

News

L I N K

APPC / Washington A Capital Reception



On January 14, 1997, Annenberg School and Penn alumni, trustees and overseers from the Washington area gathered at the National Press Club to join President Judith Rodin and Dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson in celebrating the opening of the Annenberg Public Policy Center's Washington offices. President Rodin offered a toast to Walter and Leonore Annenberg, "whose wisdom and foresight in establishing and endowing the Public Policy Center — as with so much else at our University — embody the dictum of our founder, Benjamin Franklin, that a proper education should bridge theory and practice, that it should be 'useful' as well as 'ornamental.'"



Photos (clockwise): Lucretia Pearce with Dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson. President Judith Rodin addresses the reception. Andrea Mitchell greets Doug Rivlin. Paul Miller, Michel and Barbara Huber with Edward C. Bou. Gilbert Casellas, Barbara Stevens, Bill Novelli, and Dean Jamieson. Shirley Chater with Alice Rivlin



Voters Said 'No' to Character Attacks

In 1988, it was the shrinking sound bite and the crafting of photo opportunities, in 1992, the candidates' use of "new" media — from MTV to "Larry King Live" — to get their messages across.

But in 1996, according to political insiders gathered recently at the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Philadelphia, the big story behind the presidential campaign was the way voters rejected scandal and personal innuendo in favor of more information about policies affecting their day-to-day lives.

The Election Debriefing, held on November 13, 1996, brought together key decision makers in both the Clinton/Gore and Dole/Kemp presidential campaigns to discuss their recent experiences. Referring frequently to internal campaign polling data, the strategists drew a fascinating portrait of the mood of the electorate.

And in 1996, they all agreed, American voters did not want to hear character attacks. As Clinton consultant Bill Knapp, senior partner in the firm Squier, Knapp, Oakes Communication, put it, "What fascinated us was the voters' insistence that they wanted to hear about issues, and their anger at

being distracted by the character assaults."

His observation was echoed by Democratic political consultant Bob Shrum, who worked for John Kerry in the Massachusetts Senate race and Bob Torricelli in New Jersey. "Voters this year were perfectly willing to accept information about an opponent that was related to issues. They were very resis-



Bob Shrum

tant to information that basically said someone was dishonest or had done something illegal. Their attitude seemed to be: 'Take it to the D.A. If you don't want to take it to the D.A., don't bring it to me as a voter.'"

The Republican political consultants agreed. Chris Mottola, who worked on the Dole advertising campaign, noted that "issues of policy that affected the breakdown of shared principles is really what drove voters in this election. Voters made decisions on character and values, not as some talk show abstraction, but on how they

affected their lives and the lives of their family."

Several of the participants discussed the importance of women voters in the quest for substance from candidates. Ann Lewis, deputy campaign manager for Clinton/Gore '96, said she thought many women voters were evaluating candidates based on their own interests and direct experiences.

"Candidates will no longer get very far by simply attacking government," Lewis reported. "It is not believable to women that our lives or our families' lives would be better if government disappeared. We think that government still plays a certain role in education and health care. And women are very skeptical — even more than the electorate as a whole — of political jargon, rhetoric, and the standard sort of politics as sport, especially as boxing. They want to see politics talked about more in concrete and achievable terms."

Democrat Knapp described the tactic as a direct contrast to James Carville's approach in 1992. "It was not just 'the economy, stupid,'" he said, referring to the slogan that guided Clinton's election efforts four years ago. "Yes, the economy was better and it was a key foundation for winning the race. But it was not the thing that voters

In response, the Clinton campaign focused on a panoply of small-scale proposals. Clinton strategist Doug Schoen, of Penn and Schoen, explained, "What we found in our survey research was that voters placed more interest and attention toward small-scale issues than issues like 'Travelgate', 'Filegate', or campaign contributions. While the media had a great



Ann Lewis and Vin Weber

interest in [the latter] issues, the voters did not."

Ann Lewis agreed. "While some of the pundits sneered at what they felt were little ideas, I will tell you that keeping guns out of the hands of bad guys is not a little idea. Making sure that young people can go to school is not a little idea."

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Doug Schoen

wanted to solely hear about. No one before ever talked about banning cigarette ads targeted to kids in a presidential race. But in fact, we found that a lot of these smaller issues seemed more real, more concrete to people — but also more importantly, said something about the President and his values."

The Clinton advisers discussed other elements of the strategy, such as the focus on optimism over pessimism. "The toughest thing to do was to convince the President and everyone around him that, in fact, the American people had become more optimistic," Knapp noted. "Optimistic about the economy, about their own lives, about the direction of things in the country. We tried to convince him of this at the same time that The New York Times came out with a five-part series on how voters were more pessimistic in the downsizing of America. But that was contrary to everything that we'd seen in our polls."

They also decided to downplay class divisions and emphasize unity among Americans — proposing courses of action because they were the "right" thing for the country to do. "The President had been defending his tax increase in the first two years saying it was really a tax on the rich to



Bill Knapp

help balance the budget," Knapp observed. "That sort of rhetoric doesn't work. We fought strenuously not to talk about how cutting Medicare would benefit the rich but to talk about how it would be a violation of our duty and our values and what this nation stands for. And that was a much more potent argument."

The question of the President's character came up several times, with both Democrats and Republicans agreeing that it was a non-issue. Bob Ward, deputy polling director for the Dole/Kemp campaign, said, "In an open-ended response to the question, what do you think about Bill Clinton, the first word that invariably came out of voters' mouths — whether it was men or women, whether it was the north, south, or west — was 'He's a liar' or 'He's a wife-cheater' — all negative, derogatory attributes. "But the problem was that many people, right after

they said he was a liar, said they were voting for him. And when we asked why, they said "Oh, he's not doing that bad of a job really."

Clinton strategists were well aware of the phenomenon. "We discovered that public character defeats private character," Knapp said. "Personal attacks were not all that effective in the face of ads that reinforced the public values the President fought for." Knapp noted that early on in the re-election campaign the President's favorable ratings were low because "people were judging Clinton against George Washington. A strategic imperative of our campaign was to make sure there was always a sharp contrast between the President and Gingrich, the President and Dole."

