

Center for American Progress



freepress 

The Structural Imbalance of Political Talk Radio

A Joint Report by the Center for
American Progress and Free Press

www.americanprogress.org

Progressive Ideas for a Strong, Just, and Free America

THE STRUCTURAL IMBALANCE OF POLITICAL TALK RADIO

**A Joint Report by
The Center for American Progress and Free Press**

June 21, 2007

Updated June 22, 2007

Center for American Progress Authors

John Halpin, Senior Fellow and Executive Speechwriter

James Heidbreder, Research Intern

Mark Lloyd, Senior Fellow

Paul Woodhull, Special Adviser, Founder and President of Media Syndication Services

Free Press Authors

Ben Scott, Policy Director

Josh Silver, Executive Director

S. Derek Turner, Research Director

Report Design and Layout, Center for American Progress

Adorna Williams, Art Director

Andrew Pratt, Special Assistant

Shannon Ryan, Graphic Designer



Introduction

Despite the dramatic expansion of viewing and listening options for consumers today, traditional radio remains one of the most widely used media formats in America. Arbitron, the national radio ratings company, reports that more than 90 percent of Americans ages 12 or older listen to radio each week, “a higher penetration than television, magazines, newspapers, or the Internet.”¹ Although listening hours have declined slightly in recent years, Americans listened on average to 19 hours of radio per week in 2006.²

Among radio formats, the combined news/talk format (which includes news/talk/information and talk/personality) leads all others in terms of the total number of stations per format and trails only country music in terms of national audience share.³ Through more than 1,700 stations across the nation, the combined news/talk format is estimated to reach more than 50 million listeners each week.⁴

As this report will document in detail, conservative talk radio undeniably dominates the format:

- Our analysis in the spring of 2007 of the 257 news/talk stations owned by the top five commercial station owners reveals that 91 percent of the total weekday talk radio programming is conservative, and 9 percent is progressive.
- Each weekday, 2,570 hours and 15 minutes of conservative talk are broadcast on these stations compared to 254 hours of progressive talk—10 times as much conservative talk as progressive talk.
- A separate analysis of all of the news/talk stations in the top 10 radio markets reveals that 76 percent of the programming in these markets is conservative and 24 percent is progressive, although programming is more balanced in markets such as New York and Chicago.

This dynamic is repeated over and over again no matter how the data is analyzed, whether one looks at the number of stations, number of hours, power of stations, or the number of programs. While progressive talk is making inroads on commercial stations, conservative talk continues to be pushed out over the airwaves in greater multiples of hours than progressive talk is broadcast.

These empirical findings may not be surprising given general impressions about the format, but they are stark and raise serious questions about whether the companies licensed to broadcast over the public airwaves are serving the listening needs of all Americans.

There are many potential explanations for why this gap exists. The two most frequently cited reasons are the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 and simple consumer demand. As this report will detail, neither of these reasons adequately explains why conservative talk radio dominates the airwaves.

Our conclusion is that the gap between conservative and progressive talk radio is the result of multiple structural problems in the U.S. regulatory system, particularly the complete breakdown of the public trustee concept of broadcast, the elimination of clear public interest requirements for broadcasting, and the relaxation of ownership rules including the requirement of local participation in management.

Ownership diversity is perhaps the single most important variable contributing to the structural imbalance based on the data. Quantitative analysis conducted by Free Press of all 10,506 licensed commercial radio stations reveals that stations owned by women, minorities, or local owners are statistically *less* likely to air conservative hosts or shows.

In contrast, stations controlled by group owners—those with stations in multiple markets or more than three stations in a single market—were statistically *more*

likely to air conservative talk. Furthermore, markets that aired *both* conservative and progressive programming were statistically *less* concentrated than the markets that aired only one type of programming and were more likely to be the markets that had female- and minority-owned stations.

The disparities between conservative and progressive programming reflect the absence of localism in American radio markets. This shortfall results from the consolidation of ownership in radio stations and the corresponding dominance of syndicated programming operating in economies of scale that do not match the local needs of all communities.

This analysis suggests that any effort to encourage more responsive and balanced radio programming will first require steps to increase localism and diversify radio station ownership to better meet local and community needs. We suggest three ways to accomplish this:

- Restore local and national caps on the ownership of commercial radio stations.
- Ensure greater local accountability over radio licensing.
- Require commercial owners who fail to abide by enforceable public interest obligations to pay a fee to support public broadcasting.

In the pages that follow, we believe our analysis of the talk radio marketplace merits serious consideration of the remedies we then present.

The Structural Imbalance of Political Talk Radio

Analysis of News/Talk Radio Programming

Station-by-Station Results for the Top Five Commercial Station Owners, May 2007

The following results are based on an analysis of the weekday broadcast totals for all nationally syndicated and local talk show hosts on the 257 news/talk stations operated by the top five commercial station owners (See Appendix A).⁵ A complete list of all the news/talk stations owned by the top five commercial owners was compiled through company websites and Katz Radio Group listings.⁶ Any radio stations that did not fit this format, such as sports news or general talk, were omitted. The total airtime for conservative and progressive shows was then calculated by tallying airtime for nationally syndicated and local hosts on each station. Hosts were categorized as conservative, progressive/liberal, or indeterminate/neither based on self-identification, show descriptions, and listings in *Talkers Magazine* (See Appendix B). Only hosts with evident and near-indisputable leanings were categorized.

The analysis of the political talk programming on the 257 news/talk stations owned by the five largest commercial station owners reveals the following:⁷

- 91 percent of the political talk radio programming on the stations owned by the top five commercial station owners is conservative, and 9 percent is progressive.
- 2,570 hours and 15 minutes of conservative talk radio are broadcast each weekday on these stations compared to 254 hours of progressive talk.
- 92 percent of these stations (236 stations out of 257) do not broadcast a single minute of progressive talk radio programming.

TOTAL POLITICAL TALK RADIO PROGRAMMING, MAY 2007



In absolute terms, Clear Channel broadcasts the largest number of hours of progressive talk each weekday—229 hours, about 14 percent of its total programming. In relative terms, CBS has the greatest percentage of progressive talk among the top five station owners—26 percent of talk radio programming on CBS stations is progressive and 74 percent is conservative. Ninety-nine percent or more of the talk radio programming on Citadel, Cumulus, and Salem stations is conservative.

Looking at the total hours for hosts broadcast on these stations, our analysis shows that only two of the top 20 talk radio hosts broadcast each weekday are progressive—Randi Rhodes and Ed Schultz. Rush Limbaugh, the top host, is broadcast a total of 440 hours each

weekday across these stations, more than nine times as much airtime as his nearest progressive competitor.

Market-by-Market Results, All Stations in the Top 10 Markets

In a separate analysis, we compiled a list of all 65 news/talk stations in each of the top 10 markets in the country as identified by Arbitron's Radio Market Rankings from Spring 2007 (See Appendix C). Total conservative and progressive programming was then tabulated for the 65 stations across all 10 markets.

As with the station-by-station analysis, the pattern of conservative dominance of the airwaves holds in the market-by-market examination, although not as intensely:

CBS TOTAL—30 STATIONS



CLEAR CHANNEL TOTAL—145 STATIONS



CITADEL TOTAL—23 STATIONS



CUMULUS TOTAL—31 STATIONS



SALEM TOTAL—28 STATIONS



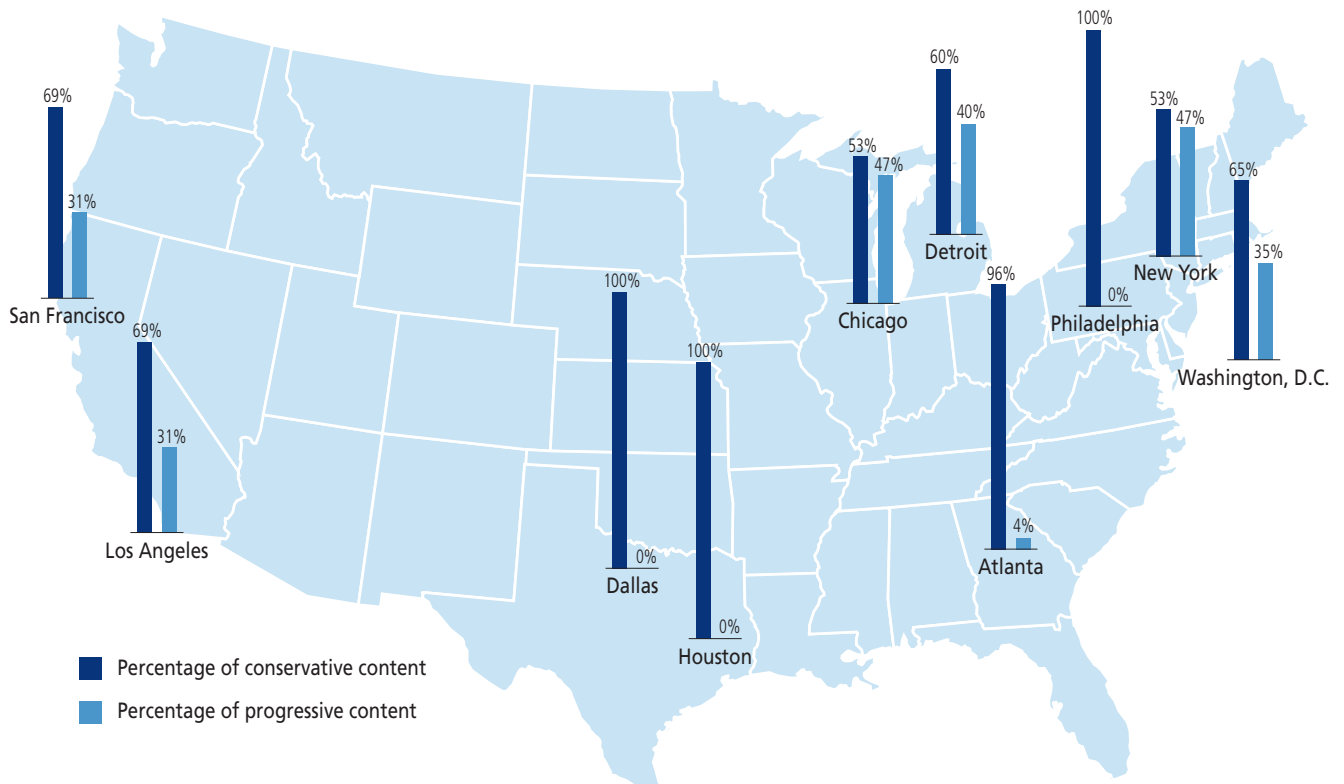
- 76 percent of the total talk radio programming on the 65 stations in the top 10 markets is conservative, and 24 percent is progressive.
- 423 hours and 40 minutes of conservative talk are broadcast in the top 10 markets each weekday compared to 135 hours of progressive talk.
- More conservative talk is broadcast than progressive talk in each of the top 10 markets, although the disparity is less than five hours of total airtime in New York (18 hours and 15 minutes of conservative talk vs. 16 hours of progressive talk) and Chicago (33 hours and 15 minutes of conservative talk vs. 29 hours of progressive talk).
- In four of the top 10 markets, progressive talk is broadcast only two hours

or less each weekday (Dallas, Houston, Philadelphia, and Atlanta).

Why does the imbalance in talk radio programming exist?

There are two primary explanations typically put forth to explain the disparities between conservative and progressive talk radio programming:

- The “repeal” of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 gave station owners and hosts free reign to fill their programming with ideologically conservative content.
- The demands of the marketplace favor conservative shows and audiences over progressive ones.



Both of these arguments are inadequate and both lead to specific policy recommendations that are insufficient for correcting the structural imbalance in talk radio programming. Misguided policy solutions may also lead to unintended consequences that reduce the diversity of speech on the radio rather than expand it.

In the first argument, the explosion of conservative talk radio is attributed to the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine by the Federal Communications Commission in 1987.⁸ The Fairness Doctrine was a regulation—formally implemented by the FCC in 1949, but dating back to the early days of broadcasting—that required broadcasters to devote airtime to important and controversial issues and to provide contrasting views on these issues in some form.⁹ From this perspective, the repeal of the doctrine in the late 1980’s allowed station owners to broadcast more opinionated, ideological, and one-sided radio hosts without having to balance them with competing views.

