of the press is to provide a link between producers of goods and services and their prospective consumers through the advertising function, and this function is reflected in the type of news coverage in the press.

\textbf{Access in the advertising model}

The advertising model recognizes anyone with the economic means to either own and operate a press outlet, or to buy space in an outlet, as having legitimate access to a voice in the press. As in libertarian theory, one's survival in the press market depends on the ability to serve an audience profitably in competition with others.\textsuperscript{16} There are two sides to this view. First, anyone without the money to buy or start up a publication has no right to access, other than through paid advertisements or letters to the

\textsuperscript{15}Meyer (1993), p. 91.

\textsuperscript{16}Siebert (1963), p.53.
editor accepted at the discretion of the publisher. Second, financial resources are the only legitimate hurdle; all other barriers outside the forces of the market, such as government licenses or professional standards, are illegitimate because they interfere with the ability of the market to regulate who does and does not have access.

Characteristics shared by libertarianism and the advertising model

Because the advertising model is developed from the basics of libertarianism, a brief description of the similarities between the two is warranted. As described above, the advertising model differs mainly from libertarian theory in its view of the philosophical basis and the purpose of the press.

Most importantly for this thesis, libertarian theory and the advertising model share the same view of access to the press. As described by Siebert, libertarianism grants the exercise of this right to "anyone with the economic means to do so."\(^{17}\)

In other areas not analyzed explicitly below, libertarianism and the advertising model share the same point of view. For example, legitimate control or

regulation of the media as a whole is limited chiefly to the marketplace and the rule of law. Also, _ownership_ of the media is chiefly private under both libertarianism and the advertising model.

**Social responsibility: theory and model**

COFOP began the statement of principle in its final report with a justification of its own formation and the questions with which it was grappling:

> Freedom of speech and press is close to the central meaning of all liberty. Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no other liberty is secure. Where freedom of expression exists, the germ of a free society is already present and a means is at hand for every extension of liberty. Free expression is therefore unique among liberties as protector and promoter of the others; in evidence of this, when a regime moves toward autocracy, speech and press are among the first objects of restraint or control.\(^{18}\)

The threats to freedom of the press from economic concentration, technological advances and lack of responsibility by the media were COFOP's focus. COFOP acknowledged the constant specter of government encroachment

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on press freedoms,\textsuperscript{19} but pushed the threat of state power somewhat into the shadows as a pressing concern; the reason for this shift in emphasis was COFOP's view that limiting government power was no longer enough to guarantee freedom of the press.\textsuperscript{20} COFOP perceived more immediate threats brought about by a rapidly changing society, such as increasing economic hurdles to press access\textsuperscript{21} and the advent of new technologies (such as radio) enabling a few privileged voices to be magnified as never before.\textsuperscript{22} COFOP also feared the adverse effect a more concentrated, less diverse press might have on the free exchange of information important to democracy.\textsuperscript{23}

In its rethinking of the role of the press in a democracy COFOP broke strongly with a central tenet of libertarian theory -- the doctrine of a natural right to a free press:

\begin{quote}
The notion of rights, costless, unconditional, conferred by the Creator at birth, was a marvelous fighting principle against arbitrary governments and had its historical work to do.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid, pp. 5, 7-8.
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid, pp. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid, pp. 14-16.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid, pp. 30-37.
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid, p. 5.
But in the context of an achieved political freedom the need of limitation becomes evident. The unworkable and invalid conception of birthrights, wholly divorced from the condition of duty, has tended to beget an arrogant type of individualism which makes a mockery of every free institution, including the press.  

COFOP therefore laid out its intention to explicitly link freedom of the press with the duty the press owed to society in return for that freedom. COFOP's aim was to set out a theory that would prescribe a greater sense of responsibility on the part of the press as a means of saving free press rights from renewed encroachment by the government. It has been argued that the central lasting contribution of COFOP has been its call for press accountability to the public it serves. This general concept is what separates the social responsibility model from both libertarianism and the advertising model.

_Basis in the social responsibility model_

In the social responsibility model, the basis of the press acknowledges human nature's susceptibility to the effects of subtle messages in the press, advertising as well

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Ibid, p. 121.

as news, such as one-sided political opinion or stereotypical coverage of ethnic groups. COFOP argued that because the press provides the information that most people use to order their conceptions of the outside world, the press has a responsibility to represent other individuals and groups in society without bias in its reporting.

People make decisions in large part in terms of favorable or unfavorable images. They relate fact and opinion to stereotypes. . . . [The media] are principal agents in creating and perpetuating these conventional conceptions. When the images they portray fail to present the social group truly, they tend to pervert judgment. 26

This view of human nature is distinct from that of the Enlightenment's rational individual. Unlike the basis of the advertising model, social responsibility prescribes a role of reporting political or social disagreements to facilitate public discussion rather than to propel conflict toward further polarization. Conflict, rather than a lure used by advertisers to hook readers in the advertising model, is something that the socially responsible press has a duty to mitigate.

The social responsibility model prescribes a press that is sensitive to human weaknesses, shortcomings and social

problems such as racial prejudice and poverty. Unlike the libertarian ideal, social responsibility theory maintains that many forces other than the government endanger freedom of the press and the availability of a free press in a democracy. And unlike the advertising model, social responsibility prescribes "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning,"27 not just entertaining coverage meant to sell the most newspapers.

There are two main incentives for the press to behave this way -- codes of professional journalist ethics and the threat of government regulations. The codes were already in existence when COFOP convened, although it argued the codes did not go far enough, had not been very effective, and were unenforceable in any event.28 Enforcement of social responsibility by government regulation would be necessary, COFOP argued, if the press did not respond to the growing need for accountability to the public.29 These incentives would surpass the effects of advertising in the social responsibility model.

29COFOP (1947), p. 5.
**Purpose in the social responsibility model**

In the social responsibility model, the advertising function of the press is important, but more important is the role the press plays in the service of peaceful democracy. The press should primarily use its power as society's messenger to mitigate social problems and to "raise conflict to the plane of discussion."\(^{30}\) Again, this argument reflects the model's basis in the view that there are non-governmental forces that may limit or threaten free speech and its viability in a democracy.

**Access in the social responsibility model**

The social responsibility model expands the right of access beyond the economic barrier, due mostly to COFOP's concern that such barriers to press ownership, and therefore access, were becoming increasingly insurmountable.\(^{31}\) The right of access is not just a negative freedom, existing as long as government restrictions are absent, but rather a


\(^{31}\)Peterson (1963), p. 78. This concern arose for two main reasons: first, the advances in technology (wireless transmission, faster transportation) enabled a single outlet, whether electronic or print, to reach a wider audience in less time than before, thereby amplifying a single voice relative to others; secondly, partly as a result of advancing technology, it became financially impossible for most people to enter the media industry.
positive freedom for "everyone who has something to say." 32

Summary of the models

Generally, in the advertising model one would expect a newspaper to exist based on the drive for profit from advertising revenue. The purpose would therefore be to maximize such revenue by providing the largest audience of consumers for advertising producers of goods and services. Coverage that attracts attention, regardless of its broader effects in the political system, would be consistent with the purpose of the press in the advertising model. Access to the press would be limited mainly to advertisers and the letters to the editor section.

In the social responsibility model, though the newspaper may rely on advertising for some revenue, other sources would also provide financial support, such as subscription or single-copy sales (circulation). The reliance on advertising revenue is in any event less than that in the advertising model. The newspaper would not see maximizing readership (and hence profit) as its primary goal; rather, it would aim to serve the public. Recognizing its responsibility to the public, the newspaper would serve the purpose of providing a forum for discussion of the

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important issues of the day, not just the eye-catching events or conflicts. And access to the press would be open to "everyone who has something to say," not just to those who wouldn't offend a potential advertiser.

Propositions

The variable basis of the press is the independent variable in this thesis. It refers to the dependence of each newspaper on display advertising revenue. In general, then, we might expect that newspapers dependent on display advertising for most of their revenue will exhibit content more consistent with the advertising model laid out above, rather than the social responsibility model.

Purpose. The dependent variables tapping purpose of the press indicate the extent to which each paper includes, emphasizes or otherwise gives prominence to coverage that would be consistent with either model. The first general proposition is that the more dependent a newspaper is on display advertising for revenue, the more its coverage will include and emphasize news content that plays up dramatic

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33 Jamieson and Campbell (1992), p. 150. Display, or retail, advertising is chiefly space sold to producers for the purpose of displaying products or services for sale. It is distinct from classified advertising as a revenue source, as Table 1 will show, mainly because it provides on average a much greater percentage of ad revenue than classifieds.
coverage.\textsuperscript{34} Newspapers depending more on display ad revenue will in this way aim for the largest possible readership, and therefore market of consumers, for their advertisers.

Access. The dependent variables tapping access to the press are designed to indicate the extent to which each paper includes or excludes in its coverage the people or groups (such as minorities) who express views or positions, or are themselves, outside the mainstream of public discourse.

Because the advertising model prescribes access that is at the discretion of the publisher and his or her employees within the organization, the second general proposition is that papers depending more on display ad revenue will attempt to exclude views, readers and candidates outside the mainstream of public discourse, especially those that might discourage advertisers wishing to reach the widest possible audience of "the right kind" of consumers.\textsuperscript{35} "Fringe" views and candidates therefore will be more scarce as the dependence on display ad revenue increases.

The social responsibility model on the other hand would

\textsuperscript{34}Greer (1993), p. 12. The indicators chosen to tap the dependent variable "type of coverage" draw heavily from Greer's study. Chapter 3 describes the operationalization of all dependent variables.

prescribe more inclusion of views, people and groups not normally heard in press election coverage. "The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society"\textsuperscript{36} means inclusion of the voices of the more traditional or mainstream leaders in society but also those of individuals or groups who may not be appealing as consumers or who may offend other consumers and hence endanger an advertiser's profit. Such people, according to the social responsibility model, deserve to be heard. A paper consistent with this model must therefore make sure that "an idea shall have its chance even if it is not shared by those who own or manage the press."\textsuperscript{37}

The next chapter will describe the methods and subjects of analysis and will operationalize the above concepts.


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p. 9.
Chapter 3

METHODS

The preceding chapter outlined the advertising and social responsibility models and suggested how one might distinguish between the two in actual news content. This chapter will make the models more concrete in the form of variables and hypotheses. It includes a description of the newspapers studied and the methods used to test the predictions suggested in Chapter 2.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the individual newspaper, enabling us to use the results of the analysis (Chapter 4) to compare and contrast the content of the three papers studied.¹ One of the major goals was to study the three or four² largest locally published newspapers.³ The goal was


²The original proposal included the New River Free Press as one of the papers for analysis. But the scope of the study had to be narrowed from the original proposal; also, the relative lack of state election coverage in the Free Press limited comparability with the other three papers.

³This requirement excluded such papers as the Washington Post and USA Today; these papers circulate but do not publish in the Roanoke/New River Valleys.

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to define a geographic area that included the newspapers reaching the largest audience and in which coverage of at least one local campaign for a public office could be studied, as well as that of the statewide races. Taken together, the three papers in the analysis reached a combined circulation of over 120,000 homes and single-copy outlets every day as of 30 September 1992.\(^4\) I hoped that in this way the conclusions reached from the analysis could apply to the local publications most relied on by readers for state election coverage.

I interviewed employees and measured the news content of three newspapers that circulate in the New River/Roanoke Valley area:

2) The *News Messenger/The News*,\(^5\) and
3) The *Salem Times-Register*.

The *Roanoke Times & World-News* (Roanoke Times) is owned by Landmark Communications group, a company that also

\(^4\)E & P Yearbook (1993). This figure is not necessarily reflective of the total number of households or individuals who read any of these three papers. Some residents of the area read or subscribe to two or all three newspapers, in which case the combined figure overstates the actual number of separate readers. On the other hand, if a household subscribing to one of the papers includes two or more readers, the combined circulation figure might tend to understate readership.

\(^5\)The (Montgomery) *News Messenger* and the (Radford) *News Journal* merged operations in July 1993, creating the *News*.  