A sharp contrast was also evident in the conduct of the two campaigns. "The major flaw in the Dole campaign," said Vin Weber, national co-chairman of the Dole/Kemp campaign, "was that it was run entirely on the tactical level. There was no strategy to win the election."

The President was described as edging Dole out of the ideological space typically occupied by Republican candidates. Dole/Kemp polling director Bob Ward explained, "Our research confirmed that Americans

were looking for a president from the center right. They were looking for a president who would preserve a social safety net, but who was for limited government. Devolution of federal government was good. Revolution was bad. We got stuck on the revolution side."

Another member of the Dole camp, Chris Mottola, said he thought the biggest failure of the campaign was "our failure to tell the Bob Dole story." As late as mid-September, he said, only 53 percent of the electorate knew Bob Dole was disabled and only 37 percent said it was untrue that Bob Dole was born into a wealthy and privileged midwest family. "The reason the Dole bio was so important was that it spoke to the overriding subtext of the campaign — values and character," Mottola claimed.

"The other thing that we never did well and that

(continued on next page)



Chris Mottola



Seelye, Burke and Bennet

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the Clinton team understood is that ideas in an election are not just a stack of position papers. They are also symbols about who you are and where you want to lead the country. Like parental leave. It only affects maybe fifteen percent of the country, but the point is that it's a symbol that spoke volumes about what Clinton was for and where he wanted to lead the country."

"Bill Clinton was always doing stuff because it was the right thing to do, and we were always doing stuff because it was going to jump-start our campaign," Mottola added.

News coverage of the campaign was also criticized, with the media faulted for declaring the race over months before election day. "Choosing who will be the leader of the United States is a highly serious issue," said Ann Lewis. "And I am disappointed when I see it trivialized, which is what happened when the media told people that their vote didn't matter because this election was over."

Media polling reports received even more condemnation. Democratic pollster Doug Schoen noted, "There was a stability about the race that was clear and unambiguous and contrary to what you might have seen watching CNN. The wide fluctuations that they

reported were, in my judgment, a result of small samples and bad polling rather than any substantial volatility."

Republican consultant Mottola concurred: "Within our campaign the polls were relatively static. If something would happen, like Bosnia, you would see a Clinton number shoot up, and it would be understandable. Dole falls off the platform, Dole's numbers go down, that's understandable. But what you saw on a lot of media polls, like CNN, where the numbers were up seventeen, or down twenty-two, was really just amateurs with bad methodology making stuff up to make a quick buck."

There was some disagreement about whether media ad watches had much effect on campaigns. Bob Shrum, who worked on several senatorial races, thought they did. "Everybody wants the ad watch to condemn their opponent's ad so that they can make an ad saying that the ad watch condemned their opponent's ad," he said.

However, presidential campaign consultant Mottola said they had no effect on his work. "Most of them were political process analysis," he said, "only analyzing why we're doing this spot." Democrat Bill Knapp agreed. "I think the ad

watches were pretty irrelevant. They chose the ads selectively. They were more editorializing than really analyzing."

In a separate session, *New York Times* reporters Katharine Q. Seelye, Richard Burke, and James Bennet discussed the internal dynamics of covering the campaign. Both Burke and Seelye described difficulties in working with the Dole/Kemp campaign. According to Burke, "It got to be I stopped calling Dole's communications director because every time I would call him, he'd say, 'What are you going to write about us this time?' or 'How are you going to trash us?'"

Seelye reported difficulty securing access to Elizabeth Dole, who wouldn't let reporters fly on her plane and denied interview requests. While the candidate's spouse spoke freely with local reporters on her travels, Seelye said, "when I asked a question at the end of one of these sessions, she got up and bolted."

The reporters also discussed the controversial decision by the *Times* not to cover allegations that Dole had a mistress at the time his first marriage was breaking up — a story that was covered to varying degrees by other newspapers, such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Daily News*, and *The*

Village Voice. Bennet said the *Times'* editors decided that it was not a story, since it had happened thirty years ago, and since Dole had not attacked the President directly on the issue of marital fidelity.

But Bennet said he thought Dole's fear of the issue coming up was behind his refusal to grant interviews during the campaign. "The failure to publish the story [by any newspaper] for a couple of months may have significantly affected campaign strategy," Bennet concluded.

The reporters suggested that candidates who are substantially behind in the polls may get lighter treatment from the media. "There were numerous things Dole said every day that if we thought he had a very good shot at being President, we would have taken much more seriously," Seelye noted. "He was out on the trail saying 'I'm going to cut drug use by fifty percent in four years.' Quite a claim. We never really challenged him on it because it didn't seem worth it."

A digest of the Debriefing is available on videotape. For details on ordering it, see Page 16

Results *from* 1996

THROUGHOUT THE 1996 general election campaign, the Annenberg School’s Campaign Mapping Project, led by Dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson, archived and analyzed speeches, debates, advertisements, and news coverage. At the campaign’s conclusion, the team provided an assessment of whether 1996 was better or worse than previous presidential election campaigns.

Their answer was both. There were several improvements in both broadcast and print coverage and in the nature of campaign advertising. For example, in 1996 the proportion of news coverage devoted to candidates’ positions on the issues increased. On average, in 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992, 59 percent of the campaign stories in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times* focused on strategy. In last year’s campaign, that proportion dropped to 44 percent.

Another improvement was that in 1996 network news reports were more likely to include some of the evidence cited by candidates in criticizing their opponents. And fewer campaign ads simply attacked other candidates, without presenting the views of the sponsoring candidates.

But not all of the team’s news was good. Broadcast news programs continued to over-report attacks by candidates and unlike in 1992, they did not run regular in-depth stories on the candidates’ stands on issues. And most notably, in 1996 the amount of broadcast and print coverage devoted to the election plummeted. From September 1 through November 1, the number of words in broadcast reports dealing with the Presidential campaign dropped 55 percent from the 1992 figure. The print media followed the same pattern, with front-page coverage of the campaign dropping by 40 percent. “So, although the coverage itself was somewhat better,” noted Jamieson, “there was less of it.”

