

Table 2.1 INCIDENTS OF OUTRAGE RHETORIC AND BEHAVIOR
PER CASE (ROUNDED)

Rates unadjusted for differences in length of shows, columns, and blog posts

	TV	Radio	Columns	Blogs
Mean	23	24	6	6
Median	25	23	5	4
Std. Deviation	10.265	13.739	5.871	6.027

n = 80 n = 100 n = 94 n = 198

Table 2.2 MOST OUTRAGEOUS TV AND RADIO PROGRAMS, BLOGS,
AND NEWSPAPER COLUMNS

Based on average weighted overall outrage score

Format	Name	Perspective
TV	1. The Glenn Beck Show	Conservative
	2. Countdown with Keith Olbermann	Liberal
	3. Hannity	Conservative
Radio	1. Mark Levin	Conservative
	2. Michael Savage	Conservative
	3. Rush Limbaugh	Conservative
Blog	1. Moonbattery	Conservative
	2. Orcinus	Liberal
	3. Wonkette	Liberal
Column	1. Cal Thomas	Conservative
	2. Charles Krauthammer	Conservative
	3. Leonard Pitts	Liberal

(40) *The Outrage Industry*

Table 2.3 OUTRAGE INCIDENTS PER CASE: OVERALL, LEFT, RIGHT
(Excluding comparison cases)

Modes of Outrage	Overall (i)	Left (ii)	Right (iii)	Difference (iv)	T (v)
Insulting Language	1.53	1.18	1.81	-0.621***	-2.99
Name Calling	1.54	1.11	1.89	-0.781***	-3.36
Emotional Display	0.99	0.64	1.26	-0.621***	-3.22
Emotional Language	0.58	0.46	0.68	-0.219*	-1.78
Verbal Fighting/ Sparring	0.74	1.1	0.53	0.567**	2.42
Character Assassination	0.56	0.44	0.66	-0.212*	-1.71
Misrepresentative Exaggeration	1.64	0.87	2.26	-1.396***	-6.34
Mockery/Sarcasm	2.56	2.45	2.65	-0.200	-0.81
Conflagration	0.26	0.15	0.36	-0.215***	-2.64
Ideologically Extremizing Language	1.37	0.91	1.74	-0.835***	-3.79
Slippery Slope	0.28	0.17	0.37	0.200***	-2.61
Belittling	0.92	1.06	0.80	0.259*	1.73
Obscene Language	0.64	0.52	0.73	-0.208	-1.45
Total Outrage Incidents	13.16	10.32	15.47	-5.143***	-3.76

Column (i) provides mean statistics for overall sample

Column (ii) and (iii) provide mean statistics for groups of two political orientations

Column (iv) contains the mean differences between the two groups

Column (v) shows t-statistics for equality of means tests

*, **, *** Statistically significant at 10%, 5% and 1% confidence intervals respectively

Table 2.4 WEIGHTED LEAST SQUARES AND PROBIT MODELS
USING AMOUNT OF OUTRAGE TO PREDICT POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable = Left							
	WLS			Probit				
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
Total	-0.007** (0.002)	-0.009** (0.003)			-0.008** (0.002)	-0.009** (0.003)		
Outrage Incidents								
Total			0.001 (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)			0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)
Outrage Scores								
Other Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
P	0.0000	0.004	0.1425	0.0400	0.0002	0.0022	0.1376	0.0460

Weighted least squares method in columns (i) through (iv)
 Probit maximum likelihood method in columns (v) through (viii)
 Coefficients reported are the marginal effects of an infinitesimal increase in independent variables
 In even numbered columns we also have controls for the length measure and number of speakers present
 Results are for regressions with dependent variable Left. For Right, since Right=1-Left after excluding comparison and neutral cases, the coefficients are the reverse of those for Left
 P is the p-value for respective regressions

