Press in wonderland: An ethical argument and contemporary perspective of political candidate endorsements in print media

Wanda L. Mock

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The Press in Wonderland

An ethical argument and contemporary perspective of political candidate endorsements in print media

by

Wanda L. Mock
B.S., Indiana University, 1971

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts School of Journalism in the Graduate School University of Montana 1999

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Abstract

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The Press in Wonderland
An ethical argument and contemporary perspective
of political candidate endorsements in print media (108 pp.)

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This thesis examines the history and influence of metropolitan newspapers and questions the ethics of contemporary editorial political candidate endorsements in print media.

A historical perspective traces the emergence and influence of the press from its political party-owned partisan era to the individually owned penny presses, to the conglomerate ownership of modern mega-chain newspapers. The historical perspective also analyzes the political and economic ideology of the country from authoritarian English rule to an emerging nation, to a democratic self-rule society and its effects on print ownership trends and news selectivity.

A study of political candidate endorsement research describes past and current empirical evidence illustrating the influence political candidate endorsements have on the voting public.

This thesis presents the particular ethical duty the press has to the public good as a result of its special privileges granted to it by the First and Fourteenth Amendements to the United States Constitution in the Bill of Rights and makes conclusions based on the press' historical evolution in America and its role in a democratic society.
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Professionally, my colleagues shared their ideas and philosophies. And personally, my friends gave me their constant support.

These acknowledgments, however, would not be complete without note of my sister, Linda Gorsha, who listened to me moan and groan, and my mother, Helen Mock Colglazier, without whose encouragement and assistance this thesis would still be only a dream fantasy.
Journalist-philosopher Walter Lippman once said the information we receive represents "an incredible medley of fact, propaganda, rumor, suspicion, clues, hopes and fears..." and a newspaper's task is to sift through the information mass, find the important and true and get them into print.¹

As a nation, we depend on 1,500 daily newspapers to disseminate news and information and, in particular, we depend on the press for news to guide and affect the quality of our electoral process. In 1996 nearly 59 percent of U.S. adults, 18 years and older, read a newspaper on a daily basis, according to a Facts About Newspapers booklet from the Newspaper Association of America. While data from the "Editor and Publisher International Year Book" said that number was 56.9 million people,² the U.S. Bureau of Census recorded that the total population figure for people 18 and older in 1996 was more than 196 million. Fifty-nine percent of that number is more than 115.5 million people³ reading a daily newspaper.

Sunday papers boost the readership count to 68.5 percent of adults or more than 134 million people. Ninety-five percent of readers read the general news section of a newspaper while 76 percent of adults read the editorial pages, a number only slightly behind the entertainment and sports sections.⁴

A newspaper's ability to influence public opinion is apparent, but the press and its role within the political system has long been a subject of debate. This thesis explores the ethical aspects of political candidate endorsements in newspapers.
In a democracy the people rule and the voice of the people is heard in the voting booths. The decisions made by the voting public are based on the information made available to them and that information is provided primarily by the news media.5

Chapter 1 traces the history of America’s partisan press era from its beginning in 1689 as an information medium licensed under the king to a propaganda machine and private organ of early 19th century colonial politicians.

Widespread and inexpensive public access to printing presses allowed Libertarian ideals to flourish throughout the early colonies. The press and its influence fueled the Patriots’ defeat of English rule, gave birth to a new nation and gave rise to the industrial, capitalist class.

By mid-19th century, capitalism and the industrial technology accompanying it created a play ground of economic gain and conservative, market-based, cheap papers for the masses. Chapter 2 journeys through the democratization of economic life from the rise of the penny press to the broad, concentrated ownership of today’s media.

No longer for the elite, the middle class, sensation-oriented penny papers were published by men, like Benjamin Day, James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley and Henry Jarvis Raymond, who became political spokesmen as well as celebrities. In 1896 Adolph Ochs saved the New York Times from bankruptcy and set the standard for journalism ideals by rejecting sensationalism while championing objectivity and fairness.

At the turn of the century, Ochs formulated a new standard, but William Randolph Hearst amassed a fortune with a formidable newspaper empire that
foreshadowed today’s media barons and their conglomerates. Hearst’s circulation war with Joseph Pulitzer reinvented and lifted sensationalism to its apogee and wielded the influence to sway public opinion and make presidents.

Pulitzer’s chain ownership and newspaper consolidation became a trend that has reduced a healthy, boisterous, competitive variety of modest papers to a single, vapid voice spread across the nation’s landscape.

Citing past and recent empirical evidence, Chapter 3 illustrates the clear and present danger of today’s free press with its concentrated media moguls, interlocking directorates and cross-media ownership, and their power to influence political affairs. Past research and literature on editorial candidate endorsements and an endorsement’s ability to sway public opinion are cataloged as well as the results from a 1996 Montana voter exit poll. The Montana survey was taken to ascertain an endorsement’s influence on voters as well as its affect on the voting public’s perception of an endorsing newspaper’s fairness, accuracy and conflict of interest in political candidate reporting. Chapter 3 also describes why the press’ endorsement of and influence on America’s elected officials damages the journalism profession, compromises the electoral process and jeopardizes the democratic ideal.

The press’ rights and obligations are discussed in Chapter 4 as well as the candidate endorsement selection process. Chapter 4 also argues that endorsements treat candidates unfairly, present conflicts of interest and violate the public trust.

The Press in Wonderland concludes that political candidate endorsements are the last vestige of the archaic partisan press era and that these endorsements default on a newspaper’s duty to serve the public good.
Endnotes

Preface


Chapter 1

Down the Rabbit-Hole

A historical partisan press perspective: an absence of toleration

The press rapidly gripped the power to influence public opinion after its invention in the 15th century because of its ability to mass duplicate information for public dissemination. Whoever controlled the press held the best position to control the minds of men. Historically, when numerous smaller printers controlled the public information stream, the press and its partisanship played an integral part as a powerful political party instrument in influencing public opinion.

American printers first used the press to promote personal, religious and political ideals and soon became antagonists of the crown’s suppression of press freedom. As the colonies grew, newspapers representing Tory, democratic Patriot and Whig factions with limited tolerance for differing viewpoints grew also. When the new nation emerged, printer/publishers became editors and Federalists and Republicans became the most prominent groups seeking governmental control, bankrolling papers and initiating laws to support their cause and suppress dissent.

In the beginning - Boston

The partisan press and American journalism began during the second half of the 17th century with individuals who, for personal and/or religious reasons,
established newspapers to inform the public, promote free expression and advance their own views.³

The first three newspapers were established at the colonies' largest town, Boston, in the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts. The 1689 broadside, The Present State of the New-English Affairs, published by Samuel Green, Jr. "to prevent false reports" heralded the first American newspaper attempt. Other news bulletins appeared later in that year until the government suppressed them as "tending to the disturbance of the peace." But the destiny of the press and its most important functions of collecting and disseminating information had begun.⁴

Originally established by trading companies or by individuals as independent efforts, the colonies as well as the press were under the sovereign control of the crown. Fearing a free press and the possible consequences of its content, the crown licensed newspapers and prohibited government criticism. Freedom of the press was unknown.

The idea of freedom in the modern political belief system stems from English Puritan religious beliefs emphasizing discipline for the fearful struggle against wickedness.⁵ As the numbers of people settling the 13 colonial provinces increased, they became increasingly annoyed with the wicked rule of the English. Order was disintegrating and anarchy was percolating within the colonies when⁶ two columns of type without headlines filled the first page of Publick Occurrences, the first American newspaper attempt at a regular issue. Publishing in Boston on September 25, 1690, editor Benjamin Harris vowed to:

take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation and
account of things so that Memorable Occurrents of Divine Providence would not be neglected or forgotten, that people may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, and that something may be done toward "the Curing, or at least the Charming of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails amongst us wherefore nothing shall be entered, but what we have reason to believ is true ... ."

But Harris believed a newspaper editor had the right to publish whatever he desired. The paper's articles included information about a "newly appointed" day of Thanksgiving, a man's suicide (which was a rumor), fevers and smallpox, a local fire and troubles with the Indians. While Harris' intentions to present a bulletin board of facts and news were noble, his paper contained inaccuracy, rumor and bigoted remarks as news.

One unconfirmed scandalous rumor the paper reported insulted the French monarch. It said that "the Father (the monarch) used to lie with the Sons Wife." In another story Harris printed an account of the Mohawk Indian atrocities against French prisoners deploring the use of "miserable salvages" as allies of the Massachusetts colonial militia forces. These two stories inflamed authorities and within 24 hours they suppressed Publick Occurrences, confiscating and destroying its existing issues. In addition to printing the offending stories, Harris had failed to obtain a publishing license. Within four days the English governing council forbade Harris to continue his publication.

Fourteen years passed before Boston's second newspaper began publishing. By 1704 about 300,000 people populated the colonies. With increased population and prosperity the agriculture, manufacturing, trade and commerce industries had a
business and economic need for a newspaper to dispel rumors.\textsuperscript{14}

John Campbell established the weekly \textit{Boston News-Letter} and expressed his beliefs and opinions in the same manner as Harris by tacking a moralistic sentence on the end of news items. The \textit{News-Letter} contained no editorials.\textsuperscript{15} His policy was "always been to give no offence, not meddling with things out of his Province."\textsuperscript{16} His court, shipping, religious and political news\textsuperscript{17} was dull, banal, unimaginative and close to being ancient history.\textsuperscript{18}

The government subsidized, strongly Loyalist \textit{News-Letter} (later named the \textit{Massachusetts Gazette}) became the first American newspaper to publish more than one issue.\textsuperscript{19} It published for 72 years until the British evacuated Boston and the radical Sons of Liberty mob closed it in March of 1776.\textsuperscript{20}

In 1721 James Franklin, older brother of Ben, published a lively Boston paper called the \textit{New England Courant} (messenger), developing the editorial and the editorial crusade. Franklin's editorials served as a means of discussion\textsuperscript{21} while his editorial crusades involved planned campaigns as a means to produce results.\textsuperscript{22} In contempt of both temporal and spiritual authority, editorials centered on current issues and the weaknesses and characteristics of people. Most of Franklin's editorial contributors were Anglican Episcopalians fighting with the Puritans. Fearing Puritan reprisals, their serious, humorous and sarcastic articles appeared under pseudonyms.\textsuperscript{23}

Franklin's feisty paper aided the ascendancy of Anglicanism, gave gossip and sarcasm the dignity of print, and quickly gained a wide audience.\textsuperscript{24} His most important crusade unshackled the American press from licensing and helped establish
the tradition of editorial independence. Franklin's editorials arguing for the colonial faction were defiant and unrelenting. They attacked the religious and political leaders of the community going so far as to suggest that the Governor be sent back to England. The government's attempts to censor and indict Franklin failed with the local grand jury and Franklin's paper became the last paper the government tried to censor by license "with authority" in Massachusetts. Franklin illustrated that a newspaper's aggressive service to the public cause can elicit sufficient support to protect it from powerful foes.

From Boston to Philadelphia and New York

By 1725 five newspapers informed the inhabitants of the larger colonial centers of population and commerce. Boston, the trading hub for New England, had three, while Philadelphia and New York each had one. One of the earliest American publishers to recognize the value of the newspaper as a personal organ for promoting his own interests through editorial columns was Benjamin Franklin, James Franklin's younger brother. Twenty-four-year-old Franklin recognized the value that a Masonic Lodge membership might be to him, but he had not been approached or recommended for membership. After inserting a possibly fictitious news story in his paper that promised to reveal Masonic secrets obtained from a man who had died in London, he soon was admitted.

Like most papers of its day, the Pennsylvania Gazette was conservative and cautious in publishing articles adverse to the royal governor. Even though friction had increased between the royal governor and the landowner merchant Representative
Assembly in both Philadelphia and Boston, Franklin's editorial comments were more philosophical and scientific than politically radical or rebellious.

Boston and Philadelphia exceeded New York as growing commercial centers, but likewise New York grew in population and commerce. During the first half of the 18th century, New York bubbled with economic and political factions struggling for dominion. These conflicting groups soon realized a newspaper's capacity to arouse public opinion and secure control over opponents.

William Bradford founded the New York Gazette in 1725. As New York's official Tory printer, Bradford never challenged the jurisdiction, rights, actions or decisions of the government. In supporting the administration, he neglected reporting on or slanted his reporting against the merchants and commercial businessmen of the Whig class.

Financed by protesting Whig colonists the New York Weekly Journal, printed by John Peter Zenger in 1733, became the second newspaper in the New York Colony and the first political party dominated newspaper established in America. The Journal foreshadowed journalism's politically significant revolutionary newspapers as well as the political party newspapers of the young American republic. Illiterate, Zenger was the tool of other men. Through essays written by wealthy attorney James Alexander, Zenger's paper championed the cause of the wealthy colonial economic and political group by attacking the crown's council and administration and calling the governor an "overgrown criminal."

The governor replied through the columns of the Gazette attacking the Journal for its seditious utterances, accusing it of destroying the foundations of the colony by
questioning the constituted authority.\textsuperscript{40} A year after publishing his first issue, Zenger was arrested on the grounds of libel against the governor.

Andrew Hamilton, Zenger's attorney, insisted that English law did not necessarily apply in America and that a jury should have the right to decide whether Zenger's published statements were false or malicious. Hamilton argued:

As old and weak as I am, it is my duty, to go to the utmost part of the land, if my service would be of any use, to stop prosecutions set on foot by government to deprive people of the right of remonstrating and complaining against the arbitrary actions of men in power. ... \textsuperscript{41}

Hamilton argued before a jury that truth was a defense against the charge of libel. He argued that a true report about a public official, even a scandalous one, could not be libelous.\textsuperscript{42} At that time, the truth of a printed or spoken statement had nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of an accused person. In those days, the recognized principle was "the greater the truth, the greater the libel." In addition, a jury's right to determine both fact and law was not recognized in either England or America.\textsuperscript{43} But the jury decided that Zenger had a right to publish whatever he pleased and found Zenger not guilty of printing the statements.\textsuperscript{44} The New York courthouse packed with government opponents erupted in wild and riotous cheering.