But the most significant change was found in commercials. The percentage of ads containing misleading claims skyrocketed in 1996; 52 percent of all the ads broadcast by the Republican and Democratic Presidential candidates from the first day of the political conventions until the campaign

ads went off the air contained misleading information, up from 14 percent of the ads in 1992. Neither Clinton’s nor Dole’s ads were more likely to deceive.

Jamieson attributed the change to the decline in the number of ad watches offered on television reports — down by half from 1992. “With the decline in the amount of coverage and in voters’ attention, campaign staff members may have concluded that they could safely ignore the instances in which ad watches in newspapers called attention to misleading claims,” she said.

Other interesting revelations emerged. An analysis of the 200 most-used words in both Clinton’s and Dole’s speeches pointed up that Dole’s focus was on political process and ideology, whereas Clinton’s was on people. While the terms “government,” “states,” and “administration” made only Dole’s list of most-used words, the words “children,” “education,” “college,” “jobs,” “health,” “economy,” and “business” were central in Clinton’s speeches.

The team also examined the results of the “free time” experiment, in which several broadcast networks allowed the candidates free air time to speak directly to voters. They found that while there was less attack, more advocacy, and more accuracy in the messages presented by candidates in these spots, most Americans did not know about their existence.

Better or Worse 1996

What improved

- Broadcast news less likely to drop evidence when reporting attacks
- Strategy coverage and reference to polls down in 1996
- Comparison up and attack down in ads

What Got Worse

- Broadcast and print coverage down substantially from 1992
- Ads contained many more questionable statements



Umberto Eco

UMBERTO ECO SPEAKS AT ASC

Described by Professor Elihu Katz as “a founding father of the communication research fraternity” as well as “an inveterate commuter between a variety of levels and a variety of genres,” Umberto Eco spoke at the Annenberg School for Communication on November 18, 1996.

Eco, professor at the University of Bologna and author of numerous books including *The Name of the Rose* and most recently, *The Island of the Day Before*, addressed the ASC Scholars Workshop Colloquium series. The focus of his talk, “From Internet to Gutenberg,” was on how the Internet and the computerization of texts are likely to alter the use of traditional books. “Each new medium was thought to threaten the survival of books and reading,” Eco said, “but each time these predictions were proven wrong.”

Eco drew a distinction between two kinds of books: reference books and “linear” books, the latter intended to be read from beginning to end, as in a murder mystery. “Only reference books are

seemingly threatened by computers,” he claimed, suggesting that people would always prefer reading linear books in hard copy.

Eco also discussed the nature of creation on the Internet. He described “open texts” in which the reader is invited to participate and where there is a kind of collective participation in authorship, something like a jam session. “But that will not displace our continued reliance on completed texts,” he maintained, “which are not negotiable. They are the texts we rely upon to make contact with values.”

He also cautioned about the value of some of what is produced on the Internet. “Wisdom is not producing texts. Beware of people who at the age of sixteen create their own philosophy on the Internet. Acquiring wisdom is a long process.” He added, “The Internet that allows everyone to publish wash-and-wear wisdom is dangerous if we don’t learn how to discriminate. The risk of the Internet is that we will come to trust a bad person and mistrust a serious one.”

He discussed the implications of the ease with which people can search texts electronically with the new technology. “In a European library you don’t have access to shelves. Rather, you refer to a catalogue and ask librarians to bring you a book. The usefulness of access to shelves is not that you can retrieve the book you want. It is that you can discover a book you may have ignored.”

“The Annenberg Public Policy Center,” Rodin stated, “continues Penn’s tradition of translating knowledge into useful practice and of helping to shape our national affairs.”

Dean Jamieson encouraged alumni to think of the Policy Center as the focal point for the University’s activities in Washington and enlisted them to provide internships for University students in the nation’s capital. “By mentoring Penn’s next generation of graduates,” she said, “you could provide the kinds of learning experiences that make a Penn education unique.” The Dean also introduced the Washington office’s staff: Director **Douglas Rivlin** and Associate Director **Jeffrey Stanger**.

Annenberg School alumni in attendance at the reception included: **Al Belsky** (MA’76), field operations director at the Department of Labor, Office of Public Affairs; **Mary Crowley** (MA’80), editorial director for electronic commerce at Phillips Business International; **Jonathan Cummings** (MA’92), editorial coordinator for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; **Rachel Greenberg** (MA’72), project manager at Hager Sharp, **Michel T. Huber** (MA’61), former Executive Secretary of Penn’s General Alumni Society; **Fawn Johnson** (MA’94), researcher at the Bureau of National Affairs; **Wendy Mansfield** (PhD’95), from Macro International; **William Novelli** (MA’64), president of the National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids; **Tony Pals** (MA’95), senior media relations program coordinator at the Council for Advancement and Support of Education; **Lucretia Pearce** (MA’91), a writer-producer based in Virginia; **Jelena Grcic Polic** (PhD’93), counselor to the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia; **Diane Steinour** (MA’86), telecommunications policy specialist at the National Telecommunications Information Administration; **Miriam Escalante Vermeiren** (MA’70), program coordinator for the National Press Foundation, and **Maggie Williams** (MA’92), Chief of Staff to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Alumni of the School’s undergraduate program were also present: **Pete Peterson** (BA’95), press secretary to Congressman Curt Weldon; **Melissa Bonney** (BA’91), special assistant in the Office of Communications, Education, and Public Affairs of the Environmental Protection Agency; and **Jill Ward** (BA’91) from the press office of Senator Paul Sarbanes.

Among the prominent government officials present at the reception were: **Gilbert Casellas**, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), **Paul Miller**, one of the EEOC Commissioners, **Shirley Chater**, commissioner of the Social Security Administration, and **Alice Rivlin**, vice-chair of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors.

Several Penn alumni from the media also attended the reception, including: **Andrea Mitchell**, NBC chief foreign correspondent, **Ceci Connolly**, from the *St. Petersburg Times*, **Jonathan Decker**, from the *Nightly Business Report*, and **Bennett Roth**, from the *Houston Chronicle*.



