Adults in 309 households in the Orlando, Florida, area were surveyed by telephone in a study that investigated the public's perceptions about journalists and the media. The subjects were asked 20 questions that elicited their knowledge about ownership of daily newspapers, including the name of the owner of the local daily, as well as their opinions about journalists' ages, educations, salaries, family backgrounds, and political and religious beliefs. Other questions dealt with journalists' performances, other trends in the field, and respondents' attitudes toward the media. Findings indicated that a majority of the respondents realized that most journalists come from middle-class families, have a college degree, and are well educated. Large numbers indicated that they knew that journalists tend to be liberal and mobile, but also thought (erroneously) that journalists' religious beliefs are similar to those of other Americans, and that journalists are about the same age as workers in other professions. The public also thought that journalists earn higher salaries than they do. Respondents knew that most newspapers are owned by large corporations, but only 18.8% knew the name of the owner of the local daily, and only 37.6% realized that newspapers enjoy more freedom from government regulations than other media. Respondents thought that journalists are becoming more professional, but are not particularly honest while writing about political campaigns. Only 53% interviewed indicated that they would want their children to become journalists. (Tables of data, 17 footnotes, and the survey instrument are appended.) (NKA)
Public Often Mistaken

About the Media and U.S. Journalists

By Fred Fedler and Bob Davis*

*Fedler is a professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Central Florida, Orlando. Davis recently received his M.A. from the department and will pursue his Ph.D. at Stanford.

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About the Media and U.S. Journalists

By Fred Fedler and Bob Davis*

During the past 20 years, more and more researchers have studied the nation's journalists. As a result, we have learned much more about journalists' characteristics: their age, sex, race, education, income, and opinions, for example.

Fewer researchers have studied the public's perceptions of journalists. As a result, we do not know whether any of the new information has been communicated to the public.

Because most Americans have no first-hand contact with journalists, their stereotypes may be shaped by the journalists' portrayals on television and in movies. Clearly, those portrayals are often negative. Columnist Pete

*Fedler is a professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Central Florida, Orlando. Davis recently received his M.A. from the department and will pursue his Ph.D. at Stanford.
Hamill of the New York Daily News recently complained that: "Almost without exception, reporters are presented to the American people as rude, brainless, unethical, bullying fools. Male or female, they snarl at their subjects, invade privacy, or break the law, while hiding behind the First Amendment."¹

Pushy journalists seem willing to do anything to get a story. Television programs show them preying upon the misfortune of others and twisting some details to improve their stories. A 1981 film, Absence of Malice, showed a reporter who became sexually involved with a source. A 1983 film, Under Fire, showed a photographer who began to sympathize with the rebels in Nicaragua and who posed a corpse -- a rebel leader -- so it appeared that he was still alive. Similarly, The Killing Fields portrayed Sydney Schanberg as "an ambitious, aggressive reporter who bullies and bribes his way through Cambodia." Schanberg was also shown abandoning his assistant in Cambodia.²

Similar events occur in real life, and some Americans seem to believe that they are typical of the way journalists work. Many still remember Janet Cooke, The Washington Post reporter who won a Pulitzer Prize for a story she fabricated about a young heroin addict.

What factual data have researchers gathered about the typical American journalist?

In 1976, Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman found that U.S. media employed about 69,500 news people. More than half worked for daily newspapers; only 20.2% were in radio and television.³ Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman noted that news people entered the field relatively late but were younger than the average American worker, apparently because they left the field relatively early. Fifty-six percent were in their 20s or 30s.
Johnstone, Slewaki, and Bowman also found that journalists were concentrated in the Northeast, and were primarily white males with middle- or upper-middle-class backgrounds. Eighty-six percent had attended college, 58.2% had graduated, and 18.6% had completed some graduate work. Eight percent held a graduate degree. News people changed jobs more often than the average American worker, and mobility was higher in broadcasting than at newspapers. Also, men outnumbered women by a ratio of 4 to 1.