Consequently, the number of stations carrying the news/talk format grew from 400 stations in 1990 to roughly 1,400 in 2006, driven primarily by conservative personalities like Rush Limbaugh, G. Gordon Liddy, and others.¹⁰ Although station owners are clearly not balancing their programming as our analysis shows, the Fairness Doctrine argument mischaracterizes the underlying problems in numerous ways and therefore offers inadequate policy solutions.

First, from a regulatory perspective, the Fairness Doctrine was never formally repealed. The FCC did announce in 1987 that it would no longer enforce certain regulations under the umbrella of the Fairness Doctrine, and in 1989

a circuit court upheld the FCC decision.¹¹ The Supreme Court, however, has never overruled the cases that authorized the FCC’s enforcement of the Fairness Doctrine. Many legal experts argue that the FCC has the authority to enforce it again—thus it technically would not be considered repealed.¹²

Moreover, the original Communications Act of 1934 still authorizes the FCC to require “reasonable access to or to permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time” by a legally qualified candidate for federal elective office, and equal opportunities must be afforded all other candidates for that office.¹³ These obligations come from the same set of concerns from which the Fairness Doctrine arose. And Section 315 of the Communications Act still requires commercial broadcasters “to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views of issues of public importance.”¹⁴

Thus, the public obligations inherent in the Fairness Doctrine are still in existence and operative, at least on paper. More important, the Fairness Doctrine was never, by itself, an effective tool to ensure the fair discussion of important issues. The Fairness Doctrine was most effective as part of a regulatory structure that limited license terms to three years, subjected broadcasters to license challenges through comparative hearings, required notice to the local community that licenses were going to expire, and empowered the local community through a process of interviewing a variety of local leaders. Added to this regulatory structure was the cooperation of the broadcast industry through the National Association of Broadcasters Code of Conduct.¹⁵

Simply reinstating the Fairness Doctrine will do little to address the gap between conservative and progressive talk unless the underlying elements of the public trustee doctrine are enforced, in particular, the requirements of local accountability and the reasonable airing of important matters. The key principle here is not shutting down one perspective or another—it is making sure that communities are informed about a range of local and national public affairs.

The second argument put forth to explain the gap between conservative and progressive talk is that station owners are merely providing the programming that the market forces demand. From this perspective, talk radio audiences are just more conservative and are more likely to listen to conservative hosts.

This argument is misleading on numerous fronts. Although talk radio audiences tend to be more male, middle-aged, and conservative, research by Pew indicates that this audience is not monolithic—43 percent of regular talk radio listeners identify as conservative, while 23 percent identify as liberal and 30 percent as moderate.¹⁶ The ideological breakdown of the country as a whole during this same period was very similar—36 percent conservative, 21 percent liberal, and 35 percent moderate. It is difficult to argue that the existing audience for talk radio is only interested in hearing one side of public debates given the diversity of the existing and potential audience.

More importantly, even in markets where progressive talk is considered a success by the industry standards of ratings and revenue, licensees will often broadcast conservative talk on three or four stations compared to one station for progres-

sive talk. For example, in Portland, OR, where progressive talk on KPOJ AM 620 competes effectively with conservative talk on KEX AM 1190, station owners also broadcast conservative talk on KXL AM 750 and KPAM AM 860. Although there is a clear demand and proven success of progressive talk in this market, station owners still elect to stack the airwaves with one-sided broadcasting.

As our data shows, the norm under the existing market structure is for radio station licensees to broadcast *only* conservative talk, a pattern that holds true for more than 90 percent of the stations examined (236 stations out of 257). In Ohio, for example, there are 10 radio markets. In eight of those markets, there is not a single hour of progressive talk. In the two markets that do broadcast a total of six hours of progressive talk (Al Sharpton on two urban talk stations), those hours compete against 52 hours of conservative talk. Clear Channel Communications, the ownership group that has committed the largest number of stations to the progressive format, recently cancelled the only three progressive talk stations in the state of Ohio.

When 91 percent of the talk radio programming broadcast each weekday is solely conservative—despite a diversity of opinions among radio audiences and the proven success of progressive shows—the market solution has clearly failed to meet audience demand. Even greater deregulation and consolidation of radio station ownership is therefore not likely to meet audience desires or serve the public interest in any meaningful way.

Our view is that the imbalance in talk radio programming today is the result of multiple structural problems in the U.S.

regulatory system, particularly the complete breakdown of the public trustee concept of broadcast regulation resulting from pro-forma licensing policies,¹⁷ longer license terms (to eight years from three years previously),¹⁸ the elimination of clear public interest requirements such as local public affairs programming,¹⁹ and the relaxation of ownership rules, including the requirement of local participation in management.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 removed the national limit on the number of radio stations that one company could own. This resulted in the wave of consolidation that carried Clear Channel from 40 stations to over 1,200, and many other conglomerates to several hundred stations apiece.

The economics of radio station ownership changed in this period as a result of consolidation. Large, non-local owners aired syndicated programming on a wider scale across their national holdings. Advertising on local stations was marketed and sold by national firms, undermining the ability of local owners to compete. Many sold their stations. The number of locally-owned, minority-owned, and female-owned stations was constrained—and the very different programming decisions these owners make were less visible in the market.

In short, the removal of ownership limits created artificial economies of scale for syndicated programming (dominated by conservative talk). Because of the size of corporate radio holdings, this business model was profitable even if localism declined and local tastes and needs were not suitably matched.

At the same time, the long-standing principles of public service that have always come with a free license to use the public airwaves for broadcast radio were in decline. These principles and the regulations they supported were designed to foster localism and a station owner's commitment to local public service. Emblematic of this commitment was not just the shorter license-renewal requirement of three years but also the renewal process itself.

License renewal previously required local engagement with the community—the solicitation of local feedback on programming and accountable public reporting of this input so that the FCC could determine if the broadcaster was upholding its public interest responsibilities. Now licenses are renewed by “post-card,” a stamp in the corner of a scrap of paper now substitutes for all of the local interaction, very little of which is still required by law. Without these policies fostering local responsiveness, the move toward lowest common denominator syndicated programming was facilitated.

All of these factors matter tremendously, and they have combined to produce the current state of affairs in the marketplace. The resulting changes in ownership and business models in the radio business have had a quantifiable impact on the diversity of radio programming.

Quantitative analysis of all 10,506 licensed commercial radio stations in the country suggests that stations owned by racial or ethnic minorities are statistically *less* likely to air conservative hosts or shows and *more* likely to air progressive hosts or shows. In addition, stations controlled by owners who run just a single

station were statistically *less* likely to air conservative talk and *more* likely to air progressive hosts or shows.

The analysis also reveals that markets that air both conservative and progressive programming are statistically *more* likely to have female- and minority-owned stations in the market, and are significantly less concentrated than the markets that air only one type of programming (See Appendix D).

Although we do not have the exact explanation for this finding, we believe that minority and female owners, who tend to be more local, are more responsive to the needs of their local communities and are therefore less likely to air the conservative hosts because this type of programming is so far out of step with their local audiences. Additionally, minority-owned stations are more likely to be found in areas with high minority populations—areas that also report high percentages of progressives and liberals.

Ultimately, these results suggest that increasing ownership diversity, both in terms of the race/ethnicity and gender of owners, as well as the number of independent local owners, will lead to more diverse programming, more choices for listeners, and more owners who are responsive to their local communities and serve the public interest.

In general, this approach leads toward policy solutions designed to diversify the airwaves by increasing obligations to local needs, encouraging greater public involvement in licensing decisions, and getting more stations back into the hands of smaller, more local owners who will be more responsive to community audiences and local desires.

Of course, some of these stations will continue to air conservative talk radio. Others may start. But on the whole, this policy will put the burden of accountability in broadcasting back where it belongs—at the local level.

What can be done to address the imbalance in talk radio programming?

In terms of policy solutions to reduce the gap, the primary goal should be to encourage more speech on the airwaves, not less, and to ensure that local needs are being met and diverse opinions are being aired. To accomplish these goals, we suggest the following three steps.

Restore local and national caps on the ownership of commercial radio stations

There has been a dramatic decline (34 percent) in the number of radio station owners since the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The concentration in radio has occurred because Congress eliminated restrictions on the total ownership of radio stations by any one media entity. As a result, data from the late 1990's suggest that there has been an 11.7 percent decline in the already low number of minority radio broadcast licensees.²⁰

Section 202 of the Telecommunications Act also created a sliding scale that increased the number of radio stations that one entity could own in the same market. In the largest markets with 45 or more commercial radio stations, one entity may own or control up to eight commercial radio stations; in a market with 14 or fewer commercial radio stations, an entity may own or control up to five commercial radio stations.

We recommend that radio ownership caps be revised as follows:

- National radio ownership by any one entity should not exceed 5 percent of the total number of AM and FM broadcast stations.
- In terms of local ownership, no one entity should control more than 10 percent of the total commercial radio stations in a given market, or specifically, more than:
 - Four commercial stations in large markets (a radio market with 45 or more commercial radio stations).
 - Three stations in mid-markets (between 30 and 44 total commercial radio stations).
 - Two stations in smaller markets (between 15 and 29 total commercial radio stations).
 - One station in the smallest markets (14 or fewer total commercial radio stations).

Ensure greater local accountability over radio licensing

Radio stations are licensed to operate in the public interest, but since the deregulation of the mid-1980's, the public's role in ensuring that local radio stations actually address their needs and interests has been severely limited. While local radio stations are required to determine and meet community needs and to keep in a file open to the public on the measures they are taking on behalf of the community, stations no longer have to inform the community of their obligations as a federal licensee.

All radio broadcast licensees should be required to use a standardized form to provide information on how the station serves the public interest in a variety of areas. The form should be made public on a quarterly basis and maintained in the station's public inspection file in place of the currently required issues/programs lists. The public's ability to access public interest information would be enhanced by requiring licensees to make the contents of their public inspection files, including the standardized form, available on the station's Internet website.

The Communications Act of 1934 has long assumed that the public would have the greatest interaction with the federal broadcast licensee near the time the license was due to expire. Unfortunately, citing the burdens to broadcasters and the FCC, Congress extended the broadcast license terms in Section 307 of the 1996 Telecommunications Act to eight years. This license term effectively precludes real public engagement.

Similarly, the FCC receives no information from radio licensees on whether or how these stations are meeting public interest standards. The FCC cites near total reliance on the public to monitor and bring to its attention whether local licensees are meeting community needs, but does not require broadcasters to inform listeners of this duty and thus there is no motivation to perform it. The Commission renews broadcast licensees with a postcard renewal, and while it once promised random audits of stations it has never conducted a single audit. The FCC has never provided an analysis

of its deregulatory efforts begun in 1981 regarding radio and what effect deregulation has had on local public information.

We recommend the following steps the FCC should take to ensure local needs are being met:

- Provide a license to radio broadcasters for a term no longer than three years.
- Require radio broadcast licensees to regularly show that they are operating on behalf of the public interest and provide public documentation and viewing of how they are meeting these obligations.
- Demand that the radio broadcast licensee announce when its license is about to expire and demonstrate how the public can participate in the process to determine whether the license should be extended. In addition, the FCC should be required to maintain a website to conduct on-line discussions and facilitate interaction with the public about licensee conduct.

Require commercial owners who fail to abide by enforceable public interest obligations to pay a fee to support public broadcasting

If commercial radio broadcasters are unwilling to abide by these regulatory standards or the FCC is unable to effectively regulate in the public interest, a spectrum use fee should be levied on owners to directly support local, regional, and national public broadcasting.

A fee based on a sliding scale (1 percent for small markets, 5 percent for the largest markets) would be distributed directly to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting with clear mandates to support local news and public affairs programming and to cover controversial and political issues in a fair and balanced manner. We estimate that such a fee would net between \$100 million and \$250 million and would not overly burden commercial radio broadcasters.