Running contrary to law, the jury's verdict could have been set aside by the Chief Justice or the Chief Justice could have even cited Hamilton for contempt. The Justice's inaction, however, indicated a more cautionary British government confronting an increasingly deep and intense discontent among the American populace.\textsuperscript{45} The Zenger trial created a spark that grew to a fire in the minds of colonists and the ideal of individual rights having protection against arbitrary
government intervention awakened the colonies' conscience for the necessity of an unrestrained press.

Rather than a brave statement for the principles of journalism and freedom of the press, however, the 1735 Zenger trial was, in reality, a bold battle won by one faction against another, but it echoed the events of Boston's *New England Courant* a decade earlier and separated New York from the crown's control. Unwittingly, The *Journal* planted the ideologic seeds for jury trial, free press rights and the revolution that spread throughout the colonies.

In New York two distinct newspapers now expressed the interests of the two diverse colonial society groups instead of one newspaper in agreement with the royal governor. The newspaper's income came from local political and economic groups, subscriptions and advertising. As an influential partisan organ possessing the faculty to criticize and praise, the press now played an important role in bolstering the rising colonial mercantile class.

The Stamp Act unites the press and colonists

While newspapers struggled for freedom, they proliferated. When the government enacted the Stamp Act of 1765 all but two of the colonies had at least one of the 23 weekly papers. The Stamp Act was imposed to tax printed copies of newspapers and the advertising within them to help pay for the Seven Years' War. Britain waged the war against the French and their Indian allies to save the American colonies from becoming French outposts. Britain thought America should be grateful, but publishers realized the effect the Act would have on their profit margin and cash
flow. In its April 18, 1785 edition The Boston Gazette said:

The General Court in their last session was pleased to pass an Act, generally called the STAMP ACT, a Name heretofore held in an opprobrious light, and highly disgustful to us.

A clause in said Act says, "For every NEWS-PAPER, two thirds of a penny."

Should the Stamp on NEWS-PAPERS take place, the price will be enhanc’d and the poor, by being unable to take the same, will be deprived of the pleasure of affording themselves and their children the advantages attendant on the perusal of this vehicle of entertainment and political knowledge; - and who will say, it will not be a disadvantage to the State in general for the majority of the inhabitants thereof to be politically ignorant?

It is therefore hoped and expected by many. that the Honorable Members of the General Court, in their next Session will take the above mentioned Clause in the said Act into mature consideration, repeal the same, and free the public from that bar to political wisdom.

Defiantly, not one colonial newspaper published on the stamped paper and within a year the government repealed the act. More than anything else, the Stamp Act and the newspapers’ editorial fight against it consolidated the newspapers and the colonists in opposing the British government. In arousing the colonists to hate the English "tyrannies," publishers realized the full might of newspapers as an influential medium for public opinion and protest.

The press fuels the people to fight

By 1770, with the population swelling to more than two million, the political, educational, economic and cultural life of the colonies rapidly expanded. Religious interest in some divinely decreed social order diminished. The individual as an independent and self-reliant being before God grew and increasingly colonists turned
to literature and newspapers. Fifty-eight newspapers serving numerous factions scattered the Eastern Seaboard in 1775 when the colonial resentment festering against English rule ruptured and swept the colonies into the Revolutionary War.

At the time there were varying degrees of Toryism, divisions among the Patriots themselves and numerous capitalist Whig factions. With the continuous decline in the Tory ideal of divine right sprung the will of the individual and community to form an authoritative political unit. As the colonists and patriots battled those in authority for independence, partisan newspapers played an instrumental role in forming the democratic foundation that gave rise to a new nation.

Though primarily a political revolution aimed at retaining home rule for the colonists, more than a hundred years of various economic forces and social conflicts had accumulated also, causing the American Revolution explosion. Directed by an able group of agitators, the revolution was a domestic "have-not" class rebellion as well as a rebellion against the deprivation of basic freedoms and politicians as well as publishers realized the value of using newspapers to disseminate ideas.

Samuel Adams, more than anyone else, used the press to arouse public opinion and manipulate public support to win his goals. Often called "The Father of the Revolution," Adams represented the democratic or American Patriot mob demanding a greater share of control and social change. A member of the libertarian Sons of Liberty organization, formed to compel public compliance with agreements banning the importation of British goods, Adams helped stir the colonists to united action and separation from England by constantly writing propaganda articles appearing in most
of the colonies' newspapers under more than two dozen pen names. In addition to writing a continuous stream of articles, Adams led a stable of writers for the *Boston Gazette*. He also helped to engineer the Patriots fight for the ultimate victory resulting from the "shot heard 'round the world" that threw the colonies into the Lexington and Concord battle.

Developed by Milton and Locke, libertarianism, the philosophy of Adams and the other raucous patriots, became the foundation for the press' development and consisted of seven principles:

1. mankind is a rational animal.
2. as a rational animal, mankind is governed by truth and by the laws of nature.
3. every individual has certain inalienable rights.
4. there must be an "open marketplace of ideas" in which all ideas could complete openly and fairly.
5. there is a "self-righting process" - as long as truth is in the marketplace, the people will eventually recognize it, although they might first be deceived by false doctrine and make initial decisions that could be of harm to them.
6. government exists to further the needs of the individual.
7. all media should be free to complete not with government, but with themselves in an economic enterprise.

Libertarians believed no one had the right to prevent any information from reaching the public, who would then make the ultimate decisions as to how the information affected their lives.

Boston was "the hotbed of sedition" and under the management of Benjamin Edes and John Gill, the *Boston Gazette* became the mouthpiece for the Sons of Liberty and the extremist revolution. The *Massachusetts Gazette and Weekly News-*
Letter was the organ of the Tories.

Boston's Massachusetts Spy Whig publisher, Isaiah Thomas, promised to remain neutral, "Open to all parties, influenced by none." The Whigs were, perhaps the most splintered of all the factions. Some supported Tories while others supported Patriots. Whigs considered any arbitrary governmental action a threat to the sanctity of property rights and free enterprise and their economic cry "no taxation without representation" had nothing to do with the rise of the common man.

Thomas, however, found it impossible to remain neutral. The Spy became labor's patriot paper, printing articles that called the governor "an usurper who should be punished." It was Thomas who displayed the lantern signaling the start of Paul Revere's ride on the night of April 18, 1775, and on May 3 after the April 19 Lexington and Concord battle the large type headline splashed across Thomas' paper screamed: AMERICANS! LIBERTY OR DEATH! JOIN OR DIE!

Down in Philadelphia the Pennsylvania Gazette and the Pennsylvania Journal also promoted patriotic viewpoints.

Meanwhile, New York became the center of the royalist, Tory press. The New York Mercury battled the Sons of Liberty's New York Journal spreading propaganda and buoying the British soldiers' spirits. The British also recognized the value of the press. After capturing New York in 1776, British-appointed editor Ambrose Serle wrote home to Lord Dartmouth that:

Among other Engines which have raised the present commotion, next to the indecent harangues of the preachers, none has a more extensive or stronger influence than the newspapers of the respective colonies. One is astonished to see with what avidity they are sought after, and how
implicitly they are believed by the great bulk of the people.\textsuperscript{71}

Serle’s attacks called Patriots "deluded colonists running wildly after the shadow of Liberty."\textsuperscript{72}

John Rivington and his Loyalist \textit{New York Gazetteer}, in league with the Establishment, wanted to retain the basic structure of British nobles governing by right of property, heredity, position and tradition.\textsuperscript{73} He believed the government had a right to suppress threatening views and that the British government with all its faults to be better than rule by an inexperienced, uneducated rabble. As a reaction to sustained raids and Patriotic oppression, Rivington specialized in lies, false rumors and misleading half-truths about the Patriots.\textsuperscript{74} To Rivington the Sons of Liberty’s claim to be fighting for freedom while trying to shut him down was just the irrational nature of mankind.\textsuperscript{75}

New York housed four Tory papers during the war which were suppressed after the war when the British evacuated the city in 1783. For colonists, press freedom was a fluid ideological concept, not a fixed legal principle. Freedom of the press meant the freedom to express their own beliefs while suppressing opposing opinions. Colonial pamphleteers and broadside writers dealt more in argument than in providing the public with factual information,\textsuperscript{76} but that persuasive journalism preference served an important purpose as the colonies struggled for identity. Political process name-calling such as "wad on a dungheap," "maggot of corruption and "snivling, sophisticated hound" gave rise to a new nation\textsuperscript{77} and as the government changed, the American newspaper, as an institution of control, passed into Patriot
For nearly 20 years after the Revolution, the Revolution’s Patriotic political ideas dominated newspapers, subordinating a paper’s news function to highly colored, partisan accounts of the incredible events that swept the land.

A new nation emerges

As a patriotic duty to their new nation, citizens of the 1780’s assumed an interest in public issues and looked to newspapers to obtain information and voice opinion. From 1783 until the constitution-established federal government functioned in 1789, public opinion, voiced through the press, governed the country.

Many of the Revolutionary newspapers, their purpose achieved, collapsed and died, but others rushed to take their places. By the turn of the century, newspaper publishers had become successfully established members of the community, assuming positions as political spokesmen. They passed upon political candidates’ merits. They instructed and directed the public on political affairs, criticized local and national governmental administrations and spoke with authority upon all sorts of subjects. Publishers used their newspapers as active instruments of change, influencing people’s opinion of various movements and leaders by emphasis, suppression, opposition or support. Publishers were no longer printers, they had become editors.

As printers became editors, the Tories disappeared as an American political factor and two other groups emerged seeking governmental control. The new Republic’s partisan divisions sparked the debate between those favoring a strong, central government and those favoring states’ rights and individual freedom.
propertied businessmen, clergy, lawyers, physicians, merchants and farmers led by Alexander Hamilton represented the conservative Federalists who wanted the government to protect property and aid commerce. The Anti-Federalists, who came to be known as Republicans, were the small farmers and non-propertied groups led by Thomas Jefferson. The Republicans wanted only as much the government as was necessary to preserve order.

Like Patriots and Tories in their debate over the relationship between the colonies and the King, the Federalists and Republicans fiercely used the press as organs of propaganda to further their argument over the relationship between the government and the people. Their debates filled newspapers with lies and inaccuracies and the newspapers provided party loyalty in exchange for politicians underwriting the newspapers' business risk.

Leaders of both Federalist and Republican groups were unanimous, however, in electing war hero George Washington as the nation’s first leader. Washington subsequently filled his administrative and judicial offices primarily with Federalists. Federalist Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton was the one person most responsible for the adoption of the Constitution in its present strong central-organization form with balanced powers and mutual checks. Thomas Jefferson who became Secretary of State had chaired the writing of the Declaration of Independence, but unenthusiastically favored adopting the Constitution. An advocate of state sovereignty and decentralization, Jefferson became Hamilton’s leading opponent.

Hamilton understood the persuasive ability of a government with a newspaper dedicated to its interests and in 1789 he established the official organ of the Federalist
Jefferson wanted a newspaper with an opposing Republican viewpoint and encouraged Philip Freneau to start the "Whig vehicle of intelligence," the *National Gazette*, two years later. Hamilton's Fenno became printer to the Treasury Department, receiving all the government printing contracts while Jefferson gave Freneau a "clerkship for languages" position in the State Department as well as the State Department's government advertising.

The partisan editorial attacks in the *Gazette of the United States* and the *National Gazette* grew increasingly acrimonious. Fenno ridiculed the right of plain citizens to complain against government officials and called Freneau a "fauning parasite," "bedlamite" and "blackguard." Freneau attacked Hamilton's centralized national bank and told readers that "perpetual jealousy of the government" was necessary against "the machinations of ambition." He warned that "where that jealousy does not exist ... the saddle is soon prepared for the back of the people." Freneau, who considered Washington an elitist and a front man for Federalism, wrote:

> The first magistrate of a country ... seldom knows the real state of the nation, particularly if he be buoyed up by official importance to think it beneath his dignity to mix occasionally with the people.

He described the president as "the man who is the source of all the misfortune of our country."

Both the *National Gazette* and the *Gazette of the United States* had wide circulations. Hamilton's paper was subsidized by a lucrative printing award and
wealthy patrons while the *National Gazette* died of financial malnutrition after Jefferson's retirement from the cabinet. However, another Philadelphia paper, the *Aurora*, filled the vacuum as a prominent Republican party vehicle.

*Aurora* editor Benjamin Franklin Bache, a grandson of Benjamin Franklin, abused Washington more than Freneau. After Washington's Farewell Address the *Aurora* said:

> If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has suffered from the improper influence of a man, the American nation has suffered from the influence of Washington. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct then be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol.

After Washington's departure and John Adams' ascendency to the Presidency in 1796, newspapers continued to exist as irresponsible, political-party tools. The Federalists held firm control and the administration began to prepare for war with France. To pay for the war Congress levied a tax falling heavily on small landowners. The *Aurora* attacked Adams and the war tax and in retaliation a Federalist mob wrecked Bache's shop. Bache slandered an Adams sympathizer who retaliated by entering the editor's office and severely beating him. At one time Bache was arrested for libeling the President, but was quickly released.

The Federalist *Porcupine's Gazette* editor William Cobbett attacked Bache and called his celebrated grandfather a "crafty and lecherous old hypocrite ... whose very statue seems to gloat on the wenches as they walk the State House yard." The *Aurora* called Cobbett "the celebrated manufacturer of lies, and retailer of filth."
To stifle the opposition in the brutal political press battle the Federalist Congress passed the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts which declared:

That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish ... any false, scandalous and malicious writing ... against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress ... or the said President ... or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States ... or to resist or oppose, or defeat any such law ... shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

The colonial government had come full circle. It used and abused the sedition law for its own self-interest and for two years attempted to curb the foundation of the press' freedom and right to criticize government. The Bill of Rights’ First Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1791, stipulated that "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech, or the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Aversion to the Alien and Sedition Act aided Republican (as the Anti-Federalists were known before adopting the name Democrat) Thomas Jefferson in defeating John Adams in 1800 and the nation’s capital was moved from Philadelphia to Washington. With the new epoch, the Federalists’ effort to extend the Sedition law failed and when Jefferson came to office he immediately canceled trials and pardoned those in jail.