In 1983, Gray and Wilhoit found more women, but not more minorities, working as journalists. Fifty-six percent of the journalists they interviewed were married, 55% held a college degree, and 47% were employed by newspapers. Their average age was 32.4. Weaver, Drew, and Wilhoit reported that people in broadcasting were even younger than their print counterparts. Their average age was 31.

In 1985, the median salary that daily newspapers paid new college graduates was $13,520. In 1986, beginning salaries ranged from $10,316 at newspapers with circulations below 5,000 to $22,984 at newspapers with circulations above 250,000. Beginning reporters at papers with circulations under 50,000 earned less than beginning school teachers in similar markets.

Weaver and Wilhoit found that journalists earned a median salary of $19,000. They concluded that journalists' salaries had been seriously eroded by inflation and compared unfavorably with the salaries of other professionals.

Two other findings are more controversial. However, researchers asked different groups of journalists slightly different questions.

Some critics have charged that journalists are irreligious, yet Gray and
Wilhoit reported that 93% were “brought up in a church.” In 1985, the Los Angeles Times interviewed more than 3,000 reporters and editors employed by more than 600 newspapers of all sizes in all parts of the country. When asked about their current beliefs and practices, the journalists revealed that they were only half as likely as their readers to be strongly religious. They were twice as likely to practice no religion at all.

Other critics -- especially conservatives -- have charged that journalists have a liberal bias and sometimes inject that bias into the news.

In 1981, Lichter and Rothman found that 54% of the nation's elite journalists placed themselves to the left of center politically. Only 19% placed themselves to the right of center. Similarly, the Los Angeles Times found that 55% of the journalists employed by newspapers said they were liberal, 26% said they were middle-of-the-road, and 17% said they were conservative. By comparison, only 24% of the journalists' readers described themselves as liberal, 33% said they were middle-of-the-road, and 29% said they were conservative. The Times' respondents also expressed liberal views when asked about specific issues. Not even other college-educated professionals considered themselves as liberal as journalists.

Inconsistently, Weaver and Wilhoit reported a dramatic decline in the number of journalists who claim to be left-of-center. However, their questions and categories were somewhat different. About 29% of their respondents called themselves Democrats, compared to 45% of the population; 18.8% called themselves Republicans, compared to 25% of the public; and 39.1% called themselves independents, compared to 30% of the public. Weaver and Wilhoit concluded that journalists were shifting toward the center and away
from the right. They found no visible swing to the left.13

All of the findings about journalists' political beliefs are subject to misinterpretation. Researchers who watched and talked with journalists at work found that the journalists' personal political beliefs were irrelevant, or virtually so, to the way they covered the news. Gans explains that, "The beliefs that actually make it into the news are professional values that are intrinsic to natural journalism and that journalists learn on the job."14 So, regardless of whether journalists are liberal or not, their personal beliefs do not seem to affect their handling of the news.

Thus, there seems to be some consensus on most of the issues. A majority of the nation's journalists are white males with middle-class backgrounds and college degrees. The journalists tend to be younger and more mobile than other Americans. However, their salaries are not high. Many -- but not all -- of the previous studies also suggest that journalists are more liberal and religious than other Americans. However, the journalists' personal opinions do not seem to affect their treatment of the news.

Data about the media themselves are more conclusive. Clearly, the media are being concentrated into fewer hands. Only 1,674 dailies are published in the United States, and 1,186 -- about 71% -- are owned by chains.15 Similarly, it seems obvious that radio and television stations are subject to more government regulations than are newspapers. Also, many journalists are trying to raise the media's ethical standards. A few newspapers have hired ombudsmen, many have adopted codes of ethics, and others are doing a better job of correcting their errors.16
Methodology

The authors drew a random sample of 833 telephone numbers from a directory for the Orlando, Fla., metropolitan area. Interviewers called the numbers during a four-week period in the fall of 1986. When necessary, they made two follow-up calls.

Orlando seemed to be an ideal site for the study. It has become one of the nation's leading test markets because, demographically, it is extremely representative of the nation. In age, people living in Orlando deviate less than 1% from the U.S. average. In income, they deviate only 3%.