Appendix A—Station-by-Station Data, May 2007

CBS						
STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KCBS-AM	San Francisco CA	News	50,000	740	0	0
KCMD-AM	Portland OR	Talk	5,000	970	3	6
KDKA-AM	Pittsburgh PA	News/Talk	50,000	1020	9	0
KIKK-AM	Houston TX	News	250	650	0	0
KLLI-FM	Dallas TX	Talk	100,000	105.3	0	0
KLSX-FM	Los Angeles CA	Talk	21,000	97.1	0	0
KMOX-AM	St Louis MO	News/Talk	50,000	1120	3	0
KNX-AM	Los Angeles CA	News	50,000	1070	0	0
KPTK-AM	Seattle WA	Talk	50,000	1090	0	18
KRLD-AM	Dallas TX	News	50,000	1080	3	0
KSCF-FM	San Diego CA	Talk	36,000	103.7	2	0
KXNT-AM	Las Vegas NV	News/Talk	50,000	840	14	0
KYW-AM	Philadelphia PA	News	50,000	1060	0	0
KZON-FM	Phoenix AZ	Talk	100,000	101.5	0	0
WAOK-AM	Atlanta GA	Urban Talk	5,000	1380	0	0
WBBM-AM	Chicago IL	News	50,000	780	0	0
WBZ-AM	Boston MA	News	50,000	1030	0	0
WCBS-AM	New York NY	News	50,000	880	0	0
WCCO-AM	Minneapolis MN	News/Talk	50,000	830	0	0
WCKG-FM	Chicago IL	Talk	4,100	105.9	5	0
WFNY-FM	New York NY	Talk	6,000	92.3	0	0
WHFS-FM	Baltimore MD	Talk	50,000	105.7	0	0
WINS-AM	New York NY	News	50,000	1010	0	0
WJFK-FM	Washington DC	Talk	22,500	106.7	2	0
WKRK-FM	Detroit MI	Talk	15,000	97.1	2	0
WPHT-AM	Philadelphia PA	Talk	50,000	1210	16.5	0
WTIC-AM	Hartford CT	News/Talk	50,000	1080	6	0
WTZN-FM	Pittsburgh PA	Talk	41,000	93.7	3	0
WWJ-AM	Detroit MI	News	50,000	950	0	0
WYSP-FM	Philadelphia PA	Talk	16,000	94.1	0	0

CBS TOTAL—30 STATIONS

Conservative—74%

Progressive—26%



68.5 hours

24 hours

CLEAR CHANNEL

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KABQ-AM	Albuquerque NM	Talk	5,000	1350	0	19
KBLU-AM	Yuma-El Centro AZ	Talk	1,000	560	15	0
KBUL-AM	Billings MT	News/Talk	5,000	970	9	0
KCOL-AM	Ft Collins CO	News/Talk	5,000	600	6	3
KCRS-AM	Odessa-Midland TX	News/Talk	5,000	550	10	0
KEEL-AM	Shreveport LA	News/Talk	50,000	710	11	0
KELA-AM	Centralia WA	Talk	5,000	1470	6.25	0
KEX-AM	Portland OR	News/Talk	50,000	1190	7	0
KFAB-AM	Omaha NE	News/Talk	50,000	1110	9	0
KFBK-AM	Sacramento CA	News/Talk	50,000	1530	6	0
KFBX-AM	Fairbanks AK	News/Talk	10,000	970	13.25	0
KFI-AM	Los Angeles CA	News/Talk	50,000	640	13	0
KFIV-AM	Modesto CA	News/Talk	4,000	1360	15.5	0
KFYI-AM	Phoenix AZ	Talk	5,000	550	10	0
KFYO-AM	Lubbock TX	News/Talk	5,000	790	9	0
KGAB-AM	Cheyenne WY	Talk	8,500	650	10	0
KGVO-AM	Missoula MT	News/Talk	5,000	1290	14	0
KHBZ-AM	Honolulu HI	News/Talk	5,000	990	18	0
KHOW-AM	Denver CO	News/Talk	5,000	630	9	0
KHVH-AM	Honolulu HI	News/Talk	10,000	830	6	0
KID-AM	Idaho Falls ID	News/Talk	5,000	590	11	0
KIT-AM	Yakima WA	News/Talk	5,000	1280	12	0
KIXW-AM	Victor Valley CA	Talk	5,000	960	16	0
KKTL-AM	Casper WY	Talk	1,000	1400	0	0
KKTX-AM	Corpus Christi TX	News/Talk	1,000	1360	15	0
KLIX-AM	Twin Falls ID	News/Talk	5,000	1310	12	0
KLOO-AM	Corvallis OR	News/Talk	1,000	1340	12	0
KLSD-AM	San Diego CA	Talk	5,000	1360	0	15
KLVI-AM	Beaumont TX	News/Talk	5,000	560	10	0
KLYQ-AM	Missoula MT	News/Talk	1,000	1240	14	0
KMED-AM	Medford OR	News/Talk	5,000	1440	12	0
KMMS-AM	Bozeman MT	Talk	1,000	1450	8	0
KNEW-AM	Oakland, CA	Talk	20,000	910	15	0
KNRS-AM	Salt Lake City UT	Talk	5,000	570	10	0
KNST-AM	Tucson AZ	News/Talk	5,000	790	12	0
KOA-AM	Denver CO	News/Talk	50,000	850	6	0
KOGO-AM	San Diego CA	News/Talk	5,000	600	9	0
KPAY-AM	Chico CA	News/Talk	5,000	1290	11	0
KPNW-AM	Eugene OR	News/Talk	50,000	1120	15	0
KPOJ-AM	Portland OR	Talk	25,000	620	0	15
KPRC-AM	Houston TX	Talk	5,000	950	15	0
KQKE-AM	San Francisco CA	Talk	5,000	960	0	24
KQNT-AM	Spokane WA	News/Talk	5,000	590	9	0
KSFA-AM	Lufkin TX	News/Talk	1,000	860	9	0
KSLI-AM	Abilene TX	Talk	500	1280	15	0
KSMA-AM	Santa Maria CA	News/Talk	1,000	1240	16	0
KSTE-AM	Sacramento CA	Talk	21,400	650	16	0
KTLK-AM	Los Angeles CA	Talk	50,000	1150	0	21
KTLK-FM	Minneapolis MN	Talk	100,000	100.3	16	0
KTMS-AM	Santa Barbara CA	News/Talk	5,000	990	10	0
KTOK-AM	Oklahoma City	News/Talk	5,000	1000	9	0

CLEAR CHANNEL (CONTINUED)

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KTRH-AM	Houston TX	News	50,000	740	11.67	0
KTSM-AM	El Paso TX	News/Talk	10,000	690	12.08	3
KVEC-AM	San Luis Obispo CA	News/Talk	1,000	920	6	0
KWAM-AM	Atlanta GA	News/Talk	10000	990	11	0
KWFS-AM	Wichita Falls TX	Talk	5,000	1290	12	0
KWHN-AM	Ft Smith AR	Talk	100,000	1650	12.33	0
KWIK-AM	Pocatello ID	News/Talk	1,000	1240	11	0
KWTX-AM	Waco TX	News/Talk	1,000	1230	14	0
KXIC-AM	Cedar Rapids IA	News	1,000	800	6	0
WAAX-AM	Gadsden AL	News/Talk	5,000	570	8	0
WAEB-AM	Allentown PA	News/Talk	3,600	790	14	0
WBCK-AM	Battle Creek MI	News/Talk	5,000	930	15	0
WBEX-AM	Chillicothe OH	Talk	1,000	1490	9	0
WBHP-AM	Huntsville AL	News	1,000	1230	8	0
WCHV-AM	Charlottesville VA	News/Talk	5,000	1260	18.75	0
WCME-FM	Augusta ME	Talk	15,600	96.7	12	0
WCWA-AM	Toledo OH	News/Talk	1000	1230	0	0
WDAK-AM	Columbus GA	News/Talk	5,000	540	14	0
WDOV-AM	Wilmington DE	News/Talk	5,000	1410	13	0
WDTW-AM	Detroit MI	Talk	5,000	1310	0	18
WEAV-AM	Burlington VT	Talk	5,000	960	6	0
WELI-AM	New Haven CT	News/Talk	5,000	960	12	0
WERC-AM	Birmingham AL	News/Talk	5,000	960	6	0
WFLA-AM	Tampa FL	News/Talk	25,000	970	11	0
WFLA-FM	Tallahassee FL	Talk	11,500	100.7	11	0
WFLF-AM	Orlando FL	News/Talk	50,000	540	12	0
WFMD-AM	Frederick MD	News/Talk	5,000	930	13	0
WGIN-AM	Portsmouth NH	News/Talk	5,000	930	9	0
WGIR-AM	Manchester NH	News/Talk	5,000	610	13	0
WGST-AM	Atlanta GA	Talk	50,000	640	6.5	0
WGY-AM	Albany NY	News/Talk	50,000	810	12	0
WHAM-AM	Rochester NY	News/Talk	50,000	1180	13	0
WHAS-AM	Louisville KY	News/Talk	50,000	840	3.25	0
WHJJ-AM	Providence RI	Talk	5,000	920	17	0
WHLO-AM	Akron OH	Talk	5,000	640	20	0
WHNZ-AM	Tampa FL	News/Talk	5900	1250	1	0
WHO-AM	Des Moines IA	News/Talk	50,000	1040	9	0
WHP-AM	Harrisburg PA	News/Talk	5,000	580	12.25	0
WHYN-AM	Springfield MA	News/Talk	5,000	560	13	0
WIBA-AM	Madison WI	News/Talk	5,000	1310	7	0
WILM-AM	Wilmington DE	News/Talk	1,000	1450	11	0
WIMA-AM	Lima OH	News/Talk	1,000	1150	14	0
WINZ-AM	Miami FL	Talk	50,000	940	0	20
WIOD-AM	Miami FL	News	5,000	610	15	0
WIRO-AM	Hunt-Ashland WV	News/Talk	1,000	1230	11	0
WISN-AM	Milwaukee WI	Talk	50,000	1130	14.5	0
WJBO-AM	Baton Rouge LA	News/Talk	5,000	1150	8.33	0
WJNO-AM	West Palm FL	News/Talk	10,000	1290	9	6
WKBN-AM	Youngstown OH	News/Talk	5,000	570	9.75	0
WKCI-AM	Staunton VA	News/Talk	5,000	970	13	0
WKCY-AM	Harrisonburg VA	News/Talk	5,000	1300	13	0

CLEAR CHANNEL (CONTINUED)

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
WKJK-AM	Louisville KY	Talk	10,000	1080	5	3
WKMQ-AM	Tupelo MS	Talk	1,000	1060	15	0
WKRC-AM	Cincinnati OH	Talk	5,000	550	14	0
WKST-AM	New Castle PA	News/Talk	5,000	1200	8.5	0
WLAC-AM	Nashville TN	News/Talk	50,000	1510	9	0
WLAP-AM	Lexington KY	News/Talk	5,000	630	6	0
WLBY-AM	Ann Arbor MI	Talk	500	1290	0	20
WLW-AM	Cincinnati OH	News	50,000	700	5.5	0
WMAN-AM	Mansfield OH	News/Talk	920	1400	6	0
WMEQ-AM	Eau Claire WI	News/Talk	10,000	880	8	0
WMMB-AM	Melbourne FL	News/Talk	1,000	1240	15	0
WMMV-AM	Melbourne FL	News/Talk	1,000	1350	15	0
WMRN-AM	Marion OH	News/Talk	1,000	1490	6	0
WMT-AM	Cedar Rapids IA		5,000	600	3	0
WOAI-AM	San Antonio TX	News/Talk	50,000	1200	8	0
WOC-AM	Quad Cities IA-IL	News/Talk	5,000	1420	11	0
WOOD-AM	Grand Rapids MI	News/Talk	20,000	1300	11.25	2
WPEK-AM	Asheville NC	Talk	5,000	880	0	15
WPMI-AM	Mobile AL	News/Talk	1,000	710	5	0
WRAK-AM	Williamsport PA	News/Talk	1,000	1400	6	0
WREC-AM	Memphis TN	News/Talk	5,000	600	11.5	0
WRKK-AM	Williamsport PA	News/Talk	10,000	1200	6	0
WRNO-FM	New Orleans LA	News/Talk	100,000	99.5	8	0
WRVA-AM	Richmond VA	News/Talk	50,000	1140	12	0
WSFC-AM	Somerset KY	News	790	1240	3	0
WSFE-AM	Somerset KY	News/Talk	430	910	12	0
WSPD-AM	Toledo OH	News/Talk	5,000	1370	11	0
WSYR-AM	Syracuse NY	Talk	5,000	570	11.75	0
WTAG-AM	Worcester MA	News/Talk	5,000	580	9	0
WTAM-AM	Cleveland OH	News/Talk	50,000	1100	3	0
WTKG-AM	Grand Rapids MI	Talk	1,000	1230	3	11
WTNT-AM	Washington DC	Talk	5,000	570	16	0
WTSL-AM	Lebanon VT-NH	News/Talk	1,000	1400	0	0
WTVN-AM	Columbus OH	News/Talk	5,000	610	8.5	0
WVCC-AM	Atlanta GA	News/Talk	7,790	720	9	0
WVHU-AM	Hunt-Ashland WV	News/Talk	5,000	800	14	0
WVOC-AM	Columbia SC	News/Talk	5,000	560	12	0
WVON-AM	Chicago IL	Urban Talk	10,000	1690	0	6
WWNC-AM	Asheville NC	News/Talk	5,000	570	15	0
WWRC-AM	Washington DC	Talk	5,000	1260	0	19
WWVA-AM	Wheeling WV	News/Talk	50,000	1170	14	0
WXXM-FM	Madison WI	Talk	3,700	92.1	0	9
WXZO-FM	Burlington VT	Talk	1,000	96.7	6	0