The development of businesses, roads and transportation expanded as the population, literacy and middle class increased during the first few decades of the 19th century, and the party newspaper reached its peak with the Washington Globe established under the Democratic Andrew Jackson presidency in 1830. In addition
to the *Globe* receiving all of the government's printing contracts worth $50,000 a year, Jackson insisted that all federal officeholders earning more than $1,000 annually buy a subscription to the paper. The *Globe*'s editor was a close friend of Jackson and a "kitchen cabinet" member even though he held no public office. Jackson’s presidency democratized politics, expanded suffrage, the virtues of "the common man," and the growth of a market economy. A market culture became a more pervasive feature of American consciousness. In the market, one individual was as good as the next. In marketplace ideology, all individuals acting separately promoting their own advantage would produce the greatest possible aggregate wealth for the whole society. Because of this it became more acceptable to think of "self-interest" as the mainspring of human behavior.

From the 17th to 19th centuries the rising capitalist class transformed an agrarian and handicrafts culture into an urban and mechanized one. The press won its freedom from government license, yet prostituted itself to its new masters. From its use as a revolutionary propaganda machine to its position as a private organ of a president, the press had encompassed the range of partisan expression at the expense of truth and responsibility.

It was during Jackson’s second term that a young aspiring editor by the name of James Gordon Bennett sought employment with the *Globe*, but was rebuffed. Undaunted, Bennett and other publishers like Benjamin Day, Horace Greeley and Henry Jarvis Raymond would soon begin a new era in collecting, printing and disseminating news.
Endnotes

Chapter 1


8. Ibid., p. 30.


15. Ibid., p. 24.


27. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 34.


58. Ibid., p. 95-97.


62. Ibid., p. 104.


70. Ibid., p. 135-137.


72. Ibid., p. 139.


75. Brasch and Ulloth, *The Press and the State*, p. 91


78. Ibid., p. 114.

79. Ibid.


90. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 82.


92. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 82.

   National Gazette, February 9, 1792.


95. *Ibid*.


106. Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper*, p.89

Chapter 2

A Mad Tea-Party

A historical partisan press perspective: a broadening of news

In 1830, New York, a city of about 250,000 people, emerged as a business center for the country, giving New York's newspapers greater influence. With a circulation of about 30,000, New York's 11 partisan papers were heavily political, targeted for the elite, merchant-commerce classes and sold for a pricey six cents an issue.\(^2\)

Better technology made press runs cheaper, enabling newspaper owners to expand their news and newspaper market. Larger circulations and the advertising it attracted eliminated the need for a newspaper to have political and social ties, and subscription fees to survive. Priced at a cheap penny a paper, the individually owned, penny press was born, changing the nature of news. With its income depending on market-based sources, the 19th century's penny papers reflected the activities of an increasingly varied, urban, middle-class society of trade, transportation and manufacturing rather than the affairs of the elite.\(^3\) These papers, which once reflected a variety of activities, have evolved into a politically preferred, gargantuan, monopolistic business institution conglomerate that continues to crank out most of the information the public receives about today's public affairs.
The penny press

The expanding new market economy provided the impetus for printer Benjamin Day to establish *The New York Sun* ("It Shines for ALL") in 1833. Written to attract a broader group of middle-class citizens than the pointedly partisan authoritarian, six-penny papers, the *Sun* was the first successful penny paper and became the most successful paper in New York. Historians differ on the circulation of the *Sun* during its early years, but they agreed that it became "the largest of any daily in the world."5

The *Sun*’s editor, George Wisner, wrote the first code of ethics for newspapers, which in part said that a newspaper should not show favoritism in the printing of news. Libertarians like Wisner believed that society was harmed by not being given the right to inspect all facts before making a decision and that an enlightened public would be able to determine for itself the truth and how best to react to it. He argued that accepting any other doctrine was tantamount to thinking mankind was irrational and needed governmental controls. More than 50 years after the Declaration of Independence, America’s government bureaucrats believed that people could be harmed by some truths and that the greater "public good" could be accomplished by suppressing information.6

While the older six-penny partisan papers focused on politics and legislation, the *Sun* carried sensational police court, suicide and feature items. By 1836 numerous penny papers were publishing in New York. Among the most notable of the *Sun*’s one-cent rivals was *The Morning Herald*, established by James Gordon Bennett in 1835.
Day started a journalism revolution, but Bennett laid the foundation for a broader-scoped popular newspaper. Unlike Day who was a printer, Bennett was a skilled news writer who understood politics and business and his writing reflected the current, urbanized people’s rejection of their provincial, repressed, humorless, all-work-and-no-play colonial heritage. Bennett’s *Herald* imitated the *Sun* in its sensational material but discarded the police court stories and offered more variety in local coverage and better foreign and national news. Bennett added a financial section, built up a letters column, developed a critical review, society and sports news columns and wrote more personal editorials which at first adhered to no political party.

In his first issue Bennett wrote:

> Our only guide shall be good sound practical common sense, applicable to the business and bosoms of men engaged in everyday life. We shall support no party, be the organ of no faction or coterie, and care nothing for any election or any candidate from President down to constable. We shall endeavor to record facts, on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and coloring, with comments suitable, just, independent, fearless and good tempered ... .

In the ’40s and ’50s The *Herald* devoted considerable space to politics at first on a nonpartisan basis, but later it supported a strong Democratic bias and a sympathy with the Southern cause.

Bennett’s recipe for success was phenomenal and within two years the paper’s popularity allowed him to raise its price to two cents. On the eve of the Civil War in 1860 the *Herald* had surpassed the *Sun* with a circulation of 77,000 and it became the largest circulated daily in the world.
While Bennett's paper was a success, it was never an influential paper politically. The *New York Tribune*, established by Horace Greeley and other Whig members in 1841, became the paper to politically influence New York and the nation and set the standard for the maturing of the mass press. Bennett pretended to be a reformer, but was, in fact, ornery, prejudiced, misanthropic, opportunistic and egocentric, and his editorials reflected his nature. His rival, Greeley was a liberal with dreams for reforming humanity. The *Tribune* pled the cause for strong state regulatory powers to direct the forces of capitalism so that industry, labor and agriculture could complement each other in improving the common lot. Waging a moral war against Bennett's brand of sensationalism, The *Tribune* became the journalistic instrument expressing the social, economic and reform movements of the period.

Greeley's establishment of the *Tribune* just a month after President William Henry Harrison's inauguration following the Whig victory of 1840 was not accidental. In launching his paper Greeley said:

> My leading idea was the establishment of a journal removed from servile partisanship on the one hand and from gagged mincing neutrality on the other ... I believed that was a happy medium between these extremes - a position from which a journal might openly and heartily advocate the principles and commend the measurers of the party to which his convictions allied him, yet frankly dissent from its course on a particular question.

The Whigs represented primarily the manufacturing labor classes and the *Tribune* was a success from the start. With 10,000 subscribers by the end of its first year Greeley raised the price of his paper to two cents. In addition to devoting
considerable time to the nation's capital, Greeley made his political weight felt with partisan stands urging the election of New York Whig Mayor J. Phillips Phoenix and defending Governor Seward's railroads and canals spending policies.25

He demonstrated that it was possible to publish a successful cheap daily paper without depending on sensational news. He also proved that a cheap popular paper need not be politically neutral. He channeled new ideas and viewpoints to the public and set a high standard and spirit for press reform. Editorially, the Tribune reestablished the editorial page26 and expressed its responsibility to voice the moral opinions of American society by examining and evaluating proposals for social, economic and political change27 all within Greeley's attitude toward democracy.

In essence, Greeley feared the impulses of the mass public and wrote contradictory editorials. Sometimes his calls for reform were for questionable reasons. After mulling over the 1842 Dorr Rebellion, a protest movement against the archaic constitution of Rhode Island, Greeley printed his conservative theory of government in the Tribune which said:

> Down to the Declaration of Independence, governments had almost uniformly rested on prescription or force. Then the Fathers planted themselves on the principles that all men are created equal, and that government is by consent of the governed. Actually, however, the rule had been that those possessing the suffrage should extend it when, in their judgment, it was just and wise so to do. The American practice was to regard the suffrage not as a right to be acknowledged, but rather as a duty to be imposed by those who already possessed it. They imposed this duty when, in their judgment, the time had come for its extension to the hitherto unprivileged.28

Greeley professed devotion to the Declaration of Independence, but deserted
its principles. According to Greeley's elitist doctrine, democracy depended upon the wisdom and good will of those already enfranchised, rather than upon a person's inalienable rights.29

Greeley joined the antislavery crusade in opposition to the Democratic Party, Greeley thought emancipation should take place along with and because of industrial economic changes in the slave states. He believed that slavery could only be maintained in an agricultural state.30 The Tribune said that negroes should be educated and receive industrial training because the advancements made by whites proved the black man to be, temporarily, inferior. In 1853 Greeley wrote:

We hold it unjust and cruel to aggravate his natural disabilities by legal or social degradations; we hold that Man's inalienable right to equality under the laws is not at all invalidated by his intellectual deficiencies, but rather fortified and hallowed by them—that robbing an inferior race of Political Franchise and Social immunities, is as cowardly and detestable as striking a woman ... 31

Greeley may not have been the perfect reformer, but he was a shrewd businessman. He wished to elevate the working man and for this reason he actively supported trade unionism. Above all else, however, he wished to entrench the laborer in his enterprise.32 Greeley believed that an editorial or mechanical employee with his paper's stock would be loyally tied to his paper as a capitalist-worker motivated by profit and self-interest. Thus, the Tribune became the first corporate controlled American newspaper. In 1841 Greeley launched a weekly edition of the Tribune, covering upstate New York, and by 1860 its circulation had reached 200,000.33 Real or imagined, material success and a righteous reputation has always been an attractive
combination to the American people and Greeley was no exception.

Greeley's achievements and "moral war" on Bennett's sensationalism were enhanced by a former employee, Henry Jarvis Raymond, who founded the New York Times in 1851. Begun in the twilight of the Whig party, the Times was a biased, conservative Whig newspaper, but it did give more space to other political parties. Raymond's policy said that "in political and social discussions, the Times will seek to be conservative, in such a way as to best promote REFORM ... ." In his first editorial he said:

"We have fixed the price of the Times at one cent each copy ... We have chosen this price deliberately for the sake of obtaining for the paper a large circulation and a corresponding influence.

That influence will always be upon the side of equality of Industry, of Education and Religion. We shall seek -- to promote the best interests of the society in which we live ... and to promote ... the welfare of our fellow-men."

Raymond wanted to alleviate the condition of the poor and spread education along conservative lines and his editorials counteracted the doctrines of Greeley and his labor movement.

The Times succeeded in getting the New York state printing contract and was designated to publish the required-by-law bank statements. Greeley believed political favoritism was behind the award since the State Superintendent of Banks was a stockholder in the Times. In editorials Greeley declared Raymond "a little villain." Raymond, however, "took the higher ground" editorially and, like Greeley's Tribune that capitalized on the public moral reaction to Bennett and the Herald's sensationalism, the Times gained its share of popular esteem through balanced,
accurate, well written and carefully edited reporting.

Fair in tone if not in content, free of abuse and passion, the Times, stood in contrast to nearly every other newspaper in the country. The urban, middle-class, penny paper Times became the root from which modern journalism sprouted. It fertilized the ground on which a trust in facts and a distrust of subjective values could grow and it culminated the achievement of the cheap newspaper movement begun by the Sun and other papers in the early '30s.

More than 93 penny papers were published in New York between 1833 and 1859. Elsewhere, the Baltimore Sun, the New Orleans Picayune and other penny press newspapers emerged. Influencing the fortunes of politicians and political parties, the penny press played a leading role in political campaigns. Although newspapers were no longer under party domination, this does not mean papers remained neutral or bolted party nominations. The emerging journalistic "independence" meant freedom only to criticize policies and leaders from within the party. Editors who bolted their party affiliation were dubbed "mugwumps" and considered undependable, unfaithful deserters.

On the eve of the Civil War, the election of 1860 ripped a seam in the nation's fabric and the giant papers of New York were in the heat of political struggle. As Bennett became richer, he discovered he had more in common with the business community and the Herald supported Democrat Stephen A. Douglas for president. After an abolitionist mob threatened to burn his building down, he became a lukewarm supporter of Lincoln except when it pleased him to do otherwise. A thorough mugwump, Bennett had the reputation of supporting the candidates whom he
believed to have the best chance of winning.46

A moving force in the Abolitionist cause, the Tribune and Greeley played an instrumental role in Abraham Lincoln capturing the Republican nomination in 1860.47 Consequently he faced New York mobs in sympathy with the other camp. Even though Greeley, a pacifist, could not accept the idea of war, he threw the support of the country’s most influential newspaper to Lincoln anyway and, thus, played a considerable part in his election.48

Raymond, a founder of the Republican Party that succeeded the Whigs, also advocated the northern cause. Opposing abolition before the war, he and the Times became dependable advocates for Lincoln after the war broke out.49

Lincoln, like Washington, was subject to venomous assaults by the press. The New York World, New York Daily News, Chicago Times and other papers called him names such as "a slang-whanging stump speaker" and "half-witted usurper."50 The press and its monologue did not change much in 100 years.

The Civil War tore the United States apart, but the last third of the century saw the greatest prosperity the nation had yet enjoyed. Completing their geographical expansion and consolidating the economy, the nation’s businessmen found oil, mined gold, silver and copper, smelted iron, harvested lumber and exported goods beyond the country’s borders. The telephone, typewriter, linotype, phonograph, electric light, cash register and automobile were invented.51 And during this period of incredible change, several factors controlled the development of the flourishing daily and weekly newspapers.

