

WHO'S TALKING?

An Analysis of Sunday Morning Talk Shows

The White House Project is a national nonpartisan organization dedicated to enhancing public perception of women's capacity to lead and fostering the entry of women into positions of leadership, including the U.S.

Presidency. The White House Project is a program of the Women's Leadership Fund, a 501(c)3 organization.

Since October 1999, The White House Project has conducted a number of studies focusing on how women are portrayed in the media. Our first two studies, "Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Women's Executive Leadership and the Press" and "Style Over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Female candidates – Spotlight on Elizabeth Dole," focused on the print media's treatment of female candidates for executive office.

Our research focuses on media because we recognize their power in shaping public perceptions not only about issues, but also about cultural and political norms. The media, especially television, confer power and authority and help define our leaders and authority figures. This current study looks at the authority-granting power of televised political talk shows, and examines the connections between that authority and gender.

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Marie C. Wilson, President Beverly Neufeld, Executive Director

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THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT * 110 WALL STREET, 2ND FLOOR * NEW YORK, NY 10011 www.thewhitehouseproject.org (212) 785 - 6001

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Television's weekend political talk shows help shape the discussion and awareness of politics and public policy in America. These shows have what media communications scholars call an "agenda-setting effect" in that they designate certain issues as important and others as secondary or unimportant. In the same vein, our study and others of its kind argue that these shows also have an "authority-setting effect," whereby certain public figures are granted the status of experts, leaders, and authorities in their fields. Television, our culture's most powerful medium, has the ability to confer authority, to set the agenda for national debate, and to establish the profiles and visibility of leaders.

Sunday morning political talk shows are a critical source of national political discussion. To create robust debate and ensure the representation of diverse viewpoints, these major public affairs shows invite prominent public figures to be guests. The Sunday shows intend to reflect the opinions currently at play in the national debates, yet the line-up of guests reflects neither diversity of opinion nor the range of the key players in these major debates. While previous studies have shown that television entertainment in general lacks diversity in the areas of race and socioeconomic status, The White House Project's research specifically examines Sunday political shows from the perspective of gender diversity. We examined the following shows: *This Week* (ABC), *Face the Nation* (CBS), *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer* (CNN), *Fox News Sunday* (FOX), and *Meet the Press* (NBC).

For the purpose of looking at the authority-setting and agenda-setting effects of the Sunday shows, we have limited the scope of this report to the *guests* on the shows. Within the coding for this report, a "guest" was not affiliated with the network he or she was on. So, for example, this report did not count as a guest Tom Brokaw on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Bruce Morton on CNN's *Late Edition*, or correspondents such as CNN's Christiane Amanpour. Additionally, we did not code for the gender of the shows' hosts, although we note that of all the shows, only one – ABC's *This Week* – has a female host (Cokie Roberts).

Our comprehensive review of these programs suggests that while the topics and areas of expertise of the guests may differ, one factor remains constant: **the vast majority of guests are white and male.** This lack of gender and racial diversity holds serious implications for the public perception of all women as national leaders and experts. It suggests a fundamental problem with

¹ McCombs, M.E. and Shaw, D.L.: 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, v. 36, no. 2, pp. 176-187. See also: Shaw, D.L. and McCombs, M.E.: 1977. *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The agenda-setting function of the press.* St. Paul: West Publishers.

the guests that major networks choose to represent the available range of opinion and experience. The review of academic research contained in this project points to the power of television images in shaping elite and public opinion. Since the media plays an important role in establishing authority and leadership, this lack of female participation inherently leaves women under-represented and undervalued as citizens of our democracy. Our findings demonstrate the large under-representation of women as authority figures and national leaders. The public deserves to hear from women who are currently serving in important leadership positions.

Methodology

The White House Project, with the help of the Strategic Issues Management Group, Inc., a public policy research firm, reviewed, catalogued, coded, and analyzed transcripts from network Sunday morning political talk shows from January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001. We examined the following shows: *This Week* (ABC), *Face the Nation* (CBS), *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer* (CNN), *Fox News Sunday* (FOX), and *Meet the Press* (NBC). Data were coded both with and without presidential and vice-presidential candidates. We conducted separate analyses to determine if the all-male presidential candidate pool skewed the data results, since there were no women running for President during the time period studied. Unless there are major differences between the data outcomes, which are noted in the text itself, our written analysis refers only to the data that *excludes* presidential and vice presidential candidates. However, charts and tables for both data sets are displayed in both the Findings & Analysis section and in the Appendices.

The data allowed us to examine and analyze several variables:

- Number of female vs. male guests
- > Type of guest (elected official, private professional, journalist, etc.)
- ➤ Location of guest appearance within show
- Number of words spoken by female guest vs. male guest
- > Topics that women were asked to address
- Frequency of guests (i.e. how often the same guests appeared)

Findings

- 1. Women represented only 11% of all guest appearances on the Sunday shows only 10% of guest appearances when presidential and vice-presidential candidates are included in the data calculus;
- 2. Women guests are even less often repeat guests than men. Of all the repeat guests, only 7% are women (6% including presidential and vice presidential candidates);
- 3. Added cumulatively, there were 245 repeat guest appearances by male U.S. Senators and 8 by female U.S. Senators;

- 4. Women guests spoke fewer words than men by 10%, and were slightly more likely to be in less prominent later segments of the shows;
- 5. In every category of speaker and on every topic, women were under-represented in terms of the available pool of speakers, experts, and elected officials.

The tragic terrorist attacks of September 11th immediately shifted the political landscape of our country, and with it, the dynamics of gender and leadership. The national leaders to whom the media have turned are, once again, largely male. As an addendum to our original research, we are also presenting findings on the presence of women on these shows in the changed political landscape after September 11, 2001. We examined the same set of Sunday shows from September 16 to October 28, 2001, and our findings show that:

- 1. Women's presence on the Sunday shows further decreased after the attacks; from September 16 to October 28, the percentage of guest appearances by American women across all shows dropped 39%.
- 2. When foreign officials are included, the percentage of women guest appearances dropped 12% overall from September 16 to October 28.

Conclusions & Implications

The Sunday political talk shows have the potential to confer power and authority upon those chosen as speakers on national issues. When women are only 10% of the national "experts" on these shows, and only 6% to 7% of the "repeat guests," the public perception that men have greater knowledge or ability to address political topics persists. Additionally, many of the guests are themselves political leaders trying to connect with a constituency. By not appearing on these shows, women miss the opportunity to be viewed as leaders and candidates.

This current study finds that women leaders are seriously disadvantaged by gender bias in the televised Sunday political shows. A number of studies, including Children Now's "Prime Time Diversity Report," demonstrate the importance of having role models on television.² The Sunday shows have the potential to allow women to be seen in intimate settings as trustworthy authority figures, debaters, leaders, communicators, and experts. Conversely, they have the potential to maintain traditional gender roles and to perpetuate existing notions that women lack the credibility, expertise, and authority to address our nation's most significant problems. It is our hope that the release of this report will inspire the networks to work toward remedying the inequitable representation of women guests on their shows.