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operates two other large dailies and several electronic media, including the Weather Channel. The Roanoke Times is a mass-circulation morning daily that publishes three editions from its main Roanoke offices: metro, state and New River Valley. The Roanoke Times serves the Roanoke metropolitan area as well as nearly 20 surrounding counties by home delivery and single-copy sales.

In terms of circulation, the Roanoke Times is the largest regional newspaper in Southwest Virginia and is somewhat representative of daily newspapers that serve medium-sized cities across the U.S. In fiscal year 1992 (ending 30 September), the Roanoke Times ranked 100th among U.S. dailies in circulation. Of 596 morning dailies, the Roanoke Times was among the top 102 with daily circulations above 100,000, placing it in the top 17% of papers nationwide.

As Table 1 shows, the Roanoke Times depends for nearly three-quarters of its total revenue on selling space to advertisers, of which about 77% is display ad space (55% of

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7Interview with Charles Hatfield, state circulation manager, 26 May 1994.

total revenue).

The News, owned by the Worrell Newspapers group, is a local morning semi-weekly that publishes an edition for Montgomery County and the city of Radford every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. The News's circulation area mostly coincides with that of the Roanoke Times's New River edition. As Table 1 shows, the News relies on advertising for 70% of its revenue; 90% of that, or 63% of total revenue, is from either display or pre-printed advertising.

The Salem Times-Register describes itself as Salem's "hometown paper" and is the only newspaper published in the city. Because it circulates in Salem, an important part of the Roanoke Times's circulation area, the weekly Times-Register should also provide a basis for comparison with the daily Roanoke Times. The Times-Register also relies mostly on advertising revenue (80%), which is sold by the parent corporation, Salem Publishing, Inc., for all four of its weekly newspapers.

Interviews

I measured the independent variable, proportion of revenue from display advertising, by determining the proportions of all revenue sources for each paper. I

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9 Salem is the nearest city to Roanoke and a major market for Roanoke Times advertisers.
gathered the data from short interviews with personnel from each paper between April and May 1994. Table 1 shows the values by newspaper for display and classified ad revenue, revenue from circulation and contract printing, and a miscellaneous category.

Quantitative content analysis

I used quantitative content analysis to gather the data tapping the dependent variables -- purpose and access. Quantitative content analysis has been defined by Bernard Berelson as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." It is an excellent method for studying the content of many forms of communication. It is not as expensive in terms of money or time as other methods, and it is typically unobtrusive and therefore has no effect on the subjects of analysis. "Content analysis

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10 These sources were: Carl Wright, treasurer of the Roanoke Times; Randy Thompson, advertising salesman for the News; and Ray Robinson, publisher of the Salem Times-Register.

11 See Appendix B for a sample of the codesheets used for the content analysis.


is a formal system for doing something that we all do informally rather frequently, drawing conclusions from observations of content."\(^{15}\)

I used content analysis to study the universe of coverage of the 1993 Virginia election campaigns by all three papers. The time frame was May 1 (one week before the first nominating convention) through the day of the election, November 2.

Wire stories were not included in the analysis, though they were counted; my purpose was to analyze only content produced either by employees or contractees of each paper, as well as by such outside contributions as letters to the editor. The purpose of this distinction was to use the data to more accurately determine whether the newspapers themselves, judging by the content they produced and selected locally, were consistent with either of the models.

I searched for indicators in the coverage of the races for governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general, as well as for state delegate representing the 8th and 12th House districts. The primary unit of observation was the article or story, though I also measured at the level of the individual paragraph when appropriate.

I chose coverage of the state elections for several

reasons. Politics is a central focus of what general-circulation newspapers cover, whether to serve the role of "watchdog" or to simply report the latest political events. Michael Schudson has argued that the chief responsibility of journalism is to provide "the materials that allow political communication to take place."\(^{16}\) Political coverage of elections and campaigns is relatively easily recognized and defined for the purposes of analysis. Newspapers, especially regional papers such as the Roanoke Times, devote significant resources (in terms of space, time, reporting, and so forth) to covering political campaigns. Therefore, election coverage should provide both a picture of important news content and a sample large enough for data analysis.\(^{17}\)

The races for the three statewide offices were obviously newsworthy throughout the state and were covered by the Roanoke Times and the News. These papers also covered the 12th and 8th district races for the Virginia House of Delegates; the Salem Times-Register covered only the 8th District race, thus limiting the comparability of data across all three newspapers.\(^{18}\)


\(^{17}\)Frequency tables, including the number of cases (articles) for each paper, are included in Appendix A.

\(^{18}\)The 8th district covers the southern half of Montgomery County, Southwest Roanoke County and Salem. The 12th district covers the eastern half of Giles County and
After I pretested and revised the coding sheet, I began the coding on 28 February and ended on 27 April 1994. There were 673 articles (cases).

Although I coded all the articles myself, I performed two reliability checks with the help of a co-coder to help ensure clarity in coding rules and consistency in my coding. We performed the first test in February as a trial run before the actual analysis began, using seven sample articles from the News and two from the Roanoke Times. We performed the second reliability test in May after the coding was finished; we selected three articles from the News and two from the Roanoke Times. The results of the reliability estimates for both tests are discussed in detail in Appendix D.\textsuperscript{19}

These tests were especially valuable given the nature of the content analyzed. As both Babbie and Stempel argue, there are two main types of content: manifest and latent. Manifest, or "apparent,"\textsuperscript{20} content is characterized by

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid, pp. 132-133. The discussion on coding recommends reliability tests even when only one person performs the coding.

"specificity"\textsuperscript{21}; coding it is generally obvious, clear and reliable. An example is coding the page number or date of an article. Latent content, on the other hand, may provide more depth of meaning,\textsuperscript{22} but "at a cost in reliability and specificity."\textsuperscript{23}

As the results in Appendix D show, the reliability tests yielded generally high intercoder percentages of agreement for manifest content. On latent content questions, such as type of coverage (question 11), the reliability percentages were not as high but nevertheless provided a guide for refining the coding decision rules, especially after the first check during pretesting.\textsuperscript{24}

For example, the instructions for coding the first dependent variable, \textit{type of coverage}, defined what type of content in each paragraph would indicate either issue-oriented coverage or campaign-oriented coverage. This question was probably the most subjective and therefore the best example of latent content. One common problem was deciding whether a paragraph that covered a candidate's


\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{24}Coding of manifest content involved question numbers 1-6, 8-10, and 12. In varying degrees, numbers 7, 11, and 13-15 were latent content questions. See Appendix C for detailed instructions for each question.
position on an issue was simply a repeat of the position (and therefore more campaign-oriented) or a more in-depth treatment of the issue itself (more issue-oriented).\textsuperscript{25}

**Operationalizations\textsuperscript{26}**

This thesis deals with three main concepts important to both the advertising model and the social responsibility model: *basis* of the press, *purpose* of the press, and *access* to the press. I developed a total of nine variables, measured quantitatively, to indicate whether election coverage was more consistent with one model or the other: one independent variable for *basis*, and eight dependent variables, four for *purpose* and four for *access*.

1) The first concept, *basis* of the press, is measured for each paper as simply the proportion of total revenue from display advertising for 1993, the year under analysis. This variable indicates the extent to which each newspaper depends upon display advertising relative to other sources of revenue. The higher the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the more dependent the paper is on that

\textsuperscript{25}The discussion on pages 46 and 47 in the "Operationalizations" section describes the further separation of the campaign-oriented category into two separate categories.

\textsuperscript{26}The question numbers referred to in this section match those on the sample codesheet in Appendix B.

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source.

2) The second concept, purpose of the press, is tapped by four variables. Because I was interested in the type of coverage produced by the newspapers themselves, not from outside (non-paid) writers or wire stories, I included only the type of coverage by employees or regular columnists as data indicating values on these variables; letters to the editor and other reader-generated content were not included as data for tapping purpose.

a) The first variable, type of election coverage, indicates whether a paragraph is campaign-oriented, issue-oriented,27 or neither. I measured type of election coverage by coding each paragraph as one of the three above choices (number 11 on the codesheet). As coded, campaign-oriented paragraphs generally covered a candidate's position on an issue or his or her record (later separated out as a distinct category of coverage; see discussion below), performance or participation in a debate or speech, results of an opinion poll or survey, personal traits, and campaign activities such as strategies, endorsements, finances, fundraising or attacks on the opposition. Parallel with the discussion in Chapter 2, this type of coverage is more

27Greer (1993), pp. 11-12. The issue and campaign categories are listed under number 11 on the coding sheet (Appendix B).
consistent with the advertising model in that it generally reports the superficial workings of a campaign or the images and performances of the candidates, rather than the issues involved in the election.

Issue-oriented paragraphs on the other hand involved a discussion of any of the following issues: the economy or jobs, crime or drugs, education or the schools, taxes, roads, health care, illegal drivers, the environment and a miscellaneous category of other issues.\footnote{Greer (1993), pp. 11-12; though not analyzed separately, these categories were distinguished on the codesheet mainly for clarity in coding.} Such discussion, in order to be coded as issue-oriented, had to be more than a superficial repetition of a candidate's position on an issue. If the writer discussed an issue or quoted a candidate or other source as discussing an issue in some depth, the paragraph was coded as issue-oriented. Such coverage is consistent with the social responsibility model because it meets COFOP's criteria for covering important issues and events "in a context which gives them meaning."\footnote{COFOP (1947), p. 21.}

To more clearly define campaign-oriented content during computer analysis of the data, I divided the category of paragraphs originally indicating campaign-oriented coverage
into two separate categories: coverage of the office and record or position of the candidate(s), which I shall refer to as "position coverage," and event/campaign-oriented coverage, which I shall refer to as "campaign-oriented coverage." This distinction is due to the nature of the coverage of a candidate's political office, and his or her record and positions on the topic at hand. This distinction separates reporting of a candidate's official record and positions (position-oriented coverage) from that focusing on the personalities, conflicts and performances of the campaigns and the people in them (campaign-oriented coverage). Position-oriented coverage is therefore a middle category not clearly inconsistent with either of the two models.

Again, issue-oriented coverage is more consistent with the social responsibility model and campaign-oriented coverage is more consistent with the advertising model. The new middle category, position-oriented coverage, may not be as superficial as campaign-oriented coverage but is still not the type of in-depth coverage that is more consistent with the social responsibility model. Constant repetition of a candidate's past record and restatements of his or her positions on the issues is simply not reflective of the type of political discourse that social responsibility prescribes.
The media have not bothered to evaluate for the reader the trustworthiness of conflicting sources, nor have they supplied the perspective essential to a complete understanding of a given situation. Instead of assuming that two half-truths make a truth, the Commission says in effect, the press should seek "the whole truth."

I hoped that adding a third value in this manner would make the other two remaining categories clearer indicators of the two models.

b) Secondly, I measured prominence of election paragraphs as the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs in the first five paragraphs of each article (number 13 on the codesheet). This variable could also take on a third value of "neither" when appropriate. The values for this variable were entered at the same time type of election coverage was coded for the first five paragraphs. The values for each paragraph therefore did not distinguish between sub-categories within the issue- or campaign-oriented categories; for example, if the first two paragraphs of an article were coded "poll results" and "personal traits," respectively, then the first two values recorded for number 13 were both "2," as a "campaign-

30Peterson (1963), p. 88. See also COFOP (1947), pp. 21-23.

31The anonymous newspaper adage urging the importance of a strong lead is "Hook him at once, or he's gone."
oriented" paragraph.

c) Third, I measured emphasis with photographs or graphics by counting the number of photos or graphics with each article (numbers 8 and 9 on the codesheet).\textsuperscript{32} Emphasis of an article means an article with one or more graphics or photographs. During the data analysis, I used the mean and median proportion of total campaign-oriented paragraphs for each newspaper and compared them to the mean and median proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs for articles consisting of more than one photo or graphic to determine whether such articles contained a higher proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs, indicating a greater emphasis on campaign-oriented coverage.

d) Fourth, I measured placement of election articles by combining several indicators of article placement within the edition: page number (number 4 on the codesheet), section number (number 5), position relative to the fold, if applicable (number 6), and day of the week (number 3).