The nation’s total population increased 63 percent. Illiteracy declined from 20
percent to 13.3 percent and the sensationalism of the penny papers appealed to those barely literate.\textsuperscript{52} Public education, expanded communications systems and improved automated printing and paper making\textsuperscript{53} all contributed to the growth of more than 12,000 newspapers in the United States by 1890.\textsuperscript{54} Before the end of the century, newspaper circulations exceeded a million per day and, like oil and railroads, newspapers became big businesses.\textsuperscript{55} The democratization of economic life brought with it attitudes that stressed economic gain to the exclusion of social aims; business practice more regularly began to reward strictly economic ties over broader ones.\textsuperscript{56}


To boost the Democratic \textit{New York World}'s circulation, Pulitzer created a paradoxical mixture of promotion, stunts, illustrations and revived sensationalism with solid news coverage, a high quality editorial page and the development of the "editorial crusade."\textsuperscript{57} At the close of the 19th century, however, Hearst's conservative \textit{Journal} was dazzling the city. Better printing technology gave publishers better tools to make sensationalism seem distinctive and new. Allowing competitive desires to triumph over truth, Hearst's circulation war with Pulitzer blurred the lines between fact and opinion during a period of extremely sensational newspaper entertainment called "yellow journalism"\textsuperscript{58} and summed up an exhibition of journalism's worst sins. The roots of sensational news digs deep into the 17th century. Answering to fundamental and primitive human desires, the degrees of sensationalism may belong to various periods, but sensationalism itself belongs to no
single period. 

Explaining his editorial policy in his 1883 inaugural issue Pulitzer said:

There is room in this great and growing city for a journal that is not only cheap but bright, not only bright but large, not only large but truly Democratic -- dedicated to the cause of the people ... .

New York newcomers who resented the flaunted wealth of the moneyed class and believed in economic and social reform found the World delightful reading. The tide had shifted. Those early revolutionists had given rise to a new wealthy class, while America's immigrants were becoming the mainstream.

Playing up human interest stories, Pulitzer filled the World's pages with sex, sin, conflict, crime and violence. Headlines read "Little Lotta's Lovers," "How Babies are Baked," and "Baptized in Blood." Yet the World also contained editorials and news stories about the garment district's immigrant sweatshops and the headline "How Babies Are Baked" ran above a story about a heat wave's toll in the city's slums.

The World's liberal political and social stands with its equalitarian emphasis paid circulation and political dividends. In 1884 Pulitzer supported Grover Cleveland, the Democratic governor of New York, for the presidency against the conservative Republican James G. Blaine and twenty-five years later Cleveland wrote:

I recall how brilliantly and sturdily the World then fought for Democracy; and in this, the first of its great party fights under the present proprietorship, it was here, there, and everywhere in the field, showering deadly blows upon the enemy. It was steadfast in zeal and untiring of effort until the battle was won; and it was won against such odds and by so slight a margin as to reasonably lead to the belief that no contributing aid
could have been safely spared. At any rate, the contest was so close it may be said without reservation that if it had lacked the forceful and potent advocacy of Democratic principles at that time by the New York World, the result might have been reversed.

Cleveland carried the state of New York by only about 1,200 votes. Without its electoral votes he would have lost the contest.63

By 1887 the World was America’s largest daily newspaper with a circulation of 250,00064 and an advertising volume running to 60 columns in a 98 column paper.65 The World’s success encouraged its imitation by the Sun, Herald, Tribune and Times creating a new journalism. After having won first place in popular approval, Pulitzer was showing the conservatism which accompanies success66 and his greatest circulation foe was just entering the New York arena.

In 1895 Hearst bought the New York Morning Journal, cut the Journal’s price from two cents back to a penny a copy and within a year had a circulation of 400,000. Circulation figures and their accuracy were common disputes during this time. However, every editor declared that his paper had "the largest circulation in New York."67

Personally making the final decisions on the editorial and management policies of his newspapers, Hearst turned his attention more and more to politics. He supported Democratic and People’s candidate William J. Bryan against Republican William McKinley in 1896 and again in 1900. In 1902 Hearst himself was sent to Congress from New York and he even made an attempt at the Democratic nomination for president in 1904. Often changing his mind and reversing his editorial policy, he supported Democratic nominee Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, but four years later,
no longer in sympathy with the "New Deal," he urged the election of Republican Alf Landon.68

Professional journalism ideals finally emerged and were differentiated when Adolph Ochs rescued the conservative *New York Times* from bankruptcy in 1896 and began printing "All the News That's Fit to Print."69 Ochs made no attempt to match the sensationalism of Hearst and Pulitzer or popularize the paper's offerings for mass circulation. Instead he set a new standard for journalism by publishing a paper with solid, accurate news coverage and separated editorial opinion, but it wasn't until the press accepted the concept of objective news reporting during this century that a consistent, conscious effort was made throughout the industry to separate news from opinion on the pages of newspapers.70

Designed for readers who disliked the overemphasis of entertainment, Och's *Times* contained government news and was practically void of features other than background and informational stories of current news significance.71 Carrying a volume of news unrivaled by other American papers, The *Times* became a class publication demanding higher advertising rates even though other publications topped its total circulation.72 After cutting its price to a penny, the *Times'* circulation passed the 100,000 mark in 1901.73

Ochs' politics produced a paper with a mixed bag of political thought. In party politics the *Times* was primarily Democratic, but essentially Tory conservative in political social and economic attitudes.74 The paper was progressive in its social viewpoint to move forward toward a future of material opportunity and social improvement,75 but Ochs was not a crusader of the people. Economic conservatives
concern themselves primarily with a goal of material well-being, growth, development, a flourishing economy and prosperity. With a focus on individual liberty and the market, they are suspect of government intervention. Social conservatives stress virtue and moral rules as well as individual liberty and are more ambivalent about government. In some instances they want to use government while in others they want to limit it.

The chain gangs

While Ochs formulated a new standard, Hearst amassed an empire as the growing emergence of advertising transformed the American newspaper into a sober business institution. The transition from partisan propaganda to a new journalism to the conservatism of businessmen publishers represented a change in attitude and economics. Capitalism with its elitist implications had taken root. Throughout the country newspapers became more expensive to launch and established publishers began a trend to "chain" ownership and consolidation.

Bennett had started the *Herald* for $500 in 1835. Adolph Ochs bought the *New York Times* in 1896 for $75,000. By the turn of the century it would take a million dollars to launch a new newspaper in New York. Counting ownership of as few as two newspapers a chain, in 1928 there were 54 chains with 280 dailies and by 1935 there were 59 chains with 329 dailies. In 1945 at the end of World War II, 80 percent of the daily newspapers in the United States were independently owned, but by 1989, 80 percent of daily newspapers were owned by corporate chains.

By 1892 the Scripps family chain of Ohio had five papers. Politically
motivated, Scripps created the United Press wire service in 1907 and later said:

At least 90 percent of my fellows in American journalism were capitalistic and conservative. I knew at the time at least that unless I came into the field with a new service, it would be impossible for the people of the United States to get correct news through the medium of A.P.84

Scripps and Hearst not only began the chain newspaper trend, but they also hastened the consolidation of newspapers. Sixteen papers succumbed to the Hearst ax between 1918 and 1928, while the Scripps-Howard interests accounted for the decline of fifteen others from 1923 and 1934.85 By 1933 the six largest chains with the largest total circulation included: Hearst, Patterson-McCormick, Scripps-Howard, Paul Block, Ridder and Gannett86 and by 1940 the Hearst and Scripps chains were the largest and only chains of national rather than regional or local extent.87

At its crest in 1937, Hearst had a fortune of $220,000,000, a publishing empire of 25 daily papers with a circulation of more than 5,196,000, and 17 Sunday papers with more than 6,735,000 readers in addition to syndicates, magazines, trade journals, radio stations, wire services, motion pictures, mines and real estate.88

Hearst's isolationist policies and Republican Party practices reiterated in his papers for nearly half a century gained acceptance in the more liberal society.89

Further consolidating his empire, the Hearst chain held 19 papers by 1944 asserting that "These newspapers reach one out of every five of the 35 million families in the U.S.A."90

Similar consolidative shifts were going on across the nation. In 1904 Chicago had four morning and evening papers. By mid-century, Chicago had only four newspapers under two ownerships.91 From 1900 to 1950 the American population
doubled and the number of urban places almost tripled to 4,700, but the number of daily newspapers dropped from 2,226 to 1,900.92

By 1950 businessmen entrepreneurs with multiple newspapers avoided the word "chain," referring to themselves as "groups." The stated motivation for this terminology change was to better express the autonomy of the individual papers within a "group." This claim, however, was far more public relations than truth. The record had no single case of a "group" newspaper strongly opposing the policies or political beliefs of the group owner or owners. In the semantics of business, "autonomy" acquired a new meaning.93

By 1960 nearly 30 percent of the nation's dailies were chain-owned94 and the Hearst papers still led all other chains in circulation with 13 dailies and nine Sunday editions. The circulation figures for chains in 1960 affirmed the stronghold chain management had on American journalism. The total daily circulation of the Hearst papers was 4 million; Scripps-Howard, 3 million and Samuel I. Newhouse's chain, 2 million.95

By the mid '60s only 10 percent of U.S. dailies had any daily competition.96 By the mid '80s that figure had dwindled to 1 percent with only 15 of the 1,500 daily newspapers in the country having any daily competition.97 A once healthy, competitive variety of papers had been reduced to a single voice and today that single voice has spread across our nation's media.

In 1984 the 50 dominant media owners could be described in each separate medium - daily newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books and movies. Through mergers and acquisitions, the number of controlling corporations in these media had
10 News Corporation Limited (Australian Rupert Murdoch; newspapers, magazines, 
motion pictures) and Gannett have major interests in newspapers. As the numbers of 
media owners decrease and the domains increase, the magnitude of media 
conglomerate money increases also. In 1983 newspaper chain Gannett purchased 
Combined Communications Corporation for $340 million. Combined Communications 
owned newspapers, billboards and broadcast stations.98 

The Gannett Company, Inc. is the largest and most aggressive newspaper 
monopoly in the United States. In 1967 Gannett had 28 newspapers and $250 million 
in annual revenues. By the early '80s under Allen Neuharth, Gannett had grown to 93 
daily papers and 40 weeklies all without direct competition in addition to 15 radio and 
8 television stations, 40,000 billboards, Lou Harris Public Opinion Poll, TV 
productions, a half-interest in McNeil-Lehrer productions for television and cable, and 
satellite operations in 36 states.99 

The American newspaper has been a giant instrument of power in society, 
government, business and politics, and as its financial size has grown, its partisanship 
has sometimes muffled its social conscience.

Rupert Murdoch unabashedly has used his considerable media power to further 
his personal power, promote conservative politics and corporate values, and obtain 
concessions from the government. In one case he was given a $30 million tax break 
when the U.S. government forgave the usual levy on a set of his mergers and 
acquisitions. In England Murdoch used his control of the London Times and other 
newspapers to attack liberals and unrestrainedly boost Conservative Margaret
Thatcher in the 1979 election. Most British political analysts believe his activities
guaranteed Thatcher's victory (and a knighthood for himself).\textsuperscript{100}
Endnotes

Chapter 2


8. Ibid., p. 260


15. Ibid., p. 275.


18. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 128


40. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 60.


44. Mott, *American Journalism*, p. 413.


50. *Ibid*.


56. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 46.


62. Ibid.


67. Ibid., 428-430.

68. Ibid., p. 442-443.

69. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 60.


76. Ibid., p. 256-257.

77. Ibid., p. 184.


79. Ibid.


Chapter 3

Alice's Evidence

*Press influence: a study of political candidate endorsements*

In the past a variety of newspapers created by printers operated with widely varying editorial viewpoints, but today, the chain ownership of newspapers has created a business enterprise that has eliminated that variety and its diversity of opinions and news. For the most part, a concentrated and narrow group of news people and news organizations create news and opinion by making the decisions about which information the public needs or has a right to know. These decisions, in turn, socialize society by influencing and shaping its perception of reality.²

When journalists began to think of themselves as professionals they formulated a "service ideal."³ In 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors drafted the "Canons of Journalism" that said "News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind."⁴ It was then that journalists began using the term objectivity to express their commitment to reflecting the news without bias and distortion.⁵ But journalists are prisoners of their own stereotypes and prejudices and even objective news and facts are selected judgments of what is interesting and important. If a newspaper does not openly reflect its political bias toward the right, left or center, its constituted and concealed content incorporates its own political bias toward the vocabulary, style, organization, conflict and events in which the observable and unambiguous statements
of fact are presented.

A fine line exists between news and editorial or opinion. When news judgments become subjective or advocate a cause they enter the realm of editorial/opinion. Generally relegated to an editorial or opinion page, editorials in the form of Establishment positions, personal interpretations and analysis about events, intelligence or information serve the public by providing a robust and wide-open debate within society. Editorials mediate beliefs, promote understanding and stimulate thought. They amuse, amaze, entertain, explain, inform, manipulate, persuade and convert. A consistent editorial platform provides a public forum and forms the personality of a newspaper usually determining its conservative, liberal or radical political preference.

Modern political candidate editorial endorsements, however, increasingly differ from other editorials initiated by print-news organizations as the public's information sources become ever more narrow in the diversity of opinions and news provided. A hybrid of fact, opinion and subjective information, a political candidate endorsement diminishes the public's right to unbiased information in making governmental decisions. Often assigned to pages other than the "opinion" page, endorsements create confusion among voters and obscure the line between the presses' proclaimed objectivity, its charge as a watchdog of government and the ideological bias of its management and ownership.

The following pages will illustrate why the free press' endorsement of and influence on America's elected officials jeopardizes the independent votes of people who, in communities across the United States, regularly elect 500,000 local officials
to run 65,000 local governmental boards and committees in addition to their election of 50 governors, 100 senators, 437 representatives and a president.

**Past research**

In a 1983 National Council of Editorial Writers survey more than nine of 10 editors said they believed that endorsements do have an influence on the voting public. Researchers studying the influence that a newspaper endorsement has upon readers and its effect on elections have agreed upon several basic principles.

Maxwell McCombs in a 1966 study observed that endorsements are most likely to influence voters who are undecided about an election. Last-minute deciders played a major role in the outcome of an election he studied.  