Children & Television

Media Critics Meet at APPC, Washington

With the new Federal Communication Commission (FCC) regulation on children's educational programming about to go into effect, media critics met at the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Washington on October 24, 1996, to discuss how reporters can better inform parents about quality television programs.

The FCC guideline says that broadcasters must air three hours of core programming a week that has education as its significant purpose. Amy Jordan, senior researcher for APPC who is directing the Center's research on children and television, noted in her introduction to the group that "it's important to get out to the public what's on television that's good for their children to watch. The problem up until now is that the public hasn't had enough information to make these decisions."

The critics described problems they confront in trying to cover worthwhile children's programming. "I am the only TV critic at my newspaper," said Robin Dougherty of *The Miami Herald*. "Every time I do a review of one thing, it edges out other things. If I put in a review of a really good cable show for kids, and don't review a 'Frontline' episode I get flack from my editors." Another problem, she added, was that there is less information available about children's programs than about prime-time fare. "Publicists call you 20, 30 times a day promoting prime-time shows, but there is very little promotion of kids' shows," Dougherty said.

Stephen Seplow, television reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, agreed. "Publicists only have a certain amount of time. Publicists do prime-time TV." Seplow also pointed out that editors were not that eager to cover children's television. "Maybe this is one of the reasons circulation is declining," he proffered.

TV Guide writer James Kaplan suggested that icons could be developed for the print media, perhaps embedded in television listing grids, to indicate which shows were considered educational for children. "Granted," he said, "it's one more step to people reading only five words."

There was discussion of new formats through which to get out information about educational children's television programs. Carol Strickland, TV writer for *The Christian Science Monitor*, suggested National Public Radio as an

appropriate venue, while Kaplan proposed a take-off on the "Siskel and Ebert" model of movie reviewing. "Could there be one parent and one kid offering thumbs up and thumbs down to different television shows?" he asked. Kaplan emphasized the importance of having children involved in reviews. "We have to reach kids with their own voices," he said.

Peggy Charren, founder of Action for Children's Television, who also attended the meeting, stressed the importance of the new rule. "The problem with TV is that it all educates. If the violence didn't educate we wouldn't worry about it. TV educates in 30-second messages for products. The question to ask is, is this program worth having your children watch. It goes along with a broadcaster's license."

APPC Study Analyzes Newspaper Coverage of Children's TV

Newspapers generally fail to inform parents about quality children's television programming, according to a new study conducted by the Annenberg Public Policy Center. While children's television as an issue had a secure place on the news agenda — 1,199 stories appeared in the nine newspapers analyzed — very few papers provided information on how to find quality programs for children.

"Parents who read on the front page that children's television is violent and harmful can't count on the entertainment section to tell them which shows are bad and which are good," said Sean Aday, the ASC doctoral student who authored the study.

Out of 2,266 stories by television critics whose work was analyzed, only 1.2 percent were about children's television. By comparison, network prime time shows received 16.4 percent of the stories, news and public affairs, 12.3 percent, and stories about a mix of programming represented 24.2 percent.

The APPC study found that when children's television is mentioned by critics it is typically addressed as a general and problematic phenomenon. However, specific programs were rarely mentioned and almost never reviewed.

"Even when a show is reviewed," Aday noted, "parents are often not told whether their four-year-old or their ten-year old should watch it." He added that newspapers are more likely to run a regular "Soaps" column than a "Kidwatch" column.



Veteran newsman Walter Cronkite and the Free TV for Straight Talk Coalition met at the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Washington on September 18, 1996, to discuss the free time initiative. Along with representatives from the four broadcast networks, PBS, and a number of cable channels, Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Bill Bradley (D-NJ) were present.

Throughout the 1996 election season, the Free TV for Straight Talk Coalition, founded and directed by former *Washington Post* reporter Paul Taylor and funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, urged broadcast and cable networks to offer short segments of time to the major presidential candidates. The Washington meeting was an opportunity to bring all of the interested parties to a neutral site to iron out details.



Bill Bradley

During the meeting, Cronkite, who chairs the Coalition, called for cooperation from all parties and “effective use of [television] to improve the political dialogue.” In recent years, he noted, political participation has been in decline while television viewing has increased. Donating free TV time to candidates, he urged his former network colleagues, was an opportunity to act responsibly and create good will with their viewers.

To the network representatives, the most troubling aspect of the Coalition’s proposal was the idea that the segments would be “roadblocked” — aired simultaneously on all of the networks. The networks that chose to participate in the free TV plan feared that any network that did not would grab all of their viewers. Said one executive, “If you tune in to see your favorite show and see Bob Dole or Bill Clinton instead, you’ll keep hitting your remote control button until you find a channel without them.”

From the viewpoint of Taylor and Cronkite, roadblocking was critical. If aired at different times on different networks, they maintained, only the real “political junkies” would know where and when to tune in. Taylor argued that



Walter Cronkite and Paul Taylor

it is precisely the viewer turned off by politics and news that could benefit the most from seeing the next President of the United States on the TV screen a week before the election.

Senator Bradley added that the proposed free time segments were a step in the direction of discussing what he called “real” rather than “symbolic” issues. The “talking heads” format, as opposed to slickly-produced 30-second commercials, would add depth to the discourse.

Senator McCain noted that broadcasters have a responsibility to work in the public interest. Echoing Cronkite’s sentiment that political campaigns are in need of some repair, he said, “I have yet to meet anyone who is satisfied with campaigns today,” and implored the networks to make “a commitment to improving the dialogue.”

As the election season progressed, several networks did provide free TV time for presidential candidates. PBS, NPR, CNN, UPN, and a few others aired the two-and-a-half-minute segments negotiated by the Free TV for Straight Talk Coalition. CBS, NBC and Fox provided free TV segments to candidates in their own formats. In Spring, APPC, Washington will hold a conference to evaluate the effects of “free time” in 1996 and to discuss campaign reform proposals with a “free time” component.

The Prospects for Campaign Reform

A bi-partisan panel of U.S. Congress members and other political veterans discussed campaign finance and political parties' selection of presidential nominees at the 27th annual Leadership Conference of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, co-sponsored by the Annenberg School on October 25, 1996.