I chose page number as the first indicator of placement because placing an article on the front page of any section is the most obvious way to "place" it where it is most readily seen. One rationale for front-page placement of an important article is that readers often skip directly to a

\textsuperscript{32}Appendix C includes guidelines for coding graphics.
particular section of a newspaper and begin with the first page.

Secondly, a large number of newspapers are sold over the counter or in vending machines where the front page is the first page seen by potential readers; for this reason I selected section as the second measure of placement.

Third, especially in most vending machines used by the papers in this study, the only part of the paper visible before purchase is the top half of the front page. Whether the headline of an article was above or below the fold on the front page was the third indicator of placement.

Fourth, excepting the *Times-Register*, the papers in this study circulate more Sunday editions than any other day of the week.\(^{33}\) An article on page A1 above the fold on Sunday would therefore be the highest *placement* possible, reaching the most potential readers in the most obvious place in the paper. I separated articles into each of these successively higher placement categories and compared the proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs for articles at each increasing level of placement.

3) The third concept, *access to the press*, is tapped by four variables.

   a) I measured the first variable, *type of writer*
(number 7 on the codesheet), by coding the type of article (hard news, editorial, and so on) and using that value as an indicator of whether the article was written by an "inside" writer (reporter, columnist, or editorial) or by an "outside" writer (mainly as letters to the editor). All articles coded as 1-5 were "inside" articles; all articles coded as 6-9 were "outside" articles.

The data for the remaining three variables are the content produced by the newspapers themselves, as defined at the beginning of the discussion of purpose on page 46.

b) Secondly, I measured type of candidate mentioned by recording whether or not each article included a mention of any of the candidates in the general election (number 10).

c) Third, I measured proportion of articles with leading gubernatorial candidate mentions by dividing the time frame of analysis into three periods: the first, from May 1 to September 1; the second from September 2 to October 3; and the third from October 4 to November 2. During the first time period Mary Sue Terry led in the public opinion polls34; the second time period corresponds to a tie

between Terry and George Allen in the polls\textsuperscript{35}; the third matches the point at which Allen overtook Terry and maintained a substantial lead in the polls until Election Day.\textsuperscript{36} The goal was to look for differences in the relative proportion of mentions of each of these two candidates for each time period.

d) Finally, I measured type of source by counting the number of citations\textsuperscript{37} of two types of sources in each article: "mainstream" political sources involved in the campaigns, including the five commonly cited political analysts and the candidates themselves (number 15), and sources normally outside the mainstream of political campaigns, such as a "person on the street" or a voter.\textsuperscript{38}

\footnote{35}{Dale Eisman, "Race for governor a statistical tossup," \textit{Roanoke Times & World-News}, 2 September 1993, p. C3. Three other stories in the \textit{Roanoke Times} reported a race "down to the wire" as late as October 4.}


\footnote{37}{The coding instructions in Appendix C describe the guidelines for coding type of source and how to define a "citation."}

\footnote{38}{In order to more accurately reflect the models, some sources were judged as not appropriate for either category and therefore were not counted. For example, convention delegates, who were quoted often during the nominating conventions, are more involved in the political process than most people but are not usually within the inner circle of campaign politics. Citations of these sources and others like them were tallied off to the side of the codesheet, but not included in the data analysis.}
Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are framed so that results consistent with each of them also would be consistent with the advertising model.

Purpose. 1) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs out of the total number of paragraphs of election coverage.

2) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs in the first five paragraphs of the article.

3) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of campaign oriented paragraphs in articles with one or more graphic or photograph.

4) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the more likely the newspaper is to emphasize articles with above-average proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs by giving those articles high prominence in terms of placement within the issue.

Access. 5) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of total articles written by inside writers rather than outside writers.
6) Because only the governor's race included a candidate who could be considered "non-mainstream" (Nancy Spannaus), I hypothesized that for that race, the greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of articles mentioning the candidates from the two major parties compared to the proportion of articles mentioning the non-mainstream candidate.

7) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the more likely it is that the gubernatorial candidate leading in the polls will have a higher proportion of articles mentioning that candidate compared to the other candidate in the same time period.

8) The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of total citations of mainstream sources.

Limitations

This final section is a discussion of some of the factors limiting the results of the study, including the nature of the research design, the coding scheme, data selection and a broader theoretical limitation.

The first limitation deserving discussion is related to the nature of the research design. I proposed originally to include a fourth newspaper, the New River Free Press,
analysis. The *Free Press* is only published monthly and so unfortunately would not have provided enough material for meaningful quantitative analysis, the primary method used here. I had also proposed to employ more extensive interviews of the employees of each newspaper in order to measure the dependent variables from another angle, but lack of time required the abandonment of this method. If time had allowed inclusion of the *Free Press*, which bills itself as "a community-based alternative newsmonthly" and may not rely as heavily on advertising revenue as the other papers, there would have been a better basis for comparison among the papers. As it is, there is little variation among the three papers in the independent variable, reliance on display ad revenue, as Table 1 shows. Therefore, meaningful conclusions about the effects of dependence on display ad revenue on the type of content, and by extension consistency with one or the other of the models, are limited.

The generalizability of the results is also limited because the subjects of analysis, the newspapers, are confined within a single geographic area and a single time period. Also, only election coverage was compared. For these reasons, the results are not statistically generalizable to any widespread population of media elsewhere in the United States or to other types of coverage. The examination more closely resembles a case
study approach in which data are generated that may in the future be replicated elsewhere in a second or even third "neighborhood," leading to the "analytical" rather than "statistical" generalization of results.\textsuperscript{39}

A third limitation constrains comparison of the results and is due to the mechanics of the coding scheme. It did not become clear that the Salem Times-Register mainly covered just the 8th District delegate's race until the coding was nearly finished (the Times-Register was the last paper coded). As a result, the best way to compare coverage among like cases would have been to analyze the Roanoke Times and the News using coverage of all the races, and then to compare all three papers using only coverage of the campaigns and issues related to the 8th District race.

But the coding scheme would have allowed only a selection of those articles for analysis that mentioned either of the candidates in the 8th District race, since that was the only distinction made in the coding. I feared, however, that such a selection might underemphasize more issue-oriented coverage -- an article or two that might have dealt with issues related just to that race without mentioning the candidates. Such articles, if they were

\textsuperscript{39}Yin (1994), p. 36.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid.
produced by any of the three papers, would have been left out of the dataset if the criteria for inclusion had been candidate mentions. Therefore, I decided not to limit the comparison in this way. The comparison of the election coverage in the three papers is thus not as convincing as it would have been had like cases always been compared.

Another problem with the data selection is a broader one related to the selection of articles for inclusion in the analysis. I painstakingly attempted to include every article in the coding that was related in any explicit way to the election campaign. The main criterion I used for selection was specific coverage of a candidate, an issue or a topic related to the election in November. I sometimes had to read an entire article before I decided whether to code and include it in the dataset.

The problem with these decision rules is that it could be argued that there are many topics, events and issues a paper covers that may influence a voter's decision about who to vote for, or even whether or not to vote. There were, for example, several long articles in the Roanoke Times that explored issues not explicitly linked to the election, but that nevertheless may have covered issues important in the results of the election. One such series about the Roanoke valley's economic future illustrated ongoing topics for debate among political leaders, locally as well as
statewide, such as the shrinking tax base in the city of Roanoke, the decrease in its population and the repercussions for jobs and the economy. Such articles, perhaps highly issue-oriented, may have changed the results slightly if they had been included.

Another problem is related to the nature of coding latent content, or content that is somewhat subjective in interpretation, into numerical data. Although the coding tests reported in Appendix D produced satisfactory percentages of reliability, it has been demonstrated that what latent content analysis yields in depth of meaning, it may lack in reliability and reproducibility.\textsuperscript{41} I made every attempt to establish clear criteria for coding latent content such as type of election coverage and tried to make the data as reliable as what was generated from the more manifest content.

A final limitation is more theoretical in nature. Bagdikian's arguments about the influence of display or retail advertising on newspapers, upon which the advertising model in part depends, deal mainly with larger papers in bigger metropolitan areas than that studied here. Also, his concern is with the effects of national or regional "mass

advertising." The data I used to measure dependence on
display advertising revenue include local small business
advertising revenue as well as revenue from larger, national
mass advertisers. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from
dependence on such revenue must be tempered with the caveat
that the independent variable is not as well linked to the
theoretical arguments as it perhaps should have been.

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Table 1
Revenue sources by newspaper, 1993 (as a percentage of total revenue):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times$^a$</th>
<th>News$^b$</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register$^c$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Display or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preprinted ads</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>80%$^d$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classified ads</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contract printing</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other (donations,</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales of knick</td>
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<td>knacks, etc.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$Interviews with Carl Wright, Roanoke Times treasurer, April and 25 May 1994.


$^d$According to Robinson, advertising revenue for the Times-Register is almost completely from display ads. Classifieds are a "minuscule" proportion of ad revenue.
Chapter 4

RESULTS

This chapter will discuss the results of the quantitative data analysis.\(^1\) Also included are some qualitative descriptions of sample articles to illustrate and elaborate on the results of the quantitative data analysis, as well as to suggest possible alternative hypotheses where appropriate.

In general, the results indicate some support for the proposition that, regarding *purpose of the press*, higher dependence on display ad revenue corresponds to lower proportions and prominence of issue-oriented coverage, though not to higher proportions and prominence of campaign-oriented coverage. Also, there is limited support for the proposition that, with regard to *access to the press*, greater dependence on display ad revenue corresponds to a higher proportion of insider campaign sources as opposed to outsiders as sources. Overall, all three newspapers studied provided election coverage that was more consistent with the advertising model than the social responsibility model, though that conclusion is limited by only slight variation

\(^{1}\)I used SPSS computer software to analyze the data.
in the independent and dependent variables. Where there was no support for the hypotheses, I suggest alternative explanations for the findings.

**Purpose of the press**

The general expectation for the indicators of purpose of the press is that the more a paper depends on display advertising for revenue, the more likely it is to emphasize campaign-oriented election coverage at the expense of issue-oriented election coverage, in terms of proportion of content as well as in the relative emphasis and prominence of such coverage. Again, only in-house coverage was examined for the analysis of the relationship between basis and purpose.

**Hypothesis 1.** The first hypothesis was: The greater the newspaper's proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs out of the total number of paragraphs of election coverage. Support for the hypothesis would be consistent with the advertising model.

There is no support for this hypothesis. As Table 2 shows, campaign-oriented paragraphs in in-house articles on average far outnumbered the other two types of election coverage. The type of election coverage of all three newspapers was overwhelmingly campaign-oriented.
But the data do not indicate that as the dependence on display advertising revenue increases, from the Roanoke Times at 55% to the Salem Times-Register's 80% (see Table 1), the proportion of campaign-oriented election coverage also increases. Instead, the mean proportion of such coverage stays very near 60% for all three papers. That is, on average, an article produced by in-house reporters, editors, or columnists was likely to have about 6 out of 10 paragraphs covering the election as a conflict between competing campaigns, a competition for endorsements, a battle for financing, a test of personal traits, or a horserace with someone leading and someone trailing in the polls.

On the other hand, there is some support for the reverse hypothesis that newspapers relying more on display ad revenue will have a lower average proportion of issue-oriented coverage in each article, again consistent with the advertising model. Issue-oriented coverage, defined as dealing on more than a superficial level with crime, education or other topics, averaged about 15% of the paragraphs in Roanoke Times articles. But the News, which relies a little more on display ad revenue (about 63%), averaged only 8.9% issue-oriented paragraphs per article. And the Salem Times-Register, relying for 80% of its revenue on display ads, averaged just 5.2% issue-oriented paragraphs.
in its election coverage.