A study by John P. Robinson in 1968 concluded that presidential candidates endorsed by newspapers received an extra 6 percent to 7 percent of the votes.  

In 1980 Fred Fedler, Tim Counts and Lowndes F. Stephens reported that all three presidential candidates, but especially Carter and Anderson, received a larger percentage of the votes cast in cities with daily newspapers that endorsed their candidacies. Robert E. Hurd and Michael W. Singletary’s 1984 study of the 1980 election, however, found that endorsements swayed fewer than 1 percent of the voters and were unlikely to determine the outcome of a presidential election.  

The evidence about endorsements influencing local elections is more consistent and dramatic. David Shaw’s 1977 overview indicated that newspaper endorsements are effective and most influential in swaying voters on local candidates. Separate studies conducted in the ’60s and ’70s by Michael Hooper, James L. McDowell, Paul
L. Hain and John E. Mueller found that local candidates endorsed by daily newspapers received thousands of extra votes, sometimes enough extra votes to determine the outcome of the elections.14

Survey background

On Tuesday November 4, 1997, general, nonpartisan city elections for a mayor, 6 ward city council members and a municipal judge were held in the city of Missoula, Montana. The Missoula Municipal Elections Endorsement Study did not address the municipal judge election.

The well-liked mayoral incumbent was expected to have little difficulty defeating his lesser-known challenger. A number of candidates in the council races were little known. Of the five council races studied, three involved incumbents facing challengers. One ward had two little known, political newcomers facing each other and another had a relatively unknown challenger facing another challenger who had run for City Council two years earlier. The Republican members of the current council had resigned and were not seeking reelection.

The city of Missoula had more than 30,800 active, registered voters during the 1997 election and more than 11,400 people participated in the election process.

In October, articles informing the public about campaign issues and candidate fund raising appeared in the city's only daily paper, the Missoulian. The Missoulian is a member of the Lee Enterprises chain headquartered in Davenport, Iowa with operations from Wisconsin to the Pacific Coast. On October 26, the Missoulian ran a "Guide to City Council Candidates" article describing each candidate's stand on
Between October 30 and the November 4 election the paper published several opinion page articles. An October 30, editorial headline said "Missoula's first nonpartisan city election is shaping up to be the most partisan ever with the New and Common Sense pseudo-parties taking the part of Democratic (New) and Republican (Common Sense) parties - only with less accountability." On October 31, the Missoulian ran an opinion page editorial that gave a "Nay" to current members of the City Council for omitting the use of the article "the" when referring to the council.

In the November 2, section A, page 9 of the paper, preceding the opinion page on 10, the Missoula Chamber of Commerce ran a full page ad encouraging readers to "make a difference" and explaining that "Business is taking a positive role in the upcoming election. Here's how you as a citizen can become involved and informed." The ad also presented statistics describing the monumental repercussions of a single vote, such as: "In 1960, one vote change in each precinct in Illinois would have defeated John F. Kennedy." In smaller print at the bottom the ad said "This ad paid for by Missoula Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors and the Missoulian."

On the same day in the "Montana" B section an article ran on the first page headlined "Who's Who in Missoula City Council races." The article, which jumped to page 5 of the B section, presented sketches of the candidates from each ward.

The B section first page also included an article about the Missoula New Party and the Citizens for Common Sense Government, the two political action committees. These committees held divergent opinions on a range of issues with the city's growth and development being the most contentious one. City officials had proposed a
Designated Urban Service Area that would place a boundary around the city’s urban core. Incentives would be given for development within this boundary and people wanting public services outside it would pay higher costs. The New Party, for the most part, supported regulating growth, while the Citizens for Common Sense Government and businesses opposed the idea.

An unpaid endorsement box was published at the top, left corner of page B5 indicating the political action committee and business-oriented Chamber of Commerce endorsements for each ward candidate. Candidates endorsed by the Chamber were also endorsed by the Citizens for Common Sense Government.

*Missoulian* Publisher Jim Bell was serving on the Chamber board of directors when the ad and endorsement box ran, but he said "We’re not part of their process at all," when asked about the link between the *Missoulian’s* name on the Chamber ad and the Chamber’s endorsements. Bell said the *Missoulian* didn’t pay for the Chamber ad, but did help sponsor the ad because Chamber representatives asked the paper to sponsor it. "We’re a Chamber member and they asked us to participate," Bell said. "They were looking for some help to get people out for the business vote and we helped them out." Indicating a pro-business favoritism, Bell said he "didn’t know" if the paper would have helped sponsor a nonprofit in sympathy with the New Party.

The *Missoulian*’s support of an ad and endorsement box tied to the Missoula Chamber of Commerce created an indirect endorsement for pro-business and pro-growth municipal candidates. Since the New Party was not pro-business, its candidates were evidently at a disadvantage in receiving the paper’s support.

The *Missoulian* editorial board comprised of Bell, the paper’s editor, editorial
page editor, assistant news editor and associate editor declined to directly endorse city candidates during the 1997 election. Bell said the paper had decreased its number of endorsements. And while he said he would be surprised if the Missoulian’s endorsements affected elections, Bell also said the paper would continue to endorse in the elections that have some major impact in the paper’s circulation area such as state races for governor, Congress and Senate. "We’re being very careful about how far we’re going to disengage. We’re never going to give up endorsements. It is part of the process," he said. Bell’s plan to disengage, but not disengage, is not unusual.

Editor and Publisher’s 1932 poll of Presidential endorsements showed 93 percent of the nation’s daily newspapers making endorsements. By 1972 that figure had decreased to 77 percent and in 1980 only 58 percent of dailies endorsed. According to an Editor and Publisher poll published in 1996, 30 percent of the 415 newspapers that responded were "undecided or adhering to a 'no-endorsement' policy. The poll did not include endorsements at the local level. The magazine said "Fear of favor, local flavor, increasingly drive newspapers to stay neutral on presidential candidates." Andy Stone, co-publisher and editor in chief of the Aspen Times, said their decision to avoid presidential endorsements was less a statement about fairness and candidates than about the needs of his readers. "As a local paper, we feel our area of expertise, and where we have any credibility at all, is in the local arena, so it’s important to limit our endorsements to that area," he said. The Wall Street Journal, which does not endorse, said "We don’t think our business is telling people how to vote." The Missoulian circulates in an area that stretches approximately 350 miles
north and south from Kalispell to Darby and 140 miles east and west from Idaho’s border to Drummond, Montana. Bell said the paper positively endorses people who it feels are best suited for the individual job and doesn’t malign or denigrate opponents. He said the editorial board doesn’t endorse candidates without face to face contact and asks the same predetermined, issue-oriented questions to each candidate. Bell said they don’t try to pick winners, figure out the public’s sympathies or try to tell people for whom to vote. Bell believes the Missoulian’s strength is to inform people about the issues before the election.


The Independent endorsed a candidate in all but one of the races. Three of the Independent’s four endorsements were New Party endorsed. In addition to its endorsement page the Independent also ran a story with decks and a headline that read: "Will Common Sense rule the day? Can the New Party survive? Slinging mud at City Hall, conservatives raise $15,000 in fight to wrest control of council from progressive politicos."
Survey methodology

The Missoula Municipal Elections Endorsement Study was designed to investigate: 1. who uses newspaper editorial endorsements, 2. the influence of newspaper editorial endorsements, and 3. the voting public's perception of endorsements in affecting a newspapers' ability to do its duty.

Sixteen graduate students from the University of Montana conducted exit surveys (Appendix A) with voters in Missoula on election day. Each person conducting surveys was assigned an equitable number voters in one of five designated city wards. The wards were in a wide variety of profile based demographically selected (Appendix B) state Legislative House Districts and city precincts (Appendix C1 and C2). The Missoula city area has six wards, but surveys were not conducted in Ward 5 where an uncontested candidate ran for city council.

In random sampling, 229 voters completed a 26 question survey as they left election booths during a 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. time span, which produced the largest number and diversity of people voting. Some respondents made additional comments on their survey sheets generally reinforcing an answer to a question. In addition to answering the written survey questions tailored to the council candidates in each ward, voters verbally answered question 27 "Has your vote ever been influenced by a newspaper candidate endorsement?" This question was asked by surveyors when respondents returned their finished questionnaires.
Survey results

The Missoula municipal study was designed to correlate variables rather than indicate cause and effect relationships.

In studying the frequencies of voter responses, more than 68 percent of respondents said they received their news and information about election candidates from newspapers with 61 percent indicating that they read a daily paper.

Seventy-nine percent of respondents most frequently read the Missoulian daily paper while nearly 12 percent most frequently read the Independent.

More than 79 percent of respondents believed the news and information they received about the candidates to make their voting decision was fair (40.2 percent) or good (39.3 percent) in comparison to poor.

Thirty-four percent of respondents said the paper they read separates news from editorial/opinion little to none while only 14 percent believed their paper separated news from editorial/opinion a great to very great extent.

More than 41 percent of respondents said they read editorial candidate endorsements a moderate (26.6 percent) to great (11.4 percent) to very great extent (3.1 percent). Seventeen percent of voters indicated they had little to no idea of whom they were going to vote for before reading any editorial candidate endorsements. This group of people apparently depend on the newspaper’s endorsement to assist them in making a preliminary voting decision. During the election voters were seen carrying the endorsement sections of both the Missoulian and Independent into voting booths.

The survey also indicated that a newspaper candidate endorsement influenced 7 percent of the vote for city council members a great to very great extent while only
2.6 percent of voters indicated that an endorsement influenced their vote for mayor a great to very great extent. This discrepancy suggests that the more a voter knows about a candidate the less a newspaper endorsement influences them.

More than 6 percent of voters indicated that a newspaper endorsement was the main influence in determining their vote. And more than 25 percent of respondents indicated that their vote at some time had been influenced by a newspaper candidate endorsement.

Approximately 56 percent of voters indicated that editorial endorsements influence a newspaper's fair reporting of news about candidates a moderate (41 percent), great (12.2 percent) or very great (3.1 percent) extent.

Nearly 66 percent of respondents indicated that editorial endorsements influence a newspaper's accurate reporting of news about candidates a moderate (40.6 percent), great (12.7 percent) or very great (2.6 percent) extent.

Sixty-five percent of survey respondents indicated that a newspaper has a moderate (28.8 percent) to great (23.1 percent) to very great (13.1 percent) conflict of interest between editorial candidate endorsements and its reporting of news. The survey did not address how voters perceived the implications or consequences resulting from a conflict of interest.

In correlating the frequencies of voter responses, the survey indicated that neither age, education, gender, income, occupation, party affiliation, race, nor religious preference was a contributing factor to a voter being influenced by an editorial political endorsement, but most voters influenced by endorsements were daily newspaper readers as compared to those who read a paper several times a week,
weekly or less.

Professionals or managers aged 40 to 49 with some college, but not four years, indicated that they were the group least likely to be influenced by a newspaper editorial endorsement.

While most people indicated that they knew to a moderate (25.3 percent), great (28.8 percent) or very great (25.8 percent) extent who they were going to vote for before reading any endorsements, 9.3 percent of voters had decided to vote for one candidate and then changed their minds and voted for someone else. Four and a half percent of that group indicated that an endorsement influenced their vote change a moderate (3.2 percent), great or very great extent (1.3 percent).

When studying voters' perception of whether newspaper editorial candidate endorsements influence the fair or accurate reporting of candidate news or whether endorsements present a conflict of interest, voters in the groups indicating they had and had not been influenced by endorsements agreed that endorsements do influence the reporting of news and present a conflict of interest.

In summary

The Missoulian's business support of municipal candidates through an ad and endorsement box linked to the Missoula Chamber of Commerce created an indirect endorsement of Missoula's pro-business, pro-growth candidates.

The Missoula survey indicated that voters read their local daily newspaper and that newspapers are still the most significant influence on the voting public's political attitudes. The survey also indicated that a significant group of Missoula voters believe
the Missoulian's line in separating news and editorial/opinion is obscured. And it appears that an endorsement supported by the paper, whether indirect, direct, formal or informal, is perceived by the public as the paper's sanction to vote for a particular candidate.

The survey found that voters using editorial endorsements to determine their vote cover a broad spectrum of the general population, but they are more likely to be undecided on or change their mind about for whom to vote. The Missoula survey's results were consistent with past research in indicating that voters are influenced by editorial endorsements and that this influence can make a difference in the outcome of an election, especially in local races, close races and races with lesser-known candidates.

The Missoula survey's findings also support the hypothesis that the public believes a newspaper has a conflict of interest between its reporting of news about candidates and its endorsement of them. It also verifies that a newspaper sacrifices the public's trust in its accuracy and fairness of political candidate reporting when it endorses candidates.
Endnotes

Chapter 3


Chapter 4

Looking-Glass House

Press ethics: the obligation and responsibility to the public good

The freedom of our society to speak out, obtain information and cast election ballots for those in authority run deep into the roots of our history. Our ancestors' failure to include a free press clause in the United States Constitution resulted in a colonial grassroots revolt and Congress deliberately incorporating press and speech freedom as the Bill of Rights' First Amendment. The Amendment stipulates that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." The Fourteenth Amendment extends these rights in prohibiting state and local governments from denying citizens "equal protection of the laws."

The First Amendment gives those with the money and motivation to distribute their message to a mass audience special privileges and protection through its free press clause. The newspaper business is the only American business given these privileges. Subsequent First Amendment court interpretations provide the basic foundation for expecting the purveyors of public information to balance private economic self-interest with the interest of the broad public good, and includes the
press' obligation to initiate "robust and wide-open" discussion of public issues.\textsuperscript{5} The First Amendment and its Court interpretations have formed three interrelated aspects central to the presses' role. First, all citizens are free to believe as they like. Next, public information and discussion in the attainment of truth organizes and reformulates people's beliefs, and thirdly, after private beliefs have been generalized by information and public discussion people may assemble or act upon those beliefs\textsuperscript{6} to affect the course of human affairs. The soul of democracy lies in an informed public assembling together to act in casting its governmental election ballots.