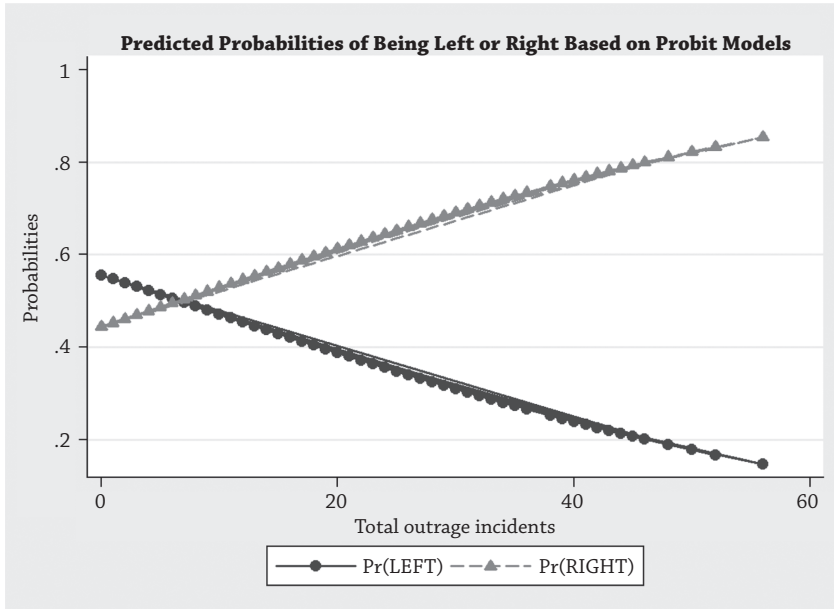


Figure 2.1 Graph of predicted probabilities (fitted values)
(Excluding comparison cases)

This graph is based on the Probit regressions shown in Table 2.4. It shows the predicted probabilities of being left and right given the total outrage incidents. Since we exclude neutral and comparison observations, the probabilities of LEFT and RIGHT must add to 1.

Table 2.5 MODES OF OUTRAGE RHETORIC AND BEHAVIOR (BY FORMAT)*Expressed as proportions for each medium*

Outrage Type	Total	TV	Radio	Blog	Column
Mockery	0.20	0.18	0.13	0.32	0.26
Misrepresentative Exaggeration	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.08	0.12
Insulting Language	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.15
Name Calling	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.10
Ideologically Extremizing Language	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.08	0.05
Belittling	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.13	0.14
Emotional Display	0.07	0.08	0.11	0.01	0.00
Emotional Language	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.04
Obscene Language	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.00
Character Assassination	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04
Slippery slope Argumentation	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.07
Sparring	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.00
Conflagration	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.02
Totals	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

(60) *The Outrage Industry*

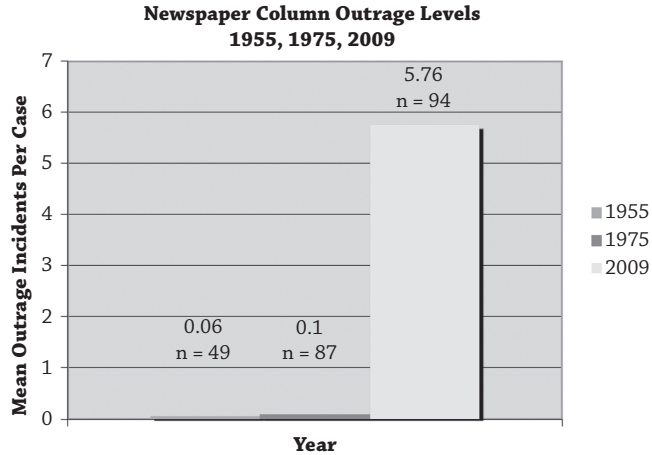


Figure 2.2 Newspaper Columnists' Use of Outrage Over Time
Mean outrage incidents per case