Interviewers asked each respondent a total of 20 questions about the nation's journalists and media. For example, the respondents were asked whether most daily newspapers are owned by individuals or corporations, and to name the owner of the local daily, The Orlando Sentinel.

The respondents were also asked about journalists' ages, educations, salaries, family backgrounds, and political and religious beliefs.

Other questions asked about journalists' performance and about other trends in the field. For example, the respondents were asked whether journalists are becoming more honest and professional, and whether journalists are doing a better job of correcting their errors.

Still other questions probed the respondents' attitudes toward the media. The respondents were asked whether journalists should be licensed, whether journalists seem to know enough about the topics they write about, whether journalists seem to make up some of the stories they write, and whether the portrayals of journalists on television and in movies seem accurate.
Finally, each respondent was asked, "Would you want your children to become journalists?"

Six additional questions asked for demographic information: the respondents' sex, age, education, and typical media usage. (A copy of the questionnaire is attached to this paper.)

Results

The interviewers reached 574 of the 833 households. There was no answer or the line was busy at 136 households. The line was disconnected at 107, and a machine answered at 16. The response rate at the 574 households actually reached by the interviewers was 54% (309). Of the non-respondents, 191 hung up or said they were not interested, 60 said they did not have time, 8 could not speak English or could not understand the questions, and 6 said they were ill.

Fifty-seven percent of the respondents were female. Thirty percent were in their 20s or younger, 22.9% in their 30s, 14.8% in their 40s, 13.8% in their 50s, and 17.5% in their 60s or older. The respondents had completed an average of 13.7 years of school.

Fifty-one percent said they watched a television newscast 7 days a week. The mean was 5.2. Fifty-eight percent said they read a newspaper 7 days a week, and the mean was 5.1. Slightly more than 21% said they read more than one newspaper each day. When asked to name their second paper, the respondents were most likely to mention the Wall Street Journal, followed by The New York Times, USA TODAY, and a variety of other local dailies and weeklies.
Almost all the respondents believed that journalists are well educated. Ninety-one percent knew that most of the people going into journalism have a college degree. Only 4% thought they do not, and 5% did not know or did not answer the question. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents also agreed that journalists are better educated than the average American. Thirty-six percent said that journalists have about the same education as other Americans, 2.3% said journalists' educational levels are lower, and 3% did not know.

Almost 70% of the respondents also realized that journalists come from middle-class families. Only 10.5% guessed upper-class, and 9.5% guessed working class. Eleven percent did not know.

Although close, a majority of the respondents did not know that journalists tend to be more liberal than other Americans. Forty-two percent said that journalists are more liberal, but 41% thought that journalists' political beliefs are about the same as other Americans'. Only 6.5% considered journalists more conservative, and 11% did not know.

Similarly, only 40% knew that journalists are more mobile -- more likely to move from job to job -- than other Americans. Forty-six percent thought that journalists are about the same as other Americans, 7% thought they move less often, and 7% did not know.

The respondents were even more mistaken about journalists' ages and religious beliefs. Only 27.8% suspected that journalists tend to be less religious than other Americans, and only 20.5% knew that they are younger than the workers in other fields. Sixty percent of the respondents thought that journalists' religious beliefs are similar to other Americans', 7% thought
that journalists are more religious, and 11.4% did not know. Similarly, 59% thought that journalists are about the same age as the workers in other fields, 14.7% said they are older, and 5.5% did not know. (Table I summarizes the public's perceptions of the characteristics of American journalists.)

The respondents also seemed to think that journalists are well paid. Only 10% said that journalists are paid less than other Americans. Fifty-two percent thought that journalists are paid about the same amount as other Americans, 23.1% said more, and 15.1% did not know. When asked to guess how much a typical journalist earns each year, the lowest guess was $10,000 and the highest was $200,000, with a mean of $33,699. Seventy-three respondents did not answer the question, most explaining that they "had no idea."