CLEAR CHANNEL TOTAL—145 STATIONS

Conservative—86%

Progressive—14%

1,387.5 hours

229 hours

CITADEL

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KARN-AM	Little Rock AR	News/Talk	5,000	920	10	0
KARN-FM	Little Rock AR	News/Talk	50,000	102.9	10	0
KBOI-AM	Boise ID	News/Talk	50,000	670	14.5	0
KGA-AM	Spokane WA	News/Talk	50,000	1510	20	0
KKOB-AM	Albuquerque NM	News/Talk	50,000	770	8	0
KKOH-AM	Reno NV	News/Talk	50,000	780	10.75	0
KTBL-AM	Albuquerque NM	Talk	1,000	1050	19	0
KVOR-AM	Colorado Springs CO	News/Talk	3,300	740	13	0
KWQW-FM	Des Moines IA	Talk	41,000	98.3	14.5	0
WAPI-AM	Birmingham AL	News/Talk	50,000	1070	16.5	0
WBSM-AM	New Bedford MA	News/Talk	5,000	1420	7.5	0
WGOW-AM	Chattanooga TN	News/Talk	5,000	1150	16	0
WGOW-FM	Chattanooga TN	Talk	6,000	102.3	5	0
WISW-AM	Columbia SC	News/Talk	5,000	1320	12	0
WJCW-AM	Johnson City TN-VA	News/Talk	5,000	910	14	0
WJIM-AM	Lansing MI	News/Talk	890	1240	11.5	1
WKRT-AM	Ithaca NY	News/Talk	1,000	920	12	0
WNBF-AM	Binghamton NY	News/Talk	9,300	1290	9.25	0
WNOX-FM	Knoxville TN	News/Talk	100,000	100.3	10	0
WPRO-AM	Providence RI	News/Talk	5,000	630	9.75	0
WTMA-AM	Charleston SC	News/Talk	5,000	1250	11	0
WXLM-FM	New London CT	News/Talk	3,000	102.3	16	0
WYOS-AM	Binghamton NY	Talk	5,000	1360	0	0

CITADEL TOTAL—23 STATIONS

Conservative—100%

Progressive—0%

270.25 hours

1 hour

CUMULUS

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KAOK-AM	Lake Charles	News/Talk	1,000	1400	6	0
KCMO-AM	Kansas City MO	Talk	10,000	710	11	0
KFAY-AM	Fayetteville AR	News/Talk	10,000	1030	12	0
KLIF-AM	Dallas TX	Talk	5,000	570	14	0
KLIK-AM	Columbia MO	News/Talk	5,000	1240	0	0
KMAJ-AM	Topeka KS	News/Talk	5,000	1440	0	0
KRMD-AM	Shreveport LA	Talk	1,000	1340	7	0
KROC-AM	Rochester MN	News/Talk	1,000	1340	6	0
KTEM-AM	Kileen-Temple TX	News/Talk	1,000	1400	9	0
KUGN-AM	Eugene OR	News/Talk	5,000	590	10	0
WAAV-AM	Wilmington NC	News/Talk	5,000	980	8	0
WALG-AM	Albany GA	News/Talk	5,000	1590	13	0
WBMQ-AM	Savannah GA	News/Talk	4,800	630	16	0
WCOA-AM	Pensacola FL	News/Talk	5,000	1370	5.5	0
WDBQ-AM	Dubuque IA	News/Talk	1,000	1490	11	0
WFNC-AM	Fayetteville NC	News/Talk	10,000	640	12	0
WFTK-FM	Cincinnati OH	Talk	10,500	96.5	4	0
WFTW-AM	Ft Walton FL	News/Talk	2,500	1260	11	0
WICC-AM	Bridgeport CT	News/Talk	1,000	600	0	0
WKMI-AM	Kalamazoo MI	Talk	5,000	1360	14.5	0
WLWI-AM	Montgomery, AL	News/Talk	5000	1440	9	0
WOSH-AM	Appleton WI	News/Talk	1,000	1490	8	0
WPIC-AM	Youngstown OH	News/Talk	1,000	790	7	0
WROK-AM	Rockford IL	News/Talk	5,000	1440	8	0
WSBA-AM	York PA	News/Talk	5,000	910	11	0
WTOD-AM	Toledo OH	Talk	5,000	1560	10	0
WVNN-AM	Huntsville AL	News/Talk	7,000	770	20	0
WVNN-FM	Huntsville AL	News/Talk	3,100	92.5	20	0
WWCK-AM	Flint MI	Talk	1,000	1570	8	0
WWFT-FM	Indianapolis IN	Talk	2,950	93.9	11	0
WWTN-FM	Nashville TN	News/Talk	100,000	99.7	4	0

CUMULUS TOTAL—31 STATIONS

Conservative—100%

Progressive—0%

286 hours

0 hours

SALEM

STATION	CITY	TYPE	POWER (IN WATTS)	FREQUENCY	CONSERVATIVE CONTENT	PROGRESSIVE CONTENT
KCBQ-AM	San Diego CA	News/Talk	50,000	1170	17	0
KHNR-FM	Honolulu HI	News/Talk	80,000	97.5	23	0
KKNT-AM	Phoenix AZ	News/Talk	5,000	960	23.5	0
KKOL-AM	Seattle WA	Talk	50,000	1300	21	0
KLUP-AM	San Antonio TX	News/Talk	5,000	930	20	0
KNTH-AM	Houston TX	News/Talk	10,000	1070	23	0
KNTS-AM	San Francisco CA	Talk	5,000	1220	20	0
KNUS-AM	Denver CO	News	5,000	710	21	0
KOTK-AM	Omaha NE	Talk	1,000	1420	23	0
KRLA-AM	Los Angeles CA	Talk	50,000	870	23	0
KSKY-AM	Dallas TX	News/Talk	20,000	660	20	0
KTIE-AM	Riverside CA	News/Talk	2,000	590	19	0
KTKZ-AM	Sacramento CA	Talk	5,000	1380	16	0
KTKZ-FM	Sacramento CA	News/Talk	2,550	105.5	17	0
KYCR-AM	Minneapolis MN	Talk	3,800	1570	21	0
KZNT-AM	Colorado Springs CO	Talk	5,000	1460	21	0
WDTK-AM	Detroit MI	Talk	1,000	1400	19	0
WGKA-AM	Atlanta GA	Talk	5,000	920	21	0
WGTK-AM	Louisville KY	News/Talk	5,000	970	18	0
WGUL-AM	Tampa FL	News/Talk	5,000	860	23	0
WHK-AM	Cleveland OH	News/Talk	5,000	1420	19.5	0
WIND-AM	Chicago IL	News/Talk	50,000	560	20	0
WLSS-AM	Sarasota FL	News/Talk	5,000	930	20	0
WNTP-AM	Philadelphia PA	Talk	50,000	990	24	0
WORL-AM	Orlando FL	News/Talk	1,000	660	14	0
WRRD-AM	Milwaukee WI	Talk	400	540	3	0
WTTT-AM	Boston MA	Talk	5,000	1150	24	0
WWTC-AM	Minneapolis MN	Talk	5,000	1280	24	0

SALEM TOTAL—28 STATIONS

Conservative—100%

Progressive—0%

558 hours

0 hours

Appendix B—Conservative and Progressive Hosts Examined in Analysis

Conservatives

Chris Baker
Glenn Beck
Bill Bennett
Neal Boortz
Jon Caldara
Pat Campbell
Howie Carr
Dan Conroy
Bill Cunningham
Mark Davis
Jerry Doyle
Dr. Laura
Larry Elder
Dave Elswick
Mark Fuhrman
Mike Gallagher
John Gibson
Dom Giordano
Sean Hannity
Paul Harvey
Roger Hedgecock
Bud Hedinger
Hugh Hewitt
Fred Honsberger
Rusty Humphries
Laura Ingraham
Rollye James
Susanne LaFrankie
Lars Larson
Mark Levin
Jason Lewis
G. Gordon Liddy
Rush Limbaugh

Bob Lonsberry
Roy Masters
Mike McConnell
Michael Medved
Bill Meyer
Dennis Miller
Matt Mittan
Tom O'Brien
Bill O'Reilly
Joe Pags
Janet Parshall
Dennis Prager
Quinn & Rose
Michael Reagan
Michael Savage
Todd Schmitt
Michael Smerconish
Tom Sullivan
Phil Valentine
Lynn Woolley

Progressives

Air America
David Bender
Alan Colmes
Jim DeFede
Jon Elliott
Rick Emerson
Thom Hartmann
Lionel
Rachel Maddow
Bruce Maiman
Mike Malloy
Stephanie Miller
Bill Press
Lee Rayburn
Randi Rhodes
Mark Riley
Betsy Rosenberg
Ed Schultz
Sam Seder
Al Sharpton
Stacy Taylor
Young Turks

Appendix C—Market-by-Market Data, May 2007

NEW YORK, NY						
WABC-AM	New York NY	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	50,000/ 770	13.25	0
WBBR-AM	New York NY	Bloomberg LP	News	50,000/1130	0	0
WCBS-AM	New York NY	CBS Radio	News	50,000/ 880	0	0
WFNY-FM	New York NY	CBS Radio	Talk	6,000/ 92.3	0	0
WINS-AM	New York NY	CBS Radio	News	50,000/1010	0	0
WOR-AM	New York NY	Buckley Bdcst	Talk	50,000/ 710	5	0
WWRL-AM	New York NY	Access. 1Comm	Talk	25,000/1600	0	16
NEW YORK TOTAL					18 HRS, 15 MINS	16 HRS
LOS ANGELES, CA						
KABC-AM	Los Angeles CA	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	5,000/ 790	10.25	0
KFI-AM	Los Angeles CA	Clear Channel	News/Talk	50,000/ 640	13	0
KLSX-FM	Los Angeles CA	CBS Radio	Talk	21,000/ 97.1	0	0
KNX-AM	Los Angeles CA	CBS Radio	News	50,000/1070	0	0
KRLA-AM	Los Angeles CA	Salem Comm	Talk	50,000/ 870	23	0
KTLK-AM	Los Angeles CA	Clear Channel	Talk	50,000/1150	0	21
LOS ANGELES TOTAL					46 HRS, 15 MINS	21 HRS
CHICAGO, IL						
WBBM-AM	Chicago IL	CBS Radio	News	50,000/ 780	0	0
WCKG-FM	Chicago IL	CBS Radio	Talk	4,100/105.9	5	0
WCPT-AM	Chicago IL	Newsweb Corp	Talk	2,500/ 850	0	23
WGN-AM	Chicago IL	Tribune Bdcst	News/Talk	50,000/ 720	0.25	0
WIND-AM	Chicago IL	Salem Comm	News/Talk	50,000/ 560	20	0
WLS-AM	Chicago IL	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	50,000/ 890	8	0
WVON-AM	Chicago IL	Clear Channel	Urban Talk	10,000/1690	0	6
CHICAGO TOTAL					33 HRS, 15 MINS	29 HRS
SAN FRANCISCO, CA						
KCBS-AM	San Francisco CA	CBS Radio	News	50,000/ 740	0	0
KGO-AM	San Francisco CA	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	50,000/ 810	0.25	3
KNEW-AM	San Francisco CA	Clear Channel	Talk	20,000/ 910	15	0
KNTS-AM	San Francisco CA	Salem Comm	Talk	5,000/1220	20	0
KQKE-AM	San Francisco CA	Clear Channel	Talk	5,000/ 960	0	24
KSFO-AM	San Francisco CA	ABC, Inc.	Talk	5,000/ 560	17	0
KTRB-AM	San Francisco CA	Pete Pappas Co	Talk	50,000/ 860	9	0
SAN FRANCISCO TOTAL					61 HRS, 15 MINS	27 HRS
DALLAS, TX						
KFCD-AM	Dallas TX	DFW Radio License	Talk	7,000/ 990	0	0
KKLF-AM	Dallas TX	Cumulus Media	Talk	10,000/1700	0	0
KLIF-AM	Dallas TX	Cumulus Media	Talk	5,000/ 570	14	0
KLLI-FM	Dallas TX	CBS Radio	Talk	100,000/105.3	0	0
KRLD-AM	Dallas TX	CBS Radio	News	50,000/1080	3	0
KSKY-AM	Dallas TX	Salem Comm	News/Talk	20,000/ 660	20	0
KVCE-AM	Dallas TX	Dallas Brcdst	Talk	1,000/1160	9	0
WBAP-AM	Dallas TX	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	50,000/ 820	15	0
DALLAS TOTAL					61 HRS	0