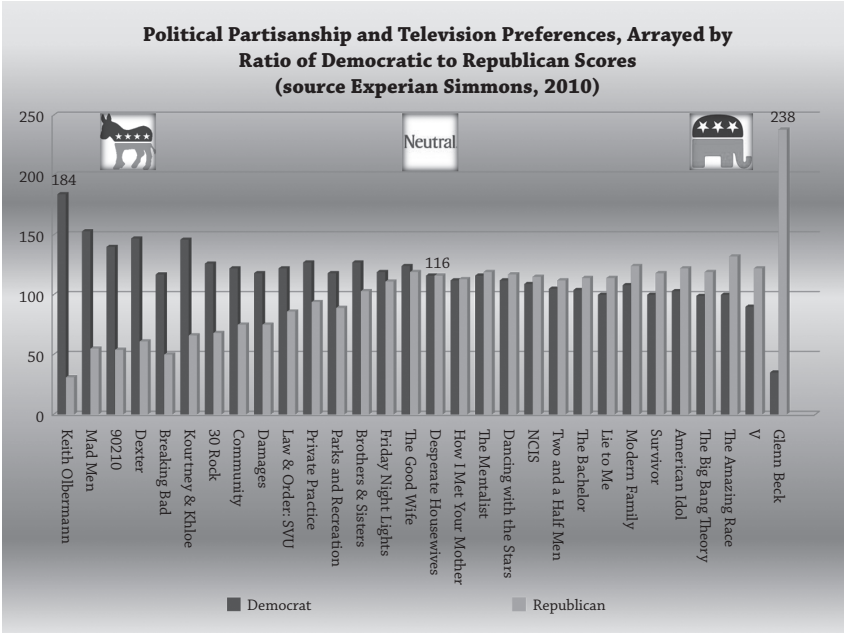


Figure 3.1
 Source: Chris Uggen

Number of News/Talk Stations Continues to Rise

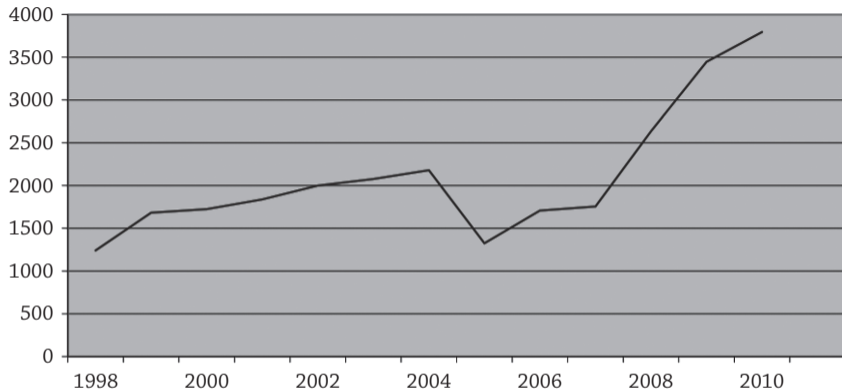


Figure 3.2

Source: Arbitron via Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism

State of the News Media 2012

Table 4.1 TOP TALK RADIO HOSTS, MILLIONS OF LISTENERS (WEEKLY)

Host	Political Leaning	2003	2007	2012
Rush Limbaugh	Conservative	14.5	13.5	14.75
Sean Hannity	Conservative	11.75	12.5	14.0
Michael Savage	Conservative	7.0	8	8.75
Glenn Beck	Conservative	*	5	8.25
Mark Levin	Conservative	*	4	8.25
Dave Ramsey	Financial Advice	*	4	8.25
Neal Boortz	Conservative	2.5	4	5.75
Laura Ingraham	Conservative	1.25	5	5.75
Jim Bohannon	Ind./Moderate	4.0	3.25	3.75
Jerry Doyle	Conservative	*	3.0	3.75
Mike Gallagher	Conservative	2.5	3.75	3.75
Michael Medved	Conservative	*	3.75	3.75
Doug Stephan	Ind./Moderate	2.0	3.25	3.75
Bill Bennett	Conservative	*	*	3.5
Clark Howard	Consumer Advice	*	*	3.5
George Noory	Supernatural, Paranormal	*	*	3.5

Source: Arbitron ratings as published in *The State of the News Media, 2010*, Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, at http://www.stateofthemediamedia.org/2010/audio_talk_radio.php#audio_topstalkhosts; and "The Top Talk Radio Audiences," *Talkers*, August 17, 2012, <http://www.talkers.com/top-talk-radio-audiences/>

* Information unavailable or talk host not nationally broadcast

Table 4.2 RICHLY OUTRAGEOUS
(Estimated annual income, in millions of dollars)

Figure	Income
Rush Limbaugh Talk radio	\$59
Glenn Beck Fox cable, talk radio	33
Sean Hannity Fox cable, talk radio	22
Bill O'Reilly Fox cable	20
Keith Olbermann MSNBC	8
Laura Ingraham Talk radio	7
Mark Levin Talk radio	5
Joe Scarborough MSNBC	4
Rachel Maddow MSNBC	2

Source: "The Power 50: The List," *Newsweek*, November 1, 2010.