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² Children Now: 2001. *Prime Time Diversity Report*: http://www.childrennow.org/newsroom/news-01/pr-5-2-01.cfm

ACADEMIC RESEARCH

The power of television today in agenda-setting and communication is enormous. Media scholars McCombs and Shaw (1972) speak of an "agenda-setting effect," whereby the press plays a major role in suggesting important topics for audiences to think about and for how long to think about them.³ In our ongoing research we suggest that in addition to having the power to shape the agenda, the news media have enormous power to shape the public's conception of authority and leadership as well as confer status on players, both popular and unknown. Media outlets provide political players with a powerful platform upon which to debate and discuss current issues, as well as improve the likelihood of success in their own political futures.

Kim Kahn, author of *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman* (1996), states that in most cases, Americans "do not experience politics directly," but rather acquire a great deal of their knowledge and perspective on public affairs through media.⁴ Figures that participate in discussions on nationally televised political talk shows thus have a powerful platform from which to influence the political climate. The weekend political talk shows identify the key players and voices who, as trusted authority figures, shape public opinion. Thus, a lack of female guests on these shows not only excludes important voices from public debate but also makes it difficult – both for voters and political elites – to visualize women as key political "insiders" who can contribute to and potentially amplify the audience's understanding of political and policy issues.

Political pundits – members of Congress, presidential candidates, journalists, foreign dignitaries, administration representatives or "expert" civilians – are, by definition, figures of authority. Much of this authority is determined through their exposure on television, radio, and other media. Pundits gain public recognition as "insiders" with personal or professional expertise, and consequently become "opinion molders." Today, pundits communicate politics to the masses and define the terms of the debate for political elites.

Some researchers have argued that the nature of television allows the public to form connections with political leaders in more significant ways than any other medium. Television in particular has a unique ability to bring faces, voices, and behaviors directly into the consciousness of its audience. As Kathleen Hall Jamieson writes in *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and*

³ McCombs, M.E. and Shaw, D.L.: 1972 (see footnote 1 above).

⁴ Kahn, Kim Fridkin: 1996. The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns. New York: Columbia University Press, page 154.

⁵ Nimmo, Dan and Combs, James E.: 1992. *The Political Pundits*. New York: Praeger Publishers, page 7.

Leadership, "The visual intimacy of television lures us into believing that we know the people – and hence the women – we invite regularly into our homes. We know them as different personalities, with different competencies and styles." Mancini and Swanson (1996) connect this concept explicitly to the democratic political process: "It is through television that the attachments are formed that link citizens to their representatives. Thus, skillful use of television to cultivate personal support is regarded as essential to political success in every democracy that is well along in the modernization process." Since the building of leadership image is a cumulative and developing process, powerful and influential individuals will jump into political discourses from all possible entry points – one of which is the Sunday shows.

Ironically, the lack of women on these talk shows helps contribute to stereotypes rather than counter them. As Jamieson states, "[a]ccording to psychologists, women are at highest risk of stereotypic appraisal when they form less than 15% to 25% of a management level...in settings in which a minority makes up less than 15% of the work force, psychologists say that the members of that group have the psychological equivalent of 'solo status.'" With women representing only 10% to 11% of the voices on the influential Sunday talk shows, they are not seen as "political pundits," but rather as part of a small, special group of female pundits. They become seen as exceptional, rather than representative. Jamieson explains, "The reality of George Eliot, Indira Ghandi, and Eleanor Roosevelt will function as proof of female competence only if their capacities are seen as suggestive of what women can do. And, of course, they weren't. They were instead, to offer a cliché, taken as the exceptions that proved the rule."

Although women are not a large percentage of the guests on Sunday shows, viewers may not notice women's under-representation because of their heightened awareness of the few women who are guests. Rosabeth Moss Kanter's classic (1977) theory of women as "tokens" explains that there is a "law of increasing returns" for tokens. Kanter writes, "As individuals of their type come to represent a smaller numerical proportion of the group, they potentially capture a larger share of the group members' awareness....The proportional rarity of tokens is associated with three perceptual phenomena: visibility, polarization, and assimilation. First, tokens, one by one, have higher visibility than dominants looked at alone: they capture a higher awareness

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⁶ Jamieson 1995 above, page 145.

⁷ Mancini, Paolo and Swanson, David L.: 1996. "Politics, Media, and Modern Deomcracy: Introduction," in *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy,* eds. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini. Westport: Praeger, page 11.

⁸ Jamieson, Kathleen Hall: 1995. *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*. New York: Oxford University Press, page 141.

share."¹⁰ Research such as this on women as tokens can help explain why viewers have the perception that more women are on the shows than they actually are.

A large body of literature speaks to the power of the print and television media to define and help maintain traditional gender roles. According to Pippa Norris (1997), consumers of these media tend to maintain traditional views about gender-appropriate characteristics and behaviors. Specifically, they believe women are emotional, understanding, gentle, warm, and compassionate, while men are independent, objective, ambitious, authoritative, and knowledgeable. Robert Sahr and Robert J. Spitzer (1993) note that journalists and television show producers commonly rely upon rather than confront such stereotypes, as doing so requires less time and space than challenging them. The exaggeration of gender differences often serves to perpetuate existing stereotypes that limit women's credibility in politics.

As Just and Crigler wrote, "Building leadership image introduces a dimension of time order. In any new situation, the most important factor in a leader's image is whatever image the leader evoked in the past. Because image building is dynamic and incremental it is natural for the best predictor to be the previous image." Many researchers have noticed that creating a powerful public image is not possible without significant positive visibility. Visibility and voice are the keys to public exposure: "Visibility and even celebrity make it possible for officials to have an audience in the public." In fact, repeated visibility through media channels is important for the image-building of leaders as it is very rare that any one speech or press event can transform a leader's image. This report makes clear that unequal access to in-depth televised political shows deprives women of the ability to be seen as important authority figures who can add to our national debates substantively, credibly, and positively.

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⁹ Ibid, page 128.

¹⁰ Kanter, Rosabeth Moss: 1977. "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology, v. 82, no. 5 (March): 965-990.

Norris, Pippa: 1997. "Women Leaders Worldwide: A Splash of Color in the Photo Op." in *Women, Media, and Politics*. Pippa Norris (ed). New York: Oxford University Press, page 61.

¹² Sahr, Robert & Robert J. Spitzer: 1993. "Credentializing Experts; the climate of opinion and journalist selection of sources in domestic and foreign policy," in Media and Public Policy, ed Robert J. Spitzer. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. Page 156.

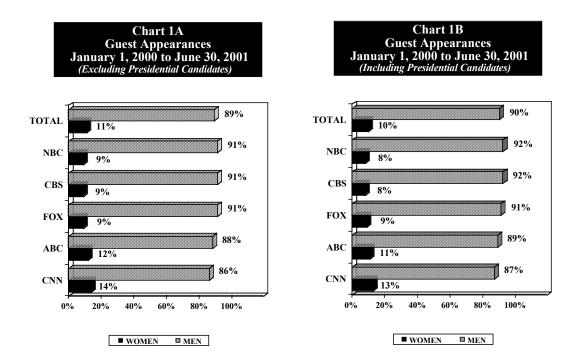
¹³ Just, Marion and Crigler, Ann: 2000. "Leadership Image-Building: After Clinton and Watergate," *Political Psychology*, vol. 21, no.1; page 182.

¹⁴ Ibid. page 184.

