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**SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY
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**THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION
ON THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT (1952 TO 1992)**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**BY
ROLAND FRANCIS RECKER JR.**

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SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

The dissertation of Roland F. Recker Jr. entitled "The Impact of Television on the Making of the President (1952 to 1992)," submitted to the Ph. D. program in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Salve Regina University, has been read and approved by the Committee:

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines how technological developments in the electronic media have affected presidential political campaigns since television first became a key aspect of national politics in 1952. More specifically, a comparison of the presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1992 reveals how television has affected the nomination process, the way TV is used by candidates and network news organizations to communicate their messages, and the effect of television on campaign financing. While recognizing such impressive developments as satellite communications, videotape recording, and computers, this study suggests that the social consequences of these technological advances have been mixed. While allowing for increased information to be communicated in a more timely manner, technical innovations have sometimes led to a less informed, less knowledgeable, and often indifferent electorate. They have, in some instances, affected negatively the political process in particular and society in general.

The introductory chapter provides an overview of the topic with specific reference to the philosophical aspects of the technological changes in the modern media. After a review and evaluation of the relevant literature, a detailed examination of differences between the two national election campaigns separated by forty years will demonstrate the changes in news broadcasting as well as the transformation of election tactics as seen in the messages carried by the electronic media. This study, which employs an historical and analytical approach to the problem, includes a personal interview with former NBC reporter Sander Vanocur. It also makes use of a questionnaire, distributed to a non-random, purposive sample of participants, intended to elicit the views of those who actually voted in the 1992 presidential election. A narrative explanation of the survey results is complemented by selective charts and graphs to assist in analyzing the data. Survey findings are assessed together with journalistic critiques in order to make sense out of current political-media issues. A final chapter provides a set of questions that helps to pull together and compare different perspectives. While identifying consistencies and anomalies, this chapter also proposes avenues of further research.

Dedication

To Mary Sue, Roland, and Robert

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

Technological Change

The implications of technology have been well treated by numerous scholars such as Barbour, Capra, Ellul, Mesthene, and Mitcham. Nevertheless, perhaps the clearest definition is that of the economist John Kenneth Galbraith who views technology as "the systematic application of scientific or other organized knowledge to some practical task" (1985, 14). Even a cursory examination of human life reveals that the influence of technology upon society is both pervasive and profound. The effect of technological innovation has been especially evident in the Western world following World War II. Whether it is looked upon as precipitating change, responding to it, or merely representing a practical solution to a perceived problem, technology has affected virtually every aspect of human life.

In its sophisticated form, technology often requires a heavy initial investment in capital and in the systematic application of organized knowledge. The paradigm developed by Galbraith demonstrates that, all too frequently, the increasing commitment of money and time allows usually only the largest corporations who possess the requisite capital and skills commensurate with large-scale technological development to utilize it quickly. Consequently, the initiative for deciding on what is produced is now often vested in these giant corporations. It is often to their advantage to control markets, to manufacture products, and to convince customers to desire those products. In so doing, the corporation can exert a profound influence upon the customer's values and beliefs. To some extent, therefore, the imperatives of technology and such powerful entities, even more than ideology, may now be determining the shape of economic society. Together these factors exert substantial impact on the state of society in general. It is useful to apply Galbraith's paradigm when attempting to understand and analyze the relationship of technology to contemporary civilization.

Numerous writers have examined the extent of changes wrought by technology and their influence upon civilization. According to the social commentator Jacques Ellul, "It is not then the intrinsic characteristics of techniques which reveal whether there have been real changes, but the characteristics of the relation between the technical phenomenon and society" (1964, 63). In consideration of Ellul and his insights, technology should not be viewed in the abstract. Rather it is necessary to reflect upon the interrelationship between society and technology.

In considering the effects of technological change upon modern society, one important aspect is the speed of change. In the period preceding the Industrial Revolution, change was achieved at a pace that made human acclimation a relatively painless process. Ellul, who prefers the term "technique," instead of technology, is rather insistent on this point:

Technique did not pose the problem of adaptation because it was firmly enmeshed in the framework of life and culture. It developed so slowly that it did not outstrip the slow evolution of man himself. The progress of the two was so evenly matched that man was able to keep pace with the techniques. (1964, 72)

The rapid implementation of technological innovation in the contemporary world, however, often outstrips the evolutionary progress of man and his ability to absorb, adapt or cope with the abrupt modification of routine. Not only does the individual need to reconcile himself to such change; society itself must undergo a perhaps even more traumatic period of adjustment.

Technological Change in the Communications Media

Of all the social changes in the past century, perhaps the most profound with the most enduring effects upon individual and society are those produced by the communications media. Larry Hickman cites educator Paul Levinson on the power of the media:

In the case of the popular culture technologies of the past hundred years, however, the emergence of new communications has almost always led to their more extensive use as practical media and or mass art. These primordial media have evolved into technologies and cultures of universal impact. (1990, 297)

In various contexts, the word "media" is used in three broad ways: (1) as technologies--evolving means of communications; (2) as an industry maintained by business advertising for public entertainment; and (3) as the news media--radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, etc.--that play a crucial part in defining and forming public opinion. While this dissertation is directed primarily to the media in the third sense, and concentrates on TV, attention will also be directed when appropriate to the other two meanings.

The development of the television industry sparked a veritable revolution in the way people are informed and entertained. It has also affected how people relate to each other, and, perhaps most importantly, how and what they think. For Ian Barbour, who formally defined technology as "the application of organized knowledge to practical tasks by ordered systems of people and machines" (1993, 3), television has been an integral part of the new communications technology:

The combination of visual image and auditory message has an immediacy not found in the linear sequence of the printed word. It offered the possibility of instant worldwide communication, greater interaction, understanding, and mutual appreciation in the "global village." (1993, 5)

Barbour recognized the benefits of the new technology but was wary of the potential human costs if it were used unwisely. He noted, "When a legitimate interest in material progress becomes an addictive consumerism, human experience is impoverished, and community life and personal relationships are eroded" (1993, xvii). William Chafe of Duke University, who sees TV in a positive role, states: "Television altered the shape of the culture, bringing people from the most disparate backgrounds together in a common experience" (1991, 129). On the other hand, media critic Jerry Mander takes a negative approach, arguing that television "isolates people from the environment, from each other, and from their own senses" (1978, 168).

The Ascendency of TV

As a technological innovation, television serves as an ideal example that corresponds to the paradigm in the definition advanced by Galbraith. After a great investment of capital, public opinion research, and a long planning process, corporations set out to sell new products to the American people. Unprecedented advertising campaigns launched after World War II emphasized all the positive aspects of TV, while ignoring or minimizing the potential negative consequences. Media critic Jeff Kesseloff recounts:

An RCA ad in the fall [1945] issue of *Televiser* magazine crowed that postwar viewers would tour the world via television, and that almost the entire American population should share in the variety of entertainment now concentrated only in large cities. The ad also promised that television would provide jobs for returning soldiers and—for potential advertisers—millions will be kept busy supplying products that television can demonstrate in millions of homes at one time. (1995, 100)

Agreement with this argument was not unexpected, given the usual penchant in Western culture for accepting technology as a vehicle for social progress and advancement.

In considering the importance of television for contemporary society, it is interesting to note that the early development of TV went almost unnoticed. "Although there is no single inventor of television, Dr. Vladimir Zworykin's invention of the iconoscope in 1923 provided a basic element, the 'eye' of the TV camera" (Barnouw 1968, 38). Demonstrations of various types of experimental television were made in the late 1920s and into the 1930s. The new medium, however, seemed to be impractical. There were numerous technical problems: fuzzy pictures, tiny screens, and incompatible transmission systems. The costs, moreover, were astronomical. By the end of the 1930s, interest in TV had begun to grow as a primitive and intermittent network of stations began operating. Regular television service was inaugurated on April 30, 1939 with the telecast of President Roosevelt's official opening of New York's World Fair. Thereafter, from 1939 to 1941, both NBC and CBS presented a surprisingly extensive schedule of

programs over their New York stations for the several thousand TV sets then in use. Although confined to the East Coast during this period, commercial television was starting to take root, but World War II (1939-1945) halted further development.

With the end of the war, interest in television quickly began to resurface. As new stations sprang up along the Eastern seaboard and in the Midwest, the radio networks became more and more involved with developing TV. By 1948, regular television network broadcasts were on the way. Several of the longest running programs premiered that year, including ABC's "Original Amateur Hour," NBC's "Texaco Star Theater," starring Milton Berle, CBS's "Toast of the Town," hosted by Ed Sullivan, and Dumont's "Captain Video." These shows were broadcast live and were marked by creativity, spontaneity, and superlative style in writing--characteristics often lacking in the modern genre. Television historians Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh recall the popularity of sports broadcasts:

The 1947 World Series brought in television's first mass audience. It was seen by an estimated 3.9 million people--3.5 million of them in bars! The TV set over the corner bar was a first introduction to the new medium for many people, and it helped sell thousands of sets for the home. (1995, xiii)

After that success, interest in TV became contagious. The first set on the block usually brought in dozens of curious neighbors, who eventually went out and bought sets of their own. Following the network link to the West Coast in 1951, the stage was set for an explosive growth in the television industry, a boom spurred by a significant decline in the price of TV receivers. Over the years, America's love affair with television has matured from an initial infatuation into an intense and pervasive relationship. It happened quickly as Brooks and Marsh observed:

The percentage of U.S. homes with one or more TV sets leaped from 1% to 50% in five short years (1948-1953) and passed 90% in the early 1960s. Today [1995] 98% of U.S. homes have TV--it is everywhere. And the average home has its set on seven hours a day, every day. (1995, xxi)

The influence of this medium today is even more powerful than appears at first glance. Praise or censure of TV has been expressed by countless journalists, civic, and political leaders. Shows like Ken Burns's "The Civil War" and A&E's "Biography" have met with near universal acclaim by critics and viewers alike. NBC News President Robert Kintner remarked, "Television is now recognized everywhere as a vehicle for education and information..." Arthur Shulman and Roger Youman cite producer Sylvester Weaver on the role of the new medium: "Television is the educator and the communicator, the informer, the thing that can inspire and enrich man..." (1966, 8). David Halberstam points out the power of the medium, given the vast audience it was capable of reaching: "Television represented very simply a quantum jump in journalistic and political power. The audience was so much bigger and the emotions the medium generated were so much greater..." (1979, 138). An incisive critique of both the positive and negative possibilities of television was offered by Governor Mario Cuomo in a 1986 speech to the New York Press Club:

Like print, the electronic press informs, educates, advocates, and entertains. And it becomes increasingly apparent that its function is as vital as the print media to the welfare of the nation. The press is about finding the truth and telling it to the people. The press has the power to inform, but that implies the power to distort. It has the power to instruct, but that implies the power to mislead. It has the power to uplift, but that implies the power to demean. It can lead our society to a more mature and discriminating understanding of the process by which we choose our leaders, make our rules, and construct our values. Or it can encourage people to despise our systems and avoid participating in them. It can teach our children a taste for violence, encourage a fascination with perversity and inflicted pain. Or it can show them a beauty they have not known. It can make wonders—on a page, on a screen. It can make us all wiser, fuller, surer, sweeter than we are. Or it can do less. And worse. (1993, 126-127)

Philosophical Considerations

The German philosopher Martin Heidegger was especially concerned over how modern communication technology was depriving man of the ability to think recollectively and meditatively. The sheer speed of data transmission coupled with its

incredible variety of material impairs man's ability to understand or to reflect on what is communicated. Speaking in 1955, Heidegger linked this limitation on comprehension to the new and more advanced modes of communication that had come into use and "have served to uproot men in general" (1966, 45). Not only had this new technology seriously eroded the human cognitive capability; it had also tended to make viewers virtual hostages in a world of artificiality, sometimes effectively divorcing them from reality.

Heidegger wrote:

Hourly and daily they are chained to radio and television. Week after week the movies carry them off into uncommon, but often merely common realms of the imagination, and give the illusion of a world that is no world. Picture magazines are everywhere available. All that with which modern techniques of modern communications assail, and drive man—all that is already much closer to man today than his fields around his farmstead, closer than the sky over the earth, closer than the change from night to day, closer than the conventions and customs of his village, than the tradition of his native world. (1966, 47-48)

To a large extent, Ellul supports Heidegger's postulate. In particular, Ellul is concerned by the potential inherent in both motion pictures and television to confuse image with reality and, by so doing, to lead man into an artificial concept of the everyday world.

Even more ominous for Ellul is television's influence upon a person's natural inclination to engage in interpersonal relationships. Opting for the screen's artificial and vicarious experience, one can easily become a prisoner in a solitary world of mere images. Ellul further warns, "There is no other comparable instrument of human isolation. The radio, and television even more than radio, shuts up the individual in an echoing mechanical universe in which he is alone" (1964, 379). Meaningful friendships, face-to-face dialogue, and informative discussion with colleagues are replaced by an artificial world created by the media. The fake and illusory become welcome escapes from confronting reality.

Like Ellul, the sociologist Marshall McLuhan was especially concerned about the media's penetration of all aspects of our daily lives. He wrote, "All media work us over

completely. They are so persuasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered" (1967, 32). In a similar vein, Roger Veille believes that the media act as a "liberating distraction in offsetting the tragedies of family life, social pressure, and the vexations of everyday life" (1952, 78). To paraphrase Veille, the media technique serves as a refuge for man by sheltering him from reality, but it equally deprives him of meaningful participation in society (1952, 79).

Since man is described as a "social animal," the damage done to the human psyche by limiting or eliminating interpersonal relationships can be severe. This isolation diminishes one's ability to act as a rational animal and to function as truly human. The noted anthropologist Edmund Carpenter notes: "They [new media] are art forms, not substitutes for human contact. Insofar as they attempt to usurp speech and personal, living relations, they harm" (1990, 203). Heidegger insists that we are human subjects "only because we are practically bound up with others and the material world, and these relations are constitutive of our life rather than accidental to it" (1962, 48). The consequences of such human alienation are of ethical and social concern.

Television News

Television as dispenser of information is an influence that should therefore be closely examined. The dominant impact of television in conveying both international and domestic news to the American public cannot be overstated. According to a 1985 poll in the Los Angeles Times, more than 83% of those interviewed stated that TV was their primary source of news, while only 17% maintained it was the newspaper (Shaw 1985, 9). The Pew Survey (July 1996) reports that 86% of the American public currently identify television as their primary source for news in general and for political news specifically. The awesome power of news domination by one medium is of considerable import and should not be ignored in understanding our society.

This dominance becomes even more critical when one considers the impact of television upon the presidential political process, a process of critical importance to the viability and survival of American democracy. The American presidential race has evolved considerably since the full maturation of the republic in the late nineteenth century, but the contest still consists essentially of two integral phases: nomination and election. The nomination phase, which culminates in the determination of the parties' candidates for president and vice-president, has undergone basic changes. Developed initially to enable the party leaders to choose candidates, the method now permits the public to affect that selection as well. Broader rank and file participation has expanded canvassing by candidates, increased coverage by the mass media, and intensified public appeals by the parties. Campaigns are more complex and more expensive. Candidates often have to invest considerable effort, time, and money in seeking the nomination.

The electoral phase is also radically different from what it was even a half century ago. At mid-century, the main political parties were the principal link between candidates and the voters. They chose the nominees, organized the campaigns, and mobilized popular support. Today they require more staff and greater media participation, and the party professionals have been largely supplanted by campaign experts. They utilize the techniques of market research and the technology of the modern electronic age. Radio and television have become the principal ways to reach the voters--both in the factual arguments provided and rhetoric dispensed. The controlling power of the political party bosses has suffered severely. Despite these changes, political skill and shrewd expertise in both the nomination and electoral phases remain crucial to a successful candidacy.

Television and Politics

Television's impact upon politics has become so total that it has effectively altered the very nature and structure of traditional political discourse. Political figures who could once issue carefully nuanced statements to the newspapers must now appear

in television interviews and respond extemporaneously to complex queries that cannot be neatly answered in a ten second "sound bite." On the positive side, however, candidates have become more accessible to the media, and they are more apt to reply in a candid fashion that often proves quite revealing of their character and attitudes.

Besides news coverage, the paid advertisements by the political parties require extensive examination. If a national campaign is to be run effectively, financing must be available to exploit the appropriate technological outlets to reach the greatest number of voters. Without the vast finances to implement a full-fledged political publicity campaign, the chances of success for a candidate today are virtually nil. Even more important are the effects of partisan publicity upon voters' decisions. If political advertising actually provided a rational exposition of political issues and alternative courses of action, then the citizenry would be able to choose intelligently. Opposing or even contradictory promises and claims should enable the voter to make an informed decision, but this does not necessarily happen.

While some ads do attempt to provide a reasonable explanation of an issue, they are usually in the minority. An example of the negative power of television advertisements was the Willie Horton case in the 1988 campaign. Horton was a convicted murderer who, after his early release by Massachusetts Governor Dukakis, left the state, raped a Maryland woman, and brutalized her fiance. While the political ads overtly portrayed Dukakis as soft on crime, the fact that Horton was black and that the Maryland couple were white clearly injected racist overtones into the presidential race. Similar political commercials that have resorted to emotionalism and that inflame or anger serve as definite hindrances to objective judgment by the voters. As Washington Post reporter E. J. Dionne concludes: "In a thirty-second spot, candidates and parties can only give impressions, appeal to feelings, or arouse emotions. This tends to rule out even thirty seconds of sober discussion of the issues" (1991, 15). By opting for emotionalism over rational thought, these political ads undermine the voter's chance for an informed

choice. The continued reliance on such partisan advertisements has the potential to reinforce even further the processes of estrangement and fragmentation of American opinion.

A campaign choice does not improve when the voter hears from the opposition because both sides may be equally biased. Ellul explains, "The individual, forced to submit to contradictory streams of propaganda, not only is incapable of preserving freedom of choice, of choosing between different doctrines, but is eliminated from the political operation completely" (1964, 374). Ellul further contends, "And much of the information disseminated nowadays eliminates personal judgment and the capacity to form one's own opinion even more surely than the most extravagant propaganda" (1972, 87). In sum, political advertising tends to thwart reflective thinking. Inundating the populace with emotional and repetitive propaganda weakens the voters' ability to ponder seriously the issues at hand and limits one's freedom to choose. As Heidegger noted: "In calculative thinking, in the hustle and bustle of the present day, we never really think" (1962, 178). A basic determinant of a human person, free will, might thus be unduly subjected to forms of technological manipulation.

Mass Media and Society

Responsible citizens tend to have mixed feelings about the role of the mass media in our society. A strong and independent system of communications is crucial to a well-functioning democratic nation. Open dialogue is a cornerstone of the American political system. Walter Cronkite has observed that "the preservation of our liberties depends on an enlightened citizenry" (1996, 380). On the other hand, the power of modern mass communications to persuade, to propagandize, or to distort the facts gives the media a potentially dangerous influence over the public. This power has become an even greater cause for concern when today it is concentrated in the control of the few broadcast networks, the major newspapers, and the national news magazines. This combination can be formidable: "The three national television networks' news organizations, the two

major national news magazines, the Associated Press, The New York Times, and The Washington Post have long enjoyed immense influence as agenda setters and as judges of the political process" (Young 1986, 153).

This tendency toward a media monopoly is troublesome to those who maintain that the citizenry must have access to alternative points-of-view on issues of critical importance:

By the late 1930s, the United States was beginning to develop a national media network. A relatively small group of media outlets was increasingly determining the manner in which the world was being presented to Americans. This group of media outlets was largely centered in New York, secondarily in Los Angeles, and, for political news, in Washington. The trend did not come to fruition until the late 1950s and early 1960s, with the emergence of television. By 1958 the number of television sets just about equaled the number of American homes, and the age of television really began, dominated immediately by the three major networks centered in New York. (Rothman and Lerner 1989, 7)

The rapid growth in TV cable service and alternative media, such as internet data, may alleviate this problem through offering additional sources of information. The ubiquitousness of the Cable News Network (CNN) and its clones has already had a huge impact on the broadcast network news operations. A media dominance continues, however, since the traditional broadcast networks continue to command the higher ratings although this dominance is declining. Some critics claim that the country may need protection from the news media as well as the protection of free speech. As MacLuhan insisted:

The decisive fact is the appearance of new mass media, which transform not only the social fabric but, even more so, the way each individual thinks and lives. This is caused not so much by the sheer multiplication of information, but rather by the way this information is conveyed. (1967, 34)

The relevant questions here are issues related to human psychology. Does exposure to television subject the audience to greater manipulative bias? If nothing else, the sheer quantity and pervasiveness of television in most American's lives may be a

portent. What constitutes reality insofar as human perception is concerned can become the source of error. Historians Rothman and Lerner viewed this confusion between the electronic image and reality as extremely alarming:

Far more than newspapers, radio, or movies, television provides its audience with a sense that what it views is the truth. Viewers see events taking place in their living rooms. Stories, documentaries, even drama take on a reality with which other media cannot compete. Events are seen as they happen. The written word can be discounted as can the spoken word, but pictures seen in the privacy of our homes are too compelling. Even if we know that what we see may have been spliced together and, conceivably, may not be accurate, it is hard to escape the perception that we are viewing reality. (1989, 8)

To a great extent television watchers are a captive audience. Viewers can, of course, turn the set off or switch channels. They are more apt, however, to submit passively to what passes before them than readers of newspapers, who must actively and continually pursue information.

The limitations of time and space also impinge on the effectiveness of television news presentations. Aside from the ratings and profitability that clearly drive the programming, the severe constraints of time and space under which TV operates must make the news reports more transitory than in the print medium. The very nature of this style of reportage lends itself to incomplete, distorted, and even erroneous information that is presented as factual. Follow-up details and corrections do not receive the full audience attention of the original report. More complete coverage is, on the other hand, now found in the print medium. As Rothman and Lerner observe: "The television revolution has affected newspapers and news magazines. In part, it has forced them to turn to in-depth reportage of the kind that television handles much less effectively" (1989, 8). TV news reporting is largely a matter of selecting the world events that program editors consider important. As a result, the electronic media are simply incapable of providing a balanced survey of all the news that will keep the public meaningfully informed. As Cronkite observed: "The sheer volume of television news

[reported] is ridiculously small. That is not enough to cover the day's major events at home and overseas" (1996, 375).

Theme of the Dissertation

General

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, it has been widely assumed that science-based technology would lead to progress and improvement in human life. Consideration of the impact on society and the self, however, has often been neglected or understated. As Ian Barbour noted, "Modern technology has brought increased food production, improved health, higher living standards, and better communications, but its human costs have been increasingly evident" (1993, xv). Most important, technological development in general has often outstripped our ability to use it in the service of humanity. Barbour responds to his own question, "What kinds of technology do we really want? The answer will depend on our value priorities and our vision of the good life" (1993, xvii). Facing the new millennium, few questions or none are more important than whether and how technology can increasingly be governed by moral principles in protecting human values.

Specific

As noted earlier, some of the most profound technological changes in the last century have been produced by the communications media. With the introduction and evolution of radio and television, the speed, range, scope, and societal impact of human communications have vastly increased. Television, in particular, has played an increasingly consequential role in society as both an entertainment and information source since coming of age in the 1950s. Yet television is but one example of a technology that is simultaneously liberating and restricting, one that offers society both opportunities and problems. As an information medium, it has been neither the unalloyed blessing envisioned by some nor the bane of democratic government attributed to it by others. As its impact upon politics has been immense, historians, sociologists,

and journalists generally agree that the role of television in the modern presidential election process in particular has been profound, far reaching, and sometimes disturbing.

An understanding of the continually evolving relationship between television and presidential politics is necessary if there is to be some recognition of how this new technology can be made more responsive to the cultural values of the society it is meant to serve. In this regard, it is to be noted that television, as a business, serves the economic interests of its stockholders. There is nonetheless an underlining commitment, made explicit by the rules and regulations of the FCC (Federal Communications Commission), that the television industry also has a responsibility to the public interest. Consequently, there needs to be an essential balance between the economic interests of the medium and a concern for the cultural values of the society in which it exists.

In exploring how technological developments in the electronic media, specifically television, have affected presidential election campaigns, this study will focus upon a comparison of the 1952 presidential campaign when television first became a key element in national politics and the 1992 election that demonstrated television's pivotal role in electoral success. Comparing and contrasting these two campaigns will help to explain how media coverage and advertising by the candidates have profoundly reshaped the American political process in both positive and negative fashions. In reviewing these two campaigns, attention will be directed to how television has altered the nomination process, the way TV was used by candidates and network news organizations to communicate with the public, and to how television advertising affected campaign financing. To a lesser degree, this research effort will explore how well television informs the public during a presidential campaign. These developments will be treated as part of an evolutionary process that has, in many ways, contributed to a revolution in American politics.

Survey of Voters

This research will focus on a sample of voters who employed television as a source of information in presidential choices to discover the attitudes of these citizens towards television as a means of political discernment. Specifically, two research questions will be examined: First, what is the medium of choice for information on presidential candidates? Second, how do people who rely upon television as a source of information on presidential elections rate the quality, credibility, and value of the messages conveyed to them? Conclusions from this analysis will contribute to an understanding of how television has affected presidential politics and how TV can be made more responsive to the expectations of the American voting public.

Methodology

Qualitative Approach

This research is mainly characterized by a qualitative approach, beginning with specific observations and moving toward the formation of general patterns and trends through an historical and analytical process. A holistic appreciation of the situation and an inductive rationale are defined by the research questions. In accordance with this plan, an examination of the background literature, television shows featuring prominent media personalities and political operatives, a review of archival radio and TV programming, and a personal interview with broadcast journalist Sander Vanocur will be incorporated into the observations. A field study examines relevant patterns observable in analyzing the influence of election campaigns on television on a cross section of citizens. This study was carried out in part by a survey of 249 adults, 86% of whom voted in the 1992 presidential election.

A criterion of validity in reviewing information from all these sources is coherence.

Specific Analyses

Research for this study included reference to numerous scholarly sources. In addition, a critical review and interpretation was made of television programs that dealt

with the relations between television and the election of the president. As a valuable counterpoint and complement to these present day accounts, this researcher studied NBC television network archival footage relating to campaign coverage in the period 1952 to 1980. In addition, an analysis of more than 100 hours of radio news coverage and political advertisements, dating from the early 1950s, was conducted for comparison and contrast to TV's handling of news and campaign commercials during the same period. This perusal was augmented by a review of more than 500 hours of radio and TV prime time programming in order to gain an appreciation for the societal environment of the period during which television began to replace radio as the dominant electronic medium.

This study was supplemented by a questionnaire distributed to a non-random, purposive sample of the public. The purpose was to discover how TV viewers reacted to television in the context of presidential election campaigns and to examine their attitudes toward the medium as a political tool. In this analysis, the age, sex, income, education, political affiliation, and sources of information on presidential elections were all recorded. From these data the conclusions were drawn and compared to national trends, revealing a similarity of perspectives and influence.

Rationale for Approach

The specific approach outlined above involves an overall conviction that understanding human experience goes beyond simply accumulating data to achieve a sense of the whole (Kaplan 1964, 210-211). A key means of deciphering the whole is to examine a subject from many different angles, "to understand phenomena in their entirety in order to develop a complete understanding of a person, program, or situation" (Rudestam and Newton 1992, 32).

As an application of the holistic approach, this study looks at the subject from four different perspectives, each involving a different way of relating the specific to the general. Chapter 2, "The Review of the Literature," presents conclusions derived from

analysis of specific issues. Chapter 3, "The Political Exploitation of Television Between 1952 and 1992," examines steps in the process of virtual control by TV of the presidential elections. Chapter 4, "A Survey of Voter Attitudes Toward TV Political Coverage," analyzes information relevant to the political generalizations outlined above. The survey provides data for analyses using descriptive statistics of a purposive sample of people who voted in 1992. This chapter also discusses the technical details of the survey and an assessment of its validity. Chapter 5, "Current Critiques on the Place of Television in Presidential Elections," looks at current definitions of political- media issues and the efforts required to understand the social implications of these issues. Survey findings are evaluated together with the journalistic critiques. Chapter 6, "Conclusion," intends to pull together differing perspectives and suggest areas for further research. This framework for identifying consistencies and anomalies also provides a logical basis for deriving general conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF THE LITERATURE

This study on how television has affected presidential election campaigns examines the effect of this relatively new communications medium on the national political process by comparing the presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1992. The primary focus here is on books and articles, but attention is also given to television and radio programs that were relevant to the subject.

The 1952 Campaign

Although it was developed and used earlier, television first began to assert itself as an important vehicle for news coverage of national politics in the 1952 presidential election campaign between General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Governor Adlai E. Stevenson (D-IL). Erik Barnouw, in his studies of U.S. broadcasting history, The Golden Web and The Image Empire, states that television had entrenched itself in American society as an entertainment and information medium by that year. While the number of television sets and viewers was still relatively limited, the impact was nonetheless large and growing. "At the start of 1952, television viewers watching fifteen million television sets in sixty-four cities were already attracted to such shows as: 'I Love Lucy,' 'Texaco Star Theater,' 'Your Show of Shows,' 'Toast of the Town,' 'Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts,' 'Studio One,' etc." (Barnouw 1968, 295-296).

Comedy, variety and drama were soon, however, followed by a fascination for news. Illustrating this interest was the attention paid to a U. S. Senate subcommittee's investigation of organized crime where Senator Kefauver (D-TN) became a nationally known figure.

While recognizing that radio still commanded a much larger audience than television, Barnouw noted that television for the first time received the careful attention

of the campaigners. His account of NBC's coverage typified television's approach which combined economics, marketing, and politics. (Westinghouse paid NBC \$3.5 million to advertise refrigerators.)

In his detailed treatment of the 1952 election, Barnouw stressed the importance of modern technology in television for conducting a successful political campaign.

Barnouw allots special significance to Eisenhower's scripted public appearances as devised by the marketing firm of "Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn" (BBD&O). These appearances formed an illuminating introduction to television technique in its infancy where "Ike" was portrayed as a hero in a carefully choreographed 30-minute "drama."

Barnouw is careful to point out that BBD&O did not rely solely on half-hour pageantry, but implemented a kind of spot barrage (spot television announcements) for Eisenhower that was initially proposed to but rejected by Republican presidential candidate Thomas Dewey who lost in 1948. Although Stevenson and his advisors turned down offers to emulate the Republican plan, Barnouw concludes that the Stevenson decision probably did not affect the outcome since Eisenhower was already the more "merchandisable product."

While there is considerable evidence to suggest that the nomination process was heavily influenced by television coverage, Barnouw fails to indicate that the primaries and general election results were substantially affected by the media. In fairness, given his primary concern with broadcasting in general, Barnouw's overall approach deserves our attention. As he accurately predicted in 1953, a coast-to-coast television boom was about to begin. All signs pointed to the coming boom. Cities in which television was available were experiencing dramatic changes: as more sets were purchased, attendance at movies, night-club revenues, and radio listeners all declined. Advertisers were perhaps

the first to react to this new phenomenon while television income and viewers skyrocketed and network news coverage began to blossom.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson presents an invaluable and fascinating viewpoint on the history of presidential campaign advertising in her best seller Packaging the Presidency. In Chapter 2, entitled "The Election of a Popular Hero," she provides a detailed analysis of the role advertising played in the 1952 campaign, especially Eisenhower's. Jamieson prefaces her study by noting that advertising in political campaigns is not unique to the twentieth century or to the electronic media. Her historical analysis shows that political advertising has existed since this country's first contested election when strategists offered voters a crafted image that elevated their candidate and vilified the opponent:

Jamieson's assumption is that presidential campaigns can be viewed productively by analyzing the role advertising plays in print as well as on radio and television. While focusing on each presidential election from 1952 through 1980, she explains "how presidential advertising came to be and what it has become, how candidates have shaped it and been shaped by it, what it has contributed, and the ways in which it has contaminated the political process" (Jamieson 1992, x). She is especially concerned about what advertising reveals and conceals about the candidates who vie for the highest office in the land. By placing political advertising in its proper historical context, she recounts the ways in which "selling a candidate" have changed and how they have remained the same.

Jamieson's analysis of the 1952 election from an advertising perspective is thorough and well-documented. Yet, like Barnouw, she mentions the primaries only in passing and focuses almost exclusively on the general election campaign. In that regard, however, she excels, contributing significantly to an understanding of how candidates are marketed to an often unsuspecting citizenry.

Jamieson is especially on-target when she recounts the difficulties of candidate Stevenson in adjusting to the new medium. His continual misuse of the teleprompter, his distrust of television in general, his failure to deliver speeches within the prescribed time, and his "cerebral" language cost him the opportunity to communicate effectively with the American voter. His loathing of abbreviation translated into his decision not to use spot announcements. As Jamieson notes: "Stevenson's view of spot announcements coincided with Woodrow Wilson's of whistle-stop. Each afforded the opportunity to commit only a compound fracture of an idea" (Jamieson 1992, 63).

In summary, Kathleen Hall Jamieson presents an absorbing yet limited analysis of the 1952 presidential campaign. While concentrating on political advertising in the context of the general election, she does not address advertising as related to the primaries or nomination process. Her concern is with campaign expenditures, packaging the candidates, the decline of the prepared speech, and the advent of thirty-second spot commercials. Jamieson's emphasis on public perception of the candidates as conveyed by television provides a better understanding of the 1952 political process. In addition, her acknowledgment that the election of Eisenhower was probably inevitable, despite the amount of money spent or the "selling" technique adapted by either party, is both refreshing and accurate. It would have been extremely useful had she examined political advertising compared with network coverage of the candidates. It is to be hoped that her book will eventually be updated to include advertising in the 1992 campaign.

David Halberstam's The Fifties is both a compelling and engaging source for information related to the 1952 presidential election. Halberstam intends primarily to provide a sweeping social-political, economic, and cultural history of that decade, especially those aspects that he considers seminal in determining what our nation has become. He traces with rare insight and a tenacious concern for the facts the quickening

pace of American life and the powerful impact of national television, still in its infancy, on American society. With a broad brush approach, he portrays a society examining the old order and recognizing the need for change. He sees much of the upheaval of this period being generated by the rapid and revolutionary advances in technology. In so doing, Halberstam presents his unique perception of how television's impact on societal evolution significantly and permanently changed the 1952 political environment.

Halberstam states, "It was in the fifties that the nation became wired for television, a new medium experimented with by various politicians and social groups.... Television had begun to alter the political and social fabric of the country, with stunning consequences" (Halberstam 1993, ix-x).

To his credit, Halberstam does not isolate television as a singular phenomenon but effectively integrates it into the overall national fabric. In his treatment of the 1952 election, he touches upon some of the familiar points recounted by both Barnouw and Jamieson. While he devotes only a fraction of his book to the presidential campaign, he nevertheless manages to provide a unique interpretation of not only how television influenced that particular election but of what it presaged for the future of American politics.

Especially impressive was Halberstam's integration of the political environment into the societal whole. He recognized that the source of the concern was more than for politics; rather, it was television's effect on society as a whole that mattered most. Moreover, he saw the worrisome portent of confusing reality with fantasy. Politics, for the first time, was being brought to the nation by means of television. People now expected to see events, not merely read reflectively or hear thoughtfully about them. At the same time, "the line between what happened in real life and what people saw on television began to merge" (Halberstam 1993, 195).

Halberstam's account of the growth of TV in the fifties proved an invaluable source. His assumption that politics cannot be separated from society in general is critical to a more complete understanding of the relationship that television has forged between politics and the American public. In recognizing the rapid but still limited explosion of this new medium during the 1952 campaign, he provides an objective yet practical analysis of television's impact on the political process. Halberstam's interest in the confusion of reality with fantasy by the viewing public allows us to reflect upon a philosophical imperative that is singular among chroniclers of the early television age. Like Barnouw, however, he neglects to discuss, except in an abbreviated manner, whether or how the electronic media essentially influenced the election. Even more importantly, his failure to discuss the role of television news coverage during the primary and general elections leaves us with a less than complete commentary on how the new technology ultimately affected the campaign.

Edward Bliss in a thoroughly researched study of electronic journalism, Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism, provides a well-written quasi-encyclopedia history of radio, TV, and cable news. While his principal concern is with the general history of broadcast journalism, he provides some unique insights into the 1952 campaign, albeit focused primarily on statistical compilations and technical innovations.

In addition, Bliss was concerned with the finances of television coverage. While advertisers were obtained by all three networks for convention coverage, the venture proved to be less than profitable. Regardless of the loss in revenue, the networks, both radio and television, earned a new status. Bliss notes, that according to Broadcasting [magazine], "The electronic media had become the dominant news media. With

audiences estimated at sixty million, it said a new age in American politics had dawned" (Bliss 1991, 254). While Bliss deals only briefly with the 1952 election, his observations are enlightening. His comments, for instance, on technical innovation, economics, and the actual numbers of the viewing and listening audience demand reflection.

One of the most intriguing and informative contributions to the literature concerning the 1952 campaign is The Spot (The Rise of Political Advertising on Television) written by Edwin Diamond and Stephen Bates. What is especially refreshing about this book was the authors' view that "the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket probably would have won, whatever campaign strategy it employed and whatever the Democrats did" (Diamond and Bates 1984, 54).

This study is perhaps the most thorough investigation into and analysis of the role advertising played in the Eisenhower victory yet published. Rosser Reeves, the creator of the spots, readily admits that, given the enormity of the Republican landslide (55% to 44%), the commercials he designed and effectuated were perhaps of little consequence. In his own words, "it was such a landslide that it didn't make a ... bit of difference whether we ran the spots or not" (Diamond and Bates, 1984, 65). Reeves considered the introduction of spot commercials nothing more than a mere footnote to history. In drawing this conclusion, he failed to comprehend the immensity of his own creativity.

In reality, a new state of affairs had evolved. An innovative form of political communications, one predicated, in large measure, upon sophisticated technology and enormous finances, suddenly made its appearance on the electoral landscape. "It turned campaigns into a kind of spectator sport, a television entertainment, something to watch and enjoy but not necessarily to participate in by voting" (Diamond and Bates 1984, xii).

One of the more interesting aspects of the Diamond and Bates book is their depiction of the skill with which Rosser Reeves accomplished his task. Not only did he

craft skillful commercials that compelled viewer attention, but his timing was faultless especially during the last three weeks of the campaign. Diamond and Bates have provided an insider's view into the machinations of the political operatives involved in the 1952 campaign, and, in so doing, set the stage for what was yet to come. What was perhaps more important was their recognition that a new form of political communication had appeared, the implications of which were enormous. Their focus, however, was limited to the manipulation of the media by paid political advertisements. They opted not to concern themselves with the effect of network news coverage.

Numerous other sources were of interest relative to the 1952 election. Sally Bedell Smith's In All His Glory: The Life and Times of William S. Paley depicted the efforts of the Columbia Broadcasting System's Chairman of the Board to influence the election of Eisenhower. Smith relates that Paley would help on campaign issues, how to present them, what use to make of radio and television. He advised narrowing the issues and giving the people a clear choice (374-75). Paley's private advice was especially valuable because 1952 marked the first television campaign. Eisenhower's use of media events, stressing images over substance, was crucial to his victory over Adlai Stevenson, whose fondness for words and ideas was incompatible with television. Some of the credit for Eisenhower's success must be attributed to Paley. This was not the only incident in which a prominent television executive or on-air personality attempted to help a specific candidate. In 1955, Ed Murrow provided considerable guidance to Adlai Stevenson in order to help him better prepare for his television appearances. Unfortunately, Murrow's advice was not taken, and Stevenson never felt comfortable with the medium.

Some interesting anecdotal information about the 1952 nomination process and general election is provided by columnist James Reston in the autobiographical Memoir.

His account of the hard fought and, at times, bitter confrontation between Republicans Taft and Eisenhower as well as the reluctance of Adlai Stevenson, despite President Truman's insistence that he run, served as excellent background material. Moreover, Reston placed the historical period in illuminating perspective by recalling details of the McCarthy investigations, the growing restiveness over the continuing war in Korea, and the growing feeling among a majority of Americans that it was quite simply time for a change in political leadership at the national level.

In Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician, Roger Morris shed considerable light on the intrigue and machinations of both Taft and Eisenhower supporters before and during the 1952 Chicago convention. Morris' meticulous attention to detail and placing these details in context were invaluable in understanding the intensity of the struggle. Indeed, his description of the general election with emphasis on the "Checkers" speech provides perhaps the clearest description of these events from the perspective of Richard Nixon. The objectivity and thoroughness of his treatment are obvious even in a cursory reading. While the emphasis of his study is not the electronic media, Morris nevertheless deals quite clearly with their importance in securing Ike's nomination and in helping Senator Nixon to retain his place on the Republican ticket as vice presidential candidate.

Likewise, Richard Norton Smith's Thomas E. Dewey and His Times profiles the story of the New York Governor who knew well the intricacies of the political system and how to work effectively within it. Dewey's predominant behind-the-scenes role in nominating both Eisenhower and Nixon are fully documented by Smith. It is somewhat ironic that Dewey, who disdained the use of television during his 1948 race against Truman, embraced television when he determined that it was the only way for Eisenhower to defeat Taft in the primaries. Perhaps the primary significance of this book

is its detailed recounting of how the senior Republican leadership came to understand the rapidly growing power of the new medium.

Jean Baker's book entitled The Stevensons explores the lives of four generations of the Stevenson family, but she concentrates on Adlai Ewing Stevenson II, the 1952 and 1956 Democratic candidate for president. Her study provides a more personable portrait of the former Illinois Governor and somewhat reluctant national candidate. This book assists in understanding the man himself and the rationale behind his campaign strategy, especially his conscious decision to shy away from television.

The first volume of the definitive biography Eisenhower, by Stephen Ambrose, is a monumental work which chronicles Eisenhower's life from its beginnings in Abilene, Kansas through his years as soldier, General of the Army, and President-Elect. Of particular interest here is Ambrose's surprising tale of Ike as presidential candidate with a sympathetic, admiring, and realistic portrait of Eisenhower the man. The reluctance of the general to become a presidential candidate, his eventual, almost agonizing, decision to seek the office, and the successful strategy of his advisors to gain both the nomination and election are authoritatively discussed. Ambrose's access to original sources as an editor of the Eisenhower papers makes this an essential text in understanding the character, personality, and driving force behind the thirty-fourth president. There is a short but enlightening section on Ike's distaste for yet gradual acceptance of television as an effective campaign tool. Ambrose handles the 1952 presidential race in a way that emphasizes its historical context, yet he explains how this contest was a reflection of a rapidly changing American society. His perceptive understanding of this medium's growing impact on presidential politics proved invaluable.

While he focuses little time on the 1952 campaign, David McCullough in his study Truman has written what many historians consider a definitive Truman biography.

McCullough's description of the growing antipathy between Truman and Stevenson and Truman's continued control of the Democratic Party apparatus furnishes valuable insights into how Adlai Stevenson's supposed presidential draft was initiated and successfully concluded. Significantly, Truman, the veteran of the incredible "whistle-stop" campaign of 1948, had concluded early on that Stevenson lacked the ability to communicate with the average voter, and he adjudged his television appearances as not only ineffectual but sometimes counterproductive.

More personal and valuable anecdotal information was contained in Margaret Truman's study, Truman. While much more subjective in the treatment of her father, this book describes how Truman conducted himself during the Democratic Convention and the fall campaign. She insists with a considerable amount of certitude that Stevenson's nomination can be attributed to only one man: her father. Party control, although sorely tested by television scrutiny, was still paramount among the Democrats. However, his daughter and McCullough both contend that Harry Truman recognized Eisenhower's advantage over Stevenson in the November election because of Ike's skillful use of the new TV medium.

The Theodore H. White Lecture Series sponsored by Harvard University contains the 1990 lecture delivered by Walter Cronkite. It represents the personal recollections of the broadcaster who has often been referred to as the most trusted man in America. Cronkite was the CBS TV anchorman at both the Democratic and the Republican conventions in 1952. His description of the events at the 1952 convention coverage adds to our understanding of how far television has progressed since the infancy of election coverage. The relatively primitive technology, as evidenced in the difficulty in communicating from floor to anchor booth, made total live coverage mandatory and forced the cameras to focus on the podium almost exclusively. Television provided

gavel-to-gavel coverage in the truest sense. While Cronkite devotes only a short portion of his lecture to the 1952 election, his comments on the technical details of TV reporting during that year, the impact of that reporting on the limited viewing audience, and the fascination of that audience with politics as portrayed on TV are invaluable and insightful in this research.

The 1992 Campaign

While many sources are available on the 1952 election, the amount of source material on the 1992 election is still comparatively limited. Although a number of books and articles have been written, and a few television documentaries cover the Clinton/Bush/Perot candidacies, scholarly research is still being conducted. Based on a variety of books, articles, and television programs dealing with the 1992 campaign, the focus here will be on the most germane resources.

Perhaps the most comprehensive and informative book on politics and the media produced in the last decade is Tom Rosenstiel's Strange Bedfellows (How Television and the Presidential Candidates Changed American Politics, 1992). Rosenstiel, a media and political correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, began to study the political strategies of the major presidential candidates during the 1988 presidential campaign. The conclusions he drew from the Bush/Dukakis campaign deserve serious consideration. They reveal a well-reasoned introspective approach, a tireless "hands-on" information gathering technique, and an obvious dedication to objectivity.

Rosenstiel deals with countless factors in attempting to explain the relationship between television and politics in the 1992 election year. His primary contribution results from his analysis of the change in network coverage and in the rise of what has been termed the alternative media. Initially, he focuses on economics and ratings.

In recent elections, a management decision was made to restrict severely the money spent on convention coverage. Motivation for this cutback was no doubt the decline in the number of households watching the conventions; it had decreased from 82% in 1960 to only 37% in 1988. In addition, there was no longer to be gavel-to-gavel coverage of the quadrennial national conventions. Coverage would consist of no more than one to two hours per night, and every effort would be made to avoid preempting the top-rated prime time offerings.

Rosenstiel's outstanding study should be applauded. His thorough and innovative research is a significant addition to the literature. Nevertheless, he never really addresses whether or not television made a difference in the eventual 1992 outcome; nor does he deal with the philosophical aspects of the media's impact on the process. Despite these shortcomings, however, his study is extremely useful.

The book Quest for the Presidency by Peter Goldman, Thomas DeFrank, Mark Miller, Andrew Murr, and Tom Mathews is one of the most comprehensive attempts to chronicle a presidential campaign since the four famed studies of the Theodore White series, The Making of the President. Authored by a group of Newsweek reporters granted unique access, Quest provides an in-depth story of the candidates, their handlers, pollsters, supporters, and staff; as well as their strategies, strengths and weaknesses. In a compelling narrative, their accounts relate the changing order of American politics and the changing portrait of the American voter. They depict the voters as more cynical yet more involved in shaping the political process than recent history suggests. In providing an interesting and perceptive commentary on the events surrounding the election of Governor Clinton to the presidency, they, like Rosenstiel, recognize the decline of the broadcast networks, the rise of the alternative media, and the singular phenomenon of the Perot candidacy.

While the authors may overemphasize real accomplishments, Teddy White would most likely be impressed with their work and, in particular, with the depth and intensity of their research. This exhaustive recounting of the election process and results provides valuable data for serious research. Moreover, the information contained in the appendices provides interesting insights on television's role in the political process. For example, the Perot candidacy is placed in proper perspective (with the entry, withdrawal, and reentry into the race given due consideration). Despite these factors and regardless of news coverage, political spots, the debates, town-hall meetings, or the use of alternative media, the polls showed little variance. The totals for each candidate remained generally constant, within the usual margin of error, throughout the campaign. Consequently, one must wonder what difference, if any, the media coverage actually had on the outcome. That question, which the authors do not ask, begs careful consideration.

A series of essays published by the Twentieth Century Fund entitled: The New News v. The Old News: The Press and Politics in the 1990s is based on the premise that communication between voters and their political leaders is central to the functioning of a democracy and that a democracy cannot thrive when voters do not understand the consequences of their choices. Primary focus is upon the way the media communicate the ideas of leaders and candidates to the people. One important aspect of these writings is their identification of the essential relationship between news coverage of a particular event as a symbol of society as a whole:

These essays devote considerable space to the fascination with sensational news as exemplified by such incidents as the Jennifer Flowers' accusations against then Governor Clinton and by the popularity of tabloid journalism in general. Against the backdrop of examining the implications of "infotainment" and the "new news," this series

examines the standards by which journalists should conduct themselves. These essays should prove a worthy addition to modern political literature.

One of the more interesting studies of the 1992 campaign was Mary Matalin and James Carville's book All's Fair, a revealing insider's view of a national presidential campaign. While Matalin and Carville were senior advisers to Bush and Clinton respectively, their collaboration provides an overall balanced approach. The value of this book is the insight into real-life American politics revealed by these key political operatives. This is an intimate and detailed portrayal of the tactical and strategic management related to the art of electing a president. How the media covered the candidates and how the candidates used the media to their advantage is critical to understanding the 1992 campaign.

E. J. Dionne's They Only Look Dead provides a wider view to understanding the current political scene. This study succeeded in analyzing what is going on in America today in ordinary people's lives and in relating that to larger historical terms. Dionne parallels the forces that are shaping America today with the changes caused by the Industrial Revolution several centuries ago. He proved to be very helpful, often in a very succinct manner, in describing the relationship between the media and the political process. One specific comment proved particularly thought-provoking: "Indeed, the media were disrupting the patterns of politics, not for explicitly political purposes but just by doing what they did" (Dionne 1996, 232).

The 1993 White Lecture delivered by Daniel Schorr provided further observations on the interaction between politics and the media. Schorr, speaking after the 1992 elections, was concerned principally with the close relationship between politicians and the press and with the impact of technology on both politics and the media. Implicit in his remarks was a growing fear about the speed, abundance, interpretation, and

repercussions of news. He notes that the instantaneity of modern television reporting is leading to an interactive system of policy formulation. Because the public is so quickly informed, decision-makers have to respond even more quickly. Schorr is also repelled by the blending of news into semi-entertainment or even full entertainment and the deleterious effect of that trend on the American public. An opponent of tabloid journalism, Schorr recognizes and advocates the need for television to avoid the sensational for the sake of ratings and profit. While his lecture pertained only tangentially to the 1992 presidential race, Schorr's comments on the relationship between politics, the media, and the public are of value in attempting to comprehend the quintessential influence of the electronic media on the political process and on society itself as we approach the end of this millennium.

Campaigns and Television in General

A useful source for this dissertation was a recent publication of C-SPAN, The Road to the White House Since Television by John Splaine. From 1948 to 1992, The Road provides a review of presidential campaigns and election results since the emergence of television. It includes summary information on the political, economic, social, and cultural atmosphere of the period; biographies of the leading contenders; highlights of the campaign; the influence of television on the campaign; the election results; and a postscript on the victor's accomplishments in office. Splaine attempts to link television to elections, but he does not provide an in-depth analysis of that theme. The book is, however, informative in describing the process of change in American politics and in illustrating the political clout implicit in an effective use of TV.

In Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine Democracy, James Fallows provides an original appraisal of the current state of American journalism. With particular concern for radio and television, Fallows elaborates upon the consequences of

corporate ownership of the news. His examination of news reporting as a basically corporate enterprise with an emphasis on profit-making, a sort of "controlled news," serves to support Galbraith's previously cited view of technology in the modern era. Fallows also provides a framework for examining the negative impact of contemporary journalism and other media on American democracy.

Two recent books by broadcast pioneers, David Brinkley and Walter Cronkite, provided unique insights into America's political history since mid-century and TV's role in that history. David Brinkley's A Memoir is a fine interpretation of television's increasingly important role in politics since its national beginnings in 1948. Brinkley's personal recollections, from an insider's vantage point, contain numerous details that reveal a great deal about the shaky metamorphosis of television news, as well as the changing social and political landscape of the country. He notes, for example, that 1948 television reporters were assigned the worst possible vantage point (the upper balcony) from which to cover the conventions. This fact indicates the little prestige accorded the new medium in its early stage. When Brinkley describes the crucial role that TV plays in contemporary election coverage, the contrast with the early days is striking.

A Reporter's Life by Walter Cronkite is more critical than Brinkley's account. The "dean" of television anchormen, Cronkite reminisces in a folksy style about his life as a newspaper and wire-service reporter, as well as his many years in television. While the historical perspective he provides is of considerable interest, equally impressive is his high regard for quality journalism and for the ethics associated with reportage. His remarks on the decline of his profession and the emphasis on the sensational are truisms today. For instance, he notes that the quest for TV ratings would lead some programmers to rewrite Exodus to include a car chase. Cronkite's comments on the 1952 and 1992 campaigns, as well as all those in between, proved to be a trove of valuable information.

Two classic works deserve mention: The Medium is the Message by Marshal MacLuhan and Quentin Fiore and The Image by Daniel Boorstin. MacLuhan's and Fiore's principal concern is with how media technology often shapes and defines what is being communicated. Boorstin describes how and why visual depictions of events can often overshadow reality itself to the point of creating an entirely new reality. While not dealing with specific campaigns, both provide critical insights into technology's impact upon the individual and the society in which he lives. Their concern about electronic technology, especially television, and how it is reshaping and restructuring patterns of social interdependence and all aspects of everyday life has been especially revelatory. Their forcing the reader to understand the importance of the medium itself, perhaps even more so than the content, provided invaluable material relative to technology's impact on society and implicitly on the future of democracy itself.

Another lucrative source of information on the 1992 campaign was found in a relatively new magazine entitled: Media Critic, an offshoot of Forbes Magazine. An article in the Summer 1995 edition proved especially enlightening, "How News Becomes News" by Michael Schudson, a Professor of Communication and Society at the University of California. As illustrated below, the alternative media were shrewdly used by candidates Clinton, Bush, and Perot in the 1992 presidential campaign:

While this essay did not address every aspect of these issues, it provided unique insights and intriguing background information. Schudson's commentary on the radical changes in candidate use of the media spawned during the 1992 election demands reflection and invites further investigation.

Of interest as background material were a number of television specials that aired exclusively on cable. A segment in the American Legacy Series entitled "The Fifties" was broadcast on the Disney Channel and provided a general review of that decade. The

Nixon Checkers speech, the Eisenhower spot advertisements, and speeches by the 1952 candidates provided an opportunity to see the candidates themselves, their use of the media, and the elementary technology of the period. Since most of the narrative focused on major personalities involved, these segments placed the televised political events of 1952 in their proper historical perspective.

The second program, a Disney Channel broadcast entitled "The War Room," provided an intensive examination of the 1992 Clinton Campaign as seen in candid video-documentary style. This program served as an audio-visual complement to the Matalin and Carville campaign book, All's Fair. Although it was focused exclusively on the Clinton campaign staff, "The War Room" brought recollections of all the emotions and issues of the 1992 campaign and offers a vivid appreciation of the period.

The third program was from the Cronkite Remembers series and entitled "Television and Politics." Filled with anecdotal information and personal reminiscences, the film presented Cronkite as the venerable CBS journalist. Beginning with the 1952 conventions, it provides a panoramic view of the growing relations between television and politics. Most remarkable, given the present state of declining TV ratings, was Cronkite's comment that in 1952 ninety-six percent of Americans with TVs viewed at least part of the network convention coverage. Although highly opinionated, his observations on how television has influenced the metamorphosis in American democracy during this last half century deserve thoughtful attention. His views are especially valid when one considers that Cronkite was the CBS TV news anchor from 1963 to 1981.

Finally, the PBS program entitled "The 30-Second President" and hosted by Bill Moyers examines the critical role of television advertising in presidential campaigns. Moyers interviews Rosser Reeves, an advertising executive who initiated political TV

advertising during Eisenhower's 1952 campaign, and media whiz Tony Schwartz about how television has changed electoral politics. Reeves—the man behind the successful Colgate toothpaste, Anacin, and M&Ms advertising campaigns—was the first person to use the TV commercial as a political tool. In 1952, he convinced Dwight Eisenhower to produce a series of thirty-second spots entitled "Eisenhower Answers America," which were shown during the final three weeks of the campaign. Reeves' comments provide an interesting complement to the previously reviewed book by Diamond and Bates, The Spot: The Rise of Political Advertising on Television. As the program vividly depicts, with each successive presidential campaign, political spots became more subtle and dominant.

Philosophical Perspectives

In considering the philosophical aspects of politics and the media, one of the most helpful was Technology As A Human Affair edited by Larry Hickman. This collection of essays by humanists and social scientists appraises technology from widely divergent points of view. Disagreements are often profound since the writers do not share a common definition of technology, nor do they agree about what represents a technological problem. But as Hickman states in his preface: "It has been my aim in selecting these essays to exhibit the diversity, the rich complexity, the profound problems, and the myriad possibilities of our technological milieu" (Hickman 1990, xiii). A good example is George Gerbner's "Television: The New State Religion?" (See below.)

A number of books by Jacques Ellul, provided a philosophical perspective on technological developments in the communications media. The Technological Society contained a provocative interpretation of how modern communications affect the individual and society. Ellul was quite concerned about the unperceived impact of

technology: "It is impossible to foresee all the consequences of a technical action; and technique demands that everything it produces be brought into a domain that affects the entire public" (1964, 106). Ellul described how television was shutting man off from social reality, believing, instead, that television was creating an artificial reality. He also recognized the relationship between politics and the new medium. "In the operation of political parties, the exploitation of technical means [television] on a large scale presupposes great financial resources" (1964, 374).

In The Technological System, Ellul comments on propaganda effect, via the use of the new technology [television] on the citizenry. He considers it akin to manipulation of the mob's subconscious and believes that it will lead eventually to the devaluation of democracy (Ellul 1980, 373).

The propaganda theme is further developed in Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. Ellul attempts to draw a relationship between propaganda and the surfeit of information available to the public as a result of communications technology. He contends that much of the information disseminated today--research findings, facts, statistics, explanations, analyses--eliminates personal judgment and the capacity to form one's own opinion "even more surely than the most extravagant propaganda" (1972, 87). Ellul believes that the more the techniques of distributing information develop, the more the individual is shaped by such information. As an example, he cites the role of TV in the election of Eisenhower in 1952. Ellul's insights help clarify the relation between the communication revolution and societal change.

Martin Heidegger was an invaluable source for a philosophical understanding of modern communications technology and its relationship to humanity. In Discourse on Thinking, he provided his definition of calculative and meditative thinking while elaborating upon how especially meditative thinking was being endangered by the

proliferation of television and radio. For Heidegger, the power concealed in modern technology "determines the relation of man to that which exists" (1966, 52). Yet it was not the technological revolution that most disturbed him; rather it was that man was unprepared for the transformation caused by that revolution. Consequently, man would be unable to reflect meditatively on the changes with which he was continually being confronted.

Heidegger's Being and Time provided an outstanding commentary on his view of the individual and the relationship of the individual to the world in which he lived. Heidegger believed that man's relationship to Being must be fundamentally grounded if this relationship is to be authentically human. He was concerned that the influence of radio and television was threatening this grounding by subordinating reality to fantasy. This view clarifies Heidegger's perception of technology and simplifies his views on how man should cope with technological change.

Gerd Haeffner's The Human Situation touches upon the problem of the disintegration of self-understanding caused in part by the Industrial Revolution and technology in general. His interest in the central realities of conscience and freedom provides useful information in attempting to reconcile what some term a technological imperative with man's free will. It is useful to reflect upon Haeffner's views when considering how the mesmerizing power of TV could impair man's ability to employ this technology so as to increase his political perception.

George Grant's Technology and Justice served to highlight technology's impact on man, the individual and social animal. Grant examines the most recent thinking on the extent to which technology has shaped the way we now live. He believes that "technology is the pervasive mode of being in our political and social lives" (1986, 17). He is concerned about the proliferation of new technology directed towards human

control as applied by the computerized bureaucracies in both the public and private sectors. He examines how this proliferation shapes human beings to live consonantly with the demands of society while placing severe limits upon individual freedom. For Grant, communications technology is an example of how humans can be controlled and manipulated. His conclusions and commentaries help elaborate upon how the media and politics function together.

Jerry Mander in his Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television offers a radical departure from other television literature in that he claims that the medium is not reformable. The four arguments he advances are: "The Mediation of Experience" which attempts to set the framework by which we can understand television's place in modern society, "The Colonization of Experience" which concerns the emergence of the corporate controllers, "The Effects of Television on the Human Being" which deals with the effects of television upon the individual, and "The Inherent Biases of Television" which attempts to demonstrate that the medium has no democratic potential. Mander concludes that TV's problems are inherent in the technology itself and are so dangerous—to personal health and sanity, to the environment, and to democratic processes—that TV ought to be eliminated. He argues that by their reliance on television Americans have substituted secondary, mediated versions of experience for direct experience of the world. Contrived portrayals of the world are accepted as reality, and the difference between the two is increasingly obscure (1978, 25). Mander's recommendations and conclusions, as applied to political advertising, while somewhat less than reasonable, provided an alternative version of traditional criticism.

"Television: The New State Religion?" by George Gerbner, Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, provides clear observations on how television has helped to revolutionize cultural conditions. As

Gerbner notes: "The special characteristics of the television set it apart from other mass media to such an extent that it is misleading to think of it in the same terms or to research it in the same terms" (Gerbner Essay in Hickman 1990, 194). His major concern is with how television viewing tends to cultivate its own outlook on social reality even among the well-educated and traditionally elite groups. Given that television consumes more time and attention of people than all other media and leisure activities combined, he questions what this might mean for the future of society.

"The New Languages" by Edmund Carpenter, a noted anthropologist and collaborator with Marshall McLuhan, compares and contrasts television with the print medium. Carpenter believes that electronic technology [television] has produced a new super system, a new cultural form that supplants the images, myths, and metaphors of the old print system with its own forms. Moreover, he expresses concern about the current confusion over the role of the new medium that he attributes to a misconception of its function. For Carpenter, it is an art form, not a substitute for human contact. Insofar as it attempts to usurp speech and personal living relations, however, it harms individuals and society.

Summary of Literature Review and Perceived Deficiencies

Most studies tended to focus on only one aspect of the change in technology and its effects on the electoral process. Little effort has been devoted to a composite consideration of these changes. Finally, there is a paucity of research and reporting on the philosophical and ethical implications precipitated by these changes. After an extensive and intensive review, therefore, it was apparent that while the literature dealing with the relationship among the media, politics, and society is generally excellent in content and surprisingly objective, a number of important deficiencies, which this study intends to address, were observed and summarized above.

CHAPTER 3
THE POLITICAL EXPLOITATION OF TELEVISION
BETWEEN 1952 AND 1992

Television, Society, and the Political Process

The relevant literature underlines concern for the significance that television has acquired in American society as an entertainment and information resource. A clear link is recognized between the rapid and substantive changes in society and the role of television in those changes. In particular, much material examines the importance of television in the political process. In this regard, the following areas were of particular interest: a concern for the "television technique" that is, image versus substance; the growth of advertising requiring new and larger sources of revenue; a decline in the role of political parties and political leaders *per se* insofar as television offers a direct conduit to the electorate; and the significance of the size of the viewing audience dating from the beginning of network convention coverage in 1952.

There was, however, little consideration of the contemporary relevance of these television networks as a continued source of information for presidential campaigns. Despite general concern for how television affected the electoral process itself, only scant attention was directed to the effect of TV on those who actually voted in presidential elections. Also, there was little discussion whether television, in its role as provider of both entertainment and information, had exerted a positive or negative influence upon U. S. society and what that portended for the future of the democratic process. Most significantly for this study, no in-depth comparison of the 1952 and 1992 presidential elections was discovered.

Many historians and political analysts, including David McCullough, Erik Barnouw, and David Halberstam, point to 1948 as the year in which television began to have an impact upon the American presidential political process. When television

executives decided to introduce live coverage of the national political conventions in that year, they did so because it was cut-rate programming:

It is now more than 40 years since networks began live television coverage of political conventions. Back in 1948 it took fewer than 300 journalists and technicians, and what they provided was carried by four networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Dumont) to 18 stations in nine cities. Although radio had never attempted it, television began with gavel-to-gavel coverage, not because it was public-spirited, but because it was cheaper than providing entertainment from studios in New York. Television was not yet profitable. (Frank 1988, 37)

This was still the age when radio was the predominant electronic medium and television was viewed as little more than a novelty. Fewer than a half million homes had television sets, and most of these were concentrated in the Northeast. Americans still preferred to tune in their radios each evening to hear such legendary news reporters as Edward R. Murrow (CBS), Gabriel Heater (MBS/Mutual Broadcasting System), and H.V. Kaltenborn (NBC). These three broadcast reporters had been the leading professionals for more than a decade.

By comparison with radio broadcasts, the 1948 television news programs were brief and lacking in substance. While NBC Television news was then limited to one fifteen minute evening broadcast by John Cameron Swayze, NBC Radio presented six individual programs daily with Morgan Beatty, Lowell Thomas, H.V. Kaltenborn, John McVane, Robert McCormick and Richard Harkness. As further evidence of radio's preeminence, the radio audience for each of the two major party conventions in 1948 was estimated at more than 60 million or approximately six times the number watching television (Bliss 1991, 185).

Despite the high esteem for the skill of radio news reporting, the twilight of the golden age of this reportage was fast approaching, and 1948 would prove to be the last year of the radio transmitted convention. By 1952, with a substantial increase in TV stations as well as an embryonic national network, television coverage began to emerge as a standard convention technique. Broadcast journalist David Brinkley comments:

By 1952 when the Republicans and Democrats both held their conventions in Chicago, television was growing into a political force too big to ignore and too important to send up to the rafters with the pigeons. About 17 million homes had TV sets now, and the conventions were seen in sixty-four cities in thirty-eight states. (1994, 92)

The attention-getting power of the electronic tube was already noted by political leaders, and the choice of the convention site was now dictated by the requirements of television. For example, the Chicago Amphitheater was chosen that year by both Democrats and Republicans rather than the Chicago Stadium because the former was better suited for television coverage. When the Republican Convention opened there, some of the best known radio reporters were still distrustful of the new medium. Like the politicians, they became sold on television when their own appearance was followed by public recognition. The lure of television began to attract both politicians and reporters from the period.

The 1952 convention was a brief moment of glory in television's infancy. Millions of Americans for the first time saw national democracy in action as the two major parties selected presidential candidates. The public followed the key issues as they were debated by the platform committees. They watched the critical battle for delegates waged both on the convention floor and in the credentials committees. They were taken inside the smoke-filled rooms where behind-the-scenes decisions were being made, and they watched the drama on the convention floor with the open debate and parliamentary maneuvering. Millions of viewers shared a direct sense of participation in the political process.

Equally important, however, television in 1952 had a marked effect on the choice of candidates at both conventions, and it further impinged on the authority of the party organization to control the selection of nominees. President Truman's surprising announcement on March 29, 1952 that he would not be a candidate for reelection left the choice of a Democratic successor apparently wide-open. The early front runner was

Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who earlier in March had defeated Truman in the New Hampshire primary. Kefauver won national prominence during the early fifties with his widely-viewed televised hearings on organized crime. Television coverage had made Kefauver well known across the country. His crime investigations had alienated some Democratic party officials, however, and many party regulars were determined to deny him the nomination. As Barnouw writes:

Viewers had learned that Senate committee hearings could be spell-binding, when Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee admitted television cameras to an inquiry into organized crime. Besides making Kefauver famous, the telecasts produced a memorable moment when Frank Costello, reputed underworld leader, objected to being televised. The producers, continuing with the dialogue of the hearings, turned the cameras into a close-up of his hands. Viewers watched—and searched for meaning—in the twitching and groping of Costello's fingers. (Barnouw 1968, 286)

By running for President without formal party support, Kefauver had challenged the existing political structure. He chose to ignore the party machinery and sought to employ the media as his personal conduit to the people. As Halberstam noted:

[Kefauver] set a pattern for the diminution of the party structure. In the past, the party officials had dominated the choosing of the candidate. All that was quickly changed; Kefauver was going over their heads. Television was giving him the access and exposure that the party machinery would have loved to deny him. (1979, 227)

Kefauver did well in the primaries, and he went to Chicago as the apparent front-runner candidate. Without the wide recognition gained by his television exposure, it is unlikely that he would have even entered the race: "He was, though it was not widely perceived at the time by the intelligentsia, a deceptively fine television figure, not naturally handsome, but nonetheless looking worthy of trust, neither too quick nor too slick, honorable rather than too smart or flashy" (Ibid. 1979, 226).

While Kefauver ultimately lost the nomination, his race probably helped determine the eventual nominee, Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. Despite

Kefauver's success in the primaries, party leaders sought to select a stronger and less controversial candidate. As a result, they turned to Adlai Stevenson, the popular Governor of Illinois. Stevenson owed his ascendancy to the Democratic political machine in Chicago led by Mayor Richard Daley, the controlling power behind the most powerful political machine and, arguably, one of the most influential party leaders in the country (Royko 1971, 118). A man of high principles and soaring rhetoric, Stevenson did not in the least resemble a machine politician. In 1952, he seemed the perfect choice for the party professionals.

Whether Stevenson would have been selected if Kefauver was not known as a crime investigator is debatable. To a large degree, however, he benefitted from Kefauver's television popularity because the party professionals needed a respectable alternative to Kefauver once they decided to deny him the nomination. Unlike Kefauver, Stevenson had a strong distaste for the new medium. He used it poorly, and it became a major handicap in his campaign. By contrast, the Republican candidate, Dwight Eisenhower quickly seized upon the opportunities offered by television. Eisenhower turned his TV appearances into a distinct political advantage, even though he initially disliked and distrusted TV as a tool of demagogues. Eisenhower warned of the possibility that dangerous people would exploit TV: "What's to stop a demagogue from taking over? Who's to set the limits on it? What are the controls?" (Halberstam 1979, 230).

Despite his overwhelming popularity with the American people after his World War II and NATO leadership, Dwight Eisenhower would probably not have been nominated without the skillful use of television by his campaign managers and staff. At first, the General seemed rather reluctant even to make the race, and he remained in Europe as NATO Commander, trusting his political fortunes to the management of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass). Lodge, an established internationalist and a moderate Republican, was thoroughly opposed to the isolationist stance and strongly

conservative views of Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio). He saw the General as someone who could move the Republican Party into the modern era. Eisenhower did not return to the United States until June of 1952 to begin active campaigning on his own behalf. By that time, Senator Taft, known as "Mr. Republican," was on track to gain the prize that had eluded him in three previous elections. Despite Eisenhower's strong showing in the primaries, Taft was still the overwhelming favorite to win the nomination, and without TV, he would probably have been the Republican candidate in 1952.

To thwart the party regulars and challenge Taft, Lodge and his advisors set out to use television publicity to win the nomination for Eisenhower. A thorough description of the Lodge strategy at Chicago was written by David Halberstam (1979, 234). Eisenhower had everything to gain from television, and in the fight for the nomination, the more exposure he received, the better his chances. Since Ike's Republican roots were, however, virtually nonexistent and his leverage within the party absolutely minimal, the more the nomination process was controlled by the old guard, the better for Taft. Only if the Republican leadership were forced to respond to the broader popularity provided by TV would Eisenhower win.

Television proved devastating for Taft. In attempting to shed the Depression-days image of grim Republicans, Taft had a serious problem. His television persona was highly unflattering. His warmth as a man was almost entirely lost on the audience. He looked like a representative of the rich businessman who was awkward in dealing with common people, and his voice did not communicate compassion or concern. By contrast, television projected Eisenhower's considerable charm, warmth and strength that had made men trust him as a leader and conciliator. The more primaries and TV, and the more open the convention, the greater his stature. On the contrary, television only reinforced Taft's apparent aloofness.

The June 1952 issue of Time magazine argued persuasively that Taft could not win. His followers were for him passionately, but that he could not expand his base to

the general public. Henry Luce, Chairman of the Board of Time and a close friend of Senator Taft, was convinced, however, that the defeat of the Democrats in 1952 was essential to the preservation of the two-party system in America. Convinced that Taft could not be elected, Luce "worked to persuade Ike to run and, with a few other key people, he organized and arranged Ike's early campaign. In the truest sense he was Ike's sponsor" (Halberstam, 1979, 90).

Taft's powerful partisans clearly understood Luce's strategy and even before the convention they had talked about barring radio, and particularly television, from the convention. David Schoenbrun, a twenty-seven year old fledgling reporter who later became a top correspondent for CBS, was at the time a young media advisor to Eisenhower. "Schoenbrun suggested that Eisenhower attack the Taft camp for trying to shut the American people out of the convention" (Halberstam 1979, 233). Ike later vehemently denounced Taft's attempts to limit television coverage of the convention. This protest proved decisive in Eisenhower's efforts to capture the nomination. Journalist Alexander Kendrick stated, "It was widely believed that without television, not Eisenhower but Senator Taft would have been the Republican nominee" (1969, 396).