HOUSTON, TX

KIKK-AM	Houston TX	CBS Radio	News	250/ 650	0	0
KNTH-AM	Houston TX	Salem Comm	News/Talk	10,000/1070	23	0
KPRC-AM	Houston TX	Clear Channel	Talk	5,000/ 950	15	0
KTRH-AM	Houston TX	Clear Channel	News	50,000/ 740	11.66	0
HOUSTON TOTAL					49 HRS, 40 MINS	0

PHILADELPHIA, PA

KYW-AM	Philadelphia PA	CBS Radio	News	50,000/1060	0	0
WNTP-AM	Philadelphia PA	Salem Comm	Talk	50,000/ 990	24	0
WPHT-AM	Philadelphia PA	CBS Radio	Talk	50,000/1210	16.5	0
WYSP-FM	Philadelphia PA	CBS Radio	Talk	16,000/ 94.1	0	0
PHILADELPHIA TOTAL					40 HRS, 30 MINS	0

WASHINGTON, DC

WFED-AM	Washington DC	Bonneville Inter	News	1,000/1050	0	0
WGYS-FM	Washington DC	Bonneville Inter	News	380/103.9	0	0
WJFK-FM	Washington DC	CBS Radio	Talk	22,500/106.7	2	0
WMAL-AM	Washington DC	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	5,000/ 630	17	0
WOL-AM	Washington DC	Radio One, Inc	Urban Talk	1,000/1450	0	0
WTNT-AM	Washington DC	Clear Channel	Talk	5,000/ 570	16	0
WTOP-FM	Washington DC	Bonneville Inter	News	44,000/103.5	0	0
WTWP-AM	Washington DC	Bonneville Inter	News/Talk	50,000/1500	0	0
WTWP-FM	Washington DC	Bonneville Inter	News/Talk	29,000/107.7	0	0
WWRC-AM	Washington DC	Clear Channel	Talk	5,000/1260	0	19
DC TOTAL					35HRS	19HRS

ATLANTA, GA

WAMJ-FM	Atlanta GA	Radio One, Inc	Urban Talk	3,000/102.5	0	2
WGKA-AM	Atlanta GA	Salem Comm	Talk	5,000/ 920	21	0
WGST-AM	Atlanta GA	Clear Channel	Talk	50,000/ 640	6.5	0
WSB-AM	Atlanta GA	Cox Radio Inc	News/Talk	50,000/ 750	10.5	0
WVCC-AM	Atlanta GA	Clear Channel	News/Talk	7,790/ 720	9	0
ATLANTA TOTAL					47 HRS	2 HRS

DETROIT, MI

CKLW-AM	Detroit MI	CHUM Grp Radio	News/Talk	50,000/ 800	0	0
WCHB-AM	Detroit MI	Radio One, Inc	Urban Talk	50,000/1200	0	3
WDTK-AM	Detroit MI	Salem Comm	Talk	1,000/1400	19	0
WDTW-AM	Detroit MI	Clear Channel	Talk	5,000/1310	0	18
WJR-AM	Detroit MI	ABC, Inc.	News/Talk	50,000/ 760	10.5	0
WKRK-FM	Detroit MI	CBS Radio	Talk	15,000/ 97.1	2	0
WWJ-AM	Detroit MI	CBS Radio	News	50,000/ 950	0	0
DETROIT TOTAL					31 HRS, 30 MINS	21 HRS

GRAND TOTAL

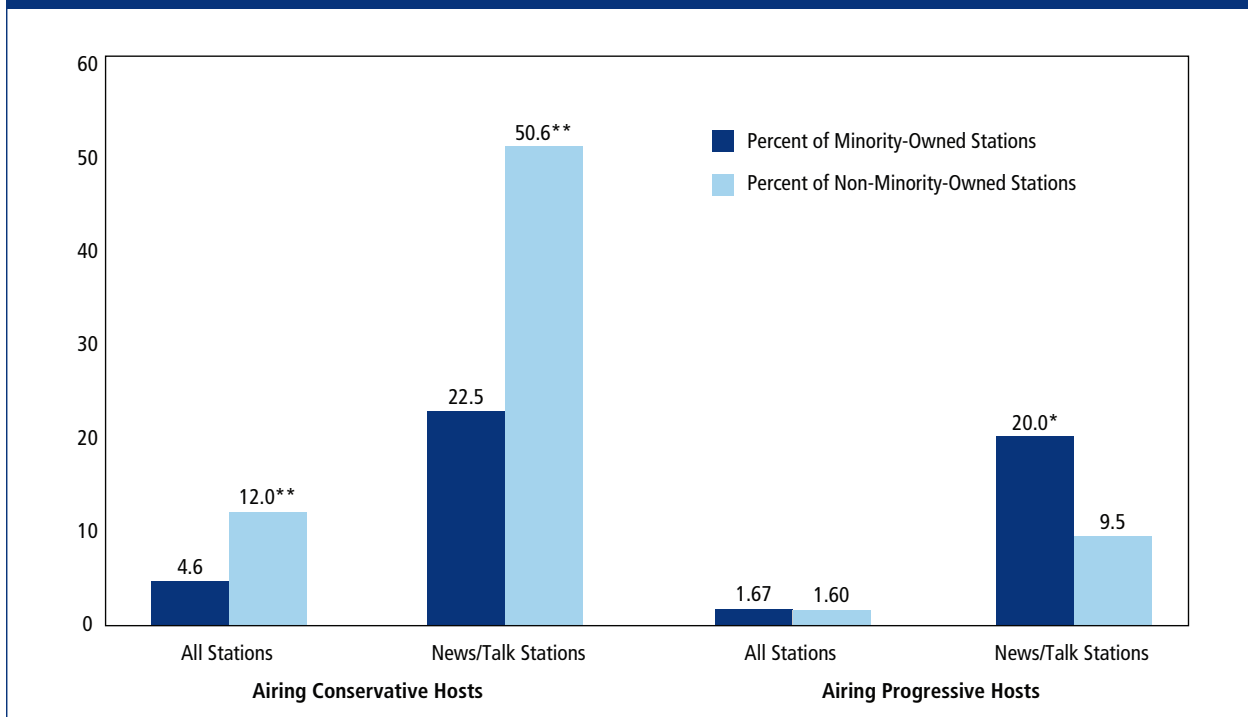
423HRS, 40 MINS
76%
135HRS
24%

Appendix D—Market Concentration and Progressive vs. Conservative Talk Show Hosts

Given that minority-owned stations are more likely to be located in areas with high minority populations,¹ we might expect these owners to air talk radio programming that appeals more to a minority audience. Since the stations owned by women are less concentrated in specific geographic areas, and since the political preferences of women are not very polarized, we might expect to see no difference in the types of programming aired by female station owners.

There is prior evidence that may guide the hypotheses. Minorities tend to vote for Democratic candidates and report relatively high levels of Democratic Party identification. White males tend to vote for Republican candidates and have a higher Republican Party affiliation identification. For women, the lines are not so clearly drawn, with a near even split between the Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2004 presidential election.²

FIGURE 1: CONSERVATIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE HOSTS
By Minority-Owned Stations



* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$

** Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.001$

N=10,506 (all stations); N=1,310 (news or talk format stations)

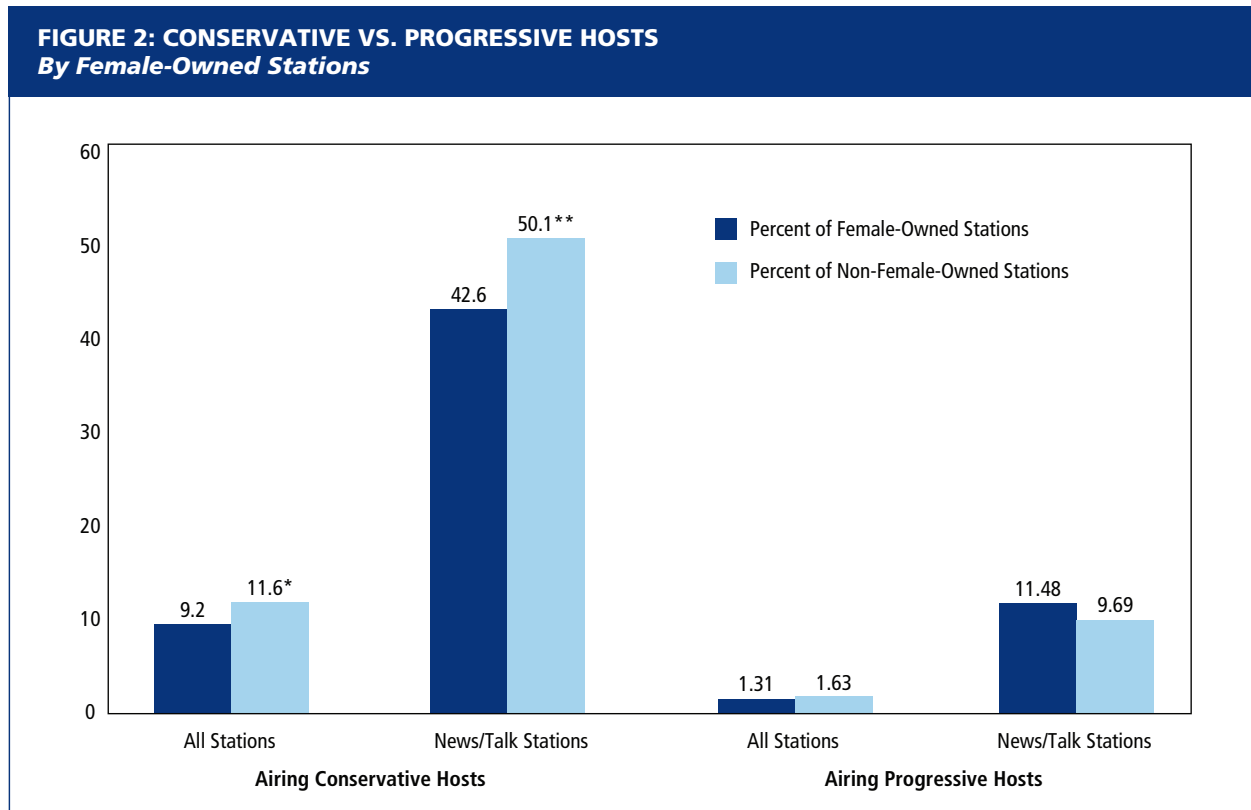
Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

To investigate these hypotheses, we compiled a list of every affiliate of a selection of top-rated conservative and progressive hosts and examined differences in the airing of these programs by minority- and women-owned stations. For conservative hosts, we chose Rush Limbaugh, Laura Ingraham, Dr. Laura Schlesinger, Glenn Beck and Bill Bennett. For progressive hosts we chose Stephanie Miller, Ed Schultz, Alan Colmes, Randi Rhodes, The Young Turks and Al Franken.³

Simple two-way comparative results are presented below, followed by a more complex statistical treatment, which accounts for the variability in owners' selection whether or not to air any of the 11 hosts in our sample.