¹⁵ See Woodward, Gary C.: 1997. Perspectives on American Political Media. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, page 125.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Neither Seen...

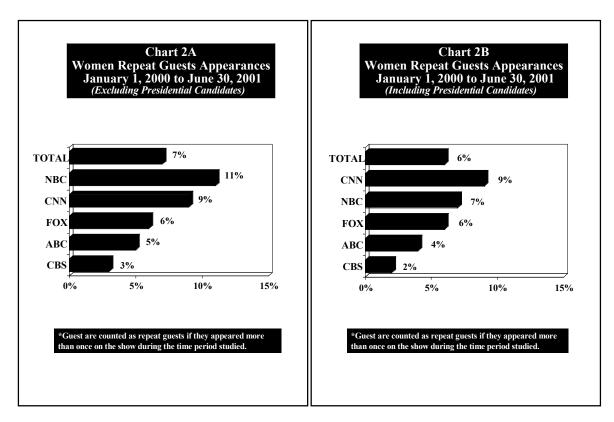


(See Tables 1A and 1B in Appendix A for data.)

Women represented only 11% of the total guest appearances on Sunday talk shows from January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001. The overall percentage of women guest appearances dropped to 10% when presidential and vice-presidential candidates are included. As Charts 1A and 1B demonstrate, there was little variance by network. The range of appearances by women guests for the networks was 8% to 13%, excluding presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

As Appendix B shows, the period of news following the September 11th crisis saw the percentage of women guest appearances drop to 9%. And, if one excludes foreign officials, women represent approximately only 7% of all guests during this time period.

Seniority and expertise alone cannot explain these patterns. By the end of 2001, women represented 13% of the Senate, 14% of the House, 21% of the Cabinet¹⁶, 14% of foreign leaders, and include 88 women statewide office holders¹⁷; yet their representation on the talk shows is beneath those averages.



(See Tables 2A and 2B in Appendix A for data.)

Women were also significantly less likely to appear as "repeat guests." **Women represented only 7% overall of repeat guest appearances.** Looking at the individual networks, NBC had the highest rate of women repeat guests (11%) while CBS had the lowest (3%).

¹⁶ See www.whitehouse.gov. Three of the official 14 Cabinet members are women. When taking into account the Cabinet Rank positions as well (including EPA Administrator), women represent 4 of the 21 members overall, or 19%.

¹⁷ See: <u>www.house.gov</u>, <u>www.senate.gov</u>, Center for the American Woman in Politics (CAWP) Factsheets: http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp; www.whitehouse.gov/government/cabinet.html

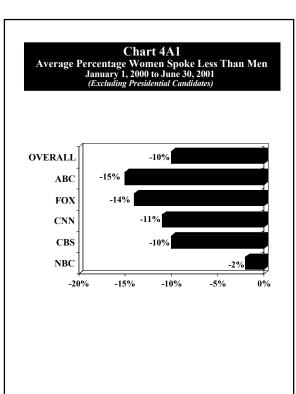
¹⁸ When Presidential candidates are included, women represented 6% of repeat guests overall across networks.

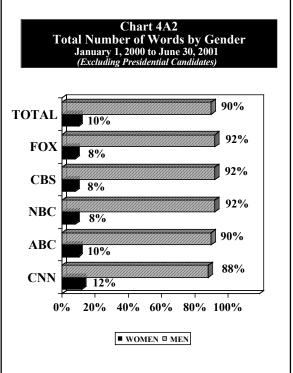
Appendix C gives the names and number of appearances for each repeat guest on each network. Women represented fewer repeat guest appearances. Those women guests who did enjoy repeat appearances did so at a much lower rate than their male counterparts. The top women repeat guests appeared less than half as often as the top repeat male guests. For example, the top male repeat guests on CBS appeared 5 to 6 times, while the top female guests appeared only 2 times. On CNN, the top repeat males appeared 10 to 12 times, while the top female guests appeared 3 to 5 times. This pattern holds for every network. In fact, on 4 of the 5 networks, the percent of the repeat guests who were women was even lower than the percent of all guests who were female (NBC was the exception). The top repeat women guests included Madeleine Albright, Karen Hughes, Condoleezza Rice, Christine Todd Whitman, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Barbara Boxer, Doris Kearns Goodwin, and Mary Matalin.

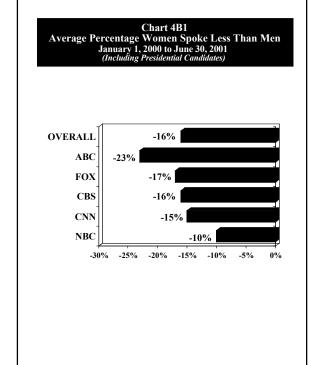
Looked at more closely, on ABC, 19 male U.S. Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 39 appearances, yet no female U.S. Senator had a repeat appearance. On CBS, 22 male Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 50 appearances, while one female Senator made one repeat appearance. On CNN, 20 male Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 60 appearances, while 3 female Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 6 appearances. On Fox, 20 male Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 49 appearances, while one female Senator made one repeat appearance. Finally, on NBC, 21 male Senators appeared as repeat guests for a total of 47 appearances, yet no female U.S. Senator made a repeat appearance.

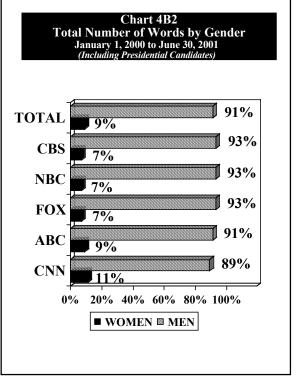
Between September 16th and October 28, women were repeat guests only on CNN. Out of 32 repeat guests (when foreign officials are excluded), only 3 women were repeat guests – Assistant Secretary of Defense Sue Bailey, U.S. Senator Hillary Clinton, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (all appeared twice).

... Nor Heard









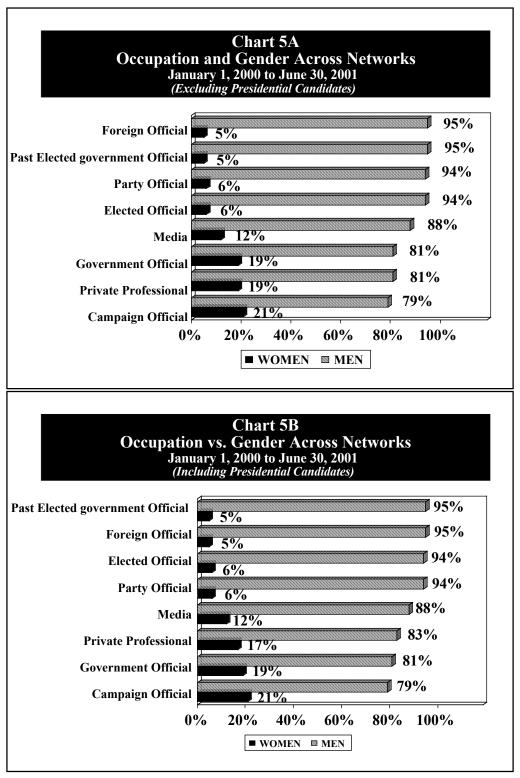
(See Tables 4A-B in Appendix A for data.)