At the convention itself, television was a powerful, if still not fully utilized, force. While Taft entered the convention with a considerable lead, he was still 100 votes short of winning the nomination. The Lodge-Eisenhower strategy was to challenge Taft in a number of Southern states, hoping to slow him down and to spread the idea that the Taft people were a narrow wing of the party who could not win. Reporters and television correspondents found that the Eisenhower staff and advisers were cordial and helpful at the convention, willing to give wide access to the General and staging any convention confrontation in public to attract the news media.

The strategy of Eisenhower's supporters was simple: the longer the convention went on and the national population saw the General's grin as opposed to Taft's cold face, the greater likelihood that delegations would vote for him. Television was their main

weapon in this contest. According to Halberstam, the goal was to transform a national convention, which had been a closed party caucus, into a national forum that was more national and less partisan. If the audience as a constituency were national, then the convention could either respond to their interests or offend the public by acting too partisan. This rationale accelerated the trend toward candidates who were in style, background, and appearance independent, as opposed to candidates who bore the stamp of their party or region and who looked like politicians (1979, 234). In 1952, Eisenhower was the first beneficiary of this trend.

In effect, the Eisenhower people, with Senator Lodge directing the planning, decided to try role casting at the convention. Lodge viewed the convention much as a director would envision the actors in a play or motion picture. Taft was portrayed as an old-fashioned smug Republican candidate who was surrounded by arrogant party professionals who disdained the people's will. Taft's supporters represented the entrenched power barons attacking the hero, the man of the people, Dwight Eisenhower. The Taft people unconsciously accepted the roles designed for them, and the press followed suit. When the credentials committee met to consider contested delegations, for example, Lodge arrived early and invited in press, radio, and television correspondents; with TV cameras present, the public could not be kept out. When the Taft-leaning committee members showed up, they were appalled to find that a private meeting had been opened to broadcasting. The Taft people on the committee voted to remove the television and radio equipment, but this decision played into Lodge's hands. They seemed like a small cabal attempting to steal or barter votes, while the reporters appeared to represent freedom of information to the American people.

The Eisenhower strategy, as managed by Lodge, came ultimately under the control of New York Governor Thomas Dewey. A clear account of the tactics of the Eisenhower "braintrust" before and during the Chicago convention is given in Richard Norton Smith's Thomas E. Dewey (1982, 575-599). The Taft group exhibited lack of

political sophistication that encouraged the Eisenhower supporters, television reporters, and the general public to unite in loose alliance against them. Alexander Kendrick noted:

The new medium, flexing its electronic muscles in competition with the written and spoken media, fought so hard for its own prerogatives against the convention managers, who were Taft supporters, that by that very fact it sided with the Eisenhower faction. Thus television itself became a political force. (1969, 396)

Inevitably, as Lodge had anticipated, this tactic brought increasing pressure on Taft to compromise on the delegate selection. He now moved quickly to work out a compromise on the delegates, but at this juncture Lodge refused. Lodge wanted the confrontation to continue rather than accept the few additional delegates that Taft was willing to release. It was a shrewd strategy, and the convention momentum started to slip away from Taft. Voters at home began to call their delegations to complain about Taft's conduct toward Eisenhower. Hour-by-hour as the convention progressed, it became vividly obvious that Dwight Eisenhower was a more attractive figure and maybe a better politician than Robert A. Taft. The result was all but inevitable. As Eisenhower forged ahead early in votes, Minnesota delegates switched to him after the first ballot, and, in the early afternoon of 11 July 1952, he had secured his nomination.

It is difficult to envision the Democrat Stevenson and the Republican Eisenhower winning their nominations in 1952 without the aid of television. By providing an estimated 70 million viewers the opportunity to scrutinize the process from their living rooms, television severely cut the power of party leaders to dictate the choice of candidates for the presidency. The glaring lights of the television cameras forced the professional party leaders out of the shadows and into full view. A suddenly aroused public insisted that the nominating process respond to popular opinion, an attitude that could not be ignored in a democracy. As Halberstam so aptly observed, "In 1952, for the first time television profoundly affected the choice of the candidates at both conventions, and thus indirectly the capacity of the party regulars to control their own organizations" (1979, 226).

Had television not influenced events at Chicago in 1952, it is possible that the traditional party control of the nominating process would have continued unchanged, and more conventional presidential candidates, unlike Eisenhower or Stevenson, would have been selected. Through the medium of television, the American public became inextricably involved in what had been the exclusive prerogative of party professionals. Never again could a presidential candidate be chosen without consideration for both an open process and the nominee's appearance on TV. Party insiders' dominance, while still considerable, had been severely weakened as a consequence of the new medium, and there would be no turning back.

The selection of vice-presidential running mates, on the other hand, was carried out more in accord with party tradition because television's role was of less consequence. Senator Richard M. Nixon was chosen by the Eisenhower advisors to a large degree because he was acceptable to Senator Taft and the conservative wing of the party. As for the Democrats, a northern liberal presidential candidate was usually complemented by the choice of a southern running mate, and Stevenson chose Senator John J. Sparkman from Alabama. In both cases, balancing the ticket was, as usual, the primary motivation. "Sparkman brought regional and ideological balance to the Democratic ticket, being both a Southerner and a segregationist. Nixon too was a ticket balancer, being more conservative than Eisenhower and coming from a key Western state" (Jamieson 1992, 40-41).

The role of television in influencing the selection of Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson as the Republican and Democratic candidates was, however, easier to explain than was the impact of television on the eventual victory of the Republican ticket in November 1952. While the television campaign of 1952 may not have played a decisive part in the Eisenhower-Nixon victory, the TV technique did initiate a change that transformed electoral politics. Whistle-stop campaigning, the effective tool of Truman in 1948, was significantly reduced along with the reliance on radio ads. Both

parties became acutely sensitive to television's burgeoning presence in American society. "By the conventions of 1952 over 18 million American homes -- about 39% of the total -- owned television sets" (Jamieson 1992, 83).

Campaign costs soared with television. Political TV advertising, which in 1948 reflected only a token concern for television, now gained a larger share of the campaign budgets. "In 1952 for the last time in the twentieth century, the amount spent on radio (\$3,111,050) exceeded that spent on television (\$2,951,328)" (Jamieson 1992, 44). Even more significant was the need to adapt the campaign techniques that had proved effective in communicating with a radio audience. More sophisticated skills were required to appeal to the viewing public:

Television had dealt a mortal blow to the traditional political speech, though it took an election or two before the older form buckled and sank practically out of sight, no longer a centerpiece of presidential campaigns, to be replaced by quick spots, short productions, and fast-paced telethons and specials. (Diamond and Bates 1984, 66)

In 1952, Adlai Stevenson, a traditional political orator, largely refused to adapt to the requirements now thrust upon office-seekers by the new technology. While both 1952 candidates Stevenson and Eisenhower tended to distrust the new medium, Stevenson refused to accommodate his speaking style to the dictates of TV. Eisenhower, on the other hand, was convinced by his advisers that his appearance on television could graphically advance the cause of the Republican ticket. Halberstam notes that the two candidates were radically different in their use of the new medium. While Stevenson focused almost entirely on formal speeches, Eisenhower listened to his advisors and concentrated on an informal approach, usually limited to 30-second TV segments, that proved to be extremely effective (1993, 224-242).

Indeed, the most innovative vehicle chosen by the Republican advisors was the "spot campaign." Conceived and developed by adman Rosser Reeves, these short TV ads were entitled: "Eisenhower Answers America." A standard format was employed:

voters asked a question to which Eisenhower responded. His answers to questions on taxes, high costs, corruption, communism, and involvement in Korea included firm promises and solutions. The spot advertisements varied from a minute to the more usual 20 seconds, and the brevity enforced their impact. Toward the end of the campaign these spots reached the saturation level, and in key electoral states, a voter would see an Eisenhower spot four or five times a day. While they proved enormously successful in reaching a large percentage of the targeted television audience, who were most critical to the election, they were perhaps most effective in constantly portraying Eisenhower as an intelligent, experienced, and thoroughly decent man. Not surprisingly, these ads were blasted by the Democrats, who complained that they packaged Eisenhower as one would package and sell breakfast cereal:

In the sale of soap and toothpastes, the saturation of the mind by contrived gimmicks and ear-dinning repetition has become an accepted though painful part of everyday American life. But in the sale of political candidates and ideologies it has its obvious and proven dangers. (Jamieson 1992, 84)

Jamieson records that George Ball, an aide to Stevenson, attacked not only the content of the ads but the saturation factor: "We were attacking them for the blitz quality ... the saturation of the spot campaign. It numbed people rather than persuading them (1992, 84). Stevenson himself absolutely loathed the spots. Jamieson further explains: "Stevenson's view of spot announcements coincided with Woodrow Wilson's of the whistlestop. Each afforded the opportunity to commit only a compound fracture of an idea" (1992, 63). Both men sought opportunities to explain their ideas in a thoughtful manner instead of being restricted to a few superficial phrases designed to show them in a positive light, but campaigns were designed otherwise.

Stevenson's aversion to spot ads led to a heavy dependence on his traditional 30-minute speech that he never seemed to end on time. While Eisenhower's thirty-minute prepared speech was uneven at best, as the General was less than dynamic in this format, his scheduled appearances were arranged to his advantage. The Republicans also proved

more adept in manipulating the new medium to their benefit. By pre-empting the more popular television programs (e.g., "I Love Lucy") for the telecasts, they were able to gain a larger audience. The Democrats, on the other hand, purchased less costly TV time early or late in the evening which meant a smaller audience. While this tactic reflected a smaller Democratic campaign budget, it resulted in reaching fewer undecided voters:

The Republicans' broadcasts reached a larger audience than did those of the Democrats with Ike reaching an average TV audience of 4,120,000 to Stevenson's average audience of 3,620,000. The difference was the function of a fateful decision by Joseph Katz to buy time for the Democrats sufficiently early to avoid paying preemption charges and to buy 10:30–11:00 rather than the more widely watched earlier hours of prime time. (Jamieson 1992, 44)

Katz had come to his campaign as chief of a medium-sized advertising agency in Baltimore that had previously prepared successful commercials for the national Democratic Party. Katz's TV schedule decision was, of course, based on the limited smaller campaign funding available to Democrats and represents further evidence how later campaigns would hinge on TV ad financing. All totaled, the Republicans were clearly in a much better financial position than their opponents. Republican expenditures for TV and radio were \$3.4 million as compared to the Democrats' \$2.6 million.

There was additional evidence throughout the 1952 campaign that the half-hour speech was declining in impact as a political technique, especially as a television format. This development is analyzed by Jamieson (1992, 58-66), yet it is ironic that perhaps the most effective piece of political advertising of our times was a 1952 traditional "radio talk" delivered on television toward the middle of the campaign. Just as the spot was becoming paramount, Richard Nixon was compelled to give his "Checkers speech."

Nixon delivered his address--so named because of references to his dog "Checkers"-- on national television on the evening of September 23, 1952. He was responding to an article in the New York Post on September 18th, which alleged that

Nixon's rich friends in banking, oil, real estate, railroads, and manufacturing had maintained a "slush" fund for his private as well as campaign use:

There was enough truth in the allegation to make it worrisome, but enough missing context to make it unfair. Such funds were standard among politicians of the time, a way of doing aboveboard political work with political contributions rather than a government salary. There was nothing secret about it. But the story mushroomed. (Diamond and Bates 1984, 67)

The disclosure that Nixon had tapped this fund to pay personal expenses created a dilemma for the Republicans. Was the V.P. candidate who had forcefully attacked the "mess in Washington" himself corrupt? Nixon's place on the ticket and his political future were in serious jeopardy. Eisenhower's campaign staff were becoming extremely upset, and major newspapers called for Nixon's withdrawal from the race, but the young California senator decided that a direct television appeal to the American people might work. "In a speech that reached almost half of the possible TV audience at a cost of approximately \$75,000.00, Nixon convinced the overwhelming majority of the viewing public that the smears against him were unfounded" (Jamieson 1992, 71). In retrospect, the speech has been widely criticized as too maudlin, too "corny" or too sanctimonious. Nevertheless, winning public sympathy kept Nixon on the ticket and assured Nixon's political future. Like Eisenhower, Nixon was not a natural TV performer, but he recognized the need for TV.

While both the 1952 Democratic and Republican parties proved relatively adept and sometimes imaginative in television campaigning, the three major networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) remained, for the most part, reluctant to experiment with standard news broadcasts. Network news programs were limited to the fifteen minutes usually telecast at 7:45 P.M. (EST). They differed only slightly in format and style from radio newscast. In fact, the hosts of the regular nightly TV news programs (John Daly on ABC; Douglas Edwards on CBS; and John Cameron Swayze on NBC) could be rightly referred to as the

"second team" in comparison to their better known radio counterparts, such as Edward R. Murrow, H.V. Kaltenborn, and Bob Trout.

Rating services from the early 1950s indicate that radio news programs attracted much larger audiences than those on television. There were more radios, yet minor inroads into their dominance began to appear. "Although radio still commanded a much larger audience than television, television for the first time received the main attention of the campaigners" (Barnouw 1968, 298). In October of 1952, 46 million homes were equipped with radio sets while only 21 million homes had television receivers (World Almanac 1953, 317). It was not unusual for the networks to offer their radio listeners three or four programs each evening—with as much as an hour being devoted to news and commentary. In truth, however, while radio remained the predominant electronic medium for news, most people continued to prefer the print medium as their primary source of accurate and in-depth news coverage. Newspapers were still regarded as the most reliable news source. As journalist Theodore White remarked, "[It was not until 1963] that the Roper survey reported that for the first time, more Americans relied on television for news than on newspapers" (1982, 174). Apart from the convention and election night coverage, few television programs focused on the campaign. There were some notable exceptions, such as "See It Now" on CBS and "Meet the Press" on NBC. It was, however, painfully evident that television news was still in its infancy. Time and experience would be required before the new medium's news departments could even begin to fulfill their potential.

Straight news coverage of the general election by the networks, whether television or radio, seems to have had little if any impact on the eventual outcome. The popularity of General Eisenhower seemed impervious to media criticism. Admittedly, as the polls had suggested then, there was little doubt of a Republican victory once the nomination of Eisenhower had been assured. In the November general election, Eisenhower received slightly more than 55% of the popular vote to Stevenson's 44%.

This outcome was close to the pollster's predictions in early September. The electronic media seem merely to reinforce the voters' preconceived notions of their favorite candidate. No evidence has demonstrated that changes in the amount or type of media coverage would have significantly altered the eventual results. It is worth noting, however, that the evening newscasts (both on radio and television) did grant free air time to the candidates. A select statement or "soundbite" of one minute and a half was allowed in the coverage. This was the minimal time thought necessary to explain a candidate's position on a specific issue, but it would be all but impossible in today's frenetically paced electronic news coverage, where the average "soundbite" lasts approximately 10 seconds.

Evolution of Television and the Political Process (1956 - 1992)

The forty years between the elections of 1952 and 1992 saw a revolution in information technology, but more important was the rapid and fundamental transformation in the American social structure. The Cold War, Civil Rights, Women's Rights, the Generation Gap, Vatican II, the Sexual Revolution, Vietnam, crime, and drugs surfaced as issues that seriously challenged tradition and threatened many Americans' sense of security and well-being. The relatively quiescent years of the Eisenhower Administration (1953-61) ended in the 1960s when conflicts over social issues led to upheaval, turmoil, and alienation. The information media, enhanced by technical sophistication, reported these public clashes with an immediacy, realism, and graphic detail. Columnist E. J. Dionne explained, "The media were disrupting the patterns of politics, not for explicitly political purposes but just by doing what they did. The increased power of news coverage to affect events is undeniable" (1996, 232). The electronic media and especially television were integrated into the political process in a way that few commentators back in 1952 would have thought possible, practicable, or acceptable.

It has already been noted that astute politicians quickly adapted to the new medium. They adjusted more easily to television than television companies did to handling politics. By 1956, television advance men began staging campaign appearances, and in 1960 Vice President Nixon broke the ban on TV cameras at press conferences, a prohibition originally demanded by newspaper reporters. By the fall of 1960, nationally televised presidential debates were introduced. All the techniques of modern campaigning were now in place--from town hall meetings to telethons, to thirty-second commercials, to call-in shows. The hope was then expressed that the open exposure of television would somehow purify politics, but that promise was never fulfilled. As one commentator noted:

In 1948, Thomas Dewey had referred to television as a political X-Ray whose piercing stare would expose the charlatans and encourage more Americans to get involved. After television's first eight years, politicians understood the machine had not purified politics, only changed the rules, and through the 1960s an era of growing mistrust toward the press set in. (Rosenstiel 1993, 30)

For all practical purposes, 1952 was also the last time the public would enjoy the relatively unscripted amateurism of the TV medium in politics. By 1956, the parties had begun to stage manage and thus sanitize the convention proceedings. It was an opportune occasion to manage the TV appearances for there were no powerful issues to be decided at the 1956 conventions. The renomination of Eisenhower was a foregone conclusion, and Stevenson's renomination was fairly certain. Party professionals could concentrate on the details of staging a convention in the age of television, although in the future, this process would take place behind the scenes to discourage unwanted television coverage. The list of speakers was selected to enhance the party's image. Delegates were told how they should dress and behave to create a more dignified appearance. Casual spontaneity was no longer acceptable. Cronkite notes that "to please the television cameras, chaos, to a large degree, was removed from the convention halls, and so, to a large degree, was democracy" (1990, 9).

With advances in technology and accommodation facilities, the conventions were now held in different cities: the Republicans met in San Francisco while the Democrats convened once again in Chicago. While the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket stayed intact, Stevenson offered the convention delegates the opportunity to choose his running mate. Senator Kefauver, who had been denied the presidential nomination in 1952, was the eventual Democratic vice presidential choice. It was the appearance of the charismatic Senator John Kennedy from Massachusetts, however, that created an instant celebrity and further demonstrated the power of television. Cronkite notes of this Kennedy introduction: "From that day forward, the image on the orthicon tube has been the most important aspect of a political campaign, and politics and television have gone skipping hand in hand down this primrose path" (1990, 9).

During the 1956 fall campaign, the public's fascination with television created a new phenomenon in that the audience frequently showed more interest in the television reporters than in the candidates. For example, when television reporters Chet Huntley and David Brinkley were first teamed in the summer of 1956 to anchor NBC's convention coverage, their success was virtually immediate. By the end of the two national conventions, they were being afforded almost as much attention as the political leaders they were covering. They had become medium stars.

While the 1960 campaign was exciting and highly contested, it was generally quite traditional in contrast to what was to follow. As yet, there was no real criticism of the way in which television was providing election coverage. The most talked about TV feature was the three-network cooperative presidential debates between Democratic Senator Kennedy and Republican Vice President Nixon. George Gallup, America's most experienced pollster in 1960, sets the figure of Americans who viewed one or all of the debates at 85,000,000, while NBC and CBS estimated an audience of 115,000,000 and 120,000,000 respectively. These numbers serve as testimony to the interest of Americans in the election when the total U. S. population at the time was slightly less than

180,000,000. The debates, according to journalists such as Walter Lippman, Hugh Sidey, and James Reston, may have tipped the balance in Kennedy's favor, especially since Nixon photographed badly and appeared to be scowling.

In the forty years of presidential political campaigning covered by this dissertation, it is perhaps the 1952 and 1960 elections where television's influence appears most evident. As cited previously, the influence of television on the 1952 nomination process was of critical importance while the telecasting of the 1960 debates seemed to play a large role in an extremely close election. Television has obviously affected other campaigns during this period, but these two elections are most exemplative of the power of the medium.

A stronger impact of television on the political scene came with greater emphasis in the mid-1960s of the nightly network news. As White notes: "In October 1963, CBS and NBC expanded their nightly TV newscast from fifteen to thirty minutes, and within a year, more Americans relied on television for news than on newspapers" (1982, 174). Reporters could no longer protect a candidate from his odd mannerisms and misstatements. Those foibles were now recorded on camera. Suddenly the public saw political figures close-up in a way they usually saw only friends or associates. Eventually, they would demand to know their personal problems, private lives, or trivial gossip about them.

In the following years, however, the graphic influence of television began to produce critical reactions although the opposition remained relatively benign until 1968. The 1964 Republican Convention erupted into an open demonstration against the press when Eisenhower called on his party to condemn critics from outside the mainstream of society. When the bloody scenes from the Vietnam war began to appear on home screens in 1965, the antipathy toward television was further exacerbated. Convinced that the networks had overplayed the riots outside their 1968 convention in Chicago, the Democrat party leaders launched a Congressional investigation into network influence.

To demonstrate that this concern was bipartisan, Republican Vice President Spiro Agnew traveled to Iowa in 1969 to launch a public campaign against undue network influence.

Tom Rosenstiel noted that by 1964 many politicians had become convinced that the press was hostile or unsympathetic, and they consequently turned to television in order to improve the candidate's image created by partisan journalists (1993, 31). Republican candidate Senator Barry Goldwater and his staff often portrayed the hostile media as the enemy, most notably during the 1964 convention in San Francisco. President Lyndon Johnson, on the other hand, courted favor with journalists and reporters by inviting them to his Texas ranch, to Camp David, or to the White House. By 1968, presidential candidate Nixon elevated to a new level this reliance on television to bypass a critical press. Nixon's aides limited the candidate's daily appearance to a single, carefully orchestrated event before a select audience—with cued applause and a staged mobbing of Nixon at the conclusion. Reporters were usually relegated to anterooms to watch the proceedings on closed-circuit TV.

Political reporting was then modeled on Theodore White's successive books The Making of the President (1960 to 1972). White had first pioneered the format of an exhaustive study of the backroom strategy and political tactics during the Kennedy-Nixon campaign of 1960. He described elections as heroic clashes between men and ideology that captured a contemporary sense of the nation's election mood. Candidates employed language and ideas to challenge the voters, not to manipulate them. The tactics of politics worked in the service of a higher purpose, but this idealistic dramatization of campaign politics could not be endlessly repeated. "After 1968, the press would never again express such faith, trust or idealism and White was even scorned" (Rosenstiel, 1993, 31).

The cynicism bred by the growing Vietnam involvement, the public assassinations of President John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy, and the urban riots was crystallized as a political attitude in the 1969 book The

Selling of the President by Joe McGinnis. Like White, McGinnis focused on the inner workings of campaigns, but he had little faith in the ideas and themes that politicians adopted. McGinnis watched the rising power of political consultants, admen, and media specialists around Nixon, he deduced that, in the age of television, "something new, murky, undefined, started to rise from the mists, [and now] a candidate's image superseded issues" (1988, 38).

The 1968 press increasingly heard campaign rhetoric as simply the raw material to be questioned or contradicted rather than as crucial information to be analyzed and communicated to the public. The adversarial relationship between the media and politicians was now a political fact of life. Fully aware of campaign staffs' determination to manipulate the media, network television news reporters, in particular, grew increasingly wary of accepting at face value the daily "soundbite" or "photo opportunity" provided them. Blatant manipulation could lead to counter strategies: less air time for candidate speeches and more opportunities for caustic journalist commentary. One consequence of the press reaction was the growing power of the media over the political process itself:

In the network coverage of 1972, the average length of time on television that any candidate or anyone else spoke without interruption had shrunk by 42% from 1968. With the party reforms of 1969 elevating public primaries as the means for choosing party nominees, the press's cynicism was matched by its swelling influence over the process. (Rosenstiel 1993, 32)

Following the disruptions at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, there were numerous pleas for a reform of the nominating process. As a result, numerous changes were initiated by both parties beginning in 1969. These changes significantly increased the power of the primaries vis a vis the conventions by the time of the 1972 campaign. Indeed, one can easily speculate that the nomination of Senator George McGovern (D-SD) would have been all but impossible had the old rules still been in effect. It was thus in 1972 that the primary process can be said to have supplanted the

convention-based approach to nomination, at least insofar as the Democrats are concerned. Given the renomination of a sitting president, the Republicans had to wait for 1976 with the battle between President Ford and former Governor Ronald Reagan to experience the transformation.

This rise in the power of the media was aided by new technological devices in the 1976 presidential campaign, when the network crews were first outfitted with portable video cameras linked to satellite trucks. Now TV could track the Carter or Ford campaigns continuously, and furnish live coverage whenever appropriate. Television had finally become a dominant feature on the campaign trail.

Political strategy was now fully adapted to capitalizing on this intense power of television. In 1976, Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter worked hard to win the otherwise negligible Iowa caucuses so that the press would portray him as the candidate with "big MO"—the momentum that would catapult him to the nomination. By 1980, other candidates, such as Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Edward Kennedy, adopted Carter's technique of creating favorable expectations. "Spin doctors"—campaign operatives who enhanced their candidate's image—began appearing on the network news.

Reporter Daniel Schorr concluded by 1984 that President Ronald Reagan had mastered TV techniques, from Nixon's staged appearances to Carter's managing the press (1993, 17). Reagan's team also employed television shots of their candidate at nonpolitical events, like stock car races and rodeos. Even while criticizing this aspect of Reagan's campaign as phony, the press nevertheless used his pictures. The popular explanation was that the message on TV didn't matter as long as the footage had human interest.

By 1988, presidential candidates Bush and Dukakis had shaped their campaign styles to the point that even the important issues were presented according to the abbreviated format of television. The television message of Bush stressed the national pledge of allegiance and opposed prison furloughs, as these, while secondary issues, were

communicated quickly, vividly, and viscerally. They were designed to trigger strong associations in voters' minds—traditional patriotism versus the cynicism of the 1960s and middle class fear of criminal minorities. In the aftermath of Bush's victory, press executives and reporters engaged in open self-criticism. Did the media and especially television exercise undue influence in the elections? If the pitiless exposure of television had failed to purify politics, did it tend to trivialize a national election by focusing on personalities rather than issues? If the networks had taken a different stance, would it have made any difference?

Presidential Campaign of 1992

In comparison with the 1952 campaign, the 1992 presidential race of President Bush against Bill Clinton and Ross Perot featured both similarities and contrasts. While 1952 served as the inaugural year for the inclusion of national politics on television, 1992 witnessed the rise in popular interest of two new media: tabloid television and talk radio shows. These programs thrived on a mixture of entertainment and gossip, public scandals and sensational exposes that played to the lowest common denominator of the public audience. Part of the reason for the rise of tabloid TV and talk radio was that the traditional news media had become alienated in tone and topic from the interests of the general public at large. Many in the media establishment, especially the professional commentators and Sunday morning pundits, often seemed more intent on maintaining their intellectual status than in communicating with the common people. "The sense of an Olympian elite press applied especially to network television, whose members were celebrities pictured in the society pages and profiled in magazines" (Rosenstiel 1993, 169).

Rosenstiel reviews the entire new media concept in the course of analyzing the Perot candidacy (Ibid., 163-197). The problems of ordinary citizens were featured in fewer political stories on network television. Washington journalists had become infected by the culture of the TV talk show, which meant that they not only asked

questions of the guests, but they freely offered opinions that were heavily slanted. Both journalists and politicians appearing on such programs were viewed with increasing skepticism by the television audience, who felt condescended to or simply ignored. This was the media situation from which the "low-brow" but more democratic talk radio and tabloid television evolved. Unlike the traditional network programs with their profound pundits and target audiences, one no longer need be a member of the elite to participate or feel excluded from the agenda under discussion.

A prime example of the new genre star was the TV and radio talk-show host Larry King. King used the new media not only as a unique forum for the average citizen but for the professional politician as well. He shifted from the standard practice of focusing on the power elite within the political parties or the traditional media commentators. It was now possible to move beyond the influence peddlers in Washington and dialogue with the public. In regard to the power of the spoken word, King was in accord with Ronald Reagan, who believed that "... talking through radio has more credibility than the evening news, and when people listen to something rather than see it on TV, the message has more staying power" (Rosenstiel 1993, 168). The opportunity for the public to phone in and question the candidates or express their strongly felt opinions became an integral part of "talk radio," and it allowed the listeners to feel that they were a part of the program. It was seen by many as a more personal and responsive technique as compared to the traditional news approach that depended on a passive audience.

The rapid proliferation of the new media was remarkable. By 1992, there were 600 radio stations devoted entirely to talk programs, and 1,450 or almost one fifth of the nation's 7,500 radio stations were listed as predominantly news, talk, or public affairs. Surveys in 1992 by the Los Angeles Times (circulation, 1,100,000) consistently found that 40% of the radio audience listen primarily for news and information while the average American spent three hours a day listening to radio and four hours watching

television (Ibid., 168). At the same time, dependence upon the print media continued to decline. It is not surprising, therefore, that by 1992, politicians were intent on exploiting the new media to their advantage.

The term "new media" is not wholly accurate since radio and television have long been in existence, but this term does describe a new style in broadcasting. It is worth noting that the term "new media" is often discussed in the same vein as "new journalism." "New journalism" is often associated with a loss of traditional restraint and good taste in reportage. With emphasis on a simplification of issues, frequent inattention to detail, sensationalism, and partisanship, this new genre has much to answer for, and its impact on mainstream journalism is deplored by traditional reporters. "New media" in this context can be accurately described as a new approach to the media that offers candidates alternative means of attracting the voters. Candidates can downplay many traditional political forums and concentrate on the intimate format of call-in contact with the voters.

This was in keeping with the unconventionality of the 1992 election campaign, when Bill Clinton helped spark his campaign by playing the saxophone on the popular "Arsenio Hall Show." Clinton's populist instincts paid dividends: "Though he'd just won the California primary the day before, Clinton picked up a new surge of twenty something voters with his [appearance]" (Bentley 1993, 58). One popular candidate appearance spot became the youth-oriented program Music Television or MTV. George Bush, Bill Clinton and Al Gore all appeared on the program. Ross Perot visited "Larry King Live" more often than he held press conferences, and Dan Quayle raised an uproar when he questioned the morals of a fictional television character named Murphy Brown. The dispute stemmed from Quayle's strong advocacy of traditional family values that he claimed were ridiculed in the script of the "Murphy Brown Show."

At the same time, the 1992 candidates made fewer appearances on mainstream TV interview programs, such as "This Week With David Brinkley," "Meet the Press," and "Face the Nation." They preferred the more informal exposure to voters afforded by the

non-confrontational appearances on "Good Morning America," "Today," and the "CBS Morning News." The traditional mainstream commentators, such as Walter Cronkite, David Brinkley, and Sander Vanocur, decried this trend, but this shift had a purpose. The interviews did not include the standard teams of reputable reporters asking predictable questions, but they gave the American audience a relaxed but direct encounter with the candidates. The audience may not have witnessed a profound discussion, but potential voters did get a sense of the candidates' personality and attitudes.

Campaign finances played a role in designing this new media approach. Financing modern campaigns on the part of both the individual candidates and the political parties has become a major dilemma in national politics. The spiraling cost of running for Congress or the White House has prevented well-qualified citizens from even considering a race for public office. Budgetary constraints have also begun to affect the networks' national campaign coverage. As noted earlier, the 1952 convention and election network coverage cost less than regular programming, and network executives were delighted to commit many hours to political coverage that fulfilled their sense of public service. Forty years later, however, networks had become increasingly cost-conscious since news programs were now exceedingly expensive to produce:

[The George Bush - Michael Dukakis campaign] in 1988 had cost ABC \$25 million--\$18 million for election specials and conventions and the rest for regular news coverage. And that was less than the \$30 million it had spent in 1980. For 1992, ABC hoped to cut spending in half from the four years before. (Rosenstiel 1993, 37)

The cost-cutting trend meant that fewer reporters were assigned to the conventions and minimum hours were devoted to live coverage. The only complete convention coverage available in 1992 was on C-SPAN, whose live programs resembled the three major networks' operations during the conventions of 1952. During this campaign, the networks aired fewer segments from their own field reporters and offered only tape coverage from their local affiliates. The commanding presence of CNN, the

proliferation of cable channels, and the lower audience ratings also contributed to the networks' declining involvement in the national conventions and campaigns, crucial events that formerly were their exclusive focus.

Advances in technology were also responsible for changes in the electronic media. The networks no longer enjoyed program monopoly that had captivated large audiences since the early 1950s. Now with more than 10,000 radio stations, 1,800 television stations, and a rapidly growing number of cable channels, a diversity of formats and viewpoints was virtually assured. The three major television networks' predominant position as a dispenser of information has disappeared forever--with unique consequences for the political process. As a result, the impact of the electronic media upon the 1992 election is much more difficult to assess than it was in 1952.

While some background literature has been written on the 1992 presidential campaign, there is to date a paucity of scholarly study dealing with the media's impact on the political process during that election year. An ample amount of anecdotal commentary and tangential analysis exist, but the objectivity and validity of that material are somewhat suspect. The effect of the media on the 1992 political process is, therefore, difficult to assess. The lack of reliable scholarly sources led to the use of a questionnaire survey in this dissertation to augment the available information and to provide more insight into the media's impact.

Summary Remarks

As this chapter has indicated, there is no question about the fact that the national political process has been transformed over this forty-year period. The exponential growth of technology in the forty years between Eisenhower's defeat of Stevenson and Clinton's victory over Bush and Perot has given the news media an awesome array of communications tools. One must question, however, whether they have produced a better informed or more soundly perceptive electorate. Political discourse has traditionally been marred by an inordinate emphasis on partisan interests or trivial side

issues. The new methods of the media have increased both the visual access to candidates and the availability of diverse viewpoints. Unfortunately too, the glaring media light thrown on the candidates and their associates has tended to focus on personal irregularities and even scandals that is largely motivated by network competition to boost ratings. Talk-show hosts, in addition, openly express biased or partisan political opinions to increase their rating popularity.

Americans seemingly have an insatiable appetite for information, yet some view news programs as a form of entertainment. They seek instant gratification through sensational stories that are little better than unreliable gossip. Dramatic news stories seize their attention, but the tedious details of a complex political topic quickly fade from the collective consciousness. Theodore White's highly stylized method of describing the conventions and campaigns of 1960 through 1972 underscored the fact that all too often how a story is told is as important as what it says.

Today even the power of the written word has declined as the drop in newspaper readership demonstrates. While the population of the United States increased by more than 100 million since 1950, newspaper circulation increased by only 6 million (World Almanac 1953, 481; World Almanac 1995, 305). Television news pictures once complemented the written press, and the broadcasts of eloquent speakers like Edward R. Murrow and the writings of authors like Theodore White were equally impressive. Today for 81% of Americans, television provides the main source of political news (Pew Survey July 1996, 7). As a result, important but complex issues are often presented to the viewer in a quick-paced, superficial manner favorable to the television format. As Bill Moyers noted during his White Lecture, "The printed page conveys information and commitment and requires active involvement. Television conveys emotion and experience, and it's very limited in what it can do logically. It's an existential experience--there and then gone" (1992, 12).

Since the primitive technology days of 1952, the priority role of television has increasingly preoccupied politicians and their staffs. The sophisticated application of this medium by both political operatives and network staffs has radically altered campaign strategies. Specific themes derived from these campaign changes have characterized TV campaigns over the past four decades, and they deserve assessment in line with their long-term effects on the political process. Chief among these themes are the need for sound television strategy in a successful national campaign, the overriding demand for financing in a television campaign, and the unfortunate tendency in the TV medium to emphasize image over substance. These factors have become part of political reality in the modern era, and their relationship to the presidential election process will be addressed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4
SURVEY OF VOTER ATTITUDES TOWARDS
TELEVISION'S POLITICAL COVERAGE

A questionnaire was employed to discover the extent to which television viewers, as voters, depended upon television during presidential election campaigns and how they viewed the medium as a source of information. The results of this survey were compared to national trends as discovered in background sources, TV discussions, radio and television archives, and personal interviews. Conclusions were drawn where appropriate.

Survey Instrument

Construction of Survey Instrument

The instrument selected was a personally-designed sixteen question survey conceived to assess, as accurately as possible, the contemporary impact of television on the American political process, particularly presidential elections. The survey responses should provide significant data relating to the two basic research questions: what is the communications medium of choice for those who vote in presidential elections, and what do these voters think about the quality of information being conveyed? Fifteen of the sixteen questions were multiple-choice while one four-part question required a "yes/no" response to each part. Questions were designed to measure the individual use of television and its consequent political impact. Along with their responses, participants were expected to provide demographic information, including age group, educational level, gender, income status, and political affiliation. They were also asked to specify whether they had voted in the 1992 presidential election.

The survey instrument sought to ascertain voter dependence upon television in the context of presidential campaigns and to determine its effects, if any, on candidate choice. In terms of voter reliance on TV, questions were designed to discover the subject's primary source of news; the most valuable source for news, the time spent watching television in general and news coverage in particular, the most reliable source for in-depth treatment of a

specific story, whether the time devoted to election coverage was adequate, specific viewing habits during an election year, and the time spent listening to radio (Questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 14, 11, and 5 respectively).

The following questions attempted to gauge an appreciation of television's effects: Has there been an increase or decrease in the quality of television coverage? How realistic is television's portrayal of contemporary society? Does television have a positive or negative impact upon society? Which information source is most unbiased or objective? Has television had a positive or negative impact on the political process? What is the perceived benefit or harm of technological advances? Does television make it easier or more difficult to understand the vast amount of information being conveyed almost instantaneously? (Questions 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, and 16 respectively).

Sample Method

The questionnaire was distributed to graduate students at Loyola College (Baltimore, Maryland) and to the parents of senior students at Calvert Hall High School (Towson, Maryland). Both Loyola College (administered by the Jesuits) and Calvert Hall (under the auspices of the De LaSalle Christian Brothers) are private educational institutions in existence for over one-hundred years and located in the middle-Atlantic region. As Baltimore Magazine (May 1995, 65-68) noted in an assessment of metropolitan high-schools, Calvert Hall has been traditionally noted for its commitment to academic excellence, has a strong religious orientation, and a well-deserved reputation for community involvement. As an example of its dedication to academics, fully 98% of Calvert Hall graduates attend college.

Loyola College has a strong relationship with the Maryland business community. Many of its highly-rated graduate degree programs are enthusiastically supported by alumni who have achieved professional positions of prominence throughout the Delmarva (Delaware-Maryland-Virginia) region. The Governor of Maryland and the state legislature have frequently been lavish in their praise and in support of what the college has

accomplished. In fact, Loyola President (1965 to 1993) Joseph Sellinger, S. J., often served as a special assistant to then Governor Schaefer. Many alumni have donated considerable sums of money to support recent expansion and enhancement of programs at this institution, while some have actively participated in recruiting both students and faculty. Endowments have increased ten-fold over the last two decades, due in large measure to alumni support.

These institutions were chosen primarily to elicit opinions from individuals who, as one could assume from the above, were career oriented and had a genuine interest in the future of the government and a personal involvement in the electoral process. Although both institutions are under Catholic direction, about 52% of the participants were non-Catholic. An alumnus of both institutions, this writer received the support and cooperation of the respective administrations in this project. Of some 600 survey forms distributed, 249 were returned. Tallying the participants according to age group, education, gender, economic status, political affiliation, and participation in the last presidential election provided a fairly broad and representative sampling.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents were between the ages of 26 and 55; 80% were college graduates with 34% possessing at least one graduate degree; 65% earned annually between \$35,000 and \$75,000; 51% were female and 49% were male; 45% described themselves as Democrats, 39% as Republicans, and 14% as Independents. Perhaps most significantly for this study, 86% voted in the 1992 presidential election as compared to the national turnout of 55% (Time, 18 November 1996, 41). These percentages for gender and political affiliation approximate the national average. According to the 1996 Statistical Abstract of the United States, the voters in the 1992 presidential election were 51% women and 49% men; 50% classified themselves as Democrats, 37% as Republicans, and 13% as Independents (285). On the other hand, the respondents represent a group of well-educated, financially sufficient, and politically concerned participants.

The participants in the survey further demonstrated that they were generally representative of America's middle class. They devoted a reasonable amount of time to

acquiring information about the candidates and most actually voted in the 1992 presidential campaign. While the sample did not ask about ethnicity, religious preference, place of habitat, racial composition, or other such personal factors, conversations with administrators from the two schools revealed demographic profiles that suggest a representative mix of these characteristics. The results of this purposive, non-random survey sample, compared to the Pew Survey, revealed striking similarities with American society in general regarding the media.

The Pew Research Center, formerly the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press, conducts annual surveys to determine public attitudes toward the press. The current survey, which served for this study's comparison, polled 1,751 adults in late April, 1996, plus another 1,001 adults who were specifically asked about news believability (Honolulu Advertiser 13 May 1996, A6). Among the more interesting discoveries, the Pew Survey found that fewer than half the public now watch one of the three nightly newscasts. However, 59% of the respondents indicated that they had watched some form of TV news they day before they were polled. This contrasts with the 74% rate of newswatchers in 1994. In addition, as many as 25% of those polled stated that they received political information from non-traditional sources, including The Tonight Show, David Letterman, and MTV (Honolulu Advertiser 13 May 1996, A6). A correlation between the survey instrument and the Pew Survey is included where identical or similar questions showed that reasonable associations with American society in general could be inferred.

Validity

This survey was reviewed for validity with Christine Walreth, Ph. D., a resident research associate and psychologist at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Walreth confirmed the assumption of face validity given the nature of the questions themselves. She observed that the specific questions, which centered upon the first level of awareness, emphasized a common starting point, clearly understood, with no allowance for varying interpretations. The questions, which were not open-ended, were answered through a simple

multiple-choice format. Therefore, in her opinion, there is reason to conclude that the various participants interpreted them in the same way.

Following an analysis of the results from the completed questionnaires, a retrospective assessment was conducted in order to test for reliability. This test/retest for validity was undertaken to demonstrate through a valid sample that anyone looking at these questions at a later point in time would interpret the questions in the same way as did the original respondents. Any significant differences, if present, over time would be compared and contrasted with the original survey results. During the assessment process, no important differences were noted.

In this follow-up project, twenty participants provided responses to the survey instrument and took part in interviews that provided an in-depth assessment of the answers to the questionnaire. There were only minor differences in the statistical compilation, and the differences were so small (2-4%) as to be statistically insignificant. In addition, opinions expressed during the interviewing sessions were an added source of information on why questions had been answered in a specific manner. Respondents, who had been provided some of the interview questions in advance, discussed their concerns and opinions about television and the political process in a candid and forthright manner, suggesting that considerable thought had been given to their replies. Their specific responses will be discussed later where appropriate.

Summary of Results from the Survey Instrument

Overview

The responses to the questionnaire were examined in view of the general and specific themes of the dissertation. For most viewers, television was looked upon as an evolving communications technology that has played a meaningful role in society for entertainment and information. In survey responses, however, primary interest was on television as a dispenser of political information and as a factor in the presidential political process. Nevertheless, given the growing trend toward introducing the political culture into prime-

time programming, it would be wrong to underestimate the general influence of TV on the political formation or education of the American voter. Former NBC President Larry Grossman commented on this point:

The public's electronic view of the political world takes place in a television environment that is saturated with comedy, drama, violence, sexuality, gossip, and commercial advertising, all designed for instant and easy appeal to the senses and emotions rather than to reason. With the networks serving as the principal battleground for presidential campaigns, the tone and character of those campaigns are inevitably shaped by the predominant cultural atmosphere of commercial television. (Grossman 1990, 4)

The relationship between television news and entertainment programs needs to be carefully appraised in gauging the effect of television on the political process. Communications professor Steve Barkin stated recently, "Long ago, the distinction between 'news' and 'entertainment' became practically impossible to make" (Barkin 1997, 19A). Consequently, without negating the fact that news and entertainment may sometimes coalesce, the following observations and analyses that follow focus on the relationship between TV political programming and presidential voting. In exploring the linkage between television and the political process, however, these analyses take due note of the more general issue of how television has affected society positively and negatively.

General Summary

Three-fifths of the respondents to the dissertation survey (61% compared to 81% in the Pew Survey) replied that they depended on television as their primary source of political information, and a significant plurality (45% compared to 48% in the Pew Survey) listed the traditional broadcast television networks as their most valuable news source for election coverage. Most participants (90%) spent a sizeable part of their free time viewing television with a weekly average of up to ten hours devoted to news coverage. It is important to note, however, that more respondents chose the newspaper (43%) over television (31%) when they wanted in-depth coverage of the news. There was an almost even split between those

who claimed that television had/had not influenced vote, but the fact that almost half affirmed that they were influenced by television in making their electoral choice cannot be easily dismissed or discounted.

On the question of time devoted by the electronic media to political campaign coverage, half considered that the time was adequate. In addition, most respondents acknowledged that they watched some political TV apart from the regularly scheduled newscasts. This programming with the percent who watched included party commercials (60%), political speeches (83%), convention coverage (44%), and the presidential debates (90%). As to the so-called alternative media (e.g., radio talk shows), a strong majority (80%) replied that they spent a fair amount of time (5 hours) each week listening to radio news.

While 61% of the participants acknowledged that television was their primary news source for election coverage, 45% voiced concern voiced over the quality, credibility, or objectivity of television news coverage in particular as well as television programming in general. Additionally, almost half of the respondents (49%) expressed reservations about the effect of the technological revolution in communications and the near-saturation news coverage with the advent of around-the-clock instantaneous coverage of sensational events. Of special interest was the overwhelming conviction (79%) that television failed to provide a realistic portrayal of contemporary American society and the firm belief (71%) that television had exerted a negative effect on U. S. society. Not surprisingly, 52% also believed that television was exerting a negative influence on the political process.

What is perhaps most revealing about their criticism of television news and entertainment programs is that most respondents apparently made a pragmatic choice not to express their dissatisfaction by turning off their sets. This intriguing paradox is worth pondering further. This apparent dichotomy between opinion and reaction becomes even more interesting when one considers the high educational level of the survey participants. Is the tendency to continue watching a question of habit or a conscious decision related to the American individual or collective psyche? Interestingly, three-fourths of those participants

interviewed in the retrospective assessment of the survey stated that they continued to watch because it was an inexpensive and comfortable way to be entertained and informed. TV served as a convenient diversion after a stressful day at the office, and most have simply become accustomed to doing it. For the majority, this was a routine that they had been following since their youth. A picture, even a staged picture, is perhaps still worth a thousand words

On the general subject of TV influence, some viewer responses deserve further reference. People who turn to television as a major source of information and entertainment consider this electronic portrayal of contemporary American life to be unrealistic. They tend in large numbers to blame this unreal TV version of U. S. culture as the source of the medium's negative influence on society. The 78% of participants who stated that they regularly watch television weekly for entertainment and information also objected that television does not portray contemporary America accurately and that the medium influences society negatively. However, these objections did not affect their watching habits. Both occasional watchers and the regular viewers seeking in-depth news coverage (78%), were overwhelmingly negative about TV. Of those who watch TV as a prime entertainment source, 78% strongly objected to the TV influence on contemporary American society.

Other survey opinions on technology's impact on society are more mixed, as are those on the worth of around-the-clock news coverage. The varied survey results provide little evidence from which to draw a definite conclusion. Not unexpectedly, basic technology is viewed by most survey participants as yielding both good and evil results. Furthermore, there is little agreement on whether the current constant access to television news makes it difficult for viewers to absorb or understand the relative significance of what is reported.

The following pages (80 through 105) contain the statistical data and charts that provide a graphic representation of the commentary in the preceding summary. A summary of research results follows.

RESPONSES TO INDIVIDUAL SURVEY QUESTIONS

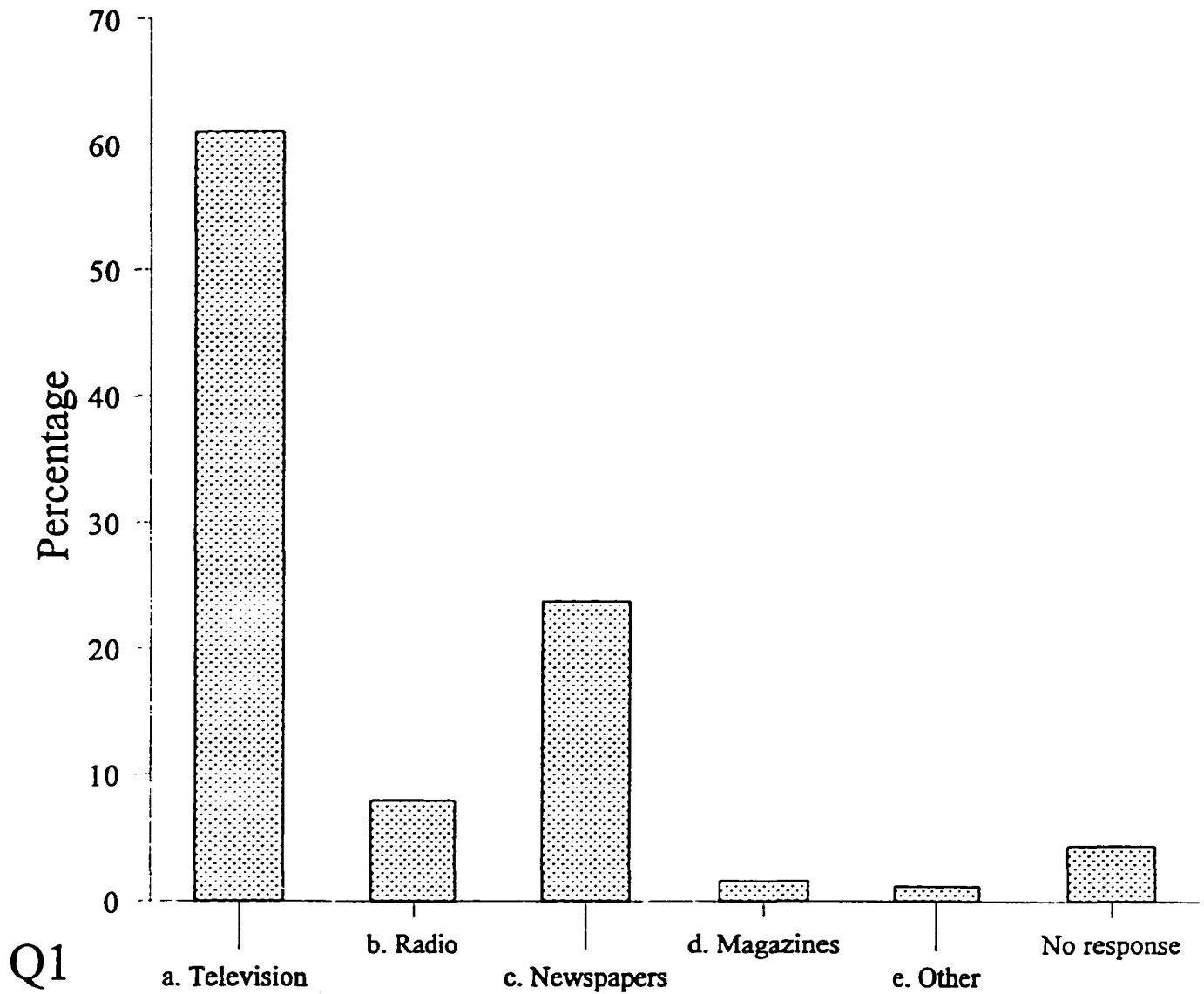
Question 1 **What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Television	152	61.0	61.0
b. Radio	20	8.0	8.0
c. Newspapers	59	23.7	23.7
d. Magazines	4	1.6	1.6
e. Other	3	1.2	1.2
No response	11	4.4	4.4
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 2 **When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?**

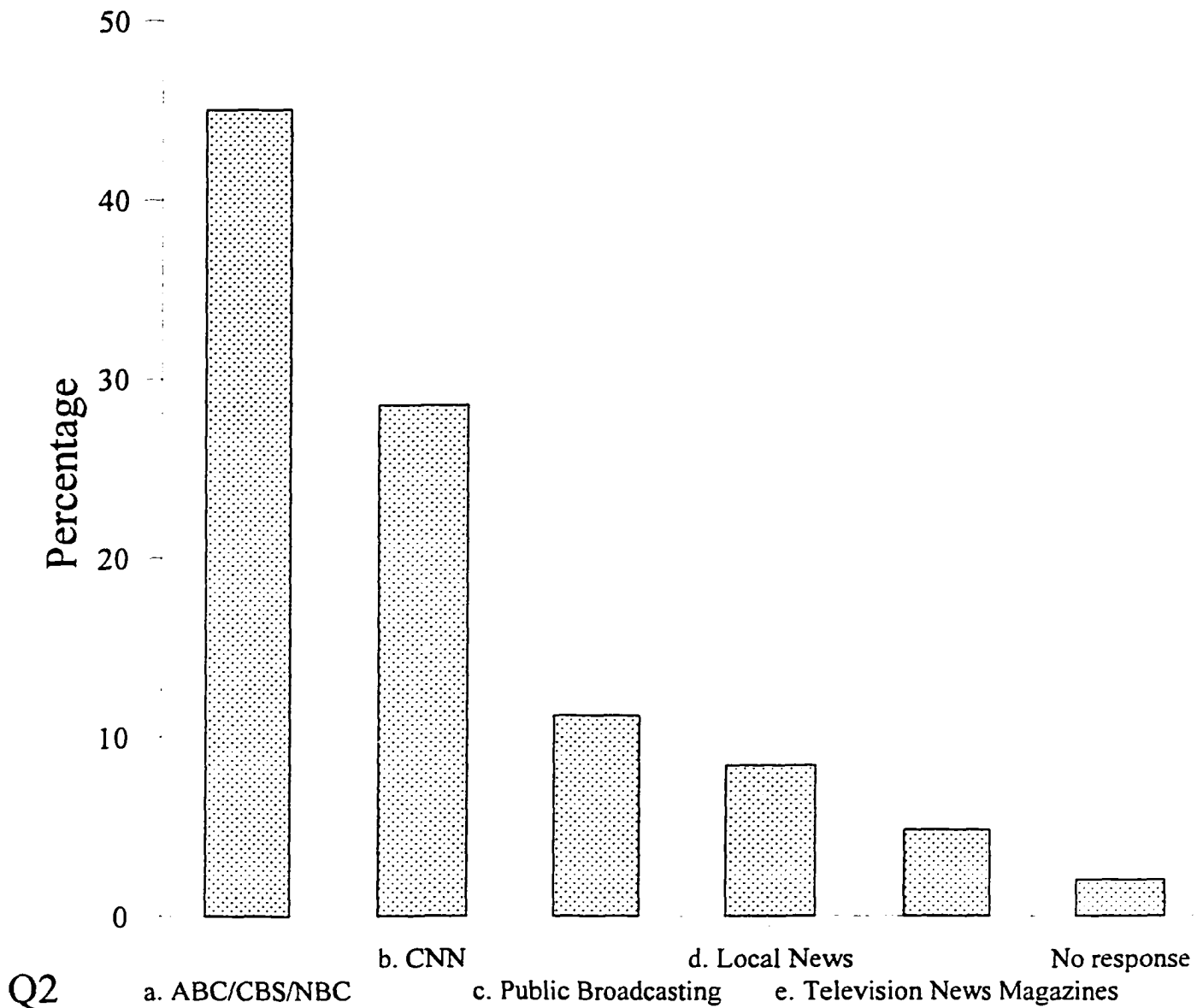
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Network News	112	45.0	45.0
b. Cable News Network	71	28.5	28.5
c. Public Broadcasting	28	11.2	11.2
d. Local News Program	21	8.4	8.4
e. Television News Magazines	12	4.8	4.8
No response	5	2.0	2.0
Total	249	100.0	100.0

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

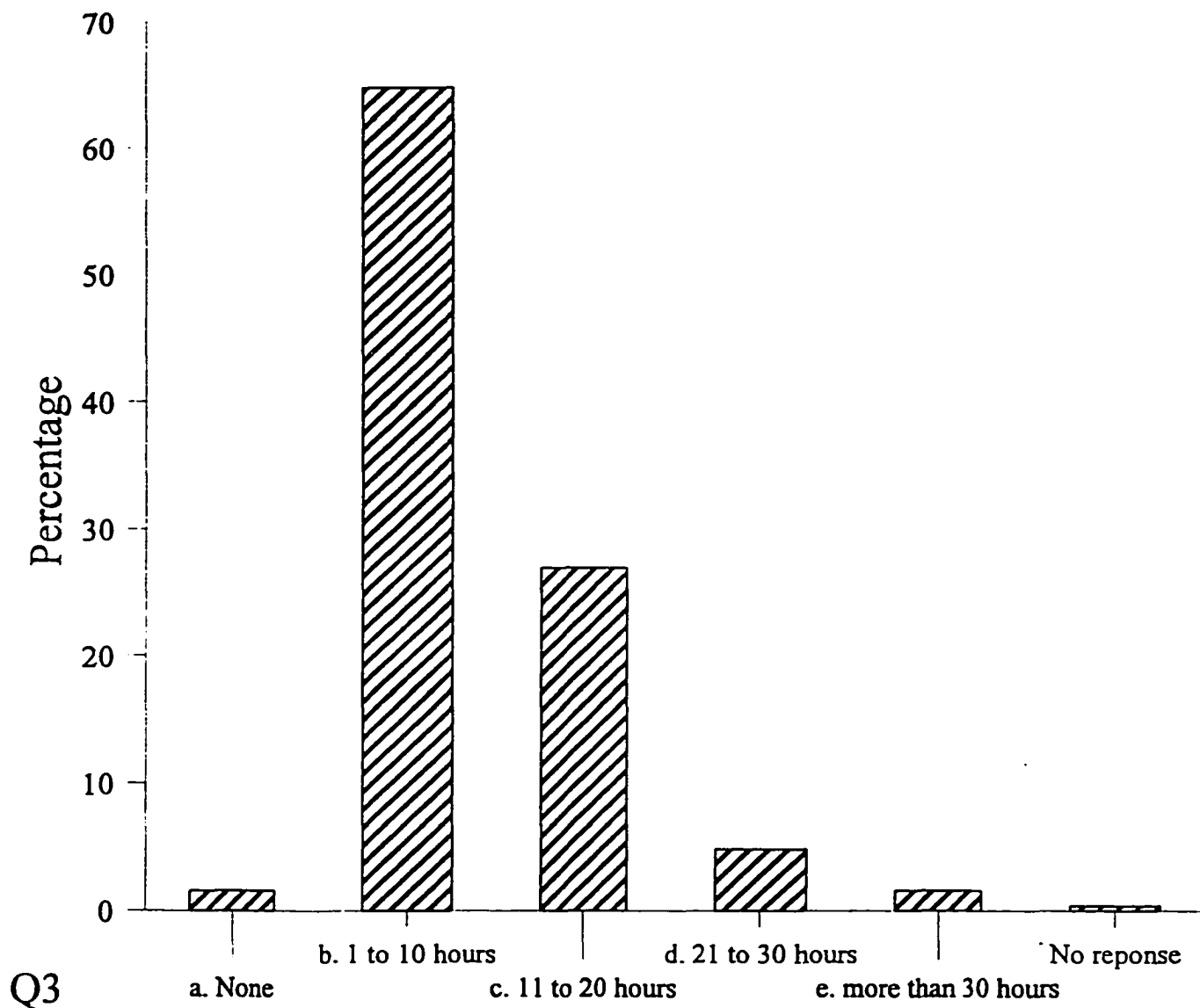
Question 3 How much time do you spend watching television weekly?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. None	4	1.6	1.6
b. 1 to 10 hours	161	64.7	64.7
c. 11 to 20 hours	67	26.9	26.9
d. 21 to 30 hours	12	4.8	4.8
e. More than 30 hours	4	1.6	1.6
No response	1	0.4	0.4
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 4 How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?

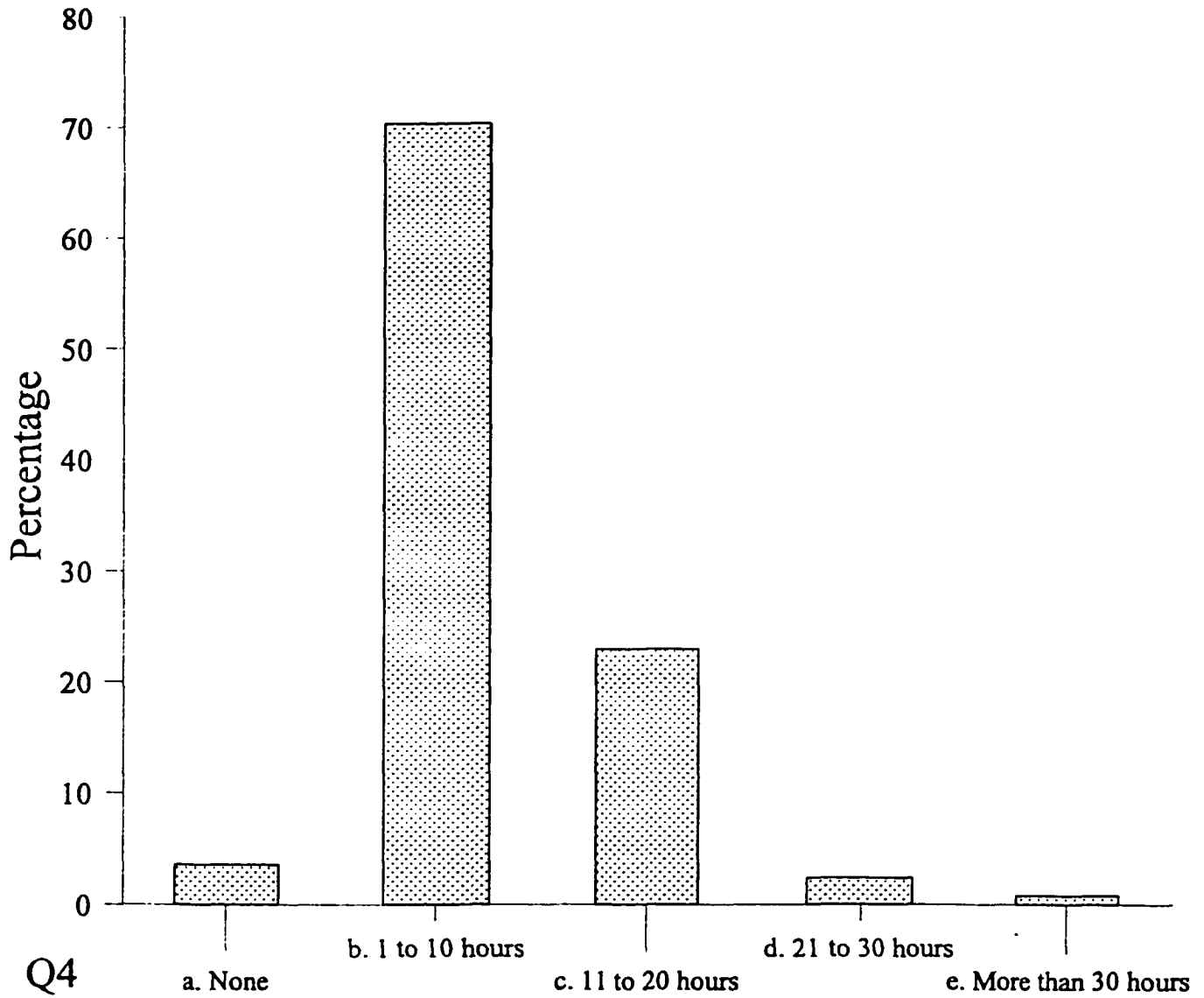
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. None	9	3.6	3.6
b. 1 to 5 hours	175	70.3	70.3
c. 6 to 10 hours	57	22.9	22.9
d. 11 to 15 hours	6	2.4	2.4
e. More than 15 hours	2	0.8	0.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



► Q3. How much time do you spend watching television weekly?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



► Q4. How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?

Question 5 How much time do you spend listening to radio news coverage weekly (including network radio news, local radio news, talk shows, etc.)?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. None	43	17.3	17.3
b. 1 to 5 hours	148	59.4	59.4
c. 6 to 10 hours	38	15.3	15.3
d. 11 to 15 hours	12	4.8	4.8
e. More than 15 hours	8	3.2	3.2
Total	249	100.0	100.0

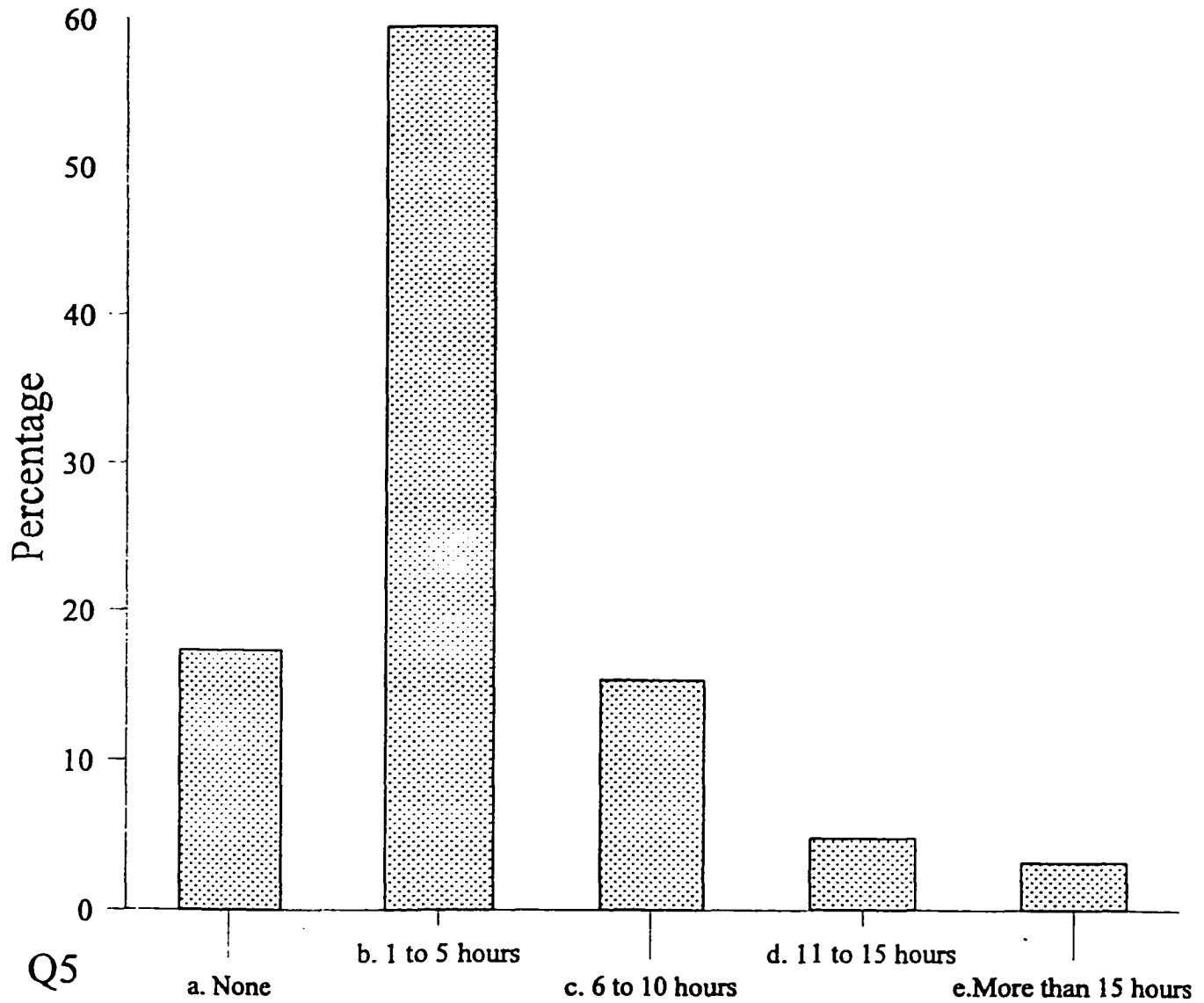
Question 6 When you are seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, what source do you consider most reliable?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Television News	78	31.3	31.3
b. Radio News or Talk Shows	28	11.2	11.2
c. Newspapers/Magazines	129	51.8	51.8
d. Other	8	3.2	3.2
No response	6	2.4	2.4
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 7 Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last 10 years?