Table 6.1 PUBLIC OPINION ON TEA PARTY TOWN HALL DISRUPTIONS

	Total Sample	Dems.	Ind.	GOP
<hr/>				
Making angry attacks				
<i>Democracy in Action</i>	51%	39	55	64
<i>Abuse of Democracy</i>	41	53	37	32
Booing Congressmen				
<i>Democracy in Action</i>	44	33	47	54
<i>Abuse of Democracy</i>	47	56	42	43
Shouting down opponents				
<i>Democracy in Action</i>	33	25	38	38
<i>Abuse of Democracy</i>	59	69	54	58

Questions:

Generally speaking, do you consider each of the following actions at town hall meetings to be an example of democracy in action (or) an example of abuse of democracy?

Individuals making angry attacks against a healthcare bill and what it might do

Booing when members of Congress make statements that the opponents disagree with

Shouting down supporters when they speak in favor of a healthcare bill.

Source: Gallup Poll, "Town Hall Meetings Generate Interest, Some Sympathy," August 12, 2009.

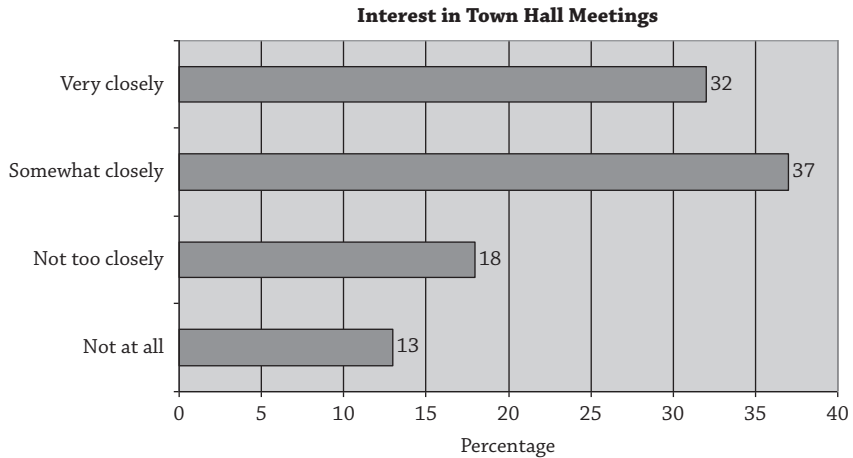


Figure 6.1

Source: Gallup Poll, "Town Hall Meetings Generate Interest, Some Sympathy," August 12, 2009.

Table 6.2 2010 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY CHALLENGES

Primaries where the incumbent received less than 75 percent of the aggregate vote

Reason for Challenge	Ideology/Issues	Other	Unclear
<i>House</i>			
GOP Primaries	18	10	2 (n=30)
Democratic Primaries	14	10	3 (27)
<i>Senate</i>			
GOP Primaries	4	0	0 (4)
Democratic Primaries	2	1	0 (3)

Source: 2010 data from the Outrage Industry project, data assembled by Suzanne Schlossberg of Tufts University.

Table 7.1 ISSUE COVERAGE, SPRING 2009*Issues receiving the most attention from Cable TV, talk radio, political blogs, and op-ed columnists*

Macroeconomics	14.8%
Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties	5.0
Health Care	3.8
Agriculture	.3
Labor, Employment, and Immigration	3.2
Education	1.3
Environment	.8
Energy	1.0
Transportation	1.0
Law, Crime, Family Issues	7.1
Social Welfare	.8
Community Development and Housing	.8
Banking, Financial Regulation	6.1
Defense	12.3
Space, Science, Technology Communications	1.0
Foreign Trade	1.3
International Assistance	3.2
Government Operations	2.2
Public Lands and Water Management	0.0
State and Local Government Administration	.5
Politics, Media Bias*	23.1
Other	<u>10.3</u>
Total	99.9%

The classification of policy areas follows the master schema from the Policy Agendas Project, developed by Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. Their detailed codebook is available at <http://www.policyagendas.org/page/topic-codebook>.