Not only are women a small percentage of the total number of guests, but the women who do appear as guests speak fewer words than their male counterparts. Using average word count as a proxy for length of time, this study found that **on every network the women guests received less exposure.** On average, the women guests spoke 10% fewer words than the men. ¹⁹ The differences ranged from 15% less on ABC to 2% less on NBC.

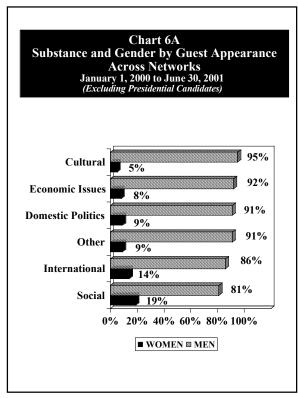
Charts 4A2 and 4B2 examine the issue of airtime from a different perspective: the total number of words on the shows overall. Of the total number of words spoken by guests on the shows, women spoke 10% of the words and men spoke 90% of the words.

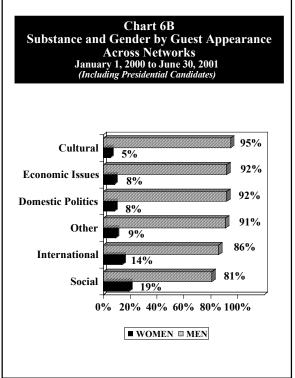
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¹⁹ When presidential and vice presidential candidates are included, the average difference is 16% fewer words spoken by women.



(See Tables 5A-B in Appendix A for data.)





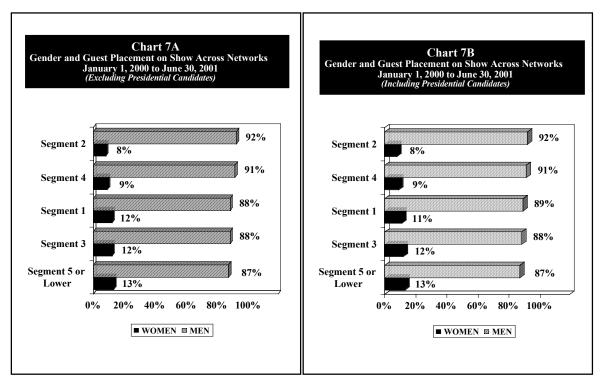
(See Tables 6A-B in Appendix A for data.)

As shown above, women were under-represented on every topic and in every category of expertise. As Charts 5A and 5B demonstrate, women were most often present as campaign officials, private professionals, and government officials. They were least likely to be represented when current or past elected officials were speaking, party officials were present, or foreign officials were asked to speak. Of the campaign officials speaking – 21% of the guest appearances were women and of the private professionals and government officials 19% were women. Women accounted for 5% to 6% of the guest appearances in the less common fields of foreign officials, party officials, and past and current elected officials. In the time period after the September 11 crises, women were least likely to be represented as elected officials (3%).

All guests – both women and men – talked most frequently about domestic policy. Of the total number of segments on domestic policy, 9% of the segments were presented by women. Women made up the highest percentage of segments on social issues (19%) and on international politics (14%) – in part reflecting the relatively more frequent

appearances of then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Women least often carried the expertise on cultural issues (5% of all such segments), on economic issues (8%), and on domestic politics (8%). These patterns both reinforce and counter frequently held stereotypes of women's expertise. However, there are so few women overall appearing as guests, particularly regular guests – that a few individuals dramatically influence the distribution of the topics on which women speak. The presence of 2 women experts on foreign affairs and 2 women campaign officials (Karen Hughes and Mary Matalin) significantly influenced the volume of the small number of women's voices.

Secondary Billing



(See Tables 7A through 7A5 in Appendix A for data.)

Women are slightly more likely to be in the later segments of the show and are under-represented in the beginning segments. Women make up 13% of the segments that are later in the show – slightly higher than their overall 10% representation in all segments. Women make up 12% of the first and 8% of the second segment across shows.²⁰

In Sum...

By every measure, women make only rare appearances as experts or leaders on the Sunday talk shows. Their numbers represent far less than their availability; their male peers appear much more often; they receive less airtime on average than the male guests; and they are more likely to be in the later segments of the shows.

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²⁰ Women make up 11% of the first segment and slightly less than 8% of the second segment when presidential and vice-presidential candidates are included.

APPENDICES & TABLES

APPENDIX A

Data 1/1/2000 - 6/30/2001

Note: "*Presidential*" signifies that data includes all appearances by presidential and vice-presidential candidates as guest appearances in the data analysis.

INTRODUCTORY TABLE

Network Shows, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001:	# of Guest Appearances	# of Shows
ABC: "This Week"	304	78
CBS: "Face the Nation"	281	78
CNN: "Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer"	446	78
FOX: "Fox News Sunday"	281	78
NBC: "Meet the Press"	362	78
TOTAL	1674	390

Presidential

Network Shows, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001:	# of Guest Appearances*	# of Shows
ABC: "This Week"	325	78
CBS: "Face the Nation"	301	78
CNN: "Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer"	465	78
FOX: "Fox News Sunday"	299	78
NBC: "Meet the Press"	388	78
TOTAL	1778	390

TABLE 1A Guest Appearances, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001*

Network	Total Guest Appearances	# Guest Appearances by Women			Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
ABC	304	36	268	11.84%	88.16%
CBS	281	25	256	8.90%	91.10%
CNN	446	61	385	13.68%	86.32%
FOX	281	26	255	9.25%	90.75%
NBC	362	31	331	8.56%	91.44%
TOTAL	1674	179	1495	10.69%	89.31%

TABLE 1B Guest Appearances, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Presidential

Network	Total Guest Appearances	# Guest Appearances by Women	# Guest Appearances by Men	Appearances by Total Guest	
ABC	325	36	289	11.08%	88.92%
CBS	301	25	276	8.31%	91.69%
CNN	465	61	404	13.12%	86.88%
FOX	299	26	273	8.70%	91.30%
NBC	388	31	357	7.99%	92.01%
TOTAL	1778	179	1599	10.07%	89.93%

TABLE 2A Women as Repeat Guests, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Network	Total Repeat Guests*	Number of Women Repeat Guests	Women: % of Repeat Guests
ABC	91	5	5.49%
CBS	116	3	2.59%
CNN	217	20	9.22%
FOX	113	7	6.19%
NBC	171	18	10.53%
TOTAL	708	53	7.49%

^{*}Guests were counted as repeat guests if they appeared more than once on show during time period studied.