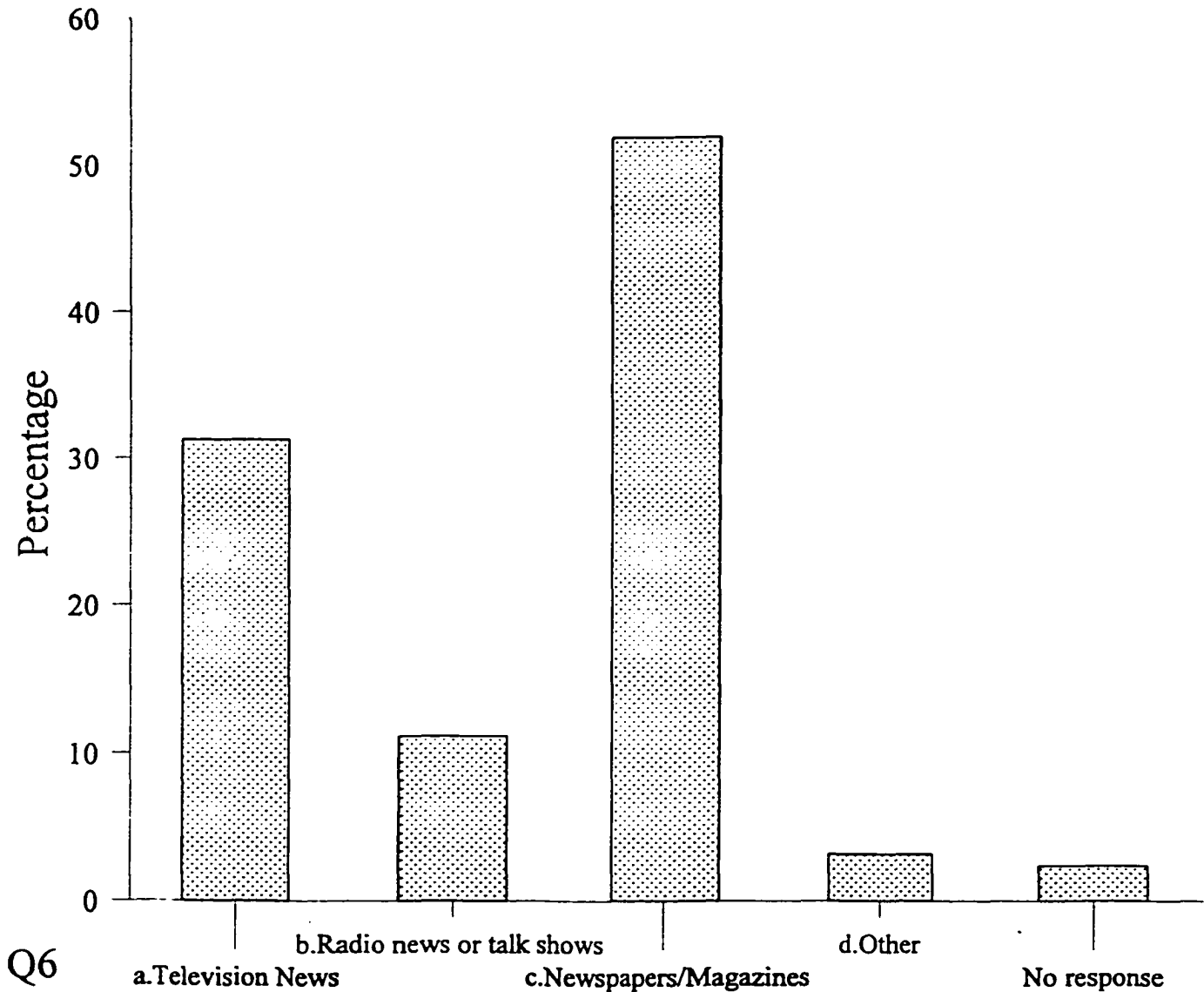
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Increased	88	35.3	35.3
b. Decreased	112	45.0	45.0
c. Remained about the same	46	18.5	18.5
No response	3	1.2	1.2
Total	249	100.0	100.0

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



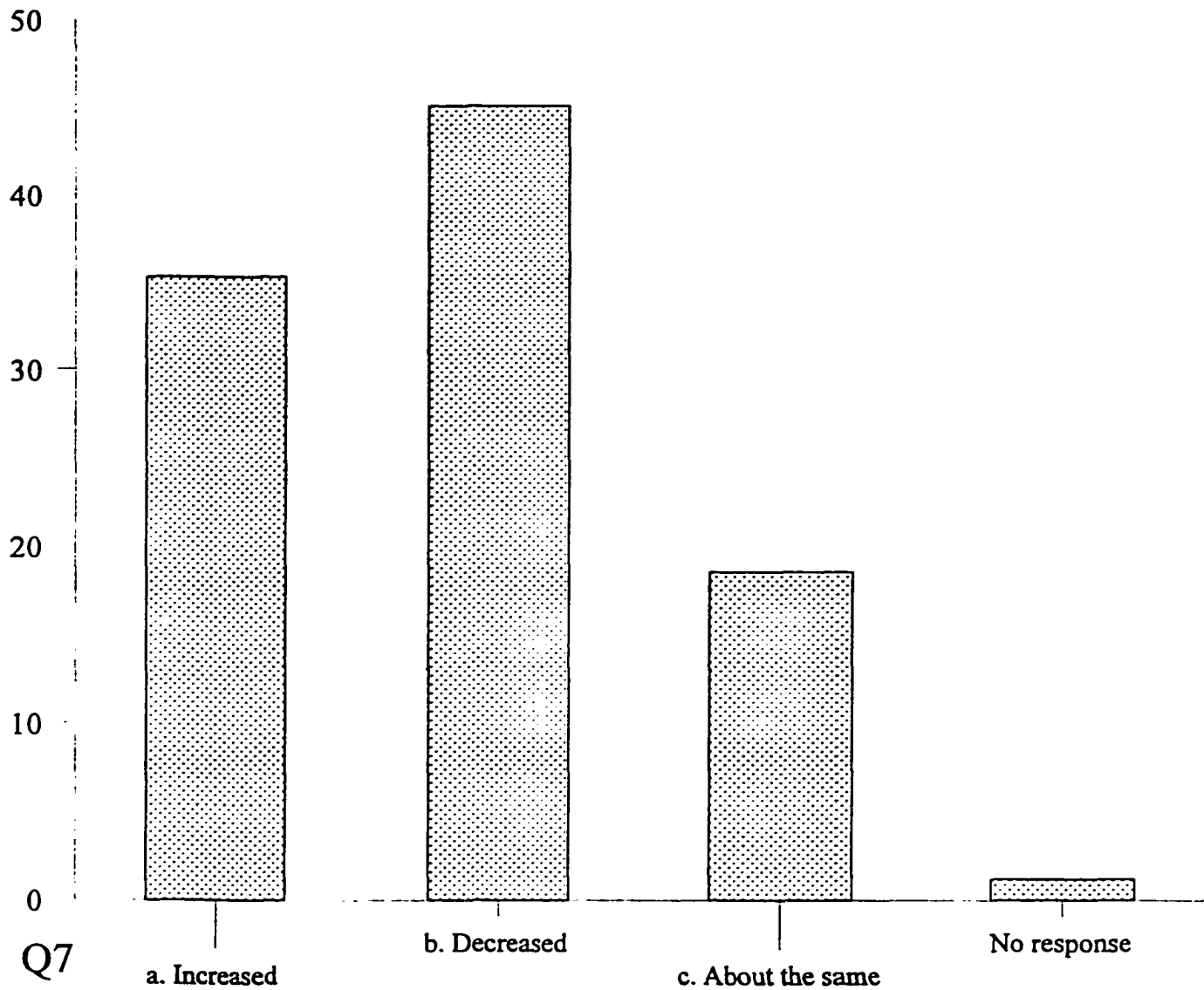
► Q5. How much time do you spend listening to radio news coverage weekly?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q6. When you are seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, what source do you consider most reliable?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

Question 8 Do you believe that television shows (comedy, drama, variety) provide a realistic portrayal of American contemporary society?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Generally yes	26	10.4	10.4
b. Generally no	196	78.7	78.7
c. Not sure	25	10.0	10.0
No response	2	0.8	0.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

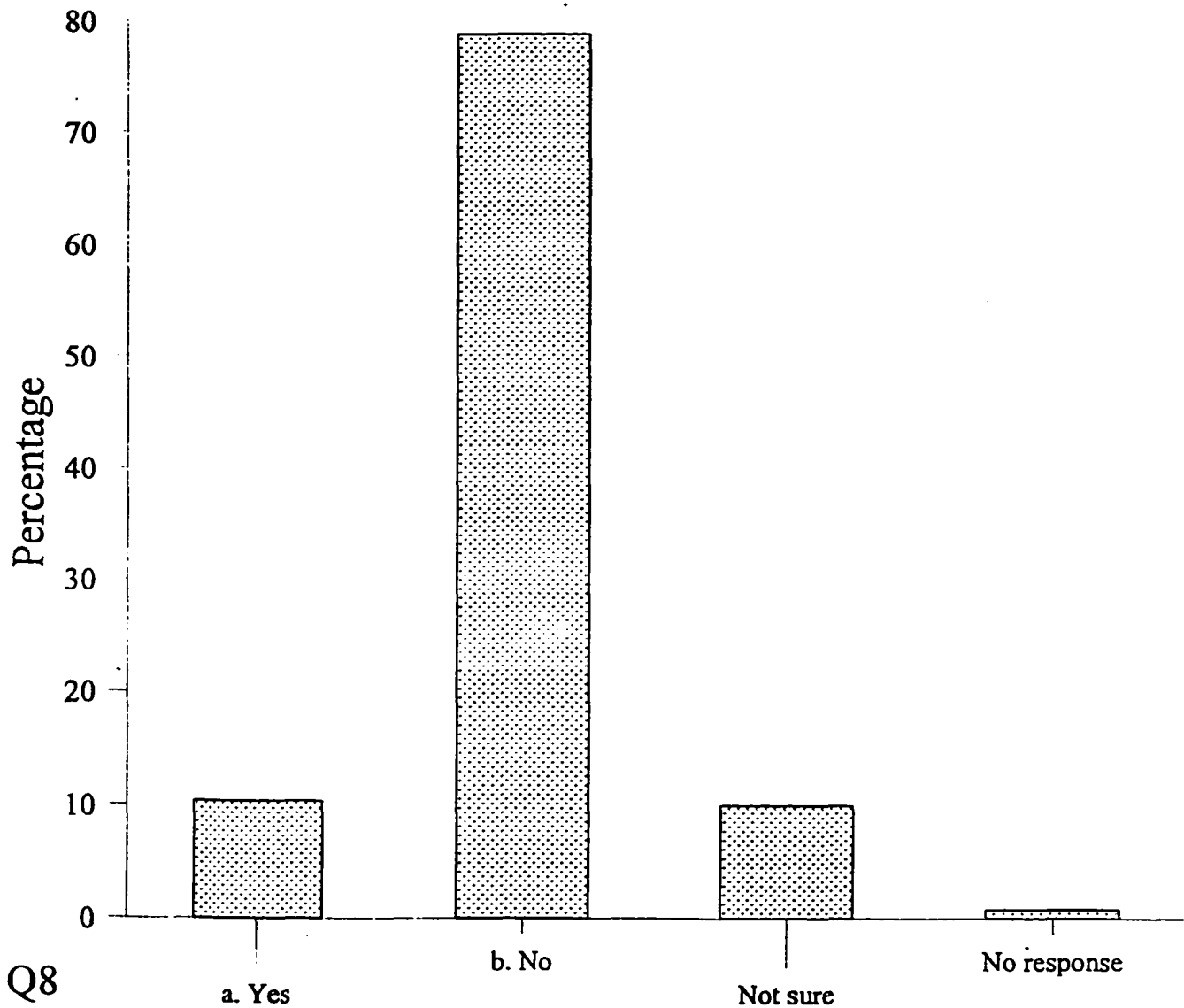
Question 9 Have television shows (comedy, drama, variety) had a positive or negative impact on American contemporary society?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Mainly positive	17	6.8	6.8
b. Mainly negative	177	71.1	71.1
c. Not sure	53	21.3	21.3
No response	2	0.8	0.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 10 When attempting to decide for whom to vote in a particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?

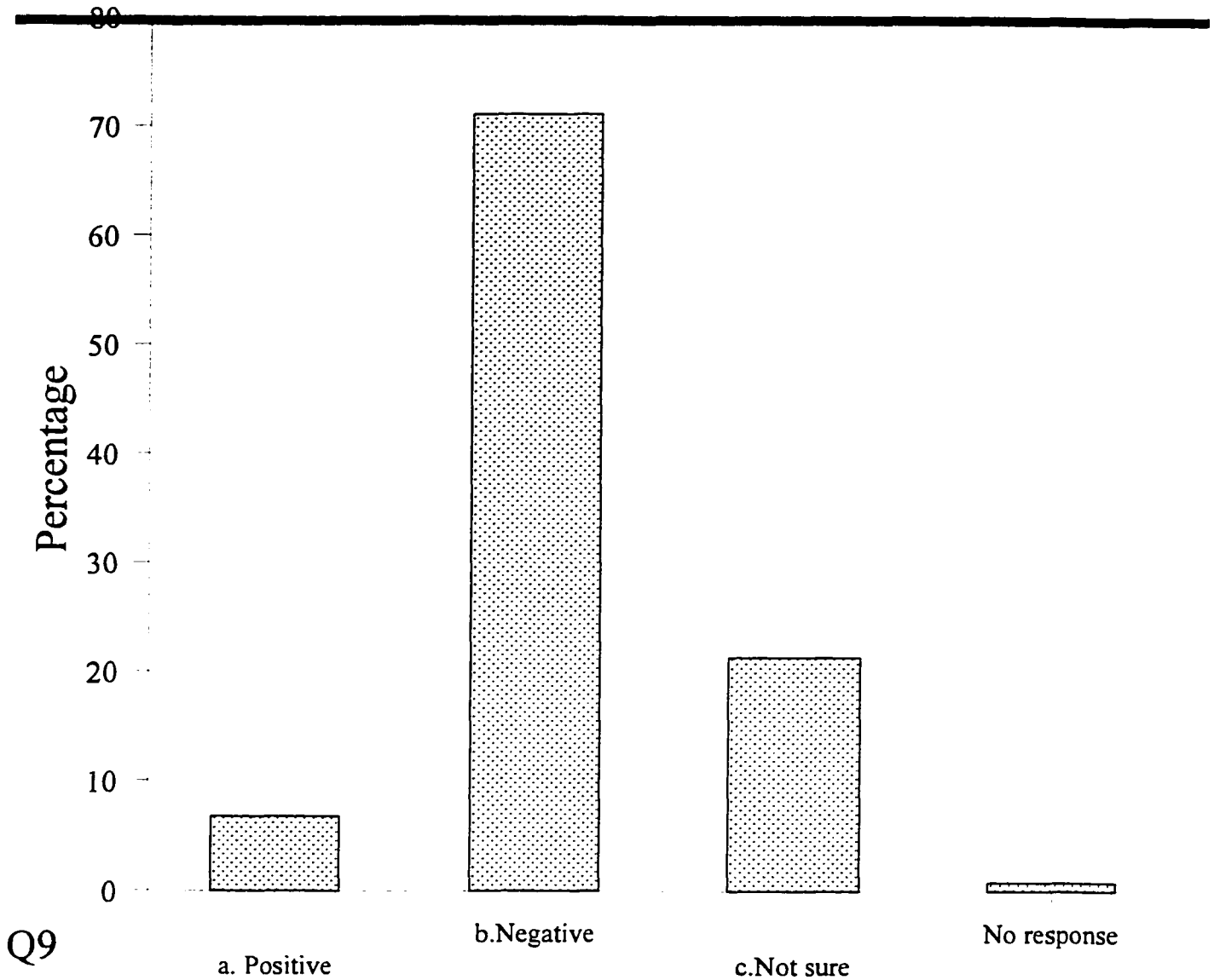
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Yes	119	47.8	47.8
b. No	107	43.0	43.0
c. Not sure	21	8.4	8.4
No response	2	0.8	0.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



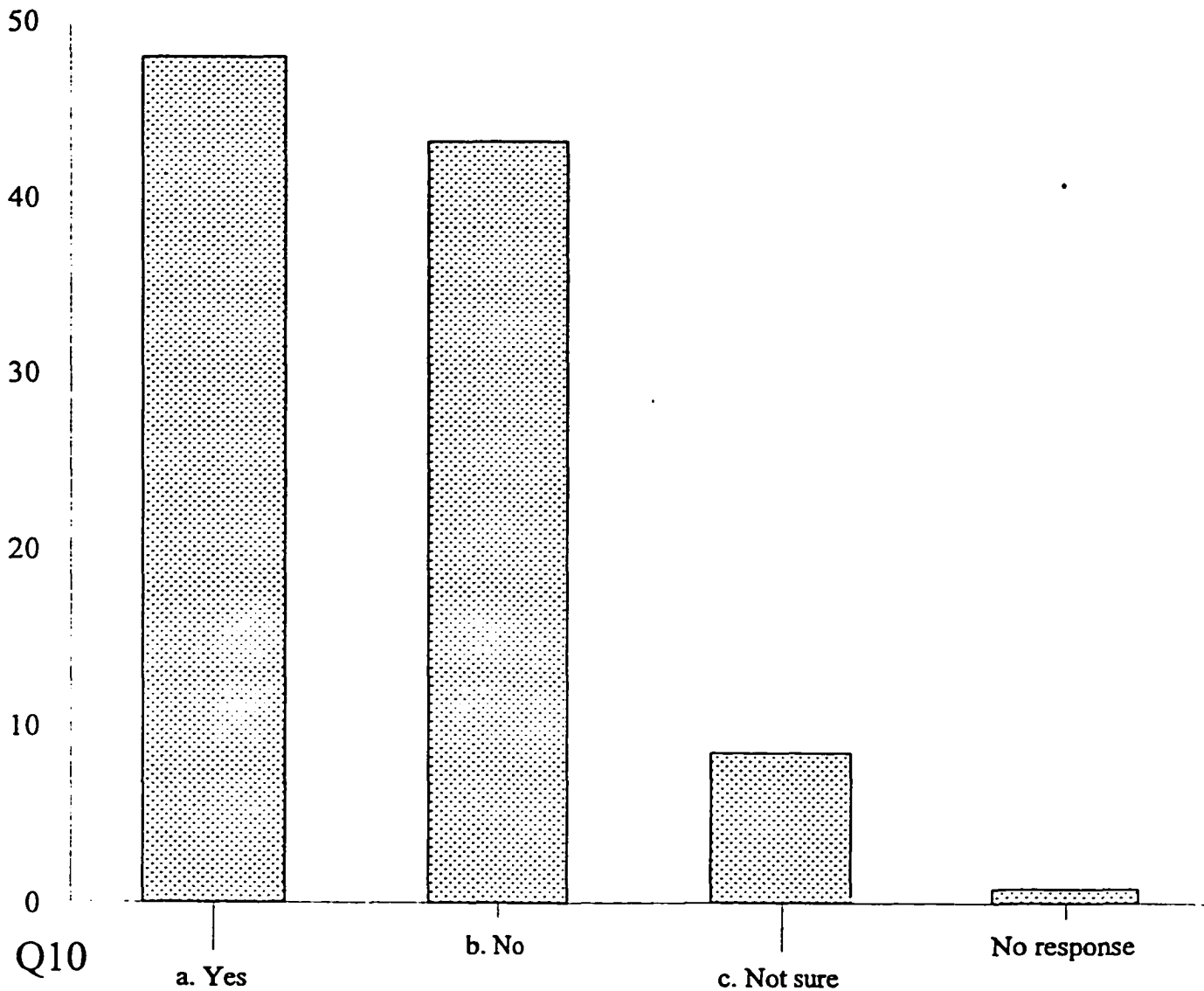
- Q8. Do you believe that television shows (comedy, drama, variety) provide a realistic portrayal of American contemporary society?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q9. Have television shows (comedy, drama, variety) had a positive or negative impact on American contemporary society?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in a particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?

Question 11 (A) Do you watch partisan commercials?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Yes	149	59.8	59.8
b. No	85	34.1	34.1
No response	15	6.0	6.0
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 11 (B) Do you watch political speeches by individual candidates?

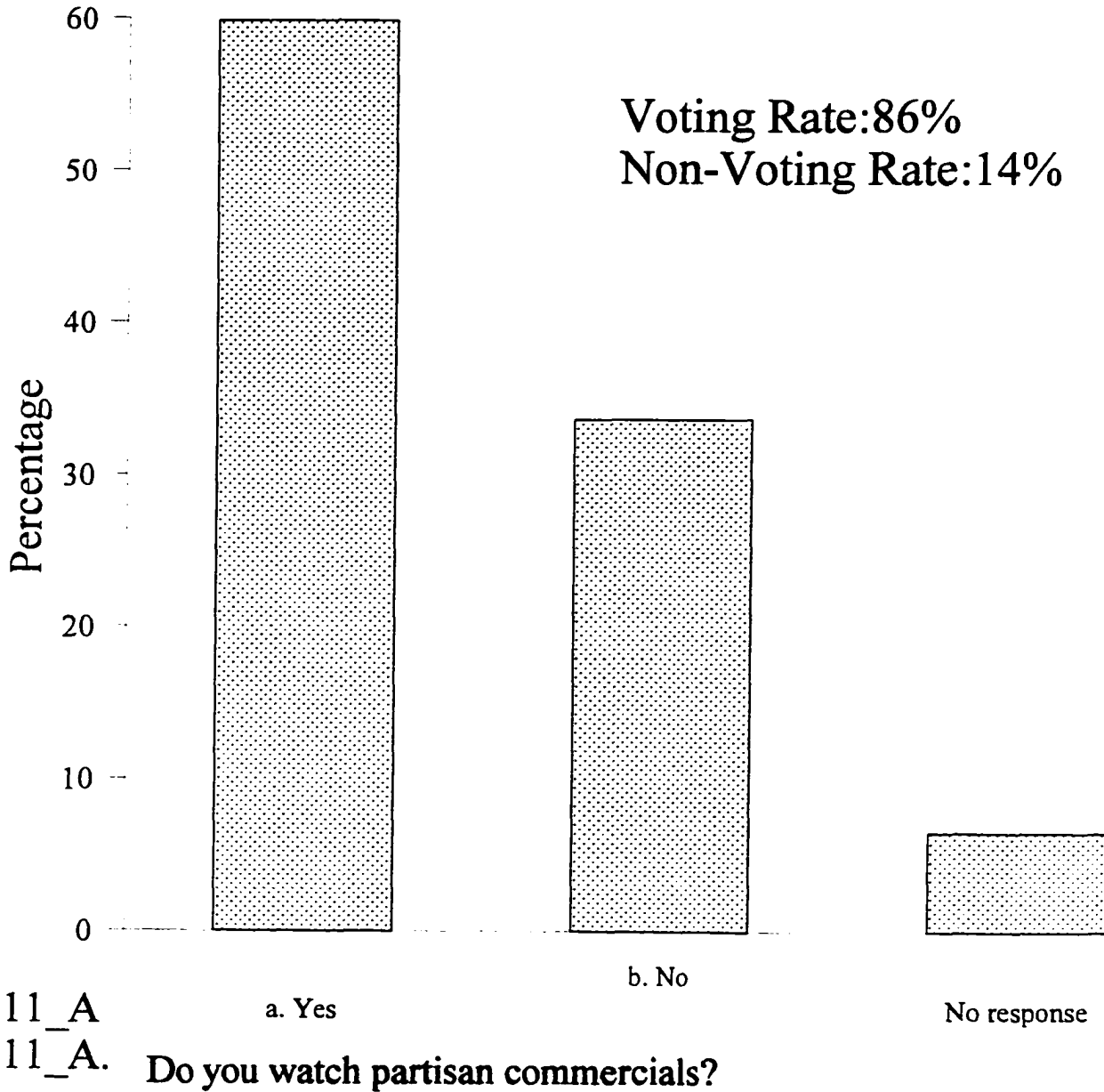
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Yes	209	83.9	83.9
b. No	33	13.3	13.3
No response	7	2.8	2.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 11 (C) Do you watch debates between principal candidates?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Yes	222	89.2	89.2
b. No	21	8.4	8.4
No response	6	2.4	2.4
Total	249	100.0	100.0

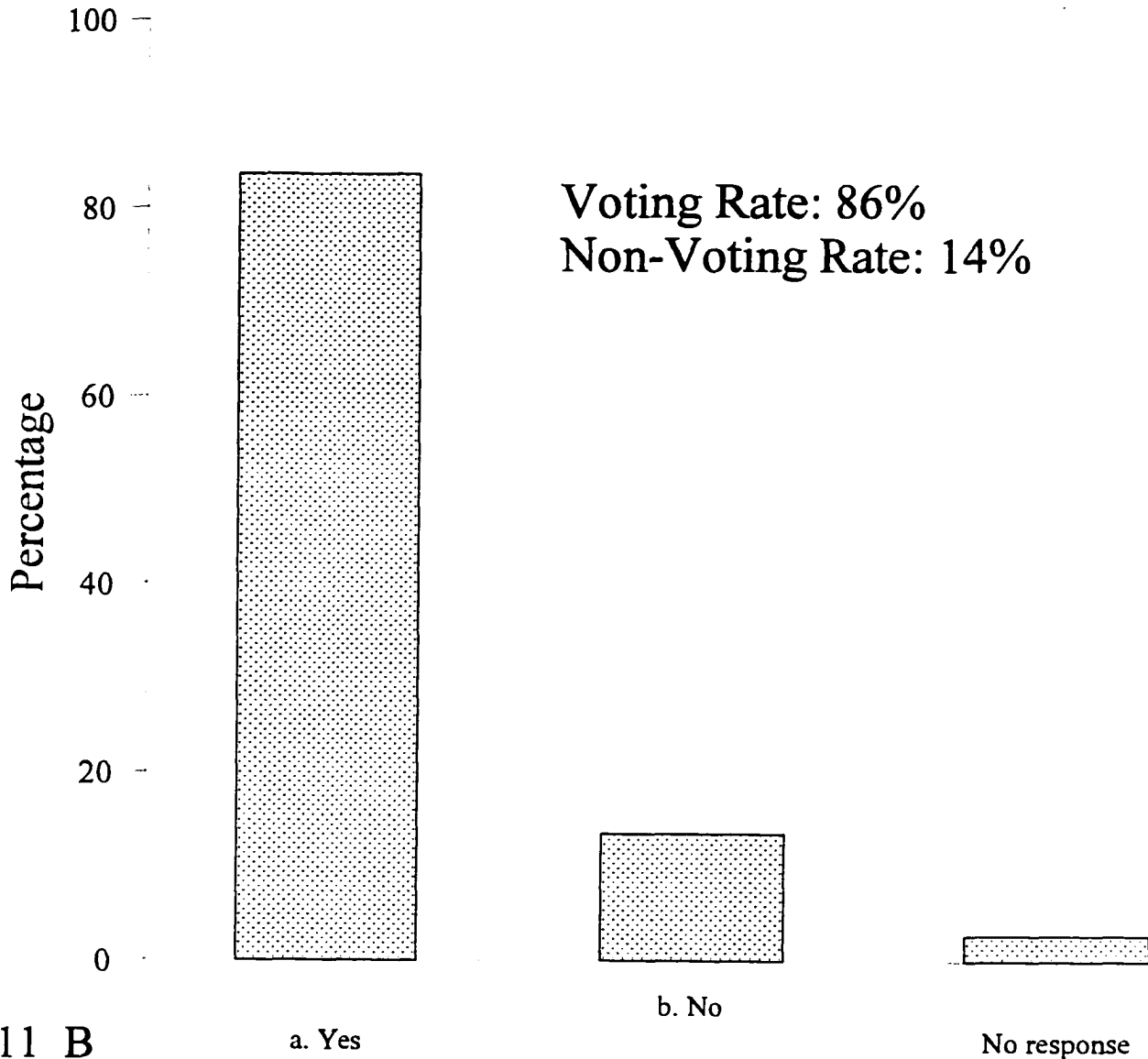
IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The following question concerns the distribution of people who vote



IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The following question concerns the distribution of people who vote



Q11_B

a. Yes

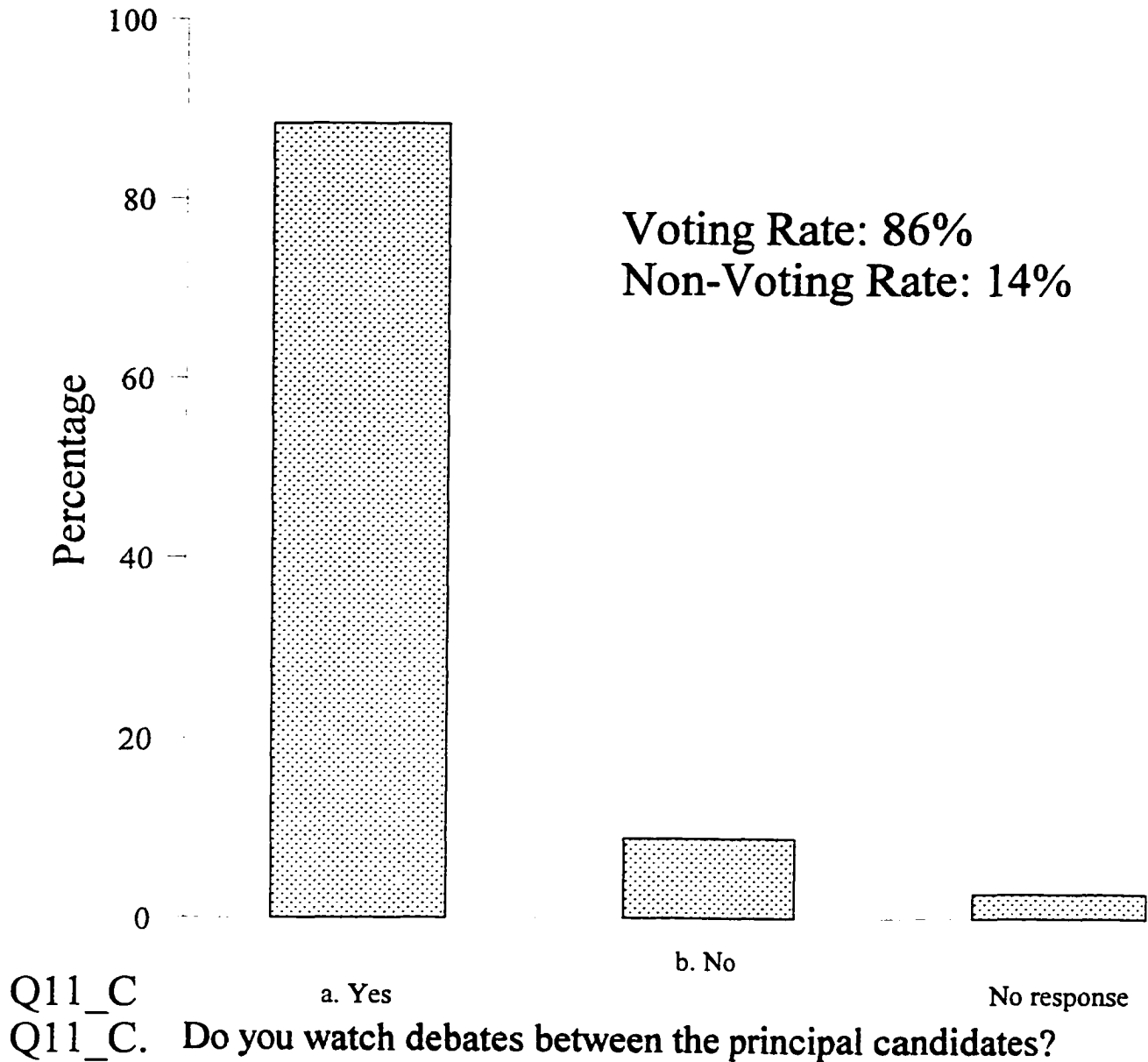
b. No

No response

Q11_B. Do you watch political speeches by individual candidates?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The following question concerns the distribution of people who vote



Question 11 (D) Do you watch political conventions?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Yes	110	44.2	44.2
b. No	127	51.0	51.0
No response	12	4.8	4.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 12 Which information source do you consider the most objective and unbiased in providing political coverage?

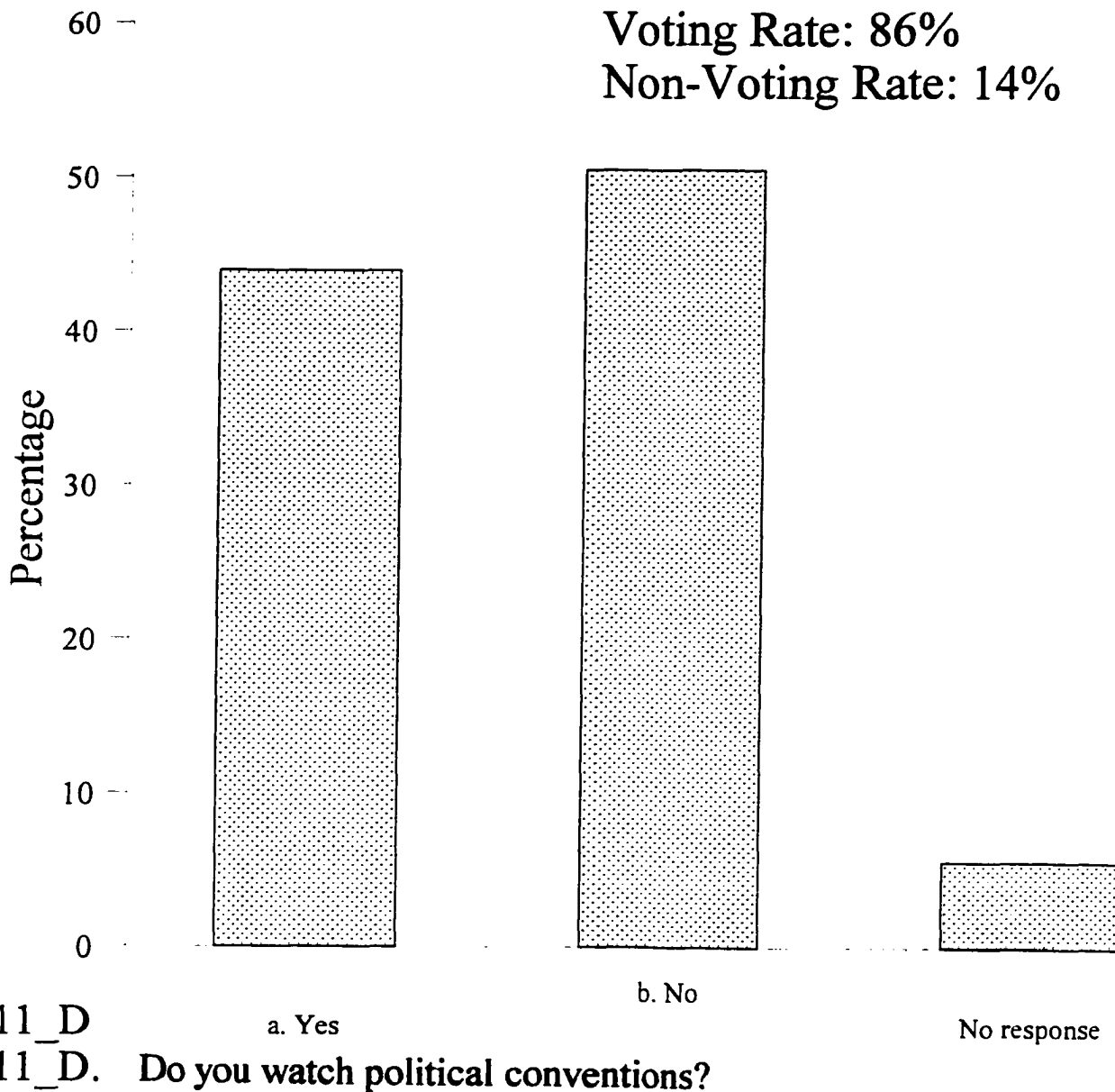
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Television Network News	48	19.3	19.3
b. Cable News Network	89	35.7	35.7
c. Public Broadcasting Svc	55	22.1	22.1
d. Radio Talk Shows	14	5.6	5.6
e. Newspapers/Magazines	32	12.9	12.9
No response	11	4.4	4.4
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 13 In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

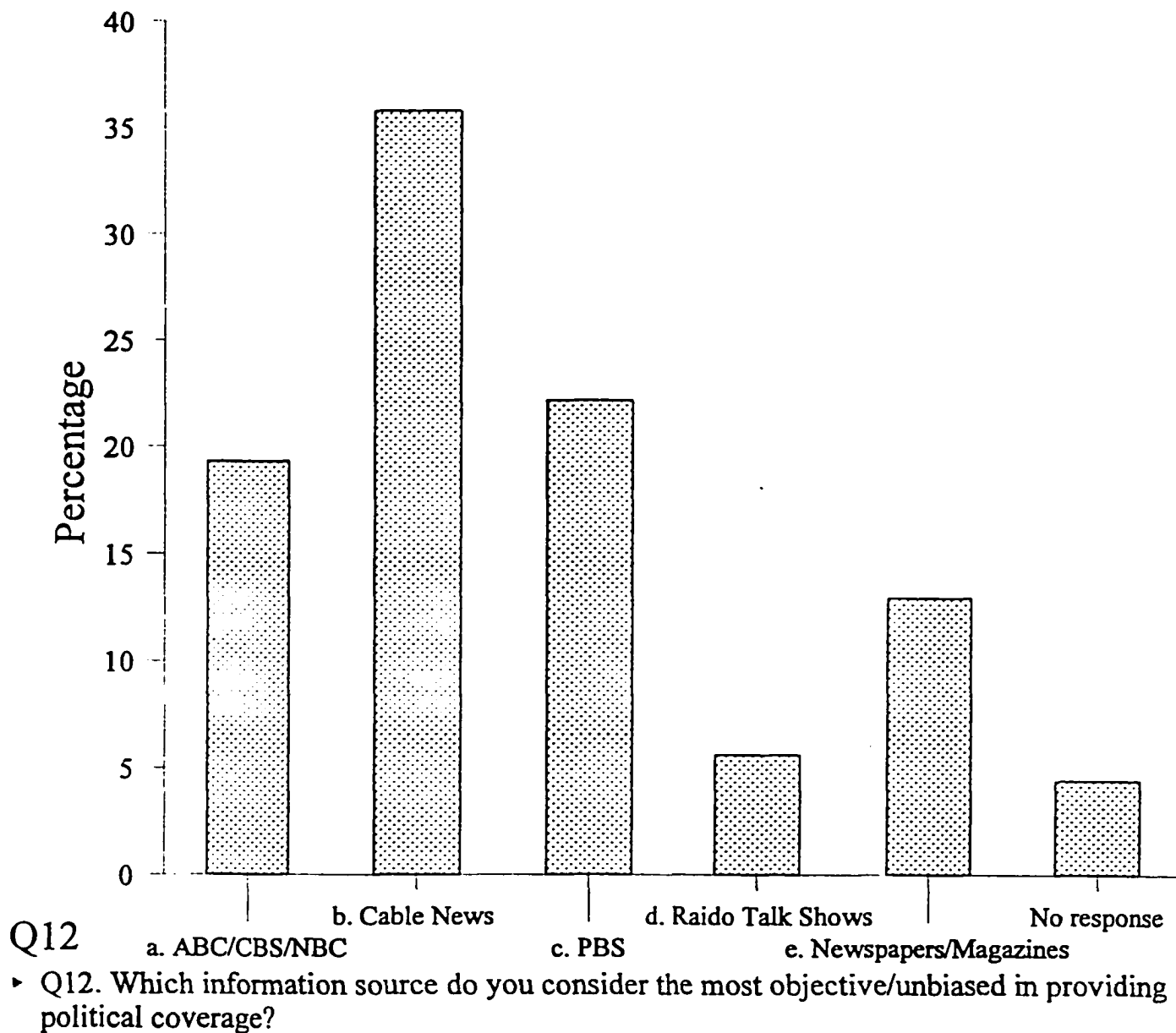
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Positive	97	39.0	39.0
b. Negative	130	52.2	52.2
c. No real effect	18	7.2	7.2
No response	4	1.6	1.6
Total	249	100.0	100.0

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

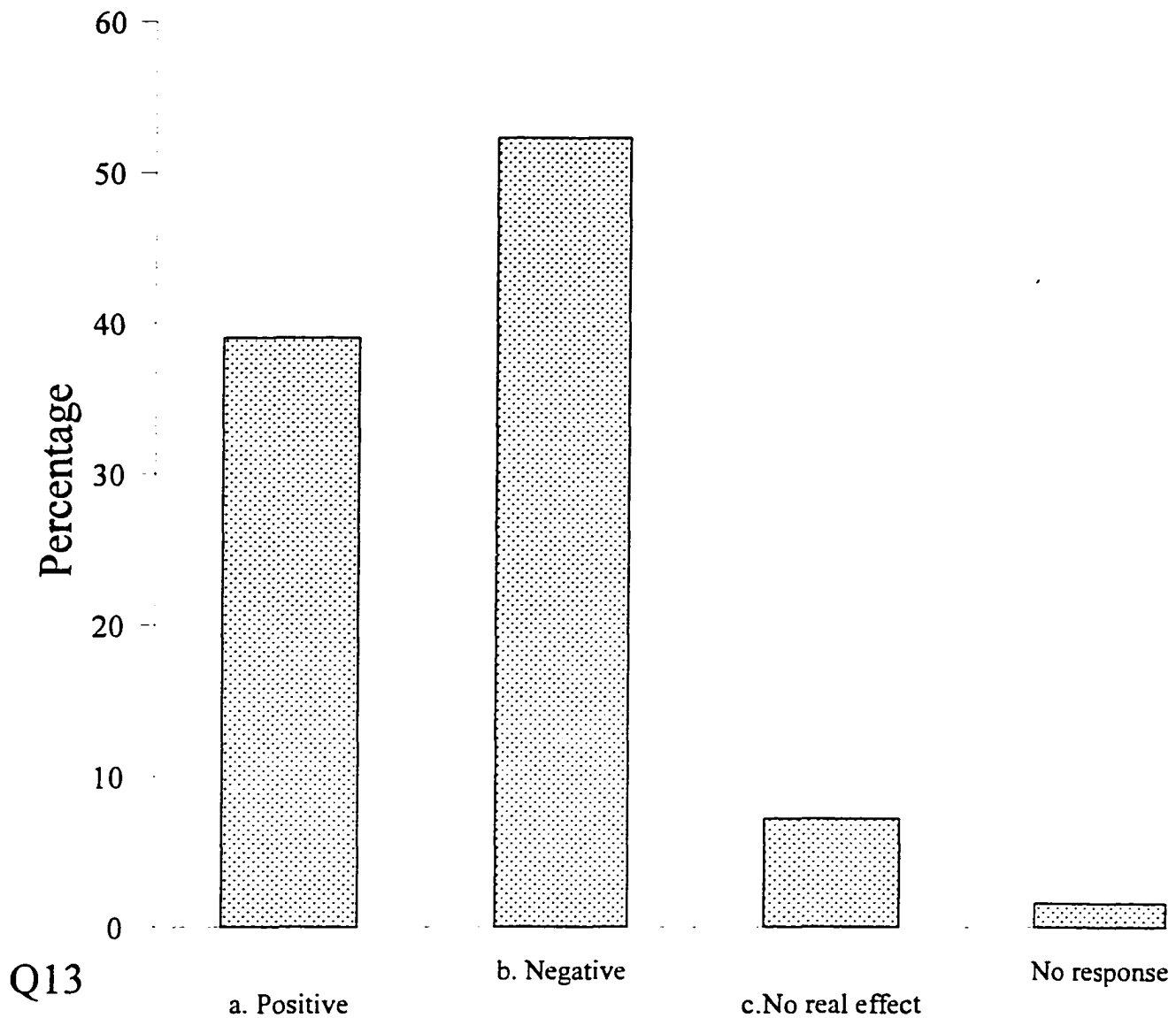
The following question concerns the distribution of people who vote



IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

Question 14 In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be most accurate?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Too much time	84	33.7	33.7
b. Not enough time	36	14.5	14.5
c. Time provided seems adequate	126	50.6	50.6
No response	3	1.2	1.2
Total	249	100.0	100.0

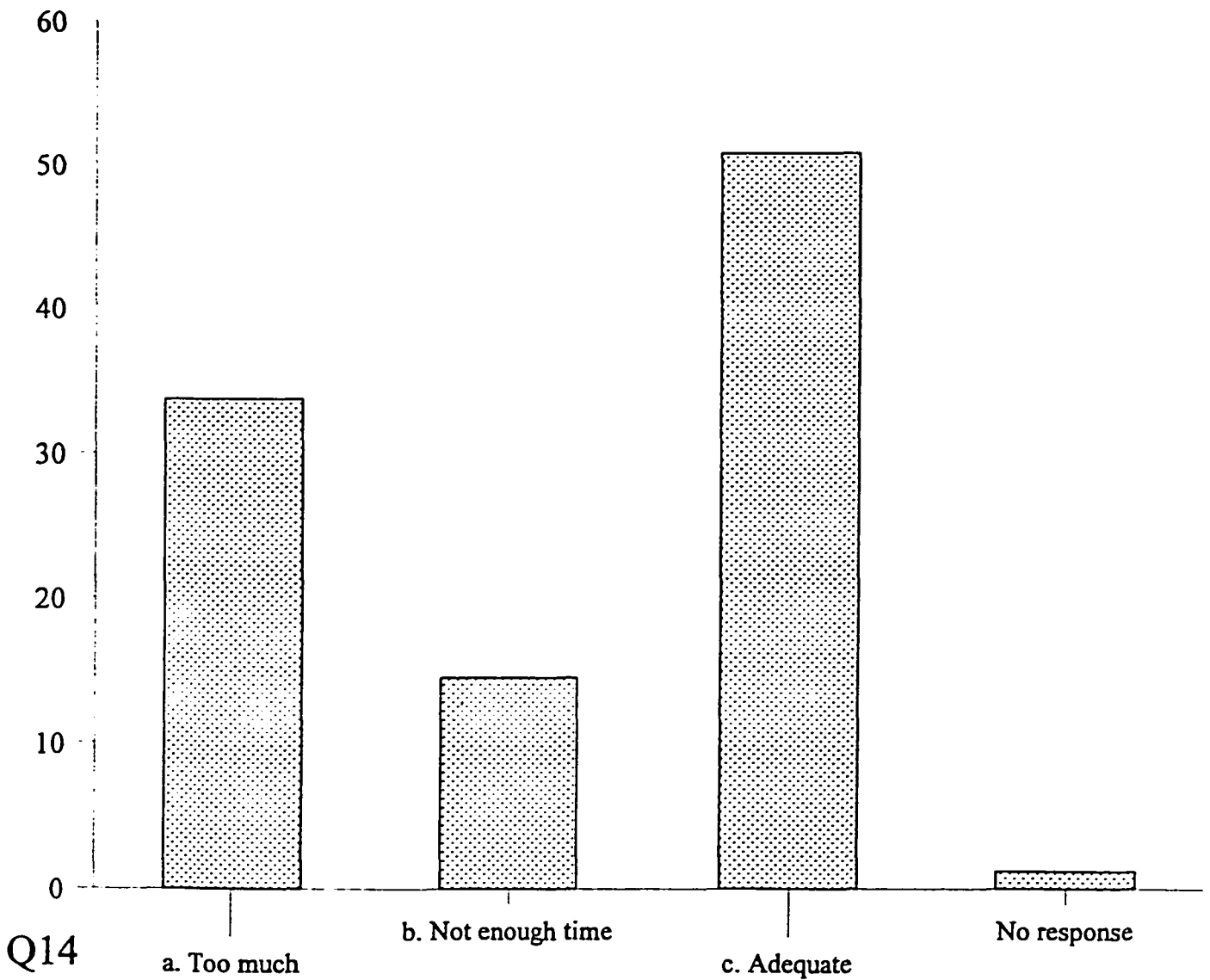
Question 15 Do you believe that the technological advances in communications (e.g., satellite, linkage, videotape, cable television, etc.) have proved to be beneficial or harmful to American society?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. Mostly beneficial	73	29.3	29.3
b. Somewhat beneficial	49	19.7	19.7
c. mostly Harmful	12	4.8	4.8
d. Somewhat harmful	7	2.8	2.8
e. A mixture of benefit/harm	106	42.6	42.6
No response	2	0.8	0.8
Total	249	100.0	100.0

Question 16 Does the cast amount of coverage provided by the electronic media (television/radio) on a particular story make it more or less difficult to understand the information and to analyze it?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
a. More difficult to absorb	54	21.7	21.7
b. Less difficult to absorb	117	47.0	47.0
c. Makes little difference	74	29.7	29.7
No response	4	1.6	1.6
Total	249	100.0	100.0

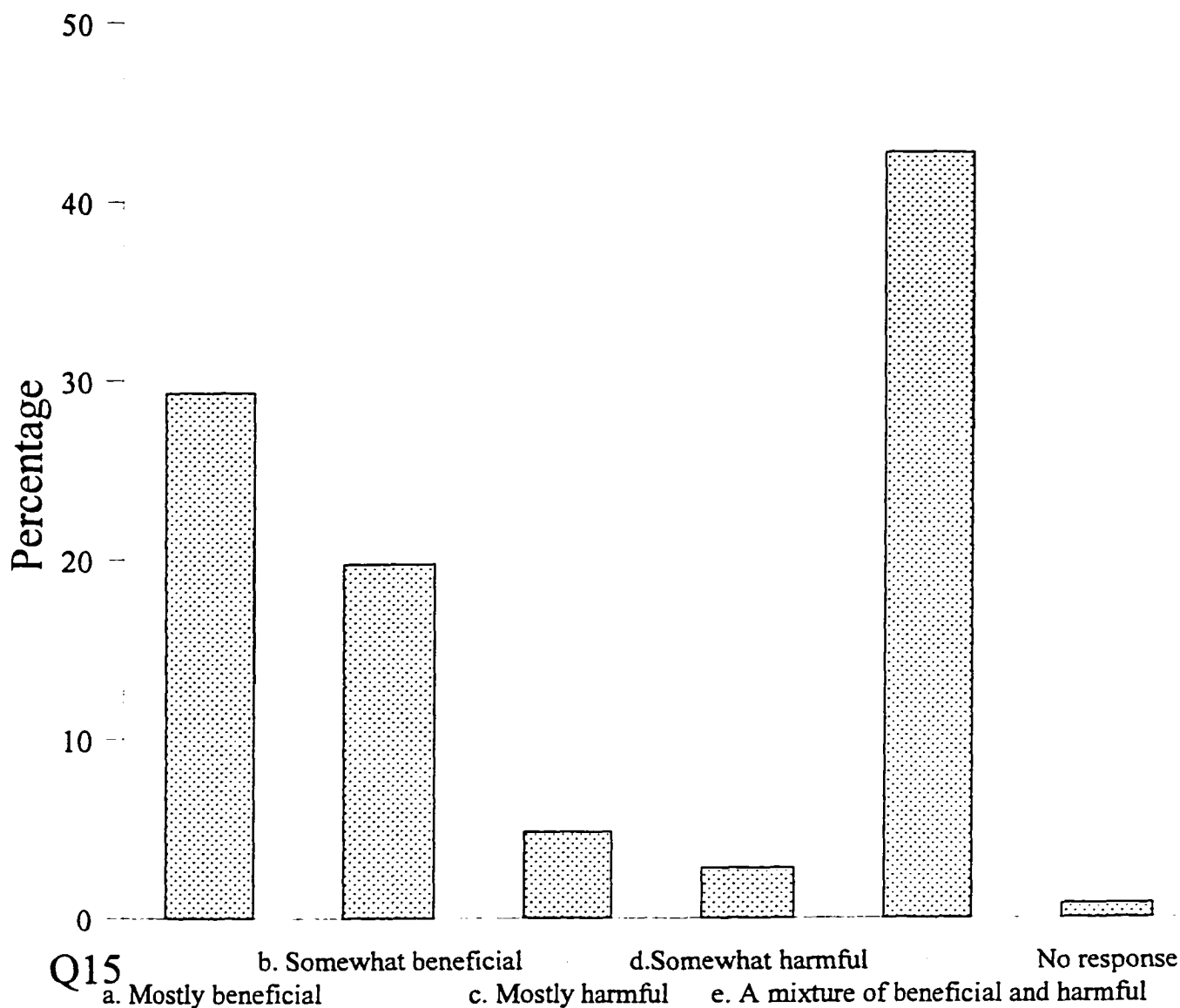
IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q14

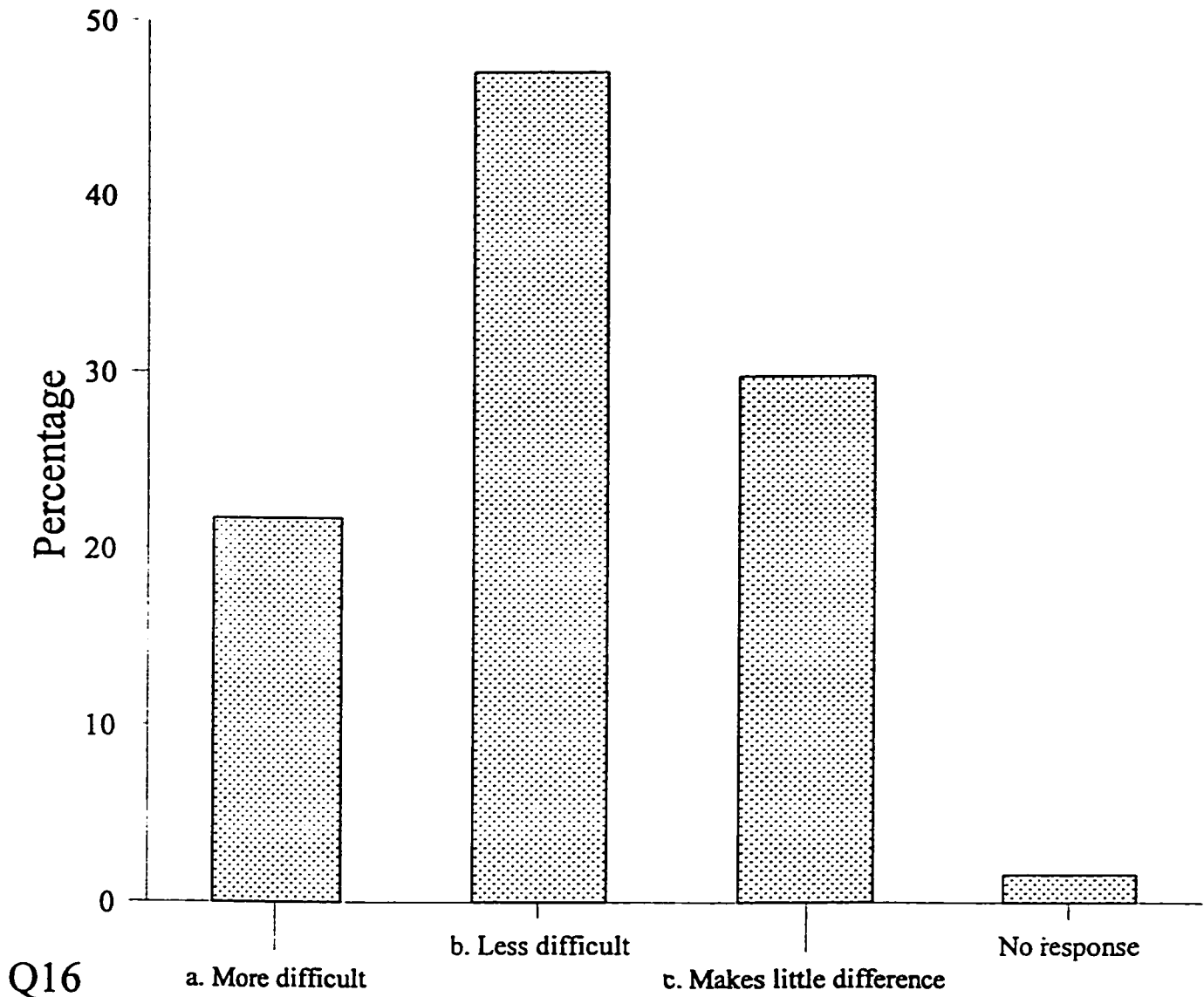
- Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q15. Do you believe that the technological advances in communication (e.g., satellite linkage, videotape, cable, television, etc.) have proved to be beneficial or harmful to American society?

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q16. Does the vast amount of coverage provided by the media (television/radio) on a particular story make it more or less difficult to understand the information and to analyze it adequately?

Summary of Results by Research Questions

Note: This section deals with the two major question addressed by this dissertation, namely, which medium voters prefer and what they think of TV as a source of political information. This section does not deal with the 16 questions of the voter survey.

Research Question #1: For those who vote, what is the medium of choice for information concerning presidential elections?

The survey results of the dissertation sample (as well as the Pew Survey) strongly support the conclusion that, for Americans who vote, television is the primary source of information about presidential candidates and campaigns. Regardless of age, income, education, gender or political affiliation, of the 86% of the survey participants who voted in the 1992 election, 61% depended on television for political news. However, when seeking in-depth coverage, the survey respondents stated that they depended on the newspaper more than television (52% to 31%). This results contrasts with the Pew Survey where, when asked to choose between two sources of political information, 81% of respondents chose television while 48% opted for the newspaper.

Nearly two-thirds of the survey respondents replied that they spent between 5 to 10 hours weekly watching TV news. It should be further noted that a plurality of participants from the dissertation sample (45% as compared to the Pew Survey 42%) watched the traditional network television newscasts. Survey respondents also watched other political TV featuring national conventions (44%), partisan commercials (60%), political speeches (84%), and presidential debates (89%). Finally, almost half of these sample voters (46%) acknowledged that TV helped decide their vote (without necessarily being their sole means of doing so).

Appendix C (pages 175 to 198) contains a further series of statistical figures and charts that provide visual representation of the data garnered from survey questions pertaining to research question one.

Research Question #2: What do people who rely upon television as a source of information relating to presidential elections think about the quality, credibility, and value of the information being conveyed to them?

This question elicited some interesting answers from survey participants. Although most depended on television for information, a substantial number expressed strong reservations about the medium. The quality of political television coverage over the last decade is thought to have deteriorated according to most respondents (52%), who stated that TV's effect on the political process has been negative. Among those who stated that television did not influence their voting decision, almost two-thirds (64%) said that the quality of political coverage had decreased and that the effect of TV on the political process was negative.

Some interesting anomalies were evident in the results. Among the 61% of respondents who stated that television was their primary news source, over half (57%) said that the major networks were the most trustworthy source. At the same time, however, 30% indicated that CNN was the least biased as compared to 23% for the networks. Among respondents who claimed that TV influenced their vote, a similar discrepancy was noted. Network news was chosen as the most valuable (56% for the networks vs. 29% for CNN) while CNN was seen as most objective in coverage (39% for CNN compared to 25% for the networks). Of further significance, among the respondents who watched political speeches, commercials, the conventions, or the debates, only 44% chose the networks as providing the best information while affirming (36% to 19% for the networks) that CNN was the most unbiased source of facts. According to the Pew Survey, CNN was watched regularly and was rated as more credible by twice as many men as women, which was also true of older persons and better educated persons. This set of differences seems to suggest that the more interested voters were in following the presidential campaign, the lower their esteem for the traditional networks and the higher their trust in CNN. It is important to note, however, that

the above figures refer to TV choices exclusively. When all media are considered, newspapers are still preferred for in-depth coverage

When asked about the sufficiency of time devoted by TV to political coverage, fewer than half of those claiming that television did not influence their vote (42%) also stated that too much coverage was devoted to elections. Apparently, this group preferred other means of gaining information because, among those who were influenced by TV, only a quarter believed that the time devoted to politics was excessive. Among the respondents in the retrospective assessment, the overwhelming majority (85%) stated that in the election campaign TV had simply reinforced their decision for whom to vote. This group thought that, while the time devoted to political coverage was sufficient, providing free TV time to the major party candidates would "level the playing field" and lessen the dependence on huge campaign contributions.

Appendix D (pages 199 to 261) contains the statistical data and charts pertaining to research question two.

CHAPTER 5
CURRENT CRITIQUES ON THE PLACE OF
TELEVISION IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The following pages deal with the two major research questions on voters' medium of choice for information in a presidential election and their opinion of the quality of this political information. To help answer these key questions, a questionnaire survey examines current definitions of political-media issues and the efforts expended to make sense out of these issues. The results of the survey questionnaire and the interview responses from the retrospective assessment are then evaluated together with the journalistic critiques to provide interpretations and conclusions.

An analysis of the questionnaire data reveals rather convincingly that television is now the medium of choice for acquiring information during a presidential campaign. Despite their dependence on TV, however, the survey participants express reservations about the quality of the information being conveyed, especially when examined in the context of current political-media issues. Relevant research findings and historical analysis are used to supplement, to amplify, or to reinforce the survey results.

From both a qualitative and quantitative perspective, this chapter explores television's role as the primary dispenser of political information while simultaneously delving into some of the shortcomings often attributed to this medium. It is concerned with why people watch, what they watch, and whether what they watch influences their electoral decisions. Specific issues discussed include: the value, credibility, and objectivity of network news; the impact of TV advertising on campaign financing; and the rise of the "alternative media." Attention is also paid to societal changes and whether television may have initiated or expedited these changes and, by so doing, affected the political process.

Significant Findings

Television as Primary Information Source for Political Information

For a majority of survey participants (61%), television was the primary source of political information among those who voted in the 1992 presidential election. By way of contrast, the Pew Survey reported the much higher figure of 81%. Of those who depend on television for election news, almost half (45%) of the survey respondents preferred the traditional networks ABC, CBS, and NBC. (The Pew Survey reported this figure as 48%.) In general, the survey results indicated that well-educated, generally middle-class voters acquired their political campaign information from TV. The Pew Survey also found this to be true for the public at large, and possibly a matter of habit. Over years, millions of families routinely tuned in to the evening news, and many viewers had a preference for a specific anchorman. Since watching television is not a demanding discipline requiring mental agility, it becomes a pleasant way to obtain easily digestible news in a short time. This reason for watching TV has become an important factor, given the increasingly frenetic tempo of American lives.

One can cite obvious disadvantages, however, in viewing TV news as the sole or primary basis of crucial decisions. In an election campaign, as well as in other areas, information on television often lacks depth or nuance. Former ABC Producer Danny Schechter is quite critical of what television actually conveys and of its negative impact on American culture:

When it treats reality, television news wants to be believed, seen as conveying truth by upholding objectivity. Yet all too often it equates empty-mindedness with open-mindedness. Media gatekeepers in our commercial culture invariably screen out perspectives that challenge the conventional wisdom. By presenting news and media as a clean, uncomplicated, top-down, inaccessible, linear, soundbite continuum, public relations artists prevent individuals who have independent feelings from getting any positive feedback from the world around them. (Schechter 1997, 32-33)

TV provides information, but this form of knowledge is increasingly transitory. No sooner is the message completed than it gets criticized, pulled apart, and largely discarded. No information is ever quite adequate to the situation. Most survey respondents in the retrospective assessment stated that they supplement television news by recourse to other sources, usually the newspaper.

On evening newscasts, it is obvious that the amount of news conveyed is relatively small. Selection of the stories to feature in the mere 23 minutes of airtime news is a highly arbitrary process depending as it does on the producer's personal bias and the company's strategy for maintaining ratings and profit. In reality, the news agenda is set by the decision of the combined media: television, radio, and the press. The media inadvertently set the agenda according to the way they evaluate news. As long as most journalists believe that "news" means what affects most people—emotionally, intellectually, or economically—they are going to cover those stories. The problem was addressed by Marvin Kalb, Director of the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center at Harvard University, who remarked that television no longer provides the people with the news they ought to know but with the news that they want to know. Kalb attributed the change in what determines news primarily to competitive and financial concerns (Fox Cable News, 22 Jul 1997).

Walter Cronkite once observed that all the words in a half-hour news broadcast barely equal two-thirds of a standard newspaper page (1996, 375). This restriction, an inherent condition of television news programming, leads to the compression of facts, omission of details, and other distortions of the story. In fact, the single most critical problem with television news is the distortion by compression—lack of complete analyses—and this clearly affects reporting on politics and public policy. Both the reporter and the topic may fall victim to soundbite editing. Somewhat ironically, however, it needs to be noted that a sensational story such as the Jennifer Flowers' case often receives more time than it deserves. Nevertheless, there is the problem of limited

time with most stories. The correspondent seeks to focus upon a final summation to make some sense of the situation, but it often sounds like an editorial judgment. When a lengthy accusation concludes with the explanation that a spokesman denied the charges, the story leaves an unfair impression. A TV reporter may repeat a newspaper story that is based on informed sources, but, according to Cronkite, the newspaper story has numerous qualifiers and extensive background information that the time-shy newscast omits (1996, 376). Consequently, in many cases, the American voters who depend upon television often are denied the data needed to make informed choices.

As a result of compression, the "sound bite" technique remains an ingrained feature of political reporting. For example, the average block of uninterrupted speech delivered by a presidential candidate on any of the three major network newscasts in 1988 was 9.8 seconds. Cronkite complains that this situation has never been corrected: "After the networks promised to do better in 1992, the average dropped to a mere 8.2 seconds. Even more troublesome, Dr. Kiku Adatto's study showed that in 1988 never once was a candidate given one minute of uninterrupted air time on an evening TV newscast. The situation did not improve in 1992" (Cronkite 1996, 376).

Besides the brief time allotment to candidates' statements, television news departments rarely provide any historical perspective on a current presidential campaign. Without that background, the viewers cannot appreciate the evolution of the political process or place the current election contest in proper context. In addition, commercial TV is driven by profits and ratings. Budget concerns and competitors force the networks to target the largest possible audience of potential viewers, or more bluntly, to make the news palatable to the common mass of viewers. The shortcomings of this approach are readily apparent: current TV journalism is inadequate to the task of communicating sophisticated information during national elections. As Cronkite notes, "Those who get most of their news from television probably are not getting enough information to

intelligently exercise their voting franchise in a democratic system" (Cronkite 1996, 380).

Despite the deficiencies of television news, however, most American voters still are confident that the information they receive is adequate to make an enlightened electoral decision. According to a national survey by The Washington Post, "A majority of voters said they were sufficiently knowledgeable about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice on election day even though they knew no more about how the candidates stood on key issues when they voted than they did when the fall campaign began" (15 November 1996, A14). This attitude is unfortunate because, as Thomas Jefferson remarked, an informed citizenry is essential to the success of a democracy (Seldes 208). In the 1990s, the fact that most citizens believe that they are well informed when they are not, could create a situation that vitiates the political process.

By contrast, a clear majority (16 out of 20) of those interviewed in the retrospective assessment disclosed that they were well informed about the campaigns because they relied on other sources of information besides TV. Still, television is a national habit and, whatever its faults, a great deal of time is spent watching TV news on a daily basis. The Pew Survey estimates that 59% of Americans expend at least one hour watching television news each day (1996, 1). In a society where time is always limited, it seems reasonable to argue that the hours watching TV news could probably be spent more profitably otherwise. Quality time could be spent reading newspapers or news magazines, participating in political discussions, or joining political organizations. Cronkite concurs in this respect, "We must teach them [voters], that to be fully informed, one must go to good newspapers, weekly newsmagazines, opinion journals, books and, increasingly, the Internet, as well as television" (1996, 380). With increased political involvement by ordinary citizens, the political activist's dominant role might diminish. An increase in citizen involvement would strengthen the democratic process, and many negatives associated with TV coverage of political campaigns could be minimized. A

better balance of political news would be derived from many sources, and personal involvement in political discourse at the community level could most likely increase.

Based on the questionnaire results submitted, most respondents seeking information about presidential candidates do not rely solely on the evening news or news conferences and interviews. The survey participants insisted that they looked at a variety of television political programs, including conventions, debates, speeches, and commercials. However, those wishing a full view of the conventions with any expectation of comprehension have been limited to C-SPAN or CNN. Primarily because the conventions are now too "staged," gavel-to-gavel coverage formerly provided by the networks has been replaced by a few hours of snapshots and soundbites where party luminaries vie with rapid commentary by reporters or anchorman analysts. Only the acceptance speeches by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates are carried in full, but otherwise a viewer without cable TV would find it difficult to understand what is actually occurring at the podium or on the convention floor.

On the other hand, public interest in the debates by national candidates has continued unabated since the Kennedy-Nixon confrontation was carried live on both radio and television in 1960. According to Splaine, ratings for these television debates have remained consistently high (1995, 213). Consequently, the networks continue to provide full coverage of these four-year contests, and in 1992 an estimated 97 million persons (and 86% of the survey participants) witnessed the final Bush-Clinton-Perot debate. Despite criticism over format details and the lack of polemical fireworks, these debates provided a substantive opportunity, from visual and personal perspectives, for the public to size up the candidates and understand the issues. Debate coverage is an excellent example of how well television can communicate the essence of a political campaign and contribute positively to political education by so doing. In the debate format, the focus is on what the candidates believe in rather than on what pundits have to

say about them. One drawback in a vast national election is that such debates represent only a small fraction of the political contribution of television.

Given that a large majority of survey respondents affirmed that they watched political speeches and commercials—all 20 interviewed in the retrospective assessment did so—it is important to examine just what they are watching. The candidates' staffs prepare a series of 20 to 60 second spot advertisements that praise their candidate, berate the opponent, or employ some combination of both. These "spots" are created to sell the candidate via slogans and sound bites. Colleagues or supporters can be brought in to attack opponents, thus sparing the presidential candidate that distasteful role. During the 1992 campaign, except for the half-hour TV addresses paid for by Perot, hardly any lengthy candidate appearances were scheduled that would allow voters to assess the candidates or evaluate the issues. This strategy was vastly different from the 1952 campaign when both candidates were showcased in numerous 30 minute speeches. These were usually held in prime time so that the candidates could present themselves and their platforms directly to the American electorate. Now thoughtful speeches are being supplanted by political "infomercials," which are basically partisan political programming. For interested citizens, there is virtually nothing to be gained by tuning in to this type of political advertising. Kathleen Jamieson complains:

Television ads have seized upon votes cast by the opposition candidate and sundered them from context, resurrected political positions from the distant past and interpreted legislative moves as sweeping endorsements of unpopular positions. News alone cannot adequately protect the public from deception. (Jamieson 1992, xix and xxii)

Additional critical attention should be applied to the whole subject of political advertising. In his television feature, "The 30-Second Presidency," Bill Moyers opens his narration by asking three questions: "Have you ever stopped to think when you pull that lever what influenced your vote? What made you choose one presidential candidate over another? What did you know about your choice and how did you know it?" (1984) Here

Moyers is clearly implying that the choice of a candidate depends on sound information or opinion. For many voters, their choice is heavily influenced by political commercials. He is not, however, suggesting that "political spots" undermine democracy: "In a way, they serve democracy by reaching more people in a single instant than a whistle stop campaign ever did or could--or a speech on a stump" (Ibid., 1984). He explains, however, that spots do not represent the last word. News reports, intelligent commentaries, the opponent's views, and a person's own common sense help measure a candidate's claims. Moyers was nonetheless critical of this campaign tool:

If political spots don't undermine democracy, they trivialize its conversation. They reduce issues to black and white. They are frequently vague, and they can be misleading (deliberately or unwittingly). Political advertising tends to be an expensive and amusing sideshow to the real business of government, one more diversion in the field of entertainment we all now live in. (1984)

Given the faults previously noted in contemporary political programming, it is disconcerting to realize that nearly half (48%) of the survey participants affirmed that television has had a significant impact on their eventual electoral decision. This was approximately the same percentage (50%) in the retrospective assessment. The problem is further compounded by those whose sole source of campaign news was the television screen, as they were possibly basing their voting choices on information that was often superficial or seriously flawed. Former Senator Warren Rudman, speaking at Harvard University in 1992, commented on this deficiency: "Television news has left our citizens poorly informed to respond in a way equal to the challenges we now face. On complex issues, our primary news source [television] leaves our democracy disabled" (1992, 14).

The specter of an ill-advised electorate controlling American democracy, is worrisome. Reporter Richard Morin commented recently in the Washington Post, "What is even more troublesome is that these voters are often unaware of their plight; in fact, many are of the opinion that the information made available to them has prepared them well for making a rational choice." (15 November 1996, A1). As Cronkite warns, "The

public seems to sense [a problem], but does it really understand? The nation whose population depends on the explosively compressed headline service of television news can expect to be exploited by [those] who prey upon the semi-informed" (1996, 380). When asked if TV had changed politics and society, political specialist Tony Schwartz responded in this fashion:

TV is one of the most important things in changing and restructuring our lives. TV has restructured the way we shop, the way we learn, the way we entertain ourselves. All the important things in our lives have been restructured by television. [Insofar as politics is concerned] political parties are no longer a major communications force in politics—the networks are. You might say that the three parties are ABC, CBS, and NBC. (PBS "The 30-Second Presidency," 1984)

While television was their primary source for campaign coverage, more than half (52%) of the survey participants revealed that they also looked to newspapers for in-depth coverage. This response suggests that the brief TV coverage does not provide enough detail or background to satisfy a discriminating voter. While this concern for additional data is exemplary, it would be helpful to know, for example, which newspapers are being read and for how long. Since the 1952 campaign, when newspapers were still the primary source of information, there has been a precipitous decline in the number of papers, their circulation, and the general influence of the press.

Some critics would see an equal decline in the quality of reporting. Forty years ago, most medium to large-size cities above 250,000 in population had two or more daily newspapers, but today the one newspaper city is the norm, and the resulting loss of opposing viewpoints is obvious. The decline in the local dailies has been accompanied by the rise of the national tabloids with their emphasis on sensationalism and innuendo rather than factual and objective journalism. Recent statistics indicate that The New York Times had the highest circulation among the "traditional" dailies (1,141,366) as compared to 3,403,330 weekly for the National Enquirer (World Almanac 1997, 305-306). Consequently, while the electronic sources of political information are heavily

employed, studies should determine how the weakening of the influence of the print media might affect the political future.

In a recent phenomenon, many people have turned to what has been termed the "alternative media." The watershed year for this shift was probably 1992 when people, weary of the traditional news media, began to resort to the more entertaining and controversial talk shows. Radio talk-shows of that era, such as Larry King or Rush Limbaugh, television talk-shows hosted by King, Phil Donahue or Oprah Winfrey, were the leaders, but Music Television (MTV), and late-night programming (David Letterman, Arsenio Hall, or Jay Leno) can be included in this alternative news source. In reviewing the TV schedules for the 1992 election campaign, these primarily entertainment programs were devoting as much as 10 percent of their air time to political topics. While they drew large audiences, the content, objectivity, and orientation of popular programs give reason to pause. Too often they focus on a single-issue and espouse an extremist position. Their worst fault is that they tend to mock politics in general and deride specific candidates, a cynical approach that leads to repulsion or apathy among the voting population (Vanocur 1996, Appendix G). Given the extreme bias of much of this programming, the audiences do not receive the objective commentary conducive to making rational electoral decisions. Among sample interviewees, however, only a handful acknowledged that they actually were influenced by this type of programming.

Talk shows are highly popular, and it is surprising that little critical examination has been devoted to their influence. While these programs are new, the talk-show format is not. At least a generation ago, talk-radio was a staple of AM radio following the decline in radio's golden or most talented age. Even in the halcyon days, radio programs like the "Walter Winchell Show" featured the highly opinionated and politically savvy columnist of the now defunct New York Daily Mirror. Although basically a gossip columnist, Winchell included political issues as part of the regular topics. His weekly broadcast, with its serious and political overtones, remained high in the ratings for years.

The heavy political bent of current talk radio is, however, a fairly recent phenomenon. In the 1930s, Charles Coughlin, an American priest, gained wide notoriety by his attacks on Roosevelt's "New Deal," but seldom did national radio explore a controversial political issue. One of the interesting TV innovations associated was occasioned by the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon race when both candidates appeared on the NBC "Tonight Show" then hosted by Jack Paar. As columnist James Reston said at the time, "...the important question of the campaign was not who could stand up to Khrushchev but who could sit down with Jack Paar" (1961, 46). At the time, there was criticism by some who could not conceive of an Eisenhower or a Stevenson (the presidential candidates of 1952 and 1956) appearing on what was ostensibly an entertainment program. They obviously thought it was simply beneath the dignity of presidential aspirants to be a part of an often vulgar telecast.

As long as the broadcast media have existed, however, politics have been featured on entertainment programs. Radio and TV comedians Bob Hope, Fred Allen, Will Rogers, Jack Benny, and Burns and Allen included political references in their scripts. They served as a popular way of expressing common sentiments about the presidential campaigns in a slightly satiric format. Today's talk-shows are a radical and more pervasive formulation of a program style with deep historical roots in the American electronic media. Today's radio talk shows, moreover, allow for "audience participation," which was unheard of in radio's golden age, but which is an important factor in extending the influence of the broadcast media.

Concern about Television's Election Coverage

The survey respondents expressed strong dissatisfaction with television's presidential election coverage, criticizing its value, credibility, and lack of objectivity. More than half (52%) implied that TV has had a negative impact on the political process. Regardless of their criticism, however, most (61%) assert that television is still their primary means of acquiring political information. More anomalous is the fact that the

broadcast networks remain the main television outlet while CNN is rated more objective and fair by an almost two-to-one margin. This viewing choice again raises the question why most viewers continue to watch the programs that they criticize.