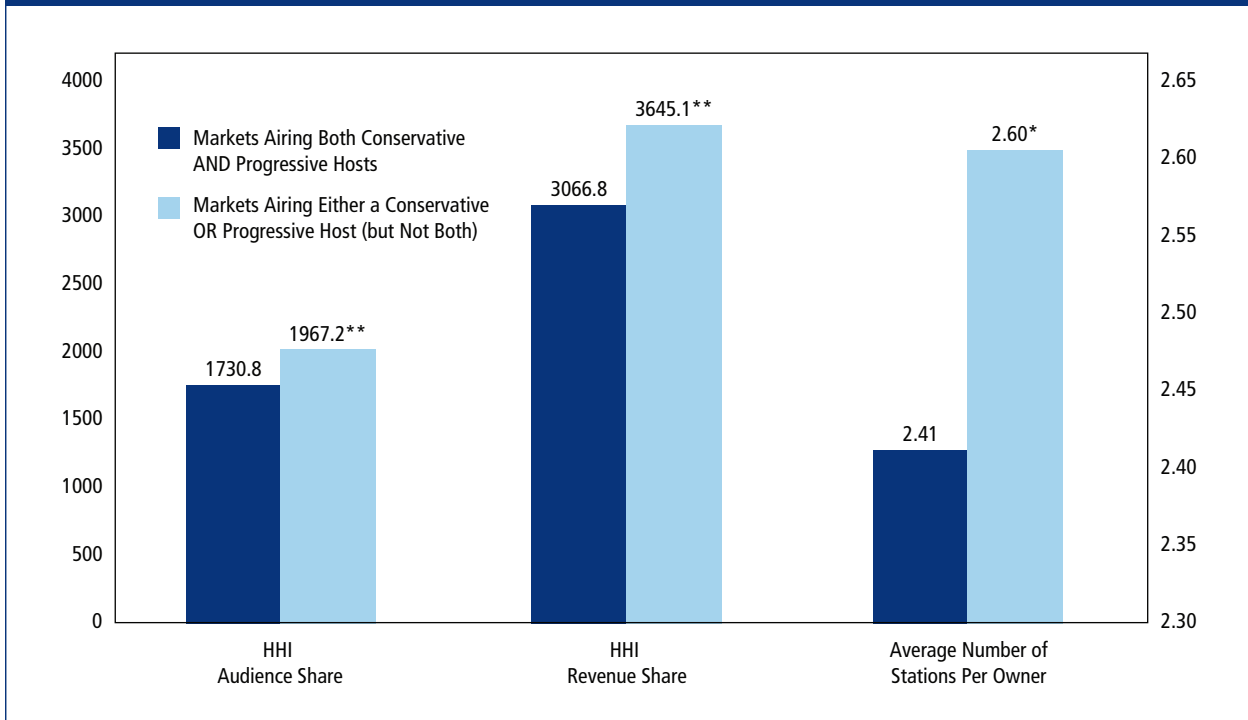
Our data indicate that minority-owned stations are less likely than non-minority-owned stations to air the conservative programming in our sample (4.6 percent of minority-owned stations, versus 12 percent of the non-minority-owned stations aired at least one of the five conservative hosts). Among talk and news format stations, 22.5 percent of minority-owned stations aired conservative programming, versus 50.6 percent of the non-minority-owned news and talk stations (see Figure 1).

Though there was no difference for progressive programming between all minority and non-minority-owned stations, one-fifth of minority-owned news or talk stations aired



* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.08$
 ** Difference at $p < 0.25$
 N=10,506 (all stations); N=1,310 (news or talk format stations)
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

FIGURE 3: MARKET CONCENTRATION AND PROGRAMMING⁴
Markets with Conservative and Progressive Hosts



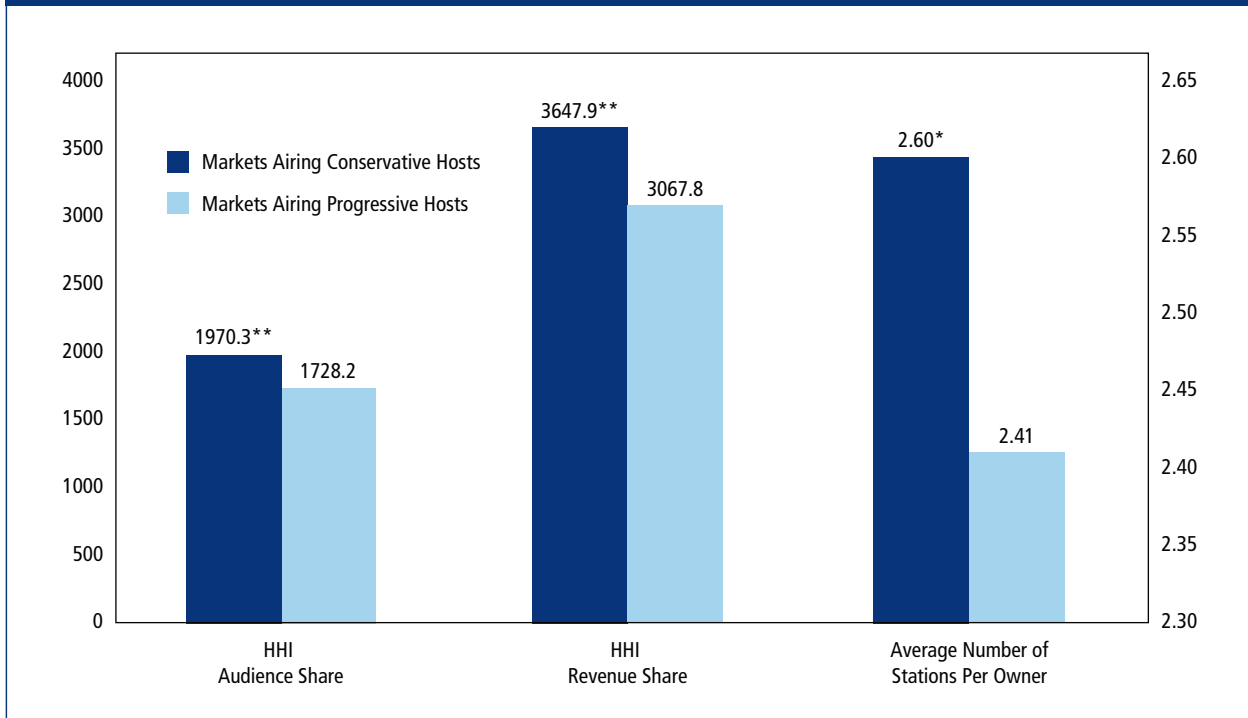
* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$
 ** Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.01$
 N=280 Arbitron Radio Markets
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

progressive programming, versus just one-tenth of the non-minority-owned news and talk stations.

Stations owned by women were less likely than those not owned by women to air the conservative hosts in our sample, though the magnitude of the difference was not as large as was observed in the case of minority owners (9.2 percent of female-owned stations aired the conservative programming, versus 11.6 percent of the non-female-owned stations). Among news and talk format stations, 42.6 percent of women-owned stations aired conservative programming, versus 50.1 percent of the non-female-owned stations, though this difference is not statistically significant. The progressive programming did air at a slightly higher level on female-owned news and talk stations (11.5 percent versus 9.7 percent of the non-female-owned news and talk format stations), but again this difference was not statistically significant (see Figure 2).

Interestingly, the presence of a minority-owned station in a market was significantly correlated with the availability of both conservative and progressive programming. Minority-owned stations were present in 57.7 percent of markets that aired both types of programming but only in 48.5 percent of markets that aired only one type (difference is significant at $p < 0.10$). A similar result was observed for women, though the result is not quite statistically significant. Female-owned stations were present in 48.6 percent of

FIGURE 4: MARKET CONCENTRATION AND PROGRAMMING
Conservative vs. Progressive Hosts



* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$
 ** Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.01$
 N=280 Arbitron Radio Markets
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

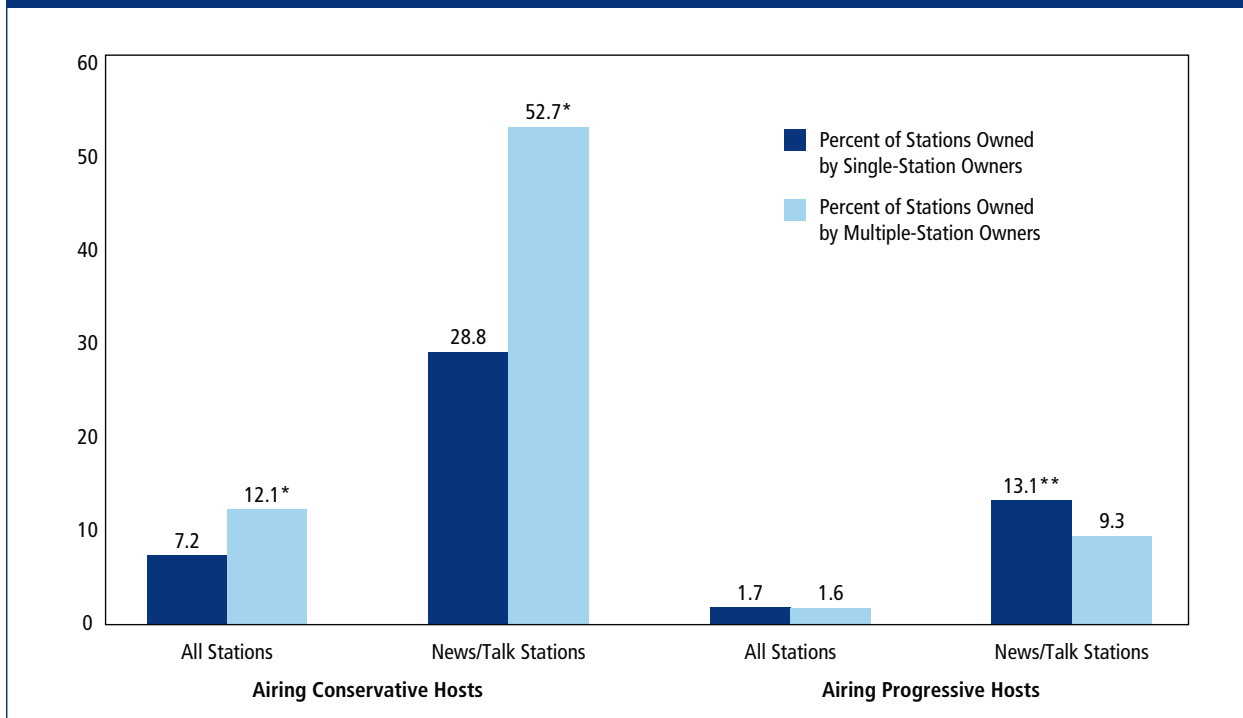
markets that aired both types of programming, but only in 37.7 percent of markets that aired only one type (difference at $p = 0.135$).

In addition, markets that aired both progressive and conservative hosts were significantly less concentrated than markets that aired just one type of programming (see Figure 3). This result, along with the other findings in this study, seems to indicate that having greater diversity of ownership—both in terms of race and gender, as well as market power—leads to greater diversity in programming.

Overall, the markets that aired conservative programming were more concentrated than the markets that aired progressive programming (see Figure 4).