TABLE 2B

Women as Repeat Guests, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Presidential

Network	Total Repeat Guests*	Number of Women Repeat Guests	Women: % of Repeat Guests
ABC	112	5	4.46%
CBS	132	3	2.27%
CNN	232	20	8.62%
FOX	126	7	5.56%
NBC	257	18	7.00%
TOTAL	859	53	6.17%

TABLE 4A1
Average Number of Words By Gender, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001*

Network	Male	Female	% Fewer Words Spoken by Women
ABC	822.1	698.53	15.03%
CBS	640.47	578.36	9.70%
CNN	987.26	875.36	11.33%
FOX	1053.19	905.5	14.02%
NBC	1127.69	1108.74	1.68%
OVERALL AVERAGE	926.14	833.30	10.02%

TABLE 4A2 Total Number of Words By Gender, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Network	Total Number of Words	# Words by Women	# Words by Men	Women: % of Total Words	Men: % of Total Words
ABC	245,471	25,147	220,324	10.24%	89.76%
CBS	178,420	14,459	163,961	8.10%	91.90%
CNN	433,492	53,397	380,095	12.32%	87.68%
FOX	292,106	23,543	268,563	8.06%	91.94%
NBC	407,635	34,371	373,264	8.43%	91.57%
OVERALL AVERAGE	1,557,124	150,917	1,406,207	9.69%	90.31%

TABLE 4B1 Total Number	of Words By	Gender, Januar	y 1, 2000 to June 3	0, 2001	_
Presidential					
Network	Total number of words	# Words by Women	# Words by Men	Women: % of Total Words	Men: % of Total Words
ABC	288,550	25,147	263,403	8.71%	91.29%
CBS	204,788	14,459	190,329	7.06%	92.94%
CNN	467,042	53,397	413,645	11.43%	88.57%
FOX	321,574	23,543	298,031	7.32%	92.68%
NBC	474,834	34,371	440,463	7.24%	92.76%
OVERALL TOTAL	1,756,788	150,917	1,605,871	8.59%	91.41%

Table 5A
Occupation and Gender Across Networks, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Overall Average % of Guest Appearances by Women	Occupation	Total # of Guest Appearances	Number of Women	Number of Men	Women: % of Total	Men: % of Total
11%	Campaign Official	99	21	78	21.21%	78.79%
11%	Elected Official	719	43	676	5.98%	94.02%
11%	Foreign Official	41	2	39	4.88%	95.12%
11%	Government Official	189	35	154	18.52%	81.48%
11%	Media	134	16	118	11.94%	88.06%
11%	Private Professional	270	50	220	18.52%	81.48%
11%	Past Elected/Government Official	205	11	194	5.37%	94.63%
11%	Party Official	17	1	16	5.88%	94.12%
TOTAL		1674	179	1495		

Table 5B Occupation and Gender, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Presidential

Overall Average % of Guest Appearances by Women	Occupation	Total # of Guest Appearances	Number of Women	Number of Men	Women: % of Total	Men: % of Total
10%	Campaign Official	99	21	78	21.21%	78.79%
10%	Elected Official	764	43	721	5.63%	94.37%
10%	Foreign Official	41	2	39	4.88%	95.12%
10%	Government Official	189	35	154	18.52%	81.48%
10%	Media	134	16	118	11.94%	88.06%
10%	Private Professional	290	50	240	17.24%	82.76%
10%	Past Elected/Government Official	244	11	233	4.51%	95.49%
10%	Party Official	17	1	16	5.88%	94.12%
TOTAL		1778	179	1599		

TABLE 6A
Substance and Gender of Guest by Guest Appearance, January 1, 2000-June 30, 2001

Substance	Total # of Guests Speaking on This Topic Across All Shows	# of Times a Woman Spoke on This Topic Across All Shows	# of Times a Man Spoke on This Topic Across All Shows	Women Speakers on This Topic: % of Total	Men Speakers on This Topic: % of Total
Domestic Politics	1087	98	989	9.02%	90.98%
Economic Issues	73	6	67	8.22%	91.78%
International Politics	297	42	255	14.14%	85.86%
Social	151	29	122	19.21%	80.79%
Cultural	44	2	42	4.55%	95.45%
Other	22	2	20	9.09%	90.91%
TOTAL	1674	179	1495		

TABLE 6B Substance and Gender of Guest by Guest Appearance, January 1, 2000-June 30, 2001

Presidential

Substance	Total # of Guests Speaking on This Topic Across All Shows	# of Times a Woman Spoke on This Topic Across All Shows	# of Times a Man Spoke on This Topic Across All Shows	Women Speakers on This Topic: % of Total	Men Speakers on This Topic: % of Total
Domestic Politics	1187	98	1089	8.26%	91.74%
Economic Issues	73	6	67	8.22%	91.78%
International Politics	301	42	259	13.95%	86.05%
Social	151	29	122	19.21%	80.79%
Cultural	44	2	42	4.55%	95.45%
Other	22	2	20	9.09%	90.91%
TOTAL	1778	179	1599		

TABLE 7A Gender and Guest Placement on Show, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

Across All Networks	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
Segment 1	396	55	451	12.20%	87.80%
Segment 2	469	41	510	8.04%	91.96%
Segment 3	376	53	429	12.35%	87.65%
Segment 4	161	16	177	9.04%	90.96%
Segment 5 or Lower	93	14	107	13.08%	86.92%
	1495	179	1674		

TABLE 7A1
Gender and Guest Placement on Show, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

ABC	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
Segment 1	56	8	64	12.50%	87.50%
Segment 2	63	8	71	11.27%	88.73%
Segment 3	62	9	71	12.68%	87.32%
Segment 4	48	5	53	9.43%	90.57%
Segment 5 or Lower	39	6	45	13.33%	86.67%
	268	36	304		

TABLE 7A2			
Gender and Guest Plan	acement on Show, J	January 1, 2000 to	June 30, 2001

CBS	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances	
Segment 1	92	11	103	10.68%	89.32%	
Segment 2	108	5	113	4.42%	95.58%	
Segment 3	54	9	63	14.29%	85.71%	
Segment 4	2	0	2	0.00%	0.00%	
Segment 5 or Lower	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	
	256	25	281		-	

TABLE 7A3 Gender and Guest Placement on Show, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

CNN	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
Segment 1	71	18	89	20.22%	79.78%
Segment 2	95	11	106	10.38%	89.62%
Segment 3	110	17	127	13.39%	86.61%
Segment 4	63	8	71	11.27%	88.73%
Segment 5 or Lower	46	7	53	13.21%	86.79%
	385	61	446		-

TABLE 7A4
Gender and Guest Placement on Show, January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001

FOX	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
Segment 1	76	9	85	10.59%	89.41%
Segment 2	85	7	92	7.61%	92.39%
Segment 3	67	8	75	10.67%	89.33%
Segment 4	24	2	26	7.69%	92.31%
Segment 5 or Lower	3	0	3	0.00%	100.00%
	255	26	281		

TABLE 7A4					
Gender and Guest Pla	acement on	Show, Jan	uary 1, 2000	to June 30, 2	001

NBC	Males	Females	Total in Segment	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances
Segment 1	101	9	110	8.18%	91.82%
Segment 2	118	10	128	7.81%	92.19%
Segment 3	83	10	93	10.75%	89.25%
Segment 4	24	1	25	4.00%	96.00%
Segment 5 or Lower	5	1	6	16.67%	83.33%
	331	31	362		

APPENDIX B

Data 9/16/2001 - 10/28/2001

Guest App	Guest Appearances, September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001									
Network	Total Guest Appearances	# Guest Appearances by Women	# Guest Appearances by Men	Women: % of Total Guest Appearances	Men: % of Total Guest Appearances					
ABC	32	1	31	3.13%	96.88%					
CBS	47	6	41	12.77%	87.23%					
CNN	68	8	60	11.76%	88.24%					
FOX	25	1	24	4.00%	96.00%					
NBC	19	2	17	10.53%	89.47%					
TOTAL	191	18	173	9.42%	90.58%					