The panel included former presidential candidate and Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-Minnesota), Senator Arlen Specter (R-Pennsylvania), Representatives Patricia Schroeder (D-Colorado) and Tillie Fowler (R-Florida), C. Boyden Gray, adviser to George Bush, and Lyn Nofziger, a Republican strategist.

The enormous cost of campaigning drew most discussion, although the panelists disagreed with the conventional wisdom on how to eliminate money's influence in politics. Nofziger proposed that all limits on campaign contributions be eliminated — but that candidates be required to disclose every detail about the source

of their war chests. Both Fowler and McCarthy added that any federal financing of elections ought to end immediately.

"The idea that the government should be funding the process by which the government is selected is ridiculous," McCarthy said. "The American Revolution wasn't financed by matching funds from King George," he added.

Gray blamed the media for the increased cost of a presidential campaign, as television networks have clipped the average sound bite to a few seconds, forcing candidates to buy advertising time if they want to air their views at all.

Schroeder, who chose not to seek reelection this year, claimed that the constant search for money by politicians breeds public cynicism. "People think their elected officials are nothing more than errand boys," she said. "We look like a coin-op legislative machine."

The current primary system also came under heavy fire. Specter, who bowed out of the race for

the GOP nomination after only a few primaries in 1996, suggested that the current set-up gives too much weight to Iowa and New Hampshire. A more accurate representation of American preferences, he said, would come by holding four regional primaries, with a different region leading off each campaign season. This method would cut down on the influence of "extreme factions" that he said dominate the primary system in both parties.

Political columnist Tom Wicker delivered the first plenary address of the conference, on "The Status of Affirmative Action at the End of the Twentieth Century." ASC Dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson presented an after-dinner plenary address on "The Media and Politics at the End of the Twentieth Century." ASC's Phyllis Kaniss joined Larry Eichel, National Editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and Martha Kumar, of Towson State College, in discussing "The Media and Politicians: Adversaries or Allies."



Eugene McCarthy



CBS's Kathleen Frankovic: Annenberg Professional-in-Residence

Director of surveys and CBS News producer Kathleen Frankovic will spend the Spring 1997 semester at the Annenberg School, as part of ASC's Professionals-in-Residence program. Frankovic will be researching the relationship between polls and the media and the growing reliance of journalists on public opinion polling for data and interpretation.

At CBS, Frankovic designs and analyzes the CBS News/*New York Times* national and state telephone surveys and election day polls. She has also served as a regular on-air analyst for CBS radio and CBS News Nightwatch. Frankovic graduated from Cornell University with a major in government and received her doctorate in political science from Rutgers University. She has been a member of the faculty at the University of Vermont and Case Western Reserve University and an adjunct at Cornell University, and at Hunter and Douglass Colleges.

In past years, the Professionals-in-Residence program has hosted Robert Shogan, from *The Los Angeles Times*, author/journalist Haynes Johnson, *New York Times*' Congressional writer Adam Clymer, and U.S. Coast Guard Lieutenant Commander Stephen Flynn.

"THE IDEA THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE FUNDING THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS SELECTED IS RIDICULOUS"



Chris Satullo

Civic Journalism and the College Newspaper: Davis "Buzz" Merritt, Executive Editor of *The Wichita Eagle*, and Chris Satullo, Deputy Editorial Page Editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, gave their vision of how civic journalism could be used at college newspapers at the First Annual Ivy League Editors' Conference on September 28, 1996, co-sponsored by the Annenberg Public Policy Center, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, and Penn's Center for Community Partnerships.



Buzz Merritt



Sergei Khrushchev

Sergei Khrushchev, son of former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, discussed differences between mass media use in the United States and Russia on September 12, 1996, as part of the Annenberg Public Policy Center Forum Series. Khrushchev is a visiting professor at Brown University and author of *Khrushchev on Khrushchev and Khrushchev, Missiles, and Crisis*.

Annenberg Scholars Program Fall 1997: Dynamics of Diffusion

The focus of the Annenberg Scholars Program for the Fall of 1997 will be the dynamics of diffusion implicit in one or more disciplines in the humanities, social and biological sciences, and medical epidemiology. The aim is to examine how ideas, behavior, or institutional practices diffuse within and across societies, using theories and methods embedded in the work of many disciplines. Topics may range from the history of religions to health behavior, from stylistic change in fashion and the arts to technology transfer across cultures.

Visit Annenberg's Web-site: <http://www.asc.upenn.edu>

A reminder that the Annenberg School for Communication has its own site on the World Wide Web, featuring research reports online, home pages for faculty and students, and listings of employment opportunities for ASC graduates.

Alumni are encouraged to use the web site to let us know about internships or job leads, as well as to inform us of changes in jobs and home addresses for our updated ASC Alumni Directory. Please also forward to us any new e-mail addresses, as we are in the process of developing an ASC alumni electronic mailing list.

Publications in the Annenberg Public Policy Center's Report Series

- No. 1 Public Space: The Annenberg Scholars' Conference
- No. 2 The State of Children's Television: An Examination of Quantity, Quality, and Industry Beliefs
- No. 3 Positive Effects of Television on Social Behavior: A Meta-Analysis
- No. 4 Assessing the Quality of Campaign Discourse — 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992
- No. 5 Call-in Political Talk Radio: Background, Content, Audiences, Portrayal in Mainstream Media
- No. 6 The First Annual Annenberg Public Policy Center's Conference on Children and Television: A Summary
- No. 7 Newspaper Coverage of Children's Television
- No. 8 Information Technology and Its Impact on Catastrophic Risk

Most of the reports are posted on the Annenberg School web site (www.asc.upenn.edu). If you would like to obtain one of the reports not on the Web site, or if you do not have Internet access, contact the Annenberg School office at 215-898-7041.

The Annenberg Scholars Conference on "The Future of Fact" will be held at the Annenberg School February 26-28, 1997. For more information, contact Professor Elihu Katz, 215-898-4775 (phone), 215-898-2024 (fax), or via e-mail, fek@asc.upenn.edu.

Faculty News...