*Under this category we include elections; general assessments of political figures and institutions; political strategy; claims of media bias in political coverage; discussion of political commentators and their various roles.

Television

For each media sector we closely monitored content and then used statistical analysis to develop a deeper understanding of the extent to which outrage was embedded in the substance of the commentary. For cable news analysis programs, we focused on eight popular offerings. For the purposes of establishing a baseline, we added two comparisons: a conventional interview program and conventional cable news coverage.

We included the following programs in the analysis:

Program	Network	Show Type
O'Reilly Factor	Fox Cable	News Analysis
Hannity	Fox Cable	News Analysis
Glenn Beck	Fox Cable	News Analysis
Countdown w/ Keith Olbermann	MSNBC	News Analysis
Rachel Maddow Show	MSNBC	News Analysis
Hardball with Chris Matthews	MSNBC	News Analysis
Lou Dobbs Tonight	CNN	News Analysis
Campbell Brown	CNN	News Analysis

Cable News Comparison

Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer	CNN	News (some commentary)
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Traditional Interview Comparison

Meet the Press	NBC	Interview
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Talk Radio

We sampled from the list of all-talk radio programs with the largest audiences and used those that had programs available in audio archives (this constrained our options for liberal programming, as described in Chapter 2) and added two comparisons: a conventional news programs and a conventional talk radio interview program:

Program	Syndicator	Show Type
Rush Limbaugh Show	Premiere Radio Networks	Conservative
Savage Nation	Talk Radio Network	Conservative
Hugh Hewitt Show	Salem Radio Network	Conservative
Laura Ingraham Show	Talk Radio Network	Conservative
Mike Gallagher Show	Salem Radio Network	Conservative
Mark Levin Show	Cumulus Media Networks	Conservative
Alan Colmes Show	Fox News Radio	Liberal
Thom Hartmann Program	Air America Radio	Liberal
Diane Rehm Show	NPR	Comparison
Morning Edition	NPR	Comparison

As with television, our unit of observation is the episode and we used one radio hour as the length of observation for each case, rotating which hour was coded on a weekly basis. We coded one hour of an episode per week for each program over the course of 10 weeks commencing on February 9, 2009. To ensure that episodic irregularities were avoided, we used a rotation chart so that episodes airing on all weekdays were included, as we did for television shows.

Liberal Blogs

Huffington Post

Daily Kos

Talking Points Memo

Crooks and Liars

Think Progress

Wonkette

Firedoglake

MyDD

Orcinus

Hullabaloo

Conservative Blogs

Townhall

Michelle Malkin

Hot Air

Right Pundits

Gateway Pundit

Power Line

Hit and Run

Little Green Footballs

Ace of Spades

Moonbattery

Newspaper Columns

We monitored the five most widely syndicated conservative newspaper columnists and the five most widely syndicated liberal newspaper columnists as identified by the *Media Matters Op Ed Report*.⁶ We included the following columnists in the study:

Columnist	Syndicator	Political Perspective
George Will	Washington Post	Conservative
Kathleen Parker	Orlando Sentinel	Conservative
Cal Thomas	Tribune Media	Conservative
Charles Krauthammer	Washington Post	Conservative
David Brooks	New York Times	Conservative
Ellen Goodman	Boston Globe	Liberal
Leonard Pitts Jr.	Miami Herald	Liberal
Maureen Dowd	New York Times	Liberal
E. J. Dionne	Washington Post	Liberal
Eugene Robinson	Washington Post	Liberal

We sampled one column per week per columnist for the same number of weeks covered for TV and radio. We used a rotating day schedule, adding an alternative day when necessary (e.g., for columnists who do not write daily). Each column was coded in its entirety.