What do people know about the media themselves?

A majority -- 54.7% -- understand that most daily newspapers are owned by large corporations rather than by individuals or families. Thirty-six percent said that newspapers' ownership is about evenly divided between corporations and families, and 5.7% said that most daily newspapers are owned by families or private individuals. Four percent did not know.

However, fewer than 1 out of 5 (18.8%) were able to name the owner of the local daily, The Orlando Sentinel.

Similarly, a minority (37.6%) knew that newspapers enjoy more freedom from government regulations than radio and television. Fifty-one percent of the respondents thought that all the media enjoy the same degree of freedom, 7.4% thought that the broadcast media enjoy more freedom, and 4.4% did not know.
Thus, a majority of the respondents were right on no more than half of the more factual or objective of the 20 questions. Many also seemed to be wrong about the remaining questions -- the questions about trends in journalism.

Most of the respondents agreed that the media are improving. Fifty-one percent said that, during the last 25 years, journalists have become more professional. By comparison, 22.5% said that journalists' level of professionalism has declined, 19.8% said that it has remained unchanged, and 6.4% did not know.

Fifty-three percent said the media are doing a better job of correcting their errors. However, 28.5% said the media's correction of errors has not changed during the past 25 years, 12.1% said the media are doing a worse job, and 6.4% did not know.

Fifty-eight percent of the respondents also agreed that journalists know enough about the topics they write about. But almost 30% said they do not, and 12.4% had no answer. Similarly, a majority -- 51% -- disagreed with the statement that journalists "make up some of the stories they report." But a sizable minority -- 42.6% -- agreed with the statement, and 6.4% did not know.

The respondents were more skeptical of journalists' coverage of political campaigns. Only 35.9% said that, during the last 25 years, journalists have become more honest while writing about politicians and political campaigns. Thirty-four percent said that journalists' honesty is unchanged and 22.1% said that journalists have become more dishonest. Eight percent did not know.

(Table II summarizes the public's perceptions of the performance of American journalists.)
Despite their occasional criticisms of the media, the respondents do not want the government to test and license journalists. Seventy-six percent opposed the idea, 19.1% favored it, and 4.7% did not respond.

Sixty-five percent added that the portrayals of journalists in movies and on television are often mistaken. Twenty-five percent think that journalists' portrayals are accurate, and 10.1% did not know.

When asked if they would want their own children to become journalists, 53% said "yes" or "if that's what they want to do." Twenty-five percent did not answer or know, and 22.1% said "no."

Why? Respondents who would approve of the career for their children usually explained that a journalist's work is creative, interesting, stimulating, varied, honorable, and respected. Some respondents hoped that it would give their children an opportunity to expand their knowledge -- to learn more about life first-hand and to travel around the world.

However, more than a dozen respondents qualified their answer. They would want their children to become journalists -- but only if their children could remain honest.

Respondents who do not want their children to become journalists fear that the job would corrupt their honesty or require dangerous foreign travel. Other respondents complained that the work is too competitive, stressful, insecure, and unstable, with low salaries and little time left for families and other personal relationships. The respondents would not want their children exposed to an apparently hard, dangerous job with low pay, long hours, and little public respect.

The respondents' answers to several of the questions seemed related to
An analysis of variance revealed significant differences in readers' knowledge of who owns *The Orlando Sentinel* $F(4, 273) = 5.94, p < .0001$. Probing by the Tukey method showed that respondents who read three newspapers are more likely than respondents who read one or two newspapers to know who owns the paper ($p < .05$). An analysis of variance also yielded significant differences by age $F(4, 288) = 4.00, p < .005$. Respondents in their 30s and 60s and older were more likely than respondents in their 20s to know who owned *The Orlando Sentinel* ($p < .05$).

An analysis of variance also revealed significant differences in the respondents' desire to have their children become journalists $F(7, 288) = 2.34, p < .05$. Respondents who watch a television newscast seven days a week are less likely than those who watch five days a week to want their children to become journalists ($p < .05$).