There were similar differences in the airing of these programs depending on the size of the station owner and whether a station is locally owned. Single-station owners aired conservative programming on 7.2 percent of their stations, while those who owned more than one station aired this type of show on 12.1 percent of their stations. Among the news and talk format stations, 28.8 percent of the stations owned by single-station owners aired conservative programming, while multiple station owners aired this programming on 52.7 percent of their talk and news format stations. News and talk format stations owned by single-station owners did air progressive programming at a slightly

**FIGURE 5: CONSERVATIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE HOSTS
By Single-Station Owners**



* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.01$

** Difference at $p < 0.13$

N=10,506 (all stations); N=1,310 (news or talk format stations)

Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

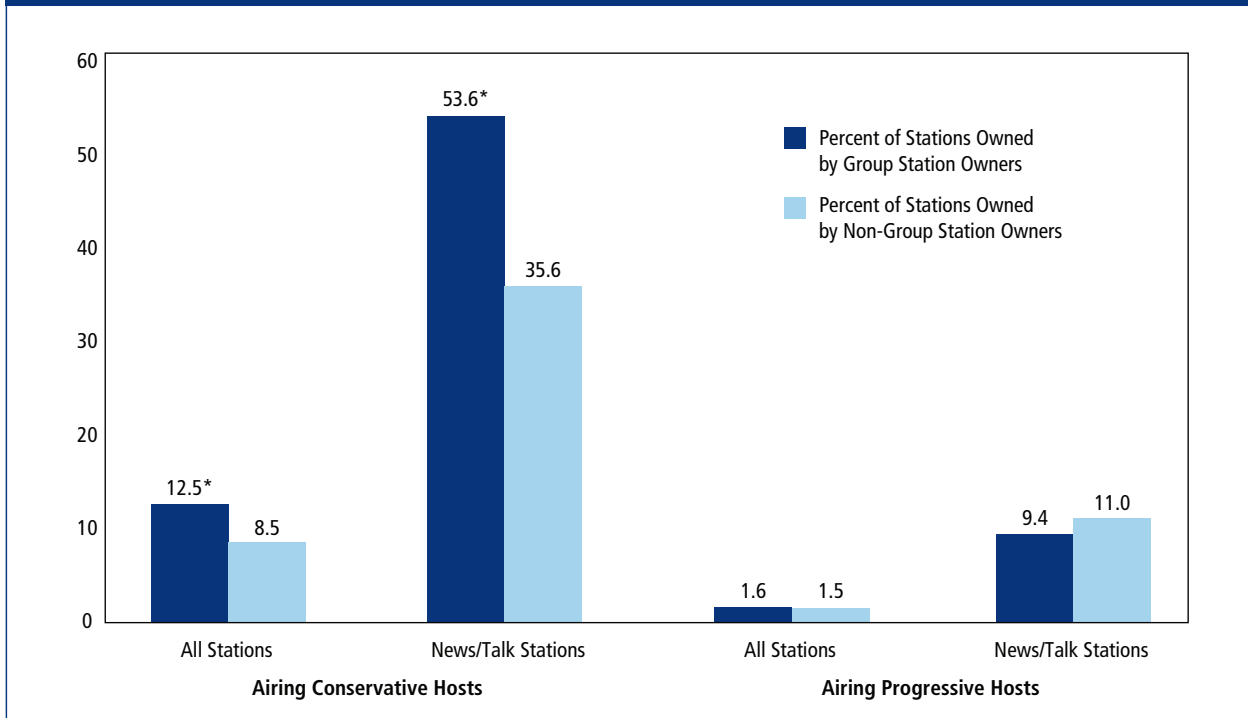
higher level than multiple station owners, though the difference was not statistically significant (see Figure 5).

Group owners (those who control stations in multiple markets or more than three stations in a single market) aired significantly higher levels of conservative programming. Group owners aired conservative programming on 12.5 percent of their stations, versus just 8.5 percent of the non-group-owned stations. Among the news and talk format stations, 53.6 percent of the stations owned by group owners aired conservative programming, while multiple station owners aired this programming on 35.6 percent of their talk and news format stations (see Figure 6).

We also found that local station owners aired significantly lower levels of conservative programming compared to non-local owners. Locally owned stations aired the conservative programming on 9.9 percent of their stations versus 12.6 percent of the non-locally owned stations. Among the news and talk format stations, 43.2 percent of the locally owned stations aired conservative programming, compared to 54.3 percent of the non-locally owned talk and news format stations (see Figure 7).

Taken together, these data seem to indicate that potential one-sidedness on the radio dial in terms of political programming may have just as much to do with who the own-

**FIGURE 6: CONSERVATIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE HOSTS
By Group Station Owners**



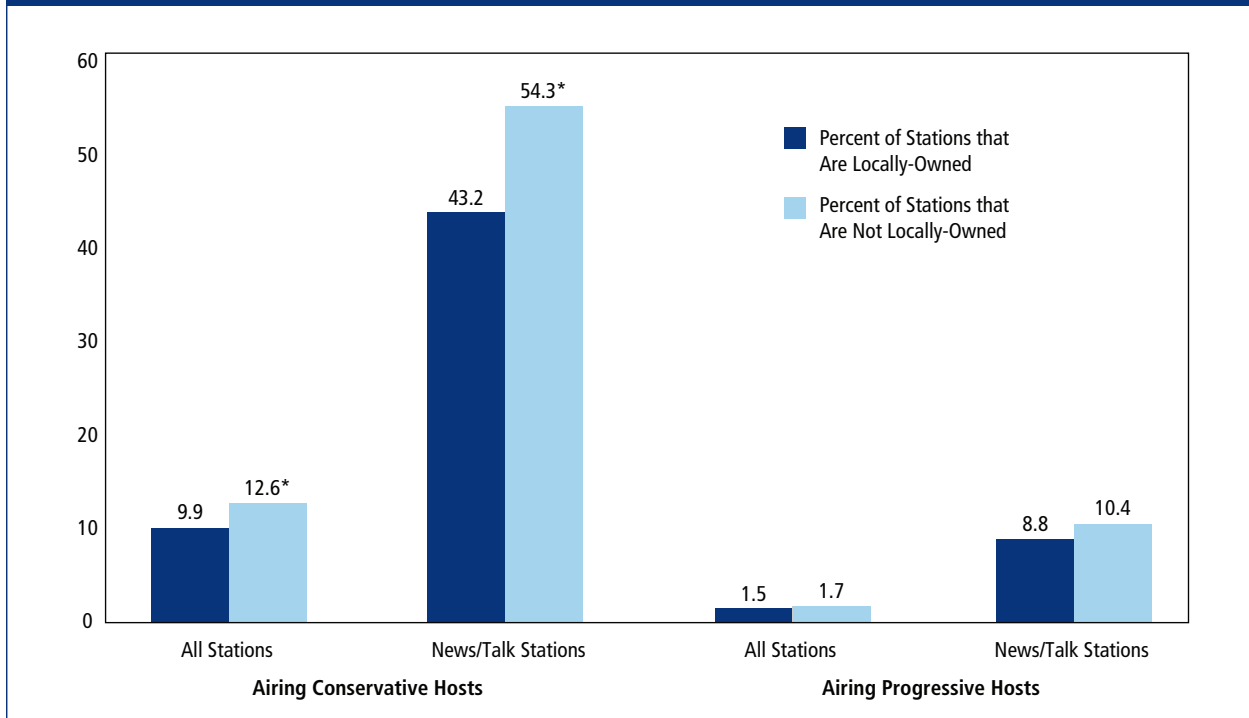
Group station owner is defined as an entity that controls stations in multiple markets, or more than three stations in a single market
 * Difference is statistically significant at p<0.01
 N=10,506 (all stations); N=1,310 (news or talk format stations)

ers are as it does with the demands of market listeners. Where markets are less concentrated and have more diversity of ownership, we see more variety in programming. This result may seem obvious. But policymakers may have forgotten *the* reason behind ownership rules that mitigate media market concentration and consolidation: Increasing diversity and localism in ownership will produce *more* diverse speech, *more* choice for listeners, and *more* owners who are responsive to their local communities and serve the public interest.

Econometric Analysis

To examine the relationship between conservative versus progressive talk show programming and radio market concentration in a more comprehensive manner, several econometric models were constructed. The first set of models examines the effect that the presence of conservative or progressive in a market has on market concentration. In order to control for market-specific effects, several control variables were used: market population, the percent of minority population within a given market, the presence of a minority-owned station within a given market, and the presence of a female-owned station within a given market. This approach is also used to examine the relationship between markets that aired both types of programming and market concentration.

FIGURE 7: CONSERVATIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE HOSTS
By Locally Owned Stations



* Difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.01$
 N=10,506 (all stations); N=1,310 (news or talk format stations)
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

These models are generally specified as:

$$HHIshare = \alpha + \beta_1(prog\text{mkt})_i + \beta_2(con\text{mkt})_i + \beta_3(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_4(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_5(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_5(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

$$HHIrev = \alpha + \beta_1(prog\text{mkt})_i + \beta_2(con\text{mkt})_i + \beta_3(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_4(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_5(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_5(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

$$stationratio = \alpha + \beta_1(prog\text{mkt})_i + \beta_2(con\text{mkt})_i + \beta_3(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_4(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_5(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_6(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

$$HHIshare = \alpha + \beta_1(both\text{mkt}) + \beta_2(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_3(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_4(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_5(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

$$HHIrev = \alpha + \beta_1(both\text{mkt}) + \beta_2(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_3(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_4(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_5(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

$$stationratio = \alpha + \beta_1(both\text{mkt}) + \beta_2(mkt\text{pop})_i + \beta_3(pct\text{minor})_i + \beta_4(minow\text{nmkt})_i + \beta_5(femow\text{nmkt})_i + \xi_i$$

Where

HHIshare = the HHI for a particular market, based upon station audience share.

HHIrev = the HHI for a particular market, based upon an owner's share of market revenue

stationratio = the number of commercial stations in a market divided by the number of unique owners in that market

progmnt = dummy variable for a market that aired at least one of the six progressive hosts.

conmnt = dummy variable for a market that aired at least one of the five conservative hosts.

bothmnt = dummy variable for a market that aired both types of programming

mktpop = the total population living in the Arbitron market.

pctminor = the percentage of a market's population that is of minority racial or ethnic status.

femownmnt = dummy variable for a market with a female-owned station.

minownmnt = dummy variable for a market with a minority-owned station.

Each model was investigated as OLS models with robust standard errors.

The results are presented below in Figures 8–10. These results generally suggest that markets that air conservative programming are more concentrated, and markets that air progressive programming are less concentrated. They also indicate that markets that air *both* types of programming are less concentrated than the market where just one type of programming is available.

FIGURE 8: MARKET CONCENTRATION AND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS By Concentration of Audience Share		
DEPENDENT VARIABLE = HHI AUDIENCE SHARE	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)
Market airing a progressive host	-121.5 (0.088)*	
Market airing a conservative host	360.7 (0.000)***	
Total market population	-0.0001 (0.000)***	-0.0001 (0.000)***
Percent minority population in market	-0.025 (0.992)	0.067 (0.979)
Minority-owned station in market	-264.7 (0.000)***	-271.1 (0.000)***
Female-owned station in market	-182.6 (0.007)***	-179.1 (0.008)***
Market airing BOTH a conservative host and a progressive host		-118.8 (0.094)*
Constant	1865.2 (0.000)***	2222.4 (0.000)***
N = 280	R ² = 0.2139	R ² = 0.2119

* Statistically significant at p<0.10

** Statistically significant at p<0.05

*** Statistically significant at p<0.001

N = 280 (markets airing a conservative or progressive host)

Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

**FIGURE 9: MARKET CONCENTRATION AND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS
By Concentration of Market Revenue Share**

DEPENDENT VARIABLE = HHI REVENUE SHARE	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)
Market airing a progressive host	-361.8 (0.014)**	
Market airing a conservative host	92.5 (0.565)	
Total market population	-0.0002 (0.001)***	-0.0002 (0.001)***
Percent minority population in market	-9.13 (0.104)*	-9.04 (0.106)
Minority-owned station in market	-451.1 (0.020)**	-457.1 (0.018)**
Female-owned station in market	-457.0 (0.001)***	-453.6 (0.001)***
Market airing BOTH a conservative host and a progressive host		-359.3 (0.014)*
Constant	4247.6 (0.000)***	4336.9 (0.000)***
N = 280	R ² = 0.2276	R ² = 0.2272

* Statistically significant at p<0.10
 ** Statistically significant at p<0.05
 *** Statistically significant at p<0.001
 N = 280 (markets airing a conservative or progressive host)
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

**FIGURE 10: MARKET CONCENTRATION AND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS
By Concentration of Stations**

DEPENDENT VARIABLE = NUMBER OF STATIONS PER UNIQUE OWNER	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)	OLS COEFFICIENT (SIG W/ ROBUST STD. ERROR)
Market airing a progressive host	-0.133 (0.078)*	
Market airing a conservative host	0.580 (0.000)***	
Total market population	-0.0000 (0.641)	-0.0000 (0.657)
Percent minority population in market	-0.002 (0.518)	-0.002 (0.547)
Minority-owned station in market	-0.230 (0.020)**	-0.239 (0.015)**
Female-owned station in market	-0.219 (0.007)***	-0.214 (0.008)***
Market airing BOTH a conservative host and a progressive host		-0.129 (0.086)*
Constant	2.267 (0.000)***	2.842 (0.000)***
N = 280	R ² = 0.0989	R ² = 0.0952

* Statistically significant at p<0.10
 ** Statistically significant at p<0.05
 *** Statistically significant at p<0.001
 N = 280 (markets airing a conservative or progressive host)
 Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

We also wanted to investigate the relationship between station owner gender or race/ethnicity, and the propensity to air either type of programming. Because there are underlying reasons that dictate the choice of whether or not to air *any* of these 11 hosts, it is best to first model the probability that a station will choose to air any of the 11 shows (selection model), then based on that result, estimate the outcome—whether a station aired a conservative or progressive host (outcome models). This approach is desired when dealing with a “limited” variable such as this, where only 12.6 percent of all 10,506 stations aired any of the 11 hosts.