This decision by survey participants to maintain an allegiance to network appears to result from a conscious rationale of the well-educated segment of society. Weighing their daily demands, they apparently conclude that the networks are the most expedient, if not the most objective, source of information. They choose TV news while admitting that the medium is far from perfect. Since harried lifestyles have become the norm among likely voters, individuals apparently tend to consider television as the best of the sources of information that they can fit into their busy schedules. As noted earlier, television viewing has become part of a daily routine in which the newscasts can be scheduled with the least inconvenience. Convenience and relaxation perhaps more than the objective facts have become crucial factors:

Across the country, surveys show many feel they are working longer hours—and have scant time for other priorities, family and friends. But the surveys also show that television viewing deceptively eats up a good chunk of their leisure time. According to John Robinson, a University of Maryland sociologist, for every extra hour of time Americans have gained since 1965, they spend an extra hour watching the tube. (Texeira 1996, A1)

The Pew Surveys draw similar parallels between TV news watching and time constraints placed on the individual and family by the quick pace of modern society.

Despite the fast pace of modern society, TV does exercise an almost hypnotic effect upon some viewers, especially immature ones. This almost mesmerizing addiction to television, however, should be viewed with concern. TV critic Jerry Mander takes an alarmist stance in his third argument for the elimination of television, "Effects of Television on the Human Being:

Television technology produces neuro-physiological responses in the people who watch it. It may create illness, it certainly produces confusion and

submission to external imagery. Taken together, the effects amount to conditioning for autocratic control. (Mander 1978, 155)

Political television does provide a minimum understanding of candidates and issues, but the limited exposure tends to lessen its value. TV newscasts are hostage to rigid time constraints and can neither detail nor elucidate complex themes. Moyers explains:

The printed page conveys information and commitment and requires active involvement. Television conveys emotion and experience, and it's very limited in what it can do logically. It's an existential experience--there and then gone. Everything is being compressed into tiny tablets. You take a little pill of news every day--23 minutes--and that's supposed to be enough. (1992, 12).

Put more succinctly, television news will never provide an adequate substitute for a good newspaper. During the last decade, primarily because of budgetary constraints, even the quality of TV journalism appears to be dropping. Political correspondent Tom Rosenstiel sees this also as a feature of technological change: "Technology is democratizing the American political landscape. But it is also lowering the standards of American journalism" (1993, xii). Networks have reduced their regular news budgets while supporting tabloid-like news shows ("20/20," "60 Minutes," "Prime Time," etc.) that sensationalize the routine news broadcasts. During the 1992 campaign, news "specials" scheduled for prime time viewing had all but disappeared. Even during the standard daily newscasts, less air time was devoted to election coverage than four years previously. Polling data and tangential issues were given more attention than the candidates' views on the substantive campaign issues. In reference to the evening newscasts, Larry Grossman observed: "High on the list of [voter] complaints were the networks' preoccupation with the 'horse race;' candidates' private lives; [and] opinion polls at the expense of important political issues" (1990, 1).

The decline in quality becomes more apparent when compared with TV's coverage of the 1952 campaign, which despite TV's primitive technology was more thorough and responsible. Some of the shortcomings attributed to TV news today did exist in 1952, but there were numerous campaign "specials," and the daily 15-minute

evening newscast was not beset by "soundbite" reporting. Even more important, in 1952 television saw itself as an auxiliary news service devoted to in-depth interviews and extensive commentary. The newspaper was the primary source of campaign news. Radio was still the dominant electronic medium, and its offering of election news was voluminous, substantive, and diverse.

The legendary "Hear It Now" broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, broadcast on CBS Radio from 1950 to 1951) are illustrative of just how well radio performed its task of informing the public. Murrow's program broadcast during the first week of January, 1951 dealt with the "off-year" elections of November, 1950 and represented a model example of his reportorial style. Focusing on a number of key congressional races, he allowed the candidates themselves, during the final week of campaigning, to express their opinions on the issues of the day. On the average, each candidate was allotted almost two minutes of air time, and commentary by Murrow concluded each program. In 1952, with the combined dominance of newspapers and radio intact, the deficiencies of early TV were not likely to thwart the public's education in the political subtleties of the campaign.

In 1995, the conviction of more than half of the survey respondents (52%) that television has a negative effect on the political process deserves further analysis. The respondents are not alone in their criticism. Former NBC President Grossman argued, "Political analysts, politicians, and print journalists decry the disproportionate influence of television on presidential elections. Television's power is being seriously misused by both the networks and politicians" (1990, 1). While the survey responses did not specify the nature of the negative impact, a number of reasonable assumptions based on historical evidence and previous analysis can be inferred.

To begin with, television excludes less affluent or financed candidates because the expense of buying television time cuts deep into campaign funding. Television is essential to running a successful campaign, especially at the national level, and many

well qualified potential candidates without guaranteed financing are reluctant to make the race. The New York Times, in an editorial discussing the power of rich candidates, pointed out "the flaw in a system where promiscuous spending can buy prominence that has not been earned in either public service or through distinguished performance in the private sector [and] decried the wacky system that now gives big money such an advantage [in presidential campaigns] (29 Feb 1996, A14).

Another problem is the potential for abuses in campaign contributions. The need for ever-increasing funding increases the danger that a few affluent individuals or business corporations will gain undue influence over the elected officials. Even a cursory summary of campaign abuses following the 1996 election highlights the enormity of the problem. Al Vecchione, a producer for TV news, explained why television costs contribute to this problem:

The improper if not illegal fundraising methods used in the 1996 presidential campaign which are being investigated by the U. S. Senate is one example of how television affects us in indirect ways. Seventy cents of all those campaign dollars raised went to purchase TV air time. Without TV advertising, a modern day political candidacy is simply not viable. (Baltimore Sun, 5 September 1997, A21)

The television camera also favors the visual event and prefers to focus on the personal scandals associated with the candidates (for example, Jennifer Flowers and Governor Clinton in 1992). Few potential candidates are willing to face close scrutiny about themselves and their families by scandal seeking reporters. Consequently, some extremely able national figures, such as Mario Cuomo and General Colin Powell, have been reluctant to submit to the constant barrage of prying journalists. Americans must accept the eventuality of not having the best candidates running for office.

Television has also played a role in the decline of the political parties, especially in relation to presidential elections. Since TV cameras were first allowed inside the caucus rooms at the 1952 Republic Convention in Chicago, the dominance of the party

bosses and even the role of the party regulars have been diminished. A prime example is the transformation of the national conventions into well-rehearsed extravaganzas. Historian Arthur Schlesinger warns, "Television now gives us the prefabricated Presidential convention. This development portends the end of the convention as we know it" (21 Aug 1996, A17). The presidential primaries are now the defining vehicle for choosing a presidential nominee, and TV plays a pivotal role in covering those primaries. Television thus increases its level of importance while reducing the significance or excitement associated with the quadrennial conventions. The conventions run in the past by party professionals as an exciting nominee contest now became little more than a mob spectacle.

The decline in the role of conventions and party professional control, however, has defined a new crucial role for television. The days are gone when political bosses would screen potential candidates for personal faults or major scandals that could jeopardize their election. As Cronkite insists, "The broadcast and print press today must be the monitors on the character of our candidates for public office" (1990, 23). With the candidates appealing directly for the people's votes through primaries, the press serves the public interest by doing the necessary job of searching for and revealing the candidates' weaknesses. Such exposes should offer full explanation and complete extenuating circumstances, but television news seldom has time for balanced evaluation.

How television covers elections has become one of the greatest hazards for the political process. Voters who are disenchanted or bored with both the rhetoric and the campaign style will likely turn away from the political system altogether. The continuing decline in voter turnout may be, in part, attributed to television's takeover. In 1952 with 34% of American households having access to TV, the voter turnout was 62%. In 1992, with TV in 98% of American households, the turnout dropped to 51%. (Splaine 1996, 209-211). In analyzing the 1988 election, Larry Grossman clearly related declining voter turnout to television coverage:

In 1988 the American electorate had access to more abundant political information on television than ever before. Yet more people stayed at home on election day than in any presidential election since 1924. And the post-mortems that followed were strongly critical of the role that television played. (Grossman 1990, 1)

According to Splaine, the moderate upsurge in voting (55% vs. 50% in 1988) during the 1992 election may have been an aberration based on the Perot candidacy (1995, p. 207). The 49% level for 1996 reflected the continuing downturn trend. (*Time*, 18 Nov 1996, 41).

A medium that often expresses cynicism about the government, that favors the sensational at the expense of the substantive to earn high ratings, and that is unduly ruled by the profit margin rather than journalistic excellence will tend to alienate the electorate and thus undermine the democratic process:

Prime-time schedules are made up largely of mindless sitcoms and action drama programs heavily laced with violent encounters. News-magazine programs that are increasingly sensational and often trite have been substituted for legitimate television journalism in prime time. Local news programs all pursue the same distorting formulas: murders and rapes followed by more murders followed by too much sports and weather. (Vecchione 5 Sept 1997, A21).

All fault should not be attributed to the medium itself, however, for in many ways it may simply reflect the current culture in attitude and values, but this impact should not be ignored. Vanocur, in commenting on TV election coverage, noted that, while television is reflective of society, there was a social impact of television on politics (April 1966).

TV Programming, U. S. Society, and the Political Process

An overwhelming majority of the survey respondents (approximately 80%) stated that television programming (comedy, variety, drama, etc.) was not providing a realistic portrayal of contemporary American society. Given the diversity in today's segmented society, that percentage suggests considerable agreement on this topic. The interviewed participants blamed television for emphasizing aberrant social behavior and thereby

helping to promote or legitimize it. While acknowledging that such conduct does happen, respondents were disturbed by TV's portrayal of crime as more prevalent and more tolerated than it actually is. It also calls for immediate explanation and elaboration as to why television persists in favoring such programming. Former Solicitor General Robert Bork comments on television's odd moral values:

Television has dictated changes in the way sex, social and cultural authority, and the personifications of good and evil are presented. Recreational sex, as an example, is pervasive and is presented as acceptable about six times as often as it is rejected. Television takes a neutral attitude toward adultery, prostitution, and pornography. It warns against the danger of imposing the majority's restrictive sexual morality on these practices. The villains in TV's moralist plays are not deviants and libertines but Puritans and prudes. The moral relativism of the Sixties is now television's public morality. (1997, 127)

If television is viewed as promoting a portrayal of society different from the accepted norm, then responsible viewers are faced with two critical questions: (1) Is this false image of life accepted in place of reality? (2) If so, how does this TV illusion affect contemporary society? The survey participants' criticism apparently extends beyond television's influence on politics to society itself.

Criticisms and negative comments about prime-time programming come from every segment of society. Civic, religious, and congressional leaders, as well as several presidents, have declared that some action must be taken to limit the violence, sex, and immortality that characterizes so much of daily TV. One astute commentator stated:

There is a growing chorus of parents, educators, doctors, government leaders and others who argue that television's influence on society has exceeded all reasonable limits; that its influence on our mores may exceed that of our religious institutions; that its capacity to mold public opinion may be greater than that of our political institutions, and that its reach into the minds of children may exceed that of our education system. In the 50 years since it was introduced, television has become a challenge to our society's mental and physical health. At the very least, it has desensitized children and adults to the true effects of violent behavior. (Vecchione 5 Sept 1997, A21).

Afternoon "soaps" and prime time programs follow scripts that tacitly approve or minimally disapprove of drug use, alcohol abuse, sexual misconduct, gratuitous violence, "alternative lifestyles," and general amorality. One obvious effect of such relentless programming is to render unethical behavior more tolerable and acceptable to the general population. With frequent repetition, the shock value of crime and violence dissipates, and the possibility emerges that the screen image will be accepted for reality. Social commentator Jerry Mander has been concerned about this phenomenon:

Television is capable of dominating personally derived imagery—from books or imagination—and it is also capable, at least some of the time, of causing confusion as to what is real experience and what is television experience. The television image can be as real in effect as the personally experienced image. (1978, 246).

In considering what he call the television society, futurist Alvin Toffler warns of the tendency to blend all TV images into a false vision of reality:

It is true that the intentional content of a television show—the plot and the behavior of the principal characters—often paints a false picture of social reality. Even the tritest shows picture current fads and fashions, and express popular attitudes toward sex, religion, money, and politics. For this reason, "mere entertainment" is no longer "mere." For better or worse, the old lines between show business and politics, news and entertainment are all crashing, and we are exposed to a hurricane of often fragmented, kaleidoscopic images. (1990, 327-28)

Syndicated columnist Richard Reeves also criticizes TV for blurring fact and fiction:

"But then the lines between fact and fiction became confused, became as irrelevant as they were difficult to distinguish. The lively arts fused into the amalgam of forms known as the Media. News was entertainment and entertainment was news" (1997, 25A). The implications of this TV impact on society are ominous, whether in the political or social spheres.

Television advertising that constantly appeals to man's acquisitive nature also should not be ignored by politicians and educators. While commercials have always attempted to peddle products, the emphasis upon material possessions as the source of

happiness exacerbates the situation. Children, adolescents, and adults are subjected to the pervasive message that they cannot be happy unless they acquire greater material possessions. The highly touted lifestyles of the "rich and famous" praised on TV reinforces the message. This inordinate emphasis on acquisitiveness inculcates a yearning for unobtainable expectations that leaves the poor viewers constantly dissatisfied with their lot. David Denby, a contributing editor for The New Yorker, sees television as the promoter of social envy and resentment:

But the media spearhead of capitalism, television, did help create social unrest. It stimulated envy. The medium taunted the young men with the erotic allure of the prize, the many prizes, without giving them an inkling of how to attain them. The unrelenting hedonism of the media ethos is obviously killing us. Successful people have the goods. There are few other ways of defining success and status. (996, 214-215)

Critics also point out that, when TV programs repeatedly belittle or denigrate ethical or political values as many programs do, and fail to provide better values, audiences are left rudderless. The ramifications of such cynicism bode ill for a generation already clamoring for more and better possessions while ignoring interest in religious and ethical fulfillment. Steve Barkin especially addresses this social problem:

What we learn from television's refracted images of American society today are lessons that our basic instincts are the ones that matter most, that actions supersede meaning, that distinctions between private and public behavior have become quaint and that "news value" is enhanced by vulgarity. (Barkin 1997, 19A)

American democracy is today challenged by the numerous writers, producers, and directors who design programs that ridicule politicians, the government, and the political process itself. TV plot lines that glamorize corruption and immorality in government, while downplaying redeeming human characteristics tend to disillusion the American people about their leaders and their government. Distrust of elected representatives becomes intensified when a public already unsure of the government's effectiveness becomes even more cynical if continually subjected to programming that confirms their

worst fears. As NBC President Grossman describes the dangerous power of television: "The public finds out what to think about through television, makes up its mind based on what it sees on television, and then discovers what it is thinking by watching the polls on television" (1990, 4). If most citizens become disaffected by what they are told and shown on television, this disillusionment can only harm America as a participatory democracy.

As noted, although almost three-fourths of the survey respondents claimed that television had a negative effect on American society, most participants continued their routine viewing. With 90% of the respondents watching prime-time programming up to twenty hours weekly (versus 16 hours in a 1995 Merck Fund Study), television is arguably the principal entertainment source for the average American family. It is obvious why: watching is relaxing, inexpensive, entertaining, and even addictive. Today's educational system effectively predisposes students of all ages to accept the innate value of technology in general and television in particular, often at the expense of traditional learning disciplines. As Hickman questions: "The problem that is worrying many educators today [is] how to teach students who are primarily oriented toward electronic media to gain access to the subtleties of print. How can the children of television be taught to read critically?" (1990, 165) Classroom reliance on video technology and computers, which focus on the visual and immediate, has become a principal teaching method in many schools. Meanwhile, TV advertising adopts a "get with it" strategy suggesting that anyone not watching TV is a social outcast. Metaphorically speaking, the seductiveness of the tube for the innocent young is akin to the apple tree in the garden of paradise, promising but not delivering.

Contradictory Viewpoints

The changes introduced by the revolution in communications technology since the Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign of 1952 are too essential to be overlooked in this study. Evaluating the effects of these changes, however, produces little agreement

among respondents. When asked whether technological advances in communications had proved beneficial to society, the survey participants replied ambiguously: 50% saying that the changes were mostly or somewhat beneficial, and 43% affirming that they were a mixture of benefit and harm. Similar uncertain results appeared in answer to the question: Did the voluminous information provided around-the-clock by the electronic media make it more or less difficult to absorb and analyze that information? 22% of the respondents said it made it more difficult while 47% said it did not. From these answers, what reasonable assumptions can one make regarding the current explosion in communications technology? There are several.

The American public in 1992 could receive more immediate information than was possibly imagined in 1952. Live, on-the-spot, instantaneously transmitted news reports were nowhere near possible forty years ago, and the possibility of a 24-hour television news channel seemed close to science fiction. At first glance, many positive advantages can be attributed to these recent communications developments. News of interest to the public is readily available, as it occurs, and literally at the touch of a button. With the proliferation of cable TV, those reports are available day or night, with no need to wait for the traditional evening news. In line with the principle of the Founding Fathers that an informed citizenry is essential to the survival of our democratic system of government, this revolution in news reporting and availability appears to be a giant leap forward and an undeniable technical marvel. There are negatives, however, to this quantum change in information access that require further examination.

To begin with a question, how much news is too much? Some appreciation of this admittedly difficult subject must be attempted. Schechter points out the paradox: "Intentional or not, one effect of what is called the information age is the continuing underinforming of the larger public, while an elite sector is inundated with more news and information than it can possibly absorb" (1997, 27). Another criticism is that the instantaneous broadcast before all the facts are known can often be erroneous or

misleading. An example is the first report on the bombing in the Atlanta park during the 1996 Olympics. Much of the initial story, flashed to the nation, was not only flawed; it was totally wrong. A third point concerns whether the human mind is capable of grasping intelligently all various news items selected for its attention. Can all this raw information be digested as practical knowledge without time for analysis and reflection? A continually evolving, technically-oriented society must acknowledge the data absorption limitation of the human brain.

Still another consequence of modern communications development deserves attention. During TV's infancy and adolescence, the medium drew American society together. With only three networks and an extremely limited number of independent stations, the public had few viewing choices on any given evening. Accordingly, television programs, to a greater extent than radio, integrated American social attitudes: "Television altered the shape of the culture, bringing people from the most disparate backgrounds together in a common experience" (Chafe 1991, 129). Coverage of national political conventions, presidential election nights, and such traumatic tragedies as the death of President Kennedy are a few examples of how television brought the American public together in the sharing of a common experience. If America has been a continual melting-pot, television at mid-century was supplying powerful fuel. At the approach of the next millennium, however, network television no longer plays that impressive role. New technology has expanded news and entertainment choices, but the multiplicity and diversity in channel selection tends to fragment national opinion and makes political leadership more difficult.

Over time, television will track particular advertising markets with more precision than the indiscriminate ad appeals of traditional networks. As Toffler noted, "The basic change in the media since at least 1970 foreshadowed the breakup of mass audiences into segments and subgroups, each receiving a different configuration of programs and messages" (1990, 326). For example, the Sports Channel (ESPN) is now

sponsored almost exclusively by companies merchandising sporting gear and clothing. With the growth of the cable industry, separate segments of the population are being targeted: sports enthusiasts, children, young adults, rock music fans, science-fiction devotees, etc. The potential for segregating all levels of society and the family unit by age is all too real. With the multiplication of channels on cable and direct access TV, the shared experiences of society seem no longer possible—as television is now intent on gratifying the many and varied tastes of the population. "By the next century, television itself may become so fragmented that, like radio, it will no longer be a nationally cohesive political and social force" (Grossman 1990, 10).

Another reason for concern over TV is that it can isolate viewers from the real world. Until recently, a person only interested in sports or specific entertainment shows would also learn about some current events while watching the evening news. But with cable and special channels, even that limited exposure to news could end. The daily fare offered on such cable channels as AMC (American Movie Classics) or Nick (Nickelodeon) is very popular, and neither channel offers any news programming. With a large percentage of viewers on these focused channels, the chances for a well-informed public are further diminished. The effect of this shift in viewing habits upon the political process is at present difficult to gauge, but it does not guarantee a better informed voter.

Comparison of 1952 and 1992 Presidential Campaigns

Comparing the 1952 and 1992 presidential campaigns from the perspective of the communications media is a challenging process. Great social changes have occurred over the forty years since television began to dominate the coverage of the U.S. elections. Technology, as a social force, has developed beyond expectations, and the constant innovations produced by science and industry have affected the American way of life significantly. This will be illustrated by a comparison with life in 1952 during the final days of the Truman Administration.

In 1952, most middle-class men and women still held traditional roles in American society. The men worked while women stayed at home caring for the house and an average-sized family of four or five. Americans were concerned about the war in Korea. They feared internal communist subversion (a threat exploited by Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy) and the possibility of a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Homosexuals were still "in the closet," abortion was illegal, segregation was a way-of-life, illicit drugs were usually associated with musicians, and most city streets were violence free. In American churches, Protestant and Catholics were firm in their separate faiths, attentive to their spiritual pastors, and loud in their denunciation of sex and scandal elsewhere. In American politics, few dreamt that a Catholic would be the next Democratic president. Newspapers were abundant throughout the country and served as the primary news source for most families. In 1950, there were over two thousand daily newspapers and six hundred Sunday newspapers with an aggregate circulation of over 65 million (World Almanac 1952, 347). With radio as the dominant electronic medium, the newly introduced television was still viewed as a novelty. Almost 158 million people lived in the USA, and 62% of the 99 million eligible would vote in the November election. Of prime importance to this thesis, only 34% of U.S. households had television sets (Splaine 164).

At the beginning of 1952, radio was second only to the newspaper as a source for news, and most of the radio journalists confined themselves to the voice medium. Limited to fifteen-minute programs each evening, television newscasts were an interesting feature roughly comparable to the newsreels shown in movie theaters, but not generally viewed as an essential source of information. The normal format of these newscasts consisted of the program host reading wire-service copy illustrated by relevant films or still photographs. A notable example of this genre was the "News Caravan" hosted by John Cameron Swayze on NBC and sponsored by Camel cigarettes. The host, for the most part, seldom attempted persistent comment of any significance. In fact,

early TV news was not much more than radio news with fuzzy pictures. Local television news, in particular, was simply a pictorial coverage of a radio broadcast.

This broadcast concept began to change in 1952, however, when television executives decided to present gavel-to-gavel coverage of both national political conventions to be held in Chicago. This review of the 1952 campaign was facilitated by personal recollections, network television footage and archival radio recordings. In addition, Sander Vanocur, one of the pioneer television journalists, generously shared his views of TV's impact on political campaigning and American society during a long telephone interview (See Vanocur Interview, April 1996, Appendix G).

With the approaching 1952 conventions, television producers and political leaders hastily drew up plans on how best to use this new medium. This convention coverage would attract a record-breaking sixty million viewers, a huge audience mainly attributable to three factors: an exciting race between the Republicans and Democrats, the planned gavel-to-gavel coverage by all three major networks which left no viewing options, and the widespread fascination with the new medium.

What was being televised was not of the highest quality. The TV technology was in its nascent stage, and black and white images were snowy in appearance, and clarity varied with proximity to transmitters. The huge cameras remained fixed or immobile, and were almost always shakily focused on the podium. Floor reporting was a future innovation, but, nonetheless, television was beginning to change the way politics was conducted. This transformation in large measure was a visual process of making the public directly conscious of democracy at work. Both 1952 conventions were held in Chicago, a central location that served as a good transmission point between the East and West coasts. Since strong lighting was essential to television, an indoor auditorium was the only possible convention venue.

Of great significance was the manner in which TV began to erode the influence of the political parties. As explained earlier, the nominations of both Eisenhower and

Stevenson probably could not have occurred without the presence of television. All evidence supports the supposition that party leaders preferred other candidates. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio would have almost certainly been nominated had not the TV camera caught his staff unfairly snubbing the Eisenhower delegates. At earlier conventions, the nomination process was party-oriented and party-dominant. All kinds of political skullduggery went on behind the scenes. Now the new watchdog of campaigns, the TV cameras, gave candidates an open way of reaching out to voters directly rather than through party leaders and party structures. The 1952 primaries and the conventions clearly demonstrated the power of TV's watchful eye.

Attuned to TV's impact during the convention, both the Eisenhower and the Stevenson camps hired advertising firms to enhance their efforts in exploiting the new medium during the 1952 general election. Because television costs were considerably higher than either the print media or radio, campaign finance directors faced greater challenges. The funds raised had always been correlated with the appeal of a candidate or of a party's platform to potential contributors, but now financial backers began to have a decisive voice in both policy formulation and campaign strategy. Fund raising became ever more critical as polls indicated the power of expensive television advertising (Troy 1997, 14-32). In brief, the traditional party power brokers, while still important, were exhibiting evident signs of diminishing influence.

Other aspects to the media's coverage of the Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign also appear instructive when compared with the 1992 race. First, the entire 1952 convention, with its drama, excitement, and relatively innocent politics was telecast in its entirety by all the major networks. While the cameras remained focused on the podium, each speech was carried in full, uninterrupted by floor reporting, instant analysis, or commercial breaks. Betty Furness became an instant celebrity with her Westinghouse commercials, but TV advertising was still generally non-intrusive, and it often consisted merely of a message periodically superimposed on the screen. When there was some

political commentary, this came only after a speaker had finished his remarks. The network anchors had not yet reached the status of superstars. They were, in fact, the networks' second team, the elite reporters being assigned to the more popular radio broadcasts.

The viewing public experienced for the first time the spectacle and atmosphere of a political convention from the comfort of their own living rooms. Since they witnessed the entire proceedings at close hand, potential voters had the advantage of studying each speaker's appearance and comments at a better range than most delegates on the floor. Platform deliberations, intra-party squabbling, and inebriated or inattentive delegates were all captured live by the TV camera. The public viewers could readily be caught up in the excitement of the contest because these conventions were truly decision-making. Presidential nominees would actually be chosen only by the delegates voicing their choices in Chicago, and the outcome remained in doubt until the final votes had been cast. It was the last occasion in modern times that a second ballot would be required to select a nominee. The TV camera watched it all, and journalist Sander Vanocur affirms that the Eisenhower nomination was the direct result of television:

I think it was attributable to television because Eisenhower had a very skillful person, the former actor Robert Montgomery, who knew television. And I think much of the battle over the Texas delegation [whether to seat Taft or Eisenhower delegates] resulting in Henry Cabot Lodge [Ike's Campaign Manager] saying, "Thou shalt not steal" [to Taft staffers] gave it an enormity that it probably didn't deserve in terms of its reach. And then there was the winning aura of the general in World War II, that incredible smile so much in evidence on television, and you remember [that] Bob Taft ... [a] very interesting and a decent man ... looked when he smiled as if he just sucked on a lemon. Nobody could compete against that smile of Ike and the aura of a hero. (1996, 1).

Even after the convention, the news coverage of the 1952 election campaign remain staid and traditional. TV continued with its fifteen-minute evening newscasts, which did not compare with the radio coverage. Television did devote significant time to

campaign "specials," and these were complemented by such legendary productions as "See It Now" with Edward R. Murrow. These special programs featured newsmakers discussing issues of the days but with little extensive commentary or deep analysis. Unlike the more recent tabloid type of reporting, television and radio commentators, like defenders of political rectitude, were reluctant to discuss openly the personal failings of the candidates. Restraint was the watchword on the management level of the electronic media. Top executives warned against causing offense and perhaps losing their valuable broadcast licenses. Vanocur concurs that this restraint was a reflection of the ethical and moral standards of the era: "Well, I think television is more of a reflector than a determiner insofar as tastes and mores are concerned. [In] 1952, 'I Love Lucy'... that was the world we lived in" (1996, 3).

Even a cursory review of radio/television schedules for the fall of 1952—See Appendix H—demonstrates that radio remained the dominant, the most professional, and the most accomplished electronic medium. From an information perspective, the number and quality of the radio journalists makes these years the golden days of the voice medium. TV could not yet challenge radio, but the ratings gap was narrowing. The type of programming offered to the American public by both the radio and television networks during this period is critical to this study. A review of over 1000 hours of entertainment and news broadcasts/telecasts in this research leaves a strong impression of the gentle content and polite demeanor of the personalities involved. Traditional values were consistently upheld and strongly advocated. Vulgar language and sexual references or innuendo were absent as they could have served as possible grounds for a show's instant cancellation. Even when politics or politicians were treated humorously, the democratic system was virtually always extolled. Comedy was benign and seldom cynical, coarse, or demeaning. The contrast with today's vulgar program standards is absolute.

In reference to the cost differential in political advertising, 1952 would be the last year that more money would be spent on radio than on television. Television was,

however, employed skillfully in 1952 by both parties although the Eisenhower team had better success. The spot advertisements and the extremely effective stage-managed speeches by the Republican candidate proved successful with the voters. On the other hand, Stevenson, the erudite and articulate candidate from Illinois, disliked television and never felt comfortable before the camera. He was apparently unaware of the remarkable power of this instrument that he used so grudgingly. Rosser Reeves, the Republican advertising advisor in 1952, who devised the "spot" advertisements, explained his awakening to the political potency of TV:

We began to discover that for very small sums of money, we could register, what we call penetration, into the brains of 60, 70, 80% of all the people in the United States. We realized that we had a demon by the hand. It was a terrifying and yet an exhilarating experience. We were all new to television in those days, and we did not know what a powerful medium we were working in. (PBS "The 30-Second Presidency," 1984)

Both nominees, however, would deliver full-length speeches on television, and usually before live audiences. In this ground-breaking process, they gave the American people carefully reasoned and candid expositions of their positions on the important issues so that the people could judge them accordingly. On the other hand, as Barnouw describes, there is one aspect of the 1952 campaign that typifies the television approach of combining economics and marketing with politics, the importance of modern technique (a television technique) in a successful political campaign.

[It was] decided from the start that an Eisenhower speech for a half-hour program must be twenty minutes long ... in three acts: (1) arrival of a hero; (2) speech; (3) departure of the hero. The middle part, the speech, was easy and could be left to speech writers. The other parts required experts. The drama was conceived in shots: Ike coming through the door at back of auditorium; Ike greeting crowd; people in gallery going wild, craning necks; Ike, escorted, making his way down the aisle; Mamie Eisenhower in box; Ike mounting platform; crowd going wild; Ike at rostrum, waving; Ike looking over toward Mamie; Mamie in box, smiling; on cue, Ike holding up arms as if to stop applause; crowd going wild. The final portion, the departure was as carefully planned. (1968, 298-99)

The central question about the 1952 campaign that still engages political historians is the extent to which the new medium of television actually influenced the eventual outcome of the contest. While television clearly did affect the 1952 nominations, this study finds little evidence to suggest that the general election outcome would have been different without television. Vanocur corroborates: "Adlai Stevenson was terrible on television, but even had TV not been around, Ike still would have won because time had run out on the Democratic Party" (1996, 3). This is a reasonable judgment in view of the evidence that television simply reflected the already firm belief held by a majority of Americans, who saw in Eisenhower a proven hero and leader.

The forty years leading up to 1992 would introduce a different America. In politics a real revolution occurred in the way that campaigns were covered by the electronic media and in the methods that candidates' campaign staffs exploited the media to their advantage. The general convention coverage by the broadcast networks had undergone a radical transformation. Because of the extended power of TV in picking candidates, due in large measure to the extensive coverage the medium afforded all facets of primary campaigns, the conventions now merely confirmed rather than selected nominees. With the suspense and excitement gone, the viewer audience rapidly dwindled. Only campaign highlights, such as the keynote address and acceptance speeches were broadcast by the networks in their entirety.

Viewers looking for complete coverage had to turn to C-SPAN, where the convention programming bore a close resemblance to the network coverage of forty years previously. Party managers tended to stage manage conventions tightly so as to reveal their candidates only in the best possible light. Since by 1992 primaries had already decided on the candidates, and the party hierarchy squelched any form of controversy, the result was boring, a sterile environment completely devoid of drama. What appeared on the screen resembled a crowd spectacle rather than a political gathering. The ratings, not unexpectedly, continued to decline.

Television's serious coverage of the nominating process has shifted away from the national conventions to the local state caucuses and primaries, for here the actual nominees are ultimately determined. The use of the soundbite and photo-opportunity sessions continued as a standard feature of covering these primaries, but the real key to understanding the 1992 campaign is rooted in the new technologies that prompted substantial changes in the election process. Candidates, to a greater degree than in 1952, were able to bypass national party leadership by appealing directly to the voters. Computers techniques brought interactive television to the campaigns. Cable television, computerized mailings, and automated personal letters provided new tools to target specific voters and demographic groups. FAX machines sent messages simultaneously to a large pool of media and voters. Through on-line services and electronic mail (including the Internet), the candidates could disseminate information to computer users throughout the country. In the TV special program "The War Room," James Carville and George Stephanopoulos provide an insiders' description of the Clinton campaign's use of modern technology in 1992.

This year also witnessed the introduction to the televised "call-in show," in which candidates engaged the public in direct conversation. The widespread use of satellites made it possible to transmit to specific cities from a central location, and what came to be called the tarmac campaign (broadcasting live from the airport tarmac) served as an alternative to the traditional train whistle-stop. The costs for these technical innovations were a major drain on campaign financing.

At the same time, the alternative media came into their own. A vivid example of this new phenomenon was Ross Perot's completely unexpected declaration on radio's "Larry King Show" (February 20, 1992), that two days after the New Hampshire Primary he was seriously thinking of running for president. The fact that he chose this program for the announcement is testimony to the growing power of the talk-show media. Other programs, like the MTV "Rock the Vote" show, provided election features that generated

voters' interest. Appearances by candidates Bush, Clinton, and Perot on a variety of talk shows saw them reaching out directly to the voters in addition to the regular party rituals. Clinton's playing the saxophone on the "Arsenio Hall Show," however, was perhaps the most telling example of how electioneering had changed since 1952. Vanocur had positive and negative reactions about this appearance:

The idea of Clinton going on Arsenio Hall ... I turned it off because I thought this is terrible, playing the sax. But Clinton did have a rather decent conversation with Arsenio Hall about race relations. And the whole thing was picked up on the evening news shows. (Vanocur Interview 1996, 4)

The impact of technology on the communications media and the political process which was limited in 1952, reached critical proportions by 1992. It became impossible for anyone, regardless of fame or popularity, to run for national office without factoring into the campaign strategy the cost of television and other communications. Democrat campaign specialist Tony Schwartz offers a simple example of how media power works:

If you were to take a candidate and let him stand on the most crowded corner in the world, and shake hands with one person every ten seconds, he couldn't shake hands in the whole campaign with a fraction of the people that will see one commercial where he can talk to them in their homes directly and in a very modest way tell them something for 30 or 60 seconds. That's opposed to shaking hands and not saying anything for ten seconds. The campaign [now] takes place in the living room, not on the streets. (PBS, "The 30-Second Presidency," 1984)

As noted previously, along with this new technology comes a price, and the cost of waging an effective campaign for the presidency has become inordinately expensive. Costs have tended to place the campaign financial manager in the dilemma of trying to obey the campaign finance laws while raising money by every possible means. The possibility for corruption continues to increase as was evident from the criminal charges after the 1996 campaign.

All recent political changes cannot, however, be linked to technological changes in the communications media. More accurately, technology has influenced the

transformation of modern society but has not determined that transformation. American society since the mid-century has undergone radical changes affecting its very essence. All concepts associated with stability and tradition, including the government itself, has been subject to questioning in the post-modern age. Television has often been cited as a main catalyst for change, and one must acknowledge TV's influence on the national community in transition. TV producer Danny Schechter has commented on the pervasive impact of the media:

The effect of the media is total on social relations, on political culture, and discourse, but also on entertainment and economics. Many of its implications are troubling for the intellectual, socio-cultural, and economic life of our country and others, most profoundly for the future of democracy. The determinative role of modern commercial media is rarely examined by a media which has no interest in having attention focused on its own role. (1997, 26)

The ills of contemporary life have been debated incessantly, but has TV's relentless display of violence, sex, and crime in prime-time programming exacerbated the ills of the populace or do they merely reflect social reality? Is TV technology to blame? Vanocur's response is that TV mirrors society at large:

I think they (TV programs) are relatively reflective of a society that is sorely upset with itself for a lot of reasons: drugs, ungrateful children, latch-key children, parents who find it easier to get divorced than they used to, and I think that kind of degradation of taste on television is kind of reflective of our society. (Vanocur 1996, 5)

Relationship of Research to Galbraith and Weber

In contemporary America, technology is generally praised as a good in itself. Technological advance is solidly enshrined in this country as the source of ever-greater social good. It represents progress and has become synonymous with social superiority. In line with Galbraith's argument (1985, 14) that sophisticated technology requires a heavy investment in capital and the systematic application of organized knowledge to produce practical results, this productivity is usually determined by giant corporations.

They, in turn, control markets on the basis of company profits. These corporations through advertising and other selling strategies exercise a heavy influence over the public's values and standards. As a result, the imperatives of technology, while not itself an ideology, tend to determine the cultural and economic shape of society through the way they interact with society.

Television is an excellent example of a technological innovation that responds to this paradigm. By the 1950s, a merchandising campaign was aimed at convincing the general public of the inherent value of this new marvel. Its potential for good was all but universally extolled. TV would become the universal teacher, educating the entire populace to higher levels of virtue and wisdom. Unfortunately for the society, deficiencies and potential for destroying traditional American values were rarely considered. Only a half century of experience would teach that.

To appreciate TV's failure to uplift society, it is necessary to understand how television networks are structured, a system closely resembling Galbraith's paradigm. At the top levels, networks are run by executives skilled in finance, advertising, and public relations; by lawyers, accountants, and ratings compilers; by Washington lobbyists keeping a watch on the Federal Communications Commission; by the ad agencies deciding how to get the most benefit from the advertising dollars (Schechter 1997, 35). The networks, like most corporations, are run by bright, talented, and generally decent people. Their primary reason for existence lies in TV's entertainment value and potential for advertising profits. Network executives may not personally subscribe to the values portrayed in the popular programs, but if scheduled shows achieve high-ratings and high profits, they are deemed successful by market standards.

In fairness, however, all the ills associated with television should not be attributed solely to the original management rhetoric. In the first days of television, there was general enthusiasm among most leaders of society that TV had great potential for enlightenment. For instance, New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey stated in early 1948

enlightenment. For instance, New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey stated in early 1948 that television would dramatically democratize the political process while improving the life of every American. Four decades later, New York Governor Mario Cuomo more soberly calculated the industry's impact for good and ill. The influence of TV, both positive and negative, can be explained by reference to the German sociologist Max Weber's paradox of unintended consequences (Gerth and Mills 1981, 54). To paraphrase Weber, many effects of television, like those of technology in general, were not intentional but resulted from new circumstances that affected its scope and impact. Political columnist Richard Reeves would concur as his comments on technology indicate: "Technology is a neutral but irresistible force. Technology doesn't care. It is just a tool that can do many things, good and evil. [For example], newer telephone technology and television were important in the death of communism ... while the Ayatollah Khomeini used tape cassettes to make a revolution" (1997, 254A). Nonetheless, regardless of intent, television has had a strong impact on society and the political process that cannot be ignored in assessing the state of modern culture.

Philosophical Concerns

Television's effects on society have been criticized by many eminent modern thinkers. Jacques Ellul was basically troubled by the rapidity of technological change that gave society little time to adjust to the transformed environment. Ellul particularly feared that television eroded man's human relationships by the creation of an artificial universe of virtual reality. As Ellul remarked: "Television, because of its power of fascination and its capacity of visual and auditory penetration, is probably the technical instrument which is most destructive of personality and of human relations" (1964, 380). Martin Heidegger was disturbed by the disruption caused by the vast amount of information being conveyed in an instantaneous fashion by TV. As commentator Zimmerman notes, Heidegger believed that television "was an inevitable invention of the technological subject, for television makes it possible for virtually the entire human

(Zimmerman 1990, 87). Heidegger also warned that man's cognitive capability would be diminished and that the opportunity for ample reflection would be sacrificed.

No one can foresee the radical changes to come. But technological advance will move faster and faster and can never be stopped. In all areas of his existence, man will be encircled ever more tightly by the forces of technology. These forces, which everywhere and every minute claim, enchain, drag along, press and impose upon man under the form of some technical contrivance or other.... These forces, since man has not made them, have moved long since beyond his will and have outgrown his capacity for decision. (1966, 51).

Heidegger was uneasily aware that modern communications could deprive man of his ability to think meditatively: "But ... it is one thing to have heard and read something, that is, merely to take notice; it is another thing to understand what we have heard and read, that is, to ponder" (1966, 52). Given the current glut of instantaneous information, constantly updated "news," and political commercials—much of it to fill air time—his concern must be taken seriously. In this regard, Tony Schwartz' comment on political advertisement on the PBS program "The 30-Second Presidency," is relevant:

They aim at the seat of emotion or at the subconscious. Snaring votes means hitting emotions. TV commercials are different than print: they are emotional, you react to them, you see and hear things and react to them rather than going through the process of reading and thinking. (1984).

Roger Veille feared that TV was distorting man's sense of reality by confusing it with the artificial images on the screen. For Veille, "the medium makes a clear break between everyday social reality and the dreams and narcotics which its duty is to dispense" (1952, 58). In support of this view, many recent discussions such as those of Danny Schechter, Jerry Mander, and James Fallows have focused on television's portraying a false sense of reality. This general concern underlines how that distorted vision is negatively affecting society.

George Gerbner, Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Annenberg School of Communications, warned that television was replacing intelligent comprehension with mindless entertainment:

Television now informs most people in the United States--many of its viewers simply do not read--and much of its information comes from what is called entertainment. The information-poor are again royally entertained by the organic symbolic patterns informing those who do not seek information. (Gerbner 1990, 194)

Gerbner also warns against separating the informational from the entertainment form of program in analyzing TV's effect on the general public. "All types of programming within the program structure complement and reinforce one another. It makes no sense to study the content or impact of one type of program in isolation from the others" (1990, 195). Gerber is, however, aware of the need to separate real-life stories with definite value structures as found in television news programs from the fantasy world of most entertainment offerings. The American public, if it wants to be adequately informed, is going to have to learn to discern between what is news and entertainment. Perhaps the easiest way is to depend on the more reputable TV news programs such as "The Lehrer Report" or "Nightline" and supplement these by listening to the award-winning NPR (National Public Radio) shows such as "All Things Considered" or "Early Morning Edition."

All of these legitimate concerns about TV must be addressed effectively if society is to understand how technological changes impact its values, and more specifically how TV affects the political process in America. Technology can be a useful tool in advancing social goals, but it can also seriously impede rational understanding of the moral principles that underlie human dignity and responsibility.

Relationship to Previous Knowledge and to Literature Review

Explosive Growth in Technology and Human Understanding

Until recently, society in its fascination with technical change, especially in the form of material progress, has downplayed its unintended multiple effects on individuals and the community. Only by exploring the multifaceted influence of technology--communal, ethical, intellectual, cultural--can one adequately gauge its pervasive impact.

Serious reflection on these philosophical considerations has been limited in application. As has been shown in the political sphere, technological advances in telecommunications have not proved an unmitigated blessing. Greater political information, rapidly communicated has not necessarily proved a positive contribution to societal progress.

Advances in high-tech communications promised that we could absorb facts and gain understanding faster, easier, and better. In some ways, the instantaneous communication of ideas seems to mock the time it takes to digest them through thoughtful analysis. As TV film producer Ken Burns stated in a recent appearance before the National Press Club in Washington, "I'm afraid we live in an age where there is such a proliferation of information for itself that the tale is wagging the dog, and we have forgotten to concentrate on the content of what we are saying" (Burns 1997, 12). Society is only beginning to gain an appreciation of the difference between high-tech speed and basic human needs. There is no known quick fix for ignorance. Political "spots" do not encourage profound reflection. While information is promulgated faster than ever, understanding is still acquired slowly and methodically. In an age that can deliver facts quickly, the risk is greater to neglect devoting the time to think things out carefully. No matter how fast computers are updated, it still takes as long to reflect and evaluate.

Recognition of TV's Role in Societal and Political Change

Much has been written about the explosive growth of television since mid-century and the consequent revolutionary transformation in American society. Some research has examined the social impact of TV, but few studies have directly related the growth of television to the current political process and how these crucial changes will shape democratic society. American democracy is based on a cultural tradition, and as Burns warns, "We are at a perilous time in our republic, due in part because of television and the way it has distracted us from the continuum--that is to say, the way we have handed down our legacy to each other" (1997, 11). In short, at the dawn of a new millennium, America is in danger of failing to place the accelerating technological and

social changes in proper historical context. This lapse jeopardizes society's efforts to devise an effective strategy for coping with greater technological changes yet to come.

Television and Politics

There are many technological advances in which television communications have been more closely linked to the American political process. However, the critical emphasis has been on individual advances rather than on collective results. More noticeably, little interest has been shown in comparing and contrasting the historical context of TV as it existed in 1952, the dawning of TV's political age, with the current controversial political role of television. Finally, despite the exaggerated claims on the essential role of television in politics, no reputable study has fully demonstrated TV's substantial influence in affecting the outcome of national elections.

Broadcast Television Networks

Alarm has been recently focused on the declining role of the major networks and to the rise in popularity of the alternative media. Despite this drop in influence, the broadcast networks still exert considerable impact upon the electorate. A Pew Research Center survey published in April 1996 reported that 42% of the adults polled said they regularly watch a nightly news program as compared with 48% a year ago and 60% in 1993 (Gay 1996, A6). The alternative media remain subordinate although their continued growth and increasing importance are of evident interest. The 1996 Pew Report also stated that 25% of those polled claimed that they learned some points about the presidential campaign from Letterman or Leno, while 13% cited MTV as a significant news source (Gay 1996, A6).

Comparison of Television Campaigns: 1952 and 1992

The lack of extensive research on presidential campaigns between 1952 and 1992 from the perspective of TV is surprising. Certainly, to comprehend television's current effects on the political process depends on understanding the difference between TV as it was then and to recognize what it is now. Only then can one appreciate the

transformation of American politics, a transformation that seems to have been a consequence of the evolutionary relationship between TV and the political process. When the 1952 campaign was examined from a media perspective, the focus was on the new medium of television--this despite the fact that in 1952, newspapers then were still the primary information source, and radio continued to be the dominant electronic medium for both news and entertainment.

Even more significantly, to cope with accelerated change in the future, it is essential to recognize how the powerful TV advances have affected the human person since its invention. One is reminded of the prophetic words, written in 1938, by the American author E. B. White:

I believe that television is going to be the test of the modern world and that in this new opportunity to see beyond the range of our vision, we shall discover either a new and unbearable disturbance of the general peace or a saving radiance in the sky. We shall stand or fall by television, of that I am quite sure. (5 Sept 97, A21).

White's forecast stands as an eloquent reminder of the awesome power of the medium. Debates over its value, its dangers, and its limitations continue unabated for this is a medium that occupies more than one-quarter of the waking hours of both adults and children. Its impact colors everything it touches--education, politics, the economic system, and the government--to name a few. This ambivalence is understandable, but it does point out the sheer dominance of the medium. What is critical at this stage in both our cultural and technological history is to guard against television's becoming the sole source of our ideas and our values.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Understanding the power and influence of the media in the American political system is made more difficult by the dramatic pace of technological change in communications. At the approach of the next millennium, new questions will be generated about how the latest technology will affect politics and society in the future. How can the even newer communications technology promote human values? Will the rapidly expanding information revolution result in greater manipulation of the media by political demagogues? Will the media increasingly dominate the political process, or has this influence peaked? National politics has already become a competitive search for persuasive images instead of critical issues. As society in general continues to be reshaped by TV's fashions, morals, and sometimes low tastes, the long national process of electing a president cannot escape this influence.

Of great import for the future of democracy is the fact that television has merged news and entertainment, blending fact and fiction and making news a subset of entertainment. Moreover, today's instant communications threaten to blur the traditional separation of political powers and erode the constitutional system of checks and balances. It is not irrational to suppose an "electronic republic" invoking an excess of democracy in which a prejudiced, passionate, ill-informed, and unchecked majority can trample on the rights of unpopular minorities. At the same time, the problem of increasing isolation, as fostered by TV, among the population continues unabated. The conclusions derived from this research are a mix of confirmatory and critical approaches.

Summary of Questionnaire Findings

The questionnaire responses clearly indicate that television now plays an important, if not indispensable, role in the presidential political process. An analysis of survey data revealed that the sample participants, 86% of whom voted in the 1992 presidential election, turned to television as their primary source for political

information. While some favored CNN or PBS, most opted for the traditional broadcast networks. A considerable amount of time (up to ten hours weekly) was expended on watching news broadcasts. This reliance on television continued through the campaign despite concerns about the quality, credibility, and objectivity of the information being conveyed. When seeking in-depth information, however, survey participants stated a definite preference for newspaper reporting. Nonetheless, the habit of viewing TV news has become so ingrained that it exerts a persuasive force. Despite their expressing concerns about the TV medium and acknowledging that newspapers provided more comprehensive coverage, almost half of the participants admitted that television had influenced their decision for whom to vote.

The survey further reveals that the participants did not depend solely on the evening newscasts for their campaign information. They also viewed partisan commercials, political speeches, national party conventions, and presidential debates. Television news reports were thus supplemented by auxiliary programs that provided an opportunity for viewers to evaluate the candidates more extensively. Exclusive emphasis on television news coverage may be ill-advised because these other formats offer direct and sometimes more revealing views of the candidates. However, the aggregate information that the respondents gained about the campaign and the candidates largely came from television, and this reinforces the evidence of the dominant role this medium plays in the electoral process.

Participants concluded overwhelmingly that television programming in general not only fails to provide a realistic portrayal of American life, but it exerts a negative effect on U. S. society. Furthermore, they also contended that television was not exerting a positive influence on the political process. Paradoxically, they decided not to demonstrate their dissatisfaction by watching other programs. Whether by force of habit or simple convenience, they continue to follow the political coverage. Nothing in the responses or the follow-up interviews suggest that this continued reliance on television

for news and entertainment will decline. The proliferation of channels through cable and satellite technology may in fact increase television's attraction. Public dependence on television implies the need to make this medium more responsive to the cultural values of the society it is meant to serve. In summary, there was general agreement among the various information sources and survey respondents that television is the primary source for information relating to presidential campaigns despite genuine concern about the information being conveyed. Nonetheless, television seems likely to retain its paramount role among the American public as dispenser of political information.

Television and the Future

Television has been an important part of American culture for a half century. The survey responses suggest that, whether commended or criticized, television is not going away. More likely, its influence will become even more prominent as mankind enters the 21st century. The transition to a knowledge-based economy will only increase the demand for greater communication and make the old image delivery system obsolete. The sheer amount of sound and image transmitted by television in the form of news and entertainment raises several crucial questions: how does society cope with a rapidly expanding communications technology, and how can this powerful medium be made more responsive to human needs and more reflective of human values? Specifically, in terms of the political process, how can the new programs, the talk-shows, and interviews be configured to support rather than thwart the democratic process? Other problems include the proliferation of the "soundbite" and "photo-op," the tendency to emphasize image and conflict over substance, the imposition of debate formats that emphasize style over content, and the abuses of campaign financing that are integrally linked to the costs of political advertising.

Soundbite and Photo-Op

The continued reliance on the soundbite remains one of the glaring faults of electronic campaigning. The majority of viewers today apparently see nothing wrong

with this style of reportage. If compared to earlier election programming, they would recognize the discrepancy in the current system. The 1968 nightly news format allowed not only candidates to speak at length, but their supporters and adversaries from across the political spectrum also expressed their viewpoints in full. It is a strong indictment of today's abridged reporting when a 42 second soundbite is considered the standard for rational political discussion. There will always be, however, some politicians who view this limitation as a positive development. Not required to say anything significant for the public record, they can avoid rather than confront controversial issues.

Image over Substance

For today's audience, the image is given undue prominence. Politicians are now highly conscious that television pictures can be more important than spoken words for image is paramount. A major imperative on the campaign trail is to provide a daily photo opportunity or "photo op" to show the candidate in the most favorable light. The aim here is to ensure that the photo coverage becomes an integral part of the evening news. It is extremely difficult for television to outmaneuver the politician at this game. This study has demonstrated since the 1952 conventions that the TV image of the presidential candidates strongly influenced the nomination and the general election campaign. This development has significantly enhanced the role of the image-makers in defining their candidates and in increasing their electability.

Debates

Along with the election news on evening broadcasts, the other important television features of the presidential campaigns include the debates and the commercial spot announcements. Both formats are now designed with a lack of candor or truth that seriously erodes their credibility with the public. In this regard, President Reagan's campaign strategy of 1984 limited face-to-face confrontations with Mondale. In 1992, Clinton's staff insisted on a format that favored his informal style of campaigning. Consequently, the presidential debates, which are seldom substantive, are increasingly

difficult to arrange to the satisfaction of the candidates or the networks. If properly conducted, debates could effectively present an honest discussion of the major campaign issues. Yet the candidates demand a format that discourages any possibility of meaningful discourse. In short, the current debate format can actually impede the electoral process by denying the voters a genuine confrontation on the issues that will help decide how they will vote. The networks share some of the blame for the current status of televised debates. It is difficult, of course, for a single network to reform the system, but if all the networks refused to accept debate conditions imposed by candidates and their advisers they might trigger an in-depth reform of the candidates' manipulation of television. Given the potential audience for such debates, reform of this aspect could help promote more honest elections and serve the public interest. In fact, the large ratings for the debates, as compared to the almost miniscule ratings for the conventions, suggests that the American public is yearning for the opportunity to better understand the candidates and the issues they espouse.

Campaign Financing and Political Advertising

The constant rhetoric demanding reform of America's political campaign financing has had little effect on funding practices, and one reason is the crucial need to buy ever more commercial time on television. The problems of campaign financing and political advertising are perhaps the most significant facing American democracy today. Because of television's high costs, raising money for political campaigns has become a major industry. The entrenched position of the rich donors and the party fund raisers has proved so powerful that reform will be extremely difficult to achieve. The 1997 Senate hearings revealed that the campaign contribution corruption is so extensive and so deeply entrenched in the American political system that only radical regulatory legislation will eradicate it.

An additional evil related to excessive campaign financing is a candidate's heavy dependence on the twenty or thirty-second spot announcements. These expensive ads are

frequently crafted to obscure or twist the truth. When they are not appealing to the voters' fears, they disparage the opponent while leaving their candidate blameless. The candidate can deny personal responsibility and blame his staff or a political action group. This political trickery is one of the reasons why survey respondents regarded television as having a negative effect on politics. Despite the high costs of these announcements, neither candidates nor their managers appear especially distressed by their continued use.

Television's Relationship to the Political Process

All of these campaign tactics—the photo opportunity, the contrived soundbite, the stylized debate formats, the excesses of campaign financing, and the barrage of slanted commercials—conspire to turn a campaign into a political theater to be played out on television's home screens. In this sense, the producers, directors, and stage managers of the spectacle are the candidates' managers, their handlers, and their political consultants. Many of these staff members, such as James Carville (Democrat strategist), Republican advisor Mary Matalin, and Peggy Noonan (Reagan speechwriter) have become so prominent and so assured that they achieve celebrity in their own right as television personalities. They have written books, appeared on talk shows, and even claim authorship of the candidate's best "ad-libs." They represent a new profession akin to the Washington partisan spokesmen known as "spin doctors."

While some blame should be placed squarely on television, its use, misuse and nonuse, it would be unfair to imply that the medium alone is the problem. Numerous factors, many subject to human manipulation, tend to thwart and distort the electoral process. These include: poor policing of campaign financing, social fashions that tend to favor image over substance, and the decline of the once vigorous two-party system.

It seems reasonable to speculate that by focusing on the mechanics and the style of a campaign, the media have probably been instrumental in the increasing public distrust of the political process. This cynicism has, in turn, contributed to the decline in the number of eligible voters who go to the polls. The fault lies not only with the media. It lies with

the politicians and with a public that tolerates an educational system that turns out large numbers of citizens who are disinterested in participating meaningfully in a democracy. Information technology has, in many ways, stripped away the insulation that used to protect policy formulation.

It is evident that the electronic media have had a profound and pervasive effect upon the American electoral system and on society in general. What is today seen as commonplace in electronic news-gathering and dissemination would have been viewed as all but impossible a few decades ago. Instantaneous satellite communications, the proliferation of computers, the utility and ubiquity of videotape, the remarkable growth of the cable television industry and other technical advances have all been highly instrumental in creating a communications revolution. The increased technological proficiency in the telecommunication arena, however, has not proved to be an unmitigated blessing. Many of the consequences attributed to television were not intentional; rather they resulted from circumstances not apparent at the outset. In fact, Weber believed that it was impossible to foresee all the consequences of a technical action because all technique affects the entire public in varied ways. As a result, the products of an evolving technology have some negative impact on society in general. When such negative results do occur, society must repair the damage.

Through the electronic media, especially television, the American public in the last five decades has been inundated with immense amounts of information. Never before in history has so much information been made available to so many people in so short a time. Unfortunately, the technological tools peculiar to the communications industry have all too frequently been manipulated by politicians and improperly employed by media personnel. In the future, increased computer usage, with recourse in particular to the Internet, will allow for even more sources of information. A tangential effect of this computer usage may result in less dependence on TV. We can bemoan the excesses of the media that all too often appear to favor the sensational over the realistic,

that in its haste to "get out" the story fails to capture the nuance. Or we can thank our good fortune to be citizens of a nation where a watchdog press insures that no tyrant long tramples our liberty. To be adequately informed, however, voters must recognize that dependence on television for political information needs to be supplemented by other sources of information. Perhaps the interest in computers may help in limiting television's influence.

The reasons for individual, cultural, and political alienation, which are numerous, can be attributed in large measure to the failure to address the essential relation between technology and society. Regardless of what specific issue is being addressed, technology and society must continue to be viewed as interrelated. Understanding that relationship is the key to shaping effectively the future, a future where technology does not subvert but supports the needs and values of society.

Almost a half-century has passed by since the election of 1952, and the society of the 1950s sometimes appears as distant from the modern era as does Victorian England. Yet the changes that were spawned during that summer of 1952 at the Chicago national conventions by the new TV technology have had a remarkable impact on the political process. What was accepted as political routine in 1992 proceeded from dramatic changes in presidential politics wrought by forty years of evolution in the electronic communications. To best understand the importance of what has happened, one needs to review and analyze the electoral process as it existed in 1952 and then to gain an appreciation for how television has contributed to the campaign.

While various modifications have affected the way American political campaigns are conducted, there are three, in particular, that deserve close attention. They include changes in the nomination process, in communication with the electorate, and in the impact of television advertising on campaign financing. In all three areas, television was the primary instrument of change. Since television was assuming an increasingly critical

role in keeping the public informed of political issues, the cumulative effect of these changes has been impressive.

Party control of the nomination process, so absolute since the nineteenth century, began a noticeable decline during the tightly contested presidential races in 1952. Selection of national candidates by party leaders at brokered conventions was replaced by a series of state caucuses and primaries in which the decision rested with the voting public, and television made that possible. By 1992, party control of the nominating process was virtually non-existent, and the decisive national convention, as a nominating process, had become not much more than an anachronism.

In 1952, Eisenhower and Stevenson participated in the time-honored tradition of the whistle-stop campaign, although the train was largely supplanted by the airplane. Most formal encounters with the public were focused on the traditional set speech either at a train stop or in an auditorium. Some campaign speeches were broadcast on radio and television, but budgetary limits kept electronic media expenses to a minimum. That year did witness the introduction of the 30-second spot commercial, so professionally utilized by the Eisenhower staff.

By the time Bush confronted Clinton and Perot in 1992, the principal means of candidate communication with the public was via television, most likely in the form of partisan commercials or debates. The 30-minute speech, while still part of a candidate's arsenal, was rarely used. It was replaced as a campaign technique by frequent appearances on TV talk shows, often replete with audience participation. Most significantly, the vast majority of candidate communication was through television, and the expense engendered by this approach was formidable.

Moreover, there has been a radical transformation in the way the media dispenses campaign news to the public. The voters in 1952 received most of their presidential campaign information from the daily newspaper supplemented by news broadcasts. Television newscasts were then a novelty, but forty years later, television was the primary

provider of political news, with newspapers referred to for in-depth information.

Newscasts are, however, often lacking in substance, or at worst, misleading. They are open to manipulation through exploiting the soundbite or the photo-op or by skillfully crafted partisan commercials. With the electorate inundated with a vast outpouring of data on round-the-clock broadcasts, there remain serious questions as to whether today's public is actually better informed than were the voters of two generations ago.

A presidential campaign without effective and ample use of television is today considered impossible. The formidable monetary challenge incurred by candidates means that the television budget now dwarfs all other campaign expenditures, and the impact on electoral strategy is difficult to overstate. It has eliminated non-affluent but otherwise well-qualified candidates from even considering a run for national office as it exacerbates the dangers of fundraising abuse.

Recommendations

While TV cannot easily be reformed, the ways it is exploited in political campaigns can be modified by a general agreement among the political parties. In considering any type of reform, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the media are in business to make a profit. This applies to the way information is dispensed as well as to selling time for political advertisements. Despite this concern for making a profit, however, there are some changes that do appear possible. A bipartisan commission could establish guidelines to establish fairness and equity in using TV time. Free TV time could be allotted to the major parties but with the proviso that there would be a set limit on extra commercial advertising. The campaign-contribution laws must be strengthened to halt the mad race to raise money to finance more TV ads. The goal of equal free air time and a cap on commercials might solve this problem if it were presented as a question of fairness to the American people. While the positive aspects of such a change are self-evident, the prospect of eliminating entirely misleading TV ads is probably too much to expect, although an appreciable curtailment is within the realm of probability.

Debates should follow the traditional polemic style with an open pattern of intelligent argument and rebuttal. Format should not be left to the discretion of the political parties, the individual candidates, or their staff. In this regard, the networks could play a meaningful role by refusing to acquiesce in the telecasting of pseudo debates that have been carefully stage-managed in style and substance to the advantage of one or the other participants.

Convention ceremonies should continue to be broadcast on network TV, but they must be modified to make them both interesting and politically educational. To begin with, they should be radically shortened to perhaps a maximum of two days (with 2-3 hours of prime time coverage scheduled for each evening). Certainly the keynote speech and the acceptance speeches should be carried in full, but they could be preceded by a panel discussion featuring key party figures, including the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, who would outline their stands on critical issues. The discussion could be moderated by a network anchor and would include questions (both issue oriented and personal) submitted by representative members of the media. This would allow the viewers to understand better what the candidates stand for and why. It would also allow for relevant personal characteristics of the candidates to be explored in an objective and serious venue and would make for interesting and informative TV viewing. Interestingly, there has not been any indication of a public outcry for a return to a convention-based nomination process. Most likely, this is due to the realization that despite problems associated with the "open" process of selection fostered by TV, it is still better than the secretive process held "behind closed doors" that was impervious to influence by the general public.

It would also be interesting to revisit an idea first utilized by Adlai Stevenson during the 1956 Democrat convention in Chicago. Instead of choosing his own running-mate, he allowed the convention delegates to select a vice-presidential nominee of their own choosing without undue influence from the presidential candidate. The delegates

appreciated the independence, and it was the exciting highlight of the week. If sufficient pressure could be applied by the American public and party leaders, the change might be effected. It would actually return to the convention the responsibility of choosing a candidate and would serve as an excellent example of the democratic process in action.

The idea of a national primary day also has some value in enhancing TV's role in participatory democracy and in vetting potential nominees. Television would be a critical resource by dispensing information, both personal and issue-oriented, on all the candidates vying for the presidency. Freed from focusing on candidates vying for votes in individual caucuses or single state primaries where local issues sometimes prove dominant, television could provide a truly national platform from which the American public could evaluate the contenders. If all the state primaries were held on a single day, the most likely outcome would be that no candidate would have the requisite number of votes to be nominated. A national convention held within two weeks of this primary would posit responsibility on the delegates to choose the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In large measure, the political machinations of the pre-television era would likely return, and viewers would experience a valuable civics lesson. More importantly, it would shorten the campaign and could lead to a better choice of candidates. Tangentially, it has the potential benefit of decreased expenditures if candidates had to focus on only one primary election day rather than a series.

None of these recommendations appears easy to implement, but all are worth considering. The one that stands the best chance of being implemented may well be the granting of free time to candidates if campaign advertising is kept within practical limits. This has the potential of appealing to all concerned since it allows for ample broadcast time while curtailing the demand for continually increased fundraising. As it stands, television will remain with us, and it is too deeply enmeshed in the political process to be ignored. The primary goal is to assist in modifying TV's relationship with politics to the

extent that this key medium becomes a more effective and useful servant of the electorate.

Television's influence on the political process has been enormous as has its impact on society in general. Whether it is applauded or decried, this communications medium will continue to affect American society significantly. In examining and reflecting upon the vast changes precipitated by TV from 1952 to 1992, this study has demonstrated how an appreciation for the awesome power TV possesses should lead the American people and political leaders to consider its role in the years ahead. The real danger lies in continuing the current role of television in politics, and the ultimate challenge is to make it a true servant of society. As quoted in Hanna, Adlai Stevenson warned, "Technology, while adding daily to our physical ease, throws daily another loop of fine wire around our soul" (1965, 77). If the warning is heeded, the technology that is television will assist in freeing, not enslaving, the human spirit.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

CIRCLE ONLY ONE RESPONSE TO EACH QUESTION EXCEPT
FOR QUESTION #11 WHICH REQUIRES MULTIPLE RESPONSES

Date _____

Age: a. 18 to 25
b. 26 to 35
c. 36 to 45
d. 46 to 55
e. 56 or over

Education: a. Some high school
b. High school graduate
c. Some college
d. College degree
e. Graduate degree

Sex: a. Male
b. Female

Income Level: a. \$10,000 to \$19,999
b. \$20,000 to \$34,999
c. \$35,000 to \$59,999
d. \$60,000 to \$74,999
e. \$75,000 or more

Political Affiliation: a. Democrat
b. Republican
c. Independent
d. Other

Did you vote in the last presidential election? a. Yes b. No

1. WHAT IS YOUR PRIMARY SOURCE OF NEWS CONCERNING ELECTION COVERAGE?

- a. Television
b. Radio
c. Newspapers
d. Magazines
e. Other

2. WHEN WATCHING TELEVISION FOR ELECTION COVERAGE, WHAT SOURCE DO YOU CONSIDER MOST VALUABLE?

- a. Network News (ABC/CBS/NBC)
b. Cable News Network (CNN)
c. Public Broadcasting (e.g., "Lehrer Report")
d. Local News Programs
e. TV News Shows (e.g., "20/20")

3. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND WATCHING TELEVISION WEEKLY?

- a. None
b. 1 to 10 hours
c. 11 to 20 hours
d. 21 to 30 hours
e. More than 30 hours

4. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND WATCHING TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE WEEKLY?

- a. None
b. 1 to 5 hours
c. 6 to 10 hours
d. 11 to 15 hours
e. More than 15 hours

5. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND LISTENING TO RADIO NEWS COVERAGE WEEKLY (NETWORK RADIO NEWS, LOCAL RADIO NEWS NEWS TALK SHOWS, ETC.)?

- a. None
b. 1 to 5 hours
c. 6 to 10 hours
d. 11 to 15 hours
e. More than 15 hours

6. WHEN YOU ARE SEEKING IN-DEPTH COVERAGE OF A SPECIFIC NEWS STORY, WHAT SOURCE DO YOU CONSIDER MOST RELIABLE?

- a. Television News
b. Radio News or News Talk Shows
c. Newspapers/Magazines
d. Other

7. IN YOUR VIEW, HAS TELEVISION'S COVERAGE OF POLITICS INCREASED OR DECREASED IN QUALITY OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS?