An analysis of variance showed significant differences in the respondents' ages and belief that journalists know enough about the topics they write about $F(4, 288) = 3.11, p < .05$. Respondents in their 20s or younger were more likely than the respondents in their 50s to think that journalists know enough about the topics they write about ($p < .05$). However, respondents in their 20s or younger were also more likely than respondents in their 40s and older to think that journalists should be tested and licensed $F(4,288) = 5.27, p < .005, (p < .05)$. Mean responses were linear. A Pearson-product-moment correlation yielded a significant negative relationship ($r = -.24$, $p < .001$).

Finally, an analysis of variance yielded significant differences in the
respondents' ages and belief that the portrayals of journalists in movies and on television are accurate $F(4, 288) = 7.02, p < .0001$. Respondents in their 20s were more likely than the respondents in any other age group to think that the portrayals of journalists in movies and on television are accurate ($p < .05$). Although mean responses were not completely linear, a Pearson-product-moment correlation yielded a significant negative relationship ($r = -.25, p < .001$).

Thus, the public's stereotypes of journalists often seem to be mistaken (and negative). Those stereotypes may contribute to some of the problems that confront the media, including an apparent decline in their credibility.

The public seems to be most suspicious of journalists' honesty. For example: 42.6% of the respondents thought that journalists make up some of the stories they report. Other respondents said that journalists have failed to become more honest in their coverage of politicians and political campaigns. Similarly, some parents do not want their children to become journalists because they fear that their children would become dishonest. Much of the misunderstanding seems to arise because Americans think that journalists' personal opinions affect their coverage of the news -- that journalists slant the news, especially political news.

Other professions are also portrayed and perceived unfavorably: lawyers, soldiers, and union leaders, for example. But journalists are in a better position to correct the problem -- to describe themselves, their employees, and the efforts they are making to improve. It seems ironic that the media, which describe so many other institutions, seem to be doing such a
poor job of describing themselves.

Summary

Previous studies have described the characteristics of American news people. They show that a majority of the nation's journalists are white males with middle-class backgrounds and college degrees. The journalists tend to be younger and more mobile than other Americans. However, their salaries are not high. Journalists also seem to be more liberal and irreligious, yet their personal opinions rarely affect their treatment of the news.

When asked about the journalists' characteristics, a majority of this study's 309 respondents realized that most have a college degree and are better educated than the average American. A majority also knew that journalists come from middle-class families. Large numbers -- but not a majority -- knew that journalists tend to be liberal and mobile. However, 60% thought that journalists' religious beliefs are similar to other Americans', and 59% thought that journalists are about the same age as the workers in other professions. The public also thought that journalists earn an average of $33,699 annually.

Similarly, the respondents knew that most daily newspapers are owned by large corporations rather than by individuals. But only 18.8% were able to name the owner of the local daily, and only 37.6% knew that newspapers enjoy more freedom from government regulations than do radio and television.

The respondents thought that journalists are becoming more professional, and that the media are doing a better job of correcting their errors. But only 35.9% agreed that, during the last 25 years, journalists have become more
honest while writing about politicians and political campaigns.

Because of their negative perceptions of the media and U.S. journalists, only 53% of the respondents would want their children to become journalists.
Footnotes

1Pete Hamill, "Hamill wants tv to portray reporters more accurately," letter to Editor & Publisher, Nov. 24, 1984, p. 9.


7"ASNE's salary survey is released," Editor & Publisher, April 26, 1986, p. 36.


12Shaw, "Public and Press -- Two Viewpoints."

13Weaver and Wilhoit, A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work, p. 29.