The regression coefficient between proportion of display ad revenue and proportion of issue-oriented paragraphs is statistically significant at the .03 level and slightly negative (−.52), as Table 2 shows. These results indicate that papers that depend more on display ad revenue might be slightly less likely to show consistency with the social responsibility model than papers depending less on display ad revenue.

The proportions of candidate position coverage tend in the opposite direction. As dependence on display ad revenue increases, so does the mean proportion of such coverage, from 12.9% for the Roanoke Times, to 17.9% for the News, to 19.9% of the Salem Times-Register's election coverage. The regression coefficient for this relationship (significant at the .005 level) is .56. This result is consistent with the original hypothesis to the extent that coverage other than that which is issue-oriented increases with dependence on display ad revenue; this finding, too, is consistent with the advertising model. Although such paragraphs may provide important information about a candidate's position on an issue or background details about his or her political record, such information is arguably inconsistent with the full demands of election coverage in the social responsibility model. Such coverage would focus more on
various aspects of the issues themselves, not just the candidate's position on them or his or her past performance in relation to them.

It is also clear that the means tend to understate the amount of campaign-oriented coverage. The median measures indicate that, in all three papers, some articles have an unusually low percentage of campaign-oriented paragraphs, skewing the mean lower than the actual middle value. For the Roanoke Times, for example, half of the in-house election articles consist of 69% or more campaign-oriented paragraphs, even though the mean is only 61.5%.

As Table 3 shows, in terms of dispersion around the means, the standard deviations are large in comparison to the proportions given in Table 2, especially for the issue and position categories. This indicates again that although the average proportion of such paragraphs in these articles was low, the proportions varied widely from article to article. For example, for the Roanoke Times, the standard deviation of the mean proportion of issue-oriented paragraphs was 25.9%; recall that the mean proportion of such paragraphs was only 15.1%. Note too that the range of proportions of issue-oriented paragraphs is from 0.0% to 100%, again indicating wide dispersion around the mean.

This skewing may be illustrated with a sample article from the Roanoke Times. Entitled "Lessons from heart and
home: Parents say they do better than schools," this article contains 53 paragraphs, over three times the overall mean length, 50 of which were coded as issue-oriented. Though there were few of these in-depth, issue-oriented types of articles during the entire election coverage time-frame studied, the length in number of paragraphs tended to skew the resulting measures of central tendency. The mean measures show the central tendency of the types of paragraph; the median measures show the central tendency of the articles overall. Thus, a few long articles (not affecting the median much) nevertheless skewed the mean proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs down somewhat. It should be noted that these results are relevant mainly to the dependent variable itself, rather than to the hypothesis.

Table 4 also shows the extent to which the articles of all three papers lacked issue and position-oriented coverage. The cells in this table list the number of articles, and the corresponding proportion out of the total number of valid cases, that contained no paragraphs in the given category. For all three papers, more in-house articles contained 0% issue or position-oriented paragraphs than any other percentage.

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The cells showing the proportion of articles without any campaign-oriented paragraphs indicate nearly the opposite. Only 6.6% of election articles in the Roanoke Times contain no campaign-oriented paragraphs; only 3.6% in the News and none of the articles in the Times-Register have no campaign-oriented paragraphs.

We may conclude that, taken alone, the relative proportions of in-house campaign-oriented paragraphs, which were nearly equal among all three papers, do not indicate support for the hypothesis that greater dependence on display advertising for revenue corresponds to a higher proportion of such paragraphs in election coverage. However, the inverse relationship between proportion of issue-oriented paragraphs and dependence on display ad revenue supports the related hypothesis that the more a newspaper relies on such revenue the less likely it will be to feature issue-oriented election coverage, and by extension the less likely its coverage will be consistent with the social responsibility model. Also, the high proportion of campaign-oriented coverage by all three papers may indicate that a paper that relies mostly on display ad revenue, whatever the proportion, may cover elections in ways that are consistent with the advertising model. Of

\[ ^3 \text{The modal values for proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs for both the Roanoke Times and the News are 100%.} \]
course, this result does not necessarily mean that a paper relying much less on display ad revenue would be less likely to emphasize the campaign in its election coverage.

**Hypothesis 2.** The second hypothesis stated that the greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs in the first five paragraphs of in-house articles. Again, support for the hypothesis would be consistent with the advertising model. As Table 5 shows, this hypothesis receives very limited support.

As in the analysis of results for the first hypothesis, there is little variation among the three newspapers concerning types of coverage and, in this case, prominence of those types. Moreover, the relationships are not statistically significant and the Somers' d coefficients show very little strength in the relationship between proportion of display ad revenue and proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs.

However, especially for the Roanoke Times and the News, there is some support in the data for the hypothesis that issue-oriented coverage will be less emphasized and campaign-oriented coverage will be more emphasized in the first five paragraphs than for all paragraphs in each article. The Roanoke Times, for example, moves from only 7.8% issue-oriented coverage in the first paragraph to
15.1%, which is the mean for all paragraphs in the Roanoke Times (see Table 2).

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis predicted that the greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the higher the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs in articles with one or more graphics or photographs. Such a finding would be consistent with the advertising model. The results indicate no support for this hypothesis.

One would expect Table 6 to show an increase in the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article as the number of graphics or photographs increases from none to one and then two or more, especially for the Salem Times-Register, which relied the most on display ad revenue. Beginning with the Roanoke Times, while the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs climbs from 65.4% in articles with no graphics or photographs to 77.0% in articles with one graphic or photo, the proportion drops back down to only 48.2% of articles with two or more graphics or photographs.

The News and Times-Register proportions also fluctuate, but in an opposite pattern from that in the Roanoke Times. The percentages in Table 6 show that, as one would expect based on the hypothesis, the highest proportion (81.7% for the News and 76.8% for the Times-Register) of campaign-oriented paragraphs is for articles emphasized with two or
more graphics or photos. But instead of an increase in the proportion of such paragraphs from articles with no graphics or photos to those with two or more, the lowest proportion (News, 39.3%; Times-Register, 34.8%) is for articles with one photo or graphic; the proportion of such paragraphs for articles with no such emphasis is higher, at 66.9% for the News and 55.8% for the Times-Register. For all three papers, the curvilinear nature of this relationship renders the slight correlations virtually meaningless.

It is possible that in these cases whether to include a graphic or photo with an election article is an editorial decision having little to do with the general nature of the story (whether it is "issue"- or "campaign"-oriented). Rather, the decision may reflect whether the specific subject matter (crime versus education, debate versus opinion poll results) warrants inclusion of a graphic representation of data or a photograph to illustrate, rather than emphasize, the main thrust of the story. This reasoning might lead one to hypothesize that graphics, which often consist of statistics, tables or other representations, might tend to be found more often with issue-oriented articles than would photos. In turn, photographs often present a portrait of the personalities in the election campaign and therefore might be expected to be more event or campaign-oriented and to accompany articles
with that sort of emphasis.

We may explore this prediction by running a crosstabulation of the frequencies of photos and graphics with the proportion of campaign, position and issue-oriented paragraphs above and below the median. Because the Roanoke Times dataset is relatively large, it might present a compelling comparison of the uses of graphics and photographs.

Table 7 shows the results, which provide some support for the reasoning given above. especially interesting are the cells corresponding to the use of graphics and campaign-oriented coverage. These two cells (with and without graphics) indicate that graphics are used less often to accompany articles with proportions of campaign coverage that are above the median. Moreover, the cells corresponding to issue coverage indicate that graphics tended to be used more with articles containing levels of issue-oriented paragraphs above the median. For example, in articles including one or more graphics, consistent with the reasoning given above, 53.3% have proportions of issue-oriented paragraphs above the overall median. These results support the alternative hypothesis that the use of graphics

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4 The measures of association and statistical significance for all the cells in the "Photographs" half of the table were weak and therefore not included.
with an election article may be related to the type of coverage and especially that articles more issue-oriented than average are more likely to include graphics than are more campaign-oriented articles.

Hypothesis 4. The fourth hypothesis was: The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the more likely the newspaper is to emphasize campaign-oriented articles by giving them higher than average prominence in terms of page number, section, day of edition and position relative to the fold. Again, this result would be consistent with the advertising model. There is no support for this hypothesis, especially when one compares the Roanoke Times and the News.

For each paper, Table 8 compares measures of the averages (means and medians) of the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article for successively higher levels of prominence, from articles on page one (all sections), to page one section A articles, to front page above the fold articles, and finally to front page, above the fold articles in the Sunday edition (Roanoke Times and News only). Although the proportion of such paragraphs in the Roanoke Times drops a little for page one and front page articles, it climbs again to about the overall mean for front page articles above the fold. The proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs then rises above the overall
mean for articles receiving the highest prominence: front page, above the fold in the Sunday edition.

The medians, however, stay about the same until only articles on the front page and above the fold are analyzed. The medians then increase also, to a higher value than the means. This indicates, as before, that there are a small number of articles with a very small proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs in the sample skewing the mean proportion of such paragraphs below the median. This seems especially true for those articles on page A1 above the fold, where the difference between the mean and median proportion is around 25 points.

Though the differences between the means and medians for the News articles are not as dramatic, the trend in proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs as prominence increases is opposite from the trend hypothesized. We expected the News, relying more heavily on display advertising, to give more prominence to such articles, but the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs gradually decreases as prominence increases. And again, the higher medians, relative to the means, indicate that the articles with lower proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs skew the mean down. The exception to this rule is the group of articles at the highest level of prominence: front page, above the fold, in the Sunday edition. The mean here is
above the median. But in this group, both the mean and the median are the central values: there are no articles with proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs between values of 17% and 46%.

More importantly in terms of the hypothesis, however, the regression coefficient between the proportion of display ad revenue and the most prominent articles (Roanoke Times and the News only) is strongly negative (-5.19), opposite from that hypothesized. The News was less likely to give the highest prominence possible to articles with higher proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs than was the Roanoke Times, even though the News relies more on display ad revenue. This result refutes the hypothesis.

The Salem Times-Register results do fall more in line with the hypothesis, that is, that having the highest proportion of display advertising revenue, the Times-Register should give higher prominence to articles with high proportions of campaign-oriented coverage. However, it is hard to draw conclusions with such a small number of articles. And although the proportions of such paragraphs increase gradually with higher prominence, the highest proportions still are not much higher than those of the Roanoke Times. The Times-Register only publishes on Thursdays, so unfortunately we cannot compare Sunday editions for all three papers.
Purpose: summary

In general, the data do not support the proposition that greater dependence on display ad revenue leads to more consistency with the advertising model in terms of the purpose of the press. However, when we reverse the first hypothesis we find some support for the prediction that a higher proportion of display ad revenue is related to a lower proportion of issue-oriented election coverage; this result indicates inconsistency with the social responsibility model. In general, the relationships between the dependence on display ad revenue and the dependent variables for purpose suggest little evidence of the social responsibility model in any of the three papers.

Access to the press

My proposition regarding the relationship between the basis of the press and access to the press was that the more a newspaper relies on display ad revenue, the more likely it would be to deny access to its election coverage by writers outside the organization and by those candidates not favored to win the election, and to rely more on insider sources for citations.

Hypothesis 5. This hypothesis stated that the greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of total articles written by
inside writers compared to outside writers. Results supporting it would have been consistent with the advertising model. There is little support for this hypothesis.

Table 9 shows the results of comparisons among the three papers. There is some variation in the proportions of articles written by inside and outside writers, but not in a consistent direction that would fully support the hypothesis.

Inside-produced articles included hard and soft news, features, editorials, columns by regular opinion writers, and analyses by reporters. Outside-produced articles included letters to the editor, the "Reader Forum" in the Roanoke Times, and commentary or opinion pieces by unpaid contributors. As Table 9 shows, somewhere between 65.9% (News) and 72.2% (Times-Register) of the articles relating to the election in all three papers were produced by writers inside the organization, whether as paid employees, stringers, or regular columnists. The remainder was produced outside the organization, most of it in the letters to the editor sections of all three papers.