- a. Increased
b. Decreased
c. Remained about the same

8. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TELEVISION SHOWS (COMEDY, DRAMA, VARIETY) PROVIDE A REALISTIC PORTRAYAL OF AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY?
- Generally yes
 - Generally no
 - Not sure
9. HAVE TELEVISION SHOWS (COMEDY, DRAMA, VARIETY) HAD A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE IMPACT ON AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY?
- Positive
 - Negative
 - Not sure
10. WHEN ATTEMPTING TO DECIDE FOR WHOM TO VOTE IN A PARTICULAR ELECTION, HAS TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF THE CANDIDATES AND THEIR CAMPAIGNS HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON YOUR DECISION?
- Yes
 - No
 - Not sure
11. DURING AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, DO YOU WATCH ANY OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING ON TELEVISION? (CHECK YES OR NO FOR EACH CATEGORY)
- Partisan commercials Yes _____ No _____
 - Political speeches by individual candidates Yes _____ No _____
 - Debates between the principal candidates Yes _____ No _____
 - Political conventions Yes _____ No _____
12. WHICH INFORMATION SOURCE DO YOU CONSIDER THE MOST OBJECTIVE AND/OR UNBIASED IN PROVIDING POLITICAL COVERAGE?
- TV Network News (ABC, CBS, NBC)
 - Cable News Network (CNN)
 - Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)
 - Radio Talk Shows
 - Newspapers/Magazines
13. IN YOUR OPINION, HAS THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA (TELEVISION/RADIO) ELECTION COVERAGE HAD A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS?
- Positive
 - Negative
 - No real effect
14. IN CONSIDERING THE TIME DEVOTED BY TELEVISION/RADIO TO COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, WHICH DO YOU CONSIDER MOST ACCURATE?
- Too much time is provide for election coverage
 - Not enough time is provided for election coverage
 - The time provided seems adequate
15. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES IN COMMUNICATIONS (E.G., SATELLITE LINKAGE, VIDEOTAPE, CABLE TELEVISION, ETC.) HAVE PROVED TO BE BENEFICIAL OR HARMFUL TO AMERICAN SOCIETY?
- Mostly beneficial
 - Somewhat beneficial
 - Mostly harmful
 - Somewhat harmful
 - A mix of beneficial and harmful
16. DOES THE VAST AMOUNT OF COVERAGE PROVIDED BY THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA (TELEVISION/RADIO) ON A PARTICULAR STORY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT OR EASIER TO UNDERSTAND THE INFORMATION AND TO ANALYZE IT ADEQUATELY?
- More difficult to absorb and analyze
 - Easier to absorb and analyze
 - Makes little difference

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS**AGE**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18 to 25	17	6.8%	6.8%	6.8%
26 to 35	63	25.3%	25.3%	32.1%
36 to 45	74	29.7%	29.7%	61.8%
46 to 55	79	31.7%	31.7%	93.6%
56 or over	14	5.6%	5.6%	99.2%
No response	2	.8%	.8%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

EDUCATION

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Some High School	1	.4%	.4%	.4%
High School Graduate	21	8.4%	8.4%	8.8%
Some College	23	9.2%	9.2%	18.1%
College Degree	115	46.2%	46.2%	64.3%
Graduate Degree	85	34.1%	34.1%	98.4%
no response	4	1.6%	1.6%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

SEX

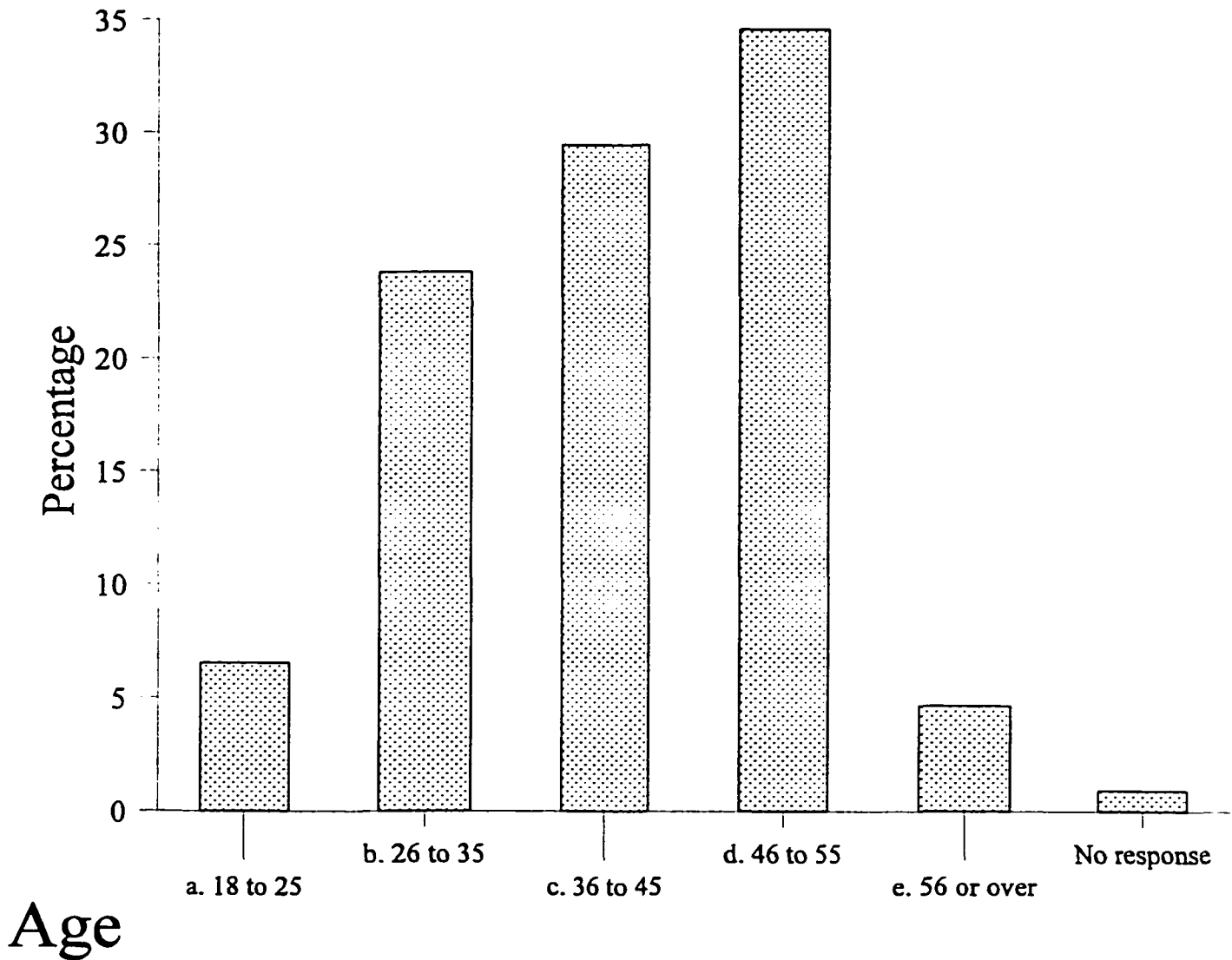
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	118	47.4%	47.4%	47.4%
Female	128	51.4%	51.4%	98.8%
no response	3	1.2%	1.2%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

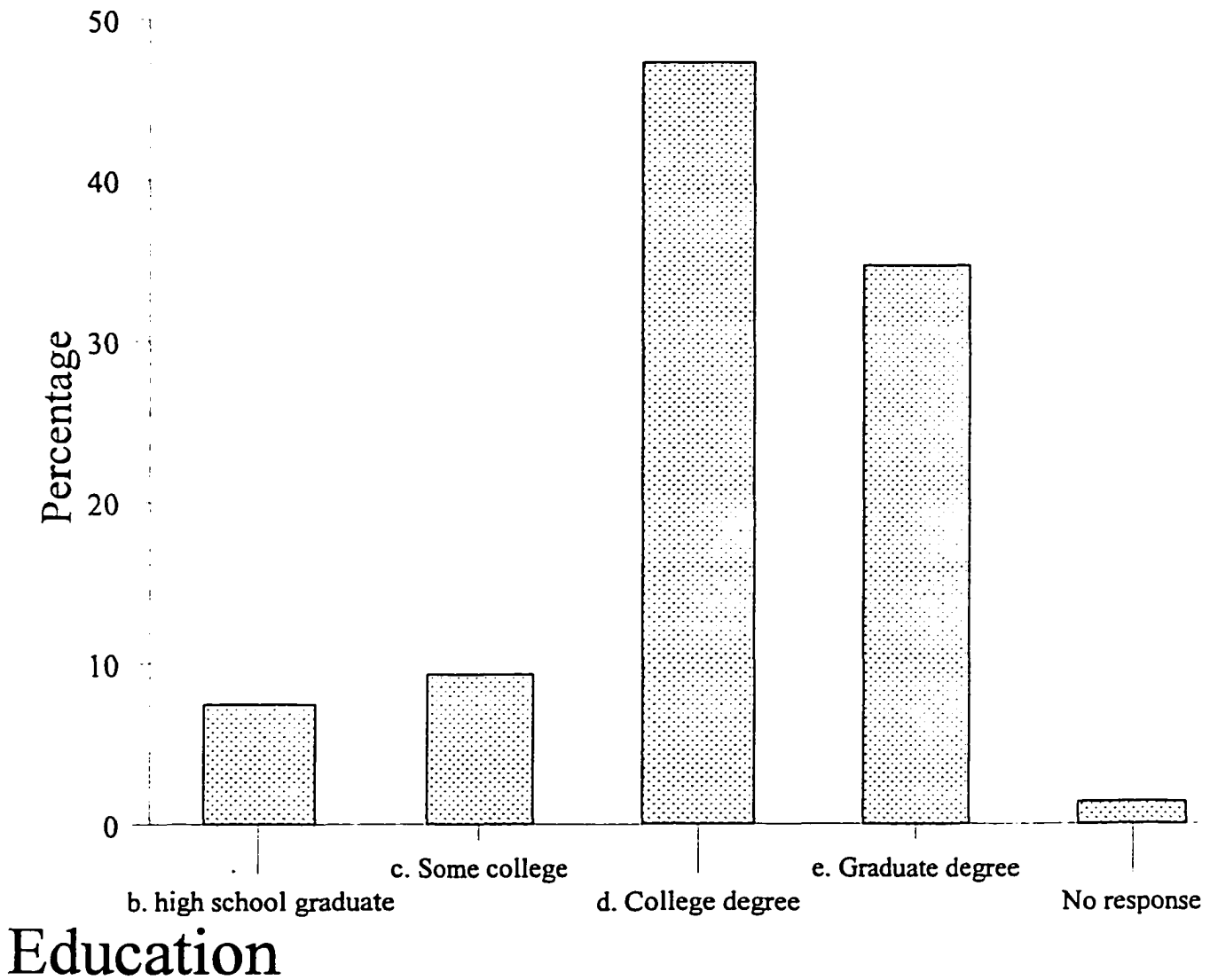
IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The age distribution of respondents



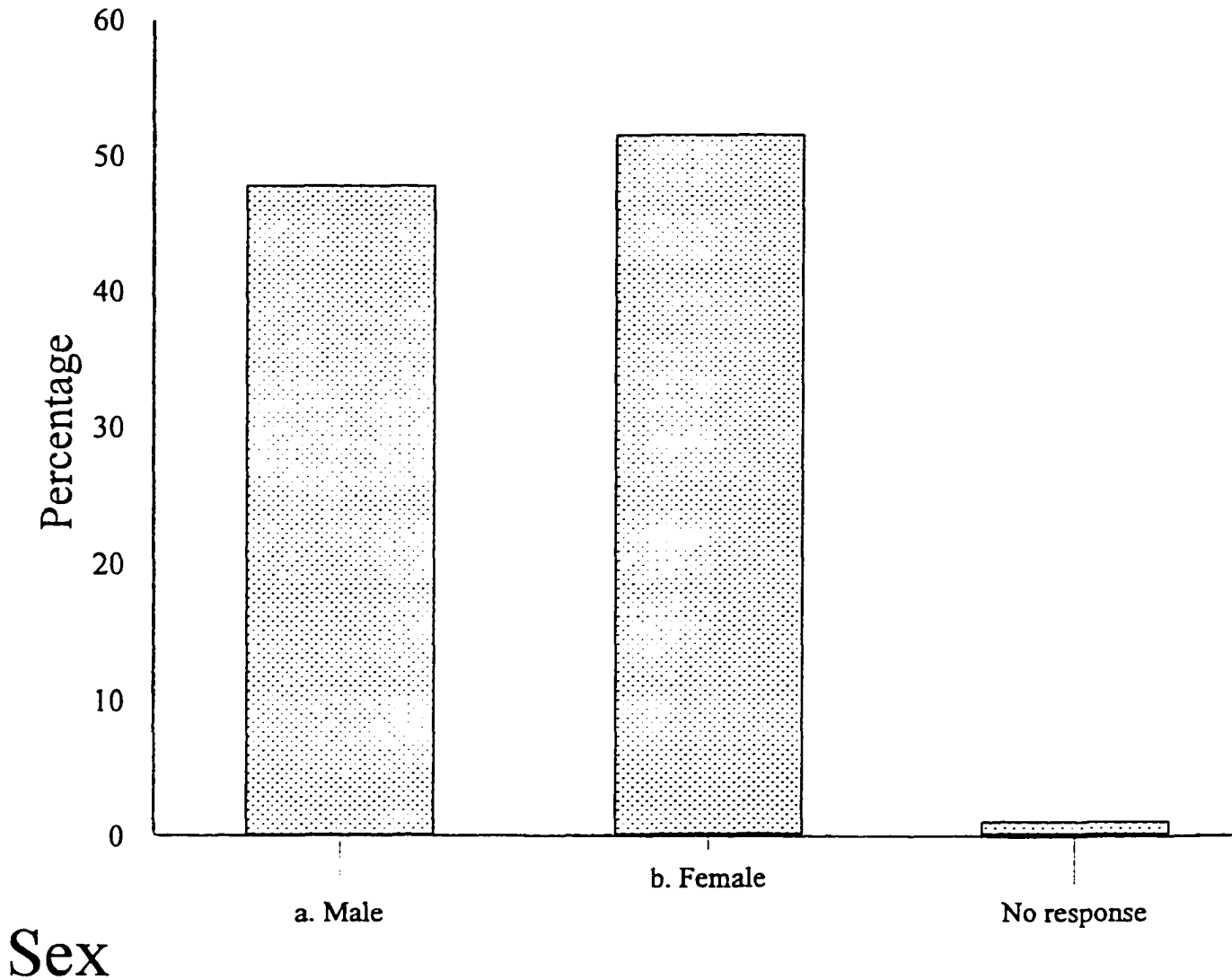
IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The education distribution of respondents



IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The sex distribution of respondents



INCOME LEVEL

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10,000 - 19,999	21	8.4%	8.4%	8.4%
20,000 - 34,999	54	21.7%	21.7%	30.1%
35,000 - 59,000	86	34.5%	34.5%	64.7%
60,000 - 74,999	25	10.0%	10.0%	74.7%
75,000 - or more	57	22.9%	22.9%	97.6%
no response	6	2.4%	2.4%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Democrat	111	44.6%	44.6%	44.6%
Republican	96	38.6%	38.6%	83.1%
Independent	34	13.7%	13.7%	96.8%
no response	8	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?

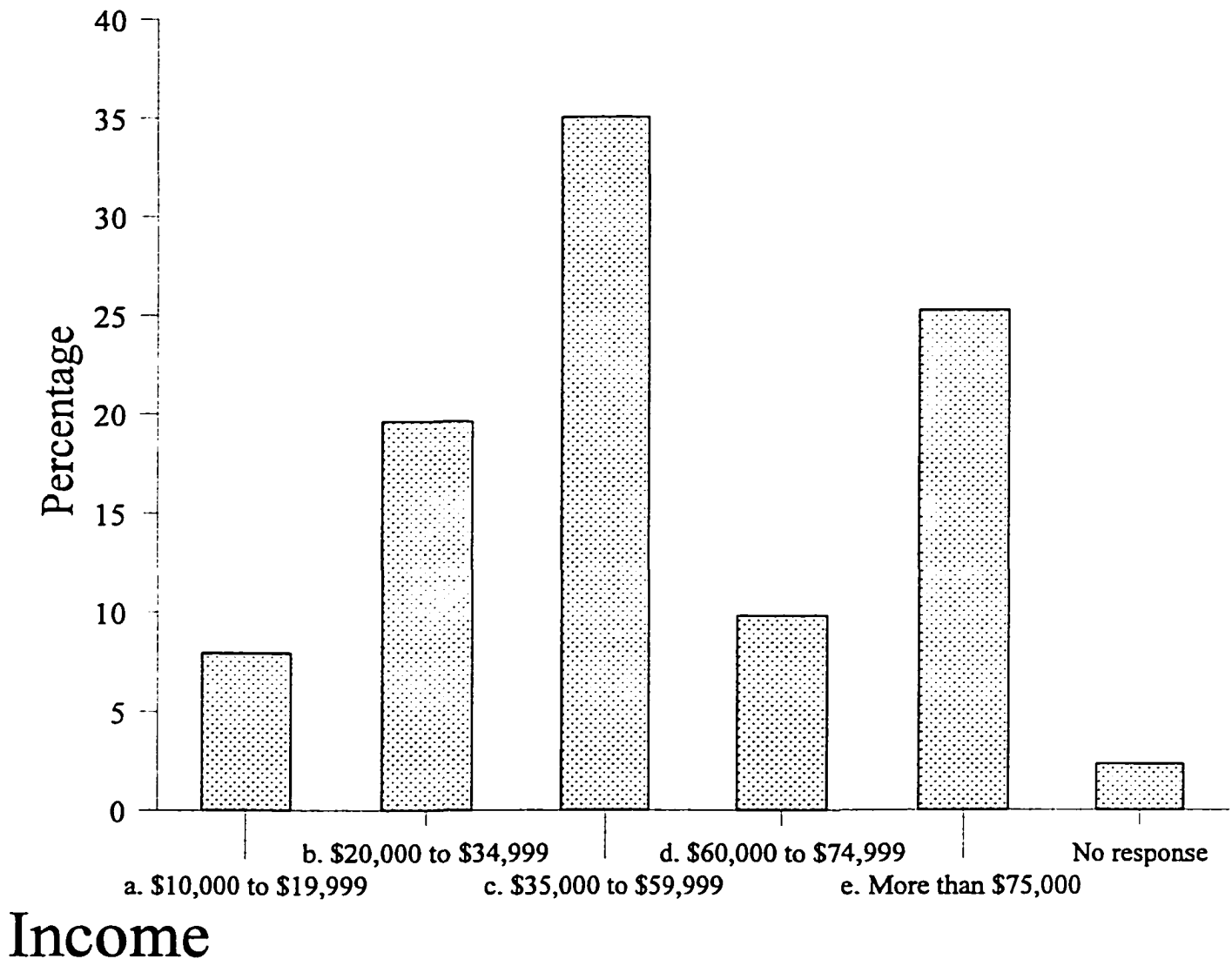
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	214	85.9%	85.9%	85.9%
No	25	10.0%	10.0%	96.0%
no response	10	4.0%	4.0%	100.0%

Total 249 100.0% 100.0%

Valid cases 249 Missing cases 0

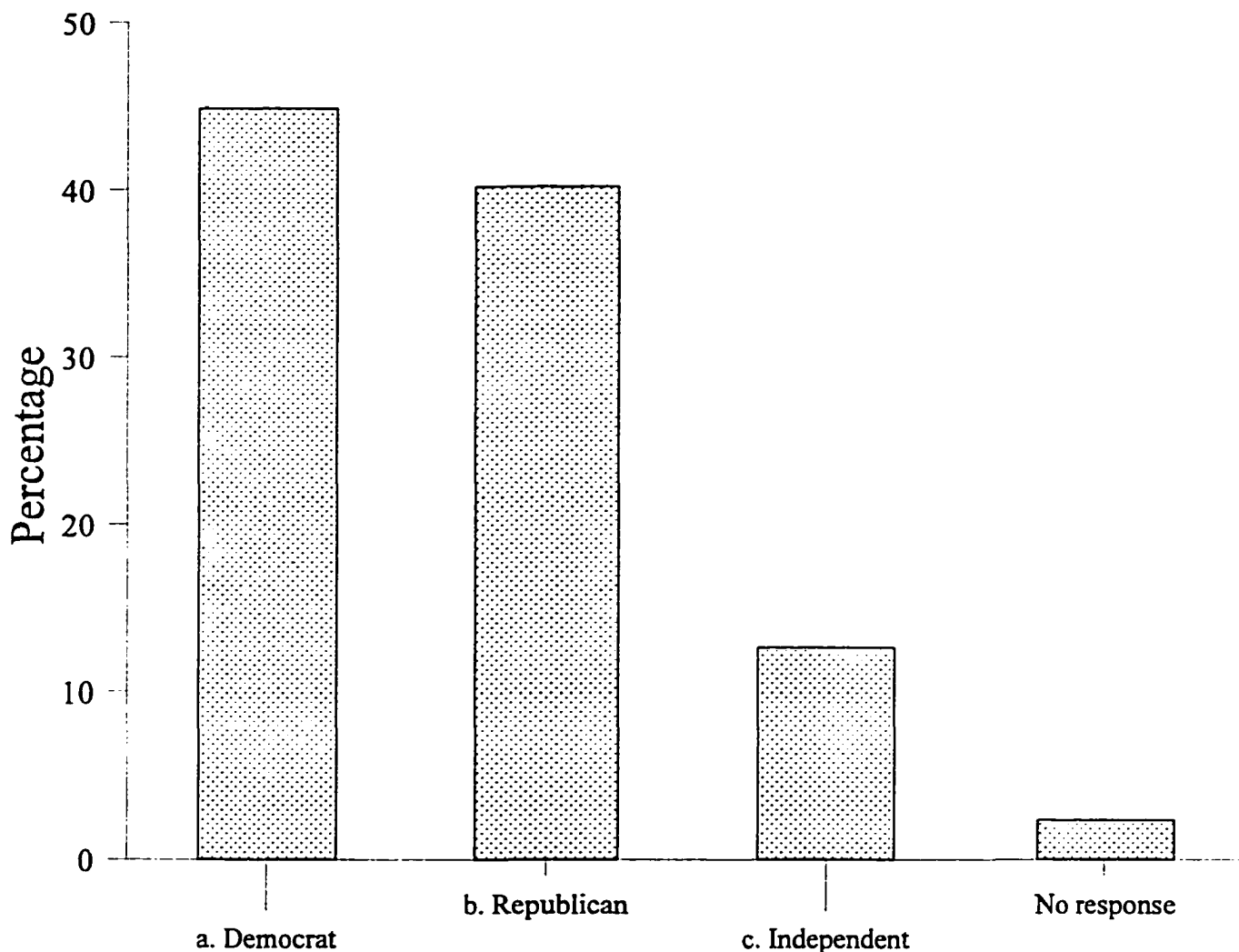
IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The income level distribution of respondents



IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

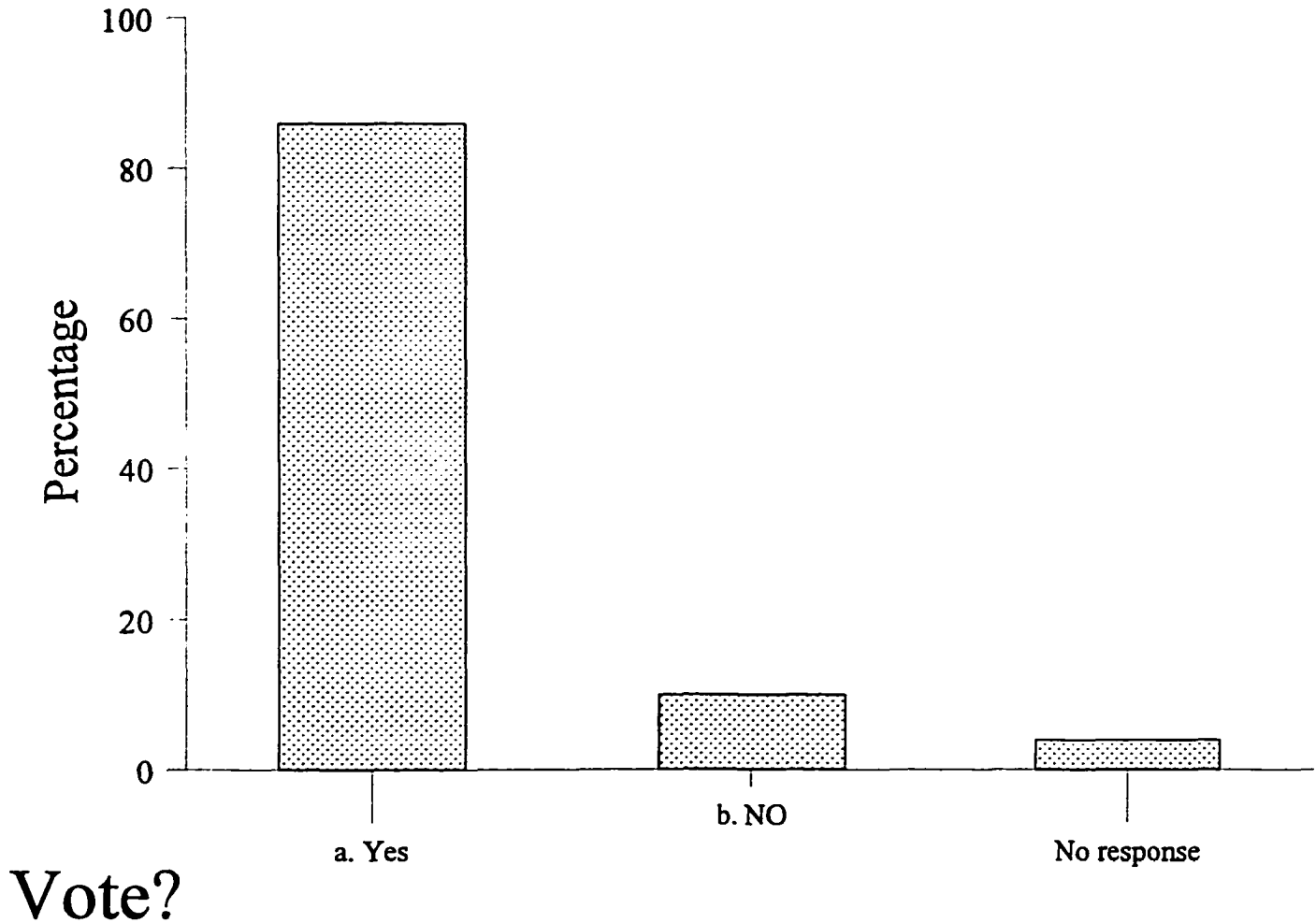
The political affiliation distribution of respondents



Political affiliation

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

How respondents answered the question:
did you vote in the 1992 presidential election?



APPENDIX C

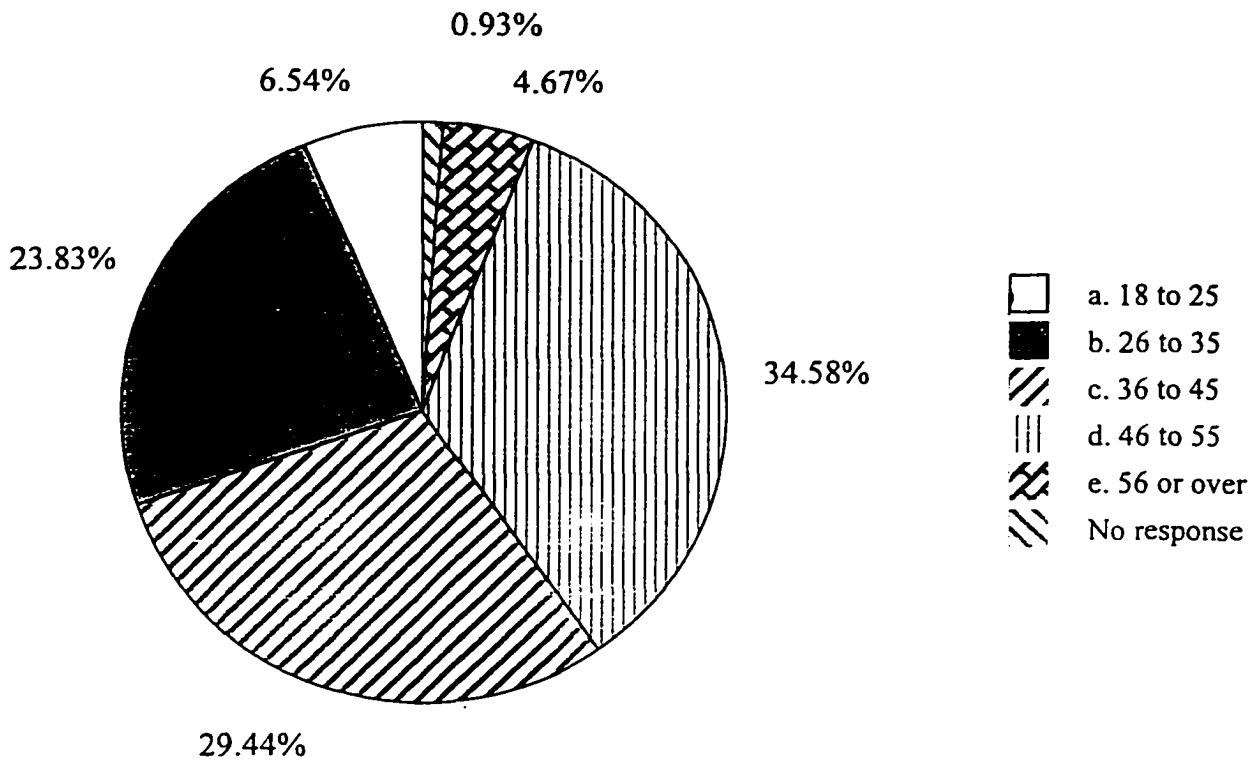
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to Research Question #1***

PART 1

**PEOPLE (FROM THE SAMPLE) WHO VOTED
COMPARED TO OTHER CHARACTERISTICS
INCLUDING
AGE, INCOME, EDUCATION, SEX,
AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED



**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

177

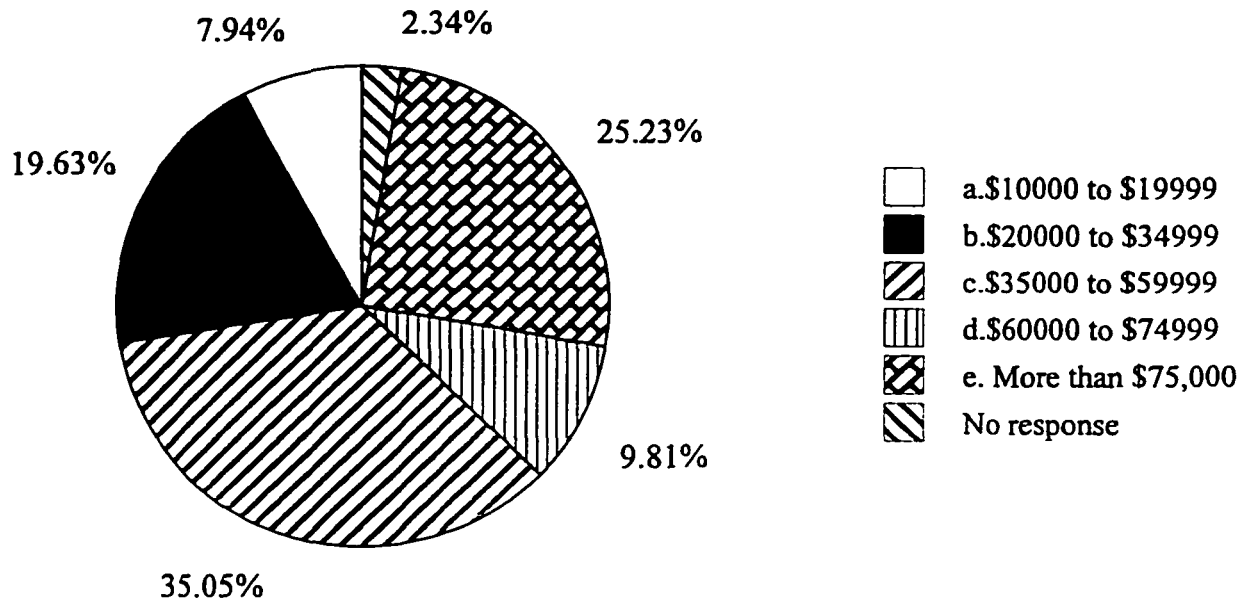
Q-F\Q-A	a. 18 to 25	b. 26 to 35	c. 36 to 45	d. 46 to 55	e. 56 to 65	No response	
a. Yes	14	51	63	74	10	2	
							214

Q-F\Q-A	a. 18 to 25	b. 26 to 35	c. 36 to 45	d. 46 to 55	e. 56 to 65	No response	
a. Yes	6.54%	23.83%	29.44%	34.58%	4.67%	0.93%	
							100.00%

Note: 214/249 represents those respondents (86%) who voted in 1992.

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

THE INCOME LEVEL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED



**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-F\Q-D

a. Yes

	a. \$10,000 to \$19,999	b. \$20,000 to \$34,999	c. \$35,000 to \$59,999	d. \$60,000 to \$74,999	e. More than \$75,000	No response
	17	42	75	21	54	5

214

Q-F\Q-D

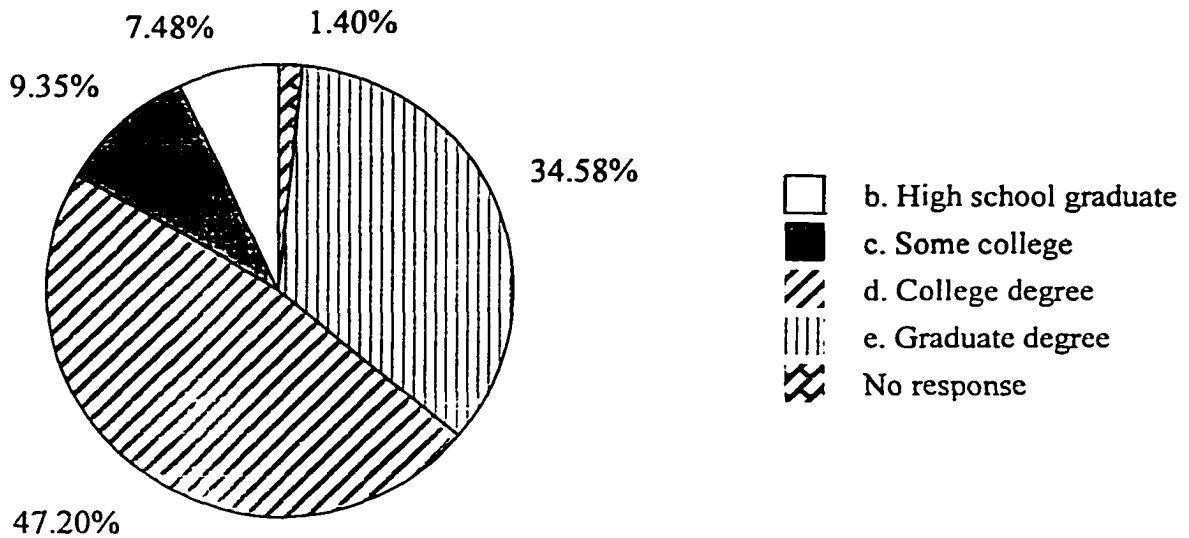
a. Yes

	a. \$10,000 to \$19,999	b. \$20,000 to \$34,999	c. \$35,000 to \$59,999	d. \$60,000 to \$74,999	e. More than \$75,000	No response
	7.94%	19.63%	35.05%	9.81%	25.23%	2.34%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

THE EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED



**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-FQ-B

a. Yes

b.High school grad	c.some College	d. College Degree	e. Graduate degree	No response	
16	20	101	74	3	

214

Q-FQ-B

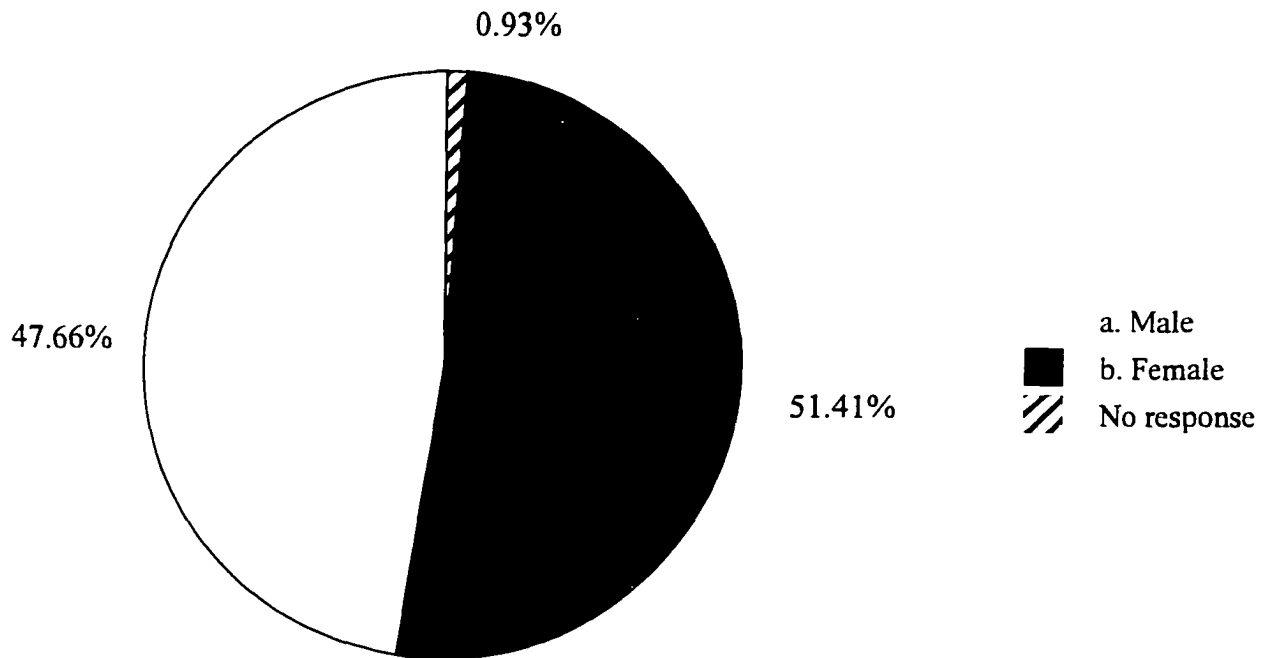
a. Yes

b.High school grad	c.some College	d. College Degree	e. Graduate degree	No response	
7.48%	9.35%	47.20%	34.58%	1.40%	

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

THE SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED



**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-F1\Q-C

a. Male

b. Female

No response

a. Yes

102	110	2					

214

Q-F1\Q-C

a. Male

b. Female

No response

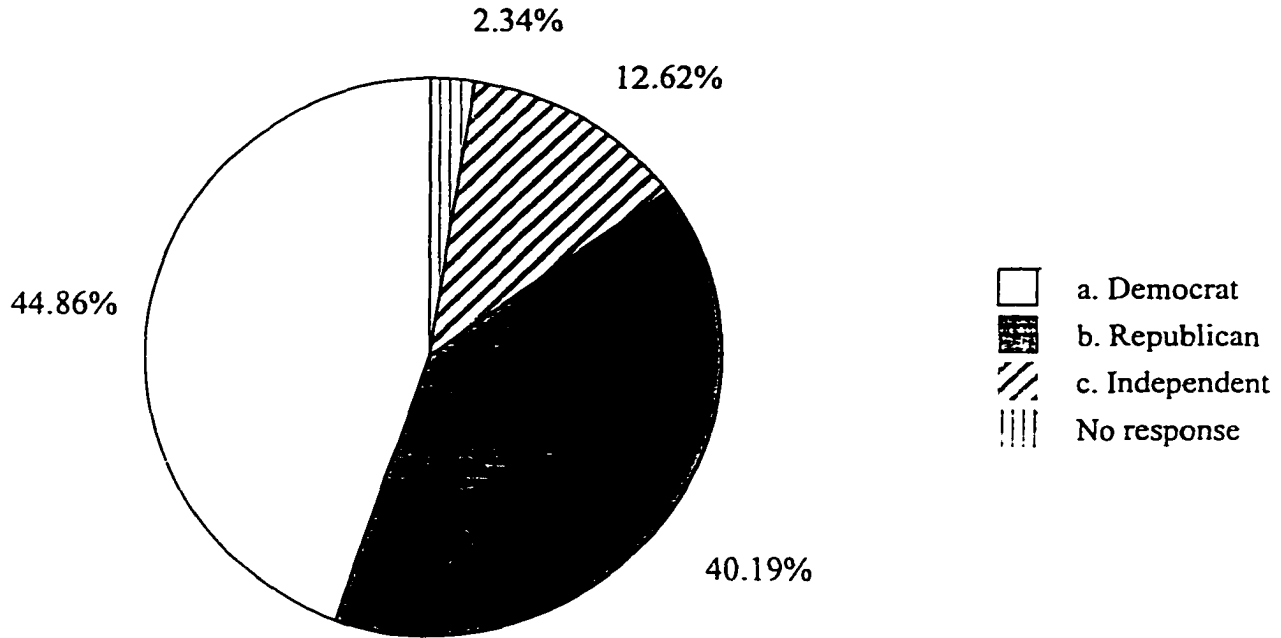
a. Yes

47.66%	51.40%	0.93%					

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

THE POLITICAL AFFILIATION DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED



**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

185

Q-F1Q-E
a. Yes

	a. Democrat	b. Republican	c. Independent	No response		
	96	86	27	5		

214

Q-F1Q-E
a. Yes

	a. Democrat	b. Republican	c. Independent	No response		
	44.86%	40.19%	12.62%	2.34%		

100.00%

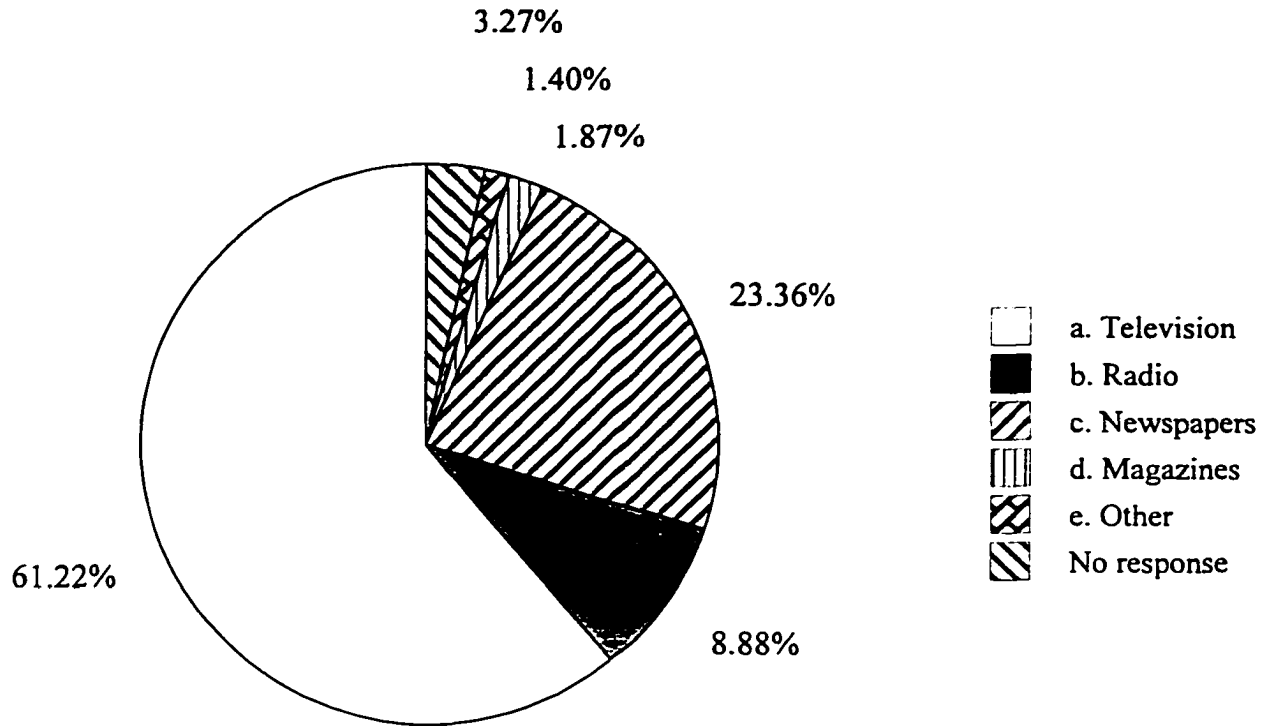
APPENDIX C

***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to Research Question #1***

PART 2

**PEOPLE (FROM THE SAMPLE) WHO VOTED
COMPARED TO QUESTIONS 1, 11, AND 10**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 1 (What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

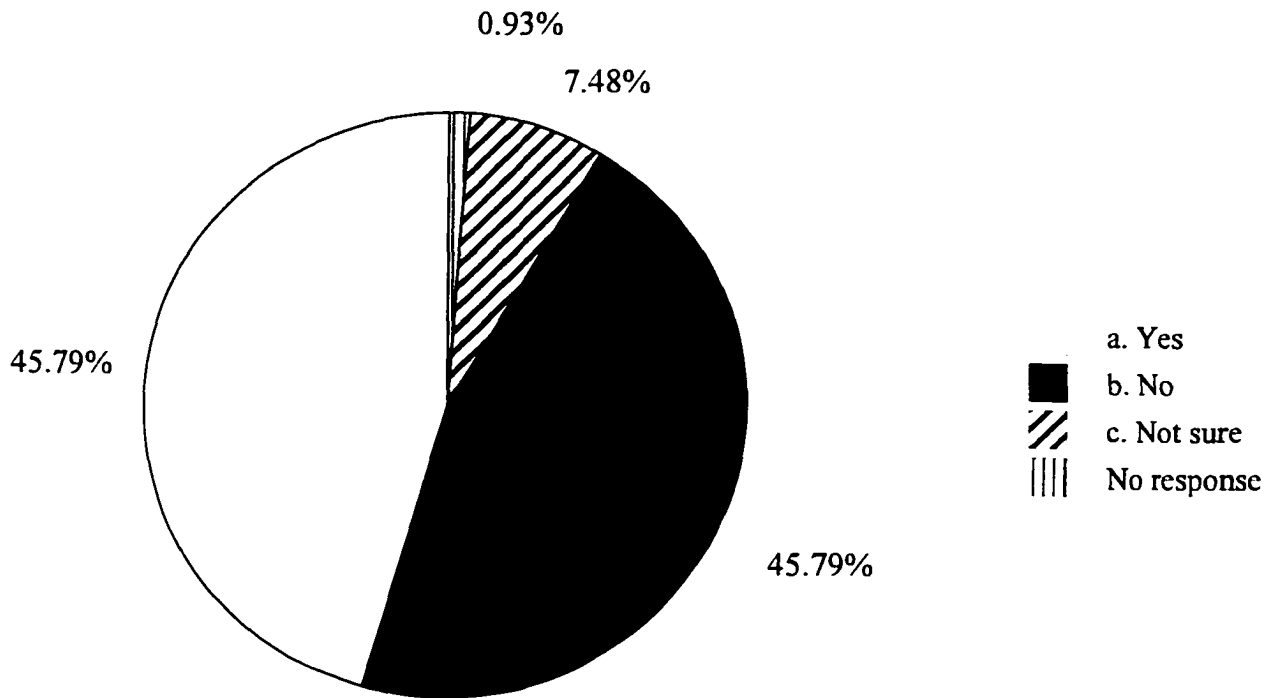
Q-FQ-1
a. Yes

	a. Television	b. Radio	c. Newspapers	d. Magazines	e. Other	No response
a. Yes	131	19	50	4	3	7
						214

Q-FQ-1
a. Yes

	a. Television	b. Radio	c. Newspapers	d. Magazines	e. Other	No response
a. Yes	61.21%	8.88%	23.36%	1.87%	1.40%	3.27%
						100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 10 (When attempting to decide for whom to vote in a particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-FIQ-10

a. Yes

a. Yes	b. No	c. Not sure	No response
98	98	16	2

214

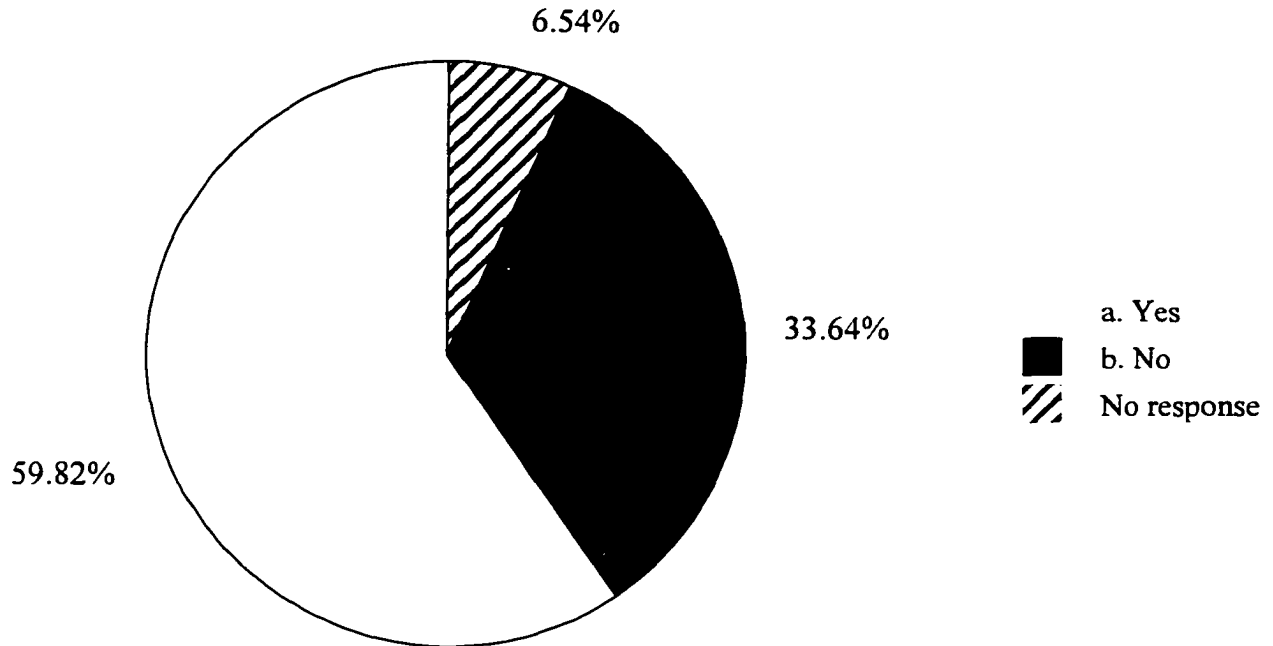
Q-FIQ-10

a. Yes

a. Yes	b. No	c. Not sure	No response
45.79%	45.79%	7.48%	0.93%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 11 A (During an election campaign, do you watch partisan commercials?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-F10-11_A

a. Yes

	Yes	No	No response
	128	72	14

214

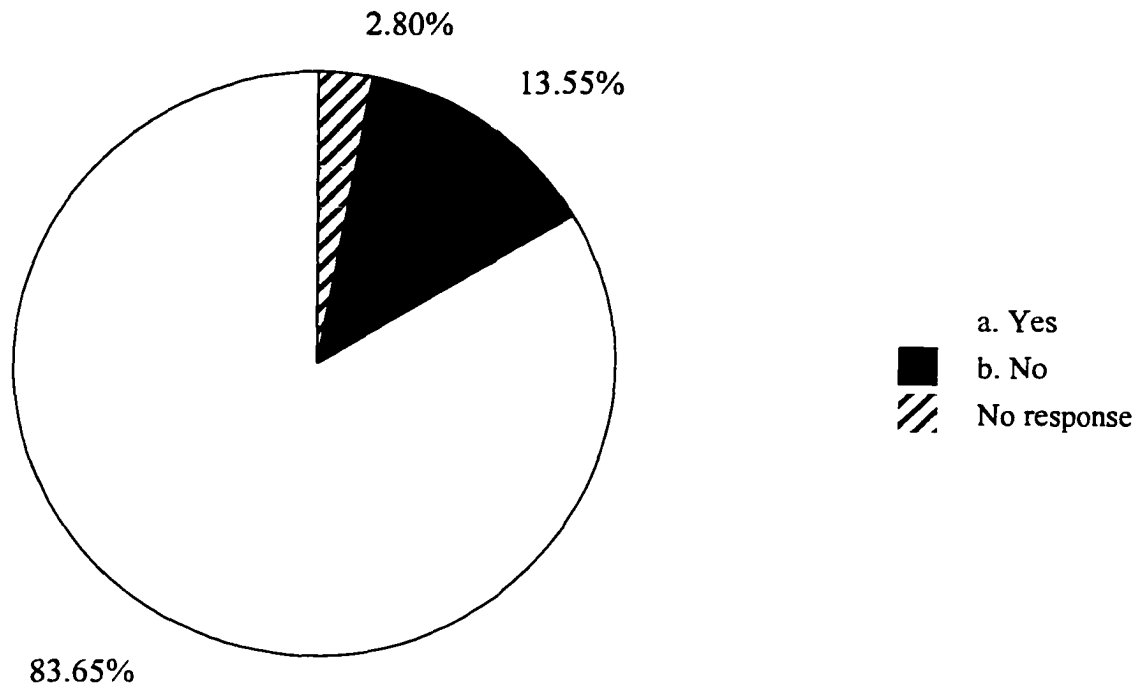
Q-F10-11_A

a. Yes

	Yes	No	No response
	59.81%	33.64%	6.54%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 11 B (During an election campaign, do you watch political speeches by individual candidates?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-FIQ-11_B

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response					
179	29	6					

214

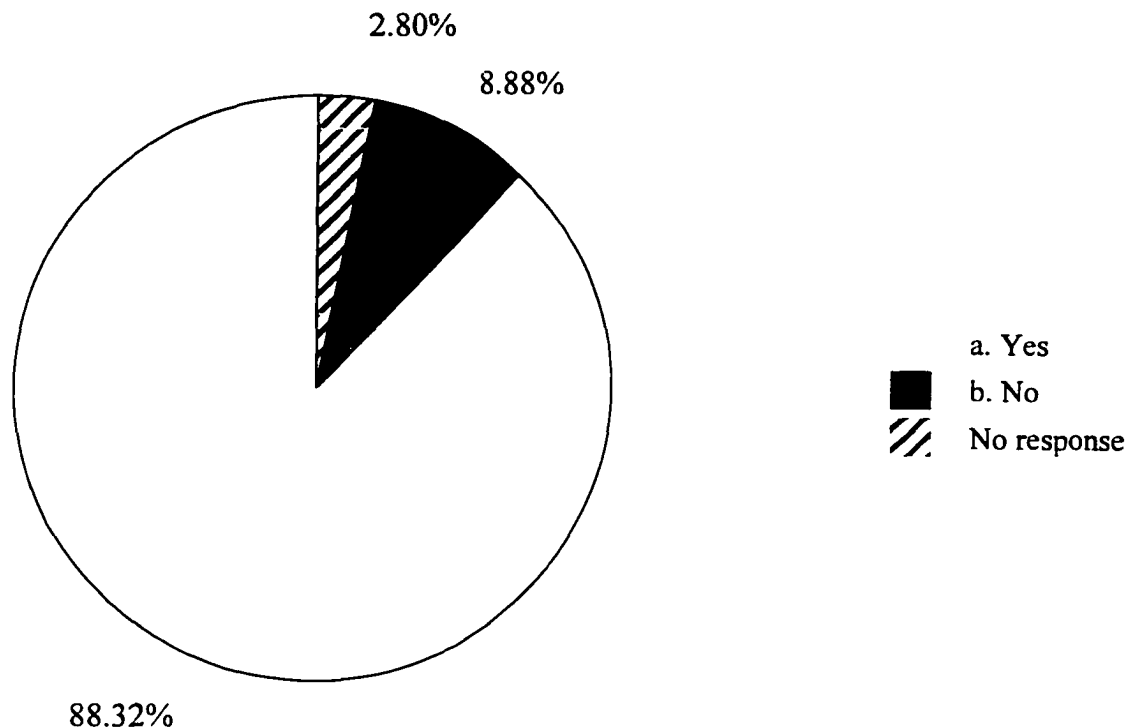
Q-FIQ-11_B

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response					
83.64%	13.55%	2.80%					

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 11 C (During an election campaign, do you watch debates
between the principal candidates?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-FRQ-11_C

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response						
189	19	6						

214

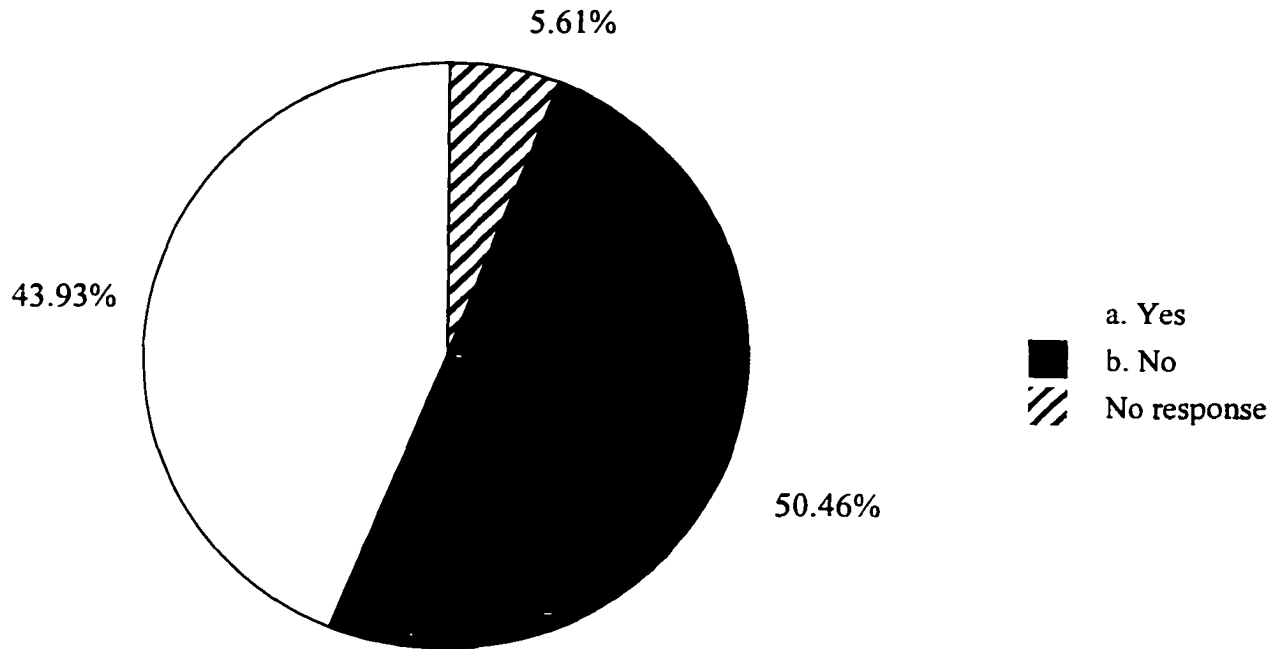
Q-FRQ-11_C

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response						
88.32%	8.88%	2.80%						

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Respondents who voted compared to:
Question 11 D (During an election campaign, do you watch political conventions?)

**SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q-FHQ-11_D

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response	
94	108	12	
			214

Q-FHQ-11_D

a. Yes

Yes	No	No response	
43.93%	50.47%	5.61%	
			100.00%

APPENDIX D

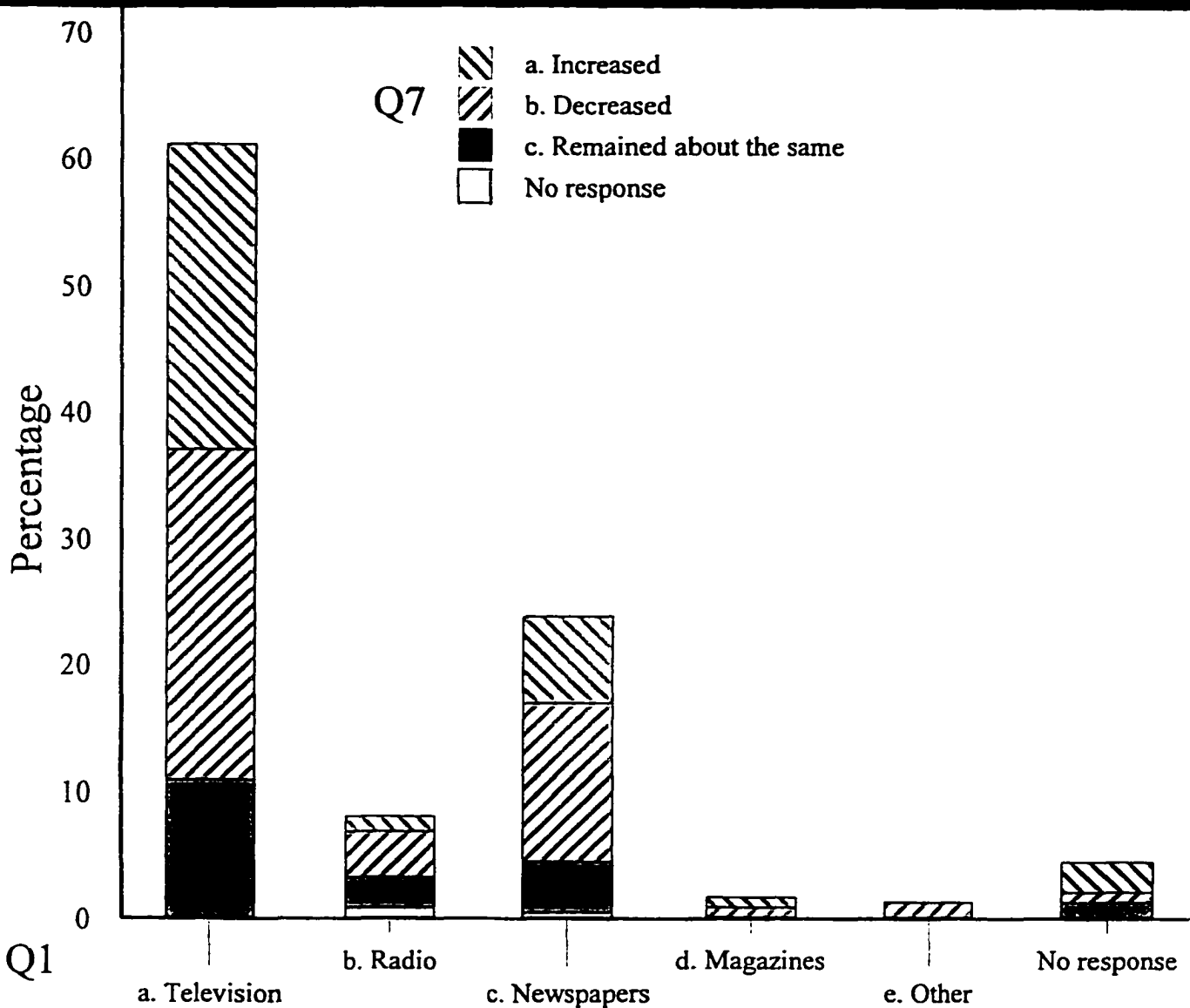
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to Research Question #2***

PART 1

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 1, 10, AND 11
COMPARED TO
QUESTIONS 7 AND 13**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?
- ▶ Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q1.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q1\Q7	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
a. Television	60	65	27	0		
b. Radio	3	9	6	2		
c. Newspapers	17	31	10	1		
d. Magazines	2	2	0	0		
e. Other	0	3	0	0		
No response	6	2	3	0		

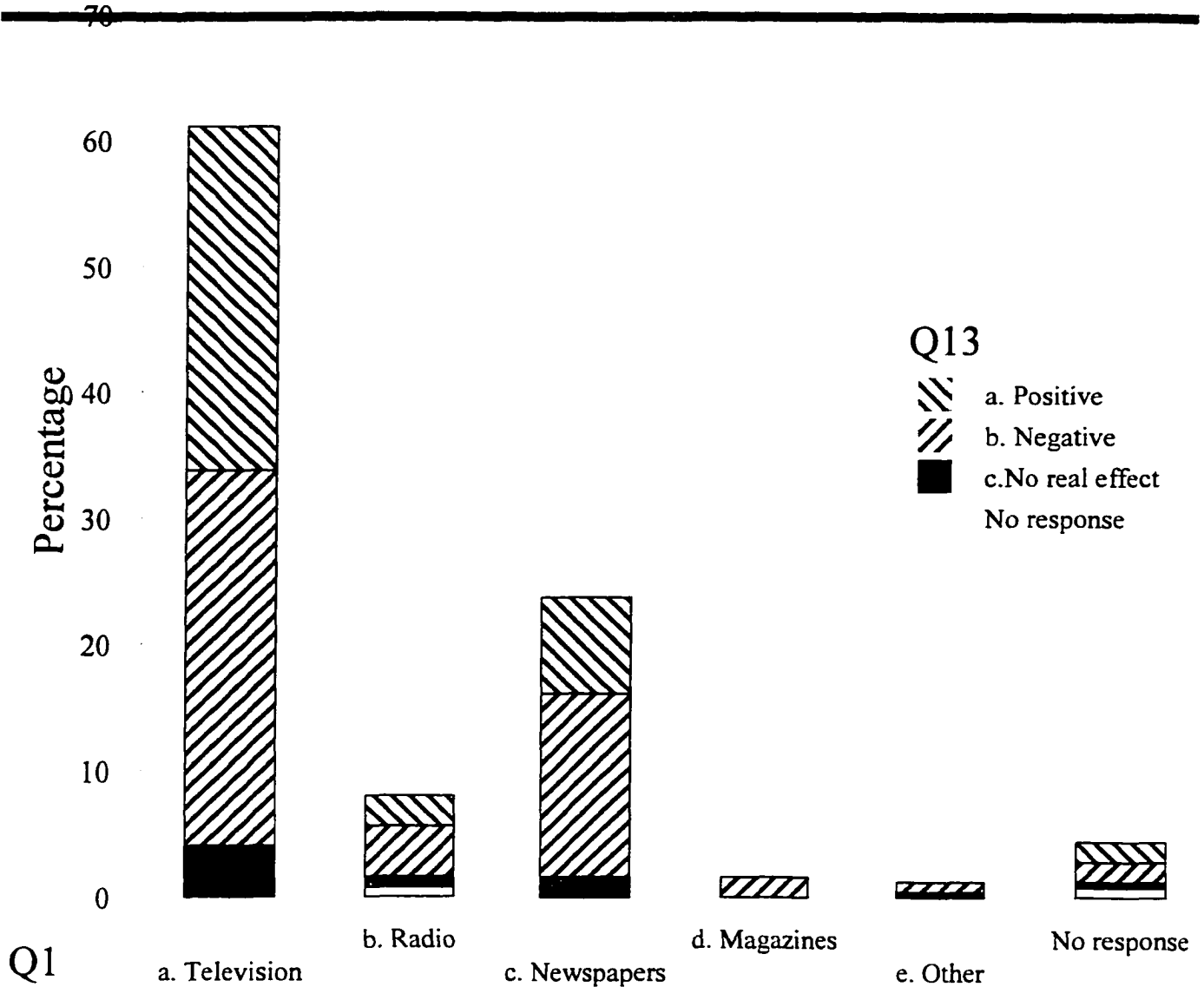
249

Q1\Q7	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
a. Television	24.10%	26.10%	10.84%	0.00%		
b. Radio	1.20%	3.61%	2.41%	0.80%		
c. Newspapers	6.83%	12.45%	4.02%	0.40%		
d. Magazines	0.80%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%		
e. Other	0.00%	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%		
No response	2.41%	0.80%	1.20%	0.00%		

100.00%

201

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?
 Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q1.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q1\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
a. Television	68	74	10	0		
b. Radio	6	10	2	2		
c. Newspapers	19	36	4	0		
d. Magazines	0	4	0	0		
e. Other	0	2	1	0		
No response	4	4	1	2		

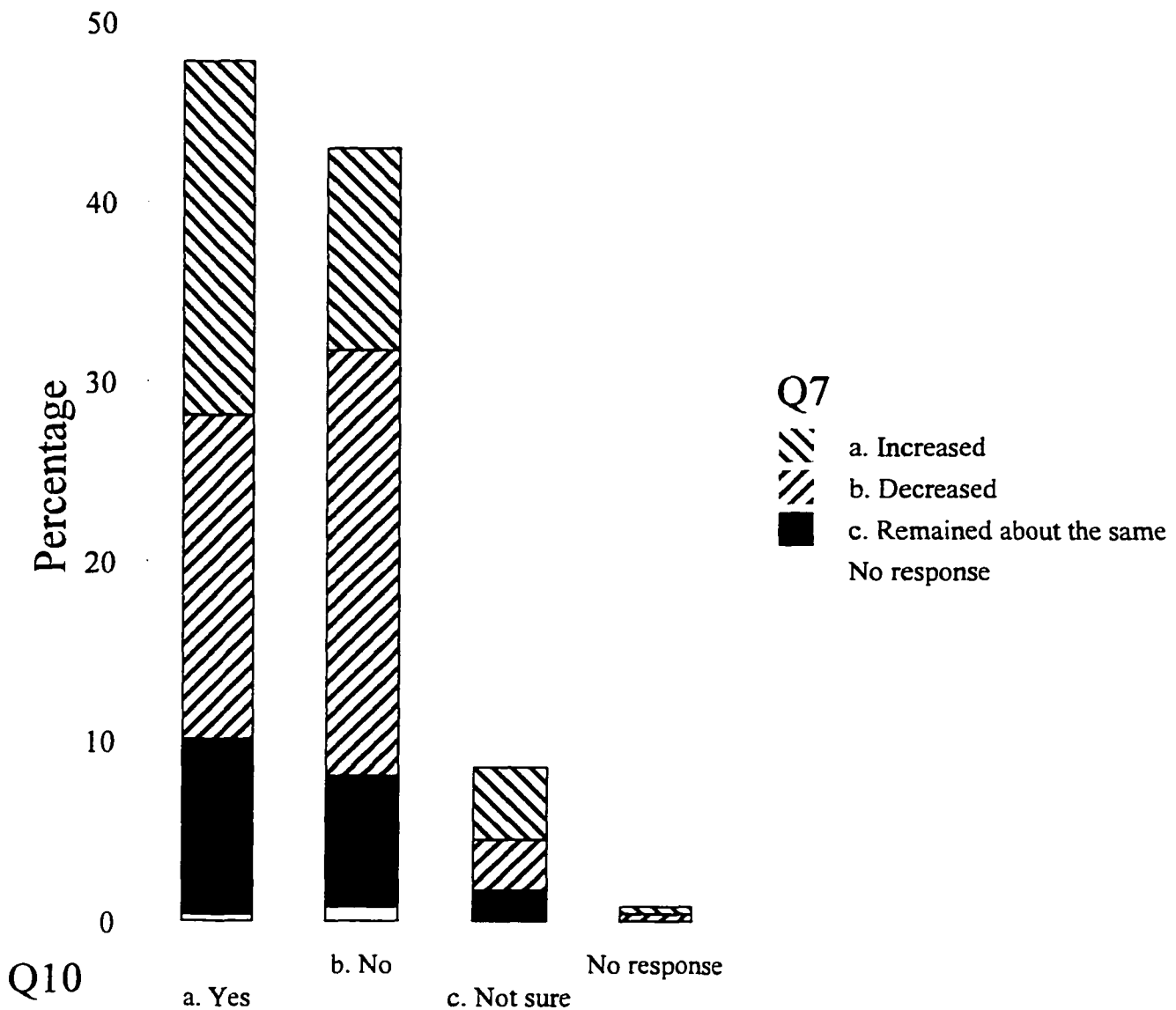
249

Q1\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
a. Television	27.31%	29.72%	4.02%	0.00%		
b. Radio	2.41%	4.02%	0.80%	0.80%		
c. Newspapers	7.63%	14.46%	1.61%	0.00%		
d. Magazines	0.00%	1.61%	0.00%	0.00%		
e. Other	0.00%	0.80%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	1.61%	1.61%	0.40%	0.80%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in a particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?

Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q10.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q10\Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
a. Yes	49	45	24	1		
b. No	28	59	18	2		
c. Not sure	10	7	4	0		
No response	1	1	0	0		

249

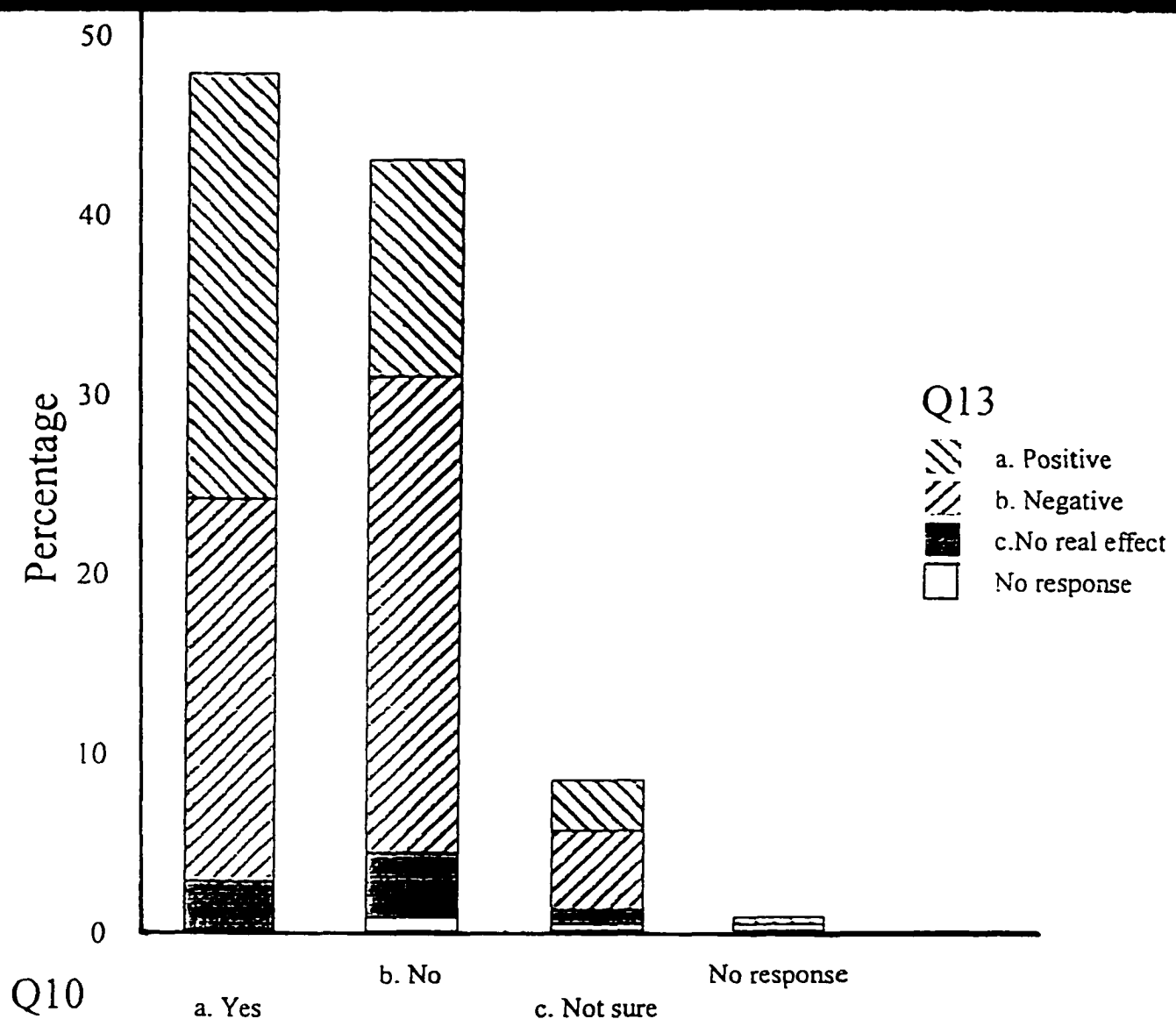
205

Q10\Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
a. Yes	19.68%	18.07%	9.64%	0.40%		
b. No	11.24%	23.69%	7.23%	0.80%		
c. Not sure	4.02%	2.81%	1.61%	0.00%		
No response	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in a particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?
- ▶ Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q10.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q10\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
a. Yes	59	53	7	0		
b. No	30	66	9	2		
c. Not sure	7	11	2	1		
No response	1	0	0	1		

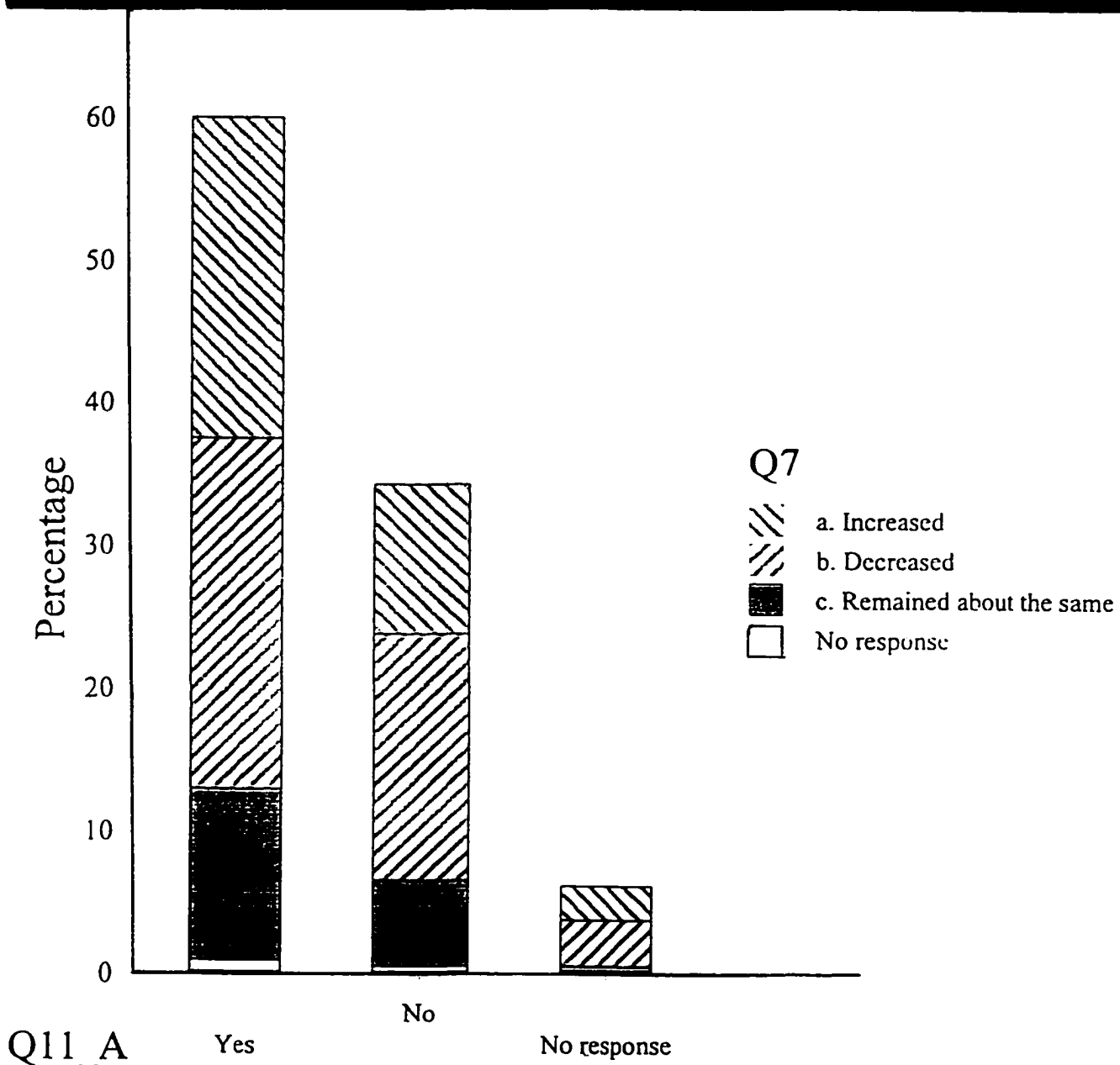
249

Q10\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
a. Yes	23.69%	21.29%	2.81%	0.00%		
b. No	12.05%	26.51%	3.61%	0.80%		
c. Not sure	2.81%	4.42%	0.80%	0.40%		
No response	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_A. Partisan Commercials
- ▶ Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q11A.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_AIQ7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	56	61	30	2		
No	26	43	15	1		
No response	6	8	1	0		

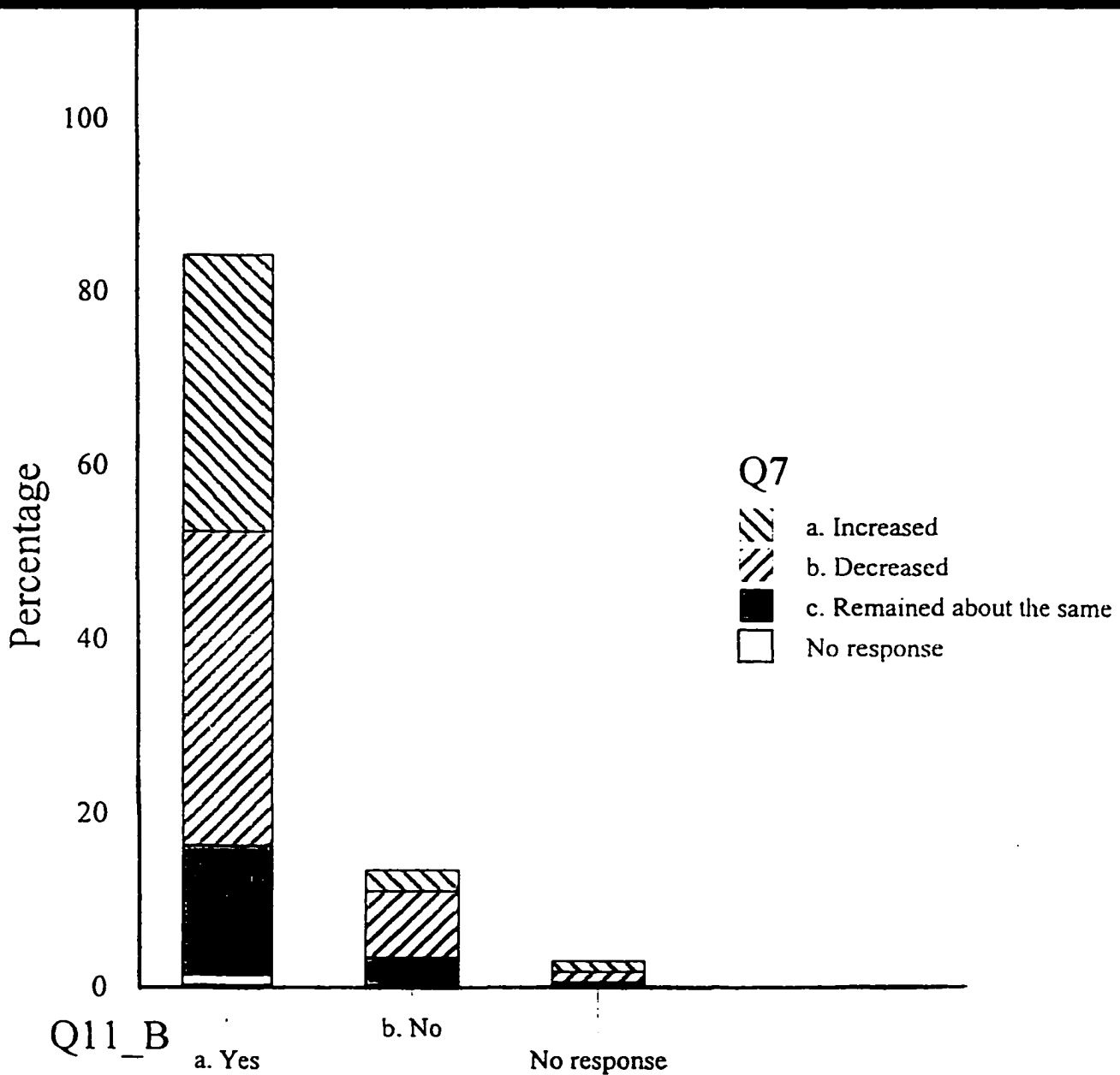
249

Q11_AIQ7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	22.49%	24.50%	12.05%	0.80%		
No	10.44%	17.27%	6.02%	0.40%		
No response	2.41%	3.21%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_B. Political speeches by individual candidates
- ▶ Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q11B.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_B1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	79	90	37	3		
No	6	19	8	0		
No response	3	3	1	0		

249

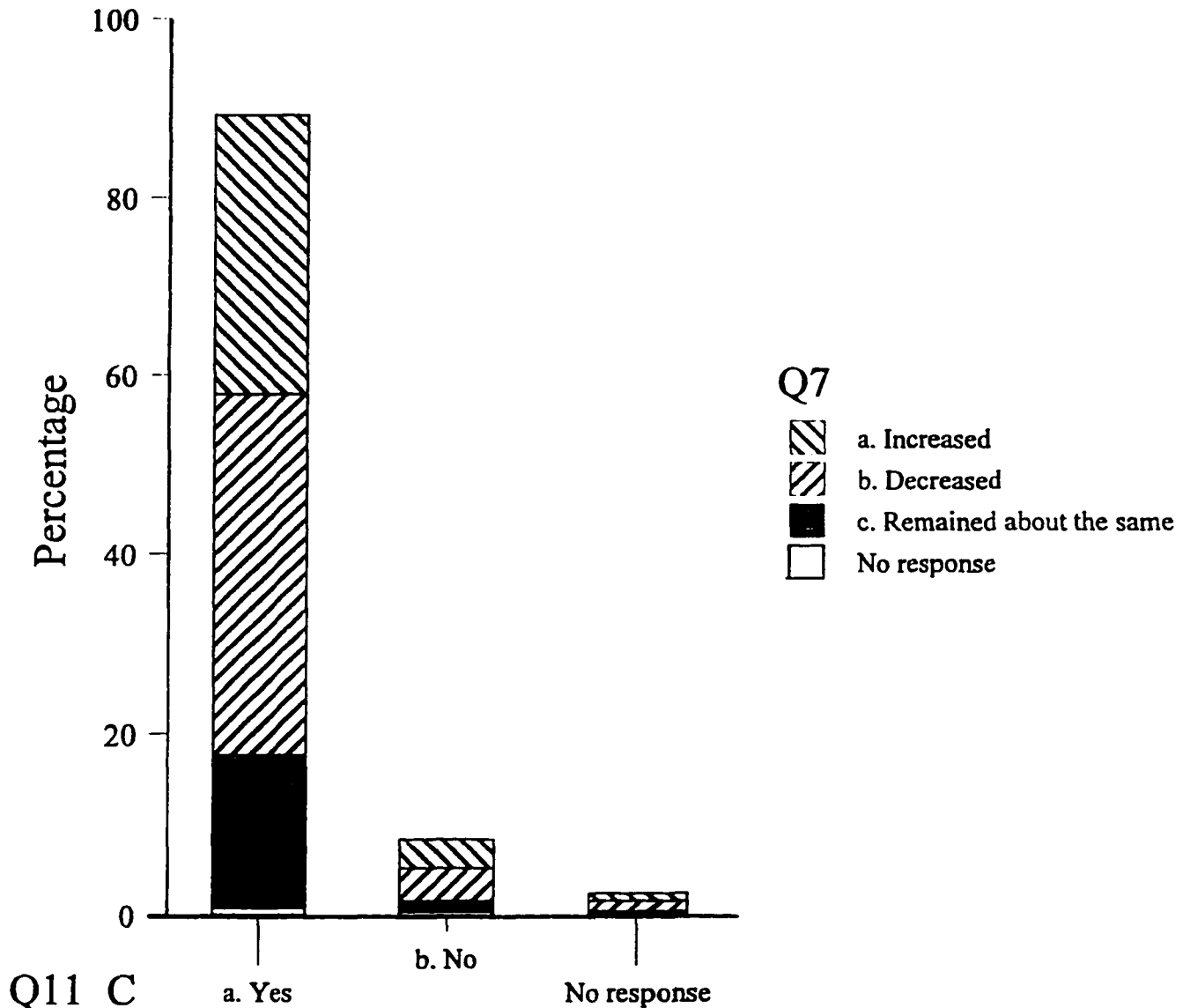
211

Q11_B1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	31.73%	36.14%	14.86%	1.20%		
No	2.41%	7.63%	3.21%	0.00%		
No response	1.20%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_C. Debates between the principal candidates
- ▶ Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q11C.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_C1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	78	100	42	2		
No	8	9	3	1		
No response	2	3	1	0		

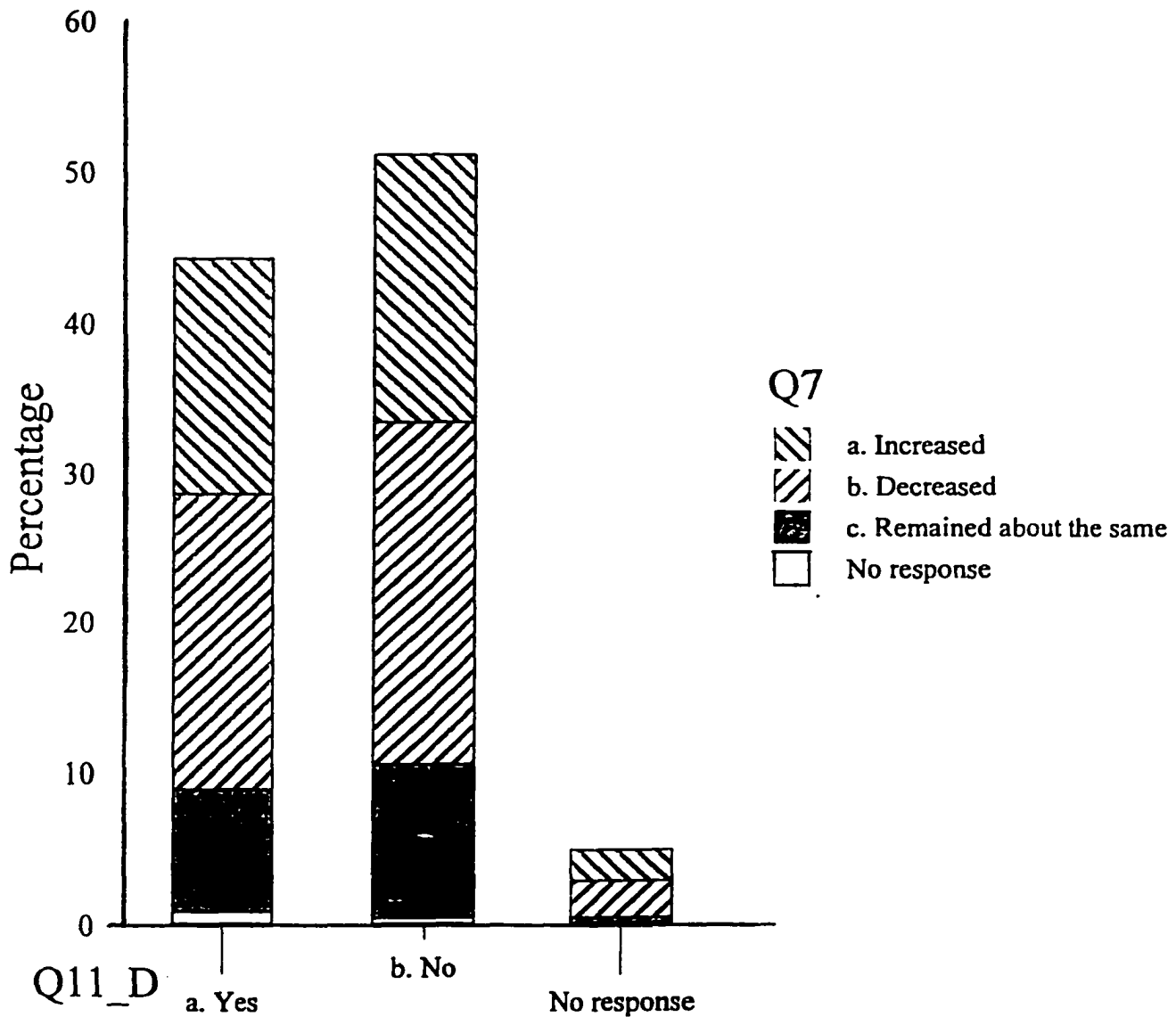
249

Q11_C1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	31.33%	40.16%	16.87%	0.80%		
No	3.21%	3.61%	1.20%	0.40%		
No response	0.80%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_D. Political conventions
- ▶ Q7. Has television's coverage of politics increased or decreased in quality over the last ten years?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q7 based on their responses to Q11D.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_D1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	39	49	20	2		
No	44	57	25	1		
No response	5	6	1	0		

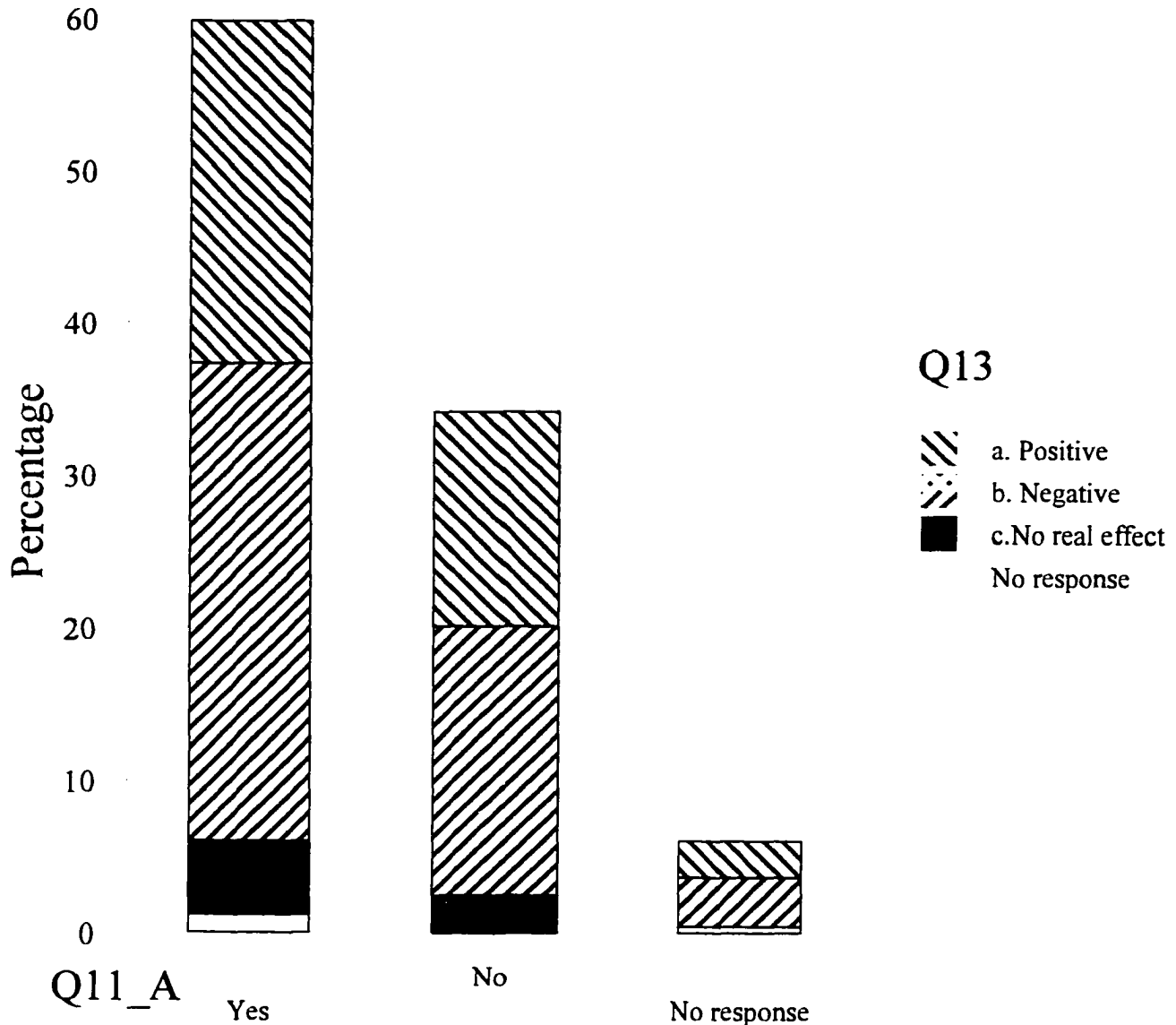
249

Q11_D1Q7

	a. Increased	b. Decreased	c. About the same	No response		
Yes	15.66%	19.68%	8.03%	0.80%		
No	17.67%	22.89%	10.04%	0.40%		
No response	2.01%	2.41%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_A .Partisan Commercials

Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q11A.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_A\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	56	78	12	3		
No	35	44	6	0		
No response	6	8	0	1		

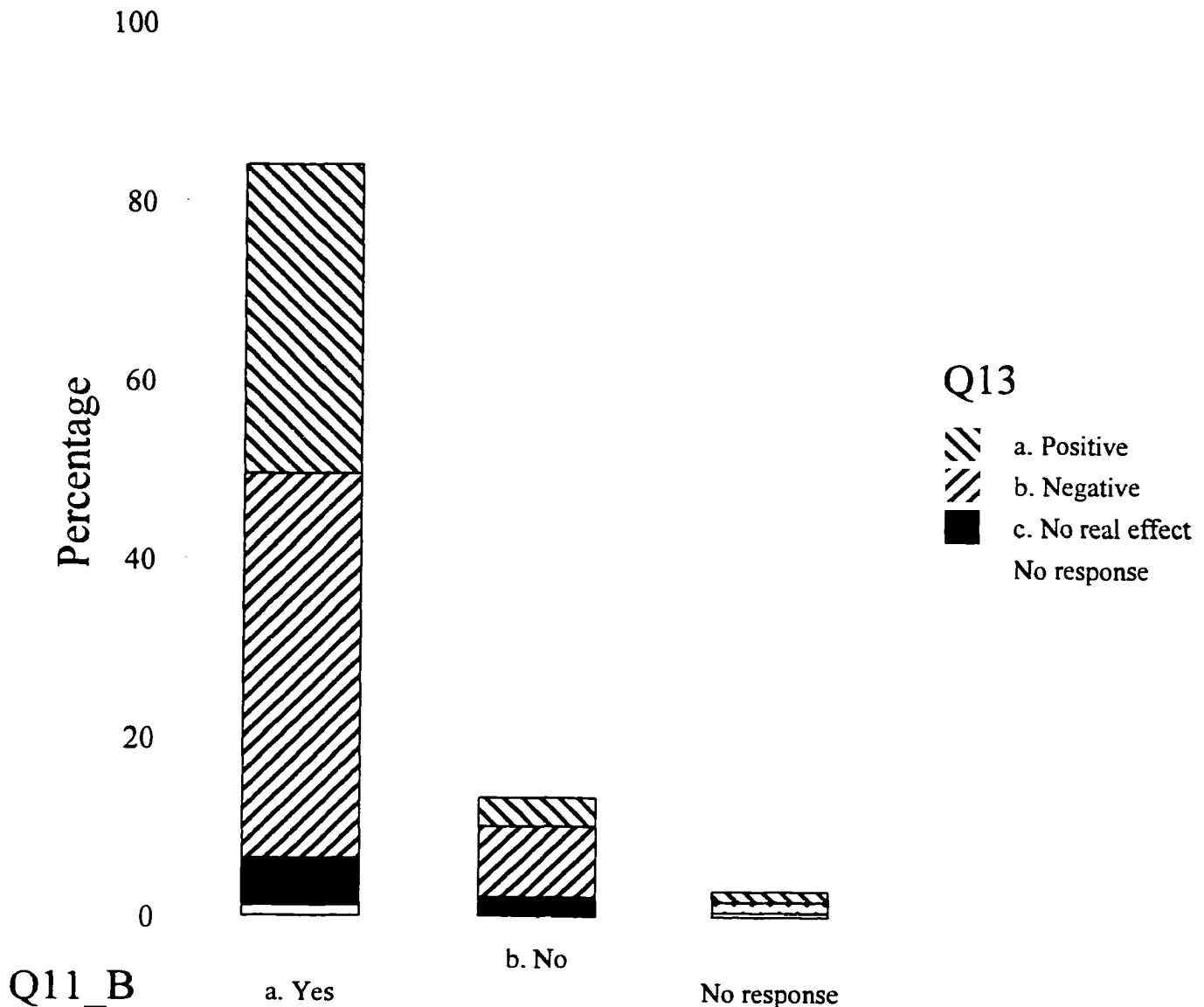
249

Q11_A\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	22.49%	31.33%	4.82%	1.20%		
No	14.06%	17.67%	2.41%	0.00%		
No response	2.41%	3.21%	0.00%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_B. Political speeches by individual candidates

Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q11B.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_B\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	86	107	13	3		
No	8	20	5	0		
No response	3	3	0	1		

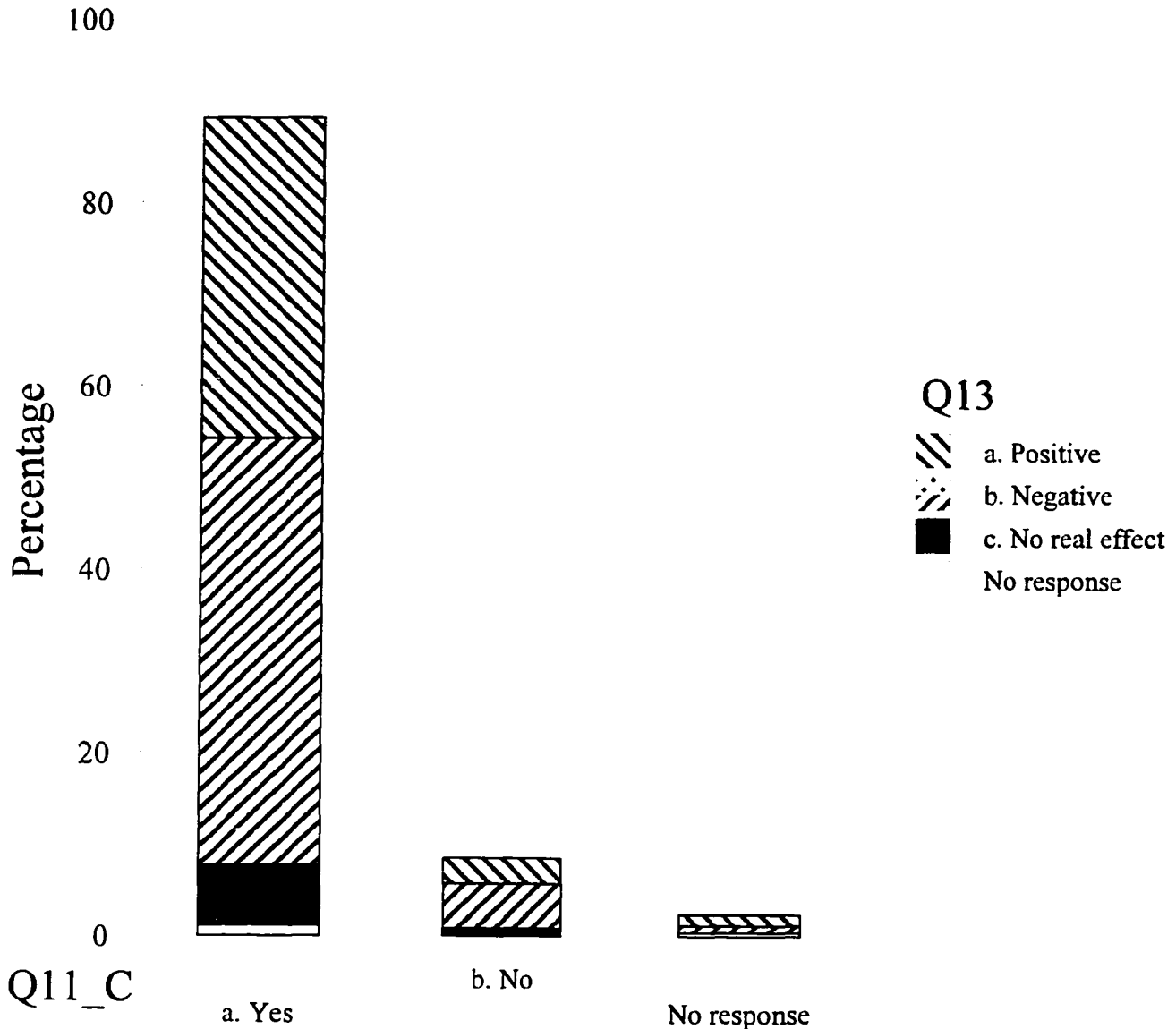
249

Q11_B\Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	34.54%	42.97%	5.22%	1.20%		
No	3.21%	8.03%	2.01%	0.00%		
No response	1.20%	1.20%	0.00%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_C. Debates between the principal candidates

Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q11C.

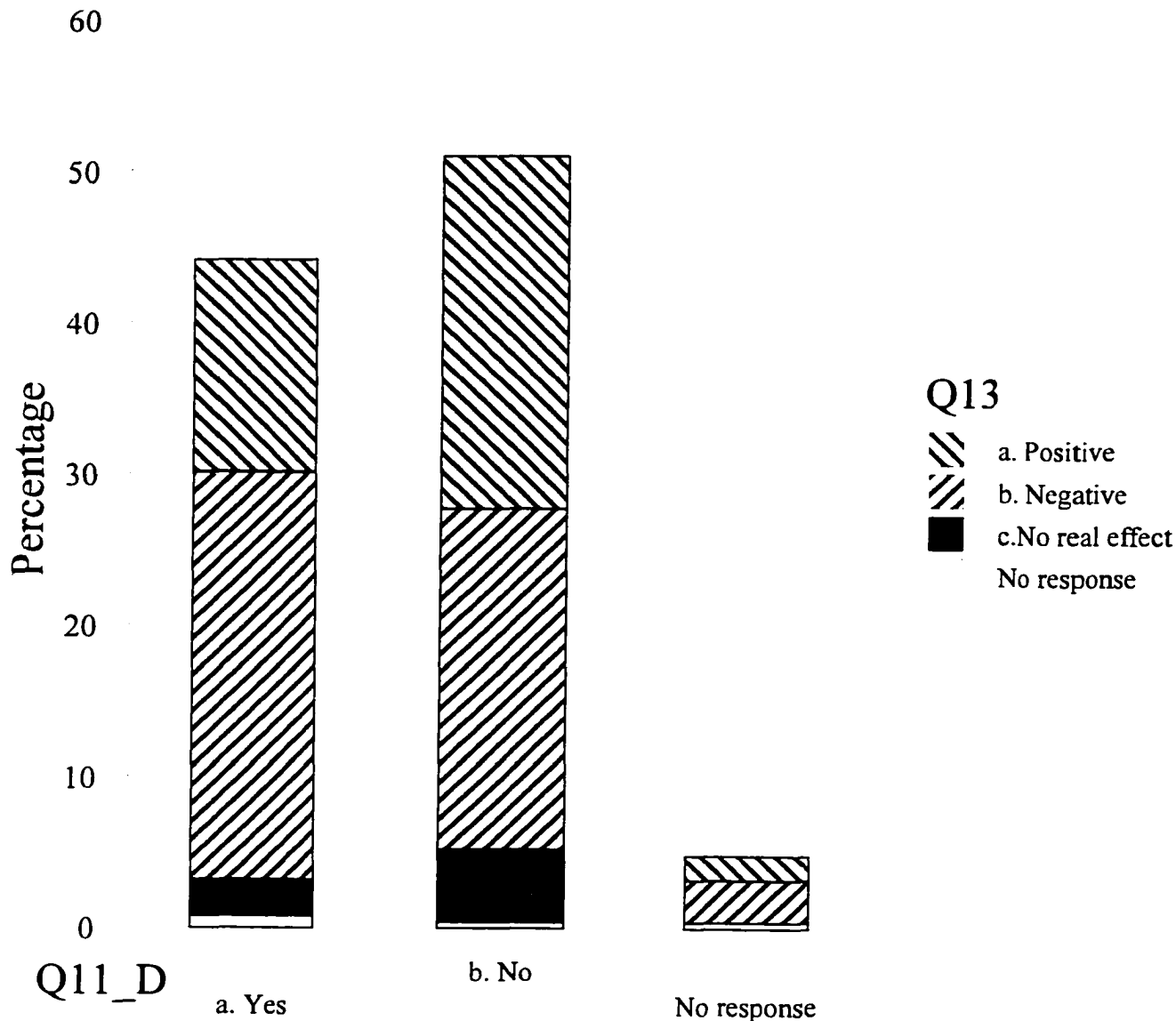
SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_C\Q13	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	87	116	16	3		
No	7	12	2	0		
No response	3	2	0	1		
						249

Q11_C\Q13	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	34.94%	46.59%	6.43%	1.20%		
No	2.81%	4.82%	0.80%	0.00%		
No response	1.20%	0.80%	0.00%	0.40%		
						100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_D. Political conventions

Q13. In your opinion, has the electronic media (television/radio) coverage of elections had a positive or negative impact on the political process?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q13 based on their responses to Q11D.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_D1Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	35	67	6	2		
No	58	56	12	1		
No response	4	7	0	1		

249

223

Q11_D1Q13

	a. Positive	b. Negative	No real effect	No response		
Yes	14.06%	26.91%	2.41%	0.80%		
No	23.29%	22.49%	4.82%	0.40%		
No response	1.61%	2.81%	0.00%	0.40%		

100.00%

APPENDIX D

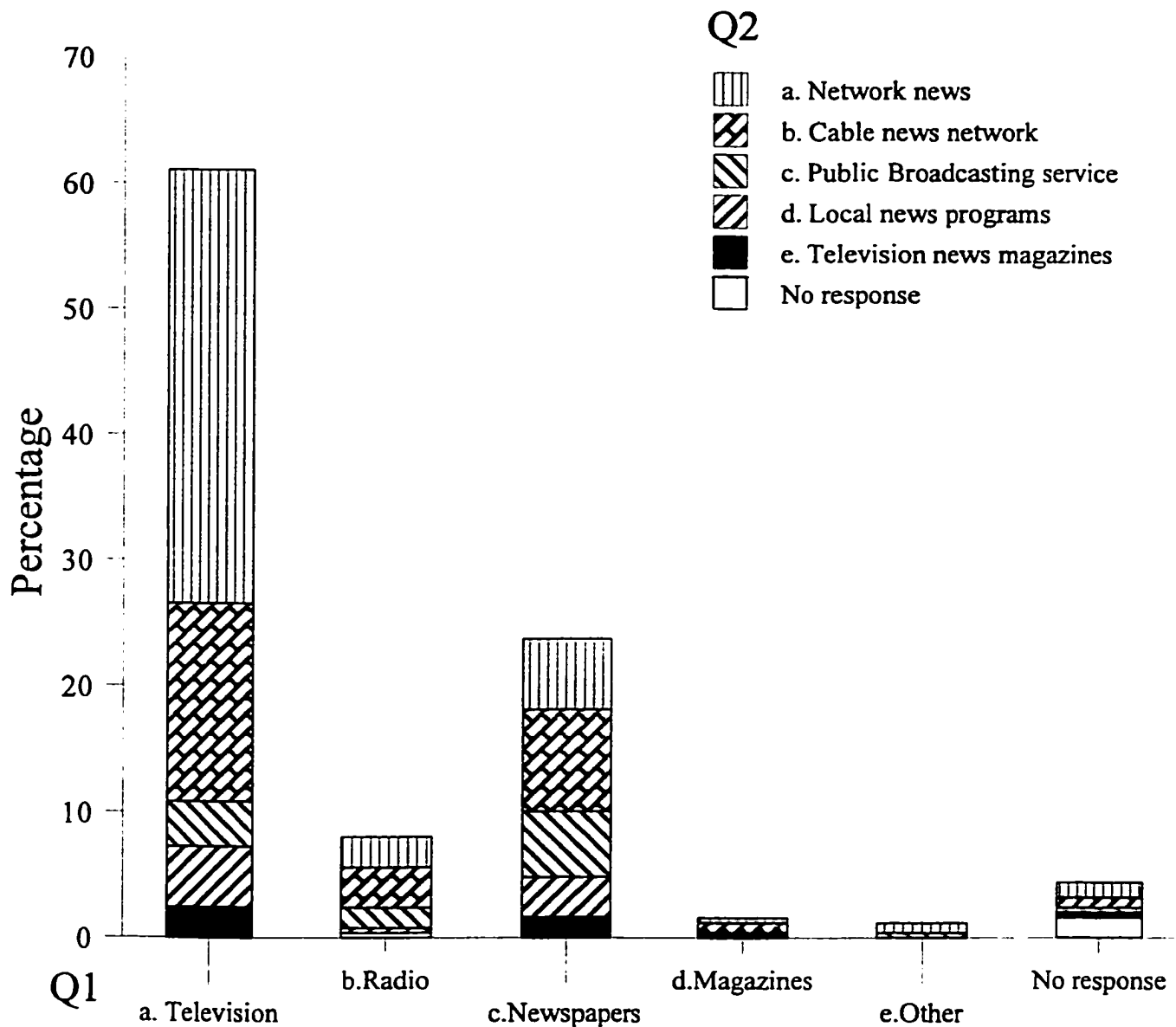
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to Research Question #2***

PART 2

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 1, 10, AND 11
COMPARED TO
QUESTIONS 2 AND 12**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?
- ▶ Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q1.

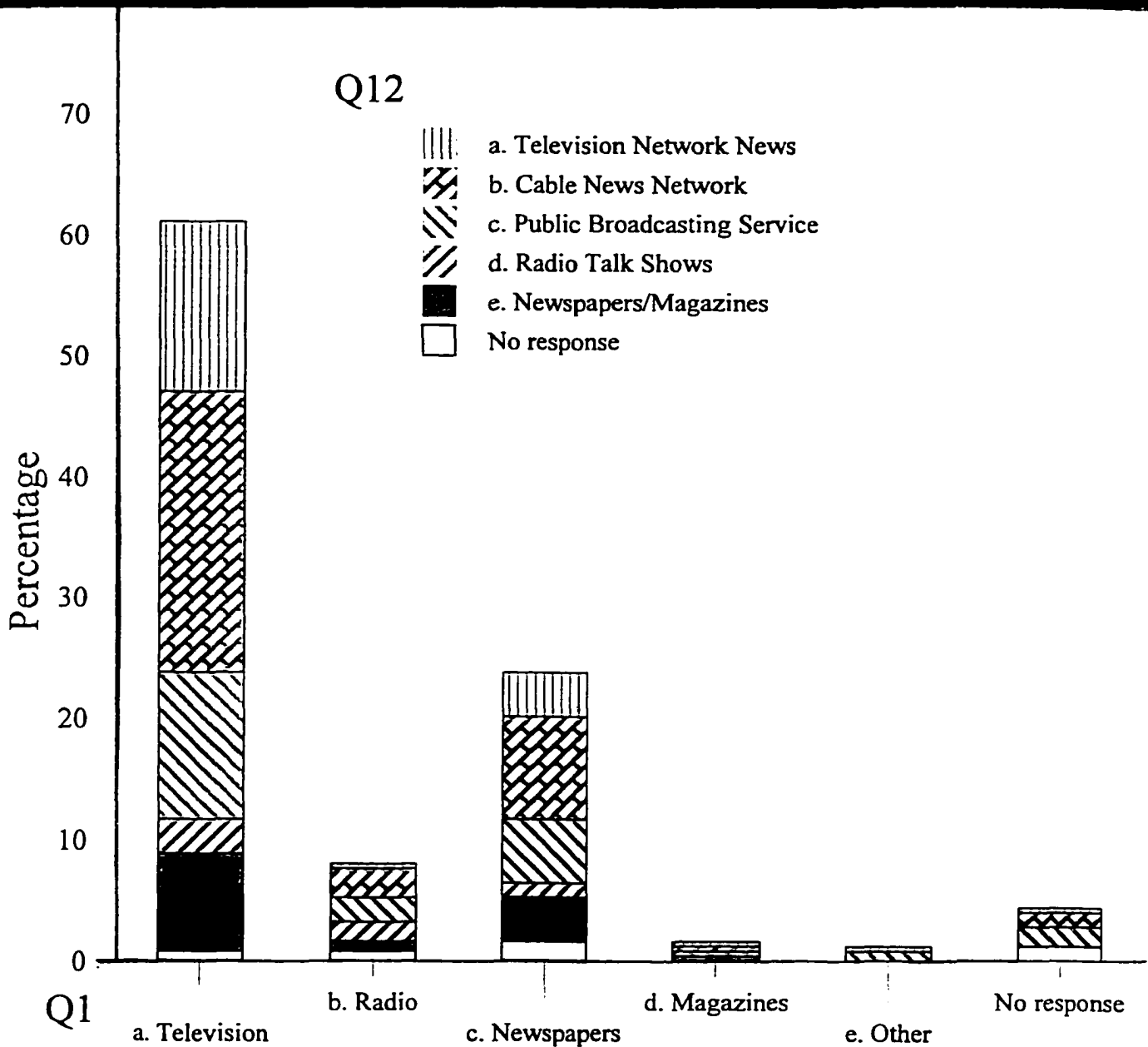
SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q1\Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response	
a. Television	86	39	9	12	6	0	249
b. Radio	6	8	4	1	0	1	
c. Newspapers	14	20	13	8	4	0	
d. Magazines	1	2	0	0	1	0	
e. Other	2	0	1	0	0	0	
No response	3	2	1	0	1	4	

Q1\Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response	
a. Television	34.54%	15.66%	3.61%	4.82%	2.41%	0.00%	100.00%
b. Radio	2.41%	3.21%	1.61%	0.40%	0.00%	0.40%	
c. Newspapers	5.62%	8.03%	5.22%	3.21%	1.61%	0.00%	
d. Magazines	0.40%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	
e. Other	0.80%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
No response	1.20%	0.80%	0.40%	0.00%	0.40%	1.61%	

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?
- ▶ Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q1.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Radio Talk Shows	e. Newspapers/Mag	No response
a. Television	35	58	30	7	20	2
b. Radio	1	6	5	4	2	2
c. Newspapers	9	21	13	3	9	4
d. Magazines	1	1	1	0	1	0
e. Other	1	0	2	0	0	0
No response	1	3	4	0	0	3

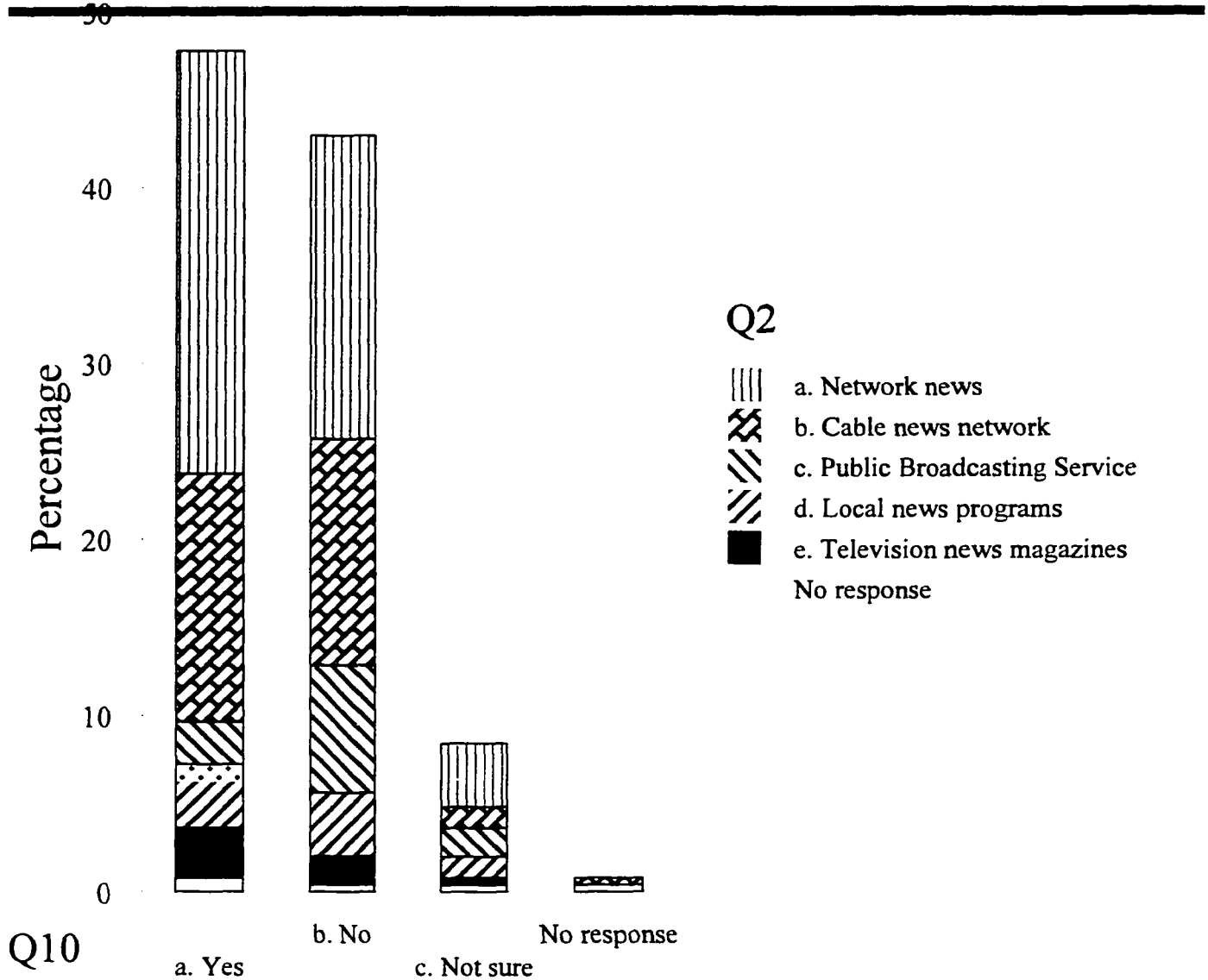
249

Q11Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Radio Talk Shows	e. Newspapers/Mag	No response
a. Television	14.06%	23.29%	12.05%	2.81%	8.03%	0.80%
b. Radio	0.40%	2.41%	2.01%	1.61%	0.80%	0.80%
c. Newspapers	3.61%	8.43%	5.22%	1.20%	3.61%	1.61%
d. Magazines	0.40%	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%
e. Other	0.40%	0.00%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No response	0.40%	1.20%	1.61%	0.00%	0.00%	1.20%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?
 Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q10.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q10\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	60	35	6	9	7	2
b. No	43	32	18	9	4	1
c. Not sure	9	3	4	3	1	1
No response	0	1	0	0	0	1

249

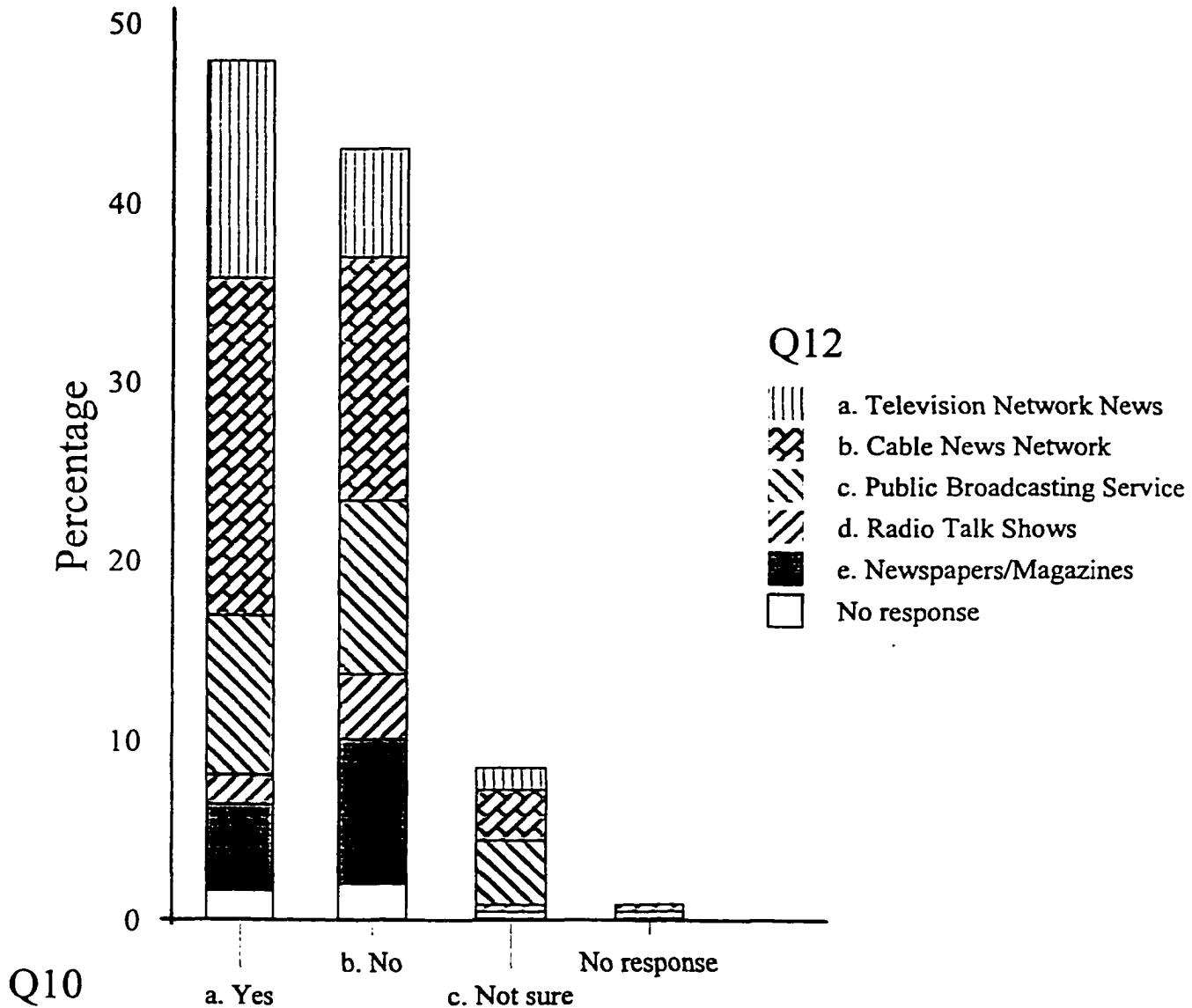
230

Q10\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	24.10%	14.06%	2.41%	3.61%	2.81%	0.80%
b. No	17.27%	12.85%	7.23%	3.61%	1.61%	0.40%
c. Not sure	3.61%	1.20%	1.61%	1.20%	0.40%	0.40%
No response	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?
- ▶ Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q10.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q10\Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Ma	No response
a. Yes	30	47	22	4	12	4
b. No	15	34	24	9	20	5
c. Not sure	3	7	9	1	0	1
No response	0	1	0	0	0	1

249

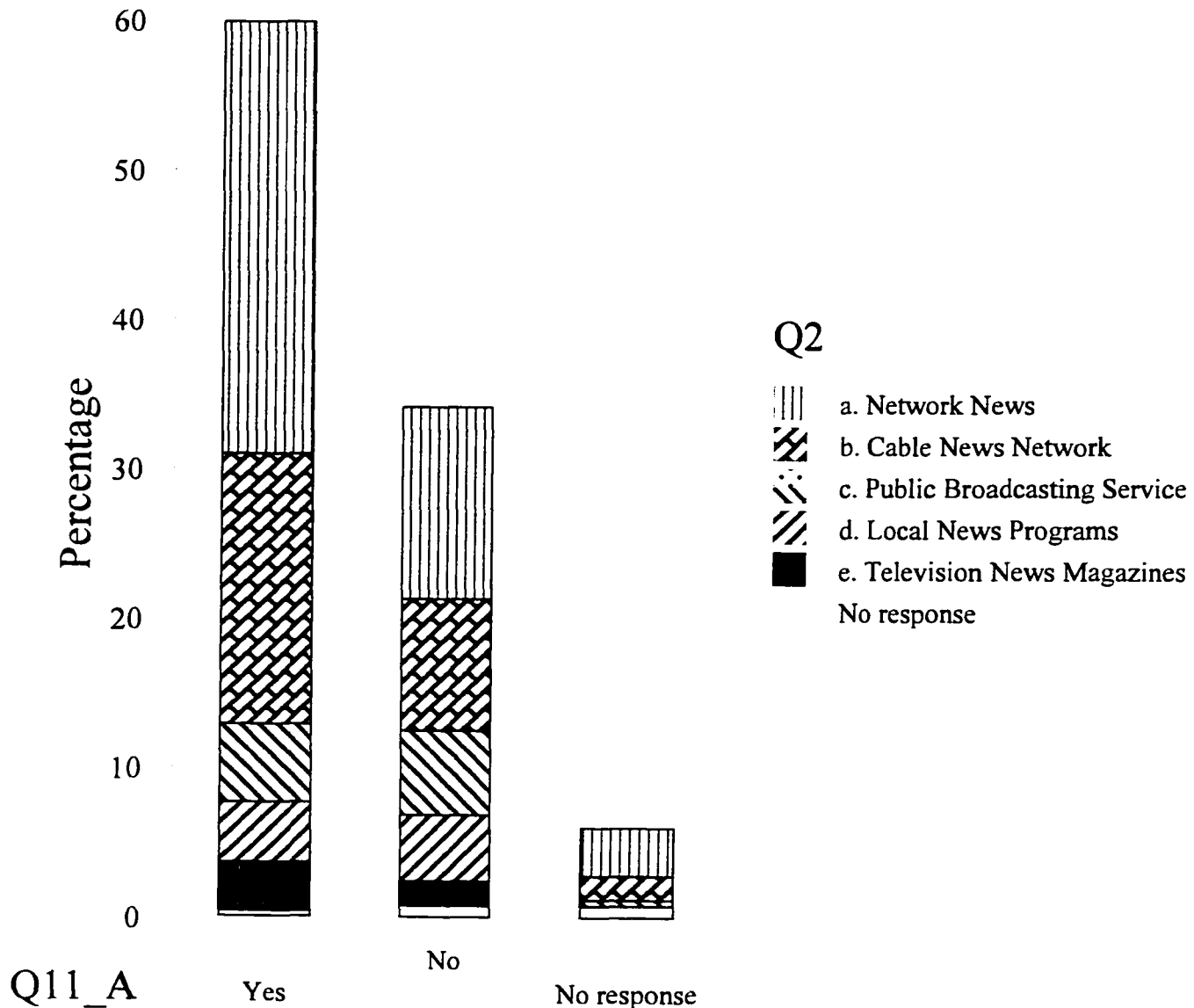
Q10\Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Ma	No response
Yes	12.05%	18.88%	8.84%	1.61%	4.82%	1.61%
b. No	6.02%	13.65%	9.64%	3.61%	8.03%	2.01%
c. Not sure	1.20%	2.81%	3.61%	0.40%	0.00%	0.40%
No response	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%

100.00%

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IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_A. Partisan Commercials

Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q11A.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

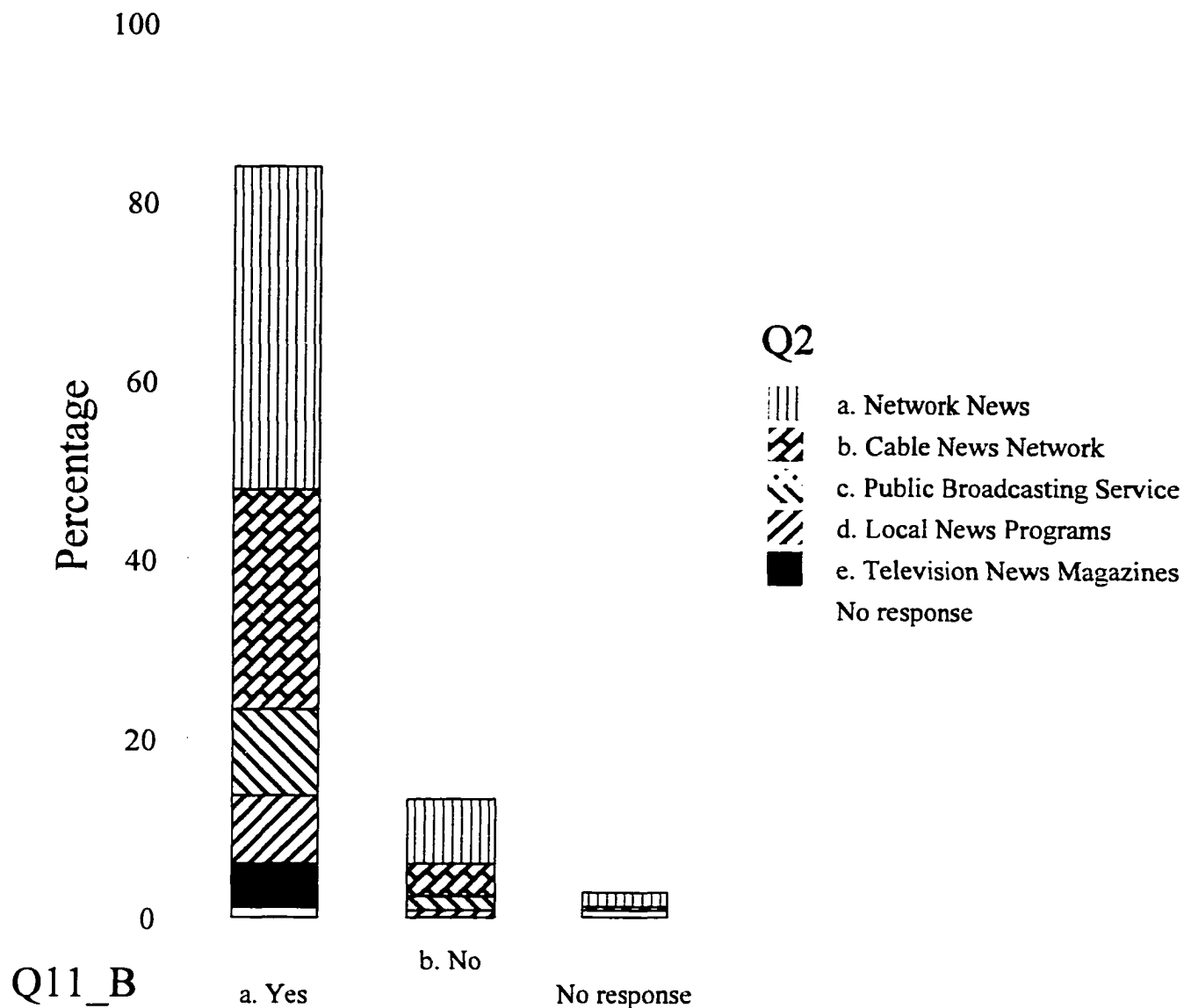
Q11_A\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response	
a. Yes	72	45	13	10	8	1	
b. No	32	22	14	11	4	2	
No response	8	4	1	0	0	2	
							249

Q11_A\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response	
a. Yes	28.92%	18.07%	5.22%	4.02%	3.21%	0.40%	
b. No	12.85%	8.84%	5.62%	4.42%	1.61%	0.80%	
No response	3.21%	1.61%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%	
							100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_B. Political speeches by individual candidates

Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q11B.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_B\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	90	61	24	19	12	3
b. No	18	9	4	2	0	0
No response	4	1	0	0	0	2

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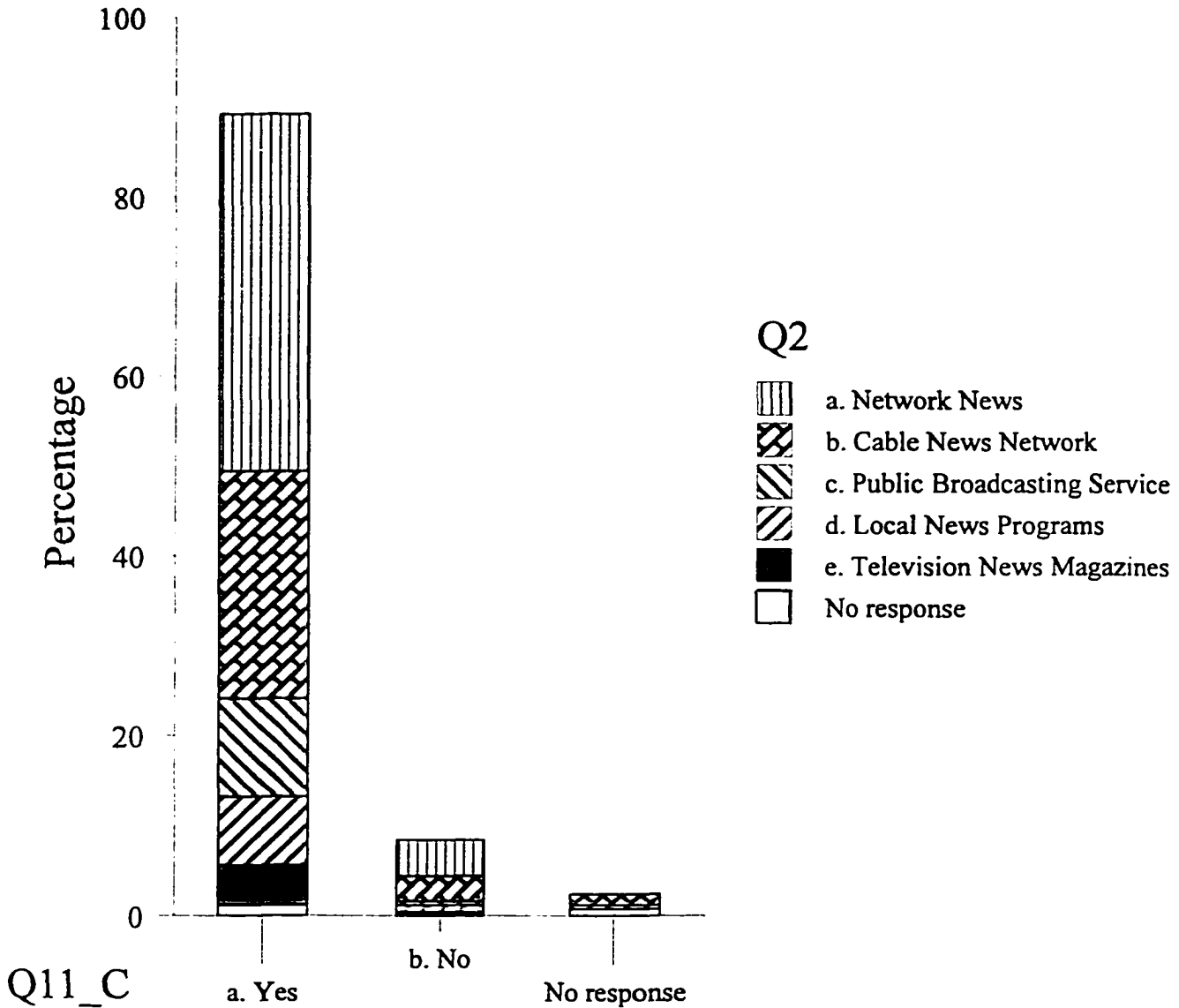
Q11_B\Q2

	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	36.14%	24.50%	9.64%	7.63%	4.82%	1.20%
b. No	7.23%	3.61%	1.61%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%
No response	1.61%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

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IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_C. Debates between the principal candidates
- ▶ Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q11C.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

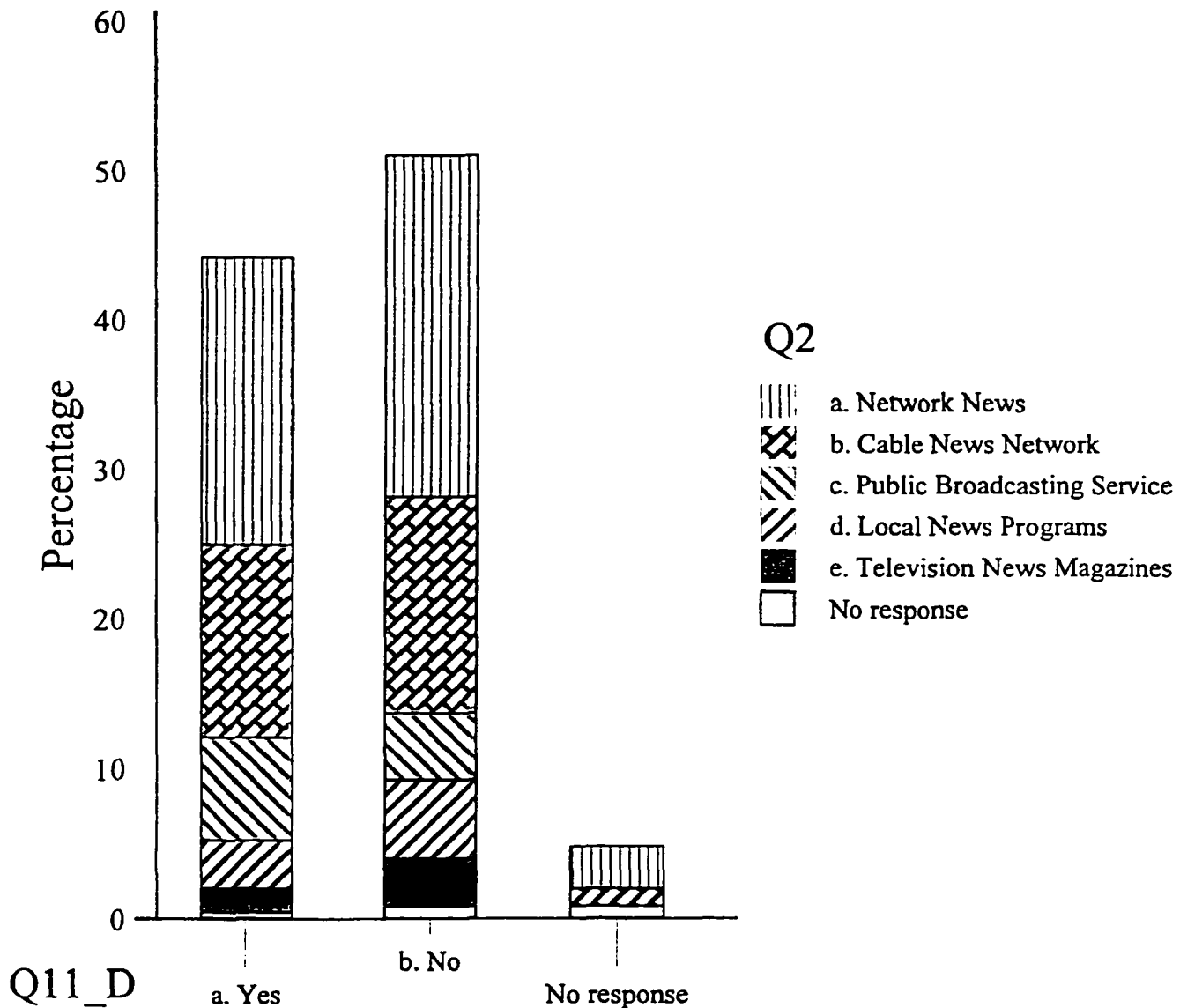
Q11_C1Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	99	63	27	19	11	3
b. No	10	7	1	2	1	0
No response	3	1	0	0	0	2

249

Q11_C1Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	39.76%	25.30%	10.84%	7.63%	4.42%	1.20%
b. No	4.02%	2.81%	0.40%	0.80%	0.40%	0.00%
No response	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



▶ Q11_D. Political conventions

▶ Q2. When watching television for election coverage, what source do you consider most valuable?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q2 based on their responses to Q11D.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

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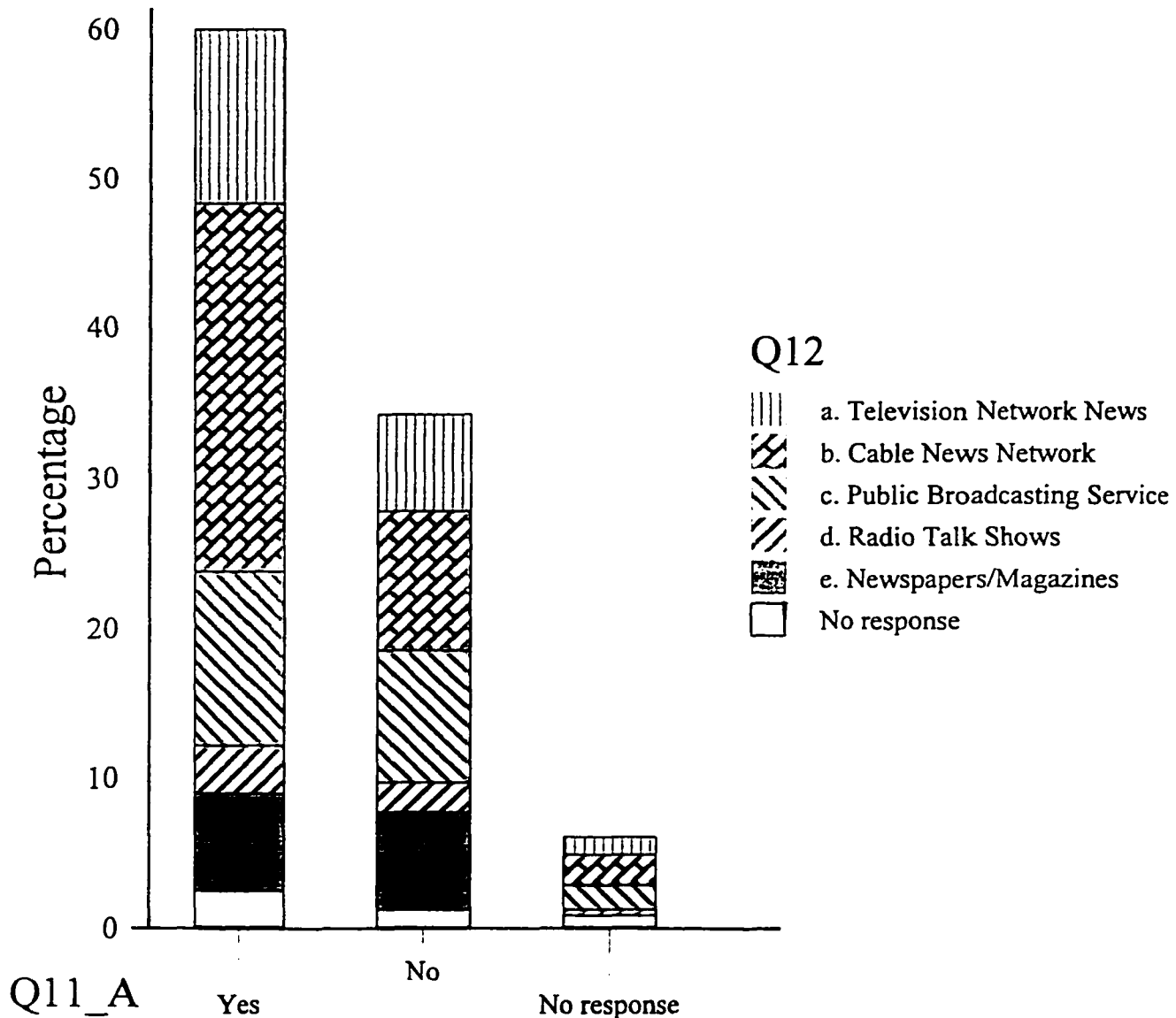
Q11_D1Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	48	32	17	8	4	1
b. No	57	36	11	13	8	2
No response	7	3	0	0	0	2

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Q11_D1Q2	a. Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. TV News Magazin	No response
a. Yes	19.28%	12.85%	6.83%	3.21%	1.61%	0.40%
b. No	22.89%	14.46%	4.42%	5.22%	3.21%	0.80%
No response	2.81%	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_A. Partisan Commercials
- ▶ Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q11A.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_A1Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	29	61	29	8	16	6
b. No	16	23	22	5	16	3
No response	3	5	4	1	0	2

249

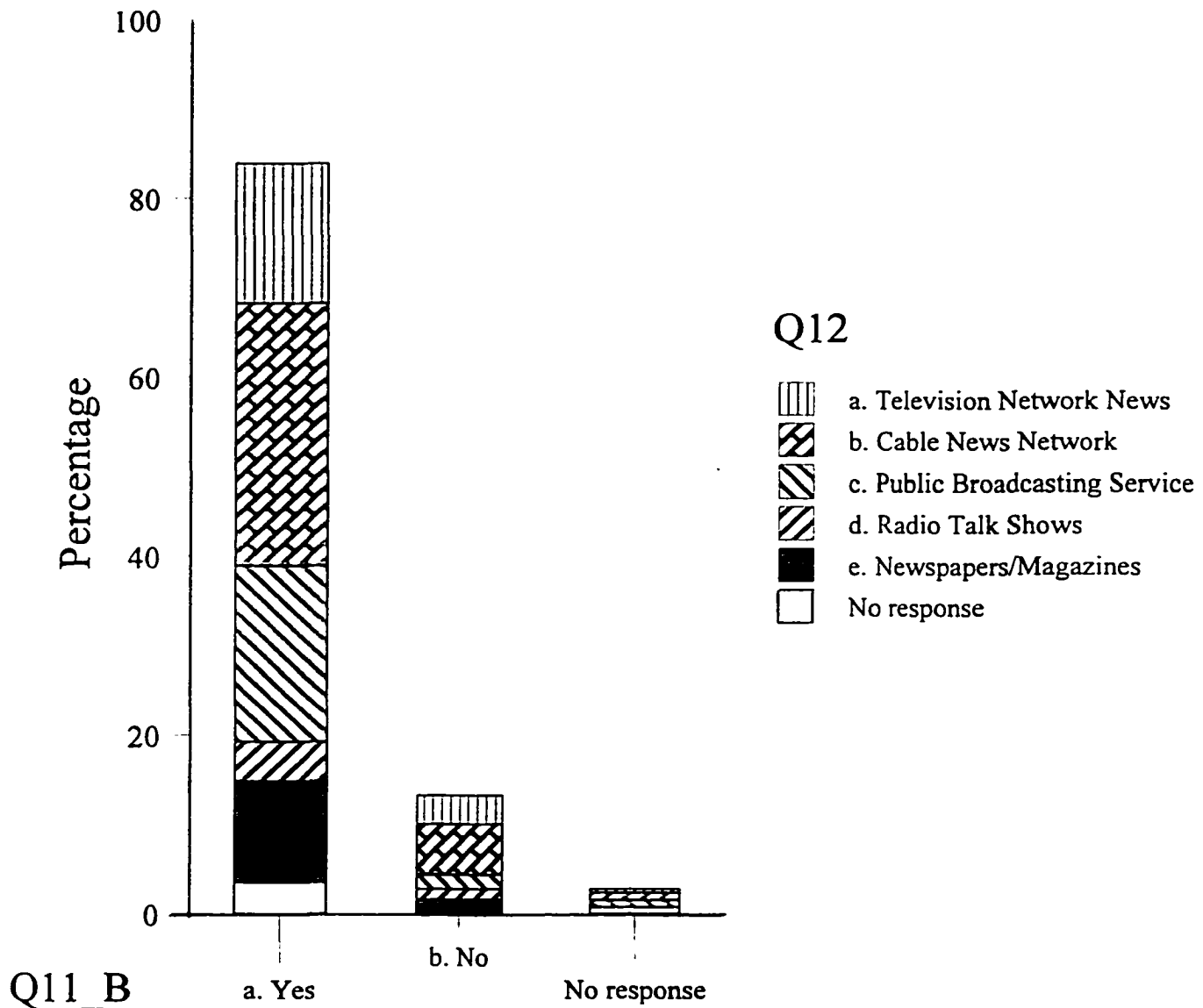
Q11_A1Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	11.65%	24.50%	11.65%	3.21%	6.43%	2.41%
b. No	6.43%	9.24%	8.84%	2.01%	6.43%	1.20%
No response	1.20%	2.01%	1.61%	0.40%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