Occupation and Gender Across Networks September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001								
Occupation	Total # of Guest Appearances	Number of Women	Number of Men	Women: % of Total	Men: % of Total			
Elected Official	76	2	74	2.63%	97.37%			
Foreign Official	16	6	10	37.50%	62.50%			
Government Official	41	4	37	9.76%	90.24%			
Media	2	1	1	50.00%	50.00%			
Private Professional	22	2	20	9.09%	90.91%			
Past Elected/Government Official	34	3	31	8.82%	91.18%			
TOTAL	191	18	173	9.42%	90.58%			

Occupation and Gender Across Networks September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001 Excluding Foreign Officials

Occupation	Total # of Guest Appearances	Number of Women	Number of Men	Women: % of Total	Men: % of Total
Elected Official	76	2	74	2.63%	97.37%
Government Official	41	4	37	9.76%	90.24%
Media	2	1	1	50.00%	50.00%
Private Professional	22	2	20	9.09%	90.91%
Past Elected/Government Official	34	3	31	8.82%	91.18%
TOTAL	175	12	163	6.86%	93.14%

Women as Repeat Guests, September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001					
Network	Total Repeat Guests*	Number of Women Repeat Guests	Women: % of Repeat Guests		
ABC	4	0	0.00%		
CBS	11	0	0.00%		
CNN	15	3	20.00%		
FOX	2	0	0.00%		
NBC	0	0	0.00%		
TOTAL	32	3	9.38%		

Women as Repeat Guests, September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001

MEN		WOMEN	
Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
Colin Powell	7	Maleeha Lodhi	6
Bob Graham	6	Sue Bailey	2
Donald Rumsfeld	6	Hillary Clinton	2
John Ashcroft	6	Condoleezza Rice	2
Richard Shelby	6		
John McCain	5		
Joe Biden	5		
Bill Frist	4		
Trent Lott	4		
Dick Gephardt	4		
Rudy Giuliani	4		
John Kerry	4		
James Woolsey	3		
Carl Levin	3		
Bill Cohen	3		
Tom Daschle	3		
Anthony S. Fauci	3		
Andrew Card	3		
Henry Kissinger	2		
John Edwards	2		
Joe Lieberman	2		
Abdul Sattar	2		
Dick Armey	2		
Frank Keating	2		
Lawrence Lindsey	2		
Dennis Hastert	2		
David Forte	2		
Haron Amin	2		
Donald Shepperd	2		
Wesley Clark	2		
Mohammed Akhter	2		
Richard Lugar	2		
Tommy Thompson	2		
Robert Hormats	2		
Chuck Schumer	2		
Richard Hawley	2		

Women as Repeat Guests, September 16, 2001 to October 28, 2001

Excluding Foreign Officials

MEN POTEIGHT		WOMEN	
Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
Colin Powell	7	Sue Bailey	2
Bob Graham	6	Hillary Clinton	2
Donald Rumsfeld	6	Condoleezza Rice	2
John Ashcroft	6		
Richard Shelby	6		
John McCain	5		
Joe Biden	5		
Bill Frist	4		
Trent Lott	4		
Dick Gephardt	4		
Rudy Giuliani	4		
John Kerry	4		
James Woolsey	3		
Carl Levin	3		
Bill Cohen	3		
Tom Daschle	3		
Anthony S. Fauci	3		
Andrew Card	3		
Henry Kissinger	2		
John Edwards	2		
Joe Lieberman	2		
Dick Armey	2		
Frank Keating	2		
Lawrence Lindsey	2		
Dennis Hastert	2		
David Forte	2		
Haron Amin	2		
Donald Shepperd	2		
Wesley Clark	2		
Mohammed Akhter	2		
Richard Lugar	2		
Tommy Thompson	2		
Robert Hormats	2		
Chuck Schumer	2		
Richard Hawley	2		

Complete List of Repeat Guests, September 16 to October 31, 2001

NBC had no repeat guests.

	MEN		WOMEN	
ABC	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	Richard Shelby	2	(none)	
	Bob Graham	2		
	Richard Hawley	2		
	Donald Rumsfeld	2		
	MEN		WOMEN	
CBS	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	Joe Biden	3	(none)	
	Bill Cohen	3		
	Bill Frist	2		
	Bob Graham	2		
	Colin Powell	2		
	John Ashcroft	2		
	John Kerry	2		
	John McCain	2		
	Mohammed Akhter	2		
	Richard Shelby	2		
	MEN		WOMEN	
CNN	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	Richard Shelby	2	Maleeha Lodhi	4
	David Forte	2		
	Henry Kissinger	2		
	John McCain	2		
	James Woolsey	2		
		_		
	Donald Shepperd	2		
	Carl Levin	2 2		
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
	Carl Levin	2		
	Carl Levin Richard Lugar	2 2		
	Carl Levin Richard Lugar Colin Powell	2 2 2		
	Carl Levin Richard Lugar Colin Powell Frank Keating	2 2 2 2		
	Carl Levin Richard Lugar Colin Powell Frank Keating Rudy Giuliani	2 2 2 2 2 2	WOMEN	
FOX	Carl Levin Richard Lugar Colin Powell Frank Keating Rudy Giuliani Wesley Clark	2 2 2 2 2 2		# of Times this Guest Appears
FOX	Carl Levin Richard Lugar Colin Powell Frank Keating Rudy Giuliani Wesley Clark MEN	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 4 of Times this Guest		Guest

APPENDIX C Repeat Guest Data

As explained more fully in the Methodology section, the lists in this Appendix exclude Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Specifically excluded were Al Gore, George W. Bush, John McCain, Bill Bradley, Pat Buchanan, Alan Keyes, Gary Bauer, Ralph Nader, Steve Forbes, Howard Phillip, John Haeglin, Harry Browne, Dick Cheney and Joe Lieberman, when appearing as candidates

Network	MEN		WOMEN	
ABC	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	John McCain	10	Madeleine Albright	4
	John Podesta	5	Christine Todd Whitman	2
	Tom Daschle	5	Joan Brown Campbell	2
	Jesse Jackson	4		
	Bob Dole	4		
	John Kerry	4		
	John Breaux	4		
	Rick Lazio	4		
	Pat Robertson	3		
	Kweisi Mfume	3		
	Karl Rove	3		
	John Edwards	3		
	Ehud Barak	3		
	Dick Gephardt	3		
	Dick Cheney	3		
	Dan Burton	3		
	Colin Powell	3		
	Chuck Hagel	3		
	Charles Schumer	3		
	Bill Daley	3		
	Arlen Specter	3		
	Jesse Ventura	3		
	Trent Lott	3		
	Tom Ridge	3		

Don Nickles	2	
Ricardo Alarcon	2	
Bob Graham	2	
Paul O'Neill	2	
Marc Racicot	2	
Orrin Hatch	2	
Ken Duberstein	2	
Joe Lieberman	2	
Mitch McConnell	2	
Patrick Leahy	2	
Carl Levin	2	
Michael Beschloss	2	
Max Cleland	2	
Gray Davis	2	
Lawrence Summers	2	
Kendall Coffey	2	
Nathan Chambers	2	
Robert Ray	2	
Wayne LaPierre	2	
Spencer Abraham	2	
Bill Frist	2	
John Ashcroft	2	
Barney Frank	2	
Andrew Card	2	
Rudy Giuliani	2	
Samuel Berger	2	
James Baker	2	