Oscar Gandy published a chapter on “Coming to Terms with the Panoptic Sort,” in *Computers, Surveillance, & Privacy*, edited by D. Lyons and E. Zuriek (University of Minnesota Press.) He was a panelist on “Information Technology at ENIAC+50”, the International Forum’s North American Conference, in Philadelphia in September, 1996.

During the Fall 1996 campaign, **Kathleen Hall Jamieson** appeared weekly on CNN’s “Inside Politics” and served as an ad analyst and election night consultant for “The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer.” She also appeared on “Face the Nation” the Sunday after each debate, consulted on the debates for CBS News, and did a weekly segment on NPR’s “Weekend Edition.” Jamieson was featured on a half hour MSNBC special on ads, appeared on two PBS documentaries on campaigning and was interviewed on “The Charlie Rose Show.”

Elihu Katz’s book *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (written with Daniel Dayan for Harvard University Press) was translated into Japanese and French in 1996. There are also editions in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. He delivered a paper at the Annenberg School for Communication of the University of Southern California on “Mass Media and Participatory Democracy: Manifest Functions, Latent Disfunctions.”

Klaus Krippendorff’s paper on “A Second-order Cybernetics of Otherness” appeared in *Systems Research*. His review of John R. Searle’s “The Construction of Social Reality” was published in *Cybernetics and Human Knowing*.

Carolyn Marvin’s paper, “Cheap But Not Easy: Democracy and Information Abundance,” appeared in *Communication Review*. She served as chair of a Dimension Series Panel on “Reflections on Ritual” at the 82nd annual Speech Communication Association convention in San Diego, November 24, 1996, featuring Elihu Katz, James Carey, Dwight Conquerwood, and Michael Real.

Robert Hornik delivered a talk on “Has Communication Worked? Results from Research” to the World Bank Communication for Behavior Change Workshop in Washington, DC, November 1996. His paper “Evaluating the Program Effects of a Radio Drama About AIDS in Zambia” (with P.S. Yoder and B. Chriwa) was published in *Studies in Family Planning*.

MESSARIS’S VISUAL “LITERACY” WINS SCA’S DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY BOOK AWARD



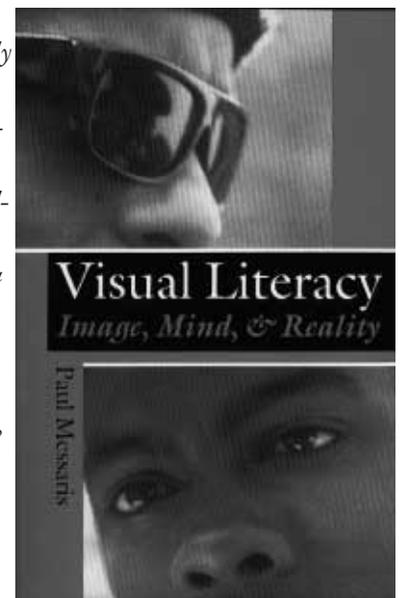
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Speech Communication Association, held November 23-6 in San Diego, Associate Professor Paul Messaris was awarded the Diamond Anniversary Book Award for *Visual “Literacy”: Image, Mind, and Reality* (Westview, 1994.) The Diamond Award recognizes the most outstanding scholarly book published

in the last two years, in subjects other than rhetoric and public address.

The selection committee cited Messaris’s study as being conceptually significant and masterfully executed, with important implications for the discipline of communication. The citation read: “Visual ‘Literacy’ is a thoroughly researched and cogent treatment of how we make sense of pictures on the television and motion picture screens. The book successfully undermines the commonly-held notion that the ability to interpret visual media requires prior experience and familiarity with specifically visual conventions of expression.

Professor Messaris meticulously integrates the literature from cognition, perception, physiology, and aesthetics to establish the foundation for understanding how we interpret the images of photography, cinema and television.”

The committee noted that the book’s topic and thesis, in addition to being carefully and eloquently argued, “have enormous implications for the many sub-disciplines comprising the field of communication.”



Fall 1996 ASC Colloquium Series

JAMES LULL

Author

"Symbolic Resources in Struggles Over Culture"

October 3, 1996

CAMILLE ZUBRINSKY

Department of Sociology, Ohio State University

"Stereotyping and Segregation in Los Angeles"

October 16, 1996

CATHERINE ANN HEANEY

School of Public Health, Ohio State University

"Communicating Social Support at the Workplace"

October 21, 1996

JON A. KROSNICK

Department of Psychology, Ohio State University

*"Changes in Political Attitude Strength Through the Life-Cycle:
Triangulating With High-Tech and Low-Tech Methods"*

October 22, 1996

GARY ALAN FINE

Department of Sociology, University of Georgia

*"John Brown's Body: Political and Cultural Elites and the
Legitimation of Terrorism, or, the Public Relations of Fact"*

November 1, 1996

DAVID FAN

Professor of Genetics and Cell Biology,

University of Minnesota

*"55 Time Series Tests for Predictions of Public Opinions
and Behaviors from News Stories"*

November 8, 1996

THEODORE M. PORTER

Department of History, University of California,

Los Angeles

"Objectivity and Community in Science"

November 11, 1996

MILTON LODGE

Department of Political Science, State University

of New York — Stonybrook

"The Role of Emotion in Online Political Judgments"

November 15, 1996

CATHY CARUTH

Program in Comparative Literature, Emory University

"The Wound and the Voice: Trauma, Narrative, and History"

December 6, 1996

1996 Annenberg
Distinguished Lecture:

Jaroslav Pelikan



Jaroslav Pelikan, Sterling Professor of History Emeritus at Yale University, delivered the fifth annual Walter and Leonore Annenberg Distinguished Lecture in Communication on the topic of "Rhetoric and Beyond: Learning from the Greeks" on October 24, 1996. The lecture is sponsored by the School's alumni.

Pelikan began his speech by lauding the Annenberg School for "following Aristotle by refusing to become a trade school" and by imbedding its research and teaching about communication in the context of Greek influences. He described the four qualities of mind and spirit that were highly valued by the Greeks: "episteme" (scientific and scholarly knowledge), "ennoia" (good judgment), "arete" (moral integrity), and "sophia" (wisdom.)