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IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_B. Political speeches by individual candidates
- ▶ Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q11B.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_B\Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	39	73	49	11	28	9
b. No	8	14	4	3	4	0
No response	1	2	2	0	0	2

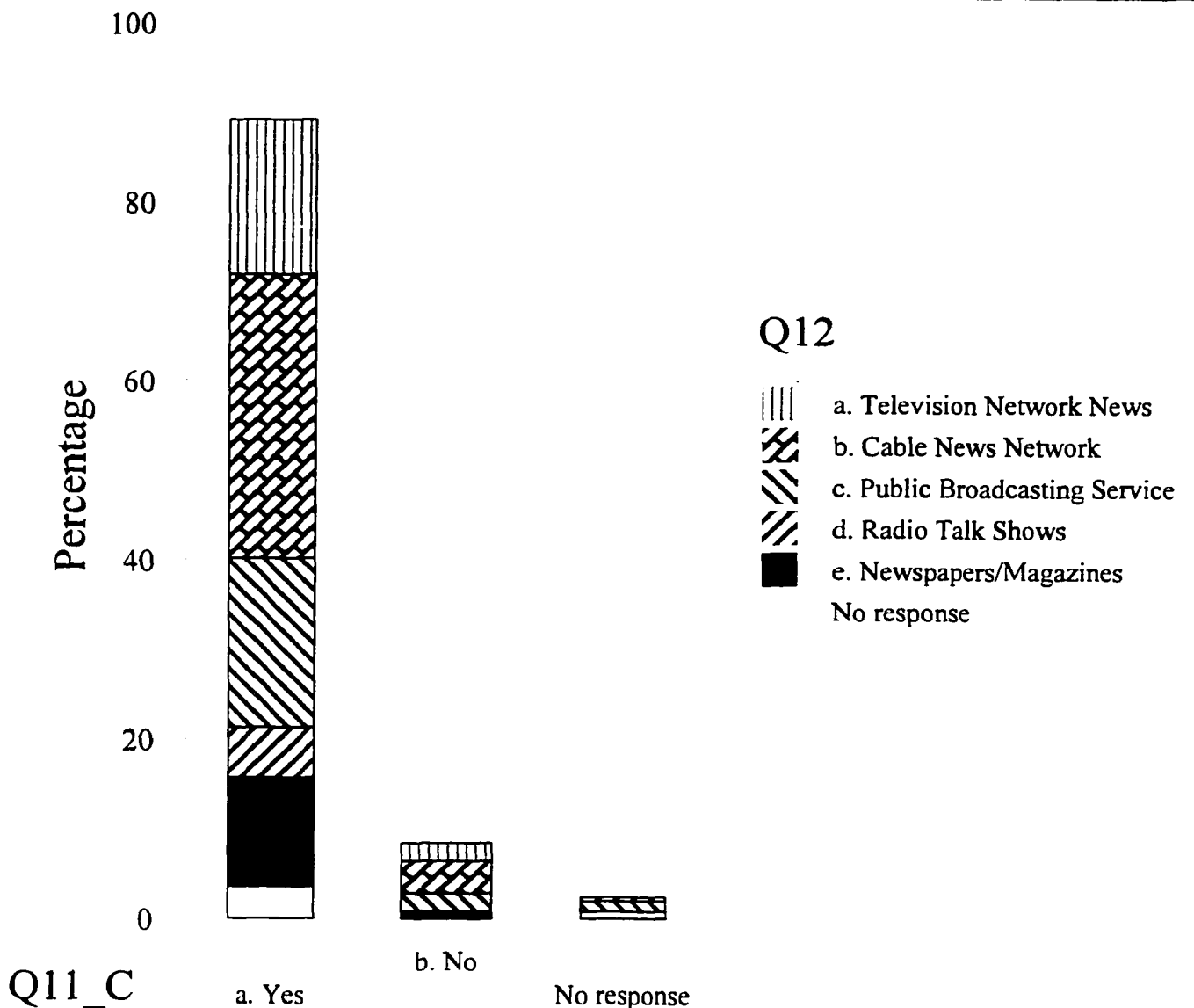
249

Q11_B\Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	15.66%	29.32%	19.68%	4.42%	11.24%	3.61%
b. No	3.21%	5.62%	1.61%	1.20%	1.61%	0.00%
No response	0.40%	0.80%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q11_C. Debates between the principal candidates

Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q11C.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_CVQ12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	43	79	47	14	30	9
b. No	5	9	5	0	2	0
No response	0	1	3	0	0	2

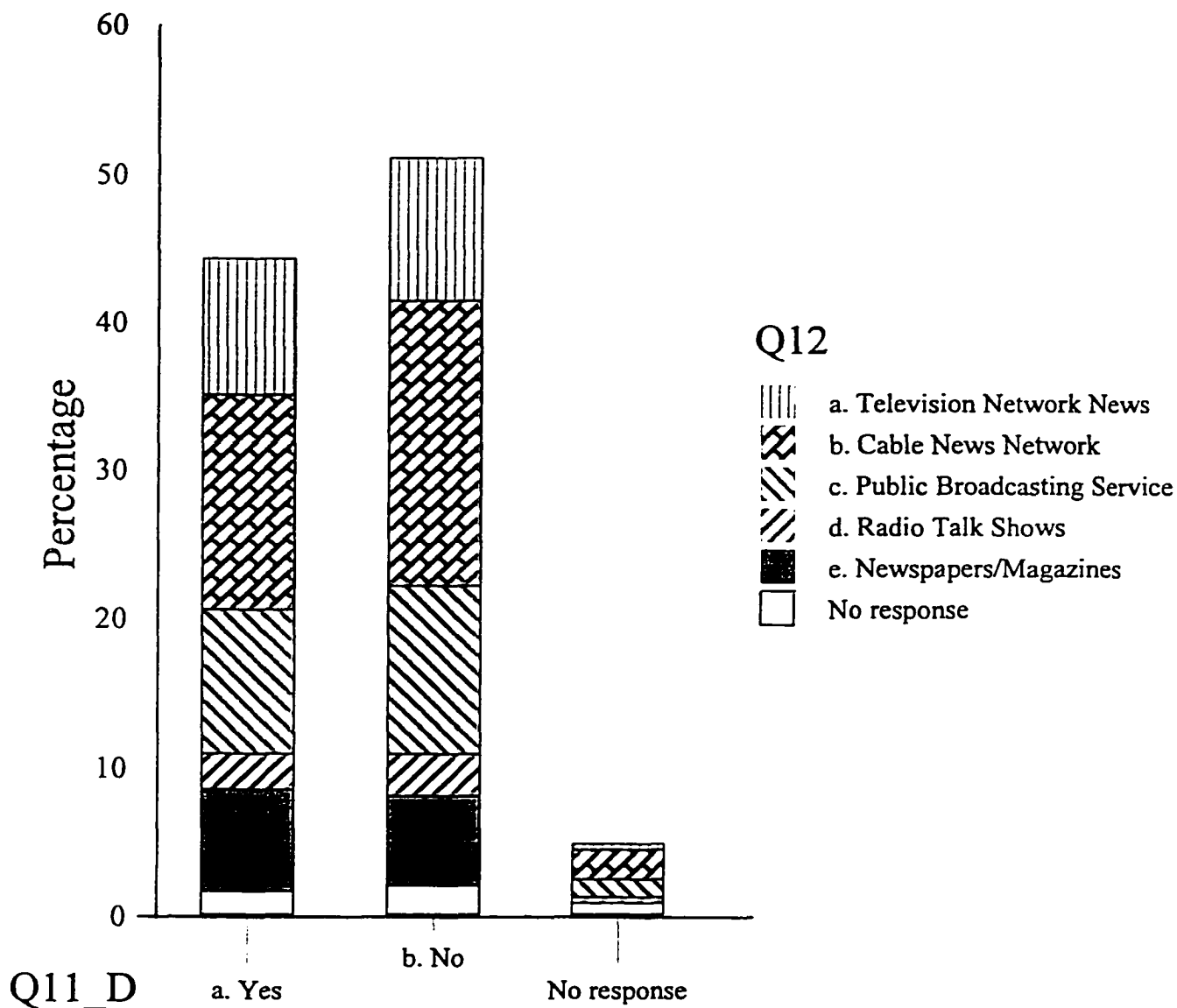
249

Q11_CVQ12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	17.27%	31.73%	18.88%	5.62%	12.05%	3.61%
b. No	2.01%	3.61%	2.01%	0.00%	0.80%	0.00%
No response	0.00%	0.40%	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_D. Political conventions
- ▶ Q12. Which information source do you consider the most objective/unbiased in providing political coverage?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q12 based on their responses to Q11D.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_D1Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	23	36	24	6	17	4
b. No	24	48	28	7	15	5
No response	1	5	3	1	0	2

249

Q11_D1Q12

	a. TV Network News	b. Cable News	c. Public Broadcast	d. Local News	e. News papers/Mag	No response
a. Yes	9.24%	14.46%	9.64%	2.41%	6.83%	1.61%
b. No	9.64%	19.28%	11.24%	2.81%	6.02%	2.01%
No response	0.40%	2.01%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%	0.80%

100.00%

APPENDIX D

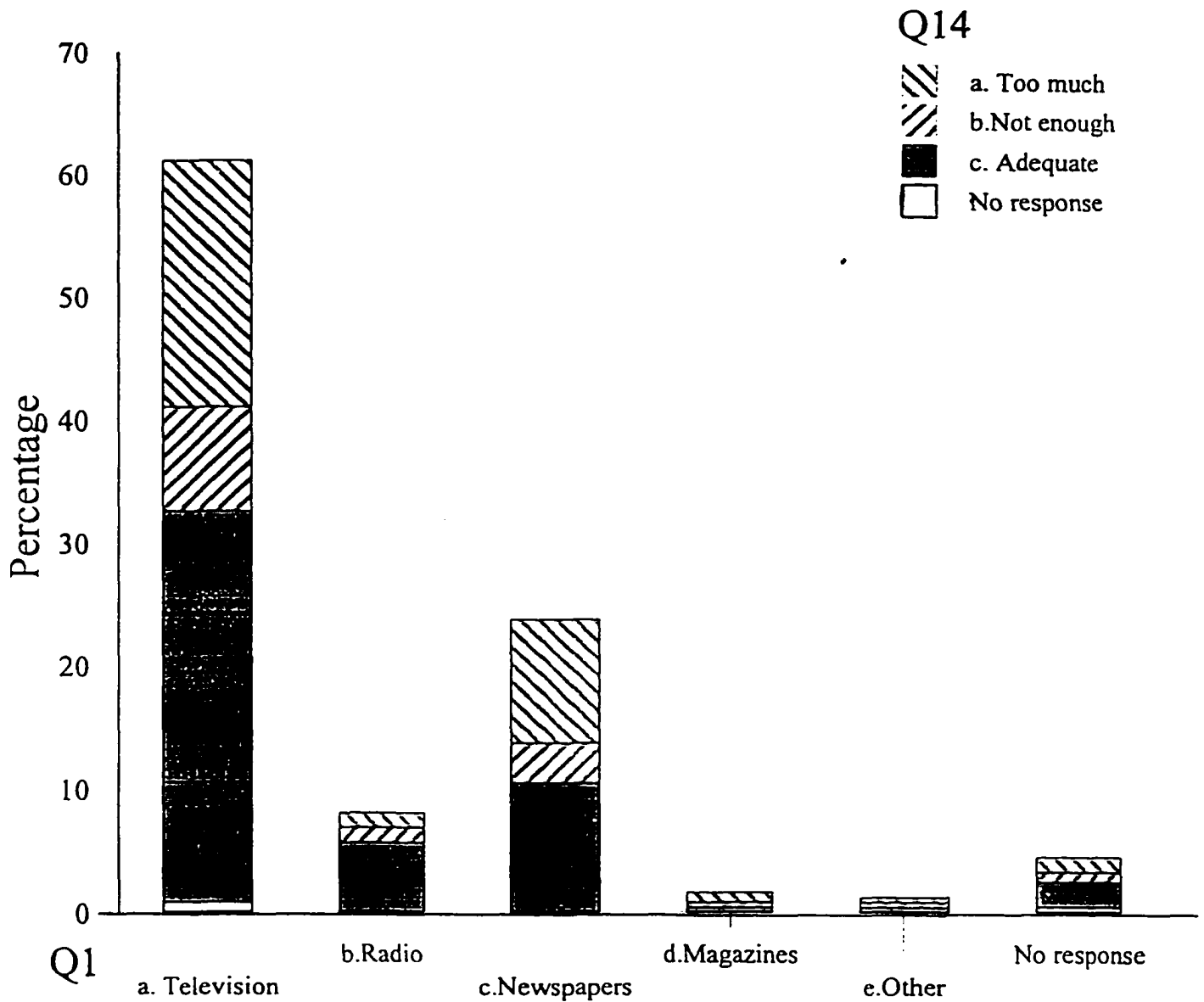
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to Research Question #2***

PART 3

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 1, 10, AND 11
COMPARED TO
QUESTION 14**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- Q1. What is your primary source of news concerning election coverage?
- Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q1.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q1\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
a. Television	50	21	79	2		
b. Radio	3	3	14	0		
c. Newspapers	25	8	26	0		
d. Magazines	2	1	1	0		
e. Other	1	1	1	0		
No response	3	2	5	1		

249

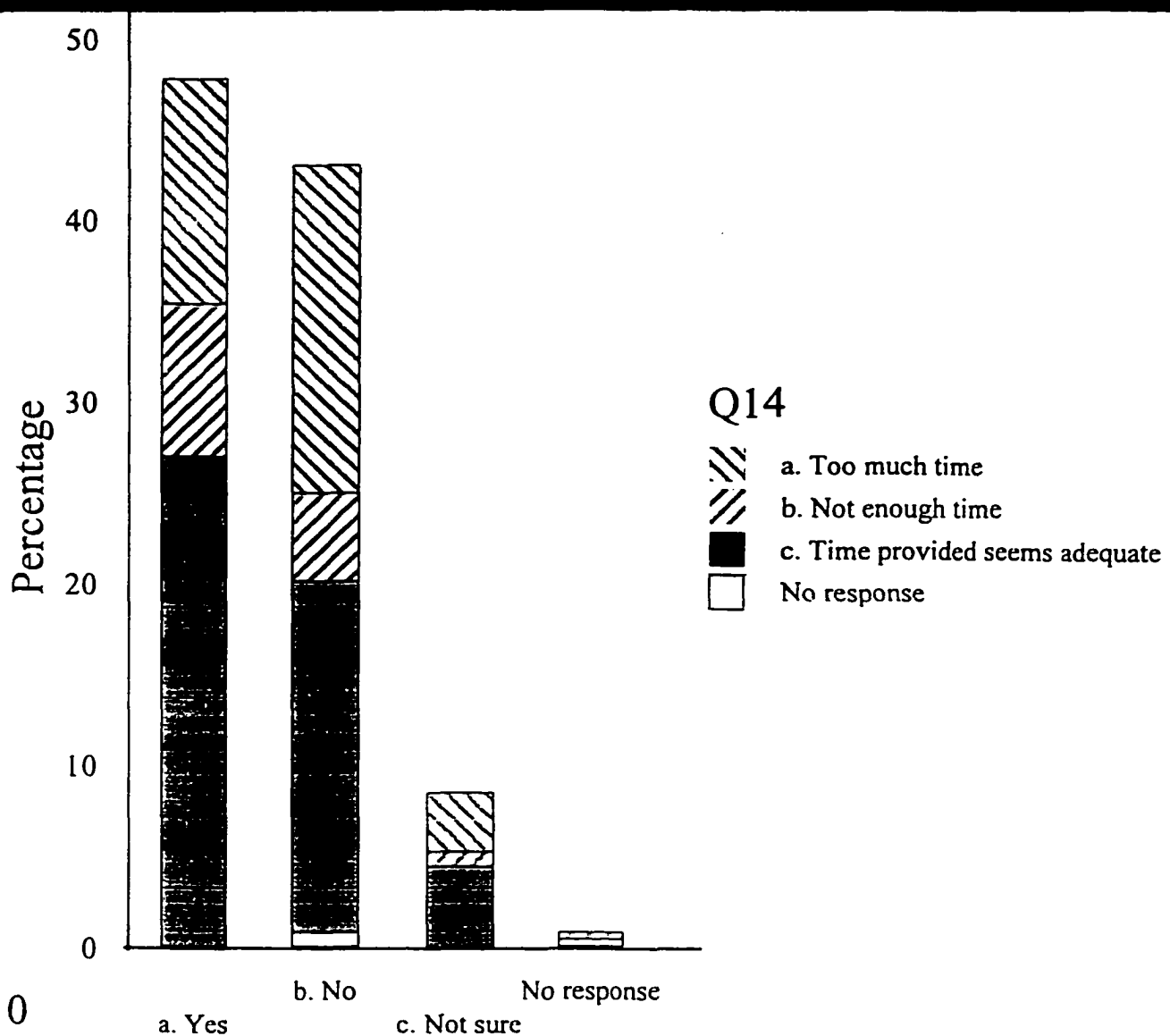
251

Q1\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
a. Television	20.08%	8.43%	31.73%	0.80%		
b. Radio	1.20%	1.20%	5.62%	0.00%		
c. Newspapers	10.04%	3.21%	10.44%	0.00%		
d. Magazines	0.80%	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%		
e. Other	0.40%	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	1.20%	0.80%	2.01%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q10. When attempting to decide for whom to vote in particular election, has television news coverage of the candidates and their campaigns had a significant impact on your decision?
- ▶ Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q10.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q10\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
a. Yes	31	21	67	0		
b. No	45	12	48	2		
c. Not sure	8	2	11	0		
No response	0	1	0	1		

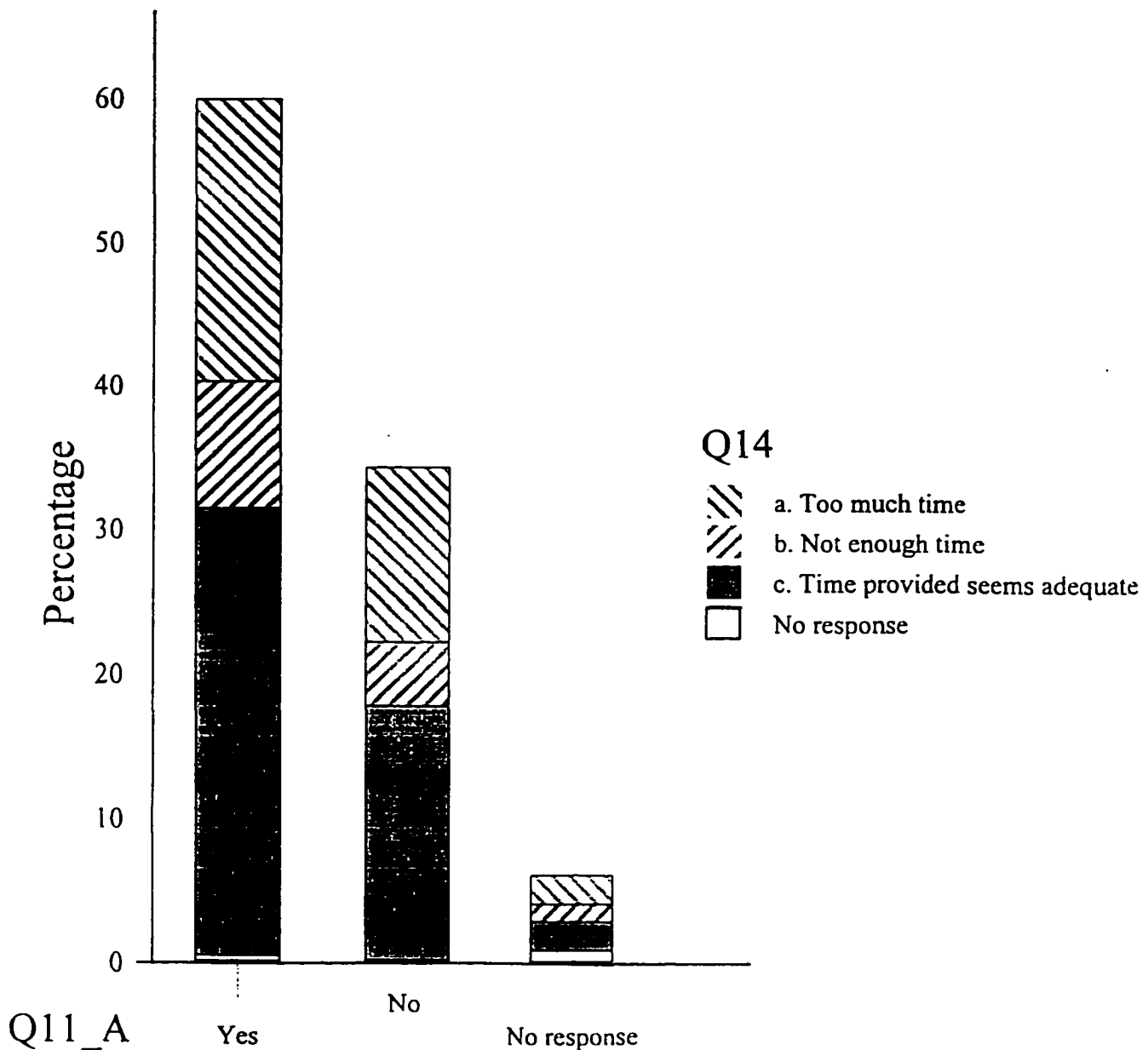
249

Q10\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
a. Yes	12.45%	8.43%	26.91%	0.00%		
b. No	18.07%	4.82%	19.28%	0.80%		
c. Not sure	3.21%	0.80%	4.42%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_A .Partisan Commercials
- ▶ Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q11A.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_A\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	49	22	77	1		
No	30	11	44	0		
No response	5	3	5	2		

249

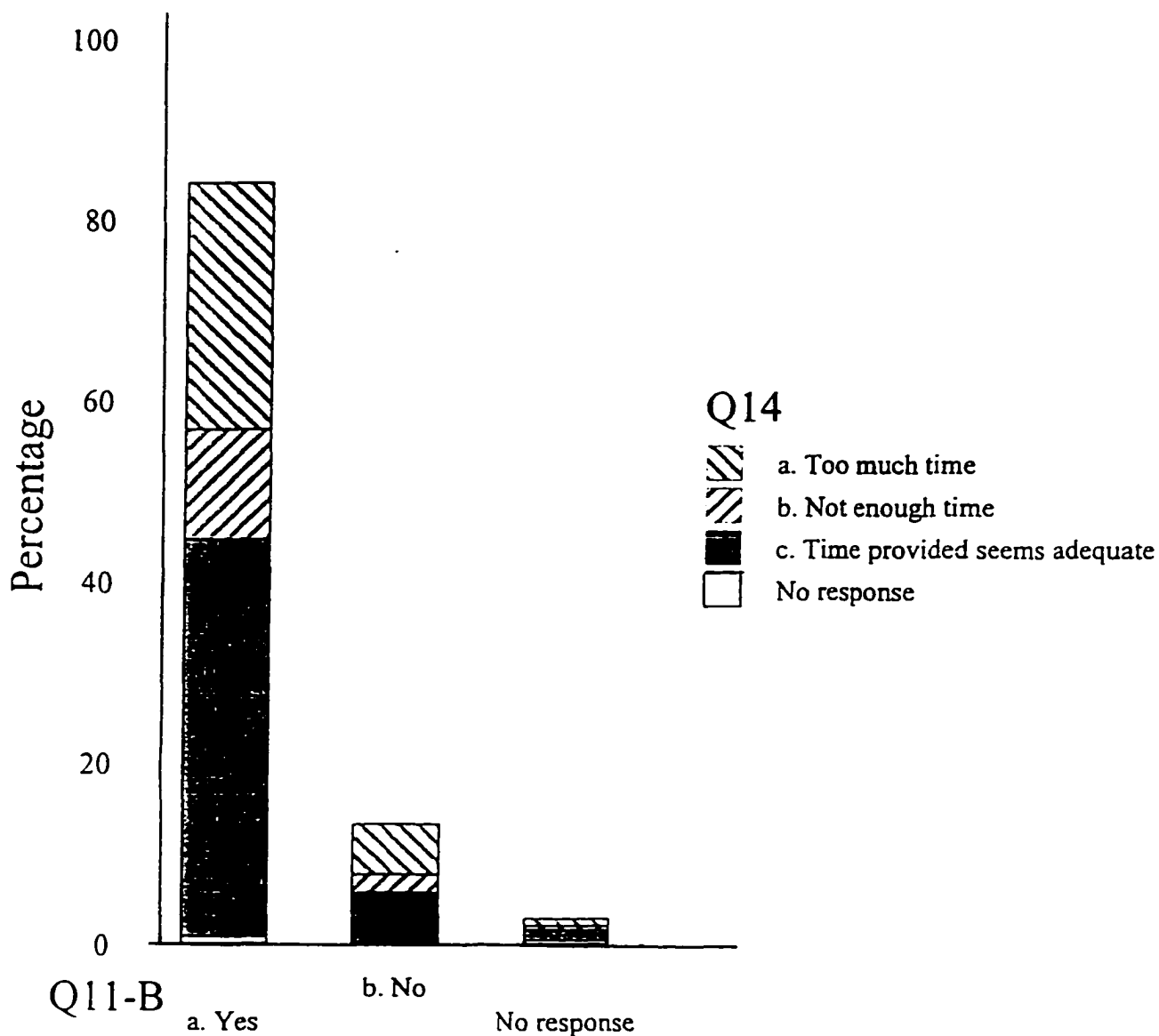
Q11_A\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	19.68%	8.84%	30.92%	0.40%		
No	12.05%	4.42%	17.67%	0.00%		
No response	2.01%	1.20%	2.01%	0.80%		

100.00%

255

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_B. Political speeches by individual candidates.
- ▶ Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q11-B.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_B\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	68	30	109	2		
No	14	5	14	0		
No response	2	1	3	1		

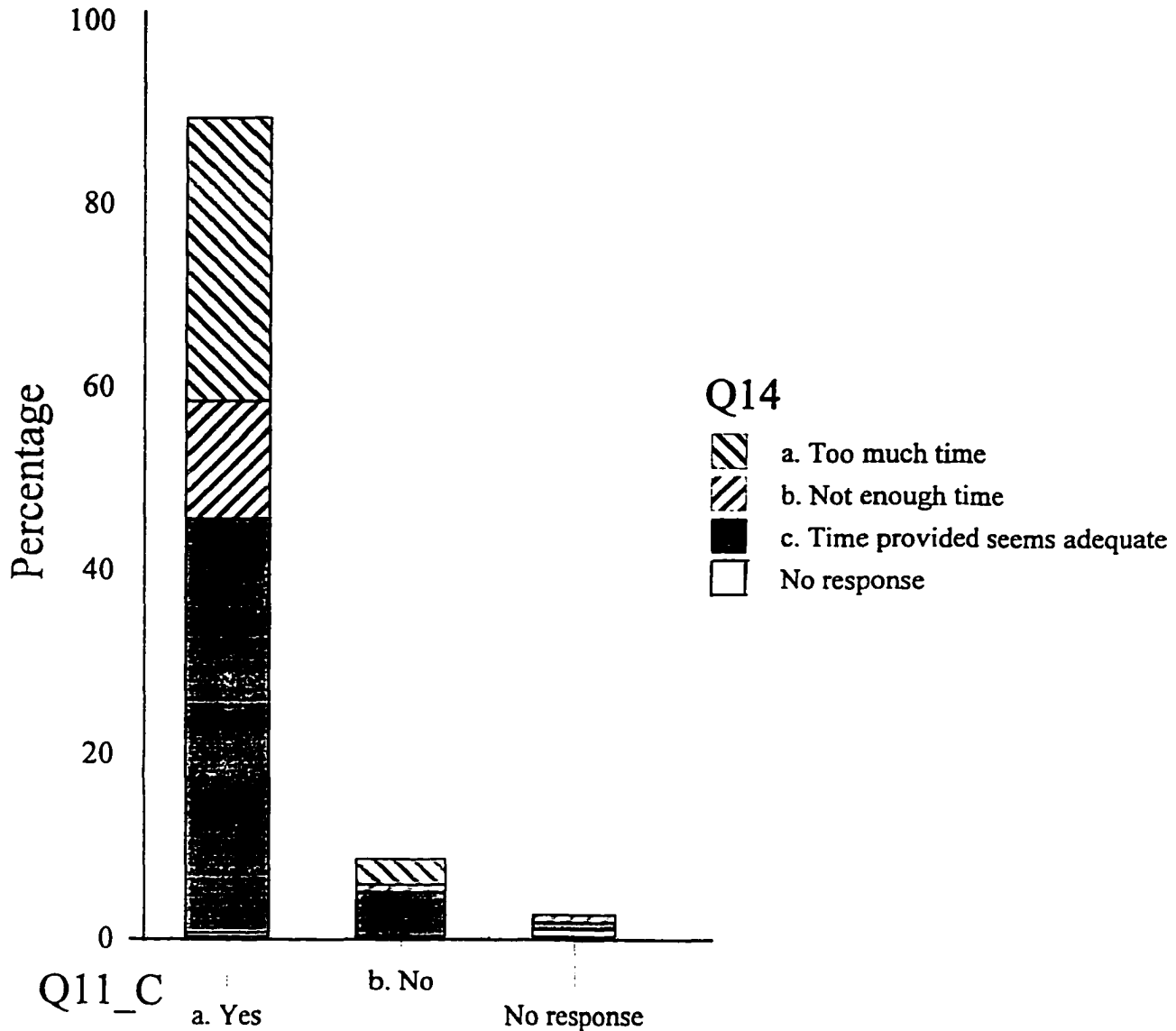
249

Q11_B\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	27.31%	12.05%	43.78%	0.80%		
No	5.62%	2.01%	5.62%	0.00%		
No response	0.80%	0.40%	1.20%	0.40%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q11_C. Debates between the principal candidates
- ▶ Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q11C.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_C\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	77	32	112	1		
No	7	2	12	0		
No response	0	2	2	2		

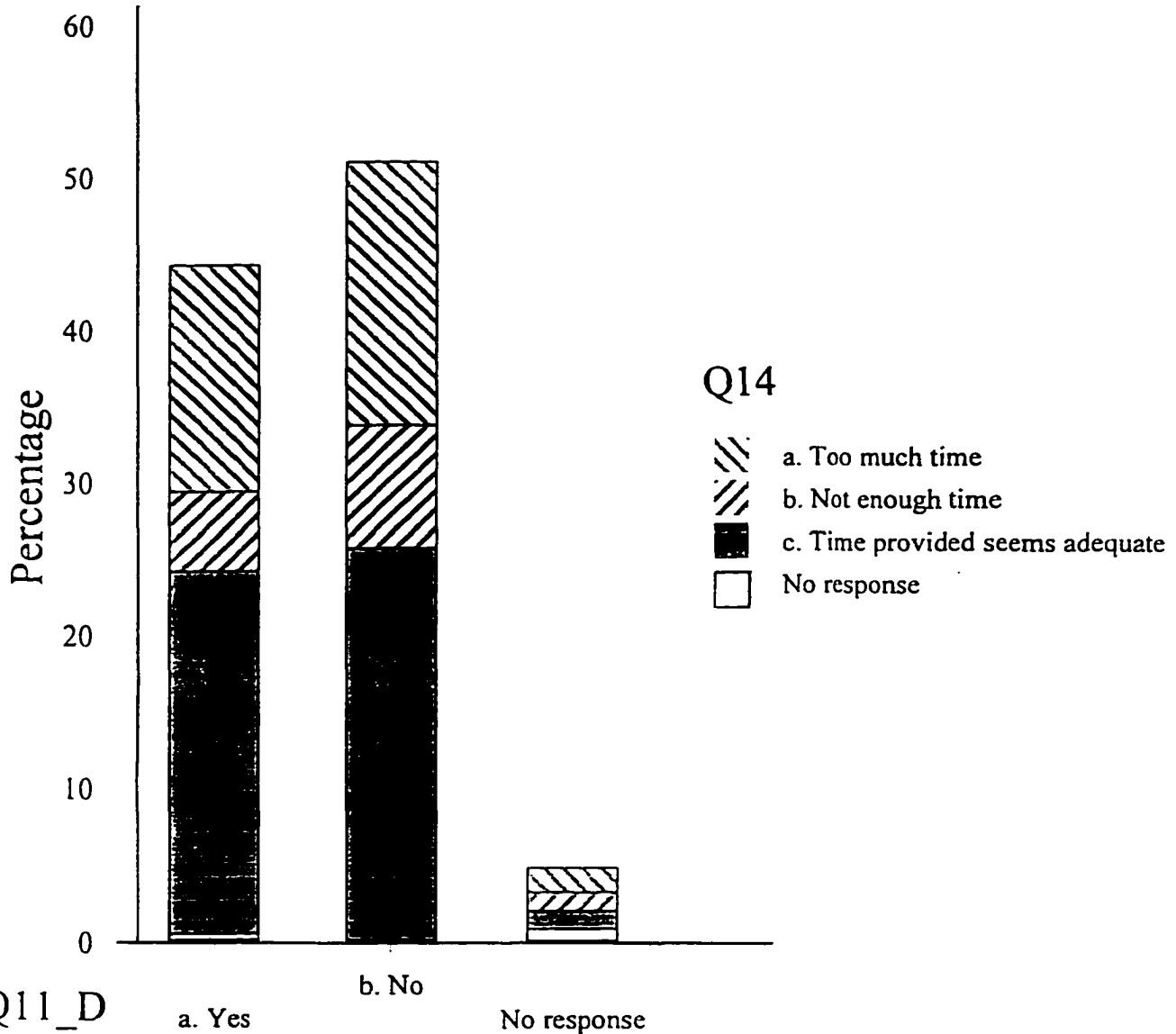
249

Q11_C\Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	30.92%	12.85%	44.98%	0.40%		
No	2.81%	0.80%	4.82%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	0.80%	0.80%	0.80%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



► Q11_D. Political conventions

Q14. In considering the amount of time devoted by television/radio to coverage of political campaigns, which do you consider to be accurate?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q14 based on their responses to Q11D.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q11_D1Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	37	13	59	1		
No	43	20	64	0		
No response	4	3	3	2		

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Q11_D1Q14

	a. Too much time	b. Not enough	c. adequate	No response		
Yes	14.86%	5.22%	23.69%	0.40%		
No	17.27%	8.03%	25.70%	0.00%		
No response	1.61%	1.20%	1.20%	0.80%		

100.00%

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APPENDIX E

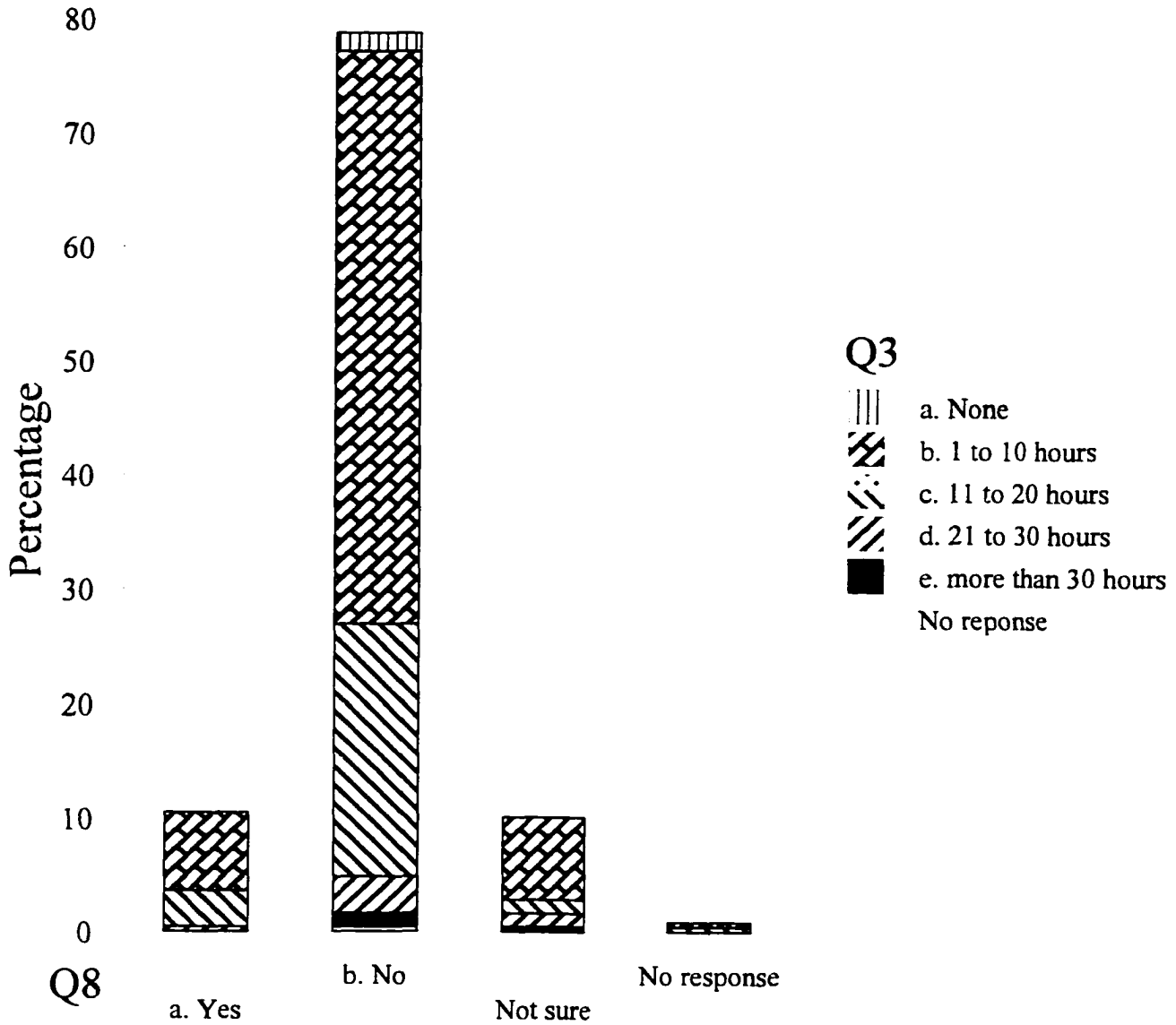
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to the General Subject
of the Dissertation
(Television's Relationship to Society)***

PART 1

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 3, 4, AND 6
COMPARED TO
QUESTION 8**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q3. How much time do you spend watching television weekly?

Q8. Do you believe that television shows (comedy, drama, variety) provide a realistic portrayal of American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q3 based on their responses to Q8.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q3\Q8

	a. Yes	b. No	Not sure	No response		
a. None	0	4	0	0		
b. 1 to 10 hours	17	125	18	1		
c. 11 to 20 hours	8	55	3	1		
d. 21 to 30 hours	1	8	3	0		
e. More than 30 hours	0	3	1	0		
No response	0	1	0	0		

249

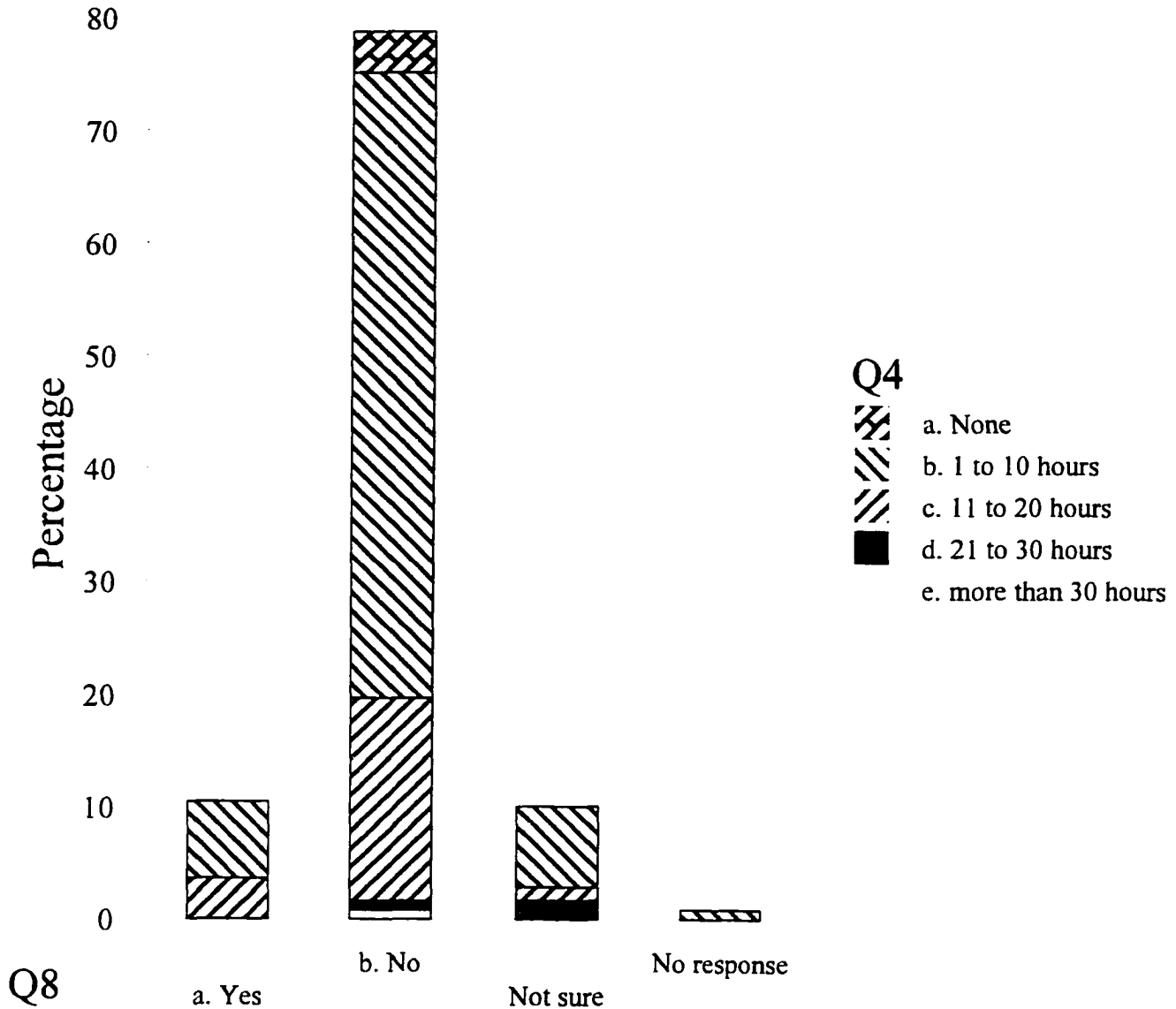
Q3\Q8

	a. Yes	b. No	Not sure	No response		
a. None	0.00%	1.61%	0.00%	0.00%		
b. 1 to 10 hours	6.83%	50.20%	7.23%	0.40%		
c. 11 to 20 hours	3.21%	22.09%	1.20%	0.40%		
d. 21 to 30 hours	0.40%	3.21%	1.20%	0.00%		
e. More than 30 hours	0.00%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%		

100.00%

264

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q4. How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?
 Q8. Do you believe that television shows (comedy, drama, variety) provide a realistic portrayal of American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q4 based on their responses to Q8.

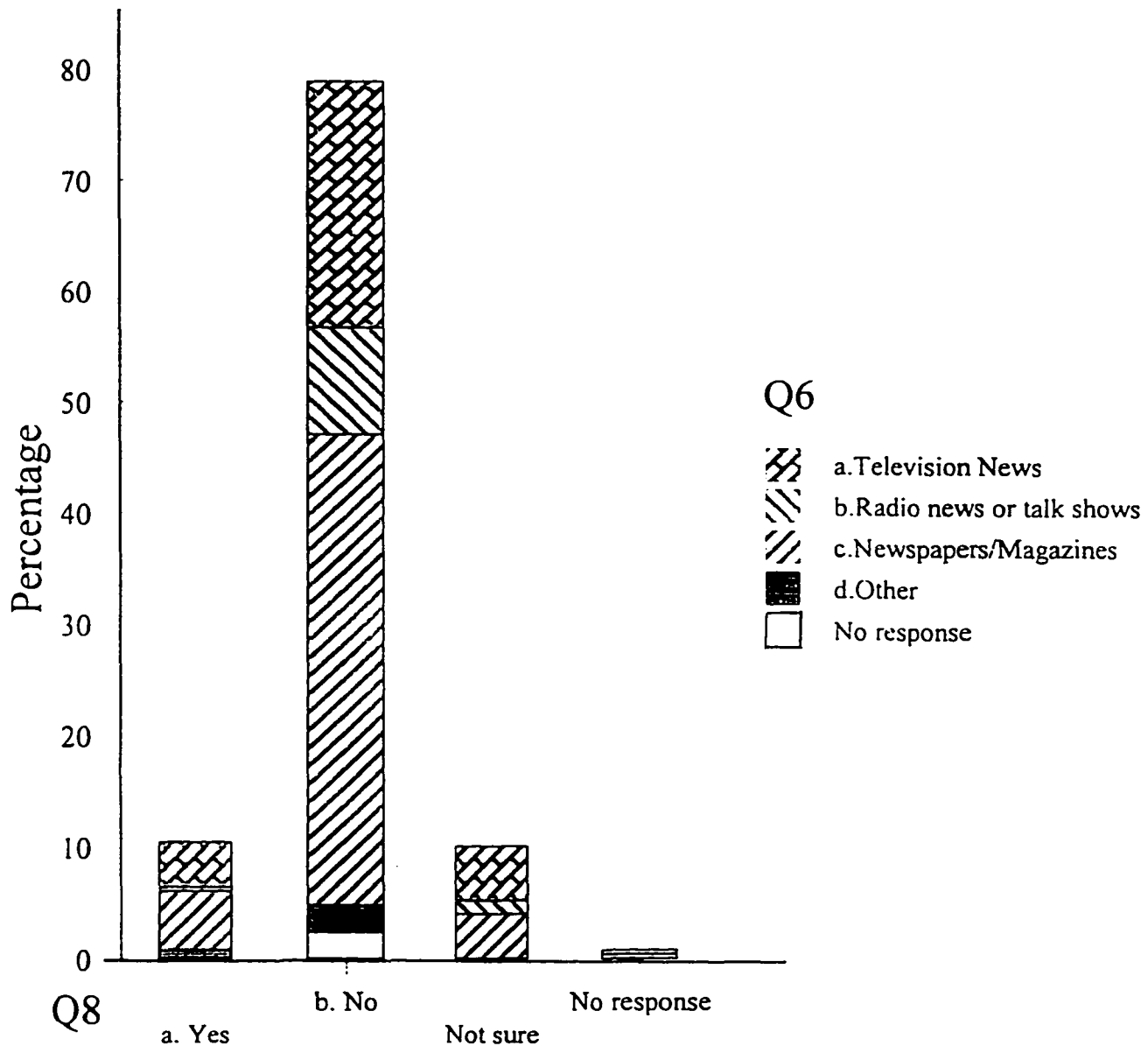
SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q4\Q8	a. Yes	b. No	Not sure	No response		
a. None	0	9	0	0		
b. 1 to 5 hours	17	138	18	2		
c. 6 to 10 hours	9	45	3	0		
d. 11 to 15 hours	0	2	4	0		
e. More than 15 hours	0	2	0	0		
						249

Q4\Q8	a. Yes	b. No	Not sure	No response		
a. None	0.00%	3.61%	0.00%	0.00%		
b. 1 to 5 hours	6.83%	55.42%	7.23%	0.80%		
c. 6 to 10 hours	3.61%	18.07%	1.20%	0.00%		
d. 11 to 15 hours	0.00%	0.80%	1.61%	0.00%		
e. More than 15 hours	0.00%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%		
						100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q6. When you are seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, what source do you consider most reliable?
- ▶ Q8. Do you believe that television shows (comedy, drama, variety) provide a realistic portrayal of American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q6 based on their responses to Q8.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q6\Q8

	a.Yes	b.No	Not sure	No response		
a.Television News	10	55	12	1		
b.Radio News or talk	1	24	3	0		
c.Newspapers/Magazi	13	105	10	1		
d.Other	2	6	0	0		
No response	0	6	0	0		

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Q6\Q8

	a.Yes	b.No	Not sure	No response		
a.Television News	4.02%	22.09%	4.82%	0.40%		
b.Radio News or talk	0.40%	9.64%	1.20%	0.00%		
c.Newspapers/Magazi	5.22%	42.17%	4.02%	0.40%		
d.Other	0.80%	2.41%	0.00%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	2.41%	0.00%	0.00%		

100.00%

APPENDIX E

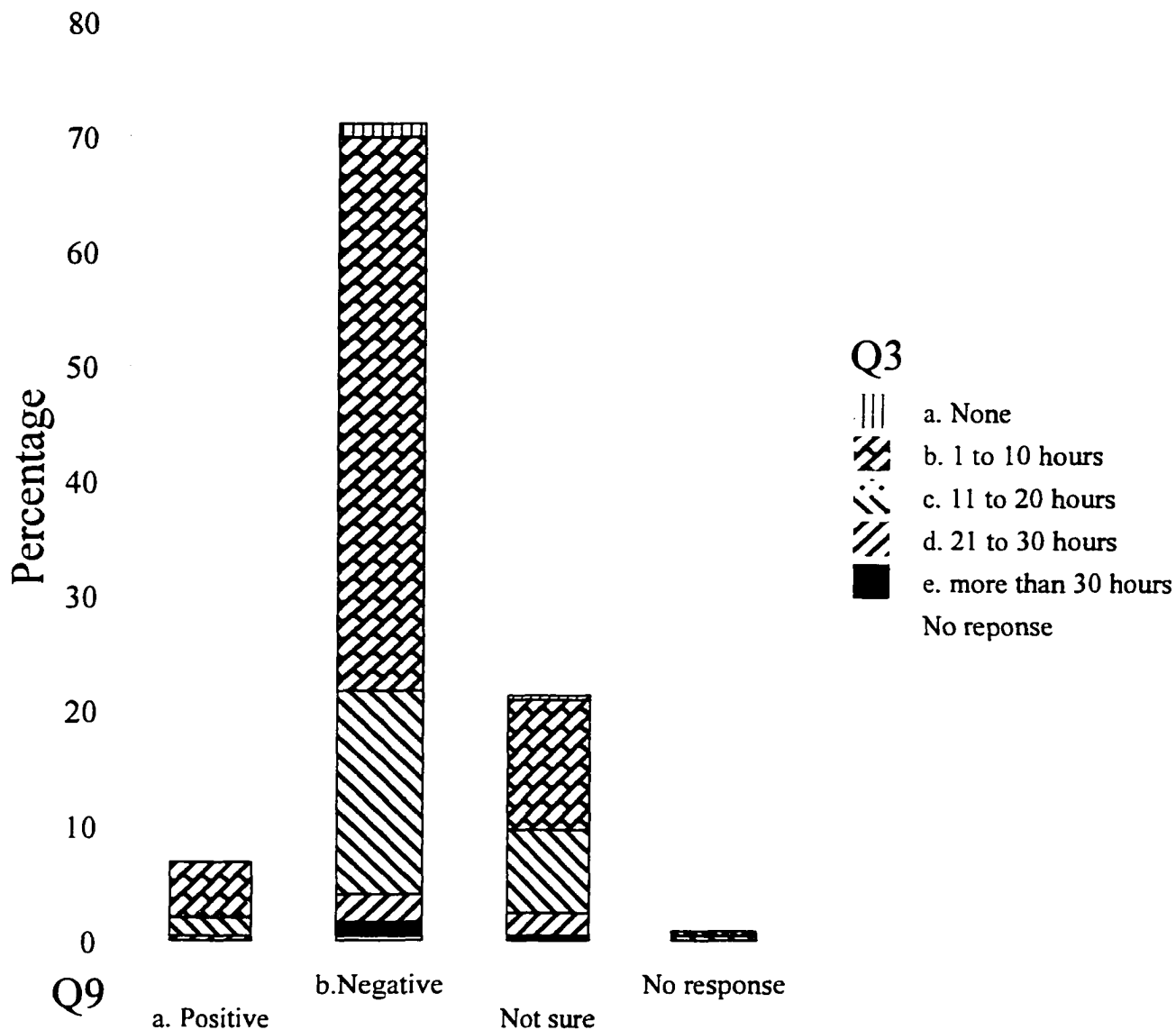
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to the General Subject
of the Dissertation
(Television's Relationship to Society)***

PART 2

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 3, 4, AND 6
COMPARED TO
QUESTION 9**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q3. How much time do you spend watching television weekly?

Q9. Have television shows (comedy, drama variety) had a positive or negative impact on American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q3 based on their responses to Q9.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q3\Q9

	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. None	0	3	1	0		
b. 1 to 10 hours	12	120	28	1		
c. 11 to 20 hours	4	44	18	1		
d. 21 to 30 hours	1	6	5	0		
e. More than 30 hours	0	3	1	0		
No response	0	1	0	0		

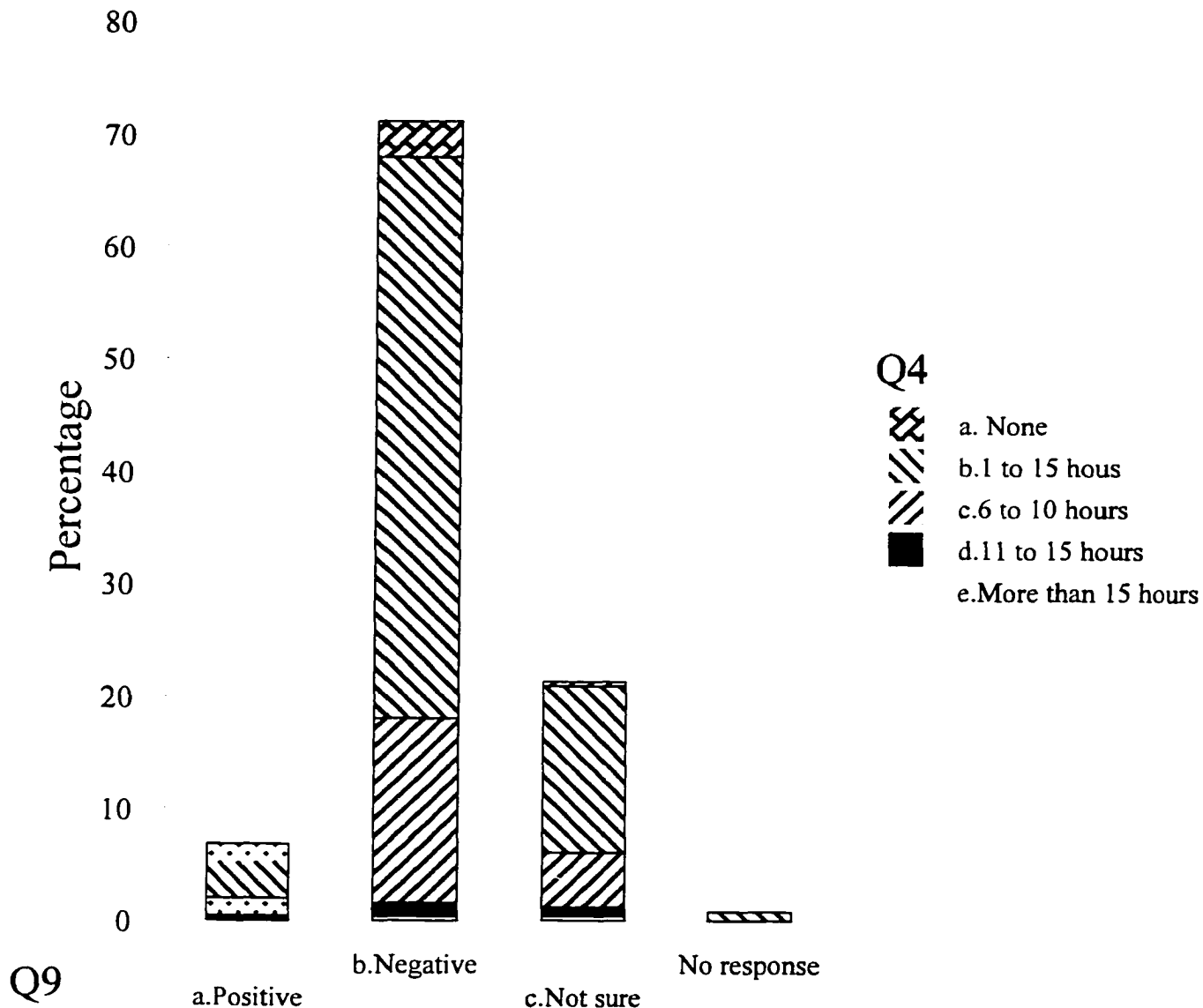
249

Q3\Q9

	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. None	0.00%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		
b. 1 to 10 hours	4.82%	48.19%	11.24%	0.40%		
c. 11 to 20 hours	1.61%	17.67%	7.23%	0.40%		
d. 21 to 30 hours	0.40%	2.41%	2.01%	0.00%		
e. More than 30 hours	0.00%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q4. How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?

Q9. Have television shows (comedy, drama, variety) had a positive or negative impact on American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q4 based on their responses to Q9.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q4\Q9

	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. None	0	8	1	0		
b. 1 to 5 hours	12	124	37	2		
c. 6 to 10 hours	4	41	12	0		
d. 11 to 15 hours	1	3	2	0		
e. More than 15 hours	0	1	1	0		

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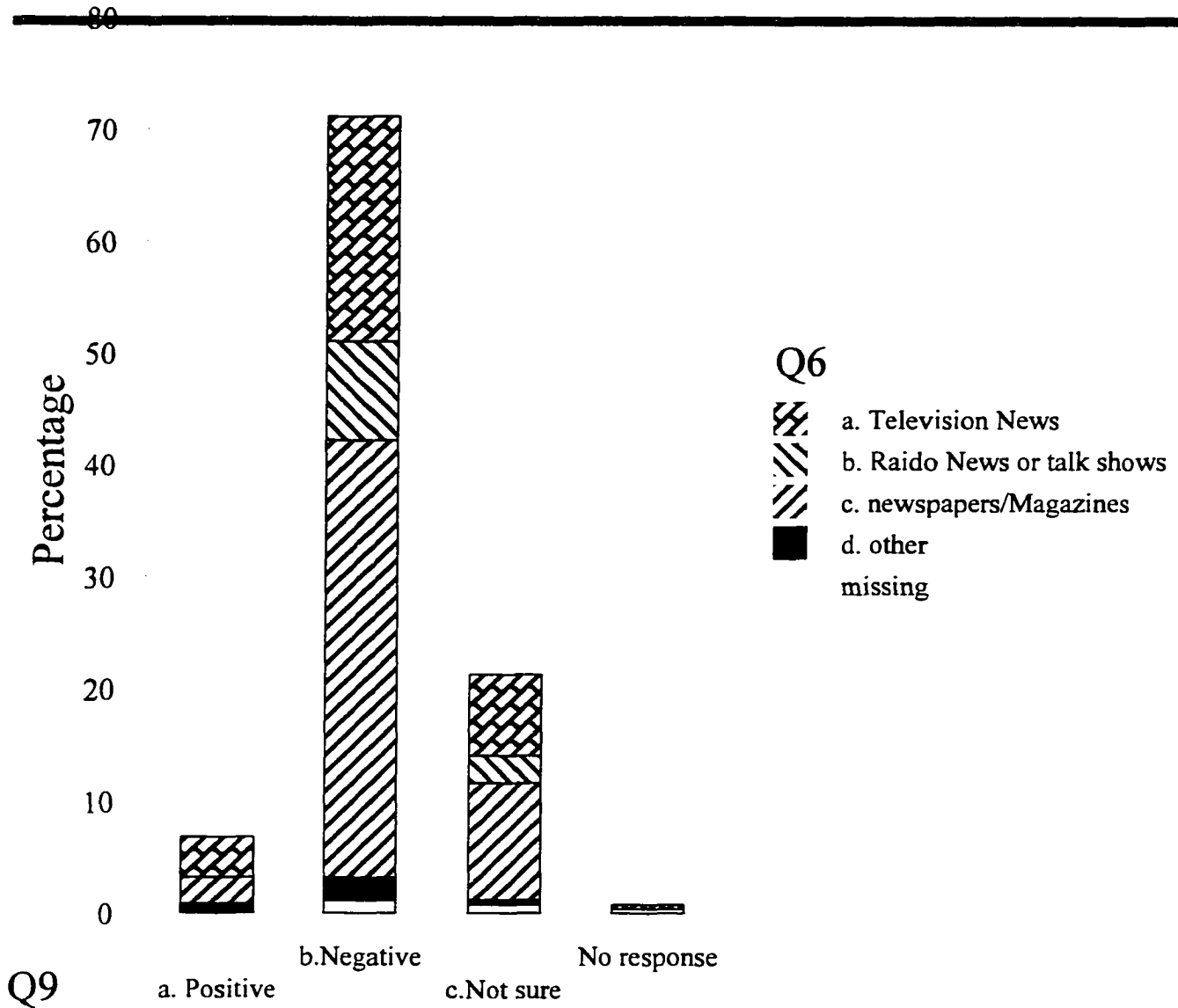
Q4\Q9

	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. None	0.00%	3.21%	0.40%	0.00%		
b. 1 to 5 hours	4.82%	49.80%	14.86%	0.80%		
c. 6 to 10 hours	1.61%	16.47%	4.82%	0.00%		
d. 11 to 15 hours	0.40%	1.20%	0.80%	0.00%		
e. More than 15 hours	0.00%	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

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IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q6. How are you seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, What source do you consider most reliable?

Q9. Have television shows (comedy, drama, variety) had a positive or negative impact on American contemporary society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q6 based on their responses to Q9.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q6\Q9	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. Television News	9	50	18	1		
b. Radio News or talk	0	22	6	0		
c. Newspapers/Magazi	6	97	26	0		
d. Other	2	5	1	0		
No response	0	3	2	1		
						249

Q6\Q9	a. Positive	b. Negative	c. Not sure	No response		
a. Television News	3.61%	20.08%	7.23%	0.40%		
b. Radio News or talk	0.00%	8.84%	2.41%	0.00%		
c. Newspapers/Magazi	2.41%	38.96%	10.44%	0.00%		
d. Other	0.80%	2.01%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	1.20%	0.80%	0.40%		
						100.00%

275

APPENDIX E

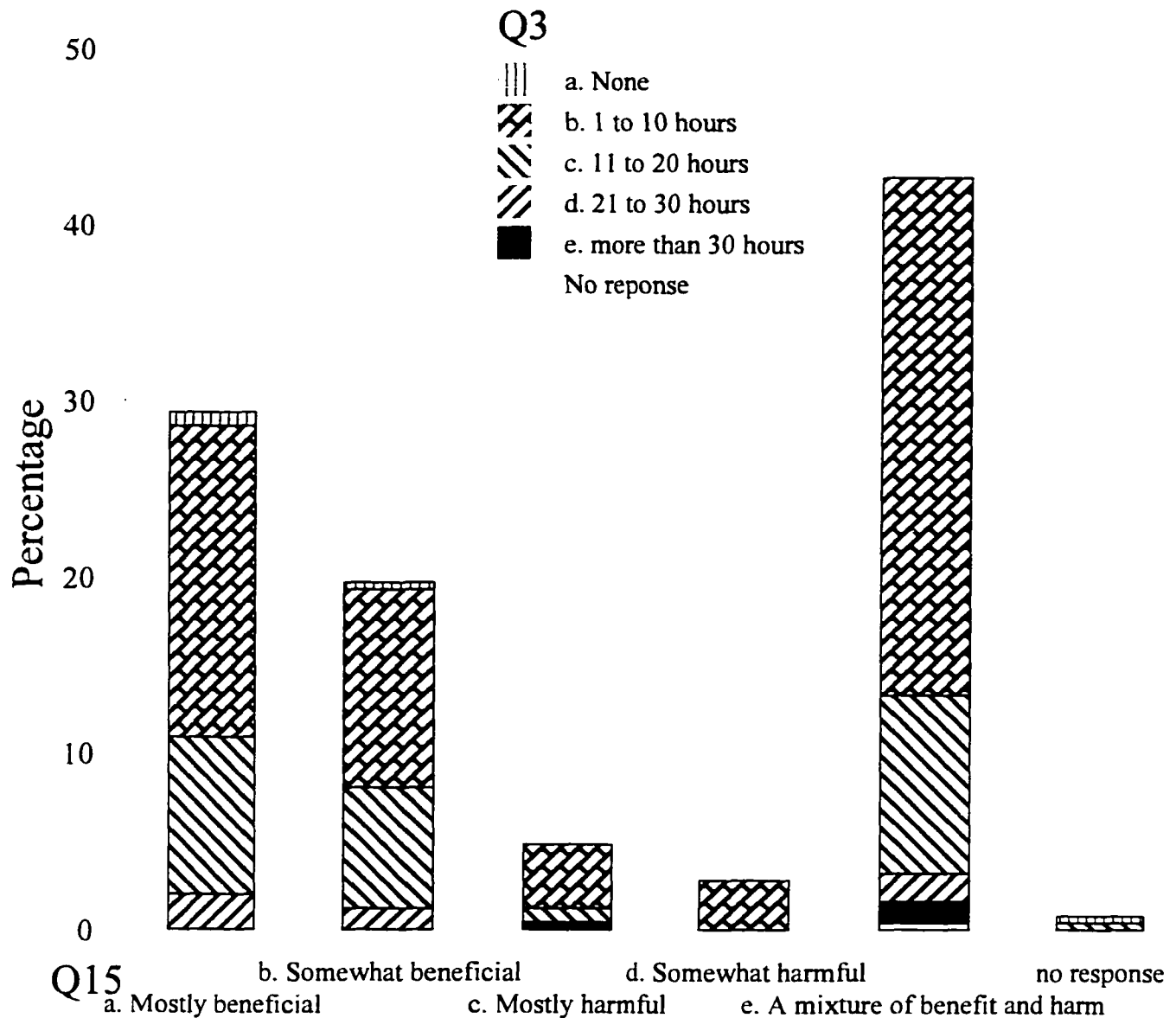
***Statistical Compilations and Graphs
Pertaining to the General Subject
of the Dissertation
(Television's Relationship to Society)***

PART 3

CROSS TABULATIONS

**QUESTIONS 3, 4, AND 6
COMPARED TO
QUESTIONS 15 AND 16**

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q3. How much time do you spend watching television weekly?