Network	MEN		WOMEN	
CBS	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	Chuck Hagel	8	Linda DiVall	2
	John McCain	6	Karen Hughes	2
	Karl Rove	6	Olympia Snowe	2
	Tom Daschle	6		
	Bill Daley	6		
	Robert Torricelli	5		
	John Breaux	5		
	Trent Lott	4		
	Jose Garcia-Pedrosa	4		

John Zogby	4	
Dan Balz	4	
Joe Biden	4	
Dick Cheney	3	
George Pataki	3	
Joe Lieberman	3	
Richard Berke	3	
John Podesta	3	
Leon Panetta	3	
Orrin Hatch	3	
John Kerry	3	
Andrew Card	3	
Charles Schumer	3	
Asa Hutchinson	3	
Bill Bennett	3	
Tom Friedman	3	
Bill Richardson	3	
Charles Rangel	3	
Hamilton Jordan	3	
Bob Schrum	2	
Michael Duffy	2	
Lindsey Graham	2	
Arlen Specter	2	
Jose Serrano	2	
Bob Graham	2	
Bob Kerrey	2	
John Edwards	2	
Colin Powell	2	
Carl Levin	2	
Jesse Ventura	2	
Jack Quinn	2	
Howard Baker	2	
Henry Waxman	2	
Harry Reid	2	
Mitch McConnell	2	
Chris Dodd	2	
Frank Keating	2	
Dick Gephardt	2	
William Cohen	2	
Richard Lugar	2	
Joel Klein	2	
Rudy Giuliani	2	
Samuel Berger	2	

Richard Shelby	2	
Phil Gramm	2	
Stuart Taylor	2	
Paul Gigot	2	
Patrick Leahy	2	
Pat Robertson	2	
Warren Rudman	2	

Network	MEN		WOMEN	
CNN	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	Dick Thornburgh	12	Madeleine Albright	5
	Lanny Davis	11	Kay Bailey Hutchison	4
	Chuck Hagel	10	Barbara Boxer	3
	Charles Rangel	8	Condoleezza Rice	3
	John McCain	8	Dianne Feinstein	2
	Mitch McConnell	7	Janet Reno	2
	Jack Kemp	6	Linda Osberg-Braun	2
	Carl Levin	6	Eleanor Holmes Norton	2
	David Dreier	6	Mary Farrell	2
	Karl Rove	6	Karen Hughes	2
	John Podesta	6	Donna Shalala	2
	Mark Fabiani	5	Christine Todd Whitman	2
	Jerry Falwell	5	Susan Molinari	2
	Fred Thompson	5		
	Bob Schrum	5		
	Patrick Leahy	4		
	John Kerry	4		
	Dick Durbin	4		
	Dick Armey	4		
	Chris Dodd	4		
	Leon Panetta	4		
	Arlen Specter	4		
	Orrin Hatch	4		
	Pat Robertson	4		
	Haley Barbour	4		
	Trent Lott	4		
	Steve Forbes	3		
	Bill Richardson	3		
	Paul Wellstone	3		

Samuel Berger	3	
Mike Murphy	3	
Mario Cuomo	3	
Bill Daley	3	
David Gergen	3	
Jon Kyl	3	
Tom Harkin	3	
Joe Lockhart	3	
Jesse Jackson	3	
Frank Keating	3	
George Pataki	3	
David Bonior	3	
Andrew Card	3	
Bill Bennett	3	
Ed Rendell	2	†
Michael Dukakis	2	
John Fund	2	
Spencer Abraham	2	
Jesse Ventura	2	
John Kasich	2	
Wayne LaPierre	2	
Greg Craig	2	
Lincoln Diaz-Balart	2	
Spencer Eig	2	
Lee Hamilton	2	
Robert Reich	2	
Richard Holbrooke	2	
Dan Burton	2	
Marc Gellman	2	
Ken Duberstein	2	
Joe Lieberman	2	
Robert Torricelli	2	
John Warner	2	
E.J. Dionne	2	
John Edwards	2	
William Cohen	2	
Lawrence Eagleburger	2	
Rick Lazio	2	
Gray Davis	2	
Rich Lowery	2	
Richard Shelby	2	
Bob Dole	2	
Bob Graham	2	

Bob Kerrey	2	
Rudy Giuliani	2	
George Mitchell	2	
Saeb Erekat	2	
Colin Powell	2	
Warren Christopher	2	
James Baker	2	
Monsignor Thomas Hartman	2	
Terry McAuliffe	2	
Christopher Caldwell	2	

Network	MEN		WOMEN	
FOX	Guest Name	# of Times this	Guest Name	# of Times this
		Guest Appears		Guest Appears
	Mitch McConnell	9	Karen Hughes	4
	Trent Lott	6	Condoleezza Rice	3
	Karl Rove	5	Donna Shalala	2
	John Breaux	5	Kay Bailey Hutchison	2
	Frank Keating	4		
	George Pataki	4		
	Robert Torricelli	4		
	Don Nickles	4		
	Dick Armey	4		
	David Bonior	4		
	Tom Daschle	4		
	Arlen Specter	4		
	Bob Graham	4		
	Bill Daley	3		
	John McCain	3		
	John Kerry	3		
	Ed Rendell	3		
	Connie Mack	3		
	Orrin Hatch	3		
	J. C. Watts	3		
	Harry Reid	3		
	Benjamin Netanyahu	3		
	Rudy Giuliani	3		
	Andrew Card	3		
	Dennis Hastert	3		
	Tom Ridge	3		

Colin Powell	3	
Tom DeLay	3	
Jesse Jackson	2	
Lawrence Summers	2	
Jonathan Turley	2	
Lindsey Graham	2	
Kweisi Mfume	2	
Marc Racicot	2	
Jose Garcia-Pedrosa	2	
Lawrence Lindsey	2	
Jon Kyl	2	
John Podesta	2	
John Edwards	2	
Jesse Ventura	2	
James Baker	2	
Mark Fabiani	2	
Bill de Blasio	2	
Bill Frist	2	
Dick Cheney	2	
Dan Burton	2	
Joe Lieberman	2	
Tad Devine	2	
Richard Shelby	2	
Rick Lazio	2	
Paul Wellstone	2	
Paul O'Neill	2	
Tom Harkin	2	
Rick Santorum	2	
Spencer Abraham	2	
Ward Connerly	2	

Network	MEN		WOMEN	
NBC	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears	Guest Name	# of Times this Guest Appears
	David Broder	15	Mary Matalin	6
	Bill Kristol	12	Doris Kearns Goodwin	6
	William Safire	11	Gwen Ifill	4
	John McCain	9	Madeleine Albright	2
	James Carville	9		
	Chris Dodd	5		