The press serves a unique legal purpose in a free society and because of this it should also serve a unique ethical purpose. The American Society of Newspaper Editors' code of ethics reiterates the presses' obligation and responsibility to the broad public good stating that "The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve the general welfare by informing the people and enabling them to make judgments on the issues of the time" and "to bring an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces of power in the society, including the conduct of official power at all levels of government."

In law, a fiduciary obligation is imposed on certain relationships where one party stands in a position of trust relative to another,\textsuperscript{7} but because of its special privileges, the press' conception of its responsibilities to society, individuals (obscure and public) and government is determined by the press itself and this conception determines its editorial policy.\textsuperscript{8} As a consequence, we have no standard or formula to distinguish the press' rights and the abuse of those rights. And while it's important that editorial opinions on public issues be expressed in the press, the presses' favoring
of one governmental candidate over another through editorial political candidate endorsements precipitates a moral misdeed that contradicts later 20th century understandings of the presses' ethical responsibilities, damages the journalism profession and violates the public trust.

"I don't think they play at all fairly ... ."9

Editorial political candidate endorsements do not treat candidates fairly. They hinder some while helping others. All the facts and news, infinite in number, informing the public about a political candidate cannot be collected or printed or read. In deciding what to cover, a newspaper may focus on only one or two aspects of a candidate. Voters, however, have a right to vote for their representatives on any basis they choose - sexual preference, church attendance, haircut or eye color.10 The newspaper's endorsement of a political candidate lacks disclosure that may be relevant to some voters and highlights information that may not be relevant to others.

For example, the Mont. Missoulian endorsed Bill Yellowtail during the 1996 U.S. Congressional campaign, for "philosophy," "personality," and his "tendency to listen."11 These highlighted characteristics may be less relevant to some voters than the candidate's stand on pressing issues such as health care or education. Making endorsements based on the news organization's criteria for relevancy may completely disregard, and thus hide, those characteristics that are most important to some voters.

In a 1980's endorsement survey conducted by the National Conference of Editorial Writers more than 80 percent of the editorial respondents regarded defining and clarifying issues as the most important task in endorsing political candidates,12
yet leading newspapers do not define and clarify issues in the endorsement of all political candidates.

The *Washington Post* offers readers substantive endorsement comments about some candidates and brushes off others. On behalf of Virginia's 8th District Congressional candidate, the 1996 *Post* endorsement simply said, "James P. Moran Jr., Democratic incumbent, is seeking his fourth term in what has become a Democratic stronghold." The *New York Times* 1996 endorsement of former Democratic State Senator James Maloney for Connecticut's 5th District Congressional seat vaguely said his, "balanced approach to social and economic issues seems more in tune with the needs of his district." In blasting his Republican opponent, however, the paper specifically said, "The incumbent, Gary Franks, has been a reliable supporter of the G.O.P.'s assaults on the environment, gun control, abortion rights and funding for the arts."14

The next day the editorial page ran a "correction" which said, "An editorial yesterday referred erroneously to Representative Gary Franks, Republican of Connecticut, as an opponent of abortion rights. Mr. Franks is pro-choice." In the 1994 Texas senatorial race, journalist Molly Ivins' opponent Kay Bailey Hutchinson received the endorsement of the *San Antonio Express* even though she had been indicted on charges she misused state funds.16

"... I like what I get ... I get what I like!"17

Political candidates understand the power of the press in seeking election votes.18 The influence of a newspaper's endorsement adds legitimacy and credibility
to political candidates in the eyes of financial contributors and the general public. It
can save candidacies and salvage foundering campaigns. Candidates translate
newspaper endorsements into free promotions by copying the endorsement and
distributing it as a flier, paying to have it reprinted as a newspaper ad, reading it in
radio ads or parading it across television commercials. 19

Framed in Chapter 3, research indicates that political candidate endorsements
influence some voters and can prove crucial to a close election.20 Undecided voters
are more influenced by endorsements than those with strong feelings.21
Endorsements matter most in races where voters aren’t familiar with the
candidates.22 Local election outcomes are more influenced by editorial endorsements
than state and national.23 Endorsements create a greater advantage for challengers
than for a well-established incumbent,24 and Republicans benefit the most.

Historically, Republicans, favored by the management of news organizations
who determine editorial policy, have garnered more presidential endorsements.25
From 1944 through 1996 the majority of newspapers supported Republican candidates
87.5 percent of the time. The only presidential Democratic nominees to receive a
plurality of newspaper endorsements were Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and Bill Clinton
in 1992.26 In terms of circulation Republicans benefit even more: about 70 percent
of the national daily newspaper audience reads newspapers endorsing Republicans.27

In a 1978 Empire State Reporter article by former New York Post politics and
media reporter Jane Perlez, then New York Times editor Max Frankel said that Times
publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger’s personal decision in 1976 to endorse Patrick
Moynihan over Bella Abzug in the U.S. Senate Democratic primary was "significant"
in Moynihan's scant victory. However, Frankel was comfortable with the paper's endorsement policy. "The publisher is responsible. I am responsible. People know who to write to complain," he said.

In 1980 Ronald Reagan received an average of 48 percent of the votes cast in 57 large cities in which he was endorsed by the largest daily newspaper. By comparison he received only 37 percent of the votes cast in 27 large cities where the largest daily newspaper endorsed Jimmy Carter or John Anderson. Similarly, Carter received an average of 55.6 percent of the votes in 25 large cities in which he was endorsed by the largest daily paper and only 43.7 percent of the votes in 59 large cities where the largest paper endorsed Reagan or Anderson.

In 426 interviews at Orlando, Fla., following the 1984 presidential election, 47 percent of the respondents said they considered editorial endorsements "very" or "somewhat" helpful. Nearly 34 percent were able to name at least one candidate endorsed by the city's only daily paper and a surprising 23 percent said the endorsements had helped them decide on whom to vote. Twenty-three percent is considerable more than reported by any previous study.

Whether journalists, sociologists or political scientists conduct research interviewing individual voters or analyzing ballot casting published in local, state or national elections, the evidence is overwhelming. Newspaper editorial endorsements sway thousands of voters.
"'In that direction,' the Cat said, waving its right paw around, 'lives a Hatter; and in that direction,' waving the other paw, 'lives a March Hare.'"\textsuperscript{32}

Political candidate endorsements violate the public trust. More than any other source, the public relies on the news media’s good will to provide the detailed information they have a need, want and right to know about political candidates and issues in making informed democratic decisions.

The press plays a dual role in the link joining the political process and the public. It disseminates information to the public with accounts and interpretations of governmental actions and also acts as a watchdog auditing and holding government and politicians accountable. Democratic ideals depend on balancing the power of those governing with their accountability to those governed. If the public is to get the quality information needed to make intelligent decisions about political candidates, journalists must maintain an adversarial but civil relationship with the people they cover.\textsuperscript{33}

Real or not, candidate endorsements give the appearance of journalistic bias. The public assumes that those who write the news columns share the political beliefs of those who decide endorsements. It is also assumed that these shared political biases spill into the news columns. The public perception of informational bias cuts deeply into journalistic credibility. A news organization cannot avoid a real, potential or perceived conflict of interest when it has endorsed a political candidate. Thus it fails to accomplish its fundamental goal of maintaining public trust.

During the early days of the vitriolic party papers with caustic editorials and little news most people had access to at least two newspapers with varying partisan
views. The early partisan newspapers and the debates between them demonstrated the simplicity of the democratic process in a time prior to the vast and powerful corporate monopoly media industry we have today.

In 1980, 20 corporations controlled more than half of the 1,730 daily newspapers selling 61 million papers a day. By 1992 that number had shrunk to even though the total national daily circulation had increased. As the world changes creating the need for new solutions to new problems, the need for broader and more diverse sources of public information becomes increasingly important. While there are more specialized outlets, there is also more centralized control.

Most American industries own a major media outlet and most major media outlets own a firm in a major industry and these same media outlets report the news. More and more the news and the industries they report on share the same parent corporation - a less than reassuring "basis for the unbiased selection of public information."

Conflicts of interest, real, potential and perceived are infinitely greater because these huge media companies exchange directors and therefore hold common policy views. These common policy views and the ability to self-censor, suppress and disseminate information and ideas lies at the root of political power and forms an indispensable component of contemporary corporate ambitions.

Sixty-two percent of the public believes that, in general, news organizations are often influenced by other powerful organizations.
"... and they don’t seem to have any rules in particular ... ."43

Lacking any industry rules, owners, publishers, boards and managers control the selection of candidates to endorse and the criteria by which they select those for endorsement. While newspeople act as watchdogs safeguarding the public interest, they are also business and government insiders. The purpose of newspaper journalism is to serve the public interest, but the purpose of the newspaper business serves the self-interest of its owners and shareholders.

As described in Chapter 3, Jim Bell at the Missoulian said they have a policy of face-to-face interviews that ask issue-oriented questions to political candidates. In a 1997 editorial, Billings Outpost Editor David Crisp outlined six rules to follow in endorsing candidates. Jane Perlez’ 1978 Empire State Reporter article said that serious interviews with substantive questions were also conducted at New York’s Daily News to select candidates for endorsement.44 But when Dorothy Schiff ran the New York Post, her endorsement decision could depend on the cut of a candidate’s suit, or a spouse’s background. It was a Post joke that an editorial page endorsement meant an editorial on the news pages six days a week.45

Rupert Murdoch succeeded Schiff as owner of the Post and endorsed Ed Koch for mayor after he learned that lawyer and hard-line labor negotiator, Ed Costikyan, was being considered for deputy mayor. Costikyan said, "He (Murdoch) told me the reason he decided to go with Koch was because of the possibility of my being deputy mayor. He said: 'I’m counting on you.'"46

In her article Perlez said that Murdoch used the Post as a means to propagandize his candidate choice. When James Wechsler was Post’s editorial page
chief he said, "He's (Murdoch) like I am, once you get into one of these things, it becomes a ball game. ... you've got a stake in it."47

A provincial myth saturating the media contends that owner intervention into news content and other public information is not a problem, but powerful and profitable owners play an increasingly significant role in the political process.

Bruce Ware Roche in his dissertation, "The Effects of Newspaper Owners' Non-Media Business Interests on News Judgments of Members of News Staffs,"48 listed numerous corporate interventions in newspapers. Former Philadelphia Inquirer owner Walter Annenberg customarily banished people and groups he disliked from the Inquirer's pages. He also used his newspaper to assail a gubernatorial candidate who opposed a merger that would benefit Pennsylvania Railroad stockholders. Annenberg reportedly held an $8.5 million interest in the Pennsylvania Railroad and shortly after the election he became a director of the railroad, but insisted he had no financial interest in the railroad at the time of the election.49

In his book The Media Monopoly Ben Bagdikian wrote that in 1969 Richard Berlin wrote to Richard W. McLaren, then president Richard M. Nixon's assistant attorney general in charge of antitrust, asking for exemption from the "price fixing" antimonopoly law. In the letter Berlin suggested that if his favor was not granted it would be remembered when Nixon ran for reelection in 1972. He also sent a copy of the letter to Nixon. In the letter Berlin wrote:

Those of us ... by supporting that person and that party which we thought best exemplified those very ideals, we have become the victims and the targets of a narrow and tortured economic concept advanced and implemented
by those in whom we placed the highest confidence.\textsuperscript{50}

The "ideals" Berlin proposed were those in the Newspaper Preservation Act. The "narrow and tortured economic concept" was the 1890 Sherman Act. As president and chief executive officer of the Hearst Corporation that owned nine newspapers and the country's second-largest news service in addition to ten broadcasting stations, twenty-six magazines and a book publishing house, Berlin helped create the country's perception of the president.\textsuperscript{51}

Bagdikian points out that after passage of the Newspaper Preservation Act every Hearst paper endorsed Richard Nixon over Democratic challenger George McGovern and the Cox and Scripps-Howard newspaper chains ordered their newspapers to endorse him. Saved from competition, the seven chains benefitting from the Newspaper Preservation Act owned the papers read by most of the nation's voters.\textsuperscript{52}

Without the paper chains benefitting from the Newspaper Preservation Act, Richard Nixon would have had the lowest newspaper support of any Republican candidate since World War II other than Barry Goldwater in 1964. Instead, his corrupt administration hostile to an independent press received newspaper endorsements exceeding those of any candidate in U.S. history.\textsuperscript{53}

Self-serving intervention into the political arena pierces the heart of democracy. Some intervention, like Berlin's, is direct and blunt, but most is subtle. Some intervention occurs unconsciously, as when subordinates routinely conform to owners' ideas. But subtle or not, the end result distorts the public's perception of
reality and depletes the marketplace of ideas and information.54

"... and you've no idea how confusing it is ... ."55

Even people working within news organizations grapple with the endorsement issue. On their own editorial pages editors attempt to make a distinction between editorial endorsements as they describe the separation between editorial and news departments. In 1992 current Washington Post executive editor Leonard Downie Jr. wrote that editorial endorsements "can confuse readers who already are suspicious about whether news coverage in the Post favors one candidate or another. Some readers are convinced that candidates endorsed by the Post's editorial page are given more favorable news coverage. They believe that the entire newspaper wants these candidates to win. ... the editorial opinion-making and news coverage functions of the newspaper are kept completely separate ... ."56 Downie continued to explain that endorsement decisions were made by the newspaper's editorial board under the direction of the editorial page editor and the publishers and that the editors and reporters who covered the news had nothing to do with endorsement decisions or other opinions on the editorial page and vice versa.57

Some newspapers have shunned presidential endorsements while continuing to endorse local candidates. Columnist Richard Harwood referred to this as papers "depoliticizing themselves." In 1992 he noted that the Baltimore Sun had not endorsed a presidential candidate since 1980.58 In a 1998 telephone conversation reporter Joe Nayrozki said the Sun continues to endorse local candidates from the U.S. Senate to City Council.
In referring to presidential candidate endorsements, the Sun's editorial page editor, Joseph L. R. Sterne, explained in 1992 that "No one needs our guidance. People can ... make up their own minds." But the Sun's former editorial reader representative, Ernest Imhoff, took exception: "Voters can't duck votes and editorial writers shouldn't duck such decisions." 59

New York Times editorial page editor Jack Rosenthal agreed with Imhoff:

"Newspapers tell readers every day what they ought to think about every issue under the sun. If they are going to assume the responsibility - and the arrogance and ambition - to want to call all the balls and strikes inning by inning (during a president's term) ... don't they have the responsibility to add it all up at election time and give the final score?" 60

"'I don't like the look of it at all,' said the King; 'however, it may kiss my hand, if it likes.'" 61

Arrogance and ambition. The ambitious, big-business newspaper knows its power and influence. It asserts that its power is not used for selfish purposes, but no corporation would fail to use power and influence if it felt its future power, influence and profits threatened. 62 The central thesis of J. Herbert Altschull's book "Agents of Power, the Media and Public Policy" is that the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interest of those who pay the bills and they will not allow their media to publish material that frustrates their vital interests. 63

The third-largest industry in the country, resistant even to recessions, the American newspaper industry is exceedingly profitable with earnings of its shares on
the stock market outperforming other blue-chip corporations. In 1996 publicly traded newspaper companies reported hefty earning gains. The Washington Post Co. improved its net income 16 percent to $220.8 million. Revenues increased 8 percent and operating income increased 24% to $337.2 million. The Knight-Ridder company recorded record newspaper division profits for 1996 growing 64.7 percent over 1995 after a 2-for-1 stock split. Gaining five newspapers from 1996 to 1997, Knight-Ridder boasted the nation’s second largest newspaper circulation, reaching 9.5 million readers daily and 13.6 million readers on Sunday with the Philadelphia Inquirer, Miami Herald and 32 other dailies.