Q15. Do you believe that the technological advances in communication (e.g., satellite linkage, videotape, cable, television, etc.) have proved to be beneficial or harmful to American society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q3 based on their response to Q15.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

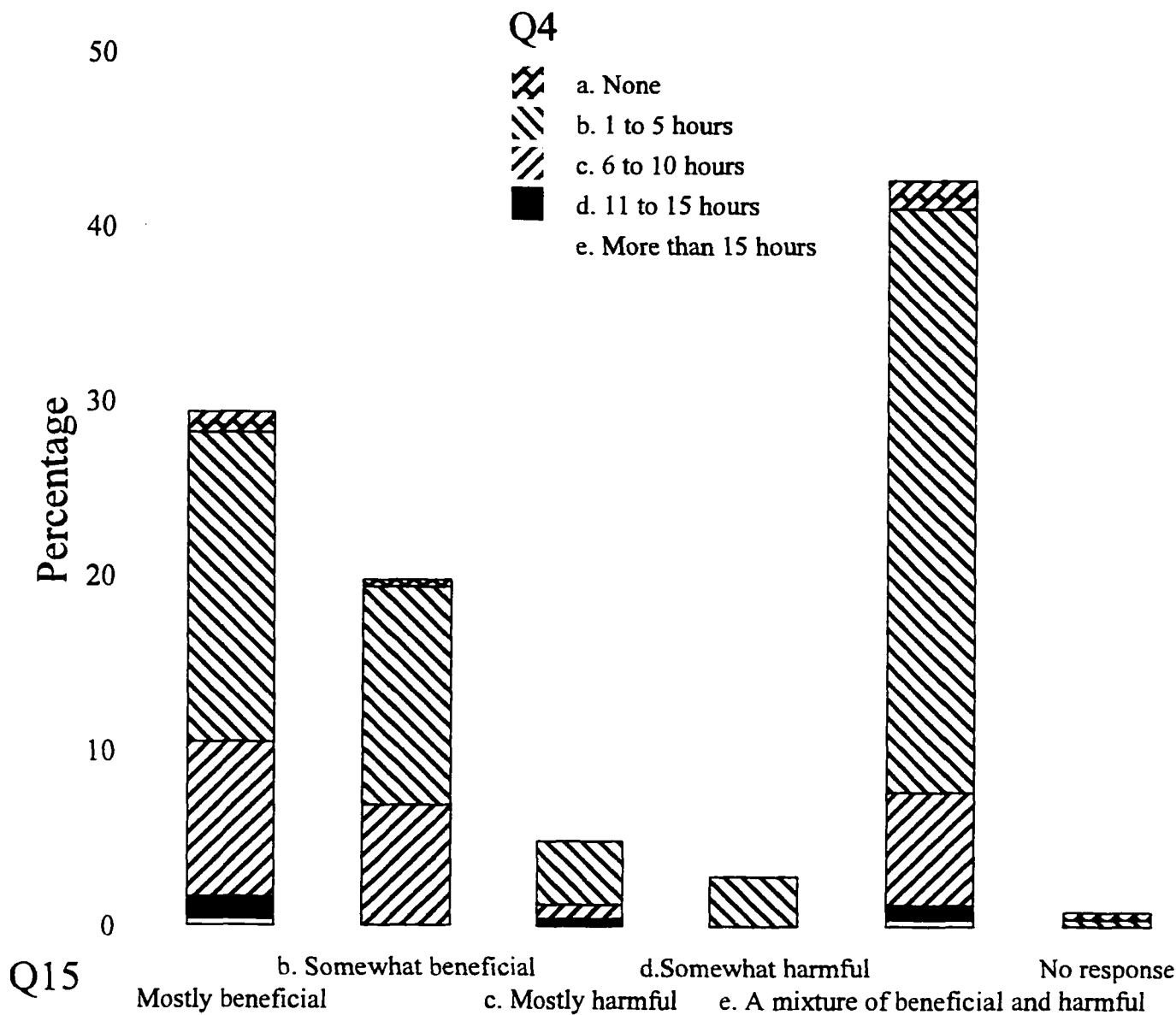
Q3\Q15	a. Mostly beneficial	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. None	2	1	0	0	0	1
b. 1 to 10 hours	44	28	9	7	73	0
c. 11 to 20 hours	22	17	2	0	25	1
d. 21 to 30 hours	5	3	0	0	4	0
e. More than 30 hours	0	0	1	0	3	0
No response	0	0	0	0	1	0

249

Q3\Q15	a. Mostly beneficia	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. None	0.80%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%
b. 1 to 10 hours	17.67%	11.24%	3.61%	2.81%	29.32%	0.00%
c. 11 to 20 hours	8.84%	6.83%	0.80%	0.00%	10.04%	0.40%
d. 21 to 30 hours	2.01%	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	1.61%	0.00%
e. More than 30 hours	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	1.20%	0.00%
No response	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q4. How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?
 Q15. Do you believe that the technological advances in communication (e.g., satellite linkage, videotape, cable, television, etc.) have proved to be beneficial or harmful to American society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q4 based on their responses to Q15.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q4\Q15

	a. Mostly beneficial	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. None	3	1	0	0	4	1
b. 1 to 5 hours	44	31	9	7	83	1
c. 6 to 10 hours	22	17	2	0	16	0
d. 11 to 15 hours	3	0	1	0	2	0
e. More than 15 hours	1	0	0	0	1	0

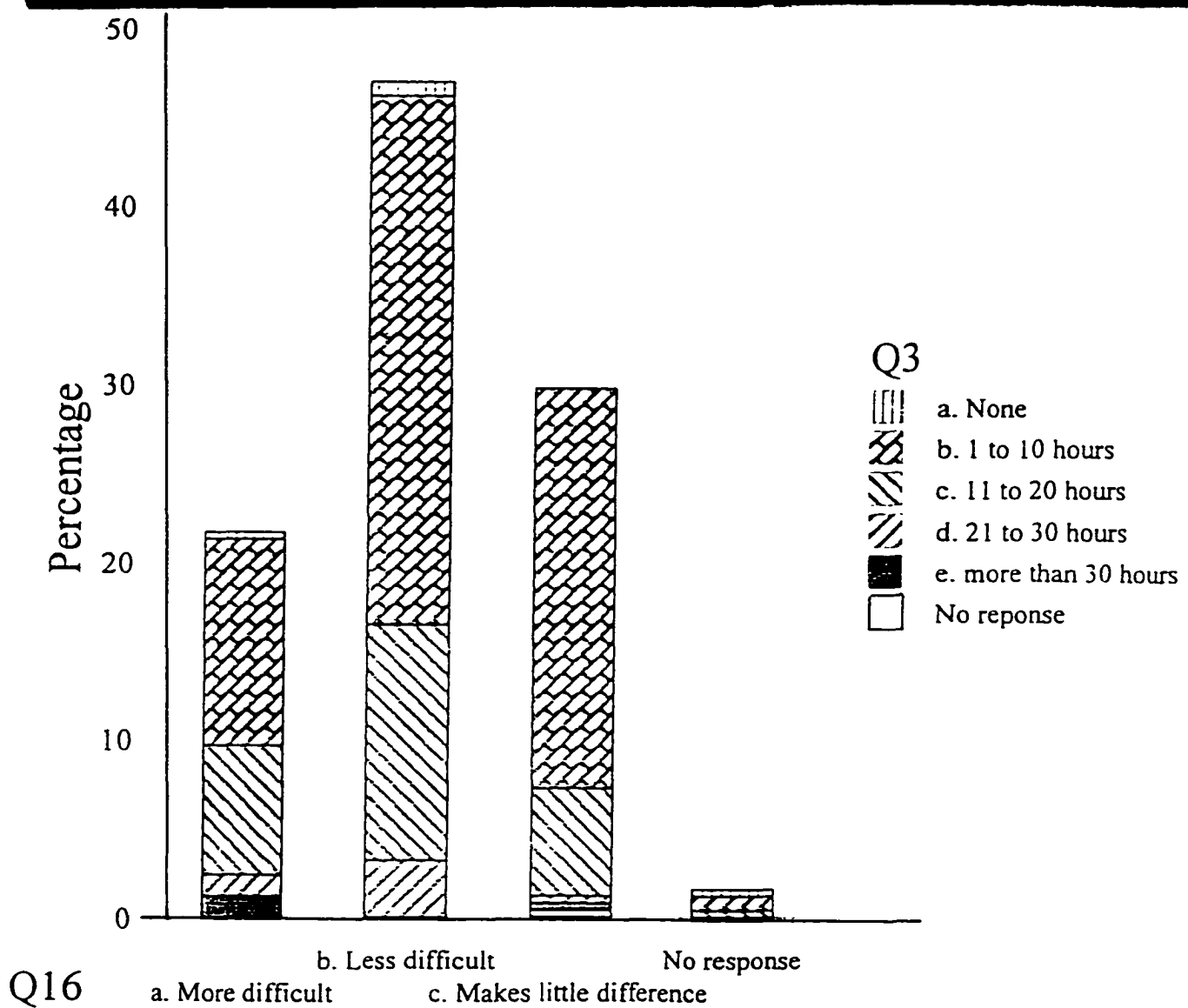
249

Q4\Q15

	a. Mostly beneficial	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. None	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	1.61%	0.40%
b. 1 to 5 hours	17.67%	12.45%	3.61%	2.81%	33.33%	0.40%
c. 6 to 10 hours	8.84%	6.83%	0.80%	0.00%	6.43%	0.00%
d. 11 to 15 hours	1.20%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.80%	0.00%
e. More than 15 hours	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q3. How much time do you spend watching television weekly?
- ▶ Q16. Does the vast amount of coverage provided by the electronic media (television/radio) on a particular story make it more or less difficult to understand the information and to analyze it adequately?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q3 based on their responses to Q16.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q3\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. little difference	No response		
a. None	1	2	0	1		
b. 1 to 10 hours	29	74	56	2		
c. 11 to 20 hours	18	33	15	1		
d. 21 to 30 hours	3	8	1	0		
e. More than 30 hours	3	0	1	0		
No response	0	0	1	0		

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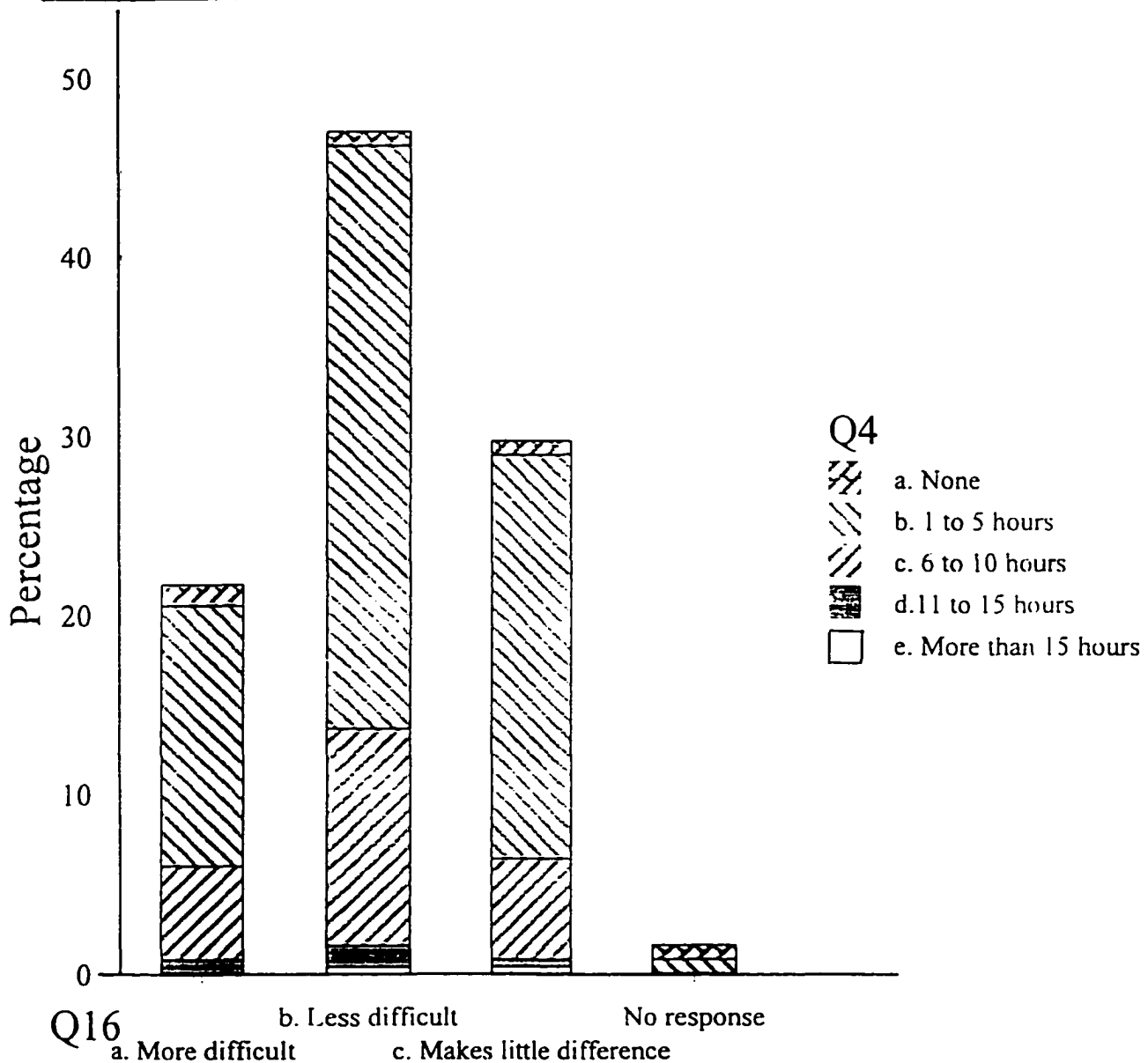
Q3\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. little difference	No response		
a. None	0.40%	0.80%	0.00%	0.40%		
b. 1 to 10 hours	11.65%	29.72%	22.49%	0.80%		
c. 11 to 20 hours	7.23%	13.25%	6.02%	0.40%		
d. 21 to 30 hours	1.20%	3.21%	0.40%	0.00%		
e. More than 30 hours	1.20%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%		
No response	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

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IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



- ▶ Q4. How much time do you spend watching television news coverage weekly?
- ▶ Q16. Does the vast amount of coverage provided by the media (television/radio) on a particular story make it more or less difficult to understand the information and to analyze it adequately?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q4 based on their responses to Q16.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q4\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. Little difference	No response		
a. None	3	2	2	2		
b. 1 to 5 hours	36	81	56	2		
c. 6 to 10 hours	13	30	14	0		
d. 11 to 15 hours	2	3	1	0		
e. More than 15 hours	0	1	1	0		

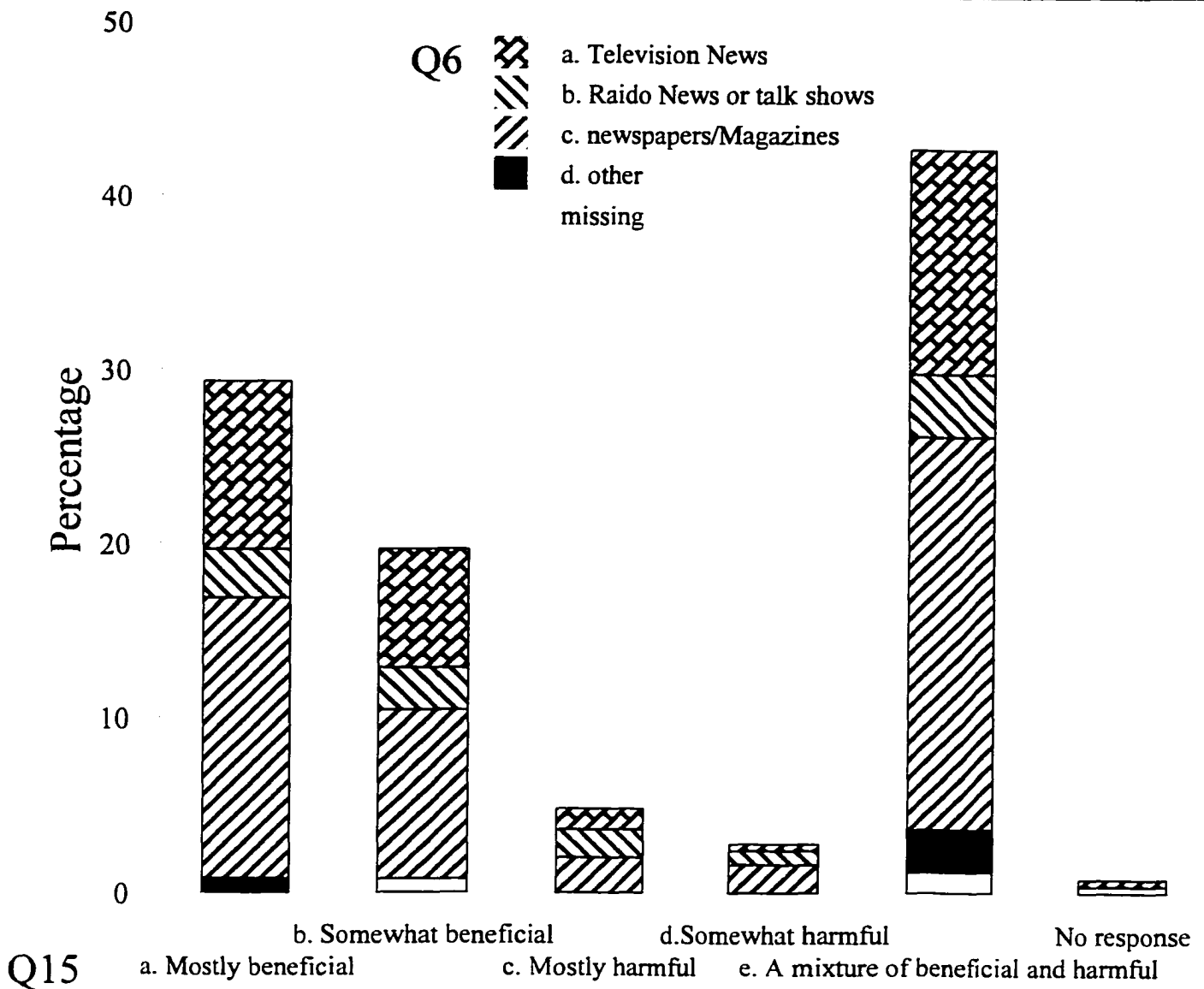
249

Q4\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. Little difference	No response		
a. None	1.20%	0.80%	0.80%	0.80%		
b. 1 to 5 hours	14.46%	32.53%	22.49%	0.80%		
c. 6 to 10 hours	5.22%	12.05%	5.62%	0.00%		
d. 11 to 15 hours	0.80%	1.20%	0.40%	0.00%		
e. More than 15 hours	0.00%	0.40%	0.40%	0.00%		

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q6. How are you seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, What source do you consider most reliable?

Q15. Do you believe that the technological advances in communication (e.g., satellite linkage, videotape, cable, television, etc.) have proved to be beneficial or harmful to American society?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q6 based on their responses to Q15.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q6/Q15

	a. Mostly beneficial	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. Television News	24	17	3	1	32	1
b. Radio News or talk	7	6	4	2	9	0
c. Newspapers/Magazi	40	24	5	4	56	0
d. Other	2	0	0	0	6	0
No response	0	2	0	0	3	1

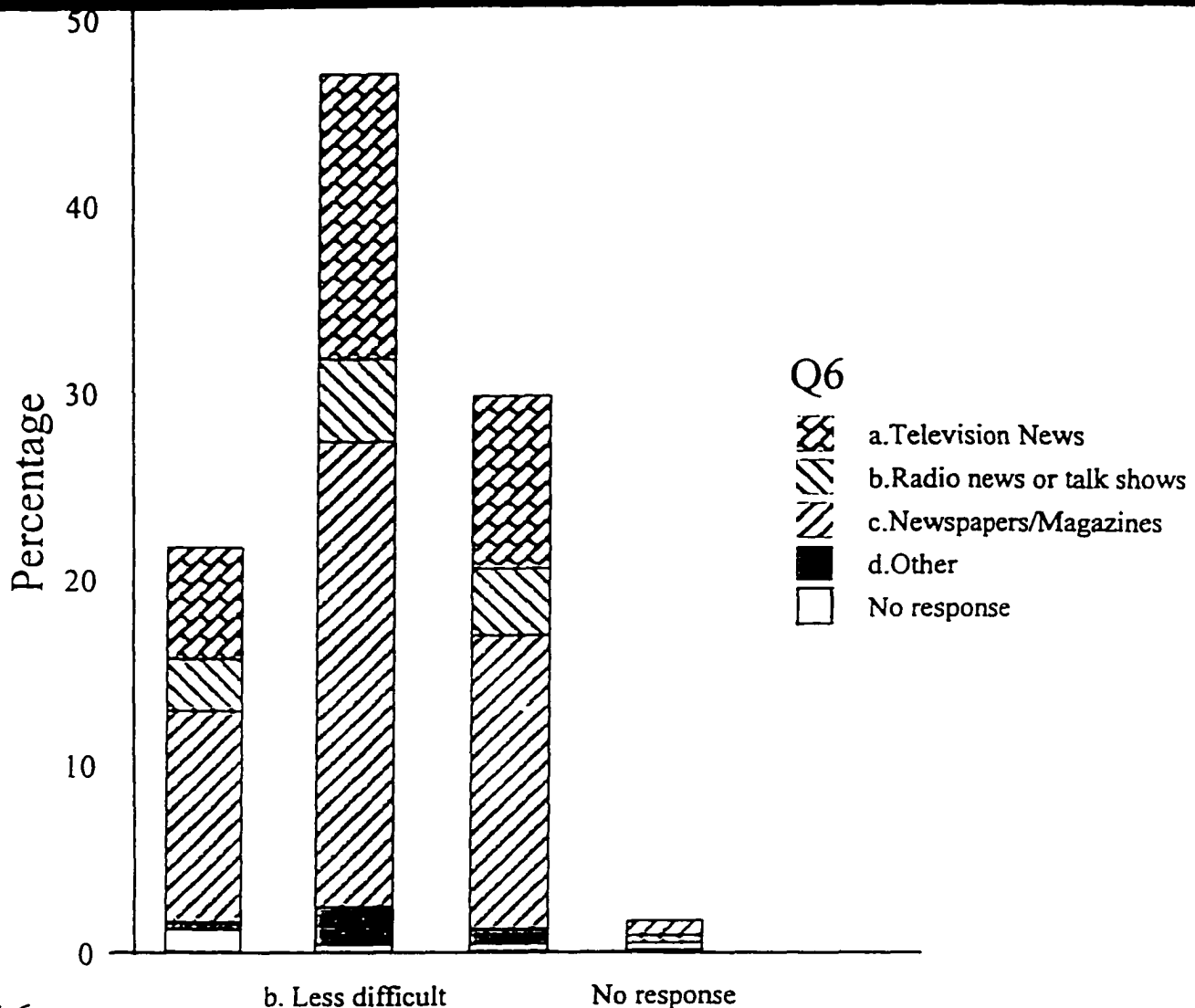
249

Q6/Q15

	a. Mostly beneficial	b. Somewhat beneficia	c. Mostly harmful	d. Somewhat harmful	e. Mixture of H&B	No response
a. Television News	9.64%	6.83%	1.20%	0.40%	12.85%	0.40%
b. Radio News or talk	2.81%	2.41%	1.61%	0.80%	3.61%	0.00%
c. Newspapers/Magazi	16.06%	9.64%	2.01%	1.61%	22.49%	0.00%
d. Other	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.41%	0.00%
No response	0.00%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	1.20%	0.40%

100.00%

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS



Q16

a. More difficult b. Less difficult c. Makes little difference No response

- ▶ Q6. When you are seeking in-depth coverage of a specific news story, what source do you consider most reliable?
- ▶ Q16. Does the vast amount of coverage provided by the media (television/radio) on a particular story make it more or less difficult to understand the information and to analyze it adequately?

**Columns indicate how respondents answered Q6 based on their responses to Q16.

SEE FOLLOWING PAGE FOR EXACT PERCENTAGES

IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Q6\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. Little difference	No response		
a. Television News	15	38	23	2		
b. Radio News or talk	7	11	9	1		
c. Newspapers/Magazi	28	62	39	0		
d. Other	1	5	2	0		
No response	3	1	1	1		

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Q6\Q16

	a. More difficult	b. Less difficult	c. Little difference	No response		
a. Television News	6.02%	15.26%	9.24%	0.80%		
b. Radio News or talk	2.81%	4.42%	3.61%	0.40%		
c. Newspapers/Magazi	11.24%	24.90%	15.66%	0.00%		
d. Other	0.40%	2.01%	0.80%	0.00%		
No response	1.20%	0.40%	0.40%	0.40%		

100.00%

APPENDIX F

**INTERVIEW WITH SANDER VANOCUR
APRIL, 1996**

PERSONAL INTERVIEW
WITH
FORMER NBC WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT SANDER VANOCUR
APRIL 1996

Question: What do you remember most about television and the 1952 presidential election?

Mr. Vanocur: Well, I was out of the country. I was in the army in Berlin, but I've talked to a lot of the people who were there, most notably Reuven Frank (producer for Huntley-Brinkley) and they had not had much [television coverage] in 1948. I think Mr. Truman's speech calling the Congress back was carried live by television.... There was a round-robin (a patch of stations around the country), but one of the stories from that time ... indicated that people knew what was coming. A guy named Bobby Doyle (who used to be a producer for NBC) was setting up the equipment for the Eisenhower convention in Chicago. Colonel Arvey, who was the Democratic leader in Chicago, went up to him and said, "How many people do you think can see this?" Doyle said he guessed about 25 million. Jack Arvey said, "Oh, we can never allow that."

Question: What about Eisenhower's success in the 1952 Republican Convention—did television play a role?

Mr. Vanocur: I think it was attributable to television because Eisenhower had a very skillful person, the former actor Robert Montgomery, who knew television. And I think much of the battle over the Texas delegation—"Thou shalt not steal," said Henry Cabot Lodge--gave it an enormity that it probably didn't deserve in terms of its reach because it was so new.

Question: What do you feel were the most important factors influencing the election of 1952, especially from a television perspective?

Mr. Vanocur: Two things: one, Adlai Stevenson was terrible at television. Second...I remember being overseas reading an article by Walter Lippman urging the election of Eisenhower in which he said the Democrats are tired. They [the Democrats] brought us through the Great Depression, the War, and Postwar Recovery, and now we have to have a change. That was a factor working there too, which I think would have been manifest even if there had not been television.

Question: What about the phrase "clear and present danger"? What was its role in 1952?

Mr. Vanocur: Yes, that was occasioned by who "lost" China as if it was in anybody's hands to keep China. Ike ducked away. [Senator] McCarthy [R-Wis] had attacked General George C. Marshall. Ike did not come to the General's defense.

Question: Could General Eisenhower have won the 1952 nomination without television?

Mr. Vanocur: Well, I think so, but it probably was of some help. After all, Ike was part of this new world which found us being the world's superpower. Though the Russians had gotten the Atomic Bomb by this time, we were still the huge dominant power in the world. Remember: Taft was an isolationist. He had voted against NATO. And then there was the winning aura of the General [Eisenhower] in WWII, that incredible smile, and you remember [that] Bob Taft--a very interesting and decent man--looked when he smiled as if he just sucked on a lemon. Even though a person like Everett Dirksen, my Congressman, pointed to Dewey and said, "You led us down the road to defeat twice," Ev Dirksen had renounced isolationism. I remember hearing him as a kid in Peoria, Illinois. So, I think it was not just the isolationism, but ... nobody could compete against that smile of Ike and the aura of the hero.

Question: The spot advertisements have been credited with helping Ike win in 1952. Were they in particular or television in general responsible for the Republican victory?

Mr. Vanocur: No, I don't think so. I think that, even had TV not been around, he still would have won because time had run out on the Democratic Party. And there was an

after effect about who lost China. And remember rationing after the war, things like that, and people wanted a change. Remember this whole idea about who lost China. My whole adult life has seen my country trying to get the Chinese to behave the way we insist they behave, like we wish them to, instead of behaving like Chinese, as they have for 4,000 years That was going on at the time--we get all snippy about it--and that was going on at the time. We couldn't believe that we lost China. Remember the influence of Henry Luce and Time Magazine on that issue.

Question: What is your view on presidential debates?

Mr. Vanocur: Well, of course in 1960, what was important about the debates was that they were new. And in the first debate--Nixon did better in the next three, and I was part of the first debate--[Mr. Vanocur was one of the panelists at the first Kennedy-Nixon Debate] it showed Kennedy not as a callow young man but a pretty intelligent, presentable challenger. And, you see, the idea that Nixon was a great debater seemed made out of hot air....The only thing he had ever done was that dreadful Checkers Speech in 1952. And so it may have been overblown in history. Over the years, I don't think they have had that much [effect]. You might say that Dole hurt the Ford Ticket [in 1976]--it's been estimated by about 2%--with that remark about the Democrat wars. And Ford hurt himself by the statement about Poland not really being under Russian subjugation. But I don't think that they [the debates] have had that much of an impact. Indeed in 1984, after the Louisville Debate, when Reagan seemed to have lost his memory, that isn't what caused it. Next day, Jim Perry, marvelous political reporter for The Wall Street Journal, had an article which he had been preparing for months about Reagan's age. It came out and was a cause celebre for a few days and then, in the next debate, Reagan turned it right around when he said that he would not hold his opponent's youth and inexperience against him. I don't know what you can do about the debates: I'm very close to the Democratic and Republican Chairmen of the Debate Commission and I wish them well. I've argued before panels that what they ought to do is take out the

media and the panelists and let the people [the candidates] go at each other. I think that might help.

Question: Do you believe there is any bias conscious or otherwise in television reporting of the news?

Mr. Vanocur: No, I don't. I was very struck by the fact that you [said] "conscious or otherwise" because I've always told rightwing groups that the major charge [they] make against us is not bias but mindlessness; that's a different thing. If, for example, when Bush used the flag or the Willie Horton commercial, the press had put it in context. That was a bias against Dukakis. The stupidity of the candidate's handlers was responsible for the Dukakis in the tank episode. But I can't see it has changed many presidential campaigns. Lord Almighty, the big issue in 1960 was the Catholic issue period. In 1964, a wonderful man Barry Goldwater, with his "I'll lob one into the men's room at the Kremlin," and his views on Social Security were the issues. In 1968, the issue was a divided Democratic Party. In 1972, [it was] a weak Democratic Party led by a very decent man and a war hero, George McGovern. In 1976, Carter gets elected because the voters want to punish the Republicans because of Watergate. In 1980, we got a cycle again ... a genial Republican, a very able Governor, coming in after a guy named Jimmy Carter who induced the country into a sense of impotence about the management of their affairs at home and abroad. I never see real issues in these campaigns. In 1960, there was the issue of Catholicism, Quemoy and Matsu, and a non-existent missile gap.

Question: Has the expansion of the nightly newscast played a significant role in affecting the political process?

Mr. Vanocur: Yes, because it's created the necessity to feed a tapeworm. And, if you don't, people say you're hiding something. So it creates pseudo events. Sure it's changed because people do politically unnatural acts in public. You remember the great leaders of the Democratic process like Roosevelt, DeGaulle, Churchill, Reagan. There is a slight sense of the mystical about it, blowing incense and so forth. And it's not a literal process.

John Sears, who was fired by Mrs. Reagan after the Iowa Caucus, said that Ronald Reagan was a man who believed that reality was an illusion that could be overcome. Henry Wallace is quoted as saying that Franklin Roosevelt's genius was his ability to have everyone's balls in the air except his own. So, this is a complicated process, not a literal process. And I think that, because of the expansion of news, the events are created to fill in. And in every news room in this country you have CNN, and that drives the coverage. Imagine what would have happened during the tense negotiations surrounding the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 if there had been a CNN Think of the Kennedy/Khrushchev letters CNN would have been interviewing Khrushchev in the Kremlin. It speeds up the deliberative process, and it does not at all leave enough time for adequate consideration.

Question: What are your comments on the declining ratings for the national conventions, and what does this portend for the future?

Mr. Vanocur: I think it's dim, and I think it will affect voter turnout. You know we had only seven primaries in 1960, at least in the Democratic Party. There wasn't any contest on the Republican side. And, if you get the statistics out, you will see the voter turnout has dropped from the sixties [percentage] to the high thirties or lower forties. My own theory about it is that, by the time you get to the convention and certainly by the time you get to the election, people already believe they have been involved in a plebiscatory process. And to me it's so shocking to see that, as the coverage goes up, the voter turnout goes down because they think they have already been involved in it. Or it's turned them off. I believe there is a connection between an overdose of coverage and the dropping off of the turnout.

Question: Much has been said about the role of the so-called alternative media during the 1992 election campaign. Could you share your feelings on this new phenomenon?

Mr. Vanocur: There's one thing that worries me the most. I delivered a speech at the Edward R. Murrow Memorial Lecture last April in Washington entitled "Can Democracy

Survive the Mass Media?" By mass media I don't mean just television [news programs], I mean the talk shows. I happen to love politics, politicians, and political parties. I think the media have a legitimate interest, not special, but legitimate. They mediate it, and I think that is the genius of our democracy. Now I think that talk show hosts have become the instigators and the mediators, at the same time, of conflict. And unlike the politicians, they don't accept responsibility. There was a great English P. M., a conservative, Stanley Baldwin, who spoke eloquently of what was required of the ordinary citizens if the democratic process was to work. If you listen to these talk shows, do you remember the last time anyone asked a question? If Walt Whitman were writing today, he would not be saying, "I hear American singing," it would be, "I hear American talking." These people are irate, and you cannot operate government by widespread expressions of discontent. because government is based on cutting deals behind closed doors. The English political leader Edmund Burke remarked that a politician doesn't owe the voters his allegiance; he owes them his judgment. We didn't used to send our elected officials to Washington to follow our orders--hopefully to listen to us--but to make the judgments. People and the talk show hosts are engaged in making judgments. It is becoming a plebiscatory democracy rather than a representative democracy. This is not what the Founding Fathers had in mind. When did that honorable phrase, "checks and balances," stop and gridlock commence? The spirit of compromise has gone.

Question: Does the cost of advertising scare off many qualified and perhaps outstanding candidates from running for the presidency?

Mr. Vanocur: Well, the answer is yes, and I think Jack Kemp is an example. But I notice carefully the way you use qualified candidates... That takes care of Steve Forbes. He proves that you have to have something behind the money. You need experience and backup to commend you to the voters. Otherwise, you can have all the money in the world, and it is not going to help you. The reverse is sometimes true. Pat Buchannan didn't have all that much money, but he did pretty well for a while.

Question: I would like you to address yourself to prime time television programming from two perspectives: its impact on society and its impact on politics.

Mr. Vanocur: Well, I think television is more of a reflector than a determiner insofar as tastes and mores are concerned. [Remember] 1952, "I Love Lucy"?.... That was the world we lived in. I just saw something in the paper last night: What did Ozzie do [in "Ozzie and Harriet"]? He was a bandleader, and we were in those wonderful, kind of sappy and, I think, pretty decent Eisenhower years. But television and the people you see now... I think they are relatively reflective of a society that is sorely besides itself for a lot of reasons (drugs, ungrateful children, latch-key children, parents who find it easier to get divorced than they used to), and I think that kind of degradation of taste on television is kind of reflective of our society. You can argue that the talk shows--for example, "Geraldo," "Ricki Lake," etc.)--that our society is not as gross as that, but goddamn they keep putting more and more on, don't they? I think there is a societal impact of television on politics. The idea of Clinton going on Arsenio Hall... I turned it off because I thought, "This is terrible, playing the sax." But Clinton did have a rather decent conversation with Arsenio Hall about race relations. And the whole thing was picked up and put on the evening news shows. [At] his first appearance on MTV in May, his campaign was kind of in the doldrums.... That got him on the evening news. Whether the President of the United States should go [on MTV] and know that he is going to be asked a dumb question (boxers or briefs?), that has to do with Bill Clinton and his generation.

Question: Wasn't it true, however, that presidential candidates have appeared on talk shows in the past such as "The Jack Paar Show" in 1960? Some pundits, if I recall correctly, even said it was not who could stand up to Khrushchev but who could sit down with Jack Paar.

Mr. Vanocur: You're right, of course. You know, I like Johnny Carson, but Jack Paar was one of the great interviewers of all time, really marvelous. Jack was brilliant like one of those plants that traps an insect.... He would lean over and suddenly you were

inside and he had a hold on you. And you were his victim at that time. You never knew what was happening—he was a genius at it.

Question: Does television provide enough in-depth information?

Mr. Vanocur: Well, I don't think we ever did provide enough. But you certainly can't say you have to turn to the print media now because the average American doesn't read the kind of papers that you and I might be reading. And, yet having said that, the American voter over time has a good sense of his/her own self-interest. I think that people have an instinctive smell about candidates. They usually wind up doing the right thing. Look at the last election [1992] and back to 1988. Michael Dukakis won the nomination because he was not Jesse Jackson. And George Bush won the election because he wasn't Michael Dukakis. In 1992, no other Democrat seriously challenged Bill Clinton, and Clinton won because he wasn't George Bush or Ross Perot. So it's not complicated. The results are not so pleasing sometime, but it's not complicated. The American people have a reasonably shrewd instinct of their own self-interest.

Question: Please share with me some of the positive and negative aspects of television news.

Mr. Vanocur: [On the positive side] Until Walter Cronkite did a two-part story in mid-October [1972], the country didn't know about Watergate. George McGovern was going around saying that this was the greatest scandal since the Grant Administration, and everyone was saying he was bonkers. When TV came in, they just turned [on] the cameras—and in the beginning, they [the networks] were rotating on a daily basis—but when you got the soap opera characters in John and Mo Dean, then everyone got involved because this was better soap opera than soap opera. It showed people the true Richard Nixon. The most negative [aspect of TV news] is congressional coverage on C-SPAN because it gives people the impression that this is governance, and it is not. It is people posturing for the camera. You are now posing for the camera and not engaging in

the give and take which is the essence of our democratic process. I'll surprise you: I'm not much against advertising and commercials. It serves a purpose.

Question: In an article you sent me, you talked a great deal about the editing function in journalism. Could you please elaborate?

Mr. Vanocur: When I was very young, I started on a paper called the Manchester Guardian [in Great Britain], probably the best written English newspaper. My editor, John Breven, went over my copy one day with a quill pen and showed me the importance of quality writing. This was my apprenticeship, a rite of passage. You know that Latin as a school subject, insofar as grammar is concerned, was very important, [but] we don't have that today. When something goes wrong with a scientist's model today, they [reporters] cannot explain what happened in simple declarative English sentences. That is a frightening thought. You're talking to a very pessimistic 68 year old man

Question: Could you please compare the 1952 and 1992 elections from a technological perspective?

Mr. Vanocur: Now you can originate instantaneously. In those days [1952], you were working with film. [First], you had to develop the film, and then you had to go to a place like Chicago or New York or Los Angeles. You couldn't do it from some obscure place by satellite. You would have to delay, get off the campaign train early in the day to get it [the film] on. Then they [the candidate's handlers] got very smart about this. They staged their events in the morning so that they would be sure to get it on [the news], you see. But now you can get it on at the last minute. That is what has changed, and because of this huge tapeworm, you have to create these pseudo events all the time. Parties understood how to take control of the conventions back from us. The first time that happened was the 1972 convention with Nixon in Miami where they controlled it tightly. [With] Carter in 1976,... the lights stayed out so you could not do any interviews on the floor. I've always thought you can close all the goddamn doors you want, [but] I'm going to get a story if there is a story. And I love conventions.... I think there is always a story

in the conventions. It's just how you go about it. But I don't blame the politicians for trying to take control back, especially after the Democrats in 1968. Watch the Democratic Convention in Chicago this year [1996] with everybody really misreading what happened. Since the beginning of TV coverage, the Democrats have lost their soul; the Republicans have not found theirs.

I know that we have just about run out of time. Thank you very much, Mr. Vanocur, for your time and for your candid responses. I deeply appreciate it, and I can assure you that the same is true of Salve Regina University.

APPENDIX G

**TELEVISION AND RADIO SCHEDULES
6 AND 7 OCTOBER 1952**

Television Today

(Times are P.M. unless otherwise designated)
October 6, 1952

WMAR-TV—Channel 2
 6:15 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 6:30 A.M.—News and Concert Music.
 7:00 A.M.—Morning News, with Charles Collinswood.
 10:15 A.M.—Arthur Godfrey Time.
 11:00 A.M.—There's One in Every Family, with John Reed King.
 11:30 A.M.—Strike It Rich, Warren Hull.
 12:00—Bride and Groom.
 12:15—Love of Life.
 12:30—Search for Tomorrow.
 12:45—First Edition Newspapers Television News.
 1:00—The Woman's Angle, with Ann Mar.
 1:30—The Garry Moore Show, with Ivan Sanderson.
 2:00—Double or Nothing, Bert Parks.
 2:30—The Guiding Light.
 2:45—Art Linkletter's House Party.
 3:15—Mike and Buf.
 4:00—Western Trails: "Outlaw Trail," with Bob Steele.
 5:00—The Baller Goss Show, with Eric Thoren.
 6:00—The Early Show (Roots and Saddles) "Randy Raids Alone," with John Wayne.
 6:30—"Hl. Maryland," Baxter Ward.
 7:00—Maryland-Clemson Football Game.
 7:00—Newspapers Television News.
 7:15—Your Family Doctor.
 7:30—Douglas Edwards with the News.
 7:45—George F. Mahoney.
 8:00—The Video Theater: Corinne Calvet in "Legacy of Love."
 8:30—Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts.
 9:00—"I Love Lucy" with Lucille Ball.
 9:30—"Life with Luisi" with J. Carroll Nash.
 10:00—Studio One: June Lockhart, Mary Sinclair and John Dall in "The Doctor's Wife."
 11:00—Chronoscope: John Foster Dulles.
 11:15—Newspapers Television News.
 11:30—Bible Reading.
 11:35—Sign off.

WBAL-TV—Channel 11
 6:45 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 7:30 A.M.—Today with Dave Garroway.
 8:15 A.M.—Hymn Music.
 8:00 A.M.—The Brent Quins Show.
 10:00 A.M.—Cartoons.
 10:15 A.M.—Looking Glass.
 10:30 A.M.—Campaign Call.
 11:00 A.M.—Mrs. U.S.A.
 11:30 A.M.—Spin 'n' Win.
 12:00—In the Kitchen, Mary Landis.
 12:30—World Series Preview.
 12:45—The World Series.
 1:00—The Six P.M. ON.
 1:30—Welcome Travelers.

4:00—The Kate Smith Show, with Hooter and Byrd.
 5:00—"Hawkins Falls," Pop. 6,300.
 5:15—Gabby Hayes Show.
 5:30—Howdy-Doody.
 6:00—Silver Saddle Round Up.
 6:45—Your News Reporter.
 7:00—The Shadow Stumpers.
 7:15—On Wings of Song.
 7:30—Those Two.
 7:45—George F. Mahoney.
 8:00—What's My Name?
 8:30—Ferruccio Tagliavini: Orchestra.
 9:00—Hollywood Opening Night.
 9:30—Robert Montgomery Presents: Constance Bennett in "Signora Isabel."
 10:30—Boston Blackie.
 11:00—Eleventh Hour Finals: Baxter Ward.
 11:05—The Weather Report.
 11:10—Picture Playhouse.
 11:15—Adventures in the Night.
 12:45—Program Previews.

WAAM—Channel 13
 6:30 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 6:55 A.M.—News Headlines.
 10:00 A.M.—Morning Movies: "Face in the Fog."
 11:00 A.M.—Home Cooking with Mr. & Mrs.
 11:45 A.M.—Film Funnies.
 12:00—Shopping for you, Penny Chase.
 12:45—Take The Break, Don Russell.
 1:15—Broadway Matinee.
 1:30—Matinee Movies: "The Trigger Trio," with Ray Corrigan.
 2:30—TV WAAMbores, Nick Campofreda.
 4:00—Playhouse 13: "Too Many Women," with Neil Hamilton.
 5:00—Captain Video.
 5:30—Film Funnies.
 6:35—Daily Almanac.
 6:00—Shopping for You, Penny Chase.
 6:30—Second Freedom.
 6:45—The Newsmen, Ted Jaffe.
 6:50—The Sportsman, Nick Campofreda.
 6:55—The Weatherman.
 7:00—Old Nickelodeon Daze: "Flapper Fever" and "Who's Afraid."
 7:30—Hollywood Screen Test.
 8:00—Inspector Mark Saber, Homicide Squad.
 8:30—Johns Hopkins Science Review: "Man Will Conquer Space."
 9:00—Guide Right.
 9:30—Harry Wismer's Football Sideline.
 9:45—Best Fights.
 10:00—Boxing: Pat Marcune vs. Bill Rastio.
 10:45—Ringside Interviews.
 11:00—Touchdown: "Football Highlights."
 11:30—Final Edition.
 11:35—Tomorrow on WAAM.

Baltimore Sun
6 October 1952

Standard Radio Today

MORNING

6:00 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 WBAL—On the Farm.
 6:00 WCAO—Musical Clock.
 WPBR—Morning in Md.
 WBAL—Al Ross Show.
 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 WITH—Blues Haven.
 WWIN—Al Stevens Show.
 6:15 WITH—The Spiritualists.
 6:30 WCAO—News: Music.
 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 WITH—Wake Up, Baltimore.
 6:45 WBAL—Johnny Lee Willis.
 WBMD—Hillbilly Jamboree.
 WBID—Rockin' & Rhythm.
 7:00 WCAO—News: Music.
 WPBR—Press Bulletin.
 WBAL—Press Bulletin.
 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 WITH—Press Bulletin.
 WWIN—News: Al Stevens.
 7:15 WBAL—Al Ross Show.
 WPBR—Morning in Md.
 WITH—Wake Up, Baltimore.
 WBID—Super Session.
 7:30 WBAL—News: Al Ross.
 WCAO—News and Weather.
 WPBR—News: Horn in Md.
 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 WBMD—Peter Paul & John.
 WBID—Rockin' in Rhythm.
 7:45 WCAO—Music Clock.
 8:00 WCAO—Press Bulletin.
 WBAL—Press Bulletin.
 WCBM—Press Bulletin.
 WITH—News: Wake Up.
 WWIN—News: Al Stevens.

WBMD—Hillbilly Jamboree.
 WBID—Morning Spirituals.
 8:15 WCAO—O. Morgan Show.
 WPBR—Press Bulletin.
 WBAL—Al Ross Show.
 WCBM—Morning Gloria.
 8:30 WPBR—Morn in Md.
 WCAO—Musical Clock.
 WWIN—Weather & Music.
 WBID—Unity Viewpoint.
 8:45 WBID—Interluda.
 WWIN—Thought for Today.
 9:00 WPBR—Breakfast Club.
 WCAO—Victor K. Lindfahr.
 WCBM—Bob Hurligh, news.
 WITH—News: Wake Up.
 WWIN—Al Stevens Show.
 WBID—Serenade in Blue.
 WBMD—Wines of Prayer.
 9:15 WCAO—Polka Party.
 WCBM—Music Program.
 WBMD—Country Cousins.
 WBID—Hebrew-Christian Hr.
 9:30 WCBM—Betty Howard.
 WCAO—Four Neighbor.
 WBAL—Promme Now On.
 WITH—Sweet and Lovely.
 WBMD—Italian Program.
 WBID—Songs of Old South.
 9:45 WITH—Bible Thought.
 WCBM—Dialine for Dollars.
 WWIN—Around The Clock.
 WBID—The Music Room.
 10:00 WPBR—My Story.
 WCAO—Arthur Godfrey Show.
 WBAL—Welcome Traveler.
 WCBM—Lucky Basket.

WRMD—Echoes of Poland.
 WITH—Sont Shop.
 WBID—Golden Nurzeta.
 10:15 WITH—Tella Test.
 WCBM—Paula Stone Show.
 WWIN—Polish Colony.
 10:30 WPBR—Whispering Ars.
 WBAL—Double or Nothing.
 WCBM—Jewish News.
 WITH—John Chas Thomas.
 WWIN—Sun of Paly.
 WRMD—Mountain Music.
 WBID—Serenade in Blue.
 10:45 WITH—Music Prem.
 WPBR—A Civil Marriage.
 WCBM—Beauty Expert.
 WBMD—Public Service.
 11:00 WRAL—Strike It Rich.
 WPBR—Lone Journey.
 WCBM—Ladie Pair.
 WWIN—St. James Catholic Church.
 WBMD—Young People's Church.
 WITH—News: Melody Ark.
 11:15 WPBR—Homemakers Harmonies.
 11:30 WBAL—Bob and Roy.
 WPBR—Break the Bank.
 WCAO—News: Melody Time.
 WCBM—Queen for a Day.
 WWIN—Bess Crosby.
 WBMD—Polly Dersay.
 11:45 WCAO—Rosemary.
 WBAL—Dave Garroway.

AFTERNOON

12.00-WCAO-Weddy Warren. WFR-News: Dinner Bell. WCBM-Curt and Martha. WITH-News Eddie Gallagher WWIN-Midday Serenade. WBID-Lazy H Ranch News. WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree. 12.15-WCAO-Auntie Jenny. WFR-Three Suns. WFRAL-Music of Manhattan. WCBM-Baukhage. 12.30-WCAO-Helen Trent WFR-News: Shoppin' Fun. WFRAL-Kitchen Carnival WCBM-Lauri Alwyn & Eve. WWIN-Cheer Kiser Show. 12.45-WCAO-Gal Sunday WCBM-The World Series. 1.00-WCAO-Big Sister. WWIN-Midday Serenade WFRAL-Return Engagement. WFR-Club 1300. WBMD-Opportunities. WBID-Rhythm Club. 1.15-WITH-Music Program. WCAO-Ma Perkins. WBMD-Hits from the Hills. 1.30-WCAO-Dr. Malone. WITH-Afternoon Serenade. WWIN-Show Stoppers. 1.45-WBMD-Public Service. WBAL-Brighter Day.	WCAO-Guiding Light. 1.00-WITH-Chuck Thompson WFR-It's Fun to Cook. WWIN-Record Lane. WFR-It's Fun to Cook. WCAO-Second Mrs. Burton. WBAL-Mollie Martin. WBMD-News: Ring Crosby. 2.15-WCAO-Perry Mason. WBMD-Swing your Partner WBAL-Carnival of Books. WFR-Eddie Arnold Show. 2.30-WCAO-Nora Drake. WFR-Woman's Hour. WBAL-Return Engagement. 2.45-WCAO-Brighter Day. WBID-Ec/Alone-Shearing Sho. WBMD-Public Service. 3.00-WBAL-Life Beautiful. WFR-Johnny's Jamboree. WCAO-Hilltop Hour. WWIN-The Music Mart. WBID-Super Session. WITH-Chuck Thompson. WBMD-News Hank Snow. 3.15-WCAO-House Party. WBAL-Road of Life. WBID-Rhythm Club. WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree. 3.30-WBAL-Young's Family. 3.45-WBAL-Happiness Right. WFR-It's Up To You.	WBMD-Hymns from the Hills. WWIN-Record Land. WCAO-Song-Talk: News. 4.00-WFR-Melody Ballroom WBAL-Bartholomew Wife. WCAO-Hush Wante Show. WCBM-Dick Coleman Show. WWIN-Mike at the Mike. WITH-Chuck Thompson. WBMD-Rastime Plans. WCBM-Willa Belle. 4.15-WBMD-Your Pal Al WBAL-Stella Dallas. WCBM-Dick Coleman Show 4.30-WWIN-Hillbilly Parade. WCBM-Food Plan Show WBAL-Widder Brown. 4.45-WBMD-Star of the Day. WCBM-Dick Coleman Show WBAL-In My House. 5.00-WBAL-Just Plain Bill. WFR-Press Bulletin. WCBM-Bob Caffey Show. WWIN-Hillbilly Salute. WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree. WITH-Chuck Thompson. 5.15-WBAL-Face Farrell. WFR-Melody Ballroom. 5.30-WRAL-Lorenzo Jones WCBM-Wild Bill Hickock. 5.45-WRAL-Doctor's Wife. WBID-Dinner Musr.
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EVENING

6.00-WBAL-Press Bulletin. WFR-Nelson Baker Show. WCAO-News: Every Day. WCBM-Music Program. WITH-Melody Menu. WWIN-Chuck Richards. WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree. WBID-House of Blue Lizbia. 6.15-WBAL-Balloy Goss. WCAO-Music Time. WITH-Romantic Melodies. 6.30-WFR-Press Bulletin. WCAO-Curt Messer. WBAL-Market Report. WCBM-Local News. WITH-Melody Parade. 6.45-WCAO-Lowell Thomas. WFR-Time for Music WBAL-Three-Star Extra. WCBM-Willa Belle. WBID-Between You & Me. 7.00-WCAO-The Beulah Show WFR-Broadway Revue. WBAL-Hit Revue. WWIN-Requestfully Yours. WITH-Music Montage. WCBM-Fulton Lewis Jr. WBID-Sundown Serenade WBMD-Eddie Arnold. 7.15-WCBM-Ready for Peace WCAO-Jack Smith Show. WBAL-Front Row Center WITH-Bing Crosby. WBID-Sign off. WBMD-Sign off. 7.30-WFR-Lone Ranger. WCAO-Club 13: Bob Crosby. WFR-Evening Serenade. WCBM-Gabriel Heatter. WBAL-Morgan Beauty. WWIN-The Record Revue. 7.45-WCBM-The Newswel. WBAL-One Man's Family. WCAO-Edward R. Murrow. 8.00-WBAL-Railroad Hour. WFR-Year: Land & Mine. WCAO-Sundance. WITH-News: Melody Music. WCBM-Woman of the Year. WWIN-Requestfully Yours. 8.15-WFR-Keenan & Well. WITH-Dickland. 8.30-WBAL-Farmacia. WFR-News: Melody Music. WCBM-News: Melody Music. WWIN-News: Melody Music.	WCAO-Arthur Godfrey Sho. WITH-World Melodies. WWIN-Evening Interlude. 8.45-WITH-Hot Rod. WWIN-Chief Bands. 9.00-WCAO-Radio Theater. "The Model & the Mar- riage Broker." WWIN-Music For Millions. WBAL-George London: Orch. WFR-David Rose Show. WCBM-Reporters Roundup WITH-The Mecca Hour. 9.30-WBAL-Band of America. WFR-Music in the Air. WCBM-Music Program. WWIN-Recorded Classics. 9.45-WCBM-Prodigy Songs 10.00-WCBM-Frank Edwards. WCAO-Bob Hawk Show WBAL-Meredith Wilson. WFR-John Daly, News. WITH-Hot Rod Jazz. WWIN-On The Podium 10.15-WCBM-Unannounced. WFR-Music Program. 10.30-WFR-Time for De- lense. WCAO-Dance Orchestra. WCBM-Maryland Report. WBAL-Hour of Charm. 10.45-WCBM-Music Program. WCAO-Eric Mass Talk. 11.00-WCBM-Press Bulletin. WITH-News: Hot Rod. WCAO-The World Tonight WFR-News Digest. WWIN-32 Club. 11.15-WCBM-Dick Coleman WFR-The Mecca Show. WCAO-The Open Bible. WBAL-Love on the Run. WITH-Jazz Session. 11.30-WITH-Rocket Ship Sho. WCAO-Dance Orchestra. WBAL-Chuck Richards. 12.00-WCAO-Nocturne. 12.30-WCAO-Dance Orch. WBAL-Just At The Phil. 12.45-WBAL-Chuck Richards. 1.00-WITH-All Nite Show. WWIN-Mike at the Mike. 1.30-WBAL-Argdale Jones. WCAO (CBS) 6000	WFR (ABC)..... 1300h WBAL (NBC)..... 1090h WCBM (Mutual)..... 680h WBMD (Liberty)..... 750h WWIN..... 1400h WBID..... 1010h WITH..... 1230h
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FM Programs

WWIN-Channel 234, 947 meg. (FM Operates 24 hours a day. Programs same as standard radio except) 8.00 A.M. Breakfast & Symphony. 9.00 Just Music. 10.00 Morning Muzrale. 11.00 Song Interlude 11.30 Luncheon Classics. 12.00 Luncheon Music. 1.00 P.M. Great Music. 2.00 Footlight Favorites. 2.30 Music Room. 3.00 Concert Hall. 4.00 Waiting on Air. 4.30 Classic Showcase 5.00 Cocktail Hour. 6.00 Dinner Music. 7.00 Twilight Concert. 7.30 Opera Glimpses. 8.00 Music House. WITM-Channel 282, 1043 meg. (FM Operates from 3 P.M. to 10.45 P.M. Pro- grams same as standard radio) WCAO-Channel 274, 1027 meg. (FM Operates from 8 A.M. to 1 A.M. Pro- grams same as standard radio) WBIC-FM - Channel 201. 90.1 meg. 1.30 Sign on. 2.00 Musical Spotlight 2.30 Mountain Music Time. 2.45 Signs of Life. 2.50 News. 2.55 School Bulletin. 3.00 Navy Swing and Sway. 3.15 Sports Discussion. 3.30 Sign off '11 7. 7.00 Fine Music. 11.00 Sign off.

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Television Programs

Time in P.M. unless otherwise designated

October 7, 1952

WMAZ-TV—Channel 11
 7:00 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 7:30 A.M.—Today, with Dave Garroway.
 8:30 A.M.—Hymn Music.
 9:00 A.M.—Brent Gunts Show.
 9:30 A.M.—Prolorus to the Future.
 10:30 A.M.—Campaign Call.
 11:00 A.M.—Mrs. U.S.A.
 11:30 A.M.—Spin 'n' Win.
 12:00 P.M.—In The Kitchen, Mary Landis.
 12:30 P.M.—World Series Preview.
 12:45 P.M.—The World Series.
 3:00 P.M.—The Big Parade.

WBAL-TV—Channel 11
 6:45 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 7:00 A.M.—Today, with Dave Garroway.
 8:30 A.M.—Hymn Music.
 9:00 A.M.—Brent Gunts Show.
 9:30 A.M.—Prolorus to the Future.
 10:30 A.M.—Campaign Call.
 11:00 A.M.—Mrs. U.S.A.
 11:30 A.M.—Spin 'n' Win.
 12:00 P.M.—In The Kitchen, Mary Landis.
 12:30 P.M.—World Series Preview.
 12:45 P.M.—The World Series.
 3:00 P.M.—The Big Parade.

1:30—Welcome Travelers.
 4:00—Kate Smith Show, with Howard & Shelton and Evalyn Treci.
 6:00—Hawkins Falls.
 8:15—Short, Short Story.
 8:30—Howdy Doody Show.
 9:00—Paul's Puppets.
 9:15—Silver Saddles, Round Up.
 9:45—Maryland State Police.
 9:45—Your News Reporter.
 7:00—The Circus Kid.
 7:30—Dinah Shore Show.
 7:45—Press Bulletins.
 8:00—The Circus Hour, with Joe E. Brown, Dolores Gray and John Raitt.
 9:00—The Firsale Theater.
 9:30—University of Maryland Medical School.
 10:00—Two for the Money.
 10:30—The Unexpected.
 11:00—Eleventh Hour Final: Baxter Ward.
 11:05—The Weather Report.
 11:10—Picture Playhouse.
 12:15—Adventures in the Night.
 12:45—Programs Preview.

WAAM—Channel 13
 9:30 A.M.—Test Pattern.
 9:55 A.M.—News Headlines.
 10:00 A.M.—Morning Movies: "Shed No Tears," with June Vincent and Wallace Ford.
 11:00 A.M.—Home Cooking, with Mr. and Mrs.
 11:45 A.M.—Film Funnies.
 12:00—Shopping for You, Penny Chase.
 12:45—Take the Break, Don Russell.
 1:15—First in Fashion, Ethel Thorson.
 1:30—Afternoon Movies: "Roecue Squad," with Ralph Forbes and Verna Hill.
 2:30—TV Waambore, Nick Campofreda.
 4:00—Playhouse 13: "Wild Horse Rodeo," with Bob Livingston and Max Terhune.
 5:00—Captain Video.
 5:30—Film Funnies.
 5:55—Daily Almanac.
 6:00—Shopping For You: Penny Chase.
 6:45—The Newsmen: Ted Jaffe.
 6:50—The Sportsman: Nick Campofreda.
 6:55—The Weatherman.
 7:00—Viewpoint: Gerald W. Johnson.
 7:15—People's Political Poll.
 7:30—Baulah, starring Louis Beavers.
 8:00—The Power of Women.
 8:30—Keep Posted, discussion.
 9:00—Where Was I?
 9:30—The Circle Theater.
 10:00—Danger, drama.
 10:30—The Life of The Party, Nelson Baker and Georgia Reed.
 11:00—Movies till Midnight: "China's Little Devils," with Paul Kelly and Harry Carey.
 12:00—Final Editlog.
 12:05—Tomorrow On WAAM.

Standard Programs

MORNING

5:00-WCBM-Morning Glories.
 WBAL-On The Farm.
 6:00-WCAO-Musical Clock.
 WFBP-Morning in Md.
 WBAL-Al Ross Show.
 WCBM-Morning Glories.
 WITH-Side Haven.
 WWIN-Al Stevens Show.
 6:15-WITH-The Spiritualists.
 6:30-WCAO-News: Musical.
 WITH-Wake Up, Baltimore.
 6:45-WBAL-Johnny Lee With.
 WCBM-Music: Inspiration.
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree.
 WSID-Hearts & Rhythms.
 7:00-WCAO-News: Musical.
 WFBP-Press Bulletins.
 WBAL-Press Bulletins.
 WCBM-Morning Glories.
 WWIN-News: Wake Up.
 WFBP-News: Al Stevens.
 7:15-WBAL-Al Ross Show.
 WFBP-Morning in Md.
 WSID-Super Session.
 7:30-WCAO-News: Musical.
 WBMD-Enter, Pam & John.
 WSID-Hearts & Rhythms.
 8:00-WCAO-CBS World News.
 WBAL-News: Wake Up.
 WCBM-Press Bulletins.
 WITH-News: Wake Up.
 WWIN-News: Al Stevens.
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree.
 WSID-Morning Spirituals.
 8:15-WCAO-George Morgan

WFBP-Press Bulletins.
 WCBM-Morning Glories.
 8:30-WFBP-Morning in Md.
 WCAO-Musical Clock.
 WSID-Unity Viewpoint.
 8:45-WSID-Interlude.
 WWIN Thought for Today.
 9:00-WFBP-Breakfast Club.
 WCAO-Victor H. Lindiahr.
 WCBM-Bob Hurlish.
 WITH-News: Wake Up.
 WWIN-News: Al Stevens Show.
 WBMD-Wings of Prayer.
 WSID-Serenade in Blue.
 9:15-WBMD-Country Cousins.
 WCAO-Polka Party.
 WSID-Hebrew Christian Hr.
 WCBM-Music Program.
 9:30-WCBM-Betty Howard.
 WCAO-Your Neighbor.
 WBAL-Promise Now On.
 WITH-Sweet & Lovely.
 WBMD-Italian Program.
 WSID-Songs of Old South.
 9:45-WITH-Bible Thought.
 WCBM-Dialing for Dollars.
 WWIN-Frankly Sentimental.
 WSID-The Music Room.
 10:00-WFBP-My Story.
 WCAO-Arthur Godfrey Sha.
 WBAL>Welcome Traveler.
 WCBM-Lucky Basket.
 WITH-Morning Jamboree

WWIN-Polich Colony.
 WBMD-Echoes of Poland.
 10:15-WCBM-Unannounced.
 WITH-Tello-Test.
 WSID-Looking Ahead.
 10:30-WFBP-Whispering Sta.
 WBAL-Double or Nothing.
 WCBM-Jewish News.
 WITH-John Chas. Thomas.
 WWIN-Sun of Italy.
 WBMD-Mountain Music.
 WSID-Serenade in Blue.
 10:45-WITH-Music Program.
 WFBP-A Girl Marries.
 WCBM-Question Man.
 WRMD-Public Service.
 11:00-WBAL-Strike It Rich.
 WFBP-Lone Journey.
 WCBM-Ladies Fair.
 WITH-News: Melody M'tl.
 WWIN-Piano Tapestry.
 WBMD-Young People's Church.
 11:15-WFBP-Homemakers Harmonies.
 WWIN-Star Time.
 11:30-WBAL-Bob and Roy/
 WCAO-News: Melody Time.
 WFBP-Break the Bank.
 WWIN-Bing Crosby, Songs.
 WBMD-Poly Dersay.
 WSID-Father Wagner.
 WCBM-Queen for a Day.
 11:45-WCAO-Rosemary.
 WBAL-Dave Garroway

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AFTERNOON

12:00-WCAO-Wendy Werner
 WFBR-Jack Berch Show
 WBAL-Dinner Bell
 WCBM-Curt and Martha
 WITH-Eddie Gallaher Show
 WWIN-Mid day Serenade
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree
 WSID-Larry's Ranch Boys
 12:15-WCAO-Aunt Jenny
 WBAL-Music of Manhattan
 WFBR-Three Suns
 WCBM-Banquet
 12:30-WBAL-Kitchen Karnival
 WCAO-Helen Trent
 WCBM-World Series Preview
 WFBR-News: Shopping Fun
 WWIN-Ches Kiser Show
 12:45-WCAO-Gal Sunday
 WCBM-The World Series
 1:00-WFBR-Club 1300
 WBAL-Return Engagement
 WCAO-Big Sister
 WWIN-Midday Serenade
 WBMD-Opportunities
 WSID-Rhythm Club
 1:15-WCAO-Ma Perkins
 WITH-MUSIC from Movies
 WBMD-Hits from the Hills
 1:30-WWIN-Show Stoppers
 WCAO-Dr. Malone
 WITH-Afternoon Serenade
 WSID-Basketball Game
 1:45-WBAL-Brighter Day

WCAO-Guiding Light
 WBMD-Public Service
 2:00-WITH-Chuck Thompson
 WBAL-Mollie Martin
 WCAO-Soc. Mrs. Burton
 WFBR-It's Fun To Cook
 WWIN-Record Land
 WBMD-News: Bing Crosby
 2:15-WBMD-Your Partner
 WFBR-Eddy Arnold
 WBAL-Y.W.C.A. Prem.
 WCAO-Perry Mason
 2:30-WCAO-Nora Drake
 WBAL-Return Engagement
 WFBR-Women's Hour
 2:45-WCAO-Brighter Day
 WBMD-Public Service
 3:00-WITH-Chuck Thompson
 WCAO-Hilltop House
 WBAL-Beautiful Life
 WFBR-Johnny's Jamboree
 WWIN-The Music Mart
 WBMD-News: Rank Show
 3:15-WCAO-House Party
 WFBR-John Conte Show
 WBAL-Road Of Life
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree
 3:30-WBAL-Young's Family
 3:45-WCAO-Talk: News
 WBAL-Happines Right
 WBMD-Hymns from the Hills
 WWIN-Record Land
 4:00-WCAO-Hush Winks Show

WBAL-Backstage Wife
 WBMD-Ratime Piano
 WFBR-Melody Ballroom
 WWIN-Mike at the Mike
 WCBM-Wella Belles
 WITH-Chuck Thompson
 WSID-Super Session
 4:15-WBMD-You Pal Al
 WCBM-Dick Coleman Show
 WSID-Rhythm Club
 WBAL-Stella Dallas
 4:30-WWIN-Hillbilly Parade
 WCAO-Sports, Hukh Wankr.
 WCBM-Pood Plan Show
 WBAL-Widder Brown
 4:45-WBAL-IN My House
 WBMD-Star of the Day
 5:00-WITH-Chuck Thompson
 WBAL-Plain Bill
 WFBR-Press Bulletins
 WCBM-Sergeant Preston
 WWIN-Hillbilly Salute
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree
 5:15-WFBR-Melody Ball'm
 WBAL-Face Farrell
 WSID-Dinner Music
 5:30-WBAL-Lorenzo Jones
 WCAO-Sports, Hukh Wankr.
 WSID-Sign Off
 WBMD-Sign Off
 WCBM-Sky King: Cecil Brown
 5:45-WBAL-Dwain's Wife

EVENING

6:00-WBAL-News and Sports
 WCAO-News: Every Day
 WFBR-Nelson Baker
 WCBM-Music Program
 WITH-Twilight Serenade
 WWIN-Chuck Richards
 WBMD-Hillbilly Jamboree
 WSID-House of Blue Lights
 6:15-WITH-Supper Serenade
 WBAL-Bailey Goss
 WCAO-Music Time
 6:30-WCAO-Curt Massey
 WFBR-Press Bulletins
 WBAL-Market Reports
 WCBM-Local News
 WITH-U Shall Have Music
 6:45-WCAO-Lowell Thomas
 WCBM-Wella Belles
 WBAL-Three Star Extra
 WFBR-Time For Music
 WITH-Twilight Tunes
 WSID-Between You & Me
 7:00-WCAO-Benlah Show
 WFBR-Broadway Revue
 WCBM-Pulton Lewis
 WBAL-Hit Revue
 WBMD-Eddie Arnold
 WITH-Songs of our Times
 WSID-House of Blue Lights
 WWIN-Requestfully Yours
 7:15-WCBM-Rosary for Peace
 WCAO-Jack Smith Show
 WITH-Bing Crosby
 WBAL-Civil Defense
 WSID-Sign Off
 WBMD-Sign Off
 7:30-WBAL-News of World
 WCAO-Fraser Lee Show
 WFBR-Silver Eagle
 WCBM-Gabriel Heatter
 WITH-Evening Serenade
 WWIN-Record Revue
 7:45-WCBM-Press Bulletins
 WBAL-One Man's Family
 WITH-Music Interlude
 WCAO-Edward H. Murrow
 8:00-WITH-Melody Maria
 WCAO-People Are Funny
 WFBR-Private Detective
 WCBM-Black Museum
 WBAL-Cavalcade of America
 WWIN-Requestfully Yours
 WBMD-Sign of the Cross
 8:15-WITH-Divided

Red Skelton
 WFBR-Paul Whiteman Club
 WCAO-Mr & Mrs North
 WITH-TV Prolica
 WCBM-Dr. Kilgore, drama
 8:45-WITH-Hot Rod
 9:00-WBAL-Martin & Lewis
 WCAO-Life with Luigi
 WFBR-Town Meeting
 WCBM-Fight For Life
 WITH-The Mecca Hour
 WWIN-Musto for Millions
 9:30-WBAL-Fibber McGee
 WCAO-My Friend Irma
 WCBM-Music Program
 9:45-WFBR-E. D. Canham
 WCBM-Prophecy Speaks
 10:00-WWIN-On The Podium
 WBAL-2 for the Money
 WCAO-Mr. Chameleon
 WFBR-Jahn Daly, news
 WCBM-Frank Edwards
 WITH-Hot Rod Jazz
 10:15-WCBM-Unannounced
 WFBR-Music Program
 10:30-WCAO-Gov. Adlai Stevenson
 WFBR-Joe Buahkin Quartet
 WBAL-Man Behind Melody
 WCBM-Homeood School
 11:00-WFBR-News Digest
 WCBM-Jerry Mates, News
 WBAL-News and Sports
 WCAO-World Tonight
 WWIN-Moonlight Serenade
 WITH-News: Hot Rod
 11:15-WFBR-The Mecca Show
 WITH-Jazz Session
 WBAL-Music You Want
 WCAO-Dance Orchestra
 WCBM-Dick Coleman
 11:30-WCAO-Dance Orch.
 WITH-Rocket Ship Show
 WFBR-Starlight Revue
 WBAL-Chuck Richards
 12:00-WCAO-Dance Orch.
 WCAO-Nocturne
 12:30-WCAO-Dance Orch.
 WBAL-Jazz at The Phil
 12:45-WBAL-Chuck Richards
 1:00-WITH-News All Nite
 WWIN-Mike At The Mike
 1:30-WBAL-Archdale Jones

WCAO-(CBS), 690k.
 WFBR-(ABC), 1300k.
 WBAL-(NBC), 1090k.
 WCBM-(Mutual), 680k.
 WITH-1230k.
 WWIN-1400k.
 WBMD-(Liberty), 730k.
 WSID-1010k.

FM Programs

WWIN-Channel 234, 94.7 meg. (FM Operates 24 hours a day. Programs same as standard radio, except:
 8:00 A.M.-Breakfast Symphony
 9:00-Just Music
 10:00-Morning Musical
 11:00-Song Interlude
 11:30-Luncheon Classic
 12:00-Luncheon Music
 1:00 P.M.-Great Music
 2:00-Footlight Favorites
 2:30-Music Room
 3:00-Concert Hall
 4:00-Waltzing on Air
 4:30-Classic Showcases
 5:00-Cocktail Hour
 6:00-Dinner Music
 7:00-Twilight Concert
 7:30-Opera Olympia
 8:00-Music House
 WITH-Channel 282, 104.5 meg. (FM Operates from 3 P.M. to 10:45 P.M. Programs same as standard radio.)
 WCAO-Channel 74, 102.7 meg. (FM Operates from 6 A.M. to 1 A.M. Programs same as standard radio.)
 WBAL-Channel 201, 88.1 meg.
 1:30-Sign on
 2:00-Modern Moods
 2:30-Treasure Guest Star
 2:45-Request Number
 2:50-News
 2:55-School Bulletin
 3:00-Kelb's Pop
 3:30-Sign off 'til 7
 7:00-Fine Music
 11:00-Sign off.

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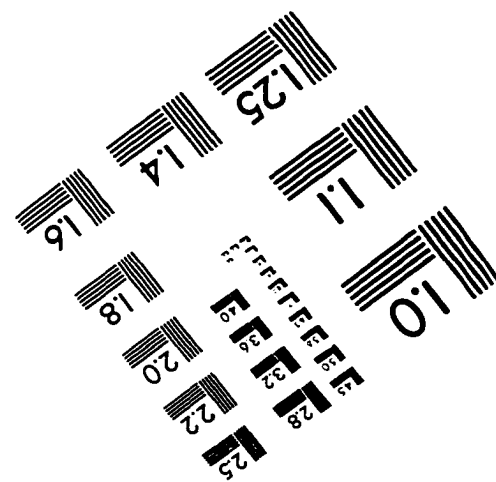
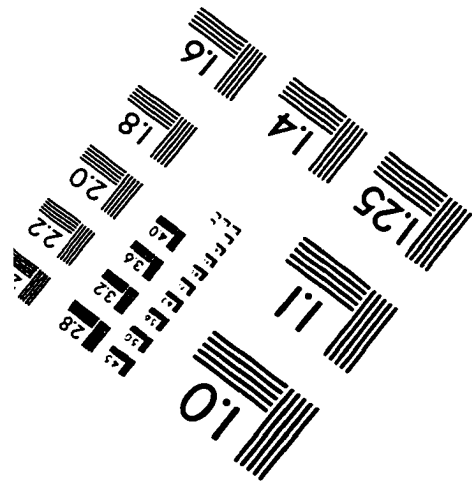
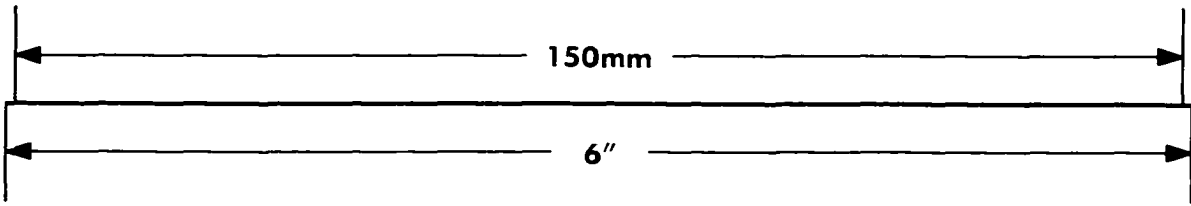
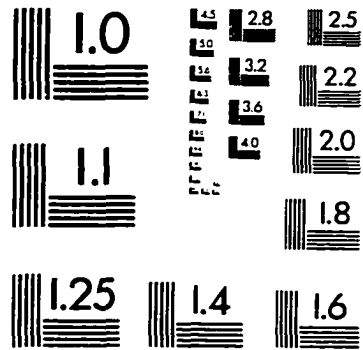
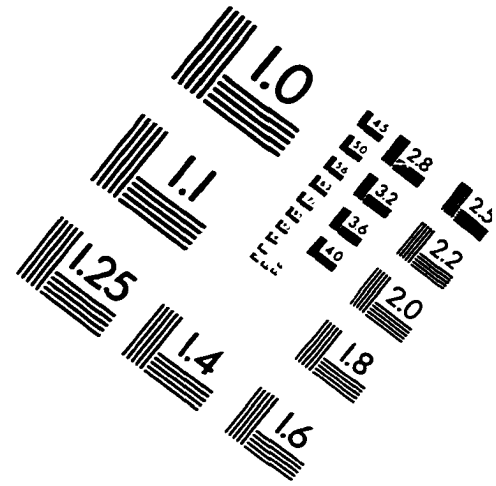
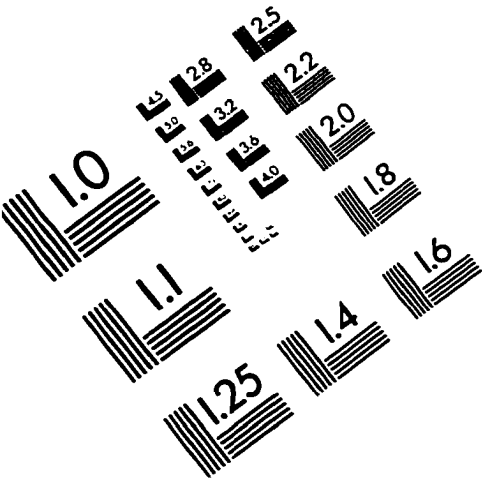
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