In discussing "episteme," he emphasized the importance of libraries as the repositories of learning. "Through all the changes and chances of scholarly faddishness and scientific trendiness, and for that matter of rhetorical or artistic extravagance, libraries have been the depositories where both artists and scholars, whether senior or junior, can discover masterpieces, learn about methods, and think about ideas that are for the moment out of fashion, where they can innovate through the best possible resource for innovation, which is knowing the tradition."

In turning to "ennoia", or good judgment, Pelikan noted that "in any art, and especially rhetoric, one of the differences between adequate practice and superb practice is very often the presence or absence of this very quality of attention that must be paid." He added, "Often a practitioner cannot explain how or why the ennoia-discernment has moved this way rather than that way ... But the scholarly study of performance and communication as it is being carried out here in the Annenberg School, together with psychological study of the patterning activity at work in human discernment, suggests that this intuition is anything but random or capricious."

Pelikan next discussed "arete", which he said means both "virtue" and "valor."

"Increasingly I find myself troubled by the shrinking of our moral consensus, and by the inability of educational agencies (churches, universities, courts, media) to reverse this alarming trend." He emphasized the need to find a way for "believers of all traditions to join with non-believers in addressing questions that do not — or at any rate should not — depend only on biblical or ecclesiastical authority for their answers."

Finally, Pelikan discussed "sophia," or wisdom, noting "what the most thoughtful have always known, that knowledge is not the same as wisdom, and as we have to learn again in our use of current technology, that information is not the same as knowledge."

He concluded by quoting two lines from Goethe's Faust, which he said have guided his life as a scholar and as a human being, and which in translation, state, "What you have as heritage, take now as task,/For thus you will make it your own!"



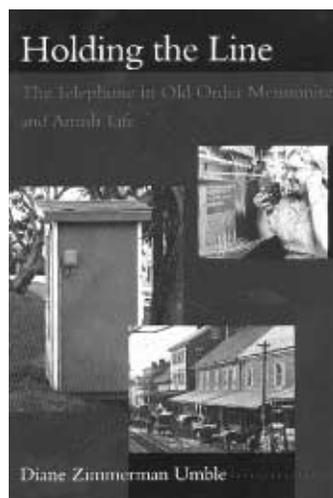
DIANE ZIMMERMAN UMBLE (MA'86, PhD'91) *Holding the Line: The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

In Holding the Line, Diane Zimmerman Umble offers a

historical and ethnographic study of how the Old Order Mennonites and Amish responded to and accommodated the telephone from the turn of the century to the present. For Old Order communities, Umble writes, appropriate use of the telephone marks the edges of appropriate association — who can be connected to whom, in what context, and under what circumstances. Umble's analysis of the social meaning of the telephone explores how technology affects community identity and the maintenance of cultural values through the regulation of the means of communication.

"I had always had an interest in the interaction between media and cultural identity," said Umble in a recent interview. Chairman of the Department of Communication and Theater at Millersville University, Umble was born into a Mennonite family, although her parents were never "plain" and her grandmother, while plain, was not Old Order. "There's a wide diversity of Mennonites," she explained.

Umble had long wondered how people with particular values could sustain those values in the face of overwhelming technology. Examining the Old Order Amish and Mennonites and their use of the telephone became the topic of her dissertation at the Annenberg School, and the subject of her new book.



"I have argued that when the telephone was first introduced the Amish home was the center of Amish faith and social life," Umble writes in *Holding the Line*. "The Amish had good reasons for keeping the telephone at bay, because in a very concrete way, it violated their sacred space. But while they have protected the home, the telephone and related technologies have invaded the Amish shop. Furthermore, the shop now competes with the home as the center of Amish social interaction."

Role of the Press in a Democratic Society in Near East Societies

Eleven journalists from Near Eastern countries came to the Annenberg School on November 8, 1996, to discuss challenges facing the newspaper industry in America and in their countries. The journalists met with Dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Dr. Phyllis Kaniss to discuss issues ranging from electronic reporting and the geographical zoning of editions to charges of journalistic negativity and publisher influence on editorial content. The journalists also explored their concerns about competition to newspapers from television and computers and strategies through which newspapers can maintain their relevance to young people.

The journalists in attendance included: Ghania Oukazi, economic and investigative reporter for *El Watan* newspaper in Algeria; Magdy Erman, investigative reporter for *Al-Wafd* newspaper in Egypt; Said Halawy, deputy editor-in-chief of news, *Al-Ahram* newspaper in Egypt; Diab Allouh, media and information, Fatah Party in Gaza; Nidal Mansour, co-founder and chief editor of *Al-Hadath* weekly in Jordan; Adib Abi Akl, editor-in-chief, Central News Agency in Lebanon; Jamal Berraoui, director and editor-in-chief of *L'Observateur National* in Morocco; Ahmed Al Hamar, director of the Qatar News Agency in Qatar; Hassan Youssef, cultural writer for *Tishreen*, government-owned newspaper in Syria; Nouredine Boutar, assistant editor-in-chief of *Ash-Shourouq* in Tunisia, and Khairia Rabie, director of the cultural department of *Al-Ittihad* newspaper in the United Arab Emirates.

A L U M N I



Megin Adams (MA '96) is a research analyst for Opinion Dynamics Corporation in Cambridge, MA.

Brian Attig (PhD '94) is research director for Strategic Marketing Corporation in Bala Cynwyd, PA.

Howard Arenstein (MA '74) is bureau chief for CBS News, Radio (Network) in Washington, DC.

Marion (Mimi) Bartell (MA '94) is a change management consultant at Andersen Consulting in Philadelphia.

Esha Bhatia (MA '89) has become program director for TraumaLink: The Center for Interdisciplinary Pediatric Trauma Research at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia.

Michael Brennan (MA '80) has been appointed executive director for corporate, foundation, and research relations at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Bryon Colby (MA '95) is director of strategic projects at Infonautics Corp. in Wayne, PA.

Colleen Cool (MA '79) was appointed assistant professor at the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at Queens College, City University of New York.

Douglas Conn (MA '89) has been named vice president and analyst for telecommunications at Lehman Brothers in New York.