Again, there is little variation among the papers, and the directions those small variations take are not consistent with the hypothesis. One would expect the proportion of outside writers to be the highest with the
Roanoke Times and to decrease for the News, then decrease again for the Times-Register. But in fact the proportions between the Roanoke Times and the News are about the same. The proportion of outside articles in the Times-Register is lower in comparison, but only by about 5 to 6 percent.

Hypothesis 6. I also hypothesized that in the coverage of the gubernatorial election, the greater the proportion of total revenue from advertising, the greater the proportion of articles mentioning the candidates from the two major parties compared to the proportion of articles mentioning the non-mainstream candidate. Such a result would be consistent with the advertising model. The hypothesis is not supported, but the proportion of mentions by all three papers of the non-mainstream candidate, Nancy Spannaus, was so low that comparisons are difficult. The Salem Times-Register did not cover the gubernatorial campaign and is therefore left out of this part of the analysis.\(^{5}\)

The hypothesis would lead one to expect the Roanoke Times, which relies less on display advertising revenue, to include a higher proportion of articles mentioning Spannaus in its articles covering the gubernatorial race than the News would. Unfortunately, the low number of Spannaus

\(^{5}\)Though there were two mentions each of Terry and Allen in the Times-Register, they were related to the candidates in the 8th District campaign.
mentions by both papers makes any conclusion about the hypothesis almost meaningless. A more qualitative look at the articles mentioning Spannaus in both these papers may be more instructive than just analyzing the quantitative data and may help to draw some distinctions. The articles indicate that the coverage in the News, contrary to the hypothesis, was more consistent with the social responsibility model than was that in the Roanoke Times.

Nancy Spannaus has described herself as a leader in former presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche's organization for 25 years. She has edited the movement's newspaper for nearly that long. Spannaus is a continual loser of elections in Virginia: she lost to John Warner in 1990 in the U.S. Senate race, gaining 18 percent of the vote; she came in a distant third in the 1993 gubernatorial election; and in 1994 Spannaus was fourth in the four-way Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate seat held by Charles Robb.

Of the six in-house Roanoke Times articles mentioning Nancy Spannaus by name, four, coded as either "soft" or "hard" news articles, covered some aspect of the Democratic convention or the campaign itself with generally only brief

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mentions of Spannaus. The other two articles were apparent attempts by staff members at the Roanoke Times to grapple with the issue of the sparse attention Spannaus's candidacy was receiving in the media. The first was an opinion piece on the Sunday commentary page by writer Margie Fisher, a veteran political reporter before her promotion to the editorial staff. The article dealt mainly with the controversy surrounding the refusal by the Virginia Press Association in July to let Spannaus join a gubernatorial debate the VPA sponsored in Virginia Beach. In the article, Fisher concluded that the VPA had been correct to bar Spannaus, "a disciple of jailed political extremist Lyndon LaRouche," from the debate. Fisher's argument centered on Spannaus's lack of widespread public support. Fisher concluded:

If and when public-opinion polls give Spannaus even a peashooter's shot at winning, then definitely she should be included in candidates' debates. At the moment, though, she is not even a blip on public opinion's radar screen. Her participation in debates would

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simply distract from whatever value the debates have in the political process -- and it's not VPA's or the news media's role to cause distractions. For that matter, neither are they obliged to see that every little dogma has its day.3

The other Roanoke Times article that dealt with the issue of Spannaus's lack of recognition was in Ray Reed's question and answer column.9 In response to a reader's concern that Spannaus was "being blacked out" by the newspaper, Reed argued that the amount of media coverage is driven by the support the candidate is able to generate. Citing the lack of such support for Spannaus ("around the 1 percent mark"), Reed defended the lack of coverage of her candidacy. "Elections usually are won by the candidate with the strongest network of supporters. Those networks are organized through personal contacts, not media coverage."10

The two articles in the News mentioning Spannaus were both coded as hard news stories. They covered Spannaus's attendance at the New River Valley Economic Summit in

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10Ibid.
October, which the other two candidates skipped,\textsuperscript{11} and the
debate among all three candidates at the NAACP
convention.\textsuperscript{12} Though the Roanoke Times covered the
economic summit and the fact that the two mainstream
candidates had bowed out, it did not mention Spannaus's
attendance.

The Roanoke Times's coverage of the Spannaus candidacy,
drawing from the articles mentioning her by name, apparently
followed the early editorial position Fisher staked out in
her July commentary on the VPA debate. The Times viewed
Spannaus as a fringe candidate deserving only sparse
attention and superficial coverage. None of the articles
explained her views in depth; the most common type of
mention of her was her link with LaRouche. Although the
Times did attempt to grapple with the broader question of
why recognition and coverage of her candidacy was so scarce,
its rationalizations for keeping her out of its election
coverage is consistent with the advertising model.

The News in its two articles mentioning Spannaus
acknowledged her underdog status but covered her more as a
candidate whose opinions should at least be known by its

\textsuperscript{11}Marty Gordon, "Spannaus attends the summit," 8

\textsuperscript{12}Marty Gordon, "Va. gubernatorial candidates attend
readers. In this respect, the News's coverage of her was probably more consistent with the social responsibility model in that it provided more of a forum for her views and acted as a "common carrier of public discussion"\textsuperscript{13} than the more introspective Times. On the other hand, the fact that the Times tried to respond to possible reader concern about the lack of coverage of Spannaus speaks to another aspect of the social responsibility model: press accountability to the society which it serves.\textsuperscript{14}

But again, as Table 10 shows, the relatively few mentions of Spannaus compared to the other two candidates indicates that both papers were more consistent with the advertising model than the social responsibility model, strictly in terms of their focus on the mainstream candidates. For whatever reason, the "fringe" views of Nancy Spannaus did not get much copy in either paper.

\textit{Hypothesis 7.} This hypothesis stated that the greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the more likely the newspaper is to favor the gubernatorial candidate leading in the polls with a higher proportion of articles mentioning that candidate compared to the other mainstream candidate. Such a finding would be consistent

\textsuperscript{13}COFOP (1947), p. 23.

\textsuperscript{14}McIntyre (1987), pp. 136, 150-152.
with the advertising model.

The results in Table 11 show little support for this hypothesis. The proportion of articles in the Roanoke Times mentioning Terry was five points higher (61.3%) than those mentioning Allen (56.3%) in the first period from May to early September when she was leading in the polls. Interestingly, the point difference is exactly the same for the News in the same period, 22.5% mentioning Terry to 17.5% mentioning Allen. Although the hypothesis is not supported here, the results are consistent with the advertising model for both newspapers.

In the second period, from 2 September to 3 October, the margin of difference in proportion of mentions narrows for the Roanoke Times and vanishes in the News, much as would be expected from the reasoning given for the models. The margin of difference in proportions for the Roanoke Times is only two articles, 45 for Terry and 47 for Allen. The number of articles mentioning each is even for the News, at three apiece (25%).

The results from the third period do not support the hypothesis and require another explanation. The proportion of articles mentioning Terry in the final month of the campaign (4 October to 2 November), when Allen reached a 17-point lead in the opinion polls, is again higher than those for Allen. Overall for the period, Terry is mentioned in
59.3% (64) of the articles and Allen is mentioned in 56.5% (61) of them, a margin of almost three points in Terry's favor (though only by three articles). Note also that the proportions for both are back to almost the same level as in the first period. One would expect the direction to be reversed based on the reasoning given for the advertising model.

For the News the margin is reversed from that expected and even larger than that of the Roanoke Times for the period. The proportion of articles mentioning Terry in the News increased to 35.5% (11), higher than that of even the first period (22.5%, 9 articles) when she was leading in the opinion polls. Articles mentioning Allen in the third period made up just 25.8% (8) of the valid cases, more than in the first period when he was trailing in the polls but still nearly ten points behind Terry.

A look at the in-house articles mentioning only Terry or Allen, but not both, indicates why there were more articles mentioning Terry and casts further doubt on the hypothesis. There are probably two main reasons why Terry received slightly more mentions than Allen in the final month. In the Roanoke Times, two editorial endorsements of the Democratic ticket both mentioned Terry. Also, the almost frenzied pace of Democratic campaigning in the final days, due to both Terry's and attorney general candidate
Bill Dolan's being behind in the polls, probably led to increased coverage (presumably as the campaigners hoped) and therefore increased mentions of Terry.

The difference in number of articles mentioning Terry and Allen in the News, small as it is, is probably due mainly to two news briefs announcing local Democratic campaign functions, both mentioning Terry. Thus, these small differences are due to (slightly) increased coverage of those underdog candidates or campaigns that worked to gain support in the final period of the race.

At least in the case of these two papers, apparently the press will increase coverage of a desperate campaign organization in response to the organization's attempts to regain public support. This behavior is consistent with the advertising model in that it plays up the drama and the "horserace" aspect of the campaign, perhaps in an attempt to draw more readers and hence advertising revenue. A separate question, beyond the scope of this analysis, is whether the coverage is favorable or unfavorable.

Hypothesis 8. The final hypothesis was: The greater the proportion of total revenue from display advertising, the greater the proportion of total citations of mainstream sources. Finding such a relationship would be consistent with the advertising model.

The results support this hypothesis, as Table 12 shows.
As dependence on display ad revenue increases, the reliance on "insiders" as news sources in the coverage of the 1993 election also increased. This increase, it should be noted, starts at about 9 out of 10 sources as insiders for the Roanoke Times and goes up from there, to 97.6% for the News and to all insider sources for the Times-Register.

One alternative hypothesis not consistent with the reasoning about the two models that deserves testing is that the larger a newspaper's overall revenue, the more resources it has to use its reporters to reach out to "outsider" sources. The Roanoke Times is the largest of the three papers studied, and therefore may have the time and money available to include a wider range of sources in its election coverage.

Summary

The results generated by the analysis show little support for the overall proposition that, regarding the relationship between basis and purpose of the press, the more dependent a paper is on display ad revenue the more likely it is to emphasize campaign-oriented coverage. The data do suggest, however, that higher display ad revenue may lead to lower proportions of issue-oriented coverage. In terms of the use of graphics and photos and the prominence
of types of election coverage, however, the results indicate that alternative explanations must be generated due to the lack of support for the hypotheses.

Regarding the relationship between basis of and access to the press, the only hypothesis supported is the final one, and there may be alternative hypotheses that would explain the results there better. The other three hypotheses receive either very limited or no support.

Although the general propositions received only limited support, the relative lack of variation in the independent and dependent variables severely limited the conclusions that can be drawn from these findings. Still, the results suggest that papers relying heavily on display ad revenue will tend toward the advertising model rather than the social responsibility model. The final chapter will discuss these issues further and suggest areas for possible future research.
Table 2
Mean and median proportions of type of election paragraphs per article by newspaper (in-house only).\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times\textsuperscript{b} (mean median)</th>
<th>News\textsuperscript{c} (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register\textsuperscript{d} (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>15.1% 0%</td>
<td>8.9% 0%</td>
<td>5.2% 5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.52 (.03)\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate position</td>
<td>12.9 5.7</td>
<td>17.9 0</td>
<td>19.9 12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.56 (.005)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>61.5 69.0</td>
<td>61.6 66.7</td>
<td>59.0 66.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.23 (.49)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}The column totals do not add to 100 percent because I coded some paragraphs as outside the defined categories.

\textsuperscript{b}N = 318 (articles).

\textsuperscript{c}N = 83.

\textsuperscript{d}N = 13.