Capitalism with its elitist implications, as compared to the nation's tradition of liberalism with its equalitarian emphasis, breeds arrogance. Elitists believe that the general interest is realized when governmental policy is in accord with their judgment. As elitists in our society, most newspaper managers and publishers are not prepared to defend the rights of those whose judgments may differ from theirs. Most managers and publishers are not prepared to risk jeopardizing their own personal status, prestige or power. Harmony between the vested interests of a newspaper and the well-being of democracy saps democracy of its past boldness and imagination.

As the chief guardian of the system, the press' duty (to continue the sports metaphor) is to present the players and keep score of the game, but play umpire. Accountable only to itself, however, the unregulated conglomerate, monopoly press espouses causes, makes policy judgments and reaches an enormous group of readers capable of changing the political course of history.
Endnotes

Chapter 4


16. Molly Ivins, "My friends, the time is not yet," *The Nation*, vol. 258, no. 5, 7 February 1994, 160 [magazine on-line]; available from


21. Ibid., p. 25.

22. Ibid., p. 23.


26. Ibid., p. 119.


29. Fedler, "To Endorse or Not to Endorse," p. 25.


31. Fred Fedler, "To Endorse or Not to Endorse," p. 21.


Conclusion

Consider Your Verdict

Democracy and the balance of information

"'Everything's got a moral, if only you can find it.'”

For more than 200 years the early partisan American newspaper fanned passions and hatred and vehemently championed free speech, while sharply restraining the speech of those whose views and ideas it opposed. By 1930 newspapers had drafted fundamental standards of conduct and objectivity and had become a primary source of news and information, a community bulletin board and an indispensable advertising medium. The ideology of those responsible for public information had changed from that of the raucous libertarian printers and liberal editors to the conservatism of big businessmen.

As the press evolved from a partisan propaganda machine to private one-man ownership to a status as a large-scale, chain, business institution, it assumed an institution’s characteristics, becoming by and large a conservative defender of the status quo, while professing independence and progressivism. Business and chain ownership has, as a result of its enormous public influence, succeeded in eliminating the variety of newspapers that operated with widely varying editorial viewpoints.

A small number of individuals, accountable only to themselves with no mechanism to police or enforce their accountability, wield great power for the benefit
of narrow interests and balance sheets, while the broad public good is whisked along as a captive passenger. With an impregnable base of resources to beat down virtually any challenge, the concentrated mega-media controlling the press are an elite group socializing society, directing democracy and affecting history with its vast influence over our thoughts and culture. Without a variety of views and conflicting opinions, readers may get only a single set of facts and a single body of opinion, all emanating from one owner.

This paper does not intend to question the special privileges of the press, its free speech rights or right to make a profit. It does not intend to disparage journalists and editors whose responsibility is to collect and disseminate information as well as analyze and explain the meanings of things in a swiftly changing world. In serving the public's right to know the press must remain free of outside interference, but it must also recognize the moral imperatives of what it should be.

The standards of journalism have gradually risen. Newspapers have made great strides since the early days when they were poorly printed, badly edited, vitriolic party organs publishing little factual information. Newspapers today possess a more democratic ideal of an informed citizenry than at any time in the past, but the press should be reaching for increasingly higher standards.

A survey, conducted by the Roper Center in conjunction with the Newseum published in 1997, indicated that people have a need for and attachment to the press and information. Eighty percent of the survey respondents said they believed the press (press in this survey meant newspapers, magazines, TV and radio) was crucial to the functioning of a free society. Seventy-one percent of respondents said the news was
useful in helping them make practical decisions about voting, investing, health and education.

At the same time, however, 64 percent of the public believed reporters spend too much time offering their own opinions. Sixty-three percent believed the news is too manipulated by special interests and 52 percent thought the news is too biased.9

Journalists embracing the current new "civic journalism" trend may take exception to the public's perceived intrusion of bias and subjectivity in the news. Hardly new, civic journalism encourages newspapers to cover important local news, not just meetings and murders. That's a newspaper's primary function. Some proponents of civic journalism, however, believe that newspaper pages should abandon detachment and not only endorse, but advocate causes. As long as an issue has more than one side, newspapers lose credibility and fail to accomplish their fundamental goal of maintaining the public trust when they take sides. The manipulation of the public in the name of a higher good runs counter to good journalism practices and undermines democracy. A newspaper fulfills its responsibility and serves its community by covering important issues in the news pages and providing intelligent comment on the editorial pages, not by advocating or endorsing.

As the need for and amount of information accelerates in our society, the importance of unbiased information in our democracy becomes, perhaps, more important than it was two centuries ago.

If journalism is the servant and guardian of the people and American democracy, and if non-partisan coverage of events, ideas, issues and people is the
focus of today’s press, political candidate endorsements do not serve the public interest, but remain the last vestige of the early partisan papers. In acting as the voter’s agent, newspapers have particular ethical responsibilities adverse to self-interest agendas. The exchange of ideas, issues and events may stimulate wide-open discussion and debate, but the endorsement of political candidates or parties only exacerbates the debate concerning press impartiality. The erosion of public trust breaches the press’ ability to do its duty and fulfill its mission as provided by the Constitution.

The First Amendment of the Constitution’s Bill of Rights protects two kinds of interest in free speech: the individual interest of the many to express their opinions for discussion, debate and the free exchange on matters of public affairs and a social interest to attain truth by presenting facts in a meaningful context with clarity and explanation. Thus presented, an enlightened public can determine the truth for itself, adopt the wisest course of action and carry out that action in the wisest way. The First Amendment also reinforces the concept that the public has the capacity to make valid democratic decisions.

Former Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black said the press’ legal foundation, privilege and freedom established by the First Amendment and subsequent Court decisions rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public. Our ancestors believed that in the pursuit of truth, if information was presented in an open marketplace with fair competition, truth would emerge from the clash of ideas.

Newspaper candidate endorsements chill the clash of ideas. Overwhelming
evidence indicates that candidate endorsements influence thousands of voters and sway thousands of votes. Indisputably newspaper endorsements determine the results of some elections. Not only do endorsements determine elections, but in the public purview they create a conflict of interest and jeopardize the fairness and accuracy of candidate reporting. In addition, endorsements expose a newspaper's underestimation of and distrust in the ability of the majority of ordinary men and women to make an informed voting decision.14

The emergence of journalism characterized by advocacy as opposed to objectivity, the lack of restraint on the ambitions and misuse of media power and the growth of the media and its increasing influence and concentration in the hands of fewer and fewer owners are also issues underlying the endorsement debate.

As watch dogs of government and democracy, newspapers are obligated to participate in remedying abuses of power so that the forces of good may prevail - the Davids against the Goliaths - but newspapers themselves have become the Goliaths.15 The enticing myth of the heroic press righting the overwhelming power of the mighty and corrupt in the interests of the common good is a charming fairy tale. The press is not independent. It operates as an instrument of power in what it prints and in what it suppresses.16

In a democratic, capitalistic, marketplace society the desire for profit drives human behavior.17 In democratic theory the end of government is a society created for the freedom and welfare of the individual as opposed to the collectivist theory based on the limitation of individual rights for the welfare of society. Both the individual and society are good and balancing the scales of these theories determines
the political philosophy of individuals and institutions. If the press’ obligation is to safeguard society then "Every man for himself is not a journalistic value."18

In practice, freedom, the essence of democratic theory, is a limited commodity since power and, thus, freedom are not equally shared. Not everyone has equal access to the newspaper marketplace. Those with greater power have the freedom and means to influence and manipulate others. Power is perhaps the fatal flaw in the abstract idea of democracy.19

Apparently believing that power knows best, however, a 1980 Editor and Publisher editorial took a noble stance towards editorial endorsements saying that "Newspapers are in a better position to know the strengths and weaknesses of all the candidates for all public offices than most voters could possibly be, and it is a distinct service to the public to share that knowledge with the electorate and to help them make a choice."

In satisfying such an elitist and noble purpose, the owners and managers of newspapers fail to acknowledge that right or wrong, good or bad endorsements and the information that endorsements give the public are usually merged to an ever narrowing viewpoint.20 In using the medium it controls to endorse political candidates, the press defaults on its real purpose and upsets the informational balance of power essential to a free society in determining its own destiny.21
Endnotes

Conclusion


16. Ibid., p. 60.
17. Ibid., p. 54.
18. Ibid., p. 58.
19. Ibid., p. 55.
21. Ibid., p. 78.
Appendix A

1997 Missoula Municipal Elections Endorsement Study Survey
This is an anonymous survey for a UofM journalism graduate student studying the role of newspapers in political campaigns. Your help in answering these questions is most appreciated. THANKS!

1. How old are you?
   □ 18-29
   □ 30-39
   □ 40-49
   □ 50-59
   □ 60+

2. Your sex:
   □ Male
   □ Female

3. Your current occupation:
   □ Professional/Manager
   □ Other White Collar
   □ Blue Collar Worker
   □ Looking for Work
   □ Full-Time Student
   □ Agriculture
   □ Homemaker
   □ Retired

4. Are you:
   □ White
   □ Native American
   □ Other

5. Do you usually think of yourself as a:
   □ Democrat
   □ Republican
   □ Independent
   □ Other

6. What was the last grade in school you completed?
   □ Did not graduate from high school
   □ High school graduate
   □ Some college, but not 4 years
   □ College graduate
   □ Post graduate study

7. Your religious preference:
   □ Catholic
   □ Fundamentalist or Evangelical Christian
   □ Mainline Protestant
   □ Mormon
   □ Other
   □ None

8. 1996 total family income:
   □ Under $12,500
   □ $12,500-$24,999
   □ $25,000-$34,999
   □ $35-$50,000
   □ Over $50,000

9. From which medium do you get most of your news and information about election candidates?
   □ Newspapers
   □ Radio
   □ Television
   □ News magazines

10. Was the news and information you received about the candidates to make your voting decision
    □ Very good
    □ Good
    □ Fair
    □ Poor
    □ Very Poor

11. Which newspaper do you read most frequently?
    □ Independent
    □ Missoulian
    □ Other
    □ None

12. How often do you read that newspaper?
    □ Daily
    □ Several times a week
    □ Weekly or less

13. What influenced the way in which you voted today? (check all that apply)
    □ Candidate characteristics
    □ Newspaper candidate endorsement
    □ Past voting habits
    □ Candidate's record in office
    □ Newspaper reporting of candidate issues
    □ Party affiliation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. To what extent did a newspaper influence your opinion of the candidates?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. To what extent did a newspaper influence your vote?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. To what extent does the newspaper you read separate news from editorial?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. To what extent do you read newspaper editorial candidate endorsements?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. To what extent did you know who you were going to vote for before reading any editorial candidate endorsements?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Did you decide to vote for one candidate and then vote for someone else?</td>
<td>□ Yes □ No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. For whom did you vote in the race for Mayor?</td>
<td>□ Incumbent Mike Kadas □ Challenger Edward A. &quot;Ed&quot; Childers □ Someone else □ Didn't vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. To what extent did a newspaper endorsement influence your voting decision for Mayor?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. For whom did you vote in the race for Ward 1 Alderman?</td>
<td>□ Challenger Dave Harmon □ Challenger Carolyn Overman □ Someone Else □ Didn't vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. To what extent did a newspaper endorsement influence your voting decision for Alderman?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. To what extent do you feel a newspaper's editorial endorsement influences its fair reporting of news about candidates?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. To what extent do you feel a newspaper's editorial endorsement influences its accurate reporting of news about candidates?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. To what extent do you feel a newspaper has a conflict of interest between editorial candidate endorsements and its reporting of news?</td>
<td>□ Very great □ Great □ Moderate □ Little □ Very little □ None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 22 read as follows for each individual ward.