Henrik Dahl (MA '84) has become research director at A.C. Nielsen/AIM in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Matt De Julio (MA '72) is advertising director of the Controls Instrumentation Group of the ABC Publishing Group at the Chilton Company in Radnor, PA.

Sue Ducat (MA '84) has become senior counselor for media relations at the Hawthorn Group in Arlington, VA.

Bonnie B. Good (MA '62) is senior director for community development and relations at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto.

Jerry Good (MA '62) is professor in the School of Radio and Television at Ryerson Polytechnic University.

Mackarness Goode (MA '72) has become vice president for advancement at the Pratt Institute.

Blaire Hansen (MA '95) is an internet producer for Eagle River Interactive in Mountain View, CA.

Paul Hennessy (MA '70) is director of marketing and communications at Newbury College in Brookline, MA.

Richard Hoyt (MA '67) is executive Vice President of Ruder-Finn, Inc. in Raleigh, NC.

Duncan Kenworthy (MA '73) is producing a new film, "Lawn Dogs," in Louisville, Kentucky for Rank Films. His NBC production of "Gulliver's Travels" won five Emmy awards for 1996, including best mini-series.

M. Hart Larrabee IV (MA '94) is working with the Secretariat of the Nagano Olympic Organizing Committee for the 1998 Winter Olympics in Japan.

John Lemberger (MA '70) is director of AMCHA, National Israeli Center for Psychosocial Support for Holocaust Survivors in Jerusalem.

Julius Litman (MA '73) is director of new product development in the Interactive Media Division of Database America Companies in Montvale, NJ.

Eric Luskin (MA '82) has been appointed director of national syndication of the American Program Service, a syndicator of public broadcasting programs in Boston, MA.

David Nicoll (MA '75) is associate general counsel for the National Cable Television Association in Washington, DC.

Ross Petzing (MA '61) is program manager for the International Broadcasting Corporation in Bangkok, Thailand.

Ellen Potocki (MA '89) is study director at Market Facts, a full-service market research firm based in Wellesley, MA.

Joslyn Read (MA '85) is assistant division chief for Satellite and Radiocommunications Division of the International Bureau of the Federal Communications Commission.

Brigitt Thompson (MA '93) is the principal at her own graphic design studio in Baltimore, MD.

Thomas Yagelski (MA '90) is retail client service coordinator for efficient market services, inc. in Deerfield, IL.

Alumni

Advisory Board

JOHN CAREY (PhD '76) is director of Greystone Communications, a telecommunications, research, and planning firm, specializing in the educational and commercial applications of interactive media.

JOSEPHINE HOLZ (PhD '81) is vice president for research at the Children's Television Workshop.

STEWART HOOVER (PhD '85) is professor of communication in the Center for Mass Media Research at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

EDWARD KELLER (MA '79) is president of Roper Starch Worldwide, which specializes in marketing, public opinion, advertising, and media research.

C. JOANNA LEI (PhD '96) is a media investment partner in Baring Communications Equity Asia in Singapore, Asia's first specialized fund focusing on media and telecommunication industries.



MARY ELLEN MARK (MA '64) is a photojournalist whose work has appeared in *Life*, *Fortune*, and the *New York Times Magazine*. She is also the author of *Falkland Road*, *Passport*, and *The Photo Essay*.

J. PATRICK MICHAELS (MA '68) is chairman and chief executive officer of Communications Equity Associates, a media investment company based in Tampa, Florida.

ANDREA MITCHELL, Chair, (BA '67) is chief foreign correspondent for NBC News in Washington, DC.

MARTIN NISENHOLTZ (MA '79) is president of the New York Times Electronic Media Company.

WILLIAM NOVELLI (MA '64) is president of the National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids in Washington, DC.

At the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association meeting in Philadelphia, **A. Joseph Borrell** presented a paper on "Radio Station Characteristics and the Adoption of Nationally Syndicated Talk Radio Programming." At the same conference **Melinda Schwenk** presented "Developing a Talk Radio Coding System." Their papers were completed under the School's Talk Radio Project, funded by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Candace Lewis served as an assistant to producer **Jill Marti** (MA'68) on the Jazbo production "Waging Peace," which aired on the Disney Channel in November 1996.

Joohoan Kim presented a paper on "Representing Frames of Texts: Computer-Aided Text Analysis and Graphical Representation of Frame Salience" at the Communication and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication meetings in Anaheim, California on August 13, 1996. He also presented "Computer-mediated Communication in Community as a New Road to Democracy: The 3-COM Revolution and the Public Sphere" at the 8th MacBride Round Table in Seoul, South Korea on August 25, 1996.

Susan Sherr's paper on "Our Children, Our Enemies: Media Framing of Children at Risk" was published in *Pictures of a Generation on Hold*, edited by Murray Pomerance and John Sakeris.

Ramona Lyons presented a paper on "The True-Crime Reenactment: Realism T.V., News Fact, and Documentary Ambiguity" at the August, 1996 Visible Evidence Conference. She also presented a paper, "Pierce Me: From Pathology to Community, the Popularization of Body Piercing" to the November 1996 Psychosomatic Conference at Massachusetts General Hospital.

Andrew Maxfield co-authored a paper on "Translating Health Psychology into Effective Health Communication: The American Healthstyles Audience Segmentation Project," that was published in the *Journal of Health Psychology* in July 1996.

The proceedings of the following Annenberg School conferences and projects are now available on videotape:

"The 1996 Election Debriefing" (two videotapes); "The 1992 Presidential Election Debriefing"; "Adwatching: News Coverage of Political Ads"; "The Great Health Care Debate with Bill Moyers: Health in America" (broadcast on PBS 10/7/94); "Women in Judging: Transforming the Image of Justice"; and "Families in the Media — What is the Role of Government?" (two videotapes.) The cost of each videotape, including shipping and handling, is \$15.00.

To order, please return the order form with a check or money order payable to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

Videotapes

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| 3. Health Care | __@\$15.00 |
| 4. Women in Judging | __@\$15.00 |
| 5. Families in the Media (2 tapes) | __@\$30.00 |
| 6. Election Debriefing '96 (2 tapes) | __@\$30.00 |

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