\textsuperscript{e}The regression coefficients (betas) and significance values (in parentheses) are for the bivariate relationship between proportion of display ad revenue (Table 1) and the proportion of the type of paragraph per article.
Table 3

Standard deviations and ranges of types of election paragraphs per article by newspaper (in-house only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times</th>
<th>News</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(std.dev.)</td>
<td>(std.dev.)</td>
<td>(std.dev.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(low-high)</td>
<td>(low-high)</td>
<td>(low-high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-100.0%</td>
<td>0-81.8%</td>
<td>0-15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate position</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-84.6</td>
<td>0-100.0</td>
<td>0-70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-100.0</td>
<td>0-100.0</td>
<td>6.6-94.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
Proportion of articles without issue, candidate position, or campaign-oriented paragraphs, by newspaper (in-house only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>News\textsuperscript{b}</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register\textsuperscript{c}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>58.8% (187)</td>
<td>66.3% (55)</td>
<td>46.2% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate position</td>
<td>45.6 % (145)</td>
<td>51.8 % (43)</td>
<td>38.5 % (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>6.6 % (21)</td>
<td>3.6 % (3)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}N = 318. \\
\textsuperscript{b}N = 83. \\
\textsuperscript{c}N = 13.
Table 5

Proportions of types of election coverage in the first five paragraphs by newspaper (in-house only).\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First paragraph</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second paragraph</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third paragraph</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth paragraph</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fifth paragraph</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The number of cases ranged from a high of 404 for the first two paragraphs to a low of 372 for fifth paragraphs due to the fact that some articles were less than five paragraphs long.

\(^b\)A paragraph was coded as "Other" when it could not justifiably be included in either of the other two categories. Column totals for each paragraph may not equal 100% due to rounding. Also, due to the coding scheme, it was not possible to separate position coverage from campaign-oriented coverage.

\(^c\)The Somers' d coefficients (and significance values) are between the proportion of display ad revenue and proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article for each paragraph.
Table 6

Mean proportions of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article with zero, one and two or more photographs or graphics, by newspaper (in-house only).^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF PHOTOS OR GRAPHICS</th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation coefficients

- .11 (p=.05)       -.15 (p=.15)       .26 (p=.38)

^aPearson's correlations are for the relationships between the number of graphics or photographs and the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article.
Table 7
Proportions of paragraphs above\textsuperscript{a} the overall median\textsuperscript{b} for articles with and without graphics or photographs in the Roanoke Times (in-house only).\textsuperscript{c}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCOMPANYING THE ARTICLE</th>
<th>TYPE OF COVERAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero\textsuperscript{d}</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(125)</td>
<td>(118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or more\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>52.3 (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(143)</td>
<td>(132)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or more\textsuperscript{g}</td>
<td>35.6 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phi</td>
<td>.22 (.001)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}For clarity, only values above the median are reported. The phi coefficient is for the relationship between the proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article at or below/above the median and the number of graphics.

\textsuperscript{b}See Table 2.

\textsuperscript{c}N = 318.

\textsuperscript{d}N = 253.

\textsuperscript{e}N = 65.

\textsuperscript{f}N = 273.

\textsuperscript{g}N = 45.
Table 8
Proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article in increasing degrees of prominence, by newspaper (in-house only).\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCREASING LEVELS OF PROMINENCE</th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall average</td>
<td>61.5% 69.0%</td>
<td>59.0% 58.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>318</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.23 (.49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page One
(all sections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60.3 70.5</td>
<td>64.0 71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>129</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.22 (.62)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page One, Section A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56.4 70.8</td>
<td>64.0 71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.06 (.91)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page One, Section A, above fold

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.5 86.6</td>
<td>68.6 71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.35 (.64)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page One, Section A, above fold

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roanoke Times (mean median)</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register (mean median)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81.8 92.6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-5.19 (.01)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\)Bivariate regression coefficients (statistical significance) are for the relationships between proportion of display ad revenue and proportion of campaign-oriented paragraphs per article for each level of prominence.
Table 9

Proportions of articles written by "outsiders" and "insiders" by newspaper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE OF WRITER</th>
<th>Roanoke Times</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outside writers</td>
<td>32.7% (156)</td>
<td>34.1% (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27.8% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside writers</td>
<td>67.3% (321)</td>
<td>65.9% (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72.2% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0% (477)</td>
<td>100.0% (126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0% (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

bThe lambda value for the relationship between proportion of display ad revenue as the independent variable and type of writer as the dependent variable is zero. The uncertainty coefficient is .004 (.34 level of significance).
Table 10

Proportion of all articles mentioning the gubernatorial candidates, by newspaper (in-house).\textsuperscript{a}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\hline
Gubernatorial & \textit{Roanoke Times}\textsuperscript{b} & \textit{News}\textsuperscript{c} \\
Candidate & & \\
\hline
Mary Sue & 61.1\% & 27.7\% \\
Terry & (196) & (23) \\
George & 58.6 & 21.7 \\
Allen & (188) & (18) \\
Nancy & 1.6 & 2.4 \\
Spannaus & (6) & (2) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{a}The phi coefficient for the relationship between the proportion of display ad revenue and the dichotomous variable mainstream versus non-mainstream mentions is .02 (\(p = .60\)).

\textsuperscript{b}N = 321.

\textsuperscript{c}N = 83.
Table 11
Proportion of articles mentioning the candidate leading and the candidate trailing in public opinion polls during three time periods, by newspaper (in-house only, Salem Times-Register excluded).^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME PERIOD AND LEADING CANDIDATE</th>
<th>Roanoke Times</th>
<th>News</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1 to Sept. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>56.3% (80)</td>
<td>17.5% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>61.3% (87)</td>
<td>22.5% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 2 to Oct. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>66.2% (47)</td>
<td>25.0% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>63.4% (45)</td>
<td>25.0% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 4 to Nov. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>56.5% (61)</td>
<td>25.8% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>59.3% (64)</td>
<td>35.5% (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aThe phi coefficients for the relationship between proportion of display ad revenue and the difference in mean proportion of leading candidate mentions between the two papers were near zero for the first and last periods, and the relationships were not statistically significant.
Table 12

Proportion and number of "insider" and "outsider" citations, by newspaper (in-house only).a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE OF CITATION</th>
<th>Roanoke Times</th>
<th>News</th>
<th>Salem Times-Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Insiders&quot;</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
<td>97.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2336)</td>
<td>(504)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Outsiders&quot;</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(446)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2782)</td>
<td>(520)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*aNot all citations are included here. As noted before, some sources did not fit into either the "insider" or "outsider" category, but most did. Examples of sources that did not fit include convention delegates and experts, such as researchers, interviewed for their technical opinions.

The regression coefficient for the relationship between proportion of display ad revenue and proportion of "insider" citations per article is .54 (p = .01).
Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter begins with a brief summary of the findings and their relationship to the two models. The empirical and normative implications of these findings are then discussed, relating to the broader issues of advertising and responsibility introduced in Chapter 1. This discussion includes the related issue of "objectivity" in news reporting and its effects on content. Recent scholarship on what, if anything, should be done to change the media in the U. S. is also examined. The chapter ends with some thoughts on future research.

The relationships among basis, purpose and access

The main conclusion about the basis of the newspapers studied is simply that there was little variation in the independent variable, proportion of display advertising revenue. All three papers depend on advertising, especially the sale of display advertising, for most of their revenue. This lack of variation, of course, limits the conclusions of the analysis.

However, some brief conclusions may be drawn about the relationship between the basis of the press and its purpose.
As dependence on display ad revenue increased, there were some indications that the papers tended to include lower proportions of issue-oriented coverage, with a corresponding increase in position-oriented coverage, and issue-oriented coverage tended to have lower prominence in the first five paragraphs of the articles. These results were consistent with the advertising model. Yet, there was no indication that in terms of the use of photographs and graphics and in the placement of election articles, more dependence on display ad revenue led to increased consistency with the advertising model.

The relationship between basis and access to the press was even weaker. The results of the quantitative analysis supported only the hypothesis that greater dependence on display ad revenue led to more use of "insider" sources compared to "outsider" sources, consistent with the advertising model. There was virtually no variation among the papers in terms of the other dependent variables tapping access.

However, the qualitative description of the coverage of the "non-mainstream" candidate, Nancy Spannaus, revealed that coverage in the News showed some consistency with the social responsibility model in the sense that it treated Spannaus and her views more seriously. Nevertheless, the uncertainty of the findings from the quantitative analysis
again points up the major weakness of the data -- the lack of variation in the dependence on display ad revenue.

Another limit on the conclusions one may draw from the quantitative analysis might be found in the definition of access. Indeed, John Merrill, consistent with the libertarian theory and the advertising model, criticizes COFOP's notion that the right to access should be a positive right of anyone with an opinion to use the media as a platform. One alternative definition of access is the ability to freely receive news and information from others, rather than the right to use the media as one's own microphone. If advertising revenue enables a newspaper to charge a reader less than it otherwise might to buy a copy, access might be enhanced by adherence to the advertising model. It may be, though, that mass advertising has subtle effects on the economy that actually raise the overall prices of goods and services.\(^1\) If that is the case, there is a hidden high price for cheaper newspapers.

Even though this study was a weak test of the two models, there was no quantitative or qualitative evidence that any of the three papers have, in Altschull's words, "adopted the social responsibility thesis,"\(^2\) at least in

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\(^1\)Bagdikian (1992), pp. 134-151.

terms of 1993 election coverage. If these three papers were more consistent with either of these two models based on the results, it is the advertising model. There is no support for the notion that newspapers have "adopted" social responsibility in their election coverage.

Given these results, the implications of the advertising model and advertising's influence on the election coverage studied also include concepts not analyzed explicitly here: the role of "objectivity" in producing news content and the conformity it promotes among different papers. These issues are briefly discussed below.

Objectivity, and conformity in the news

Recall that these are three of the most widely read locally published newspapers in the Roanoke and New River Valleys. The fact that all three depend more on display ad revenue than any other single source raises this question: Upon what basis do most daily, semi-weekly and weekly papers in the United States rest, and how does that basis affect the type of coverage readers get in their local newspapers?

Certainly most daily, if not most semi-weekly and weekly newspapers, rely on advertising, especially display ads, for a large share of their revenue. Bagdikian has

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argued that advertising has had several serious and detrimental effects on the type of news media readers have to choose from. One of these effects is that the media aim mainly for more educated and affluent readers with the resources and willingness to be persuaded by advertisements. This process of aiming for the right demographic profile among the audience leaves out people without money to buy (even if they are avid readers), especially individuals without membership in the right ethnic, sex or age groups.

The high proportion of event and campaign-oriented coverage in all three papers in the study may be one partial effect of this process (see Table 2). The superficiality of such coverage is not likely to offend many readers and therefore is safe, in the sense that circulation figures are not threatened and the advertisers are provided with a stable audience. The result in news content may be blandness, conformity, and an overemphasized concern with the sensibilities of readers who will respond to advertising at the expense of those who won't.

This conformity in content, plus the great reliance by all three papers on political insiders as news sources,

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points to another part of journalism widely criticized by scholars -- the doctrine of objectivity. Though beyond the focus of this study, objectivity as a systematic result of advertising and as a professional belief system among journalists deserves brief discussion here.

Objectivity has both economic and professional roots. As a doctrine of fair, impartial and nonpartisan reporting, it was promoted by the technological advances in the 1800s that enabled reporters to send stories over the telegraph to more than one publication, thus discouraging partisanship and bias in news reports.\(^6\) Then in the 20th century, objectivity was enshrined as professional doctrine and taught in journalism schools.\(^7\)

The valid criticisms of the influence of objectivity in news content go beyond the simple argument that pure objectivity is unattainable. Few would argue that humans as fallible beings can dispassionately choose, observe and report news without any bias whatsoever; but perhaps, one would argue, objectivity is something to be strived for as an ideal.\(^8\) But the real issue is the normative desirability of objectivity given its possible effects on

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\(^7\)Altschull (1984), pp. 126-134.

\(^8\)Ibid, p. 127.
news content.

Objectivity in election news coverage may in part explain the emphasis on events, personalities and conflicts in the 1993 campaigns as well as the reliance on political insiders as sources. First, the focus on people and personalities reflects Altschull's concern that the code of objectivity limits critical coverage in the press to that of individuals, leaving institutions and issues largely unscathed.\(^9\) In this way the exclusion of Nancy Spannaus from the VPA debate was defended by Margie Fisher as a result of Spannaus's status as a fringe candidate outside the mainstream of popular opinion, and the specific views of Spannaus as well as the larger issue of the debate system itself were left largely unquestioned. Thereafter, coverage of Spannaus in the Roanoke Times was set into the familiar pattern of "objectively" reporting the brief off-the-wall quotes and quirks of Spannaus without delving into the issues she raised and the nature of the two-party political system.