The selection models was specified as:

$$\text{shows} = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{minownsta})_i + \beta_2(\text{femownsta})_i + \beta_3(\text{singleown})_i + \beta_4(\text{localown})_i + \beta_5(\text{mktpop})_i + \beta_6(\text{pctminor})_i + \beta_7(\text{starev})_i + \beta_8(\text{newsform})_i + \beta_9(\text{talkform})_i + \xi_i$$

The outcome models were specified as:

$$\text{consta} = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{minownsta})_i + \beta_2(\text{femownsta})_i + \beta_3(\text{singleown})_i + \beta_4(\text{localown})_i + \beta_5(\text{mktpop})_i + \beta_6(\text{pctminor})_i + \beta_7(\text{starev})_i + \xi_i$$

$$\text{progsta} = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{minownsta})_i + \beta_2(\text{femownsta})_i + \beta_3(\text{singleown})_i + \beta_4(\text{localown})_i + \beta_5(\text{mktpop})_i + \beta_6(\text{pctminor})_i + \beta_7(\text{starev})_i + \xi_i$$

Where

shows = dummy variable for a station that aired any of the 11 shows

progsta = dummy variable for a station that aired at least one of the six progressive hosts.

consta = dummy variable for a station that aired at least one of the five conservative hosts.

femownsta = dummy variable for a female-owned station.

minownsta = dummy variable for a minority-owned station.

singleown = dummy variable for a station owned by a single station owner.

localown = dummy variable for a station that is locally owned.

mktpop = the total population living in the Arbitron market.

pctminor = the percentage of a market’s population that is of minority racial or ethnic status.

starev = average station revenue for 2004–2005.

newsform = dummy variable for a news format station

talkform = dummy variable for a talk format station

Each model was investigated as a Heckman maximum likelihood model.

The results are presented below in Figures 11–12. These results generally suggest that minority and single-station owners are less likely to air conservative programming, and more likely to air progressive programming.

FIGURE 11: FACTORS DETERMINING THE AIRING OF CONSERVATIVE PROGRAMMING

DEPENDENT VARIABLE = STATION AIRS A CONSERVATIVE HOST (0 OR 1) N=10,506	HECKMAN MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD ESTIMATION PROBIT	
	SELECTION MODEL (=1 IF AIRS ANY PROGRESSIVE OR CONSERVATIVE HOST)	OUTCOME MODEL (=1 IF AIRS A CONSERVATIVE HOST)
	COEFFICIENT SIGNIFICANCE	COEFFICIENT SIGNIFICANCE
Minority-Owned Station	-0.195 (0.018)**	-0.446 (0.053)*
Female-Owned Station	-0.0310 (0.699)	-0.0048 (0.984)
Station Owned by Single Station Owner	-0.175 (0.003)***	-0.421 (0.007)***
Locally Owned Station	-0.114 (0.003)***	-0.112 (0.324)
Total Market Population	-2.66 x 10 ⁸ (0.028)**	-1.48 x 10 ⁷ (0.000)**
Percent Minority Population in Station's Market	-0.001 (0.346)	0.0002 (0.953)
Station Revenue (2004-2007 Average, in Thousands \$)	-3.46 x 10 ⁶ (0.523)	0.0002 (0.001)***
Format = News	4247.6 (0.000)***	
Format = Talk	1.726 (0.000)***	
Constant	-1.389 (0.000)***	1.031 (0.000)***

* Statistically significant at p<0.10

** Statistically significant at p<0.05

*** Statistically significant at p<0.001

N = 10,506 (all licensed full-power commercial radio stations)

Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

FIGURE 12: FACTORS DETERMINING THE AIRING OF PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMMING

DEPENDENT VARIABLE = STATION AIRS A PROGRESSIVE HOST (0 OR 1) N=10,506	HECKMAN MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD ESTIMATION PROBIT	
	SELECTION MODEL (=1 IF AIRS ANY PROGRESSIVE OR CONSERVATIVE HOST)	OUTCOME MODEL (=1 IF AIRS A PROGRESSIVE HOST)
	COEFFICIENT SIGNIFICANCE	COEFFICIENT SIGNIFICANCE
Minority-Owned Station	-0.196 (0.017)**	0.552 (0.008)***
Female-Owned Station	-0.0310 (0.699)	-0.0160 (0.940)
Station Owned by Single Station Owner	-0.175 (0.003)***	0.261 (0.068)*
Locally Owned Station	-0.114 (0.003)***	-0.011 (0.907)
Total Market Population	-2.66 x 10 ⁸ (0.027)**	-1.29 x 10 ⁻⁷ (0.000)***
Percent Minority Population in Station's Market	-0.001 (0.344)	0.0019 (0.483)
Station Revenue (2004–2007 Average, in Thousands \$)	-3.38 x 10 ⁶ (0.523)	-0.0002 (0.000)***
Format = News	1.722 (0.000)***	
Format = Talk	1.581 (0.000)***	
Constant	-1.389 (0.000)***	-0.637 (0.000)***

* Statistically significant at p<0.10

** Statistically significant at p<0.05

*** Statistically significant at p<0.001

N = 10,506 (all licensed full-power commercial radio stations)

Source: FCC Form 323 filings; BIA Financial; host websites; Free Press Research

Endnotes

- 1 Arbitron, "Radio Today: How America Listens to Radio, 2007 edition," p. 3. Total percentages based on spring 2006 data.
- 2 Ibid, p. 91.
- 3 Ibid, p. 98.
- 4 Ibid, p.19.
- 5 According to the Project for Excellence in Journalism's study, "The State of the News Media, 2007," the top five radio owners by the total number of news/talk stations owned were Clear Channel, Cumulus Broadcasting, Citadel Broadcasting, CBS Radio, and Salem Communications, respectively. Although Educational Media Foundation and the American Family Association were listed fifth and sixth, respectively, in terms of total stations owned, they are listed as not having any news/talk stations and were therefore excluded.
- 6 The CBS Radio and Clear Channel websites provided complete listings of stations by format. Complete station lists for Citadel, Cumulus, and Salem were gathered from the Katz Radio Group's searchable database.
- 7 Complete station lists and programming schedules were tabulated between 04/15/2007 and 05/15/2007. The list of stations and their programming schedules frequently change due to shifting ownership of stations and changes in programming. This list was compiled prior to the June merger of Citadel and ABC.
- 8 See the Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2007, Talk Radio."
- 9 Rendall, Steve, "The Fairness Doctrine: How We Lost It and Why We Need it Back," *Extra*, January/February 2005.
- 10 Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2007, Talk Radio," p. 1.
- 11 See *Syracuse Peace Council v. FCC*.
- 12 See *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*, 1969.
- 13 47 U.S.C. §§ 312 and 315 see also Statutes and Rules on Candidate Appearances & Advertising at <http://www.fcc.gov/mb-policy/political/candrule.htm>.
- 14 47 U.S.C. § 315 (a).
- 15 Mark Lloyd, *Prologue to a Farce: Communication and Democracy in America* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2007) pp. 187–189.
- 16 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press,, "Online Papers Modestly Boost Newspaper Readership," July 30, 2006.
- 17 Revision of Applications for Renewals of License of Commercial and Non Commercial AM, FM and Television Licensees, 49 RR 2d 740 (1981).
- 18 The 1996 Telecom Act permitted the FCC to increase license terms for both radio and television.
- 19 In re Deregulation of Radio, Memorandum Opinion and Order, 87 F.C.C.2d 797 (1981); In re Deregulation of Radio, Report and Order, 84 F.C.C.2d 968, (1980).
- 20 See <http://www.ntia.doc.gov/opadhome/minown98/main.htm>.

Endnotes—Appendix D

- 1 See *Off The Dial: Female and Minority Radio Station Ownership in the United States*, Free Press, June 2007.
- 2 In the 2004 national exit poll, 88 percent African-Americans reported voting for the Democratic presidential candidate, John Kerry; 53 percent of Latinos said they voted for Kerry; 56 percent of Asians reported a Kerry vote. However, Kerry's support among white, non-Hispanic voters was much lower, gaining just 41 percent of this demographic. Only 44 percent of all men and 37 percent of all white, non-Hispanic men reported voting for Kerry. Kerry earned 67 percent of the non-white male vote. Women were nearly split, with 51 percent of all women voting for Kerry, including 44 percent of white, non-Hispanic women. Kerry had large support from non-white women, earning 75 percent of this demographic's votes. See <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html> for details. According to Pew, Democratic Party identification among whites was 27 percent in 2003, versus a GOP party identification of 35 percent; African-American's were overwhelmingly Democratic, 64 percent versus just 7 percent identifying themselves as Republicans. Latinos reported a Democratic identification of 36 percent, versus 22 percent for GOP. Women reported a 36 percent Democratic Party identification, versus 29 percent for the GOP. See "The 2004 Political Landscape: Evenly Polivided and Increasingly Polarized," The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Nov. 5, 2003; available at <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=750>.

3 Companies responsible for syndicating Sean Hannity and Michael Savage refused to provide a list of affiliates, so they could not be included. Al Franken's show is no longer on the air. Information on all hosts was obtained on May 8-9, 2007 from host or company Web sites. These results are merely suggestive, and further study with a larger sample of hosts would provide further clarity. In addition, detailed accounting of voting and party identification behavior at the county level would provide a granular metric of community preferences.

4 The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) is calculated as: $HHI = \sum_{i=1}^n S_i^2 \times 10,000$

where

n = the number of firms

S_i = the share of the i th firm

Thus a market with 10 firms that had equal market shares (0.1 each) would have an HHI of 1,000. A higher HHI means a market is more concentrated. HHIs above 1,800 indicate a market is "highly concentrated". Market revenue share HHI calculations were based only on the universe of commercial stations. For market audience share calculations, all commercial and non-commercial stations were included. Share is reported by BIA (using Arbitron data) as the percent of all those listening to the radio at a given time that are tuned in to the particular station. However, because audience share information is not reported for noncommercial stations, these stations and the commercial stations that had no reported share were assigned an estimated value, calculated by summing the total reported shares, subtracting from 100, and dividing the remainder among these stations.

Center for American Progress



ABOUT THE CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS

The Center for American Progress is a nonpartisan research and educational institute dedicated to promoting a strong, just and free America that ensures opportunity for all. We believe that Americans are bound together by a common commitment to these values and we aspire to ensure that our national policies reflect these values. We work to find progressive and pragmatic solutions to significant domestic and international problems and develop policy proposals that foster a government that is “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

ABOUT FREE PRESS

Free Press is a national nonpartisan organization working to increase informed public participation in crucial media policy debates, and to generate policies that will produce a more competitive and public interest-oriented media system with a strong nonprofit and noncommercial sector. For more information visit <http://www.freepress.net>

Center for American Progress
1333 H Street, NW, 10th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202.682.1611 • Fax: 202.682.1867
www.americanprogress.org

Free Press
501 Third Street NW, Suite 875
Washington, DC 20001

Tel: 202.265.1490 • Fax: 202.265.1489
www.freepress.net