Clarence Page	5	
Trent Lott	5	
Tom Daschle	5	
Robert Novak	5	
Karl Rove	5	
Joe Klein	5	
John Kerry	4	
Tom DeLay	4	
Mitch McConnell	4	
Robert Torricelli	4	
Bill Bennett	4	
Dick Cheney	4	
Joe Lieberman	3	
Orrin Hatch	3	
Al Hunt	3	
Joe Biden	3	
Jesse Ventura	3	
E.J. Dionne	3	
Dan Burton	3	
Colin Powell	3	
Bob Graham	3	
Greg Craig	3	
Rudy Giuliani	3	
Dick Durbin	2	
Jon Kyl	2	
John Podesta	2	
John Edwards	2	
Jesse Jackson	2	
Robert Ray	2	
Jack Germond	2	
Henry Hyde	2	
George Allen	2	
Frank Keating	2	
Eric Holder	2	
Tom Davis	2	
Don Nickles	2	
Dick Gephardt	2	
James Baker	2	
David Maraniss	2	
David Gergen	2	
Tom Harkin	2	
Daniel Patrick Moynihan	2	
Tom Ridge		

Chuck Hagel	2	
Bob Schrum	2	
Bob Kerrey	2	
Wayne LaPierre	2	
Bill Richardson	2	
Bill Daley	2	
Andrew Card	2	
Dimitri Yakushkin	2	
Peter King	2	
Ricardo Alarcon	2	
Paul Begala	2	
Phil Donahue	2	
Richard Shelby	2	
Rick Lazio	2	

METHODOLOGY

The White House Project study examined all 78 episodes of each Sunday morning talk show airing between January 1, 2000 and June 31, 2001 on 5 major broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, and NBC). There were a total of 390 shows with a total of 1,674 guests (1,778 when the 2000 presidential and vice-presidential candidates were included). In addition, as an addendum to this report, a brief examination of these same programs was done for the September 11, 2001-October 28, 2001 time period.

For the purposes of this report, a "guest appearance" was defined as:

- a. The individual was clearly introduced as a guest in the introductory section of each show (no distinction was made between 'real time' interviews or video interviews).
- b. The individual was not part of the introduction segment of the show that included the day's headlines.
- c. The "guest" was not affiliated with the network he or she was on. So, for example, this report did not count as a guest Tom Brokaw on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Bruce Morton on CNN's *Late Edition*, or foreign correspondents such as CNN's Christiane Amanpour. ²¹
- d. Members of the media who appeared consistently in the "Reporters Roundtable" segment were eliminated from the sample to avoid skewing of data. As a result, consistent repeat media members on *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer* (CNN), *Fox News Sunday* (FOX), *This Week* (ABC), and *Face the Nation* (CBS) were removed from the sample. It is important to note that reporters appearing in the Roundtable segment on *Meet the Press* (NBC) were included in the sample. This was done because the Roundtable was not a regular feature on this show and a variety of guests were used.

Each transcript of each show was reviewed, catalogued, coded²², and analyzed as follows:

Cursory Level Analysis

A.) Guest Classification— Each guest was classified by gender, title and occupation. The titles for each individual guest were recorded as announced on the show. There were eight major occupational categories:

• Elected officials (elected officials in U.S., on both the federal and state levels)

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²¹ While every attempt was made to determine guest-network relationships, there were some guests in the sample who appeared multiple times on specific networks, but for whom no conclusive proof of contract with the network was available.

²² Intercoder reliability rating was 98%, based on Holsti's reliability formula.

- Government officials (members of the military, federal employees, state employees)
- o Former Elected and/or Government officials (All former U.S. elected, and government officials, on both a federal and state level)
- **Private professionals** (members of the business community, academically-affiliated scholars, representatives of non-profits, and other prominent and well known members of public)
- **Media representatives** (members of the media who were not directly affiliated with the respective network or who did not make consistent appearances on the show)
- o **Foreign Officials** (Elected, government, military and other official representatives of foreign nations)
- Campaign Officials (Campaign staffers, political strategists and other political professionals)
- Party Officials (Official spokespeople or officers of major political Parties)

Note on presidential and vice-presidential candidates

While there was no specific occupational category for last year's presidential candidates, they were classified on the basis of their current or most recent political affiliation (if any). The coding for presidential candidates was as follows:

- 1. Al Gore, George W. Bush and John McCain Elected Official
- 2. Bill Bradley, Pat Buchanan, Alan Keyes and Gary Bauer- Former Elected and/or Government officials
- 3. Ralph Nader, Steve Forbes, Howard Phillip, John Haeglin, Harry Browne *Private Professional*

The coding for vice-presidential candidates was as follows:

- 1. Dick Cheney- Former Elected and/or Government Official
- 2. Joe Lieberman- Elected Official

Two sets of tables were developed for each category examined. One set includes the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and the other excludes them. Guests were considered presidential candidates after officially declaring. Vice-presidential candidates were excluded after their nomination. We did not create a specific occupational category for presidential candidates in the tables that include them; therefore, these candidates were classified on the basis of their current or most recent career status.

- B.) Topic Categorization—The events about which each guest spoke were categorized into 6 groups.²³ They are:
 - **Domestic politics:** Covered all federal, state and local political events including all issues pertaining to the 2000 presidential Elections.
 - International politics: Covered not only political issues in foreign countries but also issues related to U.S. foreign policy, including Middle East, China relations and U.S-Russia relations and national security.
 - **Social Issues**: This classification was used on those issues effecting contemporary American society, including (but not limited to): abortion, affirmative action, AIDS, crime, public health and poverty.
 - **Economic Issues**: Covered all aspects of the U.S. and world economy.
 - Cultural Issues: Covered arts, beliefs, institutions, sports and other issues that could be considered an expression of contemporary American life.
 - Other: This category was used to classify issues that did not fall under the broad categories defined above. Such issues included the case of the missing intern Chandra Levy, forest fires in the western U.S., and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Substantive Level Analysis

Once each guest was properly coded at a cursory level, a series of in-depth examinations were done on the data.²⁴ They include:

- A quantitative analysis of the overall representation of women versus men as guests on the major Sunday talk shows.
- o A more in-depth analysis of how many of the male guests were repeat appearances versus how many of the female guests were repeat appearances. This was determined by sorting all guests by frequency of appearance and then discarding the individual's initial performance. For example, although Senator John McCain appears 13 times (both as a presidential candidate and as a Senator), he is determined to have "repeated" twelve times. The sum of all repeats represents the "total number of repeat appearances."
- o The approximate duration of a guest's segment. While precise airtimes were difficult to assess from text transcripts, measuring the number of words spoken by each guest provided an approximation of **airtime.** We therefore compared the average word count of guests as an approximation of duration of guest segment.
- Examination of the relation of gender to specific subject areas. (i.e. number of times women were asked to speak on a particular substantive category)

²³ Like any process of this nature, there were isolated incidents in which variability was necessary. Several topics often represented an amalgamation of categories and were portrayed differently, depending on the show. All coding was done by staff at The White House Project and SIMG Inc. ²⁴ These analyses were done both with and without presidential and vice-presidential candidates as guests.

- o The general subject and specific topic upon which each guest was asked to speak. In cases where the individual was asked to speak on a number of categories and topics within the same segment of the show, the topic on which the individual spoke the most was used.
- o **Placement of female vs. male guests** (i.e. what segment of the show featured the female guest)

Staff at The White House Project and the Strategic Issues Management Group, Inc., a public policy consulting firm, coded all content. Please note that all percentages in the charts and graphics in this report may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

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