15American Newspaper Publishers Association, '86 Facts About Newspapers, p. 21


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<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Category</th>
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<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>More liberal</td>
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<td>Upper-class</td>
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<td>4. Mobility</td>
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<td>Move less</td>
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<td>5. Religious beliefs</td>
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<td>Less religious</td>
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<td>6. Educational achievements</td>
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<td>Change in professionalism</td>
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<td>Less professional</td>
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<td>Change in correction of errors</td>
<td>Better job</td>
<td>158</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Worse job</td>
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<td>Honesty in political coverage</td>
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<td>Knowledge of topics</td>
<td>Know enough about them</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Do not know enough</td>
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<td>Fictionalizing</td>
<td>Make up stories</td>
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<td>Do not make up stories</td>
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<td>Media portrayals are accurate</td>
<td>Are accurate</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25.2</td>
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<td>Are inaccurate</td>
<td>193</td>
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Phone number: ____________________________

Completed 1st call: ______ Second call: ______ Third call: ______ None: ______
Reason call not completed: ____________________________ ____________________________

INTRODUCTION: I'm a graduate student at the University of Central Florida, and we're conducting a poll about journalism. We would like to know your opinion about the media. It'll take just a few minutes.

Section I
1. Politically, do you think that journalists tend to be more conservative than other Americans, more liberal, or about the same?
   - More conservative
   - More liberal
   - Same
   - Don't know/no answer/other

2. Do you think that journalists tend to be younger than the workers in other fields, older, or about the same?
   - Younger
   - Older
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

3. Do you think that most journalists come from working-class families, from middle-class families, or from upper-class families?
   - Working-class
   - Middle-class
   - Upper-class
   - DK/NA/0

4. Do you think that journalists move from job to job -- and from city to city -- more than other Americans, less than other Americans, or about the same?
   - More
   - Less
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

5. Do you think that journalists tend to be more religious than other Americans, less religious, or about the same?
   - More
   - Less
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

6. Do you think that journalists are better educated than other Americans, less well educated, or about the same?
   - More
   - Less
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

7. Do you think that journalists are paid more than other Americans, less than other Americans, or about the same?
   - More
   - Less
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

8. Do you think that most of the daily newspapers published in the United States today are owned by private individuals, by large corporations, or about half and half?
   - Private individuals
   - Large corporations
   - Half/half
   - DK/NA/0

9. Do you think that newspapers enjoy more freedom from government regulations than radio and television stations, less freedom, or about the same?
   - More
   - Less
   - Same
   - DK/NA/0

10. Do you think that journalists have become more professional than they were 25 years ago, less professional, or about the same?
    - More
    - Less
    - Same
    - DK/NA/0

11. Do you think that the news media are doing a better job of correcting their errors than they did 25 years ago, a worse job, or about the same?
    - Better
    - Worse
    - Same
    - DK/NA/0

12. During the last 25 years, do you think that journalists have become more honest when they write about politicians and political campaigns, less honest, or about the same?
    - More
    - Less
    - Same
    - DK/NA/0
13. Do you think that most of the people going into the field of journalism today have graduated from college, or not?  
   Yes  No  DK/NA/0

14. Do you think that the people who want to become journalists should be tested and licensed by the state or federal government, or not?  
   Yes  No  DK/NA/0

15. Do you think that journalists know enough about the topics they write about?  
   Yes  No  DK/NA/0

16. Do you think that the portrayals of journalists in movies, and on television, are accurate, or not?  
   Yes  No  DK/NA/0

17. Do you think that reporters make up some of the stories they report?  
   Yes  No  DK/NA/0

18. Do you happen to know who owns The Orlando Sentinel?  

19. If you had to guess, about how much do you think a typical American journalist is paid each year?  
   (This includes both broadcasters and newspaper people.)

20. Would you want your children to become journalists?  Why?

Section II

1. Sex:  male  female

2. During a typical week, about how many days do you watch a TV newscast?

3. During a typical week, about how many days do you read a newspaper?

4. Do you happen to read more than one newspaper?  1  2  3  4  5 or more

5. What was the last year or grade of education you completed?

6. Finally, could you tell us in which category your age falls?  
   A. 20s or younger  D. 50s  
   B. 30s  E. 60s or older  
   C. 40s  F. No answer/other

Section III

Unsolicited responses to any of the questions (If you need more space, use the back of this page):  

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