Secondly, this superficiality is also related to the use of political insiders for most citations in the 1993 election news coverage. As Bagdikian argues, objectivity

\(^9\)Ibid, pp. 131-132.
placed overwhelming emphasis on established, official voices and tended to leave unreported large areas of genuine relevance that authorities chose not to talk about. It accentuated social forces as rhetorical contests of personalities, with the reporter powerless to fill obvious gaps in official information or reasoning.\textsuperscript{10}

The use of authority figures as sources allows journalists to appear in their coverage to give an unbiased account of the day's news while hiding behind the doctrine of objectivity to obscure the fact that every choice in covering the news is value-laden.\textsuperscript{11}

Objectivity is therefore not just a systematic doctrine going hand in hand with the advertising model -- it is also a "belief system"\textsuperscript{12} adhered to and defended by individual reporters and editors. Objectivity is an impediment to issue-oriented and therefore socially responsible coverage, in that journalists as spectators and unbiased observers will surely be less inclined to delve into political issues that may expose personal biases.

In order to tap the effects on news coverage of the

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid, p. 179.
\textsuperscript{12}Schudson, Michael in Altschull (1984), p. 127.
belief system of objectivity, other methods such as interviews with reporters are necessary. This prospect is explored further in the final section on future research.

Concentration, competition and change

Clifford Christians, John Ferre and P. Mark Fackler address the philosophical basis of the press. They advocate "reconstituting the foundations of press theory from Enlightenment individualism to a communitarian base."\(^{13}\) The theory they prescribe for the press in the U.S. is based not on advertising or social responsibility but a "communitarian social philosophy"\(^ {14}\) woven with the threads of individualism and socialism while rejecting the extremes of both. "The atomistic model of community cannot accommodate the wholeness of social life, and the organic matrix cannot accommodate the irreducible self."\(^ {15}\) They thus emphasize a compromise between extremes: mutuality in human relations as an ethical guide for the press.

Merrill also addresses the basis of the press in society but relies more on libertarian theory. Accordingly, he maintains that the atomistic individual is paramount and

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\(^ {14}\) Ibid, p. 45.

\(^ {15}\) Ibid, p. 73.
thus the freedom of the individual journalist must be protected from governmental as well as private institutional forces, such as the organization within which the journalist works. More recently, he has modified his position from that in The Imperative of Freedom that journalists should avoid "social adaptation and cooperation in order not to lose their autonomy and self-respect."\textsuperscript{16} Merrill maintains his focus on the individual journalist but now argues that "only when the journalist realizes that both freedom and responsibility are equally necessary for authentic journalism will journalism reach a maturity that will be satisfying to everyone concerned."\textsuperscript{17} Merrill thus leaves it to the individual journalist and the individuals in his or her audience to decide what function the media perform and how they perform it.

Bagdikian has recommended a middle course between communitarianism and the more traditional American advertising model he criticizes. He has argued that the answer to the decreasing competition and increasing concentration of newspapers and other mass media is to find ways to more equitably distribute ownership and thus power, with the purpose of encouraging more competition by forcing


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid, p. 243.
ownership into more hands. Specifically, he recommends a strengthening and extension of current anti-trust laws to strictly limit "cross-ownership among the media"\(^{18}\) (owning a newspaper and a radio station, for example), putting a cap on the number of outlets any one person or corporation may own, and a progressive tax on advertising.\(^{19}\)

This solution is problematic, as Bagdikian acknowledges, because the mass media are unlikely to fairly communicate to the public any policy change that would lessen their power. "The difficulty is that the most effective solutions require that the giants relinquish their giantism. That is not in the nature of giants."\(^{20}\)

But even if accomplished through a change in national policy, greater competition among the media may not provide media that are more accountable to their readers rather than to their advertisers. That result would depend on whether, first, greater competition would indeed lead newspapers to be more responsive to their audience, and second, whether such responsiveness would even be desired on the part of readers, listeners and watchers. If Americans are relatively content with (or complacent about) the quality of


\(^{19}\)Ibid, p. 231.

the media, any policy change will be unlikely to have much effect.

Although it is a given in COFOP's philosophy that the public needs more responsible, issue-oriented coverage and greater access to the press, it is uncertain whether people really want such coverage and access and would choose them if offered by more competitive media. As a former editor of the San Francisco Examiner said, "We tell [readers] about the socioeconomic implications of a debate in Botswana when they really want to know what the guy next door sold his house for. We feed them quiche and Evian water; they want hamburgers and a Coke." 21

Avoiding the problems of concentration of ownership, the lack of competition, and the doctrine of objectivity may indeed rest more with those in the media and their audience, as Merrill suggests. Recent studies of the purpose of the press in covering election campaigns have shown that some mass media are following this path. In response to the new media technologies widely used in the 1992 presidential campaign, for example, some mass circulation newspapers may have turned more toward policy and issue coverage to compete with television coverage, which tends to be more event-

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oriented.\footnote{Meyer (1993), p. 105.}

The coverage of the 1993 Virginia election campaign

Meyer's analysis of the 1992 presidential election coverage found a greater emphasis on issues and less on conflicting personalities than was the case both in previous elections and the 1993 election coverage analyzed here.\footnote{Meyer (1993), pp. 89-108.} Meyer found that the Charlotte Observer, one of the largest papers in North Carolina and presumably dependent on advertising for revenue, had the highest proportion of issue-oriented coverage among papers in the study. Newspapers in general tended to rely on polls of reader opinion to guide their coverage of the campaign more than they had in past elections.

This trend, when compared with the Roanoke Times's coverage of the 1993 campaign, points up ways in which the paper might have been more accountable (and hence socially responsible) to its readers. For example, the Roanoke Times conducted a "Reader's Forum" to encourage readers to direct questions to the gubernatorial candidates themselves.\footnote{Spannaus did not participate in the forum.} Each of the 21 articles printed the question of the day and

\footnote{Spannaus did not participate in the forum.}
the answers by the candidates. The Observer also ran similar candidate positions, based on reader's concerns, on a regular basis during the 1992 campaign.

But the Observer ran its responses on the first page of a section in each Sunday edition. In contrast, the Reader's Forum articles were usually buried in the inside of the second or third section, never on the first page and usually on a weekday edition read by fewer people. More prominent placement of the Reader's Forum might have encouraged readers to think about the issues raised and to evaluate the candidate's positions.

But as Meyer points out, the trends observed in the coverage of the 1992 election may have had more to do with the "issue environment" than with factors such as competition from television coverage. There was no single issue in the 1993 campaign that provided the focal point for coverage that the economy provided in the 1992 national campaign. Few truly important issues were contested in the issue environment in Virginia in 1993, at least in comparison to the national election of 1992. More socially responsible coverage, including more coverage of issues rather than personalities, fairer treatment of the outsider

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gubernatorial candidate and greater access for non-
traditional sources and readers to the news content of the
papers, may be hard to feasibly prescribe in such an
environment without incentives from outside the press. In
that sense, the superficiality of the coverage may have as
much or more to do with the superficiality of political
campaigns than with the systematic influence of advertising
on news content.

Conclusion

"Socially responsible" coverage, as defined above, is
desirable to the extent that it is generated by the
publications themselves, rather than by the threat of
government regulation, which may not be necessary.\textsuperscript{27} As
Christians, et al, argue, newspapers that rely on
advertising for financial support may nevertheless choose to
engage their audiences in debates over locally important
issues (concentrating on issue-oriented coverage with
increased reader access to the content of the newspaper),
even when an audience is not initially responsive.\textsuperscript{28}
Social responsibility and reliance on advertising revenue
may be consistent in some cases; socially responsible

\begin{footnotes}
\item[27] Peterson (1963), p. 74.
\end{footnotes}
coverage may be chosen without the threat of outside sanctions.

Secondly, the dangers that COFOP warned were imminent unless the media became more socially responsible seem more remote now. COFOP predicted that society would not forever tolerate the results of concentration of communications ownership into fewer and fewer powerful hands. To the contrary, this trend has been mostly ignored by Americans and public opinion leaders. And the efficacy of government regulation has since been discredited to a degree, especially since the 1970s, thus frustrating any real effort to use government sanctions as an incentive for a socially responsible press. And despite public dissatisfaction with the media, journalists still cite the protection of the First Amendment to ward off most outside control over them. Social responsibility therefore remains mostly a matter of choice for publishers.

Finally, advances in technology, another concern of COFOP, have had a mixed effect on control over and access to the means of communication. Although technology may amplify a privileged voice, the cacophony of voices now characterizing the media, especially the electronic media, may nullify COFOP's fears that only the powerful have access. And individual access to new communications technologies has increased -- facsimile transmissions from
Chinese dissidents during the government crackdown in 1988 showed that even repressive governments cannot completely control the spread and effects of the new means of communication.

**Future research**

In this exploratory thesis I have attempted to find empirical support for the notion that a reliance on display advertising revenue leads to certain predicted behaviors by the press. I believe that in spite (or perhaps because) of the lack of support for most of the predictions in this study, further exploration of the ideas and concepts discussed is warranted.

Any meaningful exposition of the sense of ethics or responsibility that guide (or fail to guide) news organizations also must focus on what Christians, Ferre and Fackler call the "news shop" -- the organizational climate and types of discourse that characterize the workplace, both within the newsroom and around the entire newspaper. Similarly, the process of news production, not just the content, is also important as a focus of study, as Max Weber argued.\(^29\)

As noted in the discussion of methods in Chapter 3, the

lack of time and resources barred the use of other methods, such as interviews with individuals in the news organizations themselves, that might have been more appropriate for uncovering the relationships I predicted. Interviews and greater use of qualitative methods would also be more appropriate for studying the doctrine of objectivity.

Broader national studies might be useful in understanding (or verifying) the public's apparent dissatisfaction with their news media, and why people feel as they do about the media, as well as the extent of the concentration of ownership. Better ways of determining whether or not social responsibility is "growing in popularity"<sup>30</sup> might include interviews with people in the media or field research in their working environment.

Given declining newspaper readership and increasing public dependence on television for news, future research might also focus on social responsibility in the electronic media. Because the federal government has been given a greater regulatory role in the operation of radio and television, the effects of such regulation in terms of social responsibility deserve attention.

More evidence is needed for the argument that the

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<sup>30</sup>Merrill (1989), p. 196.
future of the press is at stake and that the press's freedom is truly in danger of losing its justification in modern democracy. To further our understanding of the evidence, we need to know how applicable advertising and social responsibility are to what the press is and does in America.
Appendix A

FREQUENCY TABLES

The following appendix lists the values for each dependent variable coded in the analysis, by question number on the codesheet (Appendix B). Ranges are given for variables with more values than room permits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question #</th>
<th>Variable Label</th>
<th>Value (range)</th>
<th>Frequency (total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 [News]</td>
<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 [Salem T-R]</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<td>(May 1- Nov. 2), 1994</td>
<td>(673)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Day of story</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2 [Saturday]</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 [Sunday]</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Page number of headline</td>
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<td>(673)</td>
</tr>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2 [B]</td>
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<td>3 [C]</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 [D]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 [F]</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 [G]</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 [NRV Current]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 [Other]</td>
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31The meaning of each of these numerical values is given on the codesheet (Appendix B).
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<th>Variable label</th>
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<th>Frequency (total)</th>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>9 [not applicable]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 [feature]</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 [editorial]</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 [analysis]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 [Q/A interview]</td>
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</tr>
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<td>7 [reader forum]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 [other]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>321</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mention of Allen</td>
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<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [yes]</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mention of Spannaus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>11.</td>
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\(^{32}\)These articles were in the New River Current, a tabloid section in the Roanoke Times Tuesdays-Sundays.