Ward 2

22. For whom did you vote in the race for Ward 2 Alderman?
 □ Incumbent Linda Tracy
 □ Challenger Jamie Carpenter
 □ Someone Else
 □ Didn't vote

Ward 3

22. For whom did you vote in the race for Ward 3 Alderman?
 □ Incumbent Lou Ann Crowley
 □ Challenger Bob Luceno
 □ Someone Else
 □ Didn't vote

Ward 4

22. For whom did you vote in the race for Ward 4 Alderman?
 □ Challenger Myrt Charney
 □ Challenger Paula Hofmann
 □ Someone Else
 □ Didn't vote

Ward 6

22. For whom did you vote in the race for Ward 6 Alderman?
 □ Incumbent Craig Sweet
 □ Challenger Tracey Turek
 □ Someone Else
 □ Didn't vote
Appendix B

1998 Missoula demographic and political power base

State House District profile
## P-Base Summary Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1998 Probability</th>
<th>District Ranking</th>
<th>Business Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>33</td>
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</table>

## Elections History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92 President</td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 Governor</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 President</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 US Congress</td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 US Senator</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Governor</td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Att. General</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>35%</td>
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## Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>14.8 yrs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Median Age</td>
<td>39.7 yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>105,760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
<td>7.3 yrs</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>Median Income</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wht/Blue Collar Index</td>
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## Montana P-Base
### House District 64
#### District Profile

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<tr>
<th>People Per Household</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One 31.3%</td>
<td>Under 6 Years 6.5%</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years 5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two 36.8%</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years 14.9%</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four 26.2%</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years 9.9%</td>
<td>High School Grad 23.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More 5.7%</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years 13.4%</td>
<td>Some College 26.4%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000 17.1%</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years 5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,000 20.6%</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000 12.5%</td>
<td>High School Grad 23.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000 15.9%</td>
<td>Some College 26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000 15.5%</td>
<td>.4 Yr College Grad 39.8%</td>
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<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
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<td>Under 5 Years 60.8%</td>
<td>Under $20,000 0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 Years 15.7%</td>
<td>$20,000 - $49,000 2.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 or More Years 23.7%</td>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000 18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000 28.8%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Industry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Managers, Admin. 14.5%</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining 3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Specialty 25.2%</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing 8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar 35.1%</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities 5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Service Occupations 11.4%</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade 27.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Precision Products 4.6%</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and Professional Services 52.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, Forestry, and Fishing 0.9%</td>
<td>Public Administration 3.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Blue Collar 8.4%</td>
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</table>
Montana P-Base

House District 65

District Profile

P-Base Summary Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1998 Probability</th>
<th>District Ranking</th>
<th>Business Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elections History

- 92 President: 20% Republican, 0% Independent, 80% Democrat
- 94 Governor: 20% Republican, 80% Democrat
- 96 President: 40% Republican, 60% Democrat
- 96 US Congress: 26% Republican, 74% Democrat
- 96 US Senator: 19% Republican, 81% Democrat
- 96 Governor: 61% Republican, 39% Democrat
- 96 At General: 20% Republican, 80% Democrat

Elections Meter

- Strong Republican
- Swing
- Leaning Democratic
- Strong Democrat

Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>15.8yrs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>0.26%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>82.8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Median Home Value</td>
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<td>28.4%</td>
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<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
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<td>Median Income</td>
<td>$31,928</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wh/Blue Collar Index</td>
<td>171:100</td>
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<tr>
<td>People Per Household</td>
<td>Age Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Under 6 Years: 5.9%</td>
<td>35 - 44 Years: 12.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years: 11.3%</td>
<td>45 - 54 Years: 9.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years: 33.9%</td>
<td>55 - 64 Years: 4.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years: 13.6%</td>
<td>Over 65 Years: 9.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years: 1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,000</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years: 3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000</td>
<td>High School Grad: 9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>Some College: 33.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad: 52.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Home Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Years</td>
<td>Under $20,000: 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 Years</td>
<td>$20,000 - $49,000: 3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or More Years</td>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000: 27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000: 33.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Managers, Admin.</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining: 3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Specialty</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing: 7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities: 6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Service Occupations</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade: 18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Precision Products</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and Professional Services: 61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, Forestry, and Fishing</td>
<td>Public Administration: 2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Blue Collar</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Montana P-Base
House District 66
District Profile

P-Base Summary Information:

1998 Probability  21
District Ranking  98
Business Score  2

Elections History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92 President</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 Governor</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 President</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 US Congress</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 US Senator</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 Governor</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Act General</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>65%</td>
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</table>

Elections Meter

Swing

Leaning
Republican

Leaning
Democratic

Strong
Republican

Strong
Democratic

Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>13.5 yrs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>1.74%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>33.9 yrs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>$56,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
<td>6.5 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>$18,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Whi/Blue Collar Index</td>
<td>134:100</td>
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### Montana P-Base
#### House District 66

**District Profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People Per Household</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Under 6 Years</td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years</td>
<td>$100,000 - $149,000</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years</td>
<td>$150,000 - $249,000</td>
<td>High School Grad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years</td>
<td>$250,000 - $499,000</td>
<td>Some College</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People Per Household</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>35 - 44 Years</td>
<td>$250,000 - $499,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>45 - 54 Years</td>
<td>Over $500,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Age Categories

- **One 46.8%**
  - Under 6 Years: 8.3%
  - 6 - 17 Years: 35.8%
  - 18 - 24 Years: 16.8%
  - 25 - 34 Years: 20.1%
  - 35 - 44 Years: 16.8%
  - 45 - 54 Years: 10.4%
  - Under 5 Years: 69.5%
  - 5 - 10 Years: 9.9%
  - 11 or More Years: 20.6%

### Income Categories

- Under $15,000: 43.2%
- $15,000 - $24,000: 23.7%
- $25,000 - $49,000: 14.9%
- $50,000 - $74,000: 5.0%
- Over $75,000: 14.7%
- Under $20,000: 2.9%
- $20,000 - $49,000: 38.2%
- $50,000 - $74,000: 38.7%
- Over $75,000: 14.7%
- Under $100,000: 4.9%
- $100,000 - $149,000: 4.9%
- $250,000 - $499,000: 0.1%
- Over $500,000: 0.0%

### Education

- 0 - 8 Years: 7.1%
- 9 - 11 Years: 14.5%
- High School Grad: 28.2%
- Some College: 26.5%
- 4 Yr College Grad: 23.6%

### Length of Residence

- Under 5 Years: 69.5%
- 6 - 10 Years: 9.9%
- 11 or More Years: 20.6%

### Home Value

- Under $20,000: 2.9%
- $20,000 - $49,000: 38.2%
- $50,000 - $74,000: 38.7%
- $75,000 - $99,000: 14.7%
- Over $500,000: 0.0%

### Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Managers, Admin.</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Specialty</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Service Occupations</td>
<td>and Public Utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Precision Products</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, Forestry, and Fishing</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Blue Collar</td>
<td>Public Administration</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Copyright 1998, Montana Research Institute*
Montana P-Base
House District 67
District Profile

P-Base Summary Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1998 Probability District Ranking Business Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elections History

- 92 President
  - Republican 20%
  - Independent 5%
  - Democrat 75%
- 94 Governor
  - Republican 30%
  - Independent 10%
  - Democrat 60%
- 96 President
  - Republican 24%
  - Independent 7%
  - Democrat 73%
- 96 US Congress
  - Republican 41%
  - Independent 10%
  - Democrat 49%
- 96 US Senator
  - Republican 28%
  - Independent 10%
  - Democrat 62%
- 96 Governor
  - Republican 4%
  - Independent 1%
  - Democrat 95%
- 96 Attorney General
  - Republican 37%
  - Independent 7%
  - Democrat 56%

Elections Meter

- Swing
- Leaning Republican
- Leaning Democratic
- Strong Republican
- Strong Democratic

Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>13.9yrs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>0.97%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>33.4yrs</td>
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<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>$69,682</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
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<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
<td>7.9yrs</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
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<td>Median Income</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
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<td>Wht/Blue Collar Index</td>
<td>143.100</td>
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</table>
## House District 67

### District Profile

#### People Per Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One</th>
<th>36.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Age Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under 6 Years</th>
<th>8.5%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 - 17 Years</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24 Years</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34 Years</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65 Years</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Income Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under $15,000</th>
<th>32.0%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,000</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 - 8 Years</th>
<th>5.2%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11 Years</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Yr College Grad</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under 5 Years</th>
<th>62.7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 Years</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or More Years</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Home Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under $20,000</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $500,000</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Occupation

| Executives, Managers, Admin. | 8.9% |
| Professional and Specialty   | 15.8%|
| Other White Collar            | 30.9%|
| All Service Occupations       | 20.2%|
| Crafts and Precision Products | 8.7% |
| Farming, Forestry, and Fishing| 2.0% |
| Other Blue Collar             | 13.5%|

#### Industry

| Agriculture, Forestry, Mining | 3.2% |
| Construction, Manufacturing   | 16.1%|
| Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities | 6.1% |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade    | 23.8%|
| Business, Personal, and Professional Services | 47.3%|
| Public Administration         | 3.4% |

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## Montana P-Base

### House District 68

#### District Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P-Base Summary Information</th>
<th>1998 Probability</th>
<th>District Ranking</th>
<th>Business Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Elections History

- **92 President**: 31% Republican, 48% Democrat, 21% Independent
- **94 Governor**: 40% Republican, 50% Democrat, 10% Independent
- **96 President**: 33% Republican, 40% Democrat, 27% Independent
- **96 US Congress**: 34% Republican, 66% Democrat
- **96 US Senator**: 77% Republican, 23% Independent
- **98 Governor**: 33% Republican, 67% Democrat
- **96 Att General**: 33% Republican, 67% Democrat

#### Elections Meter

- **Swing**: Republican
- **Leaning**: Republican
- **Strong**: Republican
- **Strong**: Democratic

#### Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>13.1 yrs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>35.5 yrs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
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### Montana P-Base

**House District 68**  
**District Profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People Per Household</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One 31.3%</td>
<td>Under 6 Years 8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two 35.2%</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years 15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four 27.3%</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years 10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More 6.3%</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years 16.4%</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years 9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,000</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years 15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000</td>
<td>High School Grad 29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>Some College 27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad 19.2%</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Home Value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Years 56.5%</td>
<td>Under $20,000 1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 Years 12.7%</td>
<td>$20,000 - $40,000 12.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 or More Years 30.8%</td>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000 37.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000 26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over $500,000 0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Managers, Admin. 8.9%</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining 3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Specialty 9.8%</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing 16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar 30.7%</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities 5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Service Occupations 19.5%</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade 33.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Precision Products 10.0%</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and Professional Services 37.3%</td>
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<td>Farming, Forestry, and Fishing 2.3%</td>
<td>Public Administration 3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Blue Collar 17.8%</td>
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Montana P-Base
House District 69
District Profile

P-Base Summary Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>District Ranking</th>
<th>Business Score</th>
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<td>36</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27</td>
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Elections History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92 President</td>
<td>Republican 45%</td>
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<tr>
<td>94 Governor</td>
<td>Republican 55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 President</td>
<td>Democratic 43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 US Congress</td>
<td>Republican 58%</td>
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<tr>
<td>96 US Senator</td>
<td>Democratic 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Governor</td>
<td>Democratic 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Att General</td>
<td>Democratic 49%</td>
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</table>

Elections Meter

Swing

Leaning Republican

Leaning Democratic

Strong Republican

Strong Democratic

Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>2.14%</td>
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<td>Native American</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>37.1 yrs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>111,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
<td>9.4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>$46,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wh/Bt/Blue Collar Index</td>
<td>146,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People Per Household</td>
<td>Age Categories</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One 22.1%</td>
<td>Under 6 Years 8.0%</td>
<td>35 - 44 Years 18.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two 34.4%</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years 17.9%</td>
<td>45 - 54 Years 15.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four 34.2%</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years 7.9%</td>
<td>55 - 64 Years 8.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More 9.3%</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years 13.0%</td>
<td>Over 65 Years 10.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000</td>
<td>0 - 8 Years 4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,000</td>
<td>9 - 11 Years 8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000</td>
<td>High School Grad 22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>Some College 30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad 34.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Home Value</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Years 50.3%</td>
<td>Under $20,000 0.6%</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining 3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 Years 13.9%</td>
<td>$20,000 - $49,000 7.4%</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing 20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or More Years 35.8%</td>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000 14.0%</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities 6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000 20.2%</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade 22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over $500,000 0.3%</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and Professional Services 44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Administration 3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Montana P-Base
### House District 70

#### District Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P-Base Summary Information</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1998 Probability</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>District Ranking</strong></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business Score</strong></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Elections History

- **1992 President**: Republican 33%, Independent 27%, Democrat 40%
- **1994 Governor**: Independent 20%, Democrat 49%, Republican 31%
- **1996 President**: Republican 32%, Independent 17%, Democrat 50%
- **1996 US Congress**: Independent 20%, Democrat 45%, Republican 34%
- **1998 Governor**: Independent 24%, Democrat 46%, Republican 30%
- **1998 At General**: Independent 20%, Democrat 45%, Republican 35%

#### Summary of Influential Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Octile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years</td>
<td>13.1 yrs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>2.09%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 18+</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age 65+</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>33.8 yrs</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married W/ Children</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Income H.H.</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single White Women</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Renters</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Home Owners</td>
<td>80.6%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>$35,056</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg Len of Residence</td>
<td>8.5 yrs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>$38,508</td>
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<tr>
<td>White/Blue Collar Index</td>
<td>127.100</td>
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</table>

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### Montana P-Base

#### District Profile

**House District 70**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People Per Household</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Under 6 Years 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>6 - 17 Years 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four</td>
<td>18 - 24 Years 8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More</td>
<td>25 - 34 Years 14.3%</td>
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<table>
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<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>0 - 6 Years 3.8%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9 - 11 Years 13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $34,000</td>
<td>High School Grad 36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 - $49,000</td>
<td>Some College 26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000</td>
<td>4 Yr College Grad 19.3%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Home Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Years</td>
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<td>$20,000 - $49,000 4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or More Years</td>
<td>$50,000 - $74,000 21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$75,000 - $99,000 28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over $500,000 0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Managers, Admin.</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Mining 5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Specialty</td>
<td>Construction, Manufacturing 20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar</td>
<td>Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities 7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Service Occupations</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade 24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Precision Products</td>
<td>Business, Personal, and Professional Services 37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, Forestry, and Fishing</td>
<td>Public Administration 4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Blue Collar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Fedler, Fred. To Endorse or Not to Endorse. *Masthead* (Summer 1984).


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_____ Interview by author. Missoula, Mont., Notes. 30 April 1998.