\(^{33}\)If the story was coded as a wire story, the rest of the variables were coded as missing. The remaining variables have a missing value, which will not be listed, with a frequency of 53.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Question #</th>
<th>Variable label</th>
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<th>Frequency (total)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Debate, polls, personality or campaign activities paragraphs</td>
<td>(0-71)</td>
<td>(620)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 [issues]</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>2 [campaign]</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Focus of the fifth paragraph</td>
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<td>Number of &quot;insider&quot; citations</td>
<td>(0-35)</td>
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</table>
Appendix B

Date__/__/__ Codesheet: Content Analysis

Unit number___ [1-3]

Headline: ____________________________________________

Sub-head (if any): _________________________________________

1. Newspaper: (1) RT & W-N (2) News Mess. (3) Salem T[2]

2. Date of story:__/__/__/____ [5-8]

3. Is story: (1) Weekday (2) Saturday (3) Sunday? [9]


5. Section:
   (1) A
   (2) B
   (3) C
   (4) D
   (5) E
   (6) F
   (7) G
   (8) New River Current (RT&WN only)
   (9) Other:___________________________________________ [12]

6. If full page format (not tabloid),
   (1) headline below the fold
   (2) headline above the fold
   (9) N/A. [13]

7. Story Type: (If wire story, code = (0) and STOP HERE)
   (1) Hard news/news brief
   (2) Soft news/feature
   (3) Editorial/opinion (in-house)
   (4) Analysis
   (5) Q/A interview
       For any of the above, record byline____________________
   (6) Letter to the editor
   (7) Reader forum
   (8) Commentary/Op-Ed (outside writer)
   (9) Other:___________________________________________ [14]

8. How many photos accompany the story or article?
   0 (None) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 [15]
9. How many graphics or drawings accompany the story or article?
   0 (None)  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  [16]
   rev. 3/9/94

10. Which of these names are mentioned at least once?
   (NONE) (Once or more)

   Mary Sue Terry   0  1  [17]
   George F. Allen  0  1  [18]
   Nancy B. Spannaus 0  1  [19]
   Don Beyer, Jr.   0  1  [20]
   Michael Farris   0  1  [21]
   Bill Dolan       0  1  [22]
   Jim Gilmore      0  1  [23]
   Howard C. Packett 0  1  [24]
   H. Morgan Griffith 0  1  [25]
   Larry "Nick" Rush 0  1  [26]
   James "Jim" Shuler 0  1  [27]
   Pre-convention cand's 0  1  [28]

11. For EACH paragraph, mark the ONE category that most closely matches the paragraph's main focus:
   Issues:
   ____________________________ Economy/jobs/unemployment [29-30]
   ____________________________ Crime/drugs/violence/guns [31-32]
   ____________________________ Education/schools [33-34]
   ____________________________ Taxes [35-36]
   ____________________________ Roads [37-38]
   ____________________________ Health care [39-40]
   ____________________________ Illegal drivers [41-42]
   ____________________________ Environment [43-44]
   ____________________________ Other issues (Explore Park, racism, state employees, religion, etc) [45-46]

   Campaign-related:
   ____________________________ Office/official duties [47-48]
   ____________________________ Candidate record, positions [49-50]
   ____________________________ Debate or speech [51-52]
   ____________________________ Polls/survey results ("horse race") [54]
   ____________________________ Personal traits (character, images, personality, family) [55-56]
   ____________________________ Campaign activities (strategies, endorsements, finances, fund-raising, attacks on opposition) [57-58]

12. # of Paragraphs:______ (total) [59-60]
13. List the focus of the first five paragraphs, either as issue oriented \((code = (1))\) or campaign oriented \((code = (2))\), according to the categories above (0 if neither, 9 if N/A):

1. ____ [61] 2. ____ [62] 3. ____ [63]
4. ____ [64] 5. ____ [65]

14. Number of times sources cited outside the campaign (i.e., non-professional, "person on the street," or outside the mainstream of campaign politics): ______________ [66-67]

15. Number of times sources cited as campaign spokespersons, politicians, or mainstream analysts (i.e., pro analysts such as Larry Sabato, Bob Denton, Tom Morris, Bob Holsworth, or Mark Rozell): ______________ [68-69]
Appendix C

Co-Coder Instructions—Content Analysis

General Guidelines:
Code one newspaper article per coding sheet. (There may be more than one story per day). Look for the stories that mention anything about the 1993 statewide campaign, or the candidates or issues relating to the campaign.

Itemized Instructions:
Do not write a number in the space for "Unit Number"—I'll fill those in during data entry into the computer.
Headline: Copy the main headline for the article.
Sub-head: This is generally in smaller or less bold type, either above or below the main headline -- leave blank if none.

1. Newspaper: Circle one of the three choices.
2. Date of story: Because all stories are from 1993, it is not necessary to fill in the year.
3. Day of the week: Circle the appropriate choice.
4. This is the page number at the top of the page the headline is on, even if the article continues to another page.

5. The section of the paper is given next to the page number. The section-type for the New River Current (#8) is "NRV," as in "NRV4" (Current, page 4). If the article is in a special section, circle "(9) Other" and write in the name of the section.

6. For microfilm viewing, this may require a guess. The important thing to code for is whether the headline, not the entire article, is above or below the fold.

7. Story type: The first thing to look at is the byline. If it's a wire story, circle 0 and stop coding for
that article.
(1) Hard news/news brief: this is defined generally for my purposes as any story that is covering an event that is immediate or has occurred in the previous 24 hours.
(2) Soft news/feature: this is generally a more in-depth article, often with an extended lead, or a "fluff" piece, and often covers an issue or a topic of "human interest" rather than a recent event.
(3) Editorial/opinion (in-house): This is any opinion piece written by anyone on the editorial staff, whether on the editorial page or on the Op-Ed (Opinion) age (i.e. the Roanoke Times usually has an opinion piece on the Op-Ed page of the Sunday paper that is written by an editorial staffer).
(4) Analysis: this is reserved for staff articles labeled "Analysis".
(5) Q/A interview: the format is a Question and Answer interview session, usually with a candidate.

If you circle any of these first five, record the name of the reporter/author ("byline") here.
(6) Letter to the editor: Always in the "Letters" or "Letters to the Editor" section on the editorial (or rarely, the Op-Ed) page.
(7) Reader forum: any space given to readers usually to "ask" (a) candidate(s) a question, along with a published answer.
(8) Commentary/Op-Ed (outside writer): As noted, any article by an outside writer, usually on the editorial or Op-Ed page. It's longer than a letter to the editor and distinguished by a "byline," rather than a signed name at the bottom.
(9) Other: anything that doesn't fit into above categories. Write best description applicable in space provided.
8., 9. By "accompany," I mean next to, relevant to and otherwise included with the text of the article.

10. Circle "Yes" or "No" for each name. Yes means one or more than one mention.

11. Mark only one of these choices for each paragraph, one paragraph at a time. First, decide whether the overall thrust of the paragraph covers either an issue or the campaign itself (see below). Then choose within that broader category one of the topics and tally one mark.

Examples:

For any of the choices under "Issues," the paragraph should go beyond mere mention of the issue (i.e. "jobs") and explain the relevance of the issue beyond the campaign or election. Rather than mere mention of a candidate's position ("Allen favors limits on the access to abortion") an "issue" paragraph should say something like "Shuler said, 'Because I am a businessman, I understand the importance of education to jobs. When the government cuts higher-education funding, it is hurting the prospects for job creation in the future.'" OR "Most gun owners say they are wary of Allen's support for their rights because of his refusal to oppose the new gun control law if he becomes governor."

For the choices under "Campaign-related:"
Office/official duties: "Lt. Governor Don Beyer acted as the tie-breaking vote yesterday as part of his duties as the president pro tem of the Senate."

Candidate record, positions: "Mary Sue Terry served as the controversial attorney general under two Democratic administrations." OR "George Allen is opposed to gun control."

Debate/speech: "Michael Farris spoke to a supportive audience of mostly Christian activists last week."
Popularity polls/surveys results: "Mary Sue Terry holds a commanding lead in opinion polls." OR "Jim Gilmore is favored by pundits to win the nomination for attorney general."

Personal traits: "Mary Sue Terry is considered vulnerable to Allen on family issues because she is not married and he is a devoted husband and father." OR "Nancy Spannaus is seen as a crackpot because of her ties to Lyndon LaRouche."

Campaign activities: This is somewhat of a catch-all for anything campaign-related that does not fit elsewhere. "The Beyer campaign has attempted to paint Farris as a political extremist." OR "The NRA endorsed Allen for governor." OR "The GOP is behind the Democrats in fundraising." OR "Bill Dolan has attacked Gilmore for blindly favoring the abolishment of parole."

Tally each paragraph so that the end result will look something like this sample:

__________Other issues (Explore Park, racism, employees, religion, etc.)

Campaign-related:
__________Office/official duties
__________Candidate record, positions
__________Debate/speech

12. As a check on the tallying in #11., recount the paragraphs in the article and write the number (e.g., "9") here, then check with the number tallied in 10.

13. As you code the first 5 paragraphs in 11., also code here for each whether it is issue (1) or campaign (2) related. (In other words, write in a 1 or a 2).
14., 15. For each source cited (quoted or paraphrased) in the article, tally one mark in either #14. or #15. according to whether the source is: a non-traditional, non-establishment, or non-campaign organization source (#14) OR: an insider, whether from a campaign organization, a candidate, or a common source for political analysis in the mass media (#15. -- examples of these last are given on the code sheet).
Appendix D

RELIABILITY CHECKS

Matthew P. McAllister and I performed two separate intercoder reliability checks. We conducted the first check, as part of the pre-testing of the coding sheet, especially to ensure that the coding guidelines were as straightforward as possible. The purpose of the second check, at the end of my coding, was simply to perform a final test of the decision rules for reliability. A description of how we performed both checks and their results follows.

Out of 673 articles, we separately coded a sample of 14 articles. The first check, in February, compared the coding for nine articles, seven from the News and two from the Roanoke Times. The second check in May compared the coding for five articles, three from the News and two from the Roanoke Times.

The results are listed below. For question numbers 1-10 and 14-15 the degree of intercoder reliability simply depended on whether or not there was agreement between coders on the value recorded for that question. For these questions, the percentages listed below are simply the percentage of agreements among those cases in each check
(nine cases for the first check, five for the second). For
questions 11-13 there was a base number from which to
calculate a percentage of agreement for each individual
case. The percentage listed for each of those questions is
the mean of those individual percentages.

First Intercoder Reliability Check (February, nine
articles)\textsuperscript{34}

Question: (percentage agreement)

1-10: 100.0\%
11:\textsuperscript{35} 79.4
12: 100.0
13: 91.1
14-15: 100.0

Second Intercoder Reliability Check (May, five articles)

Question: (percentage agreement)

1-8: 100.0\%
9: 80.0
10: 100.0
11: 88.3
12: 100.0

\textsuperscript{34} The codesheets used in the first check did not
include a question for day of the week of the article
(weekday, Saturday or Sunday). Therefore there was no test
for reliability on this variable in the first check. This
question was added shortly after the coding began and
articles coded up to that point were corrected to record
this information.

\textsuperscript{35} The percentages of agreement on question 11 pertain
to the coding of each paragraph into one of three
categories: issues, position, and campaign-oriented
paragraphs.
13: 92.0
14: 100.0
15: 60.0³⁶

³⁶This question asked the coder to tally the number of "insider" source citations in the article. On one article (case number 399) the coders disagreed by one citation ("six" and "seven"); on a second article (case number 552) the coders disagreed by two ("thirteen" and "eleven"). These discrepancies are probably due to the problem of counting "citations" rather than direct quotes, which would be more obvious. Nevertheless, since I alone coded all the articles for the actual analysis, these discrepancies should not have posed a serious problem for the reliability of the results.
Bibliography


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Vita

Robert W. Leweke was born April 25, 1963 in Salem, Virginia. He was graduated from Virginia Tech in May of 1992 with a Bachelor of Arts in Communication. He completed the requirements for the Master of Arts in Political Science at the same institution in the summer of 1994. He is married and has a daughter.

